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The Complete Works of
CASSIUS DIO
(c. 155–235 AD)



Contents

The Translations

ROMAN HISTORY

The Greek Texts

LIST OF GREEK TEXTS

The Biography

INTRODUCTION TO CASSIUS DIO by Earnest Cary

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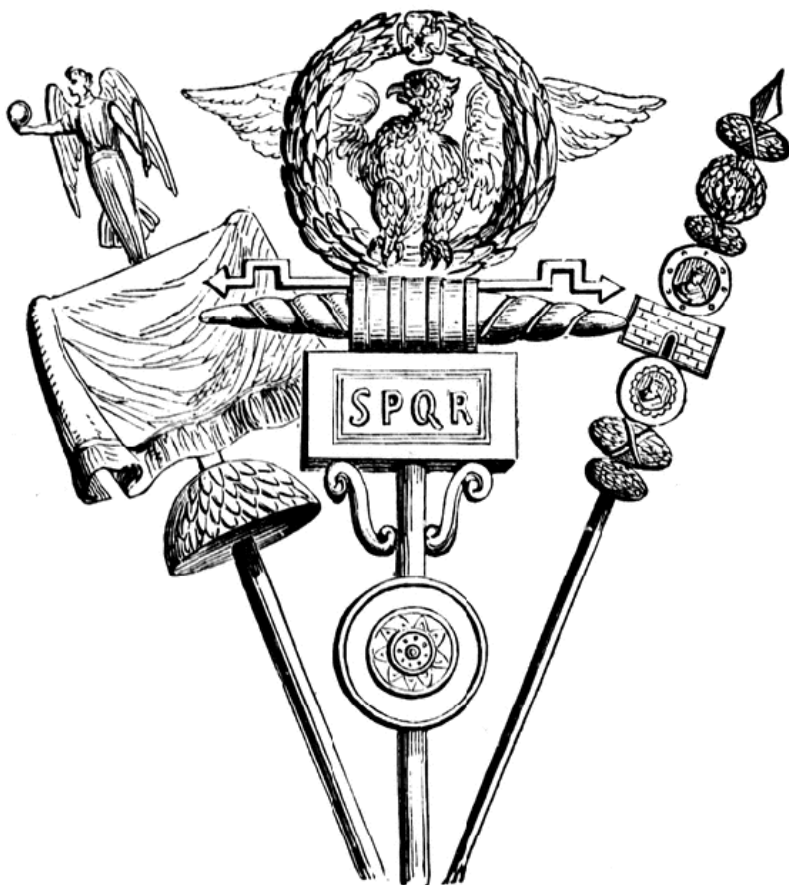


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The Complete Works of

CASSIUS DIO



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The Translations



Ruins at Nicaea in Bithynia, a Hellenic city in north-western Anatolia, modern day Turkey — Cassius Dio's birthplace. Dio was the son of Cassius Apronianus, a Roman senator and tradition maintains that his mother was the daughter or sister of the Greek orator and philosopher, Dio Chrysostom.

ROMAN HISTORY



Translated by Herbert Baldwin Foster

Following twenty-two years of extensive research, Cassius Dio published his *Roman History* in 80 books, spanning Roman history over a period of approximately 1,400 years, beginning with the arrival of the legendary Aeneas in Italy (c. 1200 BC) through to the subsequent part-mythic, part-historic founding of Rome (753 BC). Sadly, the surviving text is fragmentary and has been pieced together from a number of sources. Of the eighty books, we possess Books 36 to 60 (though Books 36 and 55 to 60 have gaps). These cover the period from 65 BC to 12 BC. The other parts of the history are partly supplied by other writers' works. Zonaras, who relied closely on Dio, provided the synoptic information of the earlier missing books. For some of the later gaps, John Xiphilinus, a monk of the eleventh century, provided much valuable information about the missing books. There are also many excerpts provided by other ancient writers and fragments. The facilities for research afforded by Dio's official duties and his own industry make him a vital source for Roman history of the last years of the Republic and the lives and times of the first four Emperors. Dio's history also concerns historical events up to AD 229. Interestingly, His *Roman History* is one of only three extant sources to document the Celtic revolt in Britain of AD 60–61, which was led by Queen Boudica of the Iceni tribe against the Romans.

Until the first century BC, Dio provides only a summary of events, though after that period the accounts become more detailed. From the time of Commodus (180–192 AD), Dio is cautious in how he represents the events that he has personally witnessed. The last book covers the period from 222 to 229 (the reign of Alexander Severus).

The fragments of the first 36 books, as they have been collected, consist of four kinds:

- *Fragmenta Valesiana*: fragments that were dispersed throughout various writers, scholiasts, grammarians, and lexicographers, collected by Henri Valois.
- *Fragmenta Peiresciana*: large extracts, found in the section entitled, "Of Virtues and Vices", contained in the collection, or portative library, compiled by order of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus.
- The fragments of the first 34 books, preserved in the second section of the same work by Constantine, entitled "Of Embassies."

- *Excerpta Vaticana* by Angelo Mai: Contains fragments of books 1 to 35 and 61 to 80. Additionally, fragments of an unknown continuator of Dio (Anonymous post Dionem), generally identified with the 6th-century historian, Peter the Patrician, are included; these date from the time of Constantine.

In literary style, Dio attempted to emulate the writing of Thucydides and, where there appears to be no corruption of the text, he at times achieves the same soundness of viewpoint and accuracy of reasoning, though his writing is prone to Latinisms. Nevertheless, several of Dio's accounts were supported by his being able to observe significant events of the Empire in the first-person as well as having direct contact with the key figures who were involved in the events he narrated.



Mithridates VI (134–63 BC) features in a considerable fragment of Book 35, detailing the Pontus leader's war against Lucullus — The Third Mithridatic War (73–63 BC)



Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus' (106 BC-48 BC) heroic wars with the pirates and his expedition against the king of Pontus form the main narrative of Dio's Book 36.

CONTENTS

CONCERNING THE TRANSLATION
CONCERNING THE ORIGINAL.
THE ORIGINAL ARRANGEMENT OF BOOK

AN EPITOME OF THE LOST BOOKS 1-21 BY IOANNES ZONARAS

BOOK 1, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 2, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 4, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 5, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 6, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 7, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 8, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 9, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 10, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 11, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 12, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 13, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 14, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 15, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 16, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 17, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 18, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 19, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 20, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 21, BOISSEVAIN.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOKS 22-35 FROM VARIOUS SOURCES

BOOK 22, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 23, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 24, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 25, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 26, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 27, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 28, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 29, BOISSEVAIN.

REMAINS OF BOOKS 30-35, BOISSEVAIN.

BOOK 36
BOOK 36, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 37
BOOK 37, BOISSEVAIN.

BOOK 38
BOOK 38, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 39
BOOK 39, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 40
BOOK 40, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 41
BOOK 41, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 42
BOOK 42, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 43
BOOK 43, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 44
BOOK 44, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 45
BOOK 45, BOSSEVAIN.)
BOOK 46
BOOK 46, BOISSAVAIN
BOOK 47
BOOK 47, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 48
BOOK 48, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 49
BOOK 49, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 50
BOOK 50, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 51
BOOK 51, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 52
BOOK 52, BOISSEVAIN
BOOK 53
BOOK 53, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 54
BOOK 54, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 55
BOOK 55, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 56
BOOK 56, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 57
BOOK 57 BOISSEVAIN
BOOK 58
BOOK 57, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 59
BOOK 59, BOISSEVAIN

BOOK 60
BOOK 60, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 61
BOOK 62
BOOK 63
BOOK 64
BOOK 65
BOOK 66
BOOK 67
BOOK 68
BOOK 69
BOOK 70
BOOK 71
BOOK 73
BOOK 74
BOOK 75
BOOK 76
BOOK 77
BOOK 77
BOOK 78, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 78
BOOK 79, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 79
BOOK 80, BOISSEVAIN.
BOOK 80



'Boadicea Haranguing the Britons' by John Opie — Dio's 'Roman History' is one of the few surviving ancient texts to reference this historical figure.

To

My Friend Teacher and Inspirer

Mr. Gildersleeve of Baltimore

Who Has Won to the Age of Greek Lore even as to the Youth of Greek Life

I Offer a Redundant Tribute

CONCERNING THE TRANSLATION

Cassius Dio, one of the three original sources for Roman history to be found in Greek literature, has been accessible these many years to the reader of German, of French, and even of Italian, but never before has he been clothed complete in English dress. In the Harvard College Library is deposited the fruit of a slight effort in that direction, a diminutive volume dated two centuries back, the title page of which (agog with queer italics) reads as follows:

THE
HISTORY
OF
DION CASSIUS
ABBRIDG'D BY XIPHILIN
CONTAINING

The most considerable Passages under the *Roman* emperors
from the time of *Pompey* the Great, to the Reign of *Alexander Severus*.

In Two Volumes
Done from the *Greek*, by Mr. Manning

Tametsi haudquaquam par gloria sequatur Scriptorem, & Authorem rerum,
tamen in primis arduum videtur res gestas scribere. Salust.

London: Printed for A. and J. Churchill, in Paternoster Row, 1704.

Four hundred and seven small pages, over and above the Epistle Dedicatory, are contained in Volume One. Really, however, this is not the true Dio at all, but merely his shadow, seized and distorted to satisfy the ideas of his epitomizer, the monk Xiphilinus, who was separated from him by a thousand years in the flesh and another thousand in the spirit. Of the little specimens here and there translated for this man's or that man's convenience no mention need here be made. Hence, practically speaking, Dio now for the first time emerges in his impressive stature before the English-speaking public after there has elapsed since his own day a period twice as long as then constituted the extent of that history which was his theme.

The present version, begun while I was serving as Acting Professor of Greek at St. Stephen's College, Annandale, N.Y., has been carried forward during such intervals of leisure as I could snatch from an overflowing schedule at the University of South Dakota. It has been my companion on many journeys and six states have witnessed its progress toward completion. In spite of the time consumed it seems in retrospect not far short of

presumptuous to have tried in three or four years to put into acceptable English what Dio spent twelve in writing down. Yet the task was not quite the same, for half of this historian's books have been caught up and whirled away in the cyclone of time; and who knows whether they still possess any resting-place above or beneath the earth?

The text originally chosen as the basis for the translation was that of Melber, the idea of the translator being that the Teubner edition would be the most convenient and readily obtainable standard of reference for any one who wished to compare the Greek and the English. Hence the numbering of the Fragments is that of Melber (subdivisions are distinguished by a notation simpler than that of the original "sections"). Since no Teubner volumes beyond the second proved to be forthcoming, the rest of the work followed the stereotyped Tauchnitz edition, which also enjoys a large circulation. This text, however, contained so many cases of corruption and clumsiness that it seemed best to work over carefully nearly all of the latter portion of the English and to embody as many as possible of the improvements of Boissevain. Incidentally Boissevain's interior arrangement of all the later books was adopted, though it was deemed preferable (for mere readiness of reference) to adhere to the old external division of books established by Leunclavius. (Boissevain's changes are, however, indicated.) The Tauchnitz text with all its inaccuracies endeavors to present a coherent and readable narrative, and this is something which the exactitude of Boissevain does not at all times permit. In the translation I have striven to follow a conservative course, and at some points a straightforward narrative interlarded with brackets will give evidence of its origin in Tauchnitz, whereas at others loose, disjointed paragraphs betray the hand of Boissevain who would not willingly let Xiphilinus and Dio ride in the same compartment. My main desire through it all has been not so much to attain a logical unity of form as to present a history which shall look well and read well in English. For this reason also I have banished most of the Fragments (which must have only a comparatively limited interest) to the last volume and have replaced them in my first by portions of Zonaras (taken from Melber) which have their origin in Dio and are at the same time clear, comprehensible, and connected.

Should any person object that even so my text does not offer eye and ear a pellucid field for smooth advance, I must reply that the original is likewise very far from being a serene and joyous highway; and it has not appeared to me necessary or desirable to improve upon the form of Dio's record further than the difference in the genius of the two languages demanded. I am reminded here of what Francisque Reynard says regarding the difficulties of Boccaccio, and because of a similarity in the situation I venture to quote from the preface of his (French) version of the Decameron:

"Dans son admiration exclusive des anciens, Boccace a pris pour modèle Cicéron et sa longue période académique, dans laquelle les incidences se greffent sur les incidences, poursuivant l'idée jusqu'au bout, et ne la laissant

que lorsqu'elle est épuisée, comme le souffle ou l'attention de celui qui lit.... Aussi le plus souvent sa phraséologie est-elle fort complexe, et pour suivre le fil de l'idée première, faut-il apporter une attention soutenue. Ce qui est déjà une difficulté de lecture dans le texte italien, devient un obstacle très sérieux quand on a à traduire ces interminables phrases en français moderne, prototype de précision, de clarté, de logique grammaticale.... Je sais bien qu'il y a un moyen commode de l'éluder...: c'est de couper les phrases et d'en faire, d'une seule, deux, trois, quatre, autant qu'il est besoin. Mais à ce jeu on change notablement la physionomie de l'original, et c'est ce que je ne puis admettre."

As is Boccaccio to Cicero, so is Cassius Dio, *mutatis mutandis*, to Thukydides; and of course the imitator improves upon the model. Imagine a man who out-Paters Pater when Pater shall be but a memory, and you begin to secure a vision of the style of this Roman senator, who accentuates every peculiarity of the tragic historian's packed periods; and whereas his great predecessor made sentences so long as to cause mediæval scholars heartily to wish him in the Barathron, books and all, comes forward six hundred years later marshaling phrase upon phrase, clause upon clause, till a modern is forced to exclaim: "What, will the line stretch out to the crack of doom?" Now I have dealt with these complexes in different ways; and sometimes I have cleft and hacked and wrenched them out of all semblance of their original shape, and sometimes I have hauled them almost entire, like a cable, tangled with particles, out of the sea-bed of departed days.

This principle of inconsistency which I have pursued in varying the rendering of long sentences, periodic or loose, according to external modifying conditions, may be observed also in certain other features of the book. For I have felt obliged to allow inconsistency of letter in the hope of approaching a consistency of spirit. I suppose that the ideal plan to follow in a translation would be to let a given English word represent a given Greek word, so that "beautiful" should occur as many times in the English version as *καλός* in the original, and "strength" as many times as *ῥωμη*. Such a scheme, however, is not feasible in a passage of any length, and its impossibility simply goes to show what a makeshift translation is and always has been, after all. Therefore single Greek words will be found reproduced by various English terms, but with that color which seems best adapted to the context.

Again, in spelling I have chosen a method not unknown to recent historians, which consists in anglicising familiar proper names that are household words, like Antony, Catiline, etc., but keeping the classical Latin form for persons less well known, as Antonius the grandfather of Mark Antony. To the names of gods I have given a Latin dress unless a particular god happened to be named by a Greek on Greek soil. Similarly in geographical or topographical designations the translator of Dio must needs confront a more difficult situation than did Dio himself. Greek reduces *all* names to its own basis. In English one must often select from the Latin form,

Greek form, Native form, or Anglicised form. Since Dio lived in Italy and was to all intents and purposes a Roman I decided to make the Latin form the standard, and admit rarely the Anglicised form, less often the Greek, and least often the Native. As to the minutiae of spelling I need scarcely say that I have been tremendously aided by Boissevain's exhaustive studies, briefly summarized in his notes. This painstaking care, for which he feels almost obliged to apologize, will lend a permanent lustre to his invaluable work.

That many errors must have crept into an undertaking of this magnitude I have only too vivid forebodings, and this in spite of no inconsiderable efforts of mine to avoid them: herein I can but beg the clemency of my readers and judges and hope that such faults may be found to be mostly of a minor character. And perhaps I can do no better than to make common cause at once with Mr. Francis Manning whose book I recently mentioned; for, in his Epistle Dedicatory "To The | Right Honourable | CHARLES | Earl of Orrery", he voices as well as possible the feelings with which I write on the dedication page the name of Professor Gildersleeve:

"Your Lordship will forgive me for detaining you thus long with relation to the Work I have made bold to present you with in our own Tongue. How well it is perform'd, I must leave entirely to my Readers. I assume nothing to myself but an endeavour to make my Author speak intelligible *English*. I shall only add what my Subject leads me to, and what for my Reader's sake I ought to mention: That as there are but few Authors that can present any Book to your Lordship in most other Languages, and on most of the Learned Subjects, but might wish they had been assisted by your Lordship's Skill and Knowledge therein, as well as Patronage and Protection; so the Translator of this *Greek* Historian in particular must lament, that notwithstanding all his Industry and Pains, he is faln infinitely short of that great Judgment, Nicety and Criticism in the *Greek* Language, which your Lordship has in your Writings made appear to the World."

Dio has long served as a source to writers treating topics of greater or less length in Roman history. He is now presented entire to the casual reader: his veracious narrative must ever continue to interest the historical student, who may correct him by others or others by him, the ecclesiastic, to whom is here offered so graphic a picture of the conditions surrounding early Christianity, and the literary man, who finds the limpid stream of Hellenic diction far from its source grow turbid and turgid in turning the mill wheels for this dealer in οὔκος. Dio's faults are patent, but his excellencies, fortunately, are patent, too; and the world may rejoice that in an age of lust and bloodshed this serious-minded magistrate bethought him to record with religious exactness what he believed to be the truth respecting the Kingdom, the Republic, and the Empire of Rome even to his own day.

I desire in conclusion to express especial gratitude and appreciation for assistance and suggestions to Professor C.W.E. Miller of Johns Hopkins

University, Professors J.H. Wright and A.A. Howard of Harvard University, and to Mr. A.T. Robinson of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Likewise I must acknowledge my obligations, in the elucidation of particularly vexed and corrupt passages, to the illuminative comments of Sturz, or Wagner, or Gros, or Boissée, or all combined. Additional thanks are due to many others who have helped or shall yet help to make Dio in English a success.

HERBERT BALDWIN FOSTER.

Bethlehem, Pennsylvania,
June, 1905.

CONCERNING THE ORIGINAL.

A. — THE WRITING.

Cassius Dio Cocceianus, Roman senator and prætor, when about forty years of age delivered himself of a pamphlet describing the dreams and omens that had led the general Septimius Severus to hope for the imperial office which he actually secured. One evening there came to the author a note of thanks from the prince; and the temporary satisfaction of the recipient was continued in his dreams, wherein his guiding angel seemed to urge him to write a detailed account of the reign of the unworthy Commodus (Book Seventy-two), just ended. Once again did Dio glow beneath the imperial felicitations and those of the public. Inoculated with the bacillus of publication and animated by a strong desire for immortality, — a wish happily realized, — he undertook the prodigious task of giving to the world a complete account of Roman events from the beginning to so late a date as Fortune might vouchsafe. Forthwith he began the accumulation of materials, a task in which ten active years (A.D. 200 to 210) were utilized. The actual labor of composition, continued for twelve years more at intervals of respite from duties of state, brought him in his narrative to the inception of the reign of his original patron, the first Severus. — All the foregoing facts are given us as Dio's own statement, in what is at present the twenty-third chapter of the seventy-second book, by that painter in miniature, Ioannes Xiphilinus.

It was now the year A.D. 223, Dio was either consul for the first time (as some assert) or had the consular office behind him, the world was richer by the loss of Elagabalus, and Alexander Severus reigned in his stead. Under this emperor the remaining books (Seventy-three to Eighty, inclusive) must have been composed, for Dio puts the finishing touches on his history in 229. Since by that time he was nearly eighty years of age and since he has written of no reign subsequent to Alexander's, we may conclude that he did not survive his master, who died in 235. The sum total of his efforts, then, as he left it, consisted of eighty books, covering a period from 1064 B.C. to 229 A.D. At present there are extant of that number complete only Books Thirty-six to Sixty inclusive, treating the events of the years 68 B.C. to 47 A.D. The last twenty books, Sixty-one to Eighty, appear in fairly reliable excerpts and epitomes, but for the first thirty-five books we are dependent upon the merest scraps and fragments. How and by what steps this great work disintegrated, and in what form it has been preserved to modern times, this it is to be our next business to trace.

It seems that Dio's work had no immediate influence, but "Time brings roses", and in the Byzantine age we find that he had come to be regarded as the canonical example of the way in which Roman History should be written. Before this desirable result, however, had been brought to pass, Books

Twenty-two to Thirty-five inclusive had disappeared. These gave the events of the years from the destruction of Carthage and Corinth (in the middle of the second century B.C.) to the activity of Lucullus in 69. A like fate befell Books Seventy and Seventy-one at an early date. The first twenty-one books and the last forty-five (save the two above noted) seem to have been extant in their original forms at least as late as the twelfth century. Which end of the already syncopated composition was the first to go the way of all flesh (and parchment, too,) it would not be an easy matter to determine. It is regarded by most scholars as certain that Ioannes Zonaras, who lived in the twelfth century, had the first twenty-one and the last forty-five for his epitomes. Hultsch, to be sure, advances the opinion that Books One to Twenty-one had by that time fallen into a condensed form, the only one accessible; but the majority of scholars are against him. After Zonaras's day both One to Twenty-one and Sixty-one to Eighty suffer the corruption of moth and of worm.

The world has, then, in this twentieth century, those entire books of Dio which have already been mentioned, — Thirty-six to Sixty, — and something more. Let us first consider, accordingly, the condition in which this intact remnant has come down to the immediate present, and afterward the sources on which we have to depend for a knowledge of the lost portion.

There are eleven manuscripts for this torso of Roman History, taking their names from the library of final deposit, but they are not all, by any means, of equal value. First come Mediceus A (referred to in this book as Ma), Vaticanus A, Parisinus A, and Venetus A (Va) of the first class; then Mediceus B of the second class; finally, Parisinus B, Escorialensis, Turinensis, Vaticanus B, and Venetus B, with the mongrel Vesontinus, which occupies a position in this group best designated, perhaps, as 2-1/2.

Vaticanus A has been copied from Mediceus A, and Parisinus A from Vaticanus A, so that they are practically one with their archetype. Venetus A is of equal age and authority with Mediceus A. One can not now get back of these two codices. There is none of remoter date for Dio save the parchment Cod. Vat. 1288, containing most of Books Seventy-eight and Seventy-nine, — a portion of the work for the moment not under discussion. Coming to the second class, Mediceus B is a joint product of copying from the two principal MSS. just mentioned. In the third class, Parisinus B is a copy of Mediceus B with a little at the opening taken from Mediceus A. This was the version selected as a guide by Robert Estienne in the first important edition of Dio ever published (A.D. 1548). All the rest, Escorialensis, Turinensis, Vaticanus B, and Venetus B are mere offshoots of Parisinus B. The Vesontinus codex is derived partly from Venetus A and partly from some manuscript of the third class.

The parchment manuscript to which allusion was made above is only some three centuries later than the time of Dio himself. It covers the ground from Book 78, 2, 2, to 79, 8, 3 inclusive (ordinary division). It belonged to Orsini,

and after his death (A.D. 1600) became the property of the Vatican Library. It is square in shape and consists of thirteen leaves, each containing three columns of uncials. In spite of its age it is fairly overflowing with errors of every sort, many of which have been emended by an unknown corrector who also wrote in uncials; this same corrector would appear to have added the last leaf. And there are a few additions in minuscules by a still later hand. The leaves are very thin and in some places the ink has completely faded, showing only the impression of the pen. For specimen illustrations of this codex see Silvestre (*Paléographie Universelle* II, plate 7), Tischendorf (*cod. Sinait.* plate 20) and Boissevain's *Cassius Dio* (Vol. III).

The dates of these codices (centuries indicated by Arabic numerals) are about as follows:

I.

Mediceus A-Ma-

(11)

I.

Venetus A-Va-

(11)

I.

Vaticanus A

(15)

I.

Parisinus A

(17)

II.

Mediceus B

(15)

III.

Parisinus B

(15)

III.

Venetus B

(15)

III.

Vaticanus B

(15)

I. and III.
Vesontinus
(15)

III.
Turinensis
(16)

III.
Escorialensis
(?)

I.
Codex Vaticanus græcus No. 1288
(5-6)

Mediceus A contains practically Books Thirty-six to Fifty-four, and Venetus A Books Forty-one to Sixty (two “decades”). As they are both the oldest copies extant and the sources of all the others, modern editors would confine themselves to them exclusively but for the fact that in each some gaps are found. In Mediceus A, for instance, two quaternions (sixteen leaves) are lacking at the start, Leaf 7 is gone from the third quaternion, Leaves 1 and 8 from the fourth; from the thirty-first (now Quaternion 29) Leaf 1 has been cut, from the thirty-third and last Leaf 5 has disappeared. Likewise in Venetus A there are some gaps, especially near the end, in Book Sixty, where three leaves are missing. Hence (without stopping to take up gaps and breaks in detail) it may be said that the general plan pursued at the present day is to adopt a reading drawn for each book from the following sources respectively:

Book 36.

Mediceus A, with lacuna of chapters 3-19 incl.,
supplied by the mutual corrections of Vaticanus A and Parisinus B.

Books 37 to 49.
Mediceus A.

Books 50 to 54.
Vaticanus A (vice Mediceus A).

Books 55 to 59.
Venetus A.

Venetus A, except chapter 17, sections 7 to 20, and chapter 22, section 3, to chapter 26, section 2, — two passages supplied by Mediceus B.

What knowledge has the world of the first thirty-five books of Dio's Roman History? To such a question answer must be made that of this whole section the merest glimpse can be had. It is here that we encounter the name of Zonaras, concerning whom some information will now be in order. Ioannes Zonaras was an official of the Byzantine Court who came into prominence under Alexis I. Comnenus in the early part of the twelfth century. For a time he acted as both commander of the body-guard and first private secretary to Alexis, but in the succeeding reign, — that of Calo-Ioannes, — he retired to the monastery of Mt. Athos, where he devoted himself to literary labors until his death, which is said to have occurred at the advanced age of eighty-eight. He was the author of numerous works, such as a Lexicon of Words Old and New, an Exposition of the Apostolic and Patristic Canons, an Argument Directed Against the Marriage of Two Nephews to the Same Woman, etc.; but our special interest lies in his Χρονικον (Chronicon), a history of the world in eighteen books, from the creation to 1118 A.D., — this last being the date of the demise of Alexis. The earlier portions of this work are drawn from Josephus; for Roman History he uses largely Cassius Dio; Plutarch, Eusebius, Appian also figure. But it has already been stated that Books Twenty-two to Thirty-five perished at an indefinitely early date; hence it follows that Zonaras has only Books One to Twenty-one at hand to use for his account of *early* Rome; besides these he has later employed Books Forty-four to Eighty. Consequently it is possible to get many of the facts related to Dio, and in some cases his exact words, by reading Books VII to XII of this Χρονικον or Επιτομη Ἱστοριων by Zonaras. It is Books VII, VIII, and IX especially which follow Books One to Twenty-one of Dio.

Parallel with this account of Zonaras and extending beyond it, even to the extent of throwing a wire of communication across the yawning time-chasm represented by Books Twenty-two to Thirty-five, are certain excerpts and epitomes found in various odd corners and strangely preserved to the present moment. These are: Excerpts Concerning Virtues and Vices; Excerpts Concerning Judgments; Excerpts Concerning Embassies. The so-called "Planudean Excerpts" which used to be admitted to editions are rejected on good authority by Melber, whom I have followed. I shall attempt only a brief mention of those excerpts, to show their pertinence.

The *Excerpts Concerning Virtues and Vices* exist in a manuscript of the tenth century at the library of Tours, originally brought from the island of Cyprus and sold to Nicolas Claude Fabre de Peiresc, who lived from 1580 to 1637. Apparently it is a collection made at the order of Constantine VII.

Porphyrogenitus. It was first published at Paris by Henri de Valois in 1634. The collection consists of quotations from Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Nicolas Damascenus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Appian, Dio, John of Antioch, and others.

The *Excerpts Concerning Judgments* are found in a Vatican manuscript known as Codex Vaticanus Rescriptus Græcus, N. 73. Angelo Mai first published the collection at Rome in 1826. They consist of many narrative fragments extending over the field of Roman History from early to late times, but fall into two parts: between these two parts there is a gap of six or more pages. That the former set of fragments is taken directly from Dio all scholars are ready to allow. In regard to the latter set there have been, and perhaps still are, diverse opinions. The trouble is that on the one hand these passages do not end with the reign of Alexander Severus, where Dio manifestly ended his history, but continue down to Constantine and (since the manuscript has lost some sheets at the close) possibly much farther: and on the other hand the style and diction differ considerably from Dio's own. It was once the fashion to say that as many of the fragments as come before the reign of Valerian (A.D. 253) came from Dio's composition, but that the remainder were written by an unknown author. Now, however, it is generally agreed that all the excerpts of the second set were the work of one man, whether John of Antioch, or Peter Patricius, or some third individual. Still, though not direct quotations from Dio, they are regarded as of value in filling out both his account and that of Xiphilinus. The words are different, but the facts remain undoubtedly true.

The *Excerpts Concerning Embassies* are contained in somewhat less than a dozen manuscripts, all of which prove to have sprung from a Spanish archetype (since destroyed by fire) that Juan Paez de Castro owned in the sixteenth century. Many of the copies were made by Andreas Darmarius. The first publisher of these selections was Fulvio Orsini (= Ursinus), who brought them out at Antwerp in 1582. As their name indicates, they are accounts of embassies sent either by the Romans to foreign tribes or by foreign tribes to the Romans. Some of them are taken from Cassius Dio; hence their importance here.

Now it was the custom of the earlier editors to arrange the (early) fragments of Dio according to the groups from which they were taken: (1) the so-called *Fragmenta Valesia* (pickings from grammarians, lexicographers, scholiasts), edited by the same Henri de Valois above mentioned; (2) the *Fragmenta Peiresciana* (= *Excerpts Concerning Virtues and Vices*); (3) the *Fragmenta Ursina* (= *Excerpts Concerning Embassies*); and finally, in the edition of Sturz (4) *Excerpta Vaticana* (= *Excerpts Concerning Judgments* and the now rejected "Planudean Excerpts"). The above grouping has been abandoned and a strictly chronological order followed in all the later editions, including Bekker, Dindorf, Melber, Boissevain.

The body of Fragments preceding Book Thirty-six cites, in addition to the

collections mentioned, the following works or authors:

Anecdota Græca of Immanuel Bekker (1785-1871), a scholar of vast attainments and profound learning in classical literature. These Anecdota are excerpts made from various Greek manuscripts found in the course of travels extending through France, Italy, England, and Germany. There were three volumes, appearing from 1814 to 1821.

Antonio Melissa. — A Greek monk living between 700 and 1100 A.D. He collected two books of quotations from early Christian Fathers (one hundred and seventy-six titles) on the general subject of Virtues and Vices.

Arsenius. — Archbishop of Monembasia: age of the Revival of Learning.

Cedrenus. — A Greek monk of the eleventh century who compiled a historical work (Συνοψις ἱστοριῶν) the scope of which extended from the creation to 1057 A.D. He gives no evidence of historical knowledge or the critical sense, but rather of great credulity and a fondness for legends. His treatise is, moreover, largely plagiarized from the *Annals* of Ioannes Scylitzes Curopalates.

Cramer, J.A. — An Oxford scholar who published two collections of excerpts (similar to those of Bekker) between 1835 and 1841. The collection referred to in our text had its source in manuscripts of the Royal Library in Paris. It was in three octavo volumes.

Etymologicum Magnum. — A lexicon of uncertain date, after Photius (886 A.D.) and before Eustathius. This dictionary contains many valuable citations from lost Greek works. First edition, Venice, 1499.

Eustathius. — Archbishop of Thessalonica and the most learned man of his age (latter half of the twelfth century). His most important composition is his *Commentary on Homer's Iliad and Odyssey* in which he quotes vast numbers of authors unknown to us now except by name. First edition, Rome, 1542-1550.

Glossary of C. Labbæus, the editor of Ancient Glosses of Law Terms, published in Paris, 1606.

John of Antioch. — Author of a work called "Chronological History from Adam" quoted in the *Excerpts Concerning Virtues and Vices* (vid. supra). Internal evidence indicates that the book was written after 610 and before 900 A.D.

John of Damascus. — A voluminous ecclesiastical writer belonging to the reigns of Leo Isauricus and Constantine VII. (approximately from 700 to 750 A.D.). He was an opponent of the iconoclastic movement. The best edition of his works was published at Paris in 1712. The passage cited in our Fragments is from περί Δρακόντων, a mutilated essay on dragons standing between a "Dialogue Between a Saracen and a Christian" and a "Discussion of the Holy Trinity."

John Laurentius Lydus. — A Byzantine writer, born at Philadelphia (the city of Revelation, III, 7), in 490 A.D. Although he was famed during his lifetime as a poet, all his verses have perished. The work cited in our

Fragments,— “Concerning the Offices of the Roman Republic, in Three Books,” — had a curious history. For centuries it was regarded as lost, but about 1785 nine tenths of it was discovered by De Villoison in a MS. in the suburbs of Constantinople. It was published in Paris, 1811. — Laurentius in the course of his career held important political posts and received two important literary appointments from the Emperor Justinian I.

Suidas. — A lexicographer of the tenth century, composer of the most comprehensive Greek dictionary of early times. It is a manual at once of language and of antiquities. Inestimable as its value is, the workmanship is careless and uneven. The arrangement is alphabetical.

John Tzetzes. — A Greek grammarian of the twelfth century. His learning was great but scarcely equaled his self-conceit, as repeatedly displayed in passages of his works. Many of his writings are still extant. One of these is called *Chiliades* (or *Thousands*), a name bestowed by its first editor, who divided the work into sections of one thousand lines each. The subject-matter consists of the most miscellaneous historical or mythological narratives or anecdotes, absolutely without connection. Tzetzes copied these accounts from upward of four hundred writers, — one of them being Cassius Dio. The *Chiliades* is written in the so-called *Versus politicus*, or “political verse,” which is really not verse at all, but a kind of decadent doggerel. — A minor treatise by the same author is the *Exegesis of the Iliad of Homer*, published by Hermann (Leipzig, 1812).

Isaac Tzetzes, who has attracted less attention than his brother John, is best known as the author of a commentary on the *Cassandra* of Lycophron (a poem of 1474 iambic verses by a post-classical tragedian, about 285 B.C., embodying the warnings of the royal prophetess and couched in appropriately incomprehensible expressions). It was hardly worth all the care that Tzetzes lavished upon it. From manuscript evidence and various claims of John Tzetzes it seems that John worked over, improved, and enlarged the commentary of his brother. Isaac’s name, however, still remains associated with this particular exposition.

We are now at length placed in a position to consider the condition of the ultimate portion of the work, i.e., the last twenty books, Sixty-one to Eighty inclusive. In general it may be said that for this section of the history we are thrown back upon an epitome of Ioannes Xiphilinus, who lived about fifty years earlier than the Ioannes Zonaras recently under discussion. To this general statement there are two important exceptions. First, even as early as Xiphilinus wrote (eleventh century) nearly two books of this last portion had perished. Book Seventy, containing the reign of Antoninus Pius, was entirely gone save a few miserable chapters, and Book Seventy-one had suffered the same fate in its beginning, so that our account of the renowned Marcus Aurelius begins practically with the year 172 instead of 161. The gap thus created has been partially filled by extracts of every conceivable quality and merit, from Suidas, from John of Antioch, even from Asinius Quadratus. This

on the side of loss: on the side of gain there are numerous little excerpts (just as in the case of the early books) that may serve to fill crevices or cover scars, and above all there exists a parchment manuscript, known as Vaticanus 1288, older than Mediceus A, older than Venetus A, and containing Books Seventy-eight and Seventy-nine probably very much as Dio wrote them, save that the account is mutilated at beginning and end.

Boissevain concludes (by comparing the Table of Contents found with a remark of Photius) that this particular piece of salvage was originally Books Seventy-nine and Eighty (instead of Seventy-eight and Seventy-nine), that Book Eighty of Dio was really what is now commonly called Seventy-nine and Eighty, and that the so-called Book Eighty (of only five chapters) was but a kind of epilogue to the whole work. Whatever we may decide respecting the merits of his argument, the important fact is that here for a short distance we have Dio's original narrative, as in Books Thirty-six to Sixty, and are no longer obliged to depend upon epitomes.

A word of explanation about Xiphilinus must come next. This Xiphilinus was a native of Trapezos (Trebizond) and became a monk at Constantinople. Here, at the behest of Michael VII. Ducas (1071-1078) he made an abridgment of Books Thirty-six to Eighty of Dio; thus it is his version of the lost books Sixty-one to Eighty on which we are compelled to rely. His task was accomplished with an even greater degree of carelessness than is customary in such compositions, and it may be said that his ability or, at least, his good will is not nearly so great as that of Zonaras. Yet he is largely a *pis aller* for the would-be reader of Cassius Dio.

Whereas the original was divided arbitrarily into books, Xiphilinus divided his condensation into "sections," each containing the life of one emperor. Readers must further note that the present division of Books Seventy-one to Eighty dates only from Leunclavius (1592, first edition) and is not necessarily correct. Improvements in arrangement by Boissevain (latest editor of Dio entire) are indicated in the present translation, though for convenience of reference the old headlines are still retained.

Before speaking of the editions through which Dio's *Roman History* has passed it seems desirable to summarize briefly the condition of the whole as explained in the preceding pages. Here is a bird's-eye view of the whole situation.

Books

1-21

exist in Zonaras and various fragments.

“

22-35

exist in fragments only.

“

36-54

exist in Dio's own words, and are found in universally approved MSS.

“

54-60

exist in generally approved MSS.

“

60-69

exist in Xiphilinus and excerpts.

Book

70

exists in fragments only.

Books

71-77

exist in Xiphilinus and excerpts.

“

78, 79

exist in Dio's own words (oldest MS).

Book

80

exists in Xiphilinus.

EDITIONS.

A brief list of important editions of this author is appended; the order is chronological.

1. N. Leoniceus. — Italian translation of Books 35 to 60. Venice, 1533. Free, and with many errors.

2. R. Stephanus. — Greek text of Books 35 to 60. Paris, 1548. Work well done, but based on a poor MS.

3. Xylander. — Latin translation of Books 35 to 60, with a brief Latin index. Basle, 1557. This version was made from No. 2.

4. Baldelli. — Italian translation of Books 35 to 60. Venice, 1562.

5. H. Stephanus. — A second edition of No. 2 with Latin translation of No. 2 added. A few corrections have been made and the Latin index is a little fuller. Paris, 1591.

6. Leunclavius. — A second edition of No. 3, somewhat emended, *and with Books 61 to 80 (Xiphilinus) added*; also containing *Orsini's Excerpts Concerning Embassies* (in Greek and Latin), notes of Leunclavius, and a still

fuller Latin index. Frankfurt, 1592.

7. Leunclavius. — Posthumous edition. Text of Dio and of Xiphilinus (the latter from Nero to Alexander Severus). Corrections of R. Stephanus in Dio proper, and of Xylander in both Dio and Xiphilinus, notes of Leunclavius on Dio, and notes of Orsini on *Excerpts Concerning Embassies*. Same Latin index as in No. 6. Hanover, 1606.

8. Reimar. (Important. All previous editions are taken from codex Parisinus B. Reimar, assisted by Gronovius (father and son) and by Quirinus, employed Mediceus A (the standard codex) together with Vaticanus A and Vaticanus B.) Text of Dio and Xiphilinus (Books 36 to 80), the Xylander-Leunclavius Latin version, the *Excerpts Concerning Virtues and Vices*, and fragments collected from various sources by Henri de Valois. Reimar used not only the three MSS. mentioned above, but three copies of previous editions, — one of No. 2 (with notes of Turnebus and others), one of No. 5 (with, notes of Oddey), and one of No. 7 (with notes of an unknown individual of much learning, cited by Reimar and in this edition as *N*). Finally he gathered all possible emendations from as many as fourteen scholars who had suggested improvements in the text. Hamburg, 1750.

9. J.A. Wagner. — German translation in five volumes. Frankfurt, 1783.

10. Penzel. — German translation with notes. Four volumes. Leipzig, 1786-1818.

11. Morellius. — Fragments of Dio, with new readings of the same. Emphasizes the importance of codex Venetus A and has some remarks on Venetus B. Published in 1793.

12. Sturz. — New edition of Dio based on No. 8, improved by a new collation of the Medicean manuscripts and with collation of the codex Turinensis, besides emendations gathered from many new sources. Eight volumes. Leipzig, 1824-5. (Volume IX in 1843, containing Mai's *Excerpts Concerning Judgments*.)

13. Tauchnitz text. — Stereotyped edition, four volumes, Leipzig, 1829. New impression, Leipzig, 1870-77. (Originally used as a basis for the present translation after Book Fifty: later, wholesale revisions were undertaken to make the English for the most part conform to the text of Boissevain.)

14. Tafel. — German translation, three volumes. Stuttgart, 1831-1844.

15. J. Bekker. — Dio entire. (With new collation of the old MS. containing most of Books Seventy-eight and Seventy-nine, and with many new and brilliant conjectural emendations by the editor.) Two volumes. Leipzig, 1849.

16. Gros-Boissée. — French translation together with the Greek text and copious notes. (With new collation of the Vatican, Medicean, and Venetian codices, besides use of Parisinus A and Vesontinus; manuscripts of the Fragments, especially the Tours manuscript (concerning Virtues and Vices) have been carefully gone over.) Ten volumes. Gros edited the first four; Boissée the last six. Paris, 1845-1870.

17. Dindorf. — Teubner text. Dindorf was the first to perceive the relation

of the manuscripts and their respective values. He used Herwerden's new collation of the Vatican palimpsest containing *Excerpts Concerning Judgments*. From making fuller notes and emendations he was prevented by untimely death. Five volumes. Leipzig, 1863-1865.

18. Melber. — Teubner text, being a new recension of Dindorf, with numerous additions. To consist of five volumes. Leipzig, from 1890. The first two volumes, all that were available, have been used for this translation.

19. Boissevain. — The most modern, accurate, and artistic edition of Dio. The editor is very conservative in the matter of manuscript tradition. He personally read in Italy many of the MSS., and had the aid of numerous friends at home and abroad in collating MSS., besides the help of a few in the suggestion of new readings. In the later portion of the text he makes a new division of books, and essays also to assign the early fragments to their respective books. Three volumes. Berlin, 1895, 1898, 1901. Vol. I, p + cxxvi; Vol. II, p + xxxi; Vol. III, p + xviii. The second volume contains two phototype facsimiles of pages of the Laurentian and Marcian MSS., and the third volume three similar specimens of the Codex Vaticanus. In the appendix of the last volume are found, in the order named, the following aids to the study of Dio.

1. The *entire* epitome of Xiphilinus (Books 36-80).
2. Vatican Excerpts of Peter Patricius (Nos. 1-38), compared with Dio's wording.
3. Vatican Excerpts of Peter Patricius (Nos. 156-191), containing that portion of the *Historia Augusta* which is subsequent to Dio's narrative.
4. Excerpts by John of Antioch, taken from Dio.
5. The "Salmasian Excerpts."
6. Some "Constantinian Excerpts," compared with Dio.
7. The account of Dio given by Photius and by Suidas.
8. Table of Fragments.

Boissevain's invaluable emendations and interpretations have been liberally used by the present translator, and some of his changes of arrangement have been accepted outright, others only indicated.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NARRATIVE.

The atmosphere of Dio's Roman History is serious to a degree. Its author never loses sight of the fact that by his labor he is conferring a substantial benefit upon mankind, and he follows, moreover, a particular historical theory, popular at the time, which allows little chance for sportiveness or wit. Just as the early French drama could concern itself only with personages of noble or royal rank, so Dio's ideal compels him for the most part to restrict himself to the large transactions of governments or rulers and to diminish the consideration that idiosyncrasies of private life or points of antiquarian interest might otherwise seem to claim. The name of this ideal is "Dignity" (οὔκοξ is the Greek), a principle of construction which is opposed to a

narration adorned with details. However much it may have been overworked at times, its influence was certainly healthful, for it demanded that the material be handled in organic masses to prevent the reader from being lost in a confused mass of minutiae. Racy gossip and old wives' tales are to be replaced by philosophic reflection and pictures of temperament. Instead of mere lists of anecdotes there must be a careful survey of political relations. Names, numbers, and exact dates may often be dispensed with. Still, amid all this, there is enough humor of situation in the gigantic tale and enough latitude of speech on the part of the acting personages to prevent monotony and to render intellectual scintillations of the compiler comparatively unnecessary. Occasionally, for the sake of sharper focus on the portrait of some leader, Dio will introduce this or that trivial incident and may perhaps feel called upon immediately, under the strictness of his self-imposed régime, to apologize or justify himself.

The style of the original is rendered somewhat difficult by a conscious imitation of the involved sentence-unit found in Thukydides (though reminiscences of Herodotos and Demosthenes also abound) but gives an effect of solidity that is symmetrical with both the method and the man. Moreover, one may assert of it what Matthew Arnold declared could *not* be said regarding Homer's style, that it rises and falls with the matter it treats, so that at every climax we may be sure of finding the charm of vividness and at many intermediate points the merit of grace. It is a long course that our historian, pressed by official cares, has to cover, and he accomplishes his difficult task with creditable zeal: finally, when his *Thousand Years of Rome* is done, he compares himself to a warrior helped by a protecting deity from the scene of conflict. Surely it must have been one of the major battles of his energetic life to wrest from the formless void this orderly record of actions and events embroidered with discussion of the motives for those actions and the causes of such events.

Dio has apparently equipped himself extremely well for his undertaking. A fragment edited by Mai (see Fragment I) seems to make him say that he has read every available book upon the subject; and, like Thukydides, he is critical, he is eclectic, and often supports his statements by the citation or introduction of documentary testimony. His superstition is debasing and repellent, but works harm only in limited spheres, and it is counterbalanced by the fact that he had been a part of many events recounted and had held high governmental offices, enjoying a career which furnished him with standards by which to judge the likelihood of allegations regarding earlier periods of Rome, — that, in a word, he was no mere carpet-knight of History. He is honestly conscientious in his use of language, attempting to give the preference to standard phrases and words of classical Greek over corrupt idioms and expressions of a decadent tongue; it is this very conscientiousness, of course, which leads him to adopt so much elaborate syntax from bygone masters of style. Finally, — the point in which, I think, Dio has come nearest

to the gloomy Athenian, — something of the matter-of-fact directness of Thukydides is perceptible in this Roman History. The operator unrolls before us the long panorama of wars and plots and bribes and murders: his pictures speak, but he himself seldom interjects a word. Sometimes the lack of comment seems almost brutal, but what need to darken the torture-chamber in the House of Hades?

There are two ways of writing history. One is to observe a strictly chronological order, describing together only such events as took place in a single year or reign; and the other, to give all in one place and in one narration the story of a single great movement, though it should cover several years and a fraction, — or, again, to sketch the condition of affairs in one province, or valley, or peninsula for so long a time as the story of such a region seems to possess unity of development. The first kind of writing takes the year or the reign as its standard, whereas the second uses the matter under discussion or some part of the earth in the same way: and they may accordingly be called, one, the chronological method, and the other, the pragmato-geographical. The difference between the two is well illustrated by the varying ways in which modern works on Greek history treat the affairs of Sicily.

The first plan is that which Dio follows, and his work would have been called by the Romans *annales* rather than *historiæ*. The method has its advantages, one of which is, or should be, that the reader knows just how far he has progressed; he can compare the relative significance of events happening at the same time in widely separated lands: he is, as it were, *living* in the past, and receives from week to week or month to month reports of the world's doings in all quarters. On the other hand, this plan lacks dramatic force; there are sub-climaxes and one grand climax: and the interest is apt to flag through being obliged to divide itself among many districts. The same results, both good and bad, are observable in Thukydides, whom Dio follows in constructive theory as well as style. It has already been said that our historian sacrifices sharpness of dates to the Onkos, depending, doubtless, on his chronological arrangements to make good the loss. Usually it does so, but occasionally confusion arises. Whether because he noticed this or not, he begins at the opening of the fifty-first book to be accurate in his dates, generally stating the exact day. Rarely, Dio lets his interest run away with him and mixes the two economies.

If we read the pages closely, we find that by Dio's own statement his work falls properly into three parts. The first consists of the first fifty-one books, from the landing of Æneas to the establishment of the empire by Octavianus. Up to that time, Dio says (in LIII, 19), political action had been taken openly, after discussion in the senate and before the people. Everybody knew the facts, and in case any authors distorted them, the public records were open for any one to consult. After that time, however, the rulers commonly kept their acts and discussions secret; and their censored accounts, when made public, were naturally looked upon by the man in the street with doubt and suspicion.

Hence, from this point, says the historian, a radical difference must inevitably be found in the character of his account.

The second portion, opening with Book Fifty-two, ends at the death of Marcus Aurelius (180 B.C.). In LXXI, 36, 4 Dio admits that the old splendor ended with Marcus and was not renewed. His history, he says, makes here a sheer descent (καταπίπτει) from the golden to the iron age. It fades, as it were, into the light of common day in a double sense: for the events succeeding this reign Dio himself was able to observe as an intelligent eyewitness.

The third section, then, extends from the beginning of Book Seventy-two to the end of the work. Here Dio breaks away oftener than before from his servility to the Dignity of History, only to display a far more contemptible servility to his imperial masters. According to his own account he stood by and passively allowed atrocities to be multiplied about him, nor does he venture to express any forceful indignation at the performance of such deeds. Had he protested, the world's knowledge of Rome's degenerate tyrants would undoubtedly have been less complete than it now is; and Dio was quite enough of an egotist to believe that his own life and work were of paramount importance. If we compare him unfavorably with Epictetus, we must remember that the latter was obscure enough to be ignored.

In both the second and the third parts, that is to say throughout the entire imperial period, Dio is conceded to have committed an error in his point of view by making the relations of the emperor to the senate the leading idea in his narrative and subordinating other events to that relation. Senator as he was, he naturally magnified its importance, and in an impartial estimate of his account one must allow for personal bias.

Our historian's sources for the earlier part of his work are not positively known. He has been credited with the use of Livy, of Coelius, of Appian, and of Dionysios of Halicarnassos, but the traces are not definite enough to warrant any dogmatic assertion. Perhaps he knew Tacitus and perhaps Suetonius: the portrait of Tiberius is especially good and was probably obtained from an author of merit. But there were in existence a great multitude of books inferior or now forgotten besides the works of the authors above mentioned; and Dio's History in general shows no greater evidence of having been drawn from writers whom we know than from others whom we do not know.

We have already noticed Dio's similarity to Thukydides in style, arrangement, and emotional attitude. There remains one more bond of brotherhood, — the speeches. Just as the sombre story of the Peloponnesian conflict has for a prominent feature the pleas and counterpleas of contending parties, together with a few independent orations, so this Roman History is filled with public utterances of famous men, either singly or in pairs. Dio evinces considerable fondness for these wordy combats (ἀμιλλαι λογων). About one speech to the book is the average in the earlier portion of the work. The author probably adapted them from rhetorical μελεται, or essays, then in

existence. He was himself a finished product of the rhetorical schools and was inclined to give their output the greatest publicity. The most interesting of these efforts, — some go so far as to say the only one of real interest, — is the speech of Mæcenas in favor of the establishment of monarchy by Augustus: this argument undoubtedly sets forth Dio's own views on government. Like the rival deliverance of Agrippa it shows traces of having undergone a revision of the first draught, and it is more than probable that the two did not assume their present shape until the time of Alexander Severus.

B. — THE WRITER.

Suidas, the lexicographer of the tenth century, who is profitable for so many things, has this entry under "Dio":

Dio — called Cassius, surnamed Cocceius (others "Cocceianus"), of Nicæa, historian, born in the times of Alexander son of Mammæa, wrote a Roman History in 80 books (they are divided by decades), a "Persia", "The Getæ", "Journey-signs", "In Trajan's Day", "Life of Arrian the Philosopher".

Photius, an influential Patriarch of Constantinople and belonging to the ninth century, has in his "Bibliotheca" a much longer notice, which, however, contains almost nothing that a reader will not find in Dio's own record. This is about the extent of the information afforded us by antiquity, and modern biographers usually fall back upon the author's own remarks regarding himself, as found scattered through his Roman History. Such personal references were for the first time carefully collected, systematically arranged, and discussed in the edition of Reimar; subsequently the same matter was reprinted in the fifth volume of the Dindorf Teubner text.

Just a word first in regard to the lost works with which Suidas credits Dio. He probably never wrote the "Persia": perhaps it belonged to Dio of Colophon, or possibly Suidas has confused *Dion* with *Deinon*. It is certain that he did not write "The Getæ": this composition was by his maternal grandfather, Dio of Prusa, and was the fruit of exile. "Journey-signs" or "Itineraries" is an enigmatic title, and the more cautious scholars forbear to venture an opinion upon its significance. Bernhardt, editor of Suidas, says "*Intelligo Librum de Signis*" and translates the title "*De Ominibus inter congregiendum.*" Leonhard Schmitz (in the rather antiquated *Smith*) thinks it means "Itineraries" and that Dio Chrysostom very likely wrote it, because he traveled considerably. Concerning "In Trajan's Day" two opinions may be mentioned, — one, that the attribution of such a title to Dio is a mistake (for, if true, he would have mentioned it in his larger work): the other, that its substance was incorporated in the larger work, and that it thereby lost its identity and importance. The "Life of Arrian" is probably a fact. Arrian was a fellow-countryman of Dio's and had a somewhat similar character and career. It may be true, as Christ surmises, that this biography was a youthful task or

an essay of leisure, hastily thrown off in the midst of other enterprises.

Coming to Dio's personality we have at the outset to decide how his name shall be written. We must make sure of his proper designation before we presume to talk about him. The choice lies between Dio Cassius and Cassius Dio, and the former is the popular form of the name, if it be permissible to speak of Dio at all as a "popular" writer. The facts in the case, however, are simple. The Greek arrangement is Δίων ὁ Κάσσιος. Now the regular Greek custom is to place the gentile name, or even the *prænomen*, *after* the cognomen: but the regular Latin custom (and after all Dio has more of the Roman in his makeup than of the Greek) is to observe the order *prænomen*, *nomen*, *cognomen*. It is objected, first, that the Greeks *sometimes* followed the regular Latin order, and, second, that the Romans *sometimes* followed the regular Greek order (e.g., Cicero, in his *Letters*). But the Greek exception cannot here make Dio the *nomen* and Cassius the *cognomen*: we know that the historian belonged to the gens Cassia (his father was Cassius Apronianus) and that he took Dio as cognomen from his grandfather, Dio Chrysostom. And the Latin exception simply offers us the alternative of following a common usage or an uncommon usage. The real question is whether Dio should be regarded rather as Greek or as Roman. To be logical, we must say either Dion Kassios or Cassius Dio. Considering the historian's times and his *habitat*, not merely his birthplace and literary dialect, I must prefer Cassius Dio as his official appellation. Yet, because the opposite arrangement has the sanction of usage, I deem it desirable to employ as often as possible the unvexed single name *Dio*.

Dio's *prænomen* is unknown, but he had still another cognomen, Cocceianus, which he derived along with the *Dio* from his maternal grandfather. The latter, known as Dio of Prusa from his birthplace in Bithynia, is renowned for his speeches, which contain perhaps more philosophy than oratory and won for him from posterity the title of Chrysostom,— "Golden Mouth." Dio of Prusa was exiled by the tyrant Domitian, but recalled and showered with favors by the emperor Cocceius Nerva (96-98 A.D.); from this patron he took the cognomen mentioned, Cocceianus, which he handed down to his illustrious grandson.

Besides this distinguished ancestor on his mother's side Dio the historian had a father, Cassius Apronianus, of no mean importance. He was a Roman senator and had been governor of Dalmatia and Cilicia; to the latter post Dio bore his father company (Books 49, 36; 69, 1; 72, 7). The date of the historian's birth is determined approximately as somewhere from 150 to 162 A.D., that is, during the last part of the reign of Antoninus Pius or at the beginning of the reign of Marcus Aurelius. The town where he first saw the light was Nicæa in Bithynia.

The careful education which the youth must have had is evident, of course, in his work. After the trip to Cilicia already referred to Dio came to Rome, probably not for the first time, arriving there early in the reign of Commodus

(Book 72, 4). This monster was overthrown in 192 A.D.; before his death Dio was a senator (Book 72, 16): in other words, he was by that time above the minimum age, twenty-five years, required for admission to full senatorial standing; and thus we gain some scanty light respecting the date of his birth. Under Commodus he had held no higher offices than those of quæstor and ædile: Pertinax now, in the year 193, made him prætor (Book 73, 12). Directly came the death of Pertinax, as likewise of his successor Julianus, and the accession of him whom Dio proudly hailed as the “Second Augustus,” — Septimius Severus. The new emperor exerted a great influence upon Dio’s political views. He pretended that the gods had brought him forward, as they had Augustus, especially for his work. The proofs of Heaven’s graciousness to this latest sovereign were probably by him delivered to Dio, who undertook to compile them into a little book and appears to have believed them all; Severus, indeed, had been remarkably successful at the outset. Before long Dio had begun his great work, which he doubtless intended to bring to a triumphant conclusion amid the golden years of the new prince of peace.

Unfortunately the *entente cordiale* between ruler and historian did not long endure. Severus grew disappointing to Dio through his severity, visited first upon Niger and later upon Cæsar Clodius Albinus: and Dio came to be *persona non grata* to Severus for this reason among others, that the emperor changed his mind completely about Commodus, and since he had begun to revere, if not to imitate him, what Dio had written concerning his predecessor could be no longer palatable. The estrangement seems to be marked by the fact that until Severus’s death Dio went abroad on no important military or diplomatic mission, but remained constantly in Italy. He was sometimes in Rome, but more commonly resided at his country-seat in Capua (Book 76, 2). In a very vague Passage in Book 76, 16 Dio speaks of finding “when I was consul” three thousand indictments for adultery inscribed on the records. This leads most scholars to assume that he was consul *before* the death of Severus. Reimar thought differently, and produces arguments to support his view. I do not deem many of the passages which he cites entirely apposite, and yet some of the points urged are important. I can only say that the impression left in my mind by a rapid reading of the Greek is that Dio was consul while Severus reigned; if such be the case, he probably held the rank of *consul suffectus* (“honorary” or “substitute”). All who refuse to admit that he could have obtained so high an office at that time place the date of his first consulship anywhere from 219 to 223 A.D. because of his own statement that in 224 he was appointed to the (regularly proconsular) governorship of Africa.

The son of Severus, Caracalla or Antoninus, drew Dio from his homekeeping and took him with him on an eastern expedition in 216, so that our historian passed the winter of 216-217 as a member of Caracalla’s retinue at Nicomedeia (Book 77, 17 and 18) and joined there in the annual celebration of the Saturnalia (Book 78, 8). Dio takes occasion to deplore the emperor’s bestial behavior as well as the considerable pecuniary outlay to which he was

personally subjected, but at the same time he evidently did not allow his convictions to become indiscreetly audible. Much farther than Nicomedeia Dio cannot have accompanied his master; for he did not go to the Parthian war, presently undertaken, and he was not present either at Caracalla's death (217) or at the overthrow of Macrinus (218). This Macrinus, one of the short-time emperors, gave Dio the post of *curator ad corrigendum statum civitatum*, with administrative powers over the cities of Pergamum and Smyrna (Book 79, 7), and his appointee remained in active service during much of the reign of Elagabalus, — possibly, indeed, until the accession of Alexander Severus (see Book 78, 18, end). Mammæa, the mother of the new sovereign, surrounded her son with skilled helpers of proved value, and it was possibly due to her wisdom that Dio was first sent to manage the proconsulate of Africa, and, on his return, to govern the imperial provinces of Dalmatia and Upper Pannonia. Somewhat later, in the year 229, he became consul for the second time, *consul ordinarius*, as colleague of Alexander himself. But Dio's disciplinary measures in Pannonia had rendered him unpopular with the pampered Pretorians, and heeding at once his own safety and the emperor's request he remained most of the time outside of Rome. This state of affairs was not wholly satisfactory, and it is not surprising that after a short time Dio complained of a bad foot and asked leave to betake himself to Nicæa, his native place.

Here we must leave him. Whether his death came soon or late after 229 A.D. is a matter of some uncertainty. It would be difficult to make a more complete record out of the available material, save to say that from two casual references it is inferred that Dio had a wife and children, and that in his career he often, sometimes with imperial assistance, tried cases in court.

A LIST OF THE MORE RECENT DISSERTATIONS ON CASSIUS DIO.

A. Baumgartner. — *Über die Quellen des Cassius Dio für die ältere römische Geschichte.* (1880.)

F. Beckurts. — *Zur Quellenkritik des Tacitus, Sueton und Cassius Dio.* (1880.)

J. Bergmans. — *Die Quellen der Vita Tiberii (Buch 57 der Historia Romana) des Cassius Dio.* (1903.)

Breitung. — *Bemerkungen über die Quellen des Dio Cassius LXVI-LXIX.* (1882.)

H. Christensen. — *De fontibus a Cassio Dione in Vita Neronis enarranda adhibitis.* (1871.)

A. Deppe. — *Des Dio Cassius Bericht über die Varusschlacht verglichen mit den übrigen Geschichtsquellen.* (1880.)

P. Fabia. — *Julius Pælinus, préfet des vigiles et procureur de Cappadoce (Tacite, Ann. XII, 49; Dion Cassius LXI, 6, 6).* (1898.)

- R. Ferwer. — *Die politischen Anschauungen des Cassius Dio*. (1878.)
- J.G. Fischer. — *De fontibus et auctoritate Cassii Dionis*. (1870.)
- H. Grohs. — *Der Wert des Geschichtswerkes des Cassius Dio als Quelle für die Geschichte der Jahre 49-44 v. Chr.* (1884.)
- G. Heimbach. — *Quid et quantum Cassius Dio in historia conscribenda inde a libro XI usque ad librum XLVII e Livio desumpserit*. (1878.)
- F.K. Hertlein. — *Conjecturen zu griechischen Prosaikern*. (1873.)
- D.G. Ielgersma. — *De fide et auctoritate Dionis Cassii Cocceiani*. (1879.)
- E. Kyhnitzsch. — *De contionibus, quas Cassius Dio historiae suae intexuit, cum Thucydideis comparatis*. (1894.)
- E. Litsch. — *De Cassio Dione imitatore Thucydidis*. (1893.)
- Madvig. — *Adversaria Critica*. (1884.)
- J. Maisel. — *Observationes in Cassium Dionem*. (1888.)
- J. Melber. — *Der Bericht des Dio Cassius über die gallischen Kriege Cæsars*. (1891.)
- J. Melber. — *Dio Cassius über die letzten Kämpfe gegen Sext. Pompeius, 36 v. Chr.* (1891.) In "Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Klassischen Alterthumswissenschaft, W. v. Christ zum 60. Geburtstag dargebracht von seinen Schülern."
- P. Meyer. — *De Mæcenatis oratione a Dione ficta*. (1891.)
- M. Posner. — *Quibus auctoribus in bello Hannibalico enarrando usus sit Dio Cassius*. (1874.)
- E. Schmidt. — *Plutarchs Bericht über die Catilinarische Verschwörung in seinem Verhältnis zu Sallust, Livius und Dio*. (1885.)
- G. Sickel. — *De fontibus a Cassio Dione in conscribendis rebus inde a Tiberio usque ad mortem Vitellii gestis adhibitis*. (1876.)
- D.R. Stuart. — *The attitude of Dio Cassius towards epigraphic sources*. (1904.) — In "Roman Historical Sources," etc., p-147.
- H. van Herwerden. — *Lectiones Rheno-Traiectinae*. (1882.) P-95.
- A. v. Gutschmid. — See *Kleine Schriften*, V, p-554. (1894.)
- J. Will. — *Quæ ratio intercedat inter Dionis Cassii de Cæsaris bellis gallicis narrationem et commentarios Cæsaris de bello gallico*. (1901.)

A LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL ARTICLES ON CASSIUS DIO

Found in Periodicals for the Twenty Years Preceding the Date of the Present Translation (1884-1904).

1884.

— A review of *R. Ferwer*. (*Die politischen Anschauungen des Cassius Dio*.) (Bursian, Jhrb.)

H. Haupt. — *Dio Cassius*. (Yearly Review, continued.) (Rh. Mus., Book

4.)

K. Schenkl. — A general review of the advance made in the study of Dio from 1873 to 1884. (Bursian, Jhrb. p-8; and also p-194 for 1883.)

1885.

U. Ph. Boissevain. — De Cassii Dionis libris manuscriptis (with author's stemma). (Mnemos., Vol. 13, Part 3. Also see Note on of Part 4, same volume.)

H. Haupt. — A review of *Grohs* (Der Wert des Geschichtswerkes des Cassius Dio als Quelle der Jahre 49-44 V.C.). (Philolog. Anzeiger.)

Id. — Dio Cassius. (Yearly Review, continued.) (Philol., Vol. 44, Book 1 and Book 3.)

H. Schiller. — A review of *Grohs* (same article). (B.P.W., Feb. 21.)

—— A review of U. Ph. Boissevain. (Program. On the Fragments of Cassius Dio.) (Bursian, Jhrb.)

1886.

S.A. Naber. — Emendations in Dio XLII, 34, and XXXVI, 49. (Mnemos., N.S. 14, p and 94.)

—— Mention of Haupt's Survey in Philol. 44. (See above. Bursian, Jhrb.)

—— A review of *Grohs*. (Article cited above. Bursian, Jhrb.)

—— A review of *Grohs*. (Do. do. — Litt. Cbl., Jan. 16.)

1887.

—— A review of *C.J. Rockel* (De allocutionis usu qualis sit apud Thucydidem, Xenophontem, oratores Atticos, *Dionem*, Aristidem.). (Jhrb. of I. Müller.)

—— Mention of H. Haupt's Survey in Philol. 44. (Jhrb. of I. Müller.)

Br. Keil. — A criticism of *Rockel*. (Article above cited. W. Kl. Ph., May 4.)

W.F. Allen. — The Monetary Crisis in Rome, A.D. 33. (Containing citations from Dio. Tr. A. Ph. A., Vol. 18.)

E.G. Sihler. — The Tradition of Cæsar's Gallic Wars from Cicero to Orosius. (Containing citations from Dio. Tr. A. Ph. A., Vol. 18.)

Liatyshev. — (An article containing citations from Dio that contribute to a knowledge of the location of the city of Olbia. — Journal Ministerstva Narodnavo Prosvêschtscheniia, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4.)

1888.

W.F. Allen. — Lex Curiata de Imperio. (Containing citations from Dio XXXIX, 19 and elsewhere. — Tr. A. Ph. A., Vol. 19.)

S.A. Naber. — Critical observations. (Including Dio XLVI, 15; LI, 14; LV,

10; LXIX, 28; LXXVI, 14; LXXVII, 4. *Mnemos.*, Vol. 16, part 1.)

—— A review of *L. Poetsch*. (Program. Bei. — träge zur Kritik der Kaiserbiographien *Cassius Dio*, Herodian, und *Ælius Lampridius* auf Grund ihrer Berichte über den Kaiser Commodus Antoninus. — *Z. æst. Gymn.*, 1888, Book 3.)

1889.

Breitung. — A review of *Maisel* (*Observationes in Cassium Dionem.*). (*W. Kl. Ph.*, June 19.)

—— A review of *Maisel*. (Do. do. — *The Academy*, February.)

J. Hilberg. — A review of *Maisel*. (Do. do. — *Z. æst. Gymn.*, 1889, Book 3.)

H. Kontos. — Critical note on Dio, XLIX, 12, 2. (*AÖHNA*, Vol. 1, parts 3-4.)

Melber. — Contribution to a new order of the Fragments in Cassius Dio. (*Sitzb. d. philos.-philolog. u. hist. d. k. B. Akademie d. Wiss. zu München*, Feb. 9.)

Nauck. — *Analecta Critica*. (Proposition to restore six fragments of Cassius Dio to Dio Chrysostom. — *Hermes*, Vol. 24, part 3.)

Alex Riese. — *Die Sueben* (based upon Dio). (*Rh. Mus.*, Vol. 44, part 3.)

Sp. Vasis. — Passage of Dio applied to correct conclusions of Willems on *Cic. ad Att.* 5, 4, 2. (*AÖHNA*, Vol. 1, parts 3-4.)

—— A review of *E. Cornelius* (*Quomodo Tacitus historiæ scriptor in hominum memoria versatus sit usque ad nascentes litteras sæc. XIV et XV. — Dio is indirectly involved.*). (*Jhrb. d. phil. Ver. zu Berlin*, 1889.)

—— A review of *C.J. Rockel*. (Title cited under 1887. — *Jhrb. of I. Müller*.)

1890.

U. Ph. Boissvain. — A misplaced fragment of Dio (LXXV, 9, 6). (*Hermes*, Vol. 25, part 3.)

Th. Hultsch. — On Dio Cassius (relative to early alteration of the text). (*N. JB. f. Ph. u. Päd.*, Vol. 141, book 3.)

Karl Jacoby. — A review of *Maisel*. (Title cited under 1889. — *B.P.W.*, Feb. 15.)

Melber. — Regarding the chronological relocation of several fragments of Dio. (*Bl. f. d. Bayer. Gymn.*, Vol. 26, books 6 and 7.)

—— A citation of the Kontos note (see above) from *AÖHNA*. (*Rev. d. Et. Gr.*, Vol. 3, N. 9.)

1891.

Boissvain. — A review of *Melber*. (Text edition of Dio, Vol. I.) (*B.P.W.*,

Jan. 24.)

Breitung. — A review of *Melber*. (Do. do. — W. Kl. Ph., June 24.)

B. Kübler. — A review of *Melber*. (Do. do. — Deutsche LZ., Nov. 28.)

Id. — Five conjectures in the (earlier portion of) text of Dio. (Rh. Mus., Vol. 46, part 2.)

Melber. — A review of *Maisel*. (Title cited under 1889. — Bl. f. d. Bayer. Gymn., Vol. 27, books 6 and 7.)

Id. — A correction in Zonaras, IX, 5. (Bl. f. d. Bayer. Gymn., Vol. 27, book 1.)

G.M. Rushforth. — A review of *Melber* (Dio, Vol. 1). (Cl. Rev., Vol. 5, Nos. 1 and 2.)

C. Wachsmuth. — The pentad arrangement in Dio and others. (Rh. Mus., Vol. 46, part 2.)

—— Mention of an article on Dio (Cæsar's Gallic Wars) in Festgruss des kgl. Max.-Gymn. zu München. (Phil. Rundsch., Dec. 5.)

1892.

U. Ph. Boissevain. — On the spellings Callæci — Gallæci, etc. (Mnemos., N.S. Vol. 20, ff.)

H. Schiller. — A review of *Meyer* (De Mæcenatis oratione a Dione ficta). (B.P.W., Sept. 17.)

1893.

Büttner-Wobst. — An account of Dio in the Cod. Peir. (Berichte der kgl. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch., part 3.)

C.G. Cobet. — Emendations. (Mnemos. N.S., Vol. 21, .)

B. Heisterbergk. — An emendation in XLVIII, 12. (Philol., Vol. 50, part 4.)

J.J.H. — An emendation of LXVII, 12. (Mnemos., Vol. 21, part 4.)

Maisel. — A review of *Melber*. (Dio, Vol. 1. — Phil. Rundsch., March 4.)

S.A. Naber. — Four emendations. (Mnemos., Vol. 21, part 4.)

1894.

K. Buresch. — A comment on Dio, LIV, 30, 3. (W. Kl. Ph., Jan. 24.)

1895.

Ad. Bauer. — Dio's account of the war in Dalmatia and Pannonia (6-9 A.D.). (Archäologisch-Epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn, 17th year, book 2.)

U. Ph. Boissevain. — A review of *Maisel* (Beiträge zur Würdigung der Hdss. des Cassius Dio). (B.P.W., Apr. 13.)

K. Jacoby. — A review of *Maisel*. (Do. do. — W. Kl. Ph., July 3.)

Id. — A review of *Melber*. (Dio, Vol. 2. — Ibid.)

Th. Mommsen. — The miracle of the rain on the column of Marcus Aurelius. (Dio as a source.) (Hermes, Vol. 30, part 1.)

—— A review of *E. Kyhnitzsch* (De contionibus quas Cassius Dio historiæ suæ intexuit, cum Thucydideis comparatis). (Litt. Cbl., Oct. 26.)

1896.

U. Ph. Boissevain. — A review of *E. Kyhnitzsch*. (Title just above. — B.P.W., Jan. 18.)

P. Ercole. — A review of *M.A. Micallela* (La Fonte di Dione Cassio per le guerre galliche di Cesare). (Riv. di Fil. e d'Istr. Class., 25th year, part 1.)

Ph. Fabia. — The statement of Dio about Nero and Pappæa shown to be parallel with that of Tacitus (Hist. I, 13). (Rev. de Phil., de Litt., et d'Hist. anciennes, Vol. 20, part 1.)

K. Kuiper. — De Cassii Dionis Zonaræque historiis epistula critica ad Ursulum Philippum Boissevain. (Mnemos., N.S. Vol. 24.)

B. Niese. — Dio's contributions to the history of the war against Pyrrhus. (Hermes, Vol. 31, part 4.)

F. Vogel. — Dio worthless for facts regarding Cæsar's second expedition into Britain. (N. JB. f. Ph. u. P., 1896, books 3 and 4.)

—— Dio LIII, 23, compared with inscription discovered at Philæ, Egypt. (Philol., Vol. 55, part 1.)

1897.

D. Detlefsen. — Dio LIV, 32, as a sample of ancient knowledge in regard to the North Sea. (Hermes, Vol. 32, part 2.)

Ph. Fabia. — *Ofonius* rather than *Sophonius* (Dio MSS.) for the gentile name of Tigillinus. (Rev. de Phil., de Litt., et d'Hist. anciennes, Vol. 21, book 3.)

P. Garofolo. — A citation of Dio. (Jhrb. of I. Müller, 1897.)

B. Kübler. — A review of *Melber*. (Dio, Vol. 2. — Deutsche LZ., March 6.)

Id. — A review of *Boissevain*. (Edition of Dio. — B.P.W., May 15.)

—— A mention of three articles by *Melber*.

1.) Der Bericht des Dio Cassius über d. gall. Kriege Cäsars.

2.) Des Dio Cassius Bericht über d. Seeschlacht d. D. Brutus geg. d. Veneter.

3.) Dio Cassius über d. letzten Kämpfe geg. S. Pompejus, 36 v. Chr.

(Jhrb. of I. Müller, 1897.)

—— Mention of a rearrangement favored by *Boissevain* ("Ein verschobenes Fragment des Cassius Dio") who holds that a certain fragment, old style LXXV, 9, 6, properly belongs to the year 116 A.D. and to Trajan's

expedition against the Parthians.

1898.

Büttner-Wobst. — Dio corrected in regard to an episode in the siege of Ambracia, 189 B.C. (Philol., Vol. 57, part 3.)

Ph. Fabia. — An emendation and a change of order in Dio, LXI, 6, 6. (Rev. de Phil., de Litt., et d'Hist. anciennes, 1898, book 2.)

J. Kromayer. — Studies in the Second Triumvirate (Dio as a source). (Hermes, Vol. 33, part 1.)

B. Kübler. — A review of *Boissevain*. (Dio, Vol. 2. — B.P.W., Nov. 26 and Dec. 3.)

J. Vahlen. — Varia. (Dio LV, 6 and 7, for date of death of Mæcenus). (Hermes, Vol. 33, part 2.)

1899.

Wilh. Crönert. — A study of 34 pp. on the transmission of the text of Dio. (Wiener Studien, 1899, book 1.)

K. Jacoby. — A review of *Boissevain*. (Dio, Vol. 1. — W. Kl. Ph., March 22.)

1900.

Wilh. Crönert. — Criticism of *Boissevain*. (Rev. Crit., July 2.)

C. Robert. — On Dio LV, 10. (Hermes, Vol. 25, No. 4.)

—— On Dio XLVII, 17, 1. (Archiv. f. Papyrusforschung u. verw. Geb., vol. 2, book 1.)

—— Observationes. (Philol., Vol. 59, No. 2.)

—— Mélanges (including Dio XXXVIII, 50, 4). (Wiener Studien, 22nd year, book 2.)

N. Vulić. — A note on Cassius Dio, XXXVIII, 50, 4. (Wiener Studien, 22nd year, book 2, .)

1901.

C. Jullian. — Dio's account of the surrender of Vercingetorix compared with others. (Rev. des Et. Anc., Vol. 3, No. 2.)

H. St. Sedimayer. — Apocolocyntosis, i.e. Apotheosis per Satiram (Dio, LX, 35). (Wiener Studien, I, p-192.)

1902.

B. Kübler. — A review of *Boissevain*. (Dio, Vol. 3. — B.P.W., Dec. 20.)

—— Reference to portraiture in Dio. (Philol., Vol. 61, No. 3.)

—— Record of a new coin bearing the name of L. Munatius Plancus (cp.

Dio XLVI, 50). (Numismat. Zeitschr., Vol. 34.)

1903.

A. Bomer. — An opinion to the effect that Ελισων (Dio LIV, 33) is a corrupt reading for Στιβαρνα = Stever. (N. JB. f. d. kl. Alt., Gesch., u. deut. Lit., 6th year, part 3.)

S.B. Cougeas. — An account of a new MS. of Xiphilinus (No. 812 of the Iberian monastery on Mt. Athos. It is incomplete and ends at L, 11, 3 of Dio). (AΘHNA, Vol. 15.)

H. Peter. — A review of *G.M. Columba* (Cassio Dione e del guerre galliche di Cesare. — B.P.W., Sept. 5).

THE ORIGINAL ARRANGEMENT OF BOOK

as conjectured by A. von Gutschmid (Kleine Schriften, V,).

A. Rome under the Kings (Two Books).

Book I, B.C. 753-673.

Book II, B.C. 672-510.

B. Rome under a Republic (Thirty-nine Books).

a.) To the End of the Second Punic War (Fifteen Books.)

1.) To the Beginning of the Second Samnite War (Five Books):

Book III, B.C. 509.

Book IV, B.C. 508-493.

Book V, B.C. 493-449.

Book VI, B.C. 449-390.

Book VII, B.C. 390-326.

2.) To the Beginning of the Second Punic War (Five Books):

Book VIII, B.C. 326-290.

Book IX, B.C. 290-278.

Book X, B.C. 277-264.

Book XI, B.C. 264-250.

Book XII, B.C. 250-219.

3.) To the End of the Second Punic War (Five Books):

Book XIII, B.C. 219-218.

Book XIV, B.C. 218-217.

Book XV, B.C. 216-211.

Book XVI, B.C. 211-206.

Book XVII, B.C. 206-201.

b.) From the End of the Second Punic War (Twenty-four Books).

1.) To the Death of Gaius Gracchus (Eight Books):

Book XVIII, B.C. 200-195.

Book XIX, B.C. 195-183.

Book XX, B.C. 183-149.

Book XXI, B.C. 149-146.

Book XXII, B.C. 145-140.

Book XXIII, B.C. 139-133.

Book XXIV, B.C. 133-124.

Book XXV, B.C. 124-121.

2.) To the Dictatorship of Sulla (Eight Books):

Book XXVI, B.C. 120-106.

Book XXVII, B.C. 105-101.

Book XXVIII, B.C. 100-91.

Book XXIX, B.C. 90-89.

Book XXX, B.C. 88 (Happenings at Home).

Book XXXI, B.C. 88 (Events Abroad) and 87 (Happenings at Home).

Book XXXII, B.C. 87 (Events Abroad)-84.

Book XXXIII, B.C. 84-82.

3.) To the Battle of Pharsalus (Eight Books):

Book XXXIV, B.C. 81-79.

Book XXXV, B.C. 78-70.

Book XXXVI, B.C. 69-66.

Book XXXVII, B.C. 65-60.

Book XXXVIII, B.C. 59-58.

Book XXXIX, B.C. 57-54 (= a.u. 700) (Happenings at Home).

Book XL, B.C. 54 (Events Abroad)-50.

Book XLI, B.C. 49-48.

C. Rome under Political Factions and under the Monarchy (Thirty-nine Books).

a.) To the Death of Augustus (Fifteen Books).

1.) To the Triumvirate (Five Books):

Book XLII, B.C. 48-47.

Book XLIII, B.C. 46-44.

Book XLIV, B.C. 44.

Book XLV, B.C. 44-43.

Book XLVI, B.C. 43.

2.) To the Bestowal of the Imperial Title upon Augustus (Five Books):

Book XLVII, B.C. 43-42.

Book XLVIII, B.C. 42-37.

Book XLIX, B.C. 36-33.

Book L, B.C. 32-Sept. 2, B.C. 31.

Book LI, Sept. 2, B.C. 31-29 (= a.u. 725) (Events Abroad).

3.) To the Death of Augustus (Five Books):

Book LII, B.C. 29 (Happenings at Home).

Book LIII, B.C. 28-23.

Book LIV, B.C. 22-10.

Book LV, B.C. 9-A.D. 8.

Book LVI, A.D. 9-14.

b.) From the Death of Augustus (Twenty-four Books).

1.) To Vespasian (Eight Books):

Book LVII, A.D. 14-25.

Book LVIII, A.D. 26-37.

Book LIX, A.D. 37-41.

Book LX, A.D. 41-46.

Book LXI, A.D. 47 (= a.u. 800)-59.

Book LXII, A.D. 59-68.

Book LXIII, A.D. 68-69

Book LXIV, A.D. 69-70.

2.) To Commodus (Eight Books):

Book LXV, A.D. 70-79.

Book LXVI, A.D. 79-81.

Book LXVII, A.D. 81-96.

Book LXVIII, A.D. 96-117.

Book LXIX, A.D. 117-138.

Book LXX, A.D. 138-161.

Book LXXI, A.D. 161-169.

Book LXXII, A.D. 169-180.

3.) To Dio's Second Consulate (Eight Books).

Book LXXIII, A.D. 180-192.

Book LXXIV, A.D. 193.

Book LXXV, A.D. 193-197.

Book LXXVI, A.D. 197-211.

Book LXXVII, A.D. 211-217.

Book LXXVIII, A.D. 217-218.

Book LXXIX, A.D. 218-222.

Book LXXX, A.D. 222-229.

AN EPITOME OF THE LOST BOOKS 1-21 BY IOANNES ZONARAS

as found in the

CHRONICON

of

IOANNES ZONARAS.

BOOK 1, BOISSEVAIN.

Frag. 1 VII, 1. — Æneas after the Trojan war came to the Aborigines, who were the former inhabitants of the land wherein Rome has been built and at that time had Latinus, the son of Faunus, as their sovereign. He came ashore at Laurentum, by the mouth of the river Numicius, where in obedience to some oracle he is said to have made preparations to dwell.

The ruler of the land, Latinus, interfered with Æneas's settling in the land, but after a sharp struggle was defeated. Then in accordance with dreams that appeared to both leaders they effected a reconciliation and the king beside permitting Æneas to reside there gave him his daughter Lavinia in marriage. Thereupon Æneas founded a city which he named Lavinium and the country was called Latium and the people there were termed Latins. But the Rutuli who occupied adjoining territory had been previously hostile to the Latins, and now they set out from the city of Ardea with warlike demonstrations. They had the support of no less distinguished a man than Turnus, a relative of Latinus, who had taken a dislike to Latinus because of Lavinia's marriage, for it was to him that the maiden had originally been promised. A battle took place, Turnus and Latinus fell, and Æneas gained the victory and his father-in-law's kingdom as well. After a time, however, the Rutuli secured the Etruscans as allies and marched upon Æneas. They won in this war. Æneas vanished, being seen no more alive or dead, and was honored as a god by the Latins. Hence he has come to be regarded by the Romans as the fountain head of their race and they take pride in being called "Sons of Æneas." The Latin domain fell in direct succession to his son Ascanius who had accompanied his father from home. Æneas had not yet had any child by Lavinia, but left her pregnant. Ascanius was enclosed round about by the enemy, but by night the Latins attacked them and ended both the siege and the war.

As time went on the Latin nation increased in size, and the majority of the people abandoned Lavinium to build another town in a better location. To it they gave the name of Alba from its whiteness and from its length they called it Longa (or, as Greeks would say, "white" and "long").

At the death of Ascanius the Latins gave the preference in the matter of royal power to the son borne to Æneas by Lavinia over the son of Ascanius, their preference being founded on the fact that Latinus was his grandfather. The new king's name was Silvius. Silvius begat Æneas, from Æneas sprang Latinus, and Latinus was succeeded by Pastis. Tiberinus, who came subsequently to be ruler, lost his life by falling into a river called the Albula. This river was renamed *Tiber* from him. It flows through Rome and is of great value to the city and in the highest degree useful to the Romans. Amulius, a descendant of Tiberinus, displayed an overweening pride and had the audacity to deify himself, pretending an ability to answer thunder with thunder by mechanical contrivances and to lighten in response to the lightnings and to

hurl thunderbolts. He met his end by the overflow of the lake beside which his palace was set, and both he and the palace were submerged in the sudden rush of waters. Aventinus his son perished in warfare.

So far the account concerns Lavinium and the people of Alba. At the beginning of Roman history we see Numitor and Amulius, who were grandsons of Aventinus and descendants of Æneas.

BOOK 2, BOISSEVAIN.

B.C. 672

(*a.u.* 82)VII, 6. — When Numa died leaving no successor, Tullus Hostilius was chosen by the people and the senate. He followed in the footsteps of Romulus, and both welcomed combats himself and encouraged the people to do the same. The Albanians having become the victims of a marauding expedition on the part of the the Romans, both sides proceeded into battle; before they came into actual conflict, however, they effected a reconciliation and both races decided to dwell together in one city. Frag. 6 but as each clung to his own town and insisted that the other race should remove to it, they failed of their object. next they disputed about the leadership. As neither one would yield it to the other, Frag. 6 they arranged to have a contest for the sovereignty. They did not care to fight with entire armies nor yet to let the decision be made by a duel of champions. But there were on both sides brethren born three at a birth, the offspring of twin mothers, of like age and alike in strength: the Roman brethren were called Publihoratii and the Albanian Curiatii. These they set into battle over against one another, paying no heed to their relationship. So they, having armed themselves and having arrayed themselves in opposing files in the vacant space between the camps, called upon the same family gods and cast repeated glances upward at the sun. Having joined issue they fought now in groups, now in pairs. Finally, when two of the Romans had fallen and all of the Albanians had been wounded, the remaining Horatius, because he could not withstand the three at once, even were he unwounded, gave way in order that in pursuing him they might be scattered. And when they had become separated in the pursuit, Frag. 6 attacking each one he despatched them all. Then he was given honors. But because he further killed his sister when she lamented on seeing Horatius carrying the spoils of her cousins, he was tried for murder; and having taken an appeal to the people he was released.

The Albanians now became subjects of the Romans, but later they disregarded the compact; and having been summoned, in their capacity of subjects, to serve as allies, they attempted at the crisis of the battle to desert to the enemy and to join in the attack upon the Romans. They were detected, however, and punished: many (including their leader, Mettius) were put to death, and the rest suffered deportation; their city Alba was razed to the ground, after being deemed for five hundred years the mother city of the Romans.

Frag. 6 now against the enemy tullus was thought to be very efficient, but he neglected religion. when, however, a pestilence was incurred and he himself fell sick, he turned aside to a godfearing course. He is said to have reached the end of his life by being consumed by lightning or else as the result

of a plot formed by Ancus Marcius, who happened to be (as has been stated) a son of Numa's daughter. He was king of the Romans thirty-two years.

VII, 7. — When Hostilius died, Marcius succeeded to the kingdom, receiving it as a voluntary gift from the Romans. And he was not perfect in his arm, for he was maimed at the joint (or bend), whence he got the title Ancus (bent arm). Though gentle he was compelled to Frag. 7 change his habits and he turned his attention to campaigns. For the rest of the Latins, on account of the destruction of Alba and in fear that they themselves might suffer some similar disaster, were angry at the Romans. As long as Tullus survived, they humbled themselves, dreading his reputation for warfare: but thinking that Marcius was easy to attack because of his peaceful disposition, they assailed his territory and pillaged it. He, Frag. 7 comprehending that peace could be caused by war, attacked the attackers, defended his position, and captured their cities, one of which he razed to the ground, and treated many of the men taken as slaves and transferred many others to Rome. As the Romans grew and land was added to their domain, the neighboring peoples were displeased and set themselves at odds with the Romans. Hence the latter had to overcome the Fidenates by siege, and they damaged the Sabines by falling upon them while scattered and seizing their camp, and by terrifying others they got them to embrace peace even contrary to inclination. After this the life-stint of Marcius was exhausted, when he had ruled for twenty-four years, being a man that paid strict attention to religion according to the manner of his grandfather Numa.

VII, 8. — The sovereignty was now appropriated by Lucius Tarquinius, who was the son of Demaratus a Corinthian, borne to the latter by a native woman after he had been exiled and had taken up his abode in Tarquinii, an Etruscan city; the boy had been named Lucumo. And though he inherited much wealth from his father, yet, because as an immigrant he was not deemed worthy of the highest offices by the people of Tarquinii, he removed to Rome, changing his appellation along with his city; and he changed his name to Lucius Tarquinius, — from the city in which he dwelt. It is said that as he was journeying to his new home an eagle swooped down and snatched the cap which he had on his head, and after soaring aloft and screaming for some time placed it again exactly upon his head: wherefore he was inspired to hope for no small advancement and eagerly took up his residence in Rome. Hence not long after he was numbered among the foremost men. Frag. 8 for by using his wealth quite lavishly and by winning over the nobles through his intelligence and wit he was included among the patricians and in the senate by marcius, was appointed prætor, and was entrusted with the supervision of the king's children and of the kingdom. he showed himself an excellent man, sharing his money with those in need and bestowing his services readily if any one needed him to help. he neither did nor said anything mean to any one. if he received a kindness from persons he made much of the attention, whereas if

any offence was offered him, he either disregarded the injury or minimized it and made light of it, and far from making reprisals upon the man that had done the injury, he would even benefit him. thus he came to dominate both marcius himself and his circle, and acquired the reputation of being a sensible and upright man.

But the aforesaid estimate of him did not continue permanently. For at the death of Marcius he behaved in a knavish way to the latter's two sons and made the kingdom his own. The senate and the people were intending to elect the children of Marcius, when Tarquinius made advances to the most influential of the senators; — he had first sent the fatherless boys to some distant point on a hunting expedition: — and by his talk and his efforts he got these men to vote him the kingdom on the understanding that he would restore it to the children when they had attained manhood. And after assuming control of affairs he so disposed the Romans that they should never wish to choose the children in preference to him: the lads he accustomed to indolence and ruined their souls and bodies by a kind of kindness. As he still felt afraid in spite of being so placed, he secured some extra strength for himself in the senate. Those of the populace who felt friendly towards him he enrolled (to the number of about two hundred) among the patricians and the senators, and thus he put both the senate and the people within his own control. He altered his raiment, likewise, to a more magnificent style. It consisted of toga and tunic, purple all over and shot with gold, of a crown of precious stones set in gold, and of ivory sceptre and chair, which were later used by various officials and especially by those that held sway as emperors. He also on the occasion of a triumph paraded with a four-horse chariot and kept twelve lictors for life.

He would certainly have introduced still other and more numerous innovations, had not Attus Navius prevented him, when he desired to rearrange the tribes: this man was an augur whose equal has never been seen. Tarquinius, angry at his opposition, took measures to abase him and to bring his art into contempt. So, putting into his bosom a whetstone and a razor, he went among the populace having in his mind that the whetstone should be cut by the razor, — a thing that is impossible. He said all that he wished, and when Attus vehemently opposed him, he said, still yielding not a particle: "If you are not opposing me out of quarrelsomeness, but are speaking the truth, answer me in the presence of all these witnesses whether what I have in mind to do shall be performed." Attus, having taken an augury on almost the very spot, replied immediately: "Verily, O King, what you intend shall be fulfilled." "Well, then," said the other, "take this whetstone and cut it through with this razor; this is what I have had in mind to come to pass." Attus at once took the stone and cut it through. Tarquinius, in admiration, heaped various honors upon him, accorded him the privilege of a bronze image, and did not again make any change in the established constitution, but employed Attus as a counselor on all matters.

He fought against the Latins who had revolted, and afterwards against the

Sabines, who, aided by the Etruscans as allies, had invaded the Roman country; and he conquered them all. He discovered that one of the priestesses of Vesta, who are required by custom to remain virgins all their life, had been seduced by a man, whereupon he arranged a kind of underground chamber with a long passage, and after placing in it a bed, a light, and a table nearly full of foods, he brought thither the unchaste woman escorted by a procession and having introduced her alive into the room walled it up. From his institution this plan of punishing those of the priestesses that do not keep their virginity has continued to prevail. The men that outrage them have their necks inserted in cloven pillars in the Forum, and then are maltreated naked until they give up the ghost.

However, an attack was made upon Tarquinius by the children of Marcius because he would not yield the sovereignty to them, but instead placed a certain Tullius, borne to him by a slave woman, at the head of them all. This more than anything else displeased the patricians. The young men interested some of the latter class in their cause and formed a plot against the king. They arrayed two men like rustics, equipped with axes and scythes, and made them ready to attack him. So these two, when they did not find Tarquinius in the Forum, went to the royal court (pretending, of course, to have a dispute with each other) and asked for admission to his presence. Their request was granted and they began to make opposing arguments, and while Tarquinius was giving his attention to one of them pleading his cause, the other slew him.

VII, 9. — Such was the end that befell Tarquinius who had ruled for thirty-eight years. By the coöperation of Tanaquil, wife of Tarquinius, Tullius succeeded to the kingdom of Rome. He was the child of a certain woman named Ocrisia, the wife of Spurius Tullius, a Latin; she had been captured in the war and chosen by Tarquinius: she had either become pregnant at home or conceived after her capture; both stories are current. When Tullius had reached boyhood he went to sleep on a chair once in the daytime and a quantity of fire seemed to leap from his head. Tarquinius, seeing it, took an active interest in the child and on his arriving at maturity had him enrolled among the patricians and in the senate.

The murderers of Tarquinius were arrested and his wife and Tullius learned the plan of the plot; but instead of making Tarquinius's death known at once, they took him up and tended him (pretending that he was still alive), and meantime exchanged mutual pledges that Tullius should take the sovereignty but surrender it to Tanaquil's sons when they became men. And when the multitude ran together and raised an outcry, Tanaquil, leaning out of an upper story, said: "Be not afraid. My husband both lives and shall be seen by you shortly. But in order that he may regain health at leisure and that no hindrance to business may arise from his being incapacitated, he entrusts the management of the public weal for the present to Tullius." These were her words and the people not unwillingly accepted Tullius: for he was thought to be an upright man.

So, having been granted the administration of public affairs, he managed them for the most part according to orders supposed to emanate from Tarquinius. Frag. 9 but when he saw the people obeying him in all points, he brought the assassins of Tarquinius before the senate, though, to be sure, only because of their plot; for he was still pretending that the king was still alive. They were sentenced and put to death, and the sons of Marcius through fear took refuge among the Volsci. Then did Tullius reveal the death of Tarquinius and openly take possession of the kingdom. At first he put forward the children of Tarquinius as his excuse and caused it to be understood that he was the guardian of their royal office, but afterward he proceeded to pay court to the people, believing that he could secure control of the multitude very much more easily than of the patricians. He gave them money, assigned land to each individual, and made preparations to free the slaves and adopt them into tribes. As the nobles were irritated at this, he gave instructions that those liberated should perform some services, in requital, for the men that had liberated them. Now since the patricians were disaffected in the matter of his aspirations and circulated among other sayings one to the effect that no one had chosen him to hold the sovereignty, he gathered the people and harangued them. And by the use of many alluring statements he so disposed them toward himself that they at once voted the kingdom to him outright. He in return bestowed many gifts upon them and enrolled some of them in the senate. These originally in most matters were at a disadvantage as compared with the patricians, but as time went on they shared equally with the patricians in everything save the office of interrex and the priesthoods, and were distinguished from them in no respect except by their shoes. For the shoes of the patricians were made ornate by the addition of straps and the imprint of the letter, which were intended to signify that they were descended from the original hundred men that had been senators. The letter R, they say, either indicates the number of the hundred men referred to or else is used as the initial of the name of the Romans.

In this way Tullius gained control of the populace, but fearing that some rebellion might take place he delivered the greater number and the more important of the public positions to the care of the more powerful citizens. Thus they became harmonious in their views and transacted the public business in the best manner. He also conducted a few wars against the Veians and against all the Etruscans, in the course of which nothing was done worthy of record. Wishing to affiliate the Latins still more closely with the Romans he persuaded them to construct in Rome a temple out of common funds. This he devoted to Minerva. But differences arose in regard to its superintendence. Meantime a Sabine brought to Rome an exceedingly fine cow, intending to sacrifice her to Minerva in accordance with an oracle. The oracle said that he who should sacrifice her would enlarge his country. One of the Romans learning this went to the man and told him that it was requisite for the victim first to be purified in the river, and by his talk persuaded him. Having

persuaded him he took the cow under the pretence of keeping her safe and having taken her he sacrificed her. When the Sabine made known the oracle the Latins both yielded the presidency of the shrine to the Romans and in other ways honored them as superior to themselves.

This was the course these matters took. Now Tullius joined his daughters in marriage with the Tarquins, and though he announced that he was going to restore the kingdom to them he kept putting it off, now on one excuse and now on another. And they were not at all disposed to be complaisant, but were indignant. The king paid no heed to them and urged the Romans to democracy and freedom. Then were the Tarquins all the more disquieted. But the younger one, however ill at ease he was, still endured it, until in the course of time he thought he could bear Tullius no longer. And when he found that his wife did not approve his attitude, nor did his brother, he put to death his own wife Frag. 10 and compassed his brother's death by poison administered by the latter's wife. Then, uniting his fortunes with his brother's spouse, he plotted with her help against Tullius. After persuading many of the senators and patricians whose reputations were under a cloud to coöperate with him against Tullius he unexpectedly repaired with them to the senate, his wife Tullia also following him. He there spoke many words to remind them of his father's worth and uttered many jests at the expense of Tullius. When the latter on hearing of it hastily made his appearance and said a word or two, the pretender seized him, and thrusting him out cast him down the steps in front of the senate-house. So the king, bewildered by the audacity of Tarquin and surprised that no one came to his assistance, did not say or do anything more. Tarquin at once obtained the kingdom from the senate, and sent some men who despatched Tullius while he was on his way home. The latter's daughter, after embracing her husband in the senate-house and saluting him as king, departed to the palace and drove her chariot over the dead body of her father as he lay there.

VII, 10. — Thus ruled Tullius and thus he died after a reign of forty-four years. Tarquin, who succeeded to the kingdom, stationed body-guards around him after the manner of Romulus, and used them both night and day, at home and abroad. For, as a result of what he had done to his father-in-law, and his wife to her father, they in turn were afraid of other people. Frag. 10 and when he had equipped himself to rule over them tyrannically he arrested and put to death the most powerful members of the senate and of the rest, executing publicly those against whom he was able to bring a charge, and others secretly; some also he banished. he destroyed not merely those who were attached to the party of tullius, but in addition those who had coöperated with him in securing the monarchy, and thus he made away with the best part of the senate and of the knights. he understood that he was hated by the entire populace; hence he did not appoint any persons whatever to take the places of those who kept perishing, but undertaking to abolish the senate altogether he did not appoint a single new person to it and communicated no news of

importance to those who still were members. he called the senators together not to help him in the administration of any important measures, but in order that their fewness might be made evident to all and they be consequently despised. most of his business he carried on by himself or with the aid of his sons. it was hard to approach and hard to accost him, and he showed great haughtiness and brutality toward all alike, and he as well as his children adopted a more tyrannical bearing toward all persons. Hence he also cast eyes of suspicion upon the members of his guard and secured a new body-guard from the Latin nation, intermingling the Latins with Romans in the ranks. He intended that the Latins by obtaining equal privileges with the Romans should owe him gratitude therefor, and that the Romans should cause him less terror, since they no longer had a place of their own but bore arms only in association with the Latins.

He also joined battle with the people of Gabii and fared ill in the conflict, but by treachery overcame them; for he suggested to his son Sextus that he desert to their side. Sextus, in order to get some plausible pretext for the desertion, Frag. 10 reviled his father publicly as a tyrant and foresworn, and the latter flogged his son and took measures of defence. Then, according to arrangement, the son made his treacherous desertion to the people of Gabii, taking along with him money and companions. The enemy believed the trick on account of the cruelty of Tarquin and because at this time the son spoke many words of truth in abusing his father and by his conduct seemed to have become thoroughly estranged from him. So they were very glad to receive him, and in his company made many incursions into Roman territory and did it no slight damage. For this reason and because he privately furnished some persons with money and spent it lavishly for public purposes he was chosen prætor by them and was entrusted with the management of the government among them. At that he secretly sent a man and acquainted his father with what had occurred, asking him for his intentions with regard to the future. The king made no answer to the emissary, in order that he might not, being equally informed, either willingly or unwillingly reveal something; but leading him into a garden where there were poppies he struck off with a rod the heads that were prominent and strewed the ground with them; hereupon he dismissed the message-bearer. The latter, without comprehending the affair, repeated the king's actions to Sextus, and he understood the sense of the suggestion. Therefore he destroyed the more eminent men of Gabii, some secretly by poison, others by robbers (supposedly), and still others he put to death after judicial trial by contriving against them false accusations of traitorous dealings with his father.

Thus did Sextus visit sorrow upon the men of Gabii and destroyed their superior citizens, distributing their money among the crowd. Later, when some had already perished and the rest had been cozened and thoroughly believed in him, assisted by the Roman captives and the deserters (many of whom he had gathered for his projects), he seized the city and surrendered it

to his father. The king bestowed it upon his son, but himself made war upon other nations.

VII, 11. — The oracles of the Sibyl to the Romans he obtained even against his will. A woman whom they called Sibyl, gifted with divine inspiration, came to Rome bringing Frag. 10 three or nine books, offered these to Tarquin for purchase, and stated the value of the books. As he paid no attention to her, she burned one or three of the books. When again Tarquin scorned her, she destroyed part of the rest in a similar way. And she was about to burn up also those still left when the augurs compelled him to purchase the few that were intact. He bought these for the price for which he might have secured them all, and delivered them to two senators to keep. As they did not entirely understand the contents, they sent to Greece and hired two men to come from there to read and interpret these things. The dwellers in the vicinity, desiring to learn what was revealed by the books, Frag. 10 managed to bribe marcus acilius, one of the custodians, and had some statements copied out. the affair became public and marcus after being thrown into two hides sewn together was drowned (and beginning with him this punishment has ever since prevailed in the case of parricides), in order that earth nor water nor sun might be defiled by his death.

The temple on the Tarpeian rock he constructed according to the vow of his father. And the earth having yawned even to the substructure of the foundations there appeared the head of a man freshly slain, still with blood in it. Accordingly the Romans sent to a soothsayer of Etruria to ask what was signified by the phenomenon. And he, desiring to make the portent apply to Etruria, made a diagram upon the ground and in it laid out the plan of Rome and the Tarpeian rock. He intended to ask the envoys: "Is this Rome? Is this the Rock? Was the head found here?" They would suspect nothing and agree in their assent, and so the efficacy of the portent would be transferred to the place where it had been shown in the diagram. This was his design, but the envoys learned from his son what his device was, and when the question was put to them, they answered: "The settlement of Rome is not here, but in Latium, and the hill is in the country of the Romans, and the head was found on that hill." Thus the design of the soothsayer was thwarted and they learned the whole truth and reported it to their fellow-citizens, to wit, that they should be very powerful and rule very many people. So this was another event that imbued them with hope. Then the hill was renamed by them "Capitolium": for *capita* in the Roman speech means "the head."

Needing money for the building of the temple Tarquin waged war upon the inhabitants of Ardea; but from it he gained no money, and he was driven out of the kingdom. Signs also came in his way that indicated his expulsion. Out of his garden vultures drove the young of eagles, and in the men's hall, where he was having a banquet with his friends, a huge serpent appeared and caused him and his companions at table to decamp. In consequence of this he sent his

sons Titus and Aruns to Delphi. But as Apollo declared that he should not be driven from his domain till a dog should use human speech, he was elated with hopes for the best, thinking that the oracle could never be fulfilled.

Frag. 10 now Lucius Junius was a son of Tarquin's sister; his father and brother Tarquin had killed. so he, fearing for his own person, feigned madness, employing this means of safety as a screen for his life. hence he was dubbed Brutus, for this is the name by which the Latins are accustomed to call idiots. while pretending to be mad he was taken along as a plaything by the children of Tarquin, when they journeyed to Delphi. and he said that he was carrying a votive offering to the god; this was a staff, apparently possessing no point of excellence, so that he became a laughing stock for it all the more. It furnished a kind of image of the affliction that he feigned. For he had hollowed it out and had secretly poured in gold, indicating thereby that the disesteem which he suffered for his madness served to conceal a sound and estimable intelligence. Frag. 10 to the query of the sons of Tarquin as to who should succeed to their father's sovereignty the god replied that the first who kissed his mother should obtain the power. and Brutus, comprehending, fell down as if accidentally and covered the earth with kisses, rightly deeming her to be the mother of all.

Frag. 10 this Brutus overthrew the Tarquins, taking as his justification the case of Lucretia, though these rulers were even without that hated by all for their tyrannous and violent characteristics. Lucretia was a daughter of Lucretius Spurius, a man that was a member of the senate, and she was wife of the distinguished Tarquinius Collatinus and was renowned, as it chanced, for her beauty and chastity. Frag. 10 Sextus, the son of Tarquin, set his heart upon outraging her, not so much because he was inspired with passion by her beauty as because he chose to plot against her chaste reputation. so, having watched for Collatinus to be away from home, he came by night to her and lodged at her house, since she was the wife of a relative. and first he tried by persuasion to secure illicit pleasure from her and then he resorted to violence. as he could not succeed, he threatened to cut her throat. but inasmuch as she despised death, he threatened furthermore to lay a slave beside her and to kill them both and to spread the report that he had found them sleeping together and killed them. this rendered Lucretia distraught, and in fear that this might be believed to have so happened she surrendered. and after the act of adultery she placed a dagger beneath the pillow and sent for her husband and her father. when they came, accompanied by Brutus and Publius Valerius, she shed many tears and with moans related the entire transaction. then she added: "and i will treat my case as becomes me, but do you, if you are men, avenge me, yourselves, and show the tyrants what manner of creatures you are and what manner of woman they have outraged." having spoken to this effect she immediately drew the dagger from its hiding place and killed herself.

BOOK 4, BOISSEVAIN.

VII, 13. — The Sabines, however, because of wrath at their treatment, did not keep quiet even through the winter, but overran Roman territory and damaged the forces of Postumius when he was for the second time consul. And they would absolutely have captured him, had not Menenius Agrippa, his colleague, come to his aid. And assaulting them they killed a number, with the result that the rest withdrew. After this Spurius Cassius and Opiter Verginius as consuls made peace with the Sabines. And capturing the city of Camerium they executed most of the inhabitants; the remnant they took alive and sold, and razed the city to the ground.

Postumius Cominius and Titus Larcus arrested and put to death some slaves who were hatching a conspiracy to seize the Capitoline. Servius Sulpicius and Marcus Tullius in their turn anticipated a second conspiracy composed of slaves and some others that had joined them, for it was reported to the consuls by certain men privy to the plot. They surrounded and overpowered the conspirators and cut them down. To the informers citizenship and other rewards were given.

When a new war was stirred up on the part of the Latins against Rome, the people, demanding that a cancellation of debts be authorized, refused to take up arms. Therefore the nobles then for the first time established a new office to have jurisdiction over both classes. Dictator was the name given to the person entitled to the position, and he possessed all powers as much as had the kings. People hated the name of king on account of the Tarquins, but being anxious for the benefit to be derived from sole leadership (which seemed to exert a potent influence amid conditions of war and revolution), they chose it under another name. Hence the dictatorship was, as has been said, so far as its authority went, equivalent to kingship, except that the dictator might not ride on horseback unless he were about to start on a campaign, and was not permitted to make any expenditure from the public funds unless the right were specially voted. He might try men and put them to death at home and on campaigns, and not merely such as belonged to the populace, but also members of the knights and of the senate itself. No one had the power to make any complaint against him nor to take any action hostile to him, — no, not even the tribunes, — and no case could be appealed from him. The office of dictator extended for a period of not more than six months, to the end that no such official by spending much time in the midst of so much power and unhampered authority should become haughty and plunge headlong into a passion for sole leadership. This was what happened later to Julius Cæsar, when contrary to lawful precedent he had been approved for the dictatorship.

VII, 14. — At this time, consequently, when Larcus became dictator, the populace made no uprising but presented themselves under arms. When, however, the Latins came to terms and were now in a quiescent state, the

lenders proceeded to treat the debtors more harshly and the populace for this reason again rebelled and even came running in a throng into the senate. And all the senators would there have perished at the hands of the intruding mob, had not some persons at this juncture reported that the Volsci had invaded the country. In the face of such news the populace became calm, not regarding this action, however, in the light of clemency to the senate, for they felt sure that that body would almost immediately be destroyed by the enemy. Hence they did not take the trouble to man the walls nor render any assistance until Servilius released the prisoners held for default of payments and decreed a suspension of taxes for as long as the campaign lasted and promised to reduce the debts. Then in consequence of these concessions they proceeded against the enemy and won the day. Inasmuch, however, as they were not relieved of their debts and in general could obtain no decent treatment, they again raised a clamor and grew full of wrath and made an uprising against both the senate and the prætors.

But at the approach of another war the prætors decreed a cancellation of debts: others opposed this measure: and so Marcus Valerius was named dictator. He was of the kindred of Poplicola and was beloved by the people. Then, indeed, so many gathered, animated with such zeal (for he had promised them prizes, too), that they overran not only the Sabines, but the Volsci and Æqui who were allied with them. As a sequel, the populace voted many honors to Valerius, one of which was their bestowal of the title *Maximus*. This name, translated into Greek, signifies “greatest.” And he, wishing to do the populace some favors, made many addresses to the senate but could not get it to follow his guidance. Consequently he rushed out of the senatorial assembly in a rage, and after making to the populace a long speech against the senate resigned his command. Frag. 16 and the populace was all the more provoked to revolt. as for the money-lenders, by insisting in the case of debts upon the very letter of the agreement and refusing to make any concession to those who owed them they both failed to secure the exact amount and were disappointed in many other hopes. for poverty and the resulting desperation is a heavy curse, and is, if it spreads among a large number of people, very difficult to combat. now the cause of most of the troubles that befell the romans lay in the unyielding attitude adopted at this time by the more powerful toward their inferiors. For as the military contingent came to be hard pressed by dint of campaigns and was baffled out and out in frequent hopes frequently entertained, and the debtors were repeatedly abused and maltreated by the money-lenders, the people became inflamed to such a pitch of fury that many of the destitute abandoned the city, withdrew from the camp, Frag. 16 and like enemies gathered their subsistence from the country.

when this situation had been brought about, since numbers came flocking to the side of the revolutionists, the senators, dreading that the latter might become more estranged and the neighboring tribes join their rebellion for

purposes of attack, made propositions to them in which they promised everything that the senate was empowered to do for them. but when they displayed the utmost audacity and would accept no offer, one of the envoys, agrippa menenius, begged them to hearken to a fable. having obtained their consent he spoke as follows. once all the members of the body began a contention against the belly. and the eyes said: "we give the hands the power to work and the feet the power to go." and the tongue and the lips: "through us the counsels of the heart are made known." and then the ears: "through us the words of others are despatched to the mind." and the hands: "we are the workers and lay up stores of wealth." and finally the feet: "we tire ourselves out carrying the whole body in journeys and while working and while standing." and all in a chorus: "while we labor so, thou alone, free from contribution and labor, like a mistress art served by us all and the fruit of all our labors thou thyself alone dost enjoy." the belly herself admitted that this was so, and said she: "if you like, leave me unsupplied and make me no presents." this proposition suited, and the members voted never more to supply the belly by their common effort. when no food was presented to her, the hands were not nimble to work, being relaxed on account of the failure of the belly, nor were the feet possessed of strength, nor did any other of the limbs show its normal activity uninjured, but all were inefficient, slow, or completely motionless. and then they comprehended that the presents made to the belly had been supplied not more to her than to themselves and that each one of them incidentally enjoys the benefit conferred upon her.

Frag. 16 through these words the populace was made to comprehend that the abundance of the prosperous tends also to the advantage of the poor, and that even though the former be advantaged by their loans and so increase their abundance, the outcome of this is not hurtful to the interests of the many; since, if it were not for the wealthy owning property, the poor would not have in times of need persons to lend to them and would perish under the pressure of want. accordingly they became milder and reached an agreement, the senate for its part voting a reduction in their debts and a release from seizure of property.

VII, 15. — They feared, however, that when their society had been disbanded they might either find the agreements not effectual or might Frag. 16 be harmed on account of their separation, one being punished on one pretext, another on another, in constant succession. So they formed a compact to lend aid to one another in case any one of them should be wronged in any particular; and they took oaths to this effect and forthwith elected two representatives from their own number (and afterward still more) in order that by such a partnership arrangement they might have assistants and avengers. And this they did not only once, but the idea now conceived in this form kept growing, and they appointed their representatives for a year, as to some office. The men were called in the tongue of the Latins *tribunes* (the commanders of thousands are also so named) but are styled *dêmarchoi* in the Greek language.

In order that the titles of the tribuni might be kept distinct they added to the name of the one class the phrase “of the soldiers” and to that of the other class the phrase “of the people.” These *tribunes of the people*, then, or *démarchoi* became responsible for great evils that befell Rome. For though they did not immediately secure the title of magistrates, they gained power beyond all the rest, defending every one that begged protection and rescuing every one that called upon them not only from private persons, but from the very magistrates, except the dictators. If any one ever invoked them when absent, he, too, was released from the person holding him prisoner and was either brought before the populace by them or was set free. And if ever they saw fit that anything should not be done, they prevented it, whether the person acting were a private citizen or an official: and if the people or the senate were about to do or vote anything and a single tribune opposed it, the action or the vote became null and void. As time went on, they were allowed or allowed themselves to summon the senate, to punish whoever disobeyed them, to practice divination, and to hold court. And in case they were refused permission to do anything, they gained their point by their incontestable opposition to every project undertaken by others. For they introduced laws to the effect that whoever should obstruct them by deed or word, be he private citizen or magistrate, should be “hallowed” and incur pollution. This being “hallowed” meant destruction; for this was the name applied to everything (as, for instance, a victim) that was consecrated for slaughter. The tribunes themselves were termed by the multitude “sacrosanct”, since they obtained sacred enclosures for the shelter of such as invoked them. For *sacra* among the Romans means “walls”, and *sancta* “sacred”. Many of their actions were unwarrantable, for they threw even consuls into prison and put men to death without granting them a hearing. Nobody ventured to oppose them; or, in case any one did, he became himself “hallowed.” If, however, persons were condemned not by all the tribunes, they would call to their help those who had not concurred in the verdict, and so they went duly through the forms of court procedure before the tribunes themselves or before some arbiters or before the populace, and became the possession of the side that won. In the course of time the number of the tribunes was fixed at ten, Frag. 16 and as a result of this most of their power was overthrown. for as though by nature (but really, of course, by reason of jealousy) fellow officials invariably quarrel; and it is difficult for a number of men, especially in a position of influence, to attain harmony. No sooner did outsiders, planning to wreck their influence, raise factional issues to the end that dissension might make them weaker, than the tribunes actually attached themselves some to one party, some to another. Frag. 16 if even one of them opposed a measure, he rendered the decisions of the rest null and void.

Now at first they did not enter the senate-house, but sitting at the entrance watched proceedings, and in case aught failed to please them, they would show resistance. Next they were invited inside. Later, however, the ex-

tribunes were numbered with the senators, and finally some of the senators actually were permitted to be tribunes, unless a man chanced to be a patrician. Patricians the people would not accept: having chosen the tribunes to defend them against the patricians, and having advanced them to so great power, they dreaded lest one of them might turn his strength to contrary purposes and use it against them. But if a man abjured the rank given him by birth and changed his social standing to that of a common citizen, they received him gladly. Many of the patricians whose position was unquestioned renounced their nobility through desire for the immense influence possible, and so became tribunes.

Such was the growth of the domination of the tribunes. In addition to them the people chose two *ædiles*, to be their assistants in the matter of documents. They took charge of everything that was submitted in writing to the plebs, to the populace, and to the senate, and kept it, so that nothing that was done escaped their notice. This and the trying of cases were the objects for which they were chosen anciently, but later they were charged with the supervision of buying and selling, whence they came to be called *agoranomoi* ("clerks of the market") by those who put their name into Greek.

BOOK 5, BOISSEVAIN.

VII, 16. — The first revolution of the Romans, then, terminated as described. Many of the neighboring tribes had found in the revolution a hostile incentive, and the Romans with a unified purpose after their reconciliation conducted vigorously the wars which the latter waged, and conquered in all of them. It was at this time that in the siege of Corioli they came within an ace of being driven from their camp, but a patrician, Gnæus Marcius, showed his prowess and repelled the assailants. For this he received various tokens of renown and was given the title of Coriolanus from the people which he had routed. Frag. 17 for the time he was thus exalted but not long afterward he was anxious to be made prætor and failed, and therefore grew vexed at the populace and evinced displeasure toward the tribunes. hence the tribunes (whose functions he was especially eager to abolish) heaped up accusations against him and fixed upon him a charge of aiming at tyranny and expelled him from rome. having been expelled he forthwith betook himself to the volsci. The latter's leaders and those in authority over them were delighted at his arrival and again made ready for war; Attius Tullius urged this course upon them all, but the people showed lack of enthusiasm. So when the nobles neither by advice nor by intimidation could prevail upon them to take up arms, they concocted the following scheme. The Romans were conducting a horse-race, and the Volsci among other neighboring peoples had gathered in a large body to behold the spectacle. Tullius, as a pretended friend of the Romans, persuaded the Roman prætors that they should keep watch on the Volsci, since the latter had made ready to attack them unexpectedly in the midst of the horse-race. The prætors, after communicating the information to the others, made proclamation at once, before the contest, that all the Volsci must retire. The Volsci, indignant because they alone of all the spectators had been expelled, put themselves in readiness for battle. Setting at their head Coriolanus and Tullius, and with numbers swollen by the accession of the Latins, they advanced against Rome. The Romans, when informed of it, instead of making a vigorous use of arms fell into mutual recriminations, the popular party censuring the patricians because Coriolanus, who was campaigning against his country, happened to belong to their number, and the other party the populace because they had been unjust in expelling him and making him an enemy. Because of this contention they would have incurred some great injury, had not the women come to their aid. For when the senate voted restoration to Coriolanus and envoys had been despatched to him to this end, he demanded that the land of which the Volsci had been deprived in the previous wars be given back to them. But the people would not relinquish the land. Consequence: a second embassy. Frag. 17 and he was exceedingly angry that they, who were in danger of losing their own country, would not even under these conditions withdraw from the possessions of others. when

this situation was reported to the disputants, they still refused to budge, nor did the dangers cause the men, at least, to desist from quarreling. but the women, voluminia the wife of coriolanus and veturia his mother, gathering a company of the remaining most eminent ladies visited him in camp and took his children along with them. while the rest wept without speaking veturia began: "we are not deserters, my son, but the country has sent us to you to be, if you should yield, your mother, wife and children, but otherwise your spoil. and if even now you still are angry, kill us the first. be reconciled and hold no longer your anger against your citizens, friends, temples, tombs; do not take by storm your native land in which you were born, were reared, and became coriolanus, bearer of this great name. send me not hence without result, unless you would behold me dead by my own hand." thereupon she sighed aloud and showed her breasts and touched her abdomen, exclaiming: "this brought you forth, my child, these reared you up." she, then, said this, and his wife and children and the rest of the women joined in the lament, so that he too was moved to grief. recovering himself with difficulty he enfolded his mother in his arms and at the same time kissing her replied: "see, mother, i yield to you. yours is the victory, and to you let all ascribe this favor. for i cannot endure even to see them, who after receiving such great benefits at my hands have given me such a recompense, nor will i enter the city. do you keep the country instead of me, because you have so wished it, and i will depart." having spoken thus he withdrew. and he did not accept the restoration, but retired among the volsci and there at an advanced age departed this life.

VII, 17. — Now the tribunes demanded that some land acquired by the Romans from the enemy be apportioned among the people, and as a result of their action much damage was incurred by the citizens both from the enemy and from one another. Frag. 19 for the nobles being unable to restrain them in any other way stirred up purposely wars after wars, in order that being busied therewith they might not disturb themselves about the land. But after a time some persons began to suspect what was going on, and would not permit both of the consuls (or prætors) to be appointed by the nobles, but themselves desired to choose one of them from the patricians. Upon effecting this they selected Spurius Furius, and campaigning with him accomplished with enthusiasm all objects for which they had set out. But those who took the field with his colleague, Fabius Cæso, not only displayed no energy, but abandoned their camp, came to the city, and raised a tumult until the Etruscans, learning of the affair, assailed them. Even then, moreover, they did not leave the city until some of the tribunes came to an agreement with the nobles. Still, they fought vigorously and destroyed many of the enemy, and not a few of their own number also were killed. One of the consuls likewise fell, — Manlius: the populace chose Manlius prætor for the third time.

Again was a war waged against them by the Etruscans. And when the Romans were in dejection and at a loss to know how they should withstand the enemy, the Fabii came to their help. Frag. 20 they, three hundred and six

in number, when they saw that the romans were dejected, were not following profitable counsels, and were on all points in desperation, took upon themselves the burden of the war against the Etruscans, exhibiting readiness to carry on the conflict by themselves with their persons and with their wealth. They occupied and fortified an advantageous position from which as a base they harried the entire hostile domain, since the Etruscans would not venture to engage in combat with them, or, if they ever did join issue, were decisively defeated. But, upon the accession of allies, the Etruscans laid an ambushade in a wooded spot: the Fabii, being masters of the whole field, assailed them without precaution, Frag. 20 fell into the snare, were surrounded and all massacred. And their race would have entirely disappeared, had not one of them because of his youth been left at home, in whose descendants the family later attained renewed renown.

After the Fabii had been destroyed as related the Romans received rough treatment at the hands of the Etruscans. Subsequently they concluded a peace with the enemy, but turning against one another committed many deeds of outrage, the populace not even refraining from attack upon the prætors. They beat their assistants and shattered their fasces and made the prætors themselves submit to investigation on every pretext, great and small. They actually planned to throw Appius Claudius into prison in the very midst of his term of office, inasmuch as he persistently opposed them at every point and had decimated the partners of his campaign after their giving way before the Volsci in battle. Now decimation was the following sort of process. When the soldiers had committed any grave offence the leader told them off in groups of ten and taking one man of each ten (who had drawn the lot) he would punish him by death. At Claudius's retirement from office the popular party straightway brought him to trial; and though they failed to condemn him, they forced him, by postponing their vote, to commit suicide. And among the measures introduced by some of the tribunes to the prejudice of the patrician interests was one permitting the populace to convene separately, and without interference from the patricians to deliberate upon and transact as much business as they pleased. They also ordained that, if any one for any cause should have a penalty imposed upon him by the prætors, the populace might thereupon have the case appealed to them and decide it. And they increased the number of ædiles and of tribunes, in order to have a large body of persons to act as their representatives.

Frag. 21 during the progress of these events the patricians openly took scarcely any retaliatory measures, except in a few cases, but secretly slaughtered a number of the boldest spirits. neither this, however, nor the fact that on one occasion nine tribunes were delivered to the flames by the populace seemed to restrain the rest. not only were those who subsequently held the tribuneship not calmed, but actually they were the rather emboldened. Frag. 21 this was the condition into which the patricians brought the populace. and they would not obey the summons to go on a campaign, though

the foe assailed, unless they secured the objects for which they were striving, and if they ever did take the field, they fought listlessly, unless they had accomplished all that they desired. hence many of the tribes living close to them, relying on either the dissension of their foes or their own strength, raised the standard of revolt. Frag. 22 among these were also the æqui, who, after conquering at this time marcus minucius while he served as prætor, became presumptuous. Frag. 22 those at rome, learning that minucius had been defeated, chose as dictator lucius quinctius, who was a poor man and had devoted his life to farming, but was distinguished for his valor and wise moderation; and he let his hair grow in curls, whence he was named cincinnatus. He, being selected as dictator, took the field that very day, used wariness as well as speed, and simultaneously with Minucius attacked the Æqui, killing very many of them and capturing the rest alive: the latter he led under the yoke and then released. This matter of the yoke I shall briefly describe. The Romans used to fix in the ground two poles (upright wooden beams, of course, with a space between them) and across them they would lay another transverse beam; through the frame thus formed they led the captives naked. This conferred great distinction upon the side that conducted the operation but vast dishonor upon the side that endured it, so that some preferred to die rather than submit to any such treatment. Cincinnatus also captured a city of theirs called Corvinum and returned: he removed Minucius from his prætorship because of his defeat, and himself resigned his office.

VII, 18. — The Romans, however, now got another war on their hands at home, in which their adversaries were composed of slaves and some exiles who moved unexpectedly by night and secured possession of the Capitol. This time, too, the multitude did not arm themselves for the fray till they had wrung some further concessions from the patricians. Then they assailed the revolutionists and overcame them, but lost many of their own men.

For these reasons, accordingly, and because of certain portents the Romans became sobered and dismissed their mutual grievances and voted to establish the rights of citizenship on a fairer basis. And they sent three men to Greece with an eye to the laws and the customs of the people there. Upon the return of the commission they abolished all the political offices, including that of the tribunes, and chose instead eight of the foremost men, and B.C. 451 (a.u. 303) designated Appius Claudius and Titus Genucius prætors with dictatorial powers for that one year. They empowered them to compile laws and further voted that no case could be appealed from them, — a latitude granted previously to none of the magistrates save the dictators. These men held sway each for a day, assuming by turns the dignity of rulership. They compiled laws and exposed the same to view in the Forum. These statutes being found pleasing to all were put before the people, and after receiving their ratification were inscribed on ten tablets; for all records that were deemed worthy of safekeeping used to be preserved on tablets.

(*a.u.* 304)The above mentioned magistrates at the expiration of the year surrendered their office, but ten more chosen anew (for the overthrow of the State, as it almost seemed) came to grief. They all held sway at once on equal terms and chose from among the patricians some most brazen youths, through whom, as their agents, they committed many acts of violence. At last, toward the end of the year, they compiled a few additional statutes written upon two tablets, all of which were the product of their own individual judgment. From these not harmony, but greater disputes, were destined to fall to the lot of the Romans.

The so-called twelve tablets were thus created at that time. But besides doing this the lawgivers in question, when their year of office had expired, still maintained control of affairs, occupying the city by force; and they would not convene the senate nor the people, lest, if they came together, they should depose them. And when the Æqui and the Sabines now stirred up war against the Romans, these officials by arrangement with their adherents gained their object of having the conduct of the wars entrusted to them. Of the decemvirate Servius Oppius and Appius Claudius remained at home: the other eight set out against the enemy.

Absolutely all Frag. 22 the interests, however, of state and camp alike were thrown into confusion, and hence contention again arose. The leaders of the force had invaded the land of the Sabines and sent a certain Lucius Sicius, who was accounted a strong tower in warfare and likewise one of the most prominent representatives of the populace, with companions, avowedly to seize a certain position; but they had the man slain by the party that had been sent out with him. The report was brought into camp that the man with others had been killed by the foe, and the soldiers went out to gather up the dead bodies. They found not one corpse belonging to the enemy but many of their own race, whom Sicius had killed in his own defence when they attacked him. And when they saw that the dead were lying all around him and had their faces turned toward him, they suspected what had been done and furthermore raised a tumult. — There was still another incident that had a bearing on the situation.

Lucius Virginius, a man of the people, had a daughter of surpassing beauty whom he intended to bestow in marriage upon Lucius Icilius, a person of similar rank in society. For this maiden Claudius conceived a passion, and not otherwise able to attain his ends he arranged with certain men to declare her a slave: he was to be the arbiter. The father of the girl accordingly came from the camp and pled his case. When Claudius had given sentence against her and the girl was delivered to those who had declared her a slave and no one came to the rescue, her father wild with grief took a cleaver and ended his daughter's life and, just as he was, rushed out to the soldiers. They, who had been previously far from tractable, were so wrought up that they straightway

set out in haste against the city to find Claudius. And the rest, who had gone on a campaign against the Sabines, when they learned this abandoned their intrenchments, and, joining with the rest, set at their head twenty men, determined to accomplish something of importance. The remainder of the multitude in the city likewise espoused their cause and added to the tumult.

Meanwhile Claudius in terror had hidden himself and Oppius convened the senate; and sending to the populace he enquired what they wanted. They demanded that Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius, two of the senators who favored their cause, be sent to them, saying that through these men they would make their reply. Owing to the fear of the ten magistrates (for they were now all on the scene) that the people would employ the two as leaders against them they were not sent, whereupon the populace grew still more angry. As a consequence the senators were inspired with no slight fear and against the will of the magistrates they sent Valerius and Horatius to the people. By this means a reconciliation was effected: the rioters were granted immunity for their acts, and the decemvirate was abolished; the annual magistracies, including that of tribunes, were restored with the same privileges as they had formerly enjoyed. Virginius was one of the magistrates appointed; and they cast into prison Oppius and Claudius (who committed suicide before their cases were investigated), and indicted, convicted, and banished the remainder of the board.

B.C. 449

(*a.u.* 305)VII, 19. — Now the consuls — it is said that this is the first time they were known as consuls, being previously called *prætors*; and they were Valerius and Horatius — both then and thereafter showed favor to the populace and strengthened their cause rather than that of the patricians. The patricians, though subdued, would not readily convene and did not put matters entirely in the power of the lower class, but granted the tribunes the right of practicing augury in their assemblies: nominally this was an honor and dignity for them, since from very ancient times this privilege had been accorded the patricians alone, but really it was a hindrance. The nobles intended that the tribunes and the populace should not accomplish easily everything they pleased, but should sometimes be prevented under this plea of augury. The patricians as well as the senate were displeased at the consuls, whom they regarded as favorable to the popular cause, and so did not vote a triumph to them — though each had won a war — and did not assign to each a day as had been the custom. The populace, however, both held a festival for two days and voted triumphal honors to the consuls.

BOOK 6, BOISSEVAIN.

B.C. 448

(*a.u.* 306) When the Romans thus fell into discord their adversaries took courage and came against them. It was in the following year, when Marcus Genucius and Gaius Curtius were consuls, that they turned against each other. The popular leaders desired to be consuls, since the patricians were in the habit of becoming tribunes by transference to their order, and the patricians clung tenaciously to the consular office. They indulged in many words and acts of violence against each other. But in order to prevent the populace from proceeding to greater extremities the nobles yielded to them the substance of authority though they would not relinquish the name; and in place of the consuls they named military tribunes in order that the honor of the title might not be sullied by contact with the vulgar throng. It was agreed that three military tribunes be chosen from each of the classes in place of the two consuls. However, the name of consul was not lost entirely, but sometimes consuls were appointed and at other times military tribunes. This, at all events, is the tradition that has come down of what took place, with the additional detail that the consuls nominated dictators, though their own powers were far inferior to those appertaining to that office, and even that the military tribunes likewise did so sometimes. It is further said that none of the military tribunes, though many of them won many victories, ever celebrated a triumph.

B.C. 447

(*a.u.* 307) It was in this way, then, that military tribunes came to be chosen at that time: censors were appointed in the following year, during the consulship of Barbatus and Marcus Macrinus. Those chosen were Lucius Papirius and Lucius Sempronius. The reason for their election was that the consuls were unable, on account of the number of the people, to supervise them all; the duties now assigned to the censors had until that time been performed by the consuls as a part of their prerogatives. Two was the original number of the censors and they were taken from the patricians. They held office at first and at the last for five-year periods, but during the intervening time for three half-years; and they came to be greater than the consuls, though they had taken over only a part of their functions. They had the right to let the public revenues, to supervise roads and public buildings, to make complete records of each man's wealth, and to note and investigate the lives of the citizens, enrolling those deserving of praise in the tribes, in the equestrian order, or in the senate (as seemed to fit the case of each one), and similarly erasing from any class the names of those who were not right livers: this power was greater

than all those now left to the consuls. They made declarations attested by oath, in regard to every one of their acts, that no such act was prompted by favor or by enmity but that their considerations and performances were both the result of an unbiased opinion of what was advantageous for the commonwealth. They convened the people when laws were to be introduced and for other purposes, and employed all the insignia of the greater offices save lictors. Such, at its inception, was

the office of the censors. If any persons did not register their property and themselves in the census lists, the censors sold the property and the consuls the men. This arrangement held for a certain time, but later it was determined that a man once enrolled in the senate should be a senator for life and that his name should not be erased, unless one had been disgraced by being tried for the commission of a crime or was convicted of leading an evil life: the names of such persons were erased and others inscribed in their stead.

In the case of those who gave satisfaction in office principal honors were bestowed upon dictators, honors of the second rank upon censors, and third place was awarded to masters of horse. This system was followed without distinction, whether they were still in office or whether they had already laid it down. For if one descended from a greater office to an inferior one, he still kept the dignity of his former position intact. One particular man, whom they styled *principa* of the senate (he would be called *prokritos* by the Greeks) was preferred before all for the time that he was president (a person was not chosen for this position for life) and surpassed the rest in dignity, without wielding, however, any power.

VII, 20. — For a time they maintained peace with each other and with the adjacent tribes, but then a famine mastered them, so severe that some not able to endure the pangs of hunger threw themselves into the river, and they fell to quarreling. The one class blamed the prosperous as being at fault in the handling of the grain, and the other class blamed the poorer men for unwillingness to till the soil. B.C. 439

(a.u. 315) Spurius Mælius, a wealthy knight, seeing this attempted to set up a tyranny, and buying corn from the neighboring region he lowered the price of it for many and gave it free to many others. In this way he won the friendship of a great many and procured arms and guardsmen. And he would have gained control of the city, had not Minucius Augurinus, a patrician, appointed to have charge of the grain distribution and censured for the lack of grain, reported the proceeding to the senate. The senate on receiving the information nominated at once and at that very meeting Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, though past his prime (he was eighty years old), to be dictator. They spent the whole day sitting there, as if engaged in some discussion, to prevent news of their action from traveling abroad. By night the dictator had the knights occupy in advance the Capitol and the remaining points of vantage, and at dawn he sent to Mælius Gaius Servilius, master of the horse, to summon him

pretendedly on some other errand. But as Mælius had some suspicions and delayed, Servilius fearing that he might be rescued by the populace — for they were already running together — killed the man either on his own responsibility or because ordered to do so by the dictator. At this the populace broke into a riot, but Quinctius harangued them and by providing them with grain and refraining from punishing or accusing any one else he stopped the riot.

Wars with various nations now assailed the Romans, in some of which they were victorious within a few days; but with the Etruscans they waged a long continued contest. Postumius conquered the Æqui and had captured a large city of theirs, but the soldiers neither had had it turned over to them for pillage nor were awarded a share of the plunder when they requested it. Therefore they surrounded and slew the quæstor who was disposing of it, and when Postumius reprimanded them for this and strove to find the assassins, they killed him also. And they assigned to their own use not only the captive territory but all that at the time happened to be found in the public treasury. The uprising would have assumed even greater dimensions but for the fact that war against the Romans was renewed by the Æqui. Alarmed by this situation they became quiet, endured the punishment for the murders, which touched only a few, and took the field against their opponents, whom they engaged and conquered. For this achievement the nobles distributed the plunder among them, and voted pay first to the infantry and later also to the cavalry. Up to that time they were used to undertaking campaigns without pay and lived at their own expense; now for the first time they began to draw pay.

B.C. 408

(*a.u.* 346) A war arising between them and Veii, the Romans won frequent victories and reduced the foe to a state of siege as long as the latter fought with merely their own contingent: but when allies had been added to their force they came out against the Romans and defeated them. Meanwhile the lake situated close to the Alban Mount, which was shut in by the surrounding ridges and had no outlet, overflowed its banks during the siege of Veii to such an extent that it actually poured over the crests of the hills and went rushing down to the sea. The Romans deeming that something supernatural was certainly signified by this event sent to Delphi to consult the oracle about the matter. There was also among the population of Veii an Etruscan who was a soothsayer. The Pythian interpretation coincided with his; and both declared that the city would be captured when the overflowing water should not fall into the sea but be used up differently. The Romans consequently ordered several religious services to be performed. But the Pythian god did not specify to which of the divinities nor in what way they should offer these, and the Etruscan appeared to have the knowledge but would explain nothing. So the Romans who were stationed about the wall from which he was wont to issue to consort with them pretended friendliness toward him, permitted him to

make himself at ease in every way, and allowed him to come to visit them without interference. Thus they succeeded in seizing him and forced him to give all the requisite information. According to the indications he furnished they offered sacrifices, tunneled the hill, and conducted the superfluous water by a secret canal into the plain, so that all of it was used up there and none ran down into the sea.

BOOK 7, BOISSEVAIN.

VII, 24. — A certain Marcus Fabius, a patrician, who chanced to be the father of two daughters, betrothed the elder to a Licinius Stolo, much inferior to him in rank, and married the younger to Sulpicius Rufus, who belonged to his own class. Frag. 27 now while rufus was military tribune, once when he was in the forum his wife had a visit from her sister. at the arrival of the husband the lictor, according to some ancient custom, knocked at the door. the clatter startled the woman, who was not familiar with this procedure: thereupon both her sister and the others present burst out laughing and she was made fun of as a simpleton. she took the matter as a serious affront and roused her husband to canvass for office. Stolo, accordingly, incited by his wife, confided his intentions to Lucius Sextius, one of his peers, and both forced their way into the tribuneship; they thus overturned the good order of the State to such an extent that for four years the people had no rulers, since these men repeatedly obstructed the patrician elections. This state of affairs would have continued for a still longer time, had not news been brought that the Celtæ were again marching upon Rome.

VII, 25. — It is related that after this a disaster befell Rome. The level land between the Palatine and the Capitoline is said to have become suddenly a yawning gulf, without any preceding earthquake or other phenomenon such as usually takes place in nature on the occasion of such developments. For a long time the chasm remained *in statu quo*, and neither closed up in the slightest degree nor was to be filled, albeit the Romans brought and cast into it masses of earth and stones and all sorts of other material. In the midst of the Romans' uncertainty an oracle was given them to the effect that the aperture could in no way be closed except they should throw into the chasm their best possession and that which was the chief source of their strength: then the thing would cease, and the city should command power inextinguishable. Still the uncertainty remained unresolved, for the oracle was obscure. But Marcus Curtius, a patrician, young in years, of a remarkably beautiful appearance, powerful physique, and courageous spirit, conspicuous also for intelligence, comprehended the meaning of the oracle. He came forward before them all and addressed them, saying: "Why, Romans, convict the revelation of obscurity or ourselves of ignorance? We are the thing sought and debated. For nothing lifeless may be counted better than what has life, nor shall that which has comprehension and prudence and the adornment of speech fail of preference before what is uncomprehending, speechless and senseless. What should any one deem superior to Man to be cast into the earth-fissure, that therewith we might contract it? Frag. 28 there is no mortal creature either better or stronger than man. for, if one may speak somewhat boldly, man is naught else than a god with mortal body, and a god naught else than a man without body and therefore immortal, and we are not far sundered from divine

Power. This, to my mind, is the matter and I urge you also to adhere to this view. May no one think that I shall have recourse to the lot or bid maiden or lad lose a life. I myself willingly bestow myself upon you, that you may send me this very day as herald and envoy to the cthonian gods, to be your representative and helper forever.” At the close of these words Curtius proceeded to put on his armor and then mounted his horse. The rest grew mad with grief and mad with joy; they came flocking with adornments, and some adorned the man himself with them as a hero, and others threw some of them into the chasm. Scarcely had Curtius sprung into it fully mounted, when the earth-fissure was closed and no one ever again beheld either the chasm or Curtius. This is the way the story is related by the Romans. Should any person judge it fabulous and not to be credited, he has the right to pay no attention to it.

And again wars were waged against the Romans both by Gauls and by other nations, but they repelled all invaders, voting now for consuls, now for dictators. Whereupon somewhat of the following nature took place. Lucius Camillus was named dictator, as the Gauls were overrunning the environs of Rome. He proceeded against the barbarians with the intention of using up time and not risking the issue in conflict with men animated by desperation: he expected to exhaust them more easily and securely by the failure of provisions. And a Gaul challenged the Romans to furnish a champion for a duel. His opponent, accordingly, was Marcus Valerius, a military tribune, a grandson of the famous Maximus. The course of the battle was brilliant on both sides: the Roman excelled in cleverness and an unusual mastery of his art, and the Gaul in strength and daring. It was regarded as still more marvelous that a crow lighted on the helmet of Valerius and cawing all the time made dashes at the barbarian, confusing his sight and impeding his onset until he finally received a finishing blow. The Gauls, consequently, indignant at being beaten by a bird, in a rage closed at once with the Romans and suffered a severe defeat. From the incident of the crow’s assistance Valerius obtained the further name of Corvinus.

Thereafter, as the armies began to grow insubordinate and a civil war threatened to break out, the insurgents were brought to terms by the enactment of laws that no one’s name should be erased from the lists against his will, that any person who had served as tribune of the soldiers should not be centurion, that both of the consuls might belong to and be appointed from the people, and that the same man should not hold two offices at the same time nor hold the same office twice within ten years.

VII, 26. — Now the Latins, although under treaty with the Romans, revolted and provoked a conflict. They were filled with pride for the reason that they had an abundance of youthful warriors and were practiced in the details of warfare as a result of the constant campaigning with the Romans. The other side, understanding the situation, chose Torquatus consul for the third time and likewise Decius, and came out to meet them. They fought a

fierce battle, each party thinking that that day was a precise test of their fortune and of their valor. A certain event seemed to give the battle added distinction. The consuls, seeing that the Latins were equipped and spoke like the Romans, feared that some of the soldiers might make mistakes through not distinguishing their own and the hostile force with entire ease. Therefore they made proclamation to their men to observe instructions carefully and in no case to fight an isolated combat with any of the antagonists. Most observed this injunction, but the son of Torquatus, who was on the field among the cavalry and had been sent to reconnoitre the enemy's position, transgressed it not through wilfulness but rather through ambition. The leader of the Latin horse saw him approaching and challenged him to a championship contest; and when the youth would not accept the challenge on account of the notice that had been served, the other provoked him, saying: "Are you not the son of Torquatus? Do you not give yourself airs with your father's collar? Are you strong and courageous against those low-lived Gauls but fear us Latins? Where, then, do you find your right to rule? Why do you give orders to us as your inferiors?" — The Roman became frenzied with rage and readily forgot the injunction: he won the combat, and in high spirits conveyed the spoils to his father. The latter, after assembling the army, said: "Nobly you have fought, my child, and for this I will crown you. But because you did not observe the orders issued, though under obligation both as a son and as a soldier to yield obedience, Frag. 32 for this reason I shall execute you, that you may obtain both the prize for your prowess and the penalty for your disobedience." Having spoken these words he at the same moment placed the garland on his head and cut off the very head that bore it.

Soon after, a dream that appeared to both consuls the same night, of identical import in each case, seemed to tell them that they should overcome the enemy, if one of the consuls should devote himself. Discussing the dream together in the daytime, they decided that it was of divine origin, and agreed that it must be obeyed. And they disputed with each other, not as to which should be saved, but as to which of them preferably should devote himself: they even presented their arguments before the foremost men in camp. Finally they settled it that one should station himself on the right wing and the other on the left, and that whichever of those two divisions should be defeated, the consul stationed there should give up his life. There was so much rivalry between them in regard to the self-devotion that each of the consuls prayed that he might be defeated, in order to obtain the right to devote himself and the consequent glory. After joining battle with the Latins they carried on a closely contested fight for a long time, but finally Decius's wing gave way before the Latins a little. On perceiving this Decius devoted himself. Slipping off his armor he put on his purple-bordered clothing. Some say that in this costume he sprang upon a horse and rode toward the enemy and met his death at their hands, others that he was slain by a fellow-soldier of his own race. A short time after Decius had perished a decisive victory fell to the lot of the

Romans and the Latins were all routed, yet certainly not on account of the death of Decius. Frag. 32 for how can you believe that from such a death of one man so great a multitude of human beings was destroyed on the one side and on the other was saved and won a conspicuous victory? So the Latins in this way were defeated, Frag. 32 and torquatus, though he had killed his son and though his colleague had lost his life, nevertheless celebrated a triumph.

Once again did they subdue these very Latins, who had revolted, and they subjugated in battle other nations, employing now consuls and now dictators.

BOOK 8, BOISSEVAIN.

One of the latter was Lucius Papirius, also called Cursor from his physical condition (he was a very fleet runner) and on account of his practicing running. After this Papirius as dictator with Fabius Rullus as master of the horse was sent out against the Samnites and by defeating them compelled them to agree to such terms as he wished. But when he had resigned his leadership they again arose in arms. They were attacked anew by the dictator Aulus Cornelius, Frag. 33 and being defeated made proposals of peace to the men at rome. they sent them all the captives that they had, and ascribed the responsibility for the war to rutulus, a man of influence among them. his bones, since he anticipated them in committing suicide, they scattered abroad. yet they did not obtain their peace, being accounted untrustworthy; but the victors, though accepting the prisoners, voted for relentless war against them. Frag. 33 the romans, then, expecting in their extreme arrogance that they should capture them all at the first blow, succumbed to a terrible disaster. the samnites, being badly frightened and thinking the refusal to make peace a calamity, fought with desperation; and by planting an ambuscade in a narrow spot rather closely hemmed in by hills they both captured the camp and seized alive the whole force of the romans, all of whom they sent under the yoke. — What the operation of the yoke was has already been described by me above. — However, they killed not a man but took away their arms and horses and everything else they had save one garment, and released them thus stripped of possessions under an agreement that they should leave Samnite territory and be their allies on an equal footing. In order to insure the articles of the agreement being ratified also by the senate, they retained six hundred of the knights to serve as hostages.

The consuls Spurius Postumius and Tiberius Calvinus with their army immediately withdrew, and at night they and the most notable of the rest of the force entered Rome, while the remaining soldiers scattered through the country districts. Frag. 33 the men in the city on hearing of the event did not find it possible either to be pleased at the survival of their soldiers or to be displeased. when they thought of the calamity their grief was extreme, and the fact that they had suffered such a reverse at the hands of the samnites increased their grief; when they stopped to reflect, however, that if it had come to pass that all had perished, all their interests would have been endangered, they were really pleased at the survival of their own men. But concealing for a time their pleasure they went into mourning and carried on no business in the everyday fashion either at once or subsequently, as long as they had control of affairs. The consuls they deposed forthwith, chose others in their stead, and took counsel about the situation. And they determined not to accept the arrangement; but since it was impossible to take this action without throwing the responsibility upon the men who had conducted the

negotiations, they hesitated on the one hand to condemn the consuls and the rest who, associated with the latter in their capacity as holders of certain offices, had made the peace, and they hesitated on the other hand to acquit them, since by so doing they would bring the breach of faith home to themselves. Accordingly they made these very consuls participate in their deliberations and they asked Postumius first of all for his opinion, that he might state separately his sentiments touching his own case, and the shame of having disgrace attach to all of them be avoided. So he came forward and said that their acts ought not to be ratified by the senate and the people, Frag. 33 for they themselves had not acted of their own free will, but under the compulsion of a necessity which the enemy had brought upon them not through valor but through craft and ambushade. Now men who had practiced deception could not, if they were deceived in turn, have any just complaint against those who turned the tables on them. When he had finished saying this and considerable more of the same nature, the senate found itself at a loss how to act: but as Postumius and Calvinus took the burden of responsibility upon their own shoulders, it was voted that the agreements should not be ratified and that these men should be delivered up.

Both the consuls, therefore, and the remaining officials who had been present when oaths were taken were conducted back to Samnium. Frag. 33 the samnites, however, would not accept them, but demanded back all the captives, and invoked the gods and conjured them by the divine power, and finally they dismissed the men that had been surrendered. The Romans were glad enough to get them back, but were angry at the Samnites whom they attacked in battle and vanquished, after which they accorded them a similar treatment, for they sent them under the yoke in turn and released them without inflicting any other injury. They also got possession of their own knights, who were being held by the Samnites as hostages and were unharmed.

VIII, 1. — After a long interval the Romans under the leadership of Gaius Junius were again warring with the Samnites, when they met with disaster. While Junius was pillaging the hostile territory, the Samnites conveyed their possessions into the Avernian woods, so-called from the fact that on account of the closeness of the trees no bird flies into them. Being there ensconced they set out some herds without herdsmen or guards and quietly sent some pretended deserters who guided the Romans to the booty apparently lying at their disposal. But when the latter had entered the wood, the Samnites surrounded them and did not cease from slaughter till they were completely tired out. And though the Samnites fought on many other occasions against the Romans and were defeated, they would not be quiet, but having acquired the Gauls, besides others, as allies, they made preparations to march upon Rome itself. The Romans, when they learned of it, fell into alarm, for their original inclination to do so was augmented by many portents. On the Capitol blood is reported to have issued for three days from the altar of Jupiter, together with honey on one day, and milk on a second — if anybody can

believe it: and in the Forum a bronze statue of Victory set upon a stone pedestal was found standing upon the ground below, without any one's having moved it; and, as it happened, it was facing in that direction from which the Gauls were already approaching. This of itself was enough to terrify the populace, who were even more dismayed by ill-omened interpretations published by the seers. However, a certain Manius, by birth an Etruscan, encouraged them by declaring that Victory, even if she had descended, had gone forward, and being now settled more firmly on the ground indicated to them mastery in the war. Accordingly, many sacrifices, too, should be offered to the gods; for their altars, and particularly those on the Capitol, where they sacrifice thank-offerings for victory, were regularly stained with blood in the midst of their successes and not in their disasters. From these developments, then, he persuaded them to expect some fortunate outcome, but from the honey to expect disease (because invalids crave it) and from the milk famine; for they should encounter so great a scarcity of provisions as to seek for food of native growth and pasturage.

Manius, then, interpreted the omens in this way, Frag. 33 and as his prophecy turned out to be correct, he gained thereafter a reputation for skill and foreknowledge in all matters. Now Volumnius was ordered to make war upon the Samnites; Fabius Maximus Rullus and Publius Decius were chosen consuls and were sent to withstand the Gauls and the other warriors in the Gallic contingent. They, having come with speed to Etruria, saw the camp of Appius, which was fortified by a double palisade; and they pulled up the stakes and carried them off, instructing the soldiers to place their hope of safety in their weapons. So they joined battle with the enemy. Meanwhile a wolf in pursuit of a deer had invaded the space between the two armies and darting toward the Romans passed through their ranks. This encouraged them, for they regarded themselves as having a bond of union with him, since, according to tradition, a she-wolf had reared Romulus. But the deer ran to the other side and was struck down, thus leaving to *them* fear and the issue of disaster. When the armies collided, Maximus quite easily conquered the foes opposed to him, but Decius was defeated. And recalling the self-devotion of his father, undertaken on account of the dream, he likewise devoted himself, though without giving anybody any information about his act. Scarcely had he let himself be slain, when the men ranged at his side, partly through shame at his deed (feeling that he had perished voluntarily for them) and partly in the hopes of certain victory as a result of this occurrence, checked their flight and nobly withstood their pursuers. At this juncture Maximus, too, assailed the latter in the rear and slaughtered vast numbers. The survivors took to their heels and were annihilated. Fabius Maximus then burned the corpse of Decius together with the spoils and made a truce with such as asked for peace.

The following year Atilius Regulus again waged war with the Samnites. And for a time they carried on an evenly contested struggle, but eventually, after the Samnites had won a victory, the Romans conquered them in turn,

took them captive, led them beneath the yoke, and so released them. Frag. 33 the samnites, enraged at what had occurred, resorted to desperate measures with the intention of either conquering or being utterly destroyed, threatening with death him who should remain at home. So these invaded Campania: but the consuls ravaged Samnium, since it was destitute of soldiers, and captured a few cities. Therefore the Samnites abandoning Campania made haste to reach their own land; and having come into hostile collision with one of the consuls they were defeated by a trick and in their flight met with terrible reverses, losing their camp and in addition the fortress to the assistance of which they were advancing. The consul celebrated a triumph and devoted to public uses the goods gathered from the spoils. The other consul made a campaign against the Etruscans and reduced them in short order: he then levied upon them contributions of grain and money, of which he distributed a part to the soldiers and deposited the rest in the treasuries.

However, there befell a mighty pestilence, and the Samnites and Falisci began to bestir themselves; they entertained a contempt for the Romans both on account of the disease and because, since no war menaced, they had chosen the consuls not on grounds of excellence. The Romans, ascertaining the situation, sent out Carvilius along with Junius Brutus, and with Quintus Fabius his father Rullus Maximus, as subcommanders or lieutenants. Brutus worsted the Falisci and plundered their possessions as well as those of the other Etruscans: Fabius marched out of Rome before his father and pushed rapidly forward when he learned that the Samnites were plundering Campania. Falling in with some scouts of theirs and seeing them quickly retire he got the impression that all the enemy were at that point and believed they were in flight. Accordingly, in his hurry to come to blows with them before his father should arrive, in order that the success might appear to be his own and not his elder's, he went ahead with a careless formation. Thus he encountered a compact body of foes and would have been utterly destroyed, had not night intervened. Many of his men died also after that with no physician or relative to attend them, because they had hastened on far ahead of the baggage carriers in the expectation of immediate victory. Of a surety they would have perished on the following day but for the fact that the Samnites, thinking Fabius's father to be near, felt afraid and withdrew.

Frag. 33 those in the city on hearing this became terribly angry, summoned the consul, and wanted to put him on trial. but the old man his father by enumerating his own and his ancestors' brave deeds, by promising that his son should make no record that was unworthy of them, and by urging his son's youth to account for the misfortune, immediately abated their wrath. joining him in the campaign he conquered the samnites in battle, captured their camp, ravaged their country, and drove away great booty. a part of it he devoted to public uses and a part he accorded to the soldiers. for these reasons the romans extolled him and ordered that his son also should command for the future with consular powers and still employ his father as lieutenant. the latter

managed and arranged everything for him, sparing his old age not a whit, yet he did not let it be seen that he was executing the business on his own responsibility, but made the glory of his exploits attach to his child.

Frag. 37 VIII, 2. — after this, when the tribunes moved an annulment of debts, the people, since this was not yielded by the lenders as well, fell into turmoil: and their turbulent behavior was not quieted until foes came against the city.

BOOK 9, BOISSEVAIN.

Those to begin the wars were the Tarentini, Frag. 39 who had associated with themselves the etruscans and gauls and samnites and several other tribes. These allies the Romans engaged and defeated in various battles, with different consuls on different occasions, but the Tarentini, although they had themselves been the authors of the war, nevertheless did not yet openly present an imposing array in battle. Frag. 39 now lucius valerius while admiral wanted to anchor with his triremes off tarentum (being on his way to a place whither he had been despatched with them), for he deemed the country friendly. Frag. 39 but the tarentini, owing to a guilty sense of their own operations, suspected that valerius was sailing against them, and in a passion set sail likewise and attacking him when he was expecting no hostile act sent him to the bottom along with many others. of the captives they imprisoned some and put others to death. when the romans heard of this, they were indignant, to be sure, but nevertheless despatched envoys upbraiding them and demanding satisfaction. the offenders not only failed to vouchsafe them any decent answer, but actually jeered at them, going so far as to soil the clothing of lucius postumius, the head of the embassy. at this an uproar arose and the tarentini indulged in continued guffaws. but postumius cried: "laugh on, laugh on while you may! for long will be the period of your weeping, when you shall wash this garment clean with your blood."

Upon the return of the envoys the Romans, learning what had been done, were grieved and voted that Lucius Æmilius the consul make a campaign against the Tarentini. He advanced close to Tarentum and sent them favorable propositions, thinking that they would choose peace on fair terms. Now they were at variance among themselves in their opinions. Frag. 39?The elderly and well-to-do were anxious for peace, but those who were youthful and who had little or nothing were for war. The younger generation had its way. Being timid for all that they planned to invite Pyrrhus of Epirus to form an alliance, and sent to him envoys and gifts. Æmilius, learning this, proceeded to pillage and devastate their country. They made sorties but were routed, so that the Romans ravaged their country with impunity and got possession of some strongholds. Æmilius showed much consideration for those taken prisoners and liberated some of the more influential, and the Tarentini, accordingly, filled with admiration for his kindness, were led to hope for reconciliation and so chose as leader with full powers Agis, who was of kindred to the Romans. Scarcely had he been elected when Cineas, sent ahead by Pyrrhus, planted himself in the pathway of negotiations. Frag. 40 for pyrrhus, king of the so-called epirus, surpassed everybody through natural cleverness and through the influence and experience bestowed by education; and he had made the larger part of hellas his own, partly by benefits and partly by fear. Frag. 40 accordingly, chance having thrown the envoys of the tarentini in his way, he

deemed the alliance a piece of good luck. for a considerable time he had had his eye on sicily and carthage and sardinia, but nevertheless he shrank from personally taking the initiative in hostilities against the romans. He announced that he would lead the Tarentini, but in order that the motive of his declaration might not be suspected (for reasons indicated) he stated that he should return home without delay, and insisted upon a clause being added to the agreement to the effect that he should not be detained by them in Italy further than actual need required. After settling this agreement he detained the majority of the envoys as hostages, giving out that he wanted them to help him get the armies ready: a few of them together with Cineas he sent in advance with troops. As soon as they arrived the Tarentini took courage, gave up their attempted reconciliation with the Romans, and deposing Agris from his leadership elected one of the envoys leader. Shortly afterward Milo, sent by Pyrrhus with a force, took charge of their acropolis and personally superintended the manning of their wall. The Tarentini were glad at this, feeling that they did not have to do guard duty or undergo any other troublesome labor, and they sent regular supplies of food to the men and consignments of money to Pyrrhus.

Emilius for a time held his ground, but when he perceived that the Pyrrhic soldiers had come, and recognized his inability on account of the winter to maintain an opposition, he set out for Apulia. The Tarentini laid an ambush at a narrow passage through which he was obliged to go, and by their arrows, javelins and slingshots rendered progress impossible for him. But he put at the head of his line their captives whom he was conveying. Fear fell upon the Tarentini that they might destroy their own men instead of the Romans, and they ceased their efforts.

Now Pyrrhus set off, Frag. 40 not even awaiting the coming of spring, taking a large, picked army, and twenty elephants, beasts never previously beheld by the Italians. Hence the latter were invariably filled with alarm and astonishment. While crossing the Ionian Sea he encountered a storm and lost many soldiers of his army: the remainder were scattered by the violent waters. Only with difficulty, then, and by land travel did he reach Tarentum. He at once impressed those in their prime into service alongside of his own soldiers so as to make sure that they should not be led, by having a separate company, to think of rebellion; he closed the theatre, presumably on account of the war and to prevent the people from gathering there and setting on foot any uprising; also he forbade them to assemble for banquets and revels, and ordered the youth to practice in arms instead of spending all day in the market-place. When some, indignant at this, left the ranks, he stationed guards from his own contingent so that no one could leave the city. The inhabitants, oppressed by these measures, and by supplying food, compelled as they were, too, to receive the guardsmen into their houses, repented, since they found in Pyrrhus only a master, not an ally. He, fearing for these reasons that they might lean to the Roman cause, took note of all the men who had any ability

as politicians or could dominate the populace and sent them one after another to Epirus to his son on various excuses; occasionally, however, he would quietly assassinate them instead. A certain Aristarchus, who was accounted one of the noblest of the Tarentini and was a most persuasive speaker, he made his boon companion to the end that this man should be suspected by the people of having the interests of Pyrrhus at heart. When, however, he saw that he still had the confidence of the throng, he gave him an errand to Epirus. Aristarchus, not daring to dispute his behest, set sail, but went to Rome.

VIII, 3. — Such was the behavior of Pyrrhus toward the Tarentini. Frag. 40 those in Rome learning that Pyrrhus had come to Tarentum were smitten with terror because the Italian states had been set at enmity with them and because he was reported to be without doubt a good warrior and to have a force that was by no means despicable as an adversary. So they proceeded to enlist soldiers and to gather money and to distribute garrisons among the allied cities to prevent them from likewise revolting; and learning that some were already stirred with sedition they punished the principal men in them. A handful of those from Præneste were brought to Rome late in the afternoon and thrown into the treasury for security. Thereby a certain oracle was fulfilled for the Romans. For an oracle had told them once that these people should occupy the Roman treasure-house. The oracle, then, resulted this way: the men lost their lives.

Valerius Lavinius was despatched against Pyrrhus, the Tarentini, and the rest of their associates, but a part of the army was retained in the city. As for Lavinius, he at once set out on his march so that he might carry on the war as far as possible from his own territory. He hoped to frighten Pyrrhus by showing the latter those men advancing against him of their own accord whom he had thought to besiege. In the course of his journey he seized a strong strategic point in the land of the Lucanians, and he left behind a force in Lucania to hinder the people from giving aid to his opponents.

Pyrrhus on learning of Lavinius's approach made a start before the latter came in sight, established a camp, and was desirous of using up time while waiting for allies to join. He sent a haughty letter to Lavinius with the design of overawing him. The writing was couched thus: "King Pyrrhus to Lavinius, Greeting. I learn that you are leading an army against Tarentum. Send it away, therefore, and come yourself to me with few attendants. For I will judge between you, if you have any blame to impute to each other, and I will compel the party at fault, however unwilling, to grant justice." Lavinius wrote the following reply to Pyrrhus: "You seem to me, Pyrrhus, to have been quite daft when you set yourself up as judge between the Tarentini and us before rendering to us an account of your crossing over into Italy at all. I will come, therefore, with all my army and will exact the appropriate recompense both from the Tarentini and from you. What use can I have for nonsense and palaver, when I can stand trial in the court of Mars, our progenitor?" After sending such an answering despatch he hurried on and pitched camp, leaving

the stream of the river at that point between them. Having apprehended some scouts he showed them his troops and after telling them he had more of them, many times that number, he sent them back. Pyrrhus, struck with alarm by this, was not desirous of fighting because some of the allies had not yet joined his force, and he was constantly hoping that provisions would fail the Romans while they delayed on hostile soil. Lavinius, too, reckoned on this and was eager to join issue. As the soldiers had become terrified at the reputation of Pyrrhus and on account of the elephants, he called them together and delivered a speech containing many exhortations to courage; then he busily prepared to close with Pyrrhus, willing or unwilling. The latter had no heart to fight, but in order to avoid an appearance of fearing the Romans he also in person addressed his own men, inciting them to the conflict. Lavinius tried to cross the river opposite the camp, but was prevented. So he retired and himself remained in position with his infantry, but sent the cavalry off (apparently on some marauding expedition) with injunctions to march some distance and then make the attempt. In this way both they assailed the enemy unexpectedly in the rear, and Lavinius, in the midst of the foe's confusion, crossed the river and took part in the battle. Pyrrhus came to the aid of his own men, who were in flight, but lost his horse by a wound and was thought by them to have been killed. Then, the one side being dejected and the other scornfully elated, their actions were correspondingly altered. He became aware of this and gave his clothing, which was more striking than that of the rest, to Megacles, bidding him put it on and ride about in all directions to the end that thinking him safe his opponents might be brought to fear and his followers to feel encouragement. As for himself, he put on an ordinary uniform and encountered the Romans with his full army, save the elephants, and by bringing assistance to the contestants wherever they were in trouble he did his supporters a great deal of good. At first, then, for a large part of the day they fought evenly; but when a man killed Megacles, thinking to have killed Pyrrhus and creating this impression in the minds of the rest, the Romans gained vigor and their opponents began to give way. Frag. 40 pyrrhus, noting what was taking place, cast off his cap and went about with his head bare; and the battle took an opposite turn. Seeing this, Lavinius, who had horsemen in hiding somewhere, outside the battle, ordered them to attack the enemy in the rear. In response to this Pyrrhus, as a device to meet it, raised the signal for the elephants. Then, indeed, at the sight of the animals, which was out of all common experience, at their bloodcurdling trumpeting, and at the clatter of arms which their riders, seated in the towers, made, both the Romans themselves became panic stricken and their horses, in a frenzy, either shook off their riders or bolted, carrying them away. Disheartened at this the Roman army was turned to flight and in their rout some soldiers were destroyed by the men in the towers on the elephants' backs, and others by the beasts themselves, which with their trunks and horns (or teeth?) took the lives of many and crushed and trampled under foot no less. The cavalry, following

after, slew many; not one, indeed, would have been left, had not an elephant been wounded, and by its own struggles as a result of the wound as well as by its trumpeting thrown the rest into confusion. Only this restrained Pyrrhus from pursuit and only in this way did the Romans manage to cross the river and make their escape into an Apulian city. Many of Pyrrhus's soldiers and officers alike fell, so that Frag. 40 when certain men congratulated him on his victory, he said; "if we ever conquer again in like fashion, we shall be ruined." the romans, however, he admired even in their defeat, declaring: "i should already have mastered the whole inhabited world, were i king of the romans."

Frag. 40 pyrrhus, accordingly, acquired a great reputation for his victory and many came over to his side: the allies also espoused his cause. these he rebuked somewhat on account of their tardiness, but gave them a share of the spoil. VIII, 4. — The men of Rome felt grief at the defeat, but they sent an army to Lavinium; and they summoned Tiberius from Etruria and put the city under guard when they learned that Pyrrhus was hastening against it. Lavinium, however, as soon as he had cured his own followers of their wounds and had collected the scattered, the reinforcements from Rome now having arrived, followed on the track of Pyrrhus and harassed him. Finding out that the king was ambitious to capture Capua he occupied it in advance and guarded it. Disappointed there Pyrrhus set out for Neapolis. Since he developed no power to accomplish anything at this place either and was in haste to occupy Rome, he passed on through Etruria with the object of winning that people also to his cause. He learned that they had made a treaty with the Romans and that Tiberius was moving to meet him face to face. (Lavinium was dogging his footsteps.) Frag. 40 a dread seized him of being cut off on all sides by them while he was in unfamiliar regions and he would advance no farther. Frag. 40 when, as he was retreating and had reached the vicinity of campania, lavinius confronted him and the latter's army was much larger than it was before, he declared that the roman troops when cut to pieces grew whole again, hydra-fashion. and he made preparations in his turn, but did not come to the issue of battle. He had ordered his own soldiers before the shock of conflict, in order to terrify the Romans, to smite their shields with their spears and cry aloud while the trumpeters and the elephants raised a united blare. But when the other side raised a much greater shout, actually scaring the followers of Pyrrhus, he no longer wanted to come to close quarters, but retired, as if he found the omens bad. And he came to Tarentum. Frag. 40 thither came roman envoys to treat in behalf of the captives, — fabricius among others. these he entertained lavishly and showed them honor, expecting that they would conclude a truce and make terms as the defeated party. Frag. 40 fabricius asked that he might get back the men captured in battle for such ransom as should be pleasing to both. pyrrhus, quite dumfounded because the man did not say that he was also commissioned to treat about peace, took counsel privately with his friends, as was his wont,

about the return of the captives, but also about the war and how he should conduct it. Milo advised neither returning the captives nor making a truce, but overcoming all remaining resistance by war, since the Romans were already defeated: Cineas, however, gave advice just the opposite of his; he approved of surrendering the captives without price and sending envoys and money to Rome for the purpose of obtaining an armistice and peace. Frag. 40 to his decision did the rest also cleave, and pyrrhus, too, chanced to be of this mind. having called the ambassadors, therefore, he said: “not willingly, romans, did i lately make war upon you, and i have no wish to war against you now. it was my desire to become your friend. wherefore i release to you the captives without ransom and ask the privilege of making peace.”

Frag. 40 these words he had spoken to the envoys as a whole and had either given or furnished them promises of money, but in conversation with fabricius alone he said: “i would gladly become a friend to all romans, but most of all to you. i see that you are an excellent man and i ask you to help me in getting peace.” with these words he attempted to bestow upon him a number of gifts. but fabricius said: “i commend you for desiring peace, and i will effect it for you, if it shall prove to our advantage. for you will not ask me, a man who, as you say, pretends to uprightness, to do anything against my country. nay, i would not even accept any of these things which you are fain to give. i ask you, therefore, whether you in very truth regard me as a reputable man or not. if i am a scoundrel, how is it that you deem me worthy of gifts? if, on the other hand, i am a man of honor, how can you bid me accept them? be then assured that i have very many possessions, that i am satisfied with what i now have and feel no need of more. you, however, even if you are ever so rich, are in unspeakable poverty. for you would not have crossed over to this land, leaving behind epirus and the rest of your possessions, if you had been content with them and were not reaching out for more.”

After this conversation had taken place as recounted, the envoys took the captives and departed. Pyrrhus despatched Cineas to Rome with a large amount of gold coin and women’s apparel of every description, so that even if some of the men should resist, their wives, at least, won by the appeal of the finery, might make them share in the prostitution of principles. Cineas on coming to the city did not seek an audience with the senate, but lingered about, alleging now one reason, now another. He was visiting the houses of leading men and by his conversation and gifts was slowly extending his influence over them. When he had won the attachment of a number, he entered the senate-chamber and spoke, saying; “King Pyrrhus offers as his defence the fact that he came not to make war upon you, but to reconcile the Tarentini, and in answer to their entreaties. Indeed, he has released your prisoners, waiving ransom, and though he might have ravaged your country and assaulted your city, he requests to be enrolled among your friends and allies, hoping to gain much assistance from you and to render you still more

and greater benefits in return.”

Thereupon the greater part of the senators evinced pleasure because of the gifts and because of the captives: however, they made no reply, but went on deliberating for several days more as to the proper course to pursue. There was a deal of talk, but the disposition to accord a truce predominated. On learning this Appius the Blind was carried to the senate-house (for by reason of his age and his infirmity he was a stay-at-home) and declared that the *modus vivendi* with Pyrrhus was not advantageous to the State. He urged them to dismiss Cineas at once from the city and to make known to Pyrrhus by his mouth that the king must first withdraw to his home country and from there make propositions to them about peace or about anything else he wanted. This was the advice Appius gave. The senate delayed no longer, but forthwith unanimously voted to send Cineas that very day across the borders and to wage an implacable war with Pyrrhus, so long as he should abide in Italy. They imposed upon the captives certain degradations in the campaigns and used them no longer against Pyrrhus nor for any other project as a unit (out of apprehension that if they were together they might rebel), but sent them to do garrison duty, a few here, a few there.

BOOK 10, BOISSEVAIN.

B.C. 279

(*a.u.* 475)VIII, 5. — During the winter both sides busied themselves with preparations. When spring had now begun, Pyrrhus invaded Apulia and reduced many places by force, many also by capitulation. Finally the Romans came upon him near a city called Asculum and pitched camp opposite. For several days they lingered, rather avoiding each other. The Romans were not feeling confident against men who had once beaten them, and the others dreaded the Romans as persons animated by desperation. Meanwhile some were talking to the effect that Decius was getting ready to “devote himself” after the fashion of his father and grandfather, and by so doing they terribly alarmed the followers of Pyrrhus, who believed that through his death they would certainly be ruined. Pyrrhus then convened his soldiers and discussed this matter, advising them not to be disheartened nor scared out of their wits by such talk. One human being, he said, could not by dying prevail over many nor could any incantation or magic prove superior to arms and men. By making these remarks and confirming his words by arguments Pyrrhus encouraged the army under his lead. Also he enquired into the details of the costume which the Decii had used in devoting themselves, and sent injunctions to his men, if they should see anybody so arrayed, not to kill him, but seize him alive. Frag. 40 and he sent to decius and told him that he would not succeed in accomplishing this, even if he wished it, and threatened that if he were taken alive, he should perish miserably. to this the consuls answered that they were in no need of having recourse to such a proceeding as the one mentioned, since they were sure to conquer him anyway. There was a river not easy to ford running between the two camps, and they enquired whether he chose to cross unmolested himself, while they retired, or whether he would allow them to do it, the object being that the forces should encounter each other intact and so from a battle with conditions equal the test of valor might be made an accurate one. The Romans delivered this speech to overawe him, but Pyrrhus granted them permission to cross the river, since he placed great reliance upon his elephants. The Romans among their other preparations made ready, as a measure against the elephants, projecting beams on wagons, overlaid with iron and bristling in all directions. From these they intended to shoot and to withstand the animals with fire as well as by other means. When the conflict began, the Romans forced the Greeks back, slowly to be sure, but none the less effectually, until Pyrrhus, bringing his elephants to bear not opposite their chariots but at the other end of the line, routed their cavalry through fear of the beasts even before they had come close. Upon their infantry, however, he inflicted no great damage. Meantime some of the Apulians had started for the camp of the Epirots and by so doing brought about victory for the Romans. For when Pyrrhus sent some of his warriors

against them, all the rest were thrown into disorder and suspecting that their tents had been captured and their companions were in flight they gave way. Numbers of them fell, Pyrrhus and many commanding officers besides were wounded, and later on account of the lack of food and of medical supplies they incurred great loss. Hence he retreated to Tarentum before the Romans were aware. As for the consuls, they crossed the river to fight, but when they ascertained that all had scattered, they withdrew to their own cities. They were unable to pursue after their foes on account of wounds among their own following. Then the Romans went into winter quarters in Apulia, whereas Pyrrhus sent for soldiers and money from home and went on with other preparations. But learning that Fabricius and Pappus had been chosen consuls and had arrived in camp, he was not constant in the same intention.

B.C. 278

(*a.u.* 476)The aforesaid consuls were now in the midst of their army, when a certain Nicias, one of those believed to be loyal to Pyrrhus, came to Fabricius and offered to murder him treacherously. Fabricius, indignant at this (for he wanted to overcome the enemy by valor and main force, like Camillus), informed Pyrrhus of the plot. This action of his moved the king so strongly that he again released the Roman captives without price and sent envoys once more in regard to peace. But when the Romans made no reply about peace, but as before bade him depart from Italy and only in that event make propositions to them, and since they kept overrunning and capturing the cities in alliance with him, Frag. 40 he fell into perplexity; till at length some Syra

cusans called on him for aid — they had been quarreling, as it chanced, ever since the death of Agathocles — and surrendered to him both themselves and their city. Hereupon he again breathed freely, hoping to subjugate all of Sicily. Leaving Milo behind in Italy to keep guard over Tarentum and the other positions, he himself sailed away after letting it be understood that he would soon return. The Syracusans welcomed him and laid everything at his feet, so that in brief time he had again become great and the Carthaginians in fright secured additional mercenaries from Italy. But presently his prospects fell to the other extreme of fortune Frag. 40 by reason of the fact that he either expelled or slew many who held office and had incurred his suspicions. Then the Carthaginians, seeing that he was not strong in private forces and did not possess the devotion of the natives, took up the war vigorously. They harbored any Syracusans who were exiled and rendered his position so uncomfortable that he abandoned not only Syracuse, but Sicily as well.

B.C. 277

(*a.u.* 477)VIII, 6. — The Romans on finding out his absence took courage and turned their attention to requiting those who had invited him. Postponing till another occasion the case of the Tarentini they invaded Samnium with their consuls Rufinus and Junius, devastated the country as they went along, and

took several deserted forts. The Samnites had conveyed their dearest and most valuable treasures into the hills called the *Cranita*, because they bear a large growth of cornel-wood (*crania*). The Romans in contempt for them dared to begin the ascent of the aforementioned hills. As the region was tangled with shrubbery and difficult of access many were killed and many, too, were taken prisoners.

The consuls now no longer carried on the war together, since each blamed the other for the disaster, but Junius went on ravaging a portion of Samnium, while Rufinus inflicted injury upon Lucanians and Bruttians. He then started against Croton, which had revolted from Rome. His friends had sent for him, but the other party got ahead of them by bringing a garrison from Milo, of which Nicomachus was commander. Ignorant of this fact he approached the walls carelessly, supposing that his friends controlled affairs, and suffered a setback by a sudden sortie made against him. Then, bethinking himself of a trick, he captured the city. He sent two captives as pretended deserters into Croton; one at once, declaring that he had despaired of capturing the place and was about to set out into Locris, which was being betrayed to him; the other later, corroborating the report with the further detail that he was on his way. That the story might gain credence he packed up the baggage and affected to be in haste. Nicomachus trusted this news (for his scouts made the same report), and leaving Croton set off with speed into Locrian territory by a somewhat shorter road. When he had got well into Locris, Rufinus turned back to Croton, and escaping observation because he was not expected and because of a mist that then prevailed he captured the city. Nicomachus learning this went back to Tarentum, and encountering Rufinus on the way lost many men. The Locrians came over to the Roman side.

B.C. 276

(a.u. 478) The next year the Romans made expeditions into Samnium and into Lucania and fought with the Bruttians. Pyrrhus, who had been driven out of Sicily and had returned, was now troubling them grievously. He got back the Locrians (by their killing the Roman garrison and changing their rulers), but in a campaign against Rhegium was repulsed, was himself wounded, and lost great numbers. He then retired into Locris and after executing a few who opposed his cause he got food and money from the rest and made his way back to Tarentum. The Samnites, hard pressed by the Romans, caused him to leave the shelter of that town: B.C. 275

(a.u. 479) but on coming to their assistance he was put to flight. A young elephant was wounded, and shaking off its riders wandered about in search of its mother; the latter thereupon became unmanageable, and as all the rest of the elephants raised a din everything was thrown into dire confusion. Finally the Romans won the day, killing many men and capturing eight elephants, and occupied the enemy's entrenchments. Pyrrhus accompanied by a few horsemen made his escape to Tarentum, and from there sailed back to Epirus,

leaving Milo behind with a garrison to take care of Tarentum because he expected to come back again. He also gave them a chair fastened with straps made from the skin of Nicias, whom he put to death for treachery. This was the vengeance, then, that he took upon Nicias, Frag. 40 and he was intending to exact vengeance from some youths who had ridiculed him at a banquet; but he asked them why they were ridiculing him, and when they answered: "we should have said a lot more things a good deal worse, if the wine hadn't failed us", he laughed and let them go.

Now Pyrrhus, who had made a most distinguished record among generals, who had inspired the Romans with great fear and left Italy in the fifth year to make a campaign against Greece, not long afterward met his death in Argos. A woman, as the story runs, being eager to catch a sight of him from the roof as he passed by, made a misstep and falling upon him killed him. The same year Fabricius and Pappus became censors; and among others whose names they erased from the lists of the knights and the senators was Rufinus, though he had served as dictator and had twice been consul. The reason was that he had in his possession silver plate of ten pounds' weight. This shows how the Romans regarded poverty as consisting not in the failure to possess many things but in wanting many things. Accordingly, their officials who went abroad and others who set out on any business of importance to the State received besides other necessary allowances a seal-ring as a public gift.

Some of the Tarentini who had been abused by Milo attacked him, with Nico at their head. Not accomplishing anything they occupied a section of their own wall, and with that as headquarters kept making assaults upon Milo. When they found out that the Romans were disposed to make war upon them, they despatched envoys to Rome and obtained peace.

Frag. 41

B.C. 273

(a.u. 481) and ptolemy philadelphus, king of egypt, when he learned that pyrrhus had fared poorly and that the romans were growing, sent gifts to them and made a compact. and the romans, pleased with this, despatched ambassadors to him in turn. the latter received magnificent gifts from him, which they wanted to put into the treasury; the senate, however, would not accept them, but allowed them to keep them.

B.C. 272

(a.u. 482)After this, by the activity of Carvilius they subdued the Samnites, and overcame the Lucanians and Brutians by the hands of Papirius. The same Papirius quelled the Tarentini. The latter, angry at Milo and subjected to abuse by their own men, who, as has been told, made the attack on Milo, called in the Carthaginians to their aid when they learned that Pyrrhus was dead. Milo, seeing that his chances had been contracted to narrow limits, as the Romans beset him on the land side and the Carthaginians on the water front,

surrendered the citadel to Papirius on condition of being permitted to depart unharmed with his immediate followers and his money. Then the Carthaginians, as representatives of a nation friendly to the Romans, sailed away, and the city made terms with Papirius. They delivered to him their arms and their ships, demolished their walls, and agreed to pay tribute.

The Romans, having thus secured control of the Tarentini, turned their attention to Rhegium, whose inhabitants after taking Croton by treachery had razed the city to the ground and had slain the Romans there. They averted the danger that was threatening them from the Mamertines holding Messana (whom the people of Rhegium wanted to get as allies), by coming to an agreement with them; but in the siege of Rhegium they suffered hardships through a scarcity of food and some other causes until Hiero by sending from Sicily grain and soldiers to the Romans strengthened their hands and materially aided them in capturing the city. B.C. 270 (a.u. 484) The place was restored to the survivors among the original inhabitants: those who had plotted against it were punished.

Hiero, who was not of distinguished family on his father's side and on his mother's was akin to the slave class, ruled almost the whole of Sicily and was deemed a friend and ally of the Romans. After the flight of Pyrrhus he became master of Syracuse, and having a cautious eye upon the Carthaginians who were encroaching upon Sicily he was inclined to favor the Romans; and the first mark of favor that he showed them was the alliance and the forwarding of grain already narrated.

After this came a winter so severe that the Tiber was frozen to a great depth and trees were killed. The people of Rome suffered hardships and the hay gave out, causing the cattle to perish.

B.C. 269

(a.u. 485) VIII, 7. — The next year a Samnite named Lolius living in Rome as a hostage made his escape, gathered a band and seized a strong position in his native country from which he carried on brigandage. Quintus Gallus and Gaius Fabius made a campaign against him. Him and the rabblement with him, most of them unarmed, they suppressed; on proceeding, however, against the Carcini in whose keeping the robbers had deposited their booty, they encountered trouble. Finally one night, led by deserters, they scaled the wall at a certain point and came dangerously near perishing on account of the darkness, — not that it was a moonless night but because it was snowing fiercely. But the moon shone out and they made themselves absolute masters of the position.

A great deal of money fell to the share of Rome in those days, so that they actually used silver denarii.

B.C. 267

(*a.u.* 487)Next they made a campaign into the district now called Calabria. Their excuse was that the people had harbored Pyrrhus and had been overrunning their allied territory, but as a fact they wanted to gain sole possession of Brundisium, since there was a fine harbor and for the traffic with Illyricum and Greece the town had an approach and landing-place of such a character that vessels would sometimes come to land and put out to sea wafted by the same wind. B.C. 266

(*a.u.* 488)

Frag. 42 They captured it and sent colonists to it and to other settlements as well. While the accomplishment of these exploits raised them to a higher plane of prosperity, they showed no haughtiness: on the contrary they surrendered to the apolloniatians on the ionian gulf quintus fabius, a senator, because he had insulted their ambassadors. but these on receiving him sent him back home again unharmed.

B.C. 265

(*a.u.* 489)In the year of the consulship of Quintus Fabius and Æmilius they went on a campaign to the Volsinii to secure the freedom of the latter, for they were under treaty obligations to them. These people were originally a branch of the Etruscans, and they gathered power and erected an extremely strong rampart; they enjoyed also a government guided by good laws. For these reasons once, when they were involved in war with the Romans, they offered resistance for a very long time. When they had been subdued, they deteriorated into a state of effeminacy, left the management of the city to their servants and let those servants, as a rule, also carry on their campaigns. Finally they encouraged them to such an extent that the servants possessed both spirit and power, and thought they had a right to freedom. In the course of time their efforts to obtain it were crowned with success. After that they were accustomed to wed their mistresses, to inherit their masters, to be enrolled in the senate, to secure the offices, and to hold the entire authority themselves. Indeed, it was usual, when insults were offered them by their masters, for them to requite the authors of them with rather unbecoming speed. Hence the old-fashioned citizens, not being able to endure them and yet possessing no power of their own to repress them, despatched envoys by stealth to Rome. The envoys urged the senate to convene with secrecy at night in a private house, so that no report might get abroad, and they obtained their request. The meeting accordingly deliberated under the idea that no one was listening: but a sick Samnite, who was being entertained as a guest of the master of the house, kept his bed unnoticed, learned what was voted, and gave information to those against whom charges were preferred. The latter seized and tortured the envoys on their return; when they found out what was on foot they killed the messengers and also some of the foremost men.

The above were the causes which led the Romans to send Fabius against

them. He routed the body of the foe that met him, destroyed many in their flight, shut up the remainder within the wall, and made an assault upon the city. In that action he was wounded and killed, whereupon gaining confidence the enemy made a sortie. They were again defeated, retired, and had to submit to siege. When they began to feel the pangs of hunger, they surrendered. The consul delivered to outrage and death the men who had appropriated the honors of the ruling class and he razed the city to the ground; the native inhabitants, however, and many servants who had rendered valuable service to their masters he settled on another site.

BOOK 11, BOISSEVAIN.

VIII, 8. — From that time the Romans began struggles oversea: they had previously had no experience at all in naval matters. They now became seamen and crossed over to the islands and to other divisions of the mainland. The first people they fought against were the Carthaginians. These Carthaginians were no whit inferior to them in wealth or in the excellence of their land; they were trained in naval operations to a great degree of accuracy, were equipped with cavalry forces, with infantry and elephants, ruled the Libyans, and held possession of both Sardinia and the greater part of Sicily: as a result they had cherished hopes of subjugating Italy. Various factors contributed to increase their self-conceit. They were especially delighted with their position of independence: their king they elected under the title of a yearly office and not for permanent sovereignty. Animated by these considerations they were at the point of most zealous eagerness.

Frag. 43 the reasons alleged for the war were — on the part of the romans that the carthaginians had assisted the tarentini, on the part of the carthaginians that the romans had made a treaty of friendship with hiero. the fact was, however, that they viewed each other with jealousy and thought that the only salvation for their own possessions lay in the possibility of obtaining what the other held. at a time when their attitude toward each other was of this nature a slight accident that befell broke the truce and provoked a conflict between them. This is what happened.

The Mamertines, who had once conducted a colony from Campania to Messina, were now being besieged by Hiero, and they called upon the Romans as a nation of kindred blood. The latter readily voted to aid them, knowing that in case the Mamertines should not secure an alliance with them, they would have recourse to the Carthaginians; and then the Carthaginians would sweep all Sicily and from there cross over into Italy. For this island is such a short distance away from the mainland that the story goes that it was itself once a part of the mainland. Frag. 43 so the island thus lying off Italy seemed to invite the carthaginians, and it appeared as if they might lay claim to the land over opposite, could they but occupy it. and the possession of messana gave to its masters the right to be lords of the strait also.

Though the Romans voted to assist the Mamertines, they did not quickly come to their aid because of various hindrances that occurred. Hence the Mamertines, under the spur of necessity, called upon the Carthaginians. These brought about peace with Hiero both for themselves and for the party that had invoked their help, so as to prevent the Romans from crossing into the island; and under the leadership of Hanno they retained the guardianship of strait and city. B.C. 264

(a.u. 490) Meantime Gaius Claudius, military tribune, sent in advance with a

few ships by Appius Claudius, had arrived at Rhegium. But to sail across was more than he dared, for he saw that the Carthaginian fleet was far larger. So he embarked in a skiff and approached Messina, where he held a conversation, as extended as the case permitted, with the party in possession. When the Carthaginians had made reply, he returned without accomplishing anything. Subsequently he ascertained that the Mamertines were at odds (they did not want to submit to the Romans, and yet they felt uneasy about the Carthaginians), and he sailed over again. Frag. 43 among other remarks which he made to tempt them he declared that the object of his presence was to free the city, and as soon as he could set their affairs in order, he should sail away. he bade the carthaginians also either to withdraw, or, if they had any just plea, to offer it. now when not one of the mamertines (by reason of fear) opened his lips, and the carthaginians since they were occupying the city by force of arms paid no heed to him, he said: "the silence on both sides affords sufficient evidence. it shows that the one side is in the wrong, for they would have justified themselves if their purposes were at all honest; and that the other side covets freedom, for they would have been quite free to speak, if they had espoused the cause of the carthaginians." and he volunteered to aid them. At this a tumult of praise arose from the Mamertines. He then sailed back to Rhegium and a little later with his entire fleet forced his passage across. However, partly because of the numbers and skill of the Carthaginians, but chiefly because of the difficulty of sailing and a storm that suddenly broke Frag. 43 he lost some of his triremes and with the remainder barely succeeded in getting back to rhegium.

VIII, 9. — however, the romans did not shun the sea because of their defeat. Claudius proceeded to repair his ships, Frag. 43 while hanno, wishing to throw the responsibility for breaking the truce upon the romans, sent to claudius the captured triremes and restored the captives, urging him to agree to peace. Frag. 43 but when the other would accept nothing, he threatened that he would never permit the romans even to wash their hands in the sea. Claudius now having become acquainted with the strait watched for a time when the current and the wind both carried from Italy toward Sicily, and under those circumstances sailed to the island, encountering no opposition. Frag. 43 he discovered the mamertines at the harbor: hanno had before become suspicious of their movements and had established himself in the acropolis, which he was guarding. the roman leader accordingly convened an assembly and after some conversation with them persuaded them to send for hanno. the latter refused to come down, but filled with a subsequent fear that the Mamertines might allege injustice on his part and revolt he did enter the assembly. After many words had been spoken to no purpose by both sides, one of the Romans seized him and, with the approval of the Mamertines, threw him into prison.

Thus, under compulsion, Hanno left Messina entirely. The Carthaginians

disciplined him and sent a herald to the Romans bidding them leave Messana and depart from all of Sicily by a given day; they also set an army in motion. Since the Romans paid no heed, they put to death the mercenaries serving with them who were from Italy, and made an assault upon Messana, Hiero accompanying them. Then for a season they besieged the city and kept guard over the strait, to prevent any troops or provisions being conveyed to the foe. The consul was informed of this when he was already quite close at hand, and found a number of Carthaginians disposed at various points in and about the harbor under pretence of carrying on trade. In order to get safe across the strait he resorted to deception and did succeed in anchoring off Sicily by night. His point of approach was not far from the camp of Hiero and he joined battle without delay, thinking that his appearance in force would be most likely to inspire the enemy with fear. When they came out to withstand the attack, the Roman cavalry was worsted but the heavy-armed infantry prevailed. Hiero retired temporarily to the mountains and later to Syracuse.

When Hiero had retired, the Mamertines took courage because of the presence of Claudius. He therefore assailed the Carthaginians, who were now isolated, and their rampart, which was situated on a kind of peninsula. For on the one side the sea enclosed it and on the other some marshes, difficult to traverse. At the neck of this peninsula, the only entrance and a very narrow one, a cross wall had been built. In an attempt to carry this point by force the Romans fared badly and withdrew under a shower of weapons. Frag. 43 the libyans then took courage and sallied out, pursuing the fugitives, as they thought them, beyond the narrow strip of land. thereupon the romans wheeled, routed them, and killed a number, so that they did not issue from the camp again, — at least so long as claudius was in messana. He, however, not daring to attack the approach in force, left a detachment behind in Messana and turned his steps toward Syracuse and Hiero. He personally superintended the assault upon the city, and now and then the inhabitants would come out to battle. Each side would sometimes be victorious and sometimes incur defeat. One day the consul got into a confined position and would have been caught, had he not, before being surrounded, sent to Hiero an invitation to agree to some terms. When the representative came with whom he was to conclude the terms, he kept falling back unobtrusively, while he conversed with him, until he had retired to safety. But the city could not easily be taken, and a siege, on account of scarcity of food supplies and disease in the army, was impracticable. Claudius accordingly withdrew; and the Syracusans following held discussions with his scattered followers and would have made a truce, if Hiero also had been willing to agree to terms. The consul left behind a garrison in Messana and sailed back to Rhegium.

B.C. 263

(a.u. 491)As Etruscan unrest had come to a standstill and affairs in Italy were perfectly peaceful, whereas the Carthaginian state was becoming ever greater,

the Romans ordered both the consuls to make an expedition into Sicily. Valerius Maximus and Otacilius Crassus consequently crossed over and in their progress through the island together and separately they won over many towns by capitulation. When they had made the majority of places their own, they set out for Syracuse. Hiero in terror sent a herald to them with offers: he expressed a readiness to restore the cities of which they had been deprived, promised money, and liberated the prisoners. On these terms he obtained peace, for the consuls thought they could subjugate the Carthaginians more easily with his help. After reaching an agreement with him, then, they turned their attention to the remaining cities garrisoned by Carthaginians. They were repulsed from all of them except Segesta, which they took without resistance. Its inhabitants because of their relationship with the Romans (they declare they are descended from Æneas) slew the Carthaginians and joined the Roman alliance.

VIII, 10. — On account of the winter the consuls embarked again for Rhegium. The Carthaginians conveyed most of their army to Sardinia in the intention of attacking Rome from that quarter. They would thus either rout them out of Sicily altogether or would render them weaker after they had crossed. Yet they achieved neither the one object nor the other. The Romans both kept guard over their own land and sent a respectable force to Sicily with Postumius Albinus and Quintus Æmilius. B.C. 262

(*a.u.* 492) On arriving in Sicily the consuls set out for Agrigentum and there besieged Hannibal the son of Gisco. The people of Carthage, when apprised of it, sent Hanno, with a powerful support, to aid him in the warfare. This leader arrived at Heraclea, not far from Agrigentum, and was soon engaged in war. A number of battles, but not great ones, took place. At first Hanno challenged the consuls to fight, then later on the Romans challenged him. For as long as the Romans had an abundance of food, they did not venture to contend against a superior force, and were hoping to get possession of the city by famine; when, however, they encountered a permanent shortage of grain, they displayed a zeal for taking risks, but Hanno showed hesitation; their eagerness led him to suspect that he might be ambushed. Everybody therefore was satisfied to revere the Romans as easy conquerors, and Hiero, who once coöperated with them sulkily, now sent them grain, so that even the consuls took heart.

Hanno now undertook to bring on a battle, expecting that Hannibal would fall upon the Romans in the rear, assailing them from the wall. The consuls learned his plan but remained inactive, and Hanno in scorn approached their intrenchments. They also sent some men to lie in ambush behind him. When toward evening he fearlessly and contemptuously led a charge, the Romans joined battle with him from ambush and from palisade and wrought a great slaughter of the enemy and of the elephants besides. Hannibal had in the meantime assailed the Roman tents, but was hurled back by the men guarding

them. Hanno abandoned his camp and made good his escape to Heraclea. Hannibal then formed a plan to escape as runaways from Agrigentum by night, and himself eluded observation; the rest, however, were recognized and were killed, some by the Romans and many by the Agrigentinians. For all that the people of Agrigentum did not obtain pardon, but their wealth was plundered and they themselves were all sold into servitude.

On account of the winter the consuls retired to Messana. The Carthaginians were angry with Hanno and despatched Hamilcar the son of Barca in his stead, a man superior in generalship to all his countrymen save only Hannibal his son. B.C. 261

(*a.u.* 493)Hamilcar himself guarded Sicily and sent Hannibal as admiral to damage the coast sections of Italy and so draw the consuls to his vicinity. Yet he did not accomplish his aim, for they posted guards along both shores and then went to Sicily. They effected nothing worthy of record, however. And Hamilcar, becoming afraid that his Gallic mercenaries (who were offended because he had not given them full pay) might go over to the Romans, brought about their destruction. He sent them to take charge of one of the cities under Roman sway, assuring them that it was in course of being betrayed and giving them permission to plunder it: he then sent to the consuls pretended deserters to give them advance information of the coming of the Gauls. Hence all the Gauls were ambuscaded and destroyed; many of the Romans also perished.

After the consuls had departed home Hamilcar sailed to Italy and ravaged the land and won over some cities in Sicily. On receipt of this information the Romans B.C. 260

(*a.u.* 494)gathered a fleet and put one of the consuls, Gaius Duillius, in command of it, while they sent his colleague, Gaius Cornelius, to Sicily. He, neglecting the war on land which had fallen to his lot, sailed with the ships that belonged to him to Lipara, on the understanding that it was to be betrayed to him. Through treachery it had fallen into the hands of the Carthaginians. When, therefore, he put into Lipara, Bodes the lieutenant of Hannibal closed in upon him. As Gaius made preparations to defend himself, Bodes fearing the Romans' desperation invited them to discuss terms. Having persuaded them to do so he took the consul and military tribunes, who supposed they were to meet the admiral, on board his own trireme. These men he sent to Carthage: the rest he captured without their so much as lifting a weapon.

VIII, 11. — Then Hannibal continued the ravaging of Italy, while Hamilcar made a campaign against Segesta, where the Romans had most of their infantry force. Gaius Cæcilius, a military tribune, wanted to assist them, but Hamilcar waylaid him and slaughtered many of his followers. The people of Rome learning this at once sent out the prætor urbanus and incited Duillius to haste. On coming to Sicily he learned the fact that the ships of the

Carthaginians were inferior to his own in stoutness and size, but excelled in the quickness of their rowing and variety of movement. Therefore he fitted out his triremes with mechanical devices, — anchors and grappling irons with long spikes and other such things, — in order that by laying hold of the hostile ships with these they might pin them fast to their own vessels; then by crossing over into them they might have a hand to hand conflict with the Carthaginians and engage them just as in an infantry battle. When the Carthaginians began the fight with the Roman ships, they sailed round and round them using the oars rapidly and would make sudden dashes. So for the time the conflict was an evenly matched one: later the Romans got the upper hand and sank numbers of crews, retaining possession also of large numbers. Hannibal conducted the fight on a boat of seven banks, but when his own ship became entangled with a trireme, he feared capture, hastily left the seven banked affair, and transferring to another ship effected his escape.

This was the way, then, that the naval battle resulted, and much spoil was taken. Frag. 43 the carthaginians would have put hannibal to death on account of the defeat, if he had not immediately enquired of them whether, granted that the business were still untouched, they would bid him risk a sea-fight or not. they agreed that he ought to fight, for they prided themselves upon having a superior navy. he then added: “i, then, have done no wrong, for i went into the engagement with the same hopes as you. it was the decision, but not the fortune of the battle that happened to be within my power.” So he saved his life, but was deprived of his command. — Duillius after securing a reinforcement of infantry rescued the people of Segesta, and Hamilcar would not venture to come into close conflict with him. He strengthened the loyalty of the other friendly settlements and returned to Rome at the close of autumn. Upon his departure Hamilcar took forcible possession of the place called Drepanum (it is a convenient roadstead), deposited there the objects of greatest value and transferred to it all the people of Eryx. The city of the latter, because it was a strong point, he razed to the ground to prevent the Romans from seizing it and making it a base of operations for the war. He captured some cities, too, some by force, some by betrayal; and if Gaius Florus who wintered there had not restrained him, he would have subjugated Sicily entire.

B.C. 259

(a.u. 495) Lucius Scipio, his colleague, made a campaign against Sardinia and against Corsica. These islands are situated in the Tyrrhenian sea only a short distance apart, — so short a distance, in fact, that from a little way off they seem to be one. His first landing place was Corsica. There he captured by force Valeria, its largest city, and subdued the remainder of the region without effort. As he was sailing toward Sardinia he descried a Carthaginian fleet and directed his course to it. The enemy fled before a battle could be joined and he came to the city of Olbia. There the Carthaginians put in an appearance along

with their ships, and Scipio being frightened (for he had no infantry worthy the mention) set sail for home.

These were the days when the Samnites with the coöperation of other captives and slaves in the city came to an agreement to form a conspiracy against Rome. Numbers of them had been brought there with a view to their utilization in the equipment of the fleet. Herius Potilius, the leader of the auxiliary force, found it out and pretended to be of like mind with them, in order that he might fully inform himself in regard to what they had determined. As he was not able to give knowledge of the affair, — for all those about him were Samnites, — he persuaded them to gather in the Forum at a time when a senate meeting was being convened and denounce him with declarations that they were being wronged in the matter of the grain which they were receiving. They did this and he was sent for as being the cause of the tumult; and he then laid bare to the Romans the plot. For the moment they merely dismissed the protestants (after they had become quiet) but by night all of those who held slaves arrested some of them. And in this way the entire conspiracy was overthrown.

B.C. 253

(*a.u.* 496) The following summer the Romans and the Carthaginians fought in Sicily and Sardinia at once. Somewhat later Atilius Latinus went to Sicily and finding a city named Mytistratus being besieged by Florus he made use of the latter's support. He made assaults upon the circuit of the wall which the natives with the help of the Carthaginians at first withstood vigorously, but when the women and children were moved to tears and laments they abandoned resistance. The Carthaginians passed out secretly by night and at daybreak the natives voluntarily swung the gates wide open. The Romans went in and proceeded to slaughter them all till Atilius made proclamation that the remainder of the booty and the human beings belonged to him who might take them. Forthwith they spared the lives of the remaining captives and after pillaging the city burned it to the ground.

VIII, 12. — Thence they proceeded heedlessly against Camarina and came into a region where an ambushade had already been set. They would have perished utterly, had not Marcus Calpurnius, serving as military tribune, matched the catastrophe by his cleverness. He saw that one and one only of the surrounding hills had by reason of its steepness not been occupied and he asked of the consul three hundred heavy-armed men and with them he set out for that point. His purpose was to make the enemy turn their attention to his detachment so that then the rest of the Romans might make their escape. And so it happened; for when the adversaries saw his project, they were thunderstruck and left the consul and his followers as men already captured in order to make a united rush upon Calpurnius. A fierce battle ensued in which many of the opposing side and all the three hundred fell. Calpurnius alone

survived. He had been wounded and lay unnoticed among the heaps of slain, being as good as dead by reason of his wounds; afterward he was found alive and his life was saved. While the three hundred were fighting, the consul got away; and after this escape he reduced Camarina and other cities, some by force and some by capitulation. Next Atilius set out against Lipara. But Hamilcar at night by stealth occupied it in advance and by making a sudden sally killed many Romans.

Gaius Sulpicius overran the most of Sardinia and filled with arrogance as a result he set out for Libya. The Carthaginians, alarmed for the safety of their home population, also set sail with Hannibal, Frag. 43 but as a contrary wind was encountered both leaders turned back. subsequently atilius brought about hannibal's defeat through some false deserters who pretended that Atilius was going to sail to Libya again. Hannibal weighed anchor and came out with speed, whereupon Sulpicius sailed to meet him and sank the majority of his vessels, which, because of a mist, did not know for a long time what was taking place and were thrown into confusion; all that made their escape to land he seized, though minus their crews, for Hannibal who saw that the harbor was unsafe abandoned them and retired to the city of Sulci. There the Carthaginians engaged in mutiny against their leader and he came forth before them alone and was slain. The Romans in consequence overran the country with greater ease, but were defeated by Hanno. This is what took place that year. Also stones in great quantities at once, and in appearance something like hail, fell from heaven upon Rome continually. It likewise came to pass that stones descended upon Albanum and elsewhere.

B.C. 257

(a.u. 497)The consuls on coming to Sicily made a campaign against Lipara. Perceiving the Carthaginians lying in the harbor below the height called Tyndaris they divided their expedition in two. One of the consuls with half the fleet surrounded the promontory, and Hamilcar thinking them an isolated force set sail. When the rest came up, he turned to flight and lost most of his fleet. The Romans were elated, and feeling that Sicily was already theirs they left it and ventured to make an attempt on Libya and Carthage. Frag. 43 their leaders were marcus regulus and lucius manlius, preferred before others for their excellence. B.C. 256

(a.u. 498)These two sailed to Sicily, settled affairs there, and made ready for the voyage to Libya: the Carthaginians did not wait for their hostile voyage to begin, but after due preparation hastened toward Sicily. Off Heracleotis the opposing forces met. The contest was for a long time evenly balanced but in the end the Romans got the best of it. Hamilcar did not dare to withstand their progress, Frag. 43 but sent hanno to them pretendedly in behalf of peace, whereas he really wished to use up time; he was in hopes that an army would be sent to him from home. when some clamored for hanno's arrest, because the carthaginians had also treacherously arrested cornelius, the envoy said: "If

you do this, you will be no longer any better than Libyans.” He, therefore, by flattering them most opportunely escaped any kind of molestation: the Romans, however, again took up the war. And the consuls sailed from Messana, while Hamilcar and Hanno separated and studied how to enclose them from both sides. Hanno, however, would not stand before them when they approached, but sailed away betimes to the harbor of Carthage and kept constant guard of the city. Hamilcar, apprised of this, stayed where he was. The Romans disembarked on land and marched against the city Aspis, whose inhabitants, seeing them approaching, slipped out quietly and in good season. The Romans thus occupied it without striking a blow and made it a base in the war. From it they ravaged the country and acquired cities, some of their own free will and others by intimidation. They also kept securing great booty, receiving vast numbers of deserters, and getting back many of their own men who had been captured in the previous wars.

VIII, 13. — Winter came on and Manlius sailed back to Rome with the booty, whereas Regulus remained behind in Libya. The Carthaginians found themselves in the depths of woe, since their country was being pillaged and their vassals alienated; but cooped up in their fortifications they remained inactive. (Frag. 43?)while regulus was beside the bagradas river a serpent of huge bulk appeared to him, the length of which is said to have been one hundred and twenty feet. its slough was carried to rome for exhibition purposes. and the rest of its body corresponded in size. It destroyed many of the soldiers that approached it and some also who were drinking from the river. Regulus overcame it by a crowd of soldiers and hurling-engines. After thus destroying it he gave battle by night to Hamilcar, who was encamped upon a high, woody spot; and he slew many in their beds as well as many who had just risen. Any who escaped fell in with Romans guarding the roads, who despatched them. In this way a large division of Carthaginians was blotted out and numerous cities went over to the Romans. Frag. 43 those in the town being in fear of capture sent heralds to the consul to the end that having by some satisfactory arrangement induced him to go away they might avoid the danger of the moment and so escape. but when many unreasonable demands were made of them, they decided that the truce would mean their utter subjugation and prepared rather to fight.

B.C. 255

(a.u. 499)Regulus, however, who up to that time was fortunate, became filled with boastfulness and conceit, so much so that he even wrote to Rome that he had sealed up the gates of Carthage with fear. His followers and the people of Rome thought the same way, and this caused their undoing. Allies of various sorts came to the Carthaginians, among them Xanthippus from Sparta. He assumed the general superintendence of the Carthaginians, for the populace was eager to entrust matters to his charge and Hamilcar together with the other officials stepped aside voluntarily. The new leader, then, disposed things

excellently in every way, and particularly he brought the Carthaginians down from the heights, where they were staying through fear, into the level country, where their horses and elephants were sure to develop greatest power. For some time he remained inactive until at length he found the Romans encamped in a way that betokened their contempt. They were very haughty over their victorious progress and looked down upon Xanthippus as a “Græcus” (this is a name they give to Hellenes and they use this epithet as a reproach to them for their mean birth); B.C. 255

(a.u. 499) consequently they had constructed their camp in a heedless fashion. While the Romans were in this situation, Xanthippus assailed them, routed their cavalry with his elephants, cut down many and captured many alive, among them Regulus himself. This put the Carthaginians in high spirits. They saved the lives of the captives in order that their own citizens previously taken captive by the Romans might not be killed. All the Roman prisoners were treated with consideration except Regulus, whom they kept in a state of utter misery; they offered him only just food enough to maintain existence and they would repeatedly lead an elephant close up to him to frighten him, so that he might have peace in neither body nor mind. After afflicting him in this way for a good while they placed him in prison.

The manner in which the Carthaginians dealt with their allies forms a chapter of great ruthlessness in this story. They were not supplied with sufficient wealth to pay them what they had originally promised, and dismissed them with the understanding that they would pay them their wages before very long. To the men who escorted the allies, however, they issued orders to put them ashore on a desert island and quietly sail away. As to Xanthippus, one story is that they drowned him, attacking him in boats after his boat had departed: the other is that they gave him an old ship which was in no wise seaworthy but had been newly covered over with pitch outside, that it might sink quite of itself; and that he, aware of the fact, got aboard a different ship and so was saved. Their reason for doing this was to avoid seeming to have been preserved by his ability; for they thought that once he had perished the renown of his deeds would also perish.

VIII, 14. — The people of Rome were grieved at the turn of events and more especially because they were looking for the Carthaginians to sail against Rome itself. For this reason they carefully guarded Italy and hastily sent to the Romans in Sicily and Libya the consuls Marcus Æmilius and Fulvius Pætinus. They after sailing to Sicily and garrisoning the positions there started for Libya, but were overtaken by a storm and carried to Cossura. They ravaged the island and put it in charge of a garrison, then sailed onward again. Meanwhile a fierce naval battle with the Carthaginians had taken place. The latter were struggling to eject the Romans entirely from their native land, and the Romans to save the remnants of their soldiers who had been left in hostile territory. In the midst of a close battle the Romans in Aspis suddenly

attacked the Carthaginians in ships from the rear, and by getting them between two forces overcame them. Later the Romans also won an infantry engagement and took many prisoners, whose lives they saved because of Regulus and those captured with him. They made several raids and then sailed to Sicily. After encountering a storm, however, and losing many of their number, they sailed for home with the ships that remained.

B.C. 254

(a.u. 500)The Carthaginians took Cossura and crossed over to Sicily; and had they not learned that Collatinus and Gnæus Cornelius were approaching with a large fleet, they would have subjugated the whole of it. The Romans had quickly fitted out a first-class fleet, had made levies of their best men, and had become so strong that in the third month they returned to Sicily. It was the five hundredth year from the founding of Rome. The lower city of Panhormus they took without trouble, but in the siege of the citadel they fared badly until food failed those in it. Then they came to terms with the consuls. Frag. 43 the carthaginians kept watch for their ships homeward bound and captured several that were full of money.

B.C. 253

(a.u. 501)The next event was that Servilius Cæpio and Gaius Sempronius, consuls, made an attempt upon Lilybæum (from which they were repulsed) and crossing over to Libya ravaged the coast districts. As they were returning homeward they encountered a storm and incurred damage. Hence the people, thinking that the damage was due to their inexperience in naval affairs, voted that they should keep away from the sea in general but with a few ships should guard Italy.

B.C. 252

(a.u. 502)In the succeeding year Publius Gaius and Aurelius Servilius came to Sicily and subdued Himera besides some other places. However, they did not get possession of any of its inhabitants, for the Carthaginians conveyed them away by night. After this Aurelius secured some ships from Hiero and adding to his contingent all the Romans that were there he sailed to Lipara. Here he left the tribune Quintus Cassius, who was to keep a lookout but avoid a battle, and set sail for home. Quintus, disregarding orders, made an attack upon the city and lost many men. Aurelius, however, subsequently took the place, killed all the inhabitants, and deposed Cassius from his command.

B.C. 251

(a.u. 503)The Carthaginians learned what the Romans had determined regarding the fleet and sent an expedition to Sicily hoping now to bring it entirely under their control. As long as both consuls, Cæcilius Metellus and Gaius Furius, were on the ground, they remained quiet; but when Furius set out for Rome, they conceived a contempt for Metellus and proceeded to

Panhormus. Metellus ascertained that spies had come from the enemy, and assembling all the people of the city he began a talk with them, in the midst of which he suddenly ordered them to lay hold of one another. He was thus enabled to investigate who each one was and what was his business and so detected the enemy. — The Carthaginians now set themselves in battle array and Metellus pretended to be afraid. As he continued this pretence for several days the Carthaginians became filled with presumption and attacked him rather recklessly. Then Metellus raised the signal for the Romans. Forthwith they made an unexpected rush through all the gates, easily overcame resistance, and enclosed the enemy in a narrow place through which they could now no longer retreat. Being many in number and with many elephants along they were huddled together and thrown into confusion. Meanwhile the Libyan fleet approached the coast and became the prime cause of their destruction. The fugitives seeing the ships rushed toward them and made desperate exertions to climb aboard; some fell into the sea and perished, other were killed by the elephants, which got close to one another and to the human beings, still others were slain by the Romans; many also were captured alive, men as well as elephants. For since the beasts, bereft of the men to whom they were used, became furious, Metellus made a proclamation to the prisoners, offering preservation and forgiveness to such as would check them: accordingly, some keepers approached the gentlest of the animals, controlling them by the influence of their accustomed presence, and then won over the remainder. These, one hundred and twenty in number, were conveyed to Rome, and they were ferried across the strait in the following way. A number of huge jars, separated by pieces of wood, were fastened together in such a way that they were neither detached nor yet did they touch; then this framework was spanned by beams and on the top of all earth and brush were placed and the surface was fenced in round about so that it resembled a courtyard. The beasts were put on board this and were ferried across without knowing that they were moving on the water. Thus did Metellus win a victory: Hasdrubal, the Carthaginian leader, though he got away safe on this occasion was later summoned to trial by the Carthaginians at home and suffered impalement.

Frag. 43 VIII, 15. — the carthaginians now began negotiations with the romans on account of the great number of the captives (among other causes); and with the envoys they also sent regulus himself, thinking that through him their object had practically been already gained because of the reputation and valor of the man: and they bound him by oaths to return without fail. and he acted in all respects like one of the carthaginians; for he did not even grant his wife leave to confer with him nor did he enter the city although repeatedly invited to do so; instead, when the senate was assembled outside the walls, as they were accustomed to do in treating with envoys of the enemy, and he was introduced into the gathering, he said: "We, Conscript Fathers, have been sent

to you by the Carthaginians. They it was who despatched me on this journey, since by the law of war I have become their slave. They ask, if possible, to conclude the war upon terms pleasing to both parties or, if not, to effect an exchange of prisoners.” At the end of these words he withdrew with the envoys that the Romans might deliberate in private. When the consuls urged him to take part in their discussion, Frag. 43 he paid no heed until permission was granted by the Carthaginians. For a time he was silent. Then, as the senators bade him state his opinion, he spoke:

BOOK 12, BOISSEVAIN.

“I am one of you, Conscript Fathers, though I be captured times without number. My body is a Carthaginian chattel, but my spirit is yours. The former has been alienated from you, but the latter nobody has the power to make anything else than Roman. As captive I belong to the Carthaginians, yet, as I met with misfortune not from cowardice but from zeal, I am not only a Roman, but my heart is in your cause. Not in a single respect do I think reconciliation advantageous to you.”

After these words Regulus stated also the reasons for which he favored rejecting the proposals, and added: “I know, to be sure, that manifest destruction confronts me, for it is impossible to keep them from learning the advice I have given; but even so I esteem the public advantage above my own safety. If any one shall say: ‘Why do you not run away, or stay here?’ he shall be told that I have sworn to them to return and I would not transgress my oaths, not even when they have been given to enemies. There are various explanations for this, but the principal one is that if I abide by my oath I alone shall suffer disaster, but if I break it, the whole city will be involved.”

But the senate out of consideration for his safety showed a disposition to make peace and to restore the captives. When he was made aware of this, he pretended, in order that he might not be the cause of their letting slip their advantage, that he had swallowed deadly poison and was destined certainly to die from its effects. Hence no agreement and no exchange of prisoners was made. As he was departing in company with the envoys, his wife and children and others clung to him, and the consuls declared they would not surrender him, if he chose to stay, nor yet would they detain him if he was for departing. Consequently, since he preferred not to transgress the oaths, he was carried back. He died of outrages, so the legend reports, perpetrated by his captors. They cut off his eyelids and for a time shut him in darkness, then they threw him into some kind of specially constructed receptacle bristling with spikes; and they made him face the sun; so that through suffering and sleeplessness, — for the spikes kept him from reclining in any fashion, — he perished. When the Romans found it out, they delivered the foremost captives that they held to his children to outrage and put to death in revenge.

B.C. 250

(a.u. 504) They voted that the consuls, Atilius Gaius, brother of Regulus, and Lucius Manlius, should make a campaign into Libya. On coming to Sicily they attacked Lilybæum and undertook to fill up a portion of the ditch to facilitate bringing up the engines. The Carthaginians dug below the mound and undermined it. As they found this to be a losing game because of the numbers of the opposing workmen, they built another wall, crescent-shaped, inside. The Romans ran tunnels under the circle, in order that when the wall

settled they might rush in through the breach thus made. The Carthaginians then built counter-tunnels and came upon many workers who were unaware of what the other side was doing. These they killed, and also destroyed many by hurling blazing firewood into the diggings. Some of the allies now, burdened by the strain of the siege and displeased because their superiors did not come down with their full wages, made propositions to the Romans to betray the place. Hamilcar discovered their plot but did not disclose it, for fear of driving them into open hostility. However, he supplied their leaders with money and in addition promised other supplies of it to the mass of them. In this way he won their favor, and they did not even deny their treachery but drove away the last envoys who returned. The latter then deserted to the consuls and received from them land in Sicily and other gifts.

The Carthaginians at home, hearing this, sent Adherbal with a very large number of ships carrying grain and money to Lilybæum. The leader waited for a time of storm and sailed in. Thereupon many others likewise ventured to attempt a landing, and some made it, others were destroyed.

As long as both the consuls were present, the conflicts were even. Pestilence and famine, however, came to harass them and these caused one of them with the soldiers of his division to return home. Hamilcar then took courage and made sorties in which he would set fire to the engines and slay the men defending them; his cavalry, starting from Drepanum, prevented the Romans from getting provisions and overran the territory of their allies; and Adherbal ravaged the shores now of Sicily, now of Italy, so that the Romans fell into perplexity. B.C. 249

(*a.u.* 505) Meantime, however, Lucius Junius was making ready a fleet, and Claudius Pulcher made haste to reach Lilybæum, where he manned ships of war. With these he overhauled Hanno the Carthaginian as he was leaving harbor on a five-banked ship. The prize craft served the Romans as a model in shipbuilding.

The interests of their fleet were so frequently endangered that the Romans were disheartened by the constant destruction of their ships. In these they lost numbers of men and vast sums of money. Yet they would not give up; nay, they even executed a man who in the senate opened his mouth about reconciliation with the Carthaginians, and they voted that a dictator should be named. Collatinus was therefore named dictator and Metellus became master of the horse, but they accomplished nothing worthy of remembrance. While Collatinus was being named dictator, Junius had won over Eryx, and Carthalo had occupied Ægithallus and taken Junius alive.

B.C. 248

(*a.u.* 506) VIII, 16. — The next year Gaius Aurelius and Publius Servilius took office and spent their time in harrying Lilybæum and Drepanum, in keeping

the Carthaginians off the land, and in devastating the region that was in alliance with them. Carthalo undertook many different kinds of enterprises against them, but, as he accomplished nothing, he started for Italy with the object of thus attracting the consuls to that country or, in any case, of injuring the district and capturing cities. Yet he made no headway even there and on learning that the prætor urbanus was approaching sailed back to Sicily. His mercenaries now rebelled about a question of pay, whereupon he put numbers ashore on desert islands and left them there, and sent many more off to Carthage. When the rest heard this, they became indignant and were on the point of an uprising. Hamilcar, Carthalo's successor, cut down numbers of them one night and had numerous others drowned. In the meantime the Romans had concluded a perpetual friendship with Hiero and they furthermore remitted all the dues which they were accustomed to receive from him annually.

B.C. 247

(*a.u.* 507) Next year the Romans officially refrained from naval warfare because of their misfortunes and expenses, but some private individuals asked for ships on condition of restoring the vessels but appropriating any booty gained; and among other injuries that they inflicted upon the enemy they sailed to Hippo, a Libyan city, and there burned to ashes all the boats and many of the buildings. The natives put chains across the mouth of their harbor and the invaders found themselves encompassed but saved themselves by cleverness and good fortune. They made a quick dash at the chains, and just as the beaks of the ships were about to catch in them the members of the crew went back to the stern, and so the prows being lightened cleared the chains: and again, by their making a rush into the prows, the sterns of the vessels were lifted high enough in the air. Thus they effected their escape, and later near Panhormus they conquered the Carthaginians with these ships.

Of the consuls Metellus Cæcilius was in the vicinity of Lilybæum, and Numerius Fabius was investing Drepanum, with additional designs upon the islet of Pelias. As this had been seized earlier by the Carthaginians, he sent soldiers by night who killed the garrison and took possession of the island. Learning this Hamilcar at dawn attacked the party that had crossed to it. Fabius not being able to ward them off led an assault upon Drepanum that he might either capture the city while deserted or bring back Hamilcar from the island. One of these objects was accomplished, for Hamilcar in fear retired within the fortifications. So Fabius occupied Pelias, and by filling in the strait (which happened to be shallow) between it and the mainland he made a clear stretch of solid ground and thus conducted with greater facility his hostile operations against the wall, which was rather weak at that point. Incidentally the Carthaginians caused the Romans excessive annoyance by undertaking circuitous voyages to Sicily and making trips across into Italy. — They exchanged each other's captives man for man; those left over (since the

numbers were not equal) the Carthaginians got back for money.

In the subsequent period various persons became consuls but effected nothing worthy of record. The Romans owed the majority of their reverses to the fact that they kept sending out from year to year different and ever different leaders, and took away their office from them when they were just learning the art of generalship. It looked as if they were choosing them for practice and not for service.

The Gauls, who were acting in alliance with the Carthaginians and hated them because their masters treated them ill, abandoned to the Romans for money a position with the guarding of which they had been entrusted. The Romans secured for mercenary service the Gauls and other of the Carthaginian allies who had revolted from their service; never before had they supported foreigners in their army. Elated at this accession and furthermore by the ravaging of Libya on the part of the private citizens who were managing the ships, they were no longer willing to neglect the sea, and they again got together a fleet.

B.C. 241

(*a.u.* 513)VIII, 17. — And Lutatius Catulus was chosen consul and with him was sent out Quintus Valerius Flaccus as *prætor urbanus*. On coming to Sicily they assailed Drepanum both by land and by sea and demolished a section of the wall. They would have captured the town but for the fact that the consul was wounded and the soldiers were wholly engrossed in caring for him. During the delay which ensued they learned that a body of the enemy had come from home with a huge fleet commanded by Hanno, and they turned their attention to these new arrivals. When the forces had been marshaled in hostile array, a meteor like a star appeared above the Romans and after rising high to the left of the Carthaginians plunged into their ranks. The naval combat was a vigorous one on the part of both nations, and for several reasons; especially were the Carthaginians anxious to drive the Romans into complete despair of naval success, and the Romans to retrieve their former disasters. In spite of everything the Romans carried off the victory, for the Carthaginian vessels were impeded by the fact that they carried freight, — grain and money and other things.

Hanno escaped and hastened at once to Carthage. The Carthaginians, seized with wrath and fear, crucified him and sent envoys to Catulus regarding peace. And he was disposed to end the war since his office was soon to expire and he could not hope to destroy Carthage in so short a time; nor, again, did he care to leave his successors the glory of his own efforts. Consequently they effected an armistice by giving him money, grain, and hostages; these preliminaries secured them the right of sending envoys to Rome and proposing as conditions that they retire from Sicily entire, yielding it to the Romans, as well as abandon all the surrounding islands, that they carry on no war with Hiero, and pay an indemnity, a part at the time of making the treaty

and a part later, and that they return the Roman deserters and captives free of cost, but ransom their own.

Such were the terms agreed upon. Hamilcar succeeded only in having the disgrace of going under the yoke left out. After settling these conditions he led his soldiers out of the fortifications and sailed for home before the oaths were imposed. The people of Rome soon learned of the victory and were greatly elated, feeling that their superiority was indisputable. Upon the arrival of envoys they could no longer restrain themselves and hoped to possess all of Libya. Therefore they would not abide by the terms of the consul: instead, they exacted from them a very much larger sum of money than had been promised. They forbade them also to sail past Italy or allied territory abroad in ships of war, or to employ mercenaries from such districts.

The first war between the Carthaginians and the Romans, then, ended this way in the twenty-fourth year. Catulus celebrated a triumph over its conclusion. Quintus Lutatius became consul and departed for Sicily, where with his brother Catulus he enforced order in all communities; and he deprived the islanders of arms. Thus Sicily, with the exception of Hiero's domain, was made a slave of Rome, and from this time its people were on a friendly footing with the Carthaginians.

Both soon were again involved in other wars outside. At Carthage the remnant of their mercenary force and the slave population in the city and a large proportion of their hostages (influenced by the disasters of the State) joined in an attack upon it. The Romans did not heed the invitations to aid the party that had assumed the offensive, but sent envoys in turn for discussion; and when they found themselves unable to reconcile the combatants, they released free of cost all the Carthaginian captives they were holding, sent grain to the city and permitted it to gather mercenaries from Roman allied territory. By this action they were seeking to gain a reputation for fairness rather than displaying a real interest in their own advantage, and this later caused them trouble. For the great Hamilcar Barca, after he had conquered his adversaries, did not dare to make a campaign against the Romans, much as he hated them; but he started for Spain contrary to the wishes of the magistrates at home.

VIII, 18. — This, however, took place later. At the time under discussion the Romans entered upon war with the Falisci, and Manlius Torquatus ravaged their country. In a battle with them his heavy infantry was worsted but his cavalry conquered. In a second engagement with them he was victorious and took possession of their arms, their cavalry, their furniture, their slaves, and half their country. Later on the original city, which was set upon a steep mountain, was torn down and another one was built, easily reached by road. After this the Romans again waged wars upon the Boii and upon the Gauls that were neighbors of the latter, and upon some Ligurians. The Ligurians were conquered in battle and otherwise injured by Sempronius Gracchus: Publius Valerius in a conflict with the Gauls was at first defeated,

but soon, learning that troops had come from Rome to his assistance, he renewed the struggle with the Gauls, determined either to conquer by his own exertions or to die — he preferred that rather than to live and bear the stigma of disgrace; and by some fortune or other he managed to win the day.

B.C. 238

(*a.u.* 516)At this time these events befell the Romans as described. They also secured Sardinia from the Carthaginians and a new supply of money by charging them with harming Roman shipping. The Carthaginians, not having yet recovered strength, feared their threats. — Next year Lucius Lentulus and Quintus Flaccus made a campaign against the Gauls; and as long as they remained together, they were invincible, B.C. 237

(*a.u.* 517)but when they began to pillage districts separately with the idea of getting greater booty, the army of Flaccus fell into danger, being surrounded by night. Temporarily the barbarians were beaten back, but having gained accessions of allies they proceeded anew with a huge force against the Romans. B.C. 236

(*a.u.* 518)When confronted by Publius Lentulus and Licinius Varus, they hoped to overcome them by their numbers and prevail without a battle. So they sent and demanded the land surrounding Ariminum and commanded the Romans to remove from the city since it belonged to them. The consuls on account of their small numbers did not dare to risk a battle nor would they take the responsibility of releasing any territory, and accordingly they arranged a truce to confer with Rome. Gallic emissaries came before the senate with the aforementioned representations. As none of their demands was granted, the envoys returned to camp. There they found their cause was ruined. Some of their allies had repented and regarding the Romans with fear had turned upon the Boii, and many had been killed on both sides. Then the remainder had gone home and the Boii had obtained peace only at the price of a large portion of their land.

The Gallic wars having now ceased, Lentulus conducted a campaign against the Ligurians. He drove off the attacking parties and gained possession of several fortresses. — Varus took Corsica as his objective point, and inasmuch as he lacked the necessary ships to carry him over, he sent a certain Claudius Clineas in advance with troops. The latter terrified the Corsicans, held a conference with them, and made peace as though he had full authority to do so. But Varus, paying no attention to the covenant, fought against the Corsicans until he had subjugated them. Frag. 44 the romans to divert the blame for breaking the compact from themselves sent to the people offering to give claudius up. when he was not received, they drove him into exile. Frag. 45 they were on the point of leading an expedition against the carthaginians alleging that the latter were committing outrages upon the merchants; but instead of doing this they exacted money and renewed the truce. Yet the agreements were not destined even so to be of long standing. — The case of

the Carthaginians was accordingly postponed and they made an expedition against the Sardinians, who would not yield obedience, and conquered them. Subsequently the Carthaginians persuaded the Sardinians to plan a secret uprising against the Romans. Besides these the Corsicans also revolted and the Ligurians did not remain at rest.

B.C. 234

(*a.u.* 520)The following year the Romans divided their forces into three parts in order that all the rebels, finding war waged upon them at once, might not render assistance to one another; and they sent Postumius Albinus into Liguria, Spurius Carvilius against the Corsicans, and Publius Cornelius, the prætor urbanus, into Sardinia. And the consuls not without trouble, yet with some speed, accomplished their missions. The Sardinians, animated by an immoderate amount of spirit, were vanquished by Carvilius in a fierce battle, for Cornelius and many of his soldiers had been destroyed by disease. When the Romans left their country, the Sardinians and the Ligurians revolted again.

B.C. 233

(*a.u.* 521)Quintus Fabius Maximus was accordingly sent to Ligurian territory and Pomponius Manius into Sardinia. The Carthaginians, as the cause of the wars, were adjudged enemies, and they sent to them and demanded money and ordained that they should remove their ships from all the islands, since these ports were hostile to them. In making known their attitude the Romans despatched to their rivals a spear and a herald's staff, bidding them choose one, whichever they pleased. But the Carthaginians without shrinking made a rather rough answer and declared that they chose neither of the articles sent them, but were ready to accept either that the challengers might leave there. Henceforth the two nations hated each other but hesitated to begin war.

B.C. 232

(*a.u.* 522)As there was again a hostile movement of the Sardinians against the Romans, both the consuls took the field, Marcus Malleolus and Marcus Æmilius. And they secured rich spoils, which, however, were taken away from them by the Corsicans when they touched at their island. Hence the Romans next turned their attention to both. B.C. 231

(*a.u.* 523)Marcus Pomponius harried Sardinia, but could not find most of the inhabitants, who, as he learned, had slipped into caves of the forest, difficult to locate; therefore he sent for keen-scented dogs from Italy and with their aid he discovered the trail of both men and cattle and cut off many such parties. Gaius Papirius drove the Corsicans from the plains, but in attempting to force his way to the mountains he lost numerous men through ambush and would have suffered loss of still more through lack of water, had not water after a great while been found; then he persuaded the Corsicans to come to terms.

VIII, 19. — About this time also Hamilcar the Carthaginian general was defeated by the Spaniards and lost his life. For, on the occasion of his being

arrayed in battle against them, they led out in front of the Carthaginian army wagons full of pine wood and pitch and as they drew near they set fire to these vehicles, then hurried on with goads the animals that were drawing them. Forthwith their opponents were thrown into confusion, were disorganized and turned to flight, and the Spaniards pursuing killed Hamilcar and a very great number of others. He having reached the very highest pinnacle of fame thus met his end, and at his death his brother-in-law Hasdrubal succeeded him. The latter acquired a large portion of Spain and founded a city called Carthage, after his native town.

As the Boii and the rest of the Gauls were continually offering for sale many articles and an especially large number of captives, the Romans became afraid that they might some day use the money against them, and accordingly forbade everybody to give to a Gaul either silver or gold coin. — B.C. 230 (a.u. 524) Soon after the Carthaginians, learning that the consuls Marcus Æmilius and Marcus Junius had started for Liguria, made preparations to march upon Rome. The consuls became aware of this and proceeded toward them in force, whereupon the Carthaginians became frightened and met them with all appearances of friendliness. The consuls likewise feigned that they had not set out against them but were going through their country into the Ligurian territory.

Now the Romans crossed the Ionian Gulf and laid hands upon the Greek mainland. They found an excuse for the voyage in the following circumstances. Frag. 47 issa is an island situated in the ionian gulf. its dwellers, known as issæans, had of their own free will surrendered themselves to the romans because they were angry with their ruler Agro, king of the Ardiæans and of Illyrian stock. Frag. 47 to him the consuls sent envoys. But he had died, leaving a son as his successor who was still a mere child, Frag. 47 and his wife, the boy's stepmother, was administering the domain of the ardiæans. her dealings with the ambassadors were characterized by a lack of moderation, and when they spoke frankly she cast some of them into prison and killed others. immediately the romans voted for war against her, however, she was panic-stricken, promised to restore the ambassadors that were left alive, and declared that the dead had been slain by robbers. when the romans demanded the surrender of the murderers, she declared that she would not give them up and despatched an army against issa. then she again grew fearful and sent a certain demetrius to the consuls, assuring them of her readiness to heed them in every detail. a truce was made with her emissary upon the latter's agreeing to give them corcyra. yet when the consuls had crossed over to the island, she, possessing woman-like a light and fickle disposition, felt imbued with new courage, and sent out an army to epidamnus and apollonia. at the news that the romans had rescued the cities, that they had detained ships of hers laden with treasure which were sailing home from the peloponnesus, that they had devastated the coast regions, that demetrius as a result of her

capriciousness had transferred his allegiance to the romans besides persuading some others to desert, she became utterly terrified and withdrew from her sovereignty. Demetrius as destined guardian of the child was given charge of the ex-queen also. The Romans were thanked by the Corinthians for this action and took part in the Isthmian contest, Plautus winning the stadium race in it. Moreover they formed a friendship with the Athenians and took part in their government and in the Mysteries.

The name Illyricum was anciently applied to various regions, but later it was transferred to the upper mainland, that above Macedonia and Thrace, located this side of Hæmus and toward Rhodope: it lies between these mountains and the Alps, also between the river Ænus and the Ister, extending as far as the Euxine Sea, — indeed, its boundaries at some points extend beyond the Ister.

(Frag. 48?) as an oracle had once come to the romans that greeks and gauls should occupy the city, two gauls and a couple of greeks, male and female, were buried alive in the forum, that in this way destiny might seem to have fulfilled itself and they be properly regarded, since buried alive, as possessing a part of the city.

After this the Sardinians, deeming it a calamity that a Roman prætor was forever set over them, made an uprising. They were again enslaved, however.

VIII, 20. — The Insubres, a Gallic tribe, having gained allies among their kinsmen beyond the Alps turned their arms against the Romans, and the latter accordingly made counter-preparations. The barbarians plundered some towns, but at last a great storm occurred in the night and they began to suspect that Heaven was against them. Consequently they lost heart and falling into a panic attempted to entrust their safety to flight. B.C. 225

(a.u. 529) Regulus pursued them and brought on an engagement with the rear guards in which he was defeated and lost his life. Æmilius occupied a hill and remained quiet. The Gauls in turn occupied another one and for several days were inactive; then the Romans through anger at what had taken place and the barbarians from arrogance born of the victory charged down from the heights and came to blows. For a long time the battle was evenly contested, but finally the Romans surrounded them with their horse, cut them down, seized their camp, and got back the spoils. After this Æmilius wrought havoc among the possessions of the Boii and Frag. 49 celebrated a triumph, in which he conveyed the foremost captives clad in armor up to the capitol, making jests at their expense for having sworn not to remove their breastplates before they had mounted the capitol. The Romans now secured control of the entire territory of the Boii and for the first time crossed the Po to take the offensive against the Insubres; and they continued to ravage their country.

Meanwhile portents had occurred which threw the people of Rome into great fear. A river in Picenum ran the color of blood, in Etruria a good part of the heavens seemed to be on fire, at Ariminum a light like daylight blazed out at

night, in many portions of Italy the shapes of three moons became visible in the night time, and in the Forum a vulture roosted for several days. B.C. 223 (*a.u.* 531) Because of these portents and inasmuch as some declared that the consuls had been illegally chosen, they summoned them home. The consuls received the letter but did not open it immediately, since they were just entering upon war: instead, they joined battle first and came out victorious. After the battle the letter was read, and Furius was for obeying without discussion; but Flaminius was elated over the victory and pointed out that it had proved their choice to be correct, and he went on with vehement assertions that it was because they were jealous of him that the influential men were even falsifying heavenly warnings. Consequently he refused to depart until he had settled the whole business in hand, and he said he would teach the people at home, too, not to be deceived by relying on birds or any other such thing. So he was anxious to remain on the ground and made repeated attempts to detain his colleague, but Furius would not heed him. But since the men who were going to be left behind with Flaminius dreaded lest in their isolation they might suffer some disaster at the hands of their opponents and begged him to stay by them for a few days, he yielded to their entreaties but did not take part in any action. Flaminius traveled about laying waste the country, subjugated a few forts, and bestowed all the spoils upon the soldiers as a means of winning their favor. At length the leaders returned home and were put on trial by the senate for their disobedience (on account of their anger towards Flaminius they subjected Furius also to disgrace); but the populace was against the senate and showed emulation in Flaminius's behalf, so that it voted them a triumph. After celebrating it they laid down their office.

B.C. 222

(*a.u.* 532) Other consuls, Claudius Marcellus and Gnaeus Scipio, chosen in their stead, made an expedition against the Insubres, for the Romans had not complied with the latter's requests by voting for peace. Together at first they carried on the war and were in most cases victorious. Soon, learning that the allied territory was being plundered, they severed their forces. Marcellus made a quick march against those plundering the land of the allies, but did not find them on the scene; he then pursued them as they fled and when they made a stand overcame them. Scipio remained where he was and proceeded to besiege Acerræ; he took it and made it a base for the war, since it was favorably located and well walled. Starting from that point they subdued Mediolanum and another village-town. After these had been captured the rest of the Insubres also made terms with them, giving them money and a section of the land.

B.C. 221

(*a.u.* 533)

B.C. 220

(*a.u.* 534)

Frag. 51 Thereafter Publius Cornelius and Marcus Minucius made a campaign to the Ister regions and brought into subjection many of the nations there, some by war and some on terms agreed upon. Lucius Veturius and Gaius Lutatius went as far as the Alps and without any fighting established Roman sovereignty over many people. The prince of the Ardiæans, however, demetrius, was, as has been stated above, hateful to the natives and injured the property of neighboring tribes; and it appeared that it was by misusing the friendship of the romans that he was able to wrong those peoples. B.C. 219 (*a.u.* 535)as soon as the consuls, æmilius paulus and marcus livius, heard of this they summoned him before them. when he refused compliance and actually assailed their allies, they made a campaign against issa, where he was. And having received advance information that he was lying secretly at anchor somewhere in the vicinity of the landing-places they sent a portion of their ships to the other side of the island to bring on an engagement. When the Illyrians accordingly fell upon the reconnoitering party, thinking them alone, the main body approached at leisure in their ships and after pitching camp in a suitable place repulsed the natives, who, angry at the trick, lost no time in attacking them. Demetrius made his escape to Pharos, another island, but they sailed to that, overcame resistance, and captured the city by betrayal, only to find Demetrius fled. He at this time reached Macedonia with large amounts of money and went to Philip, the king of the country. He was not surrendered by him, but on returning to the Illyrians was arrested by the Romans and was executed.

BOOK 13, BOISSEVAIN.

B.C. 218

(*a.u.* 536)VIII, 21. — In the succeeding year the Romans became openly hostile to the Carthaginians, and the war, though of far shorter duration than the previous one, proved to be both greater and more baneful in its exploits and effects. It was brought on chiefly by Hannibal, general of the Carthaginians. This Hannibal was a child of Hamilcar Barca, and from his earliest boyhood had been trained to fight against the Romans. Hamilcar said he was raising all his sons like so many whelps to fight against them, but as he saw that this one's nature was far superior to that of the rest, he made him take an oath that he would wage war upon them, and for this reason he instructed the boy in warfare above all else when only fifteen years old. On account of this youthfulness Hannibal was not able, when his father died, to succeed to the generalship. But when Hasdrubal was dead, he delayed no longer, being now twenty-six years of age, but at once took possession of the army in Spain and after being acclaimed as leader by the soldiers brought it about that his right to lead was confirmed also by those in authority at home. After effecting this he needed a plausible excuse for his enterprise against the Romans, and this he found in the Saguntines of Spain. These people, dwelling not far from the river Iber and a short distance above the sea, were dependents of the Romans, and the latter held them in honor and in the treaty with the Carthaginians had made an exception of them. For these reasons, then, Hannibal began a war with them, knowing that the Romans would either assist the Saguntines or avenge them if they suffered injury. Hence for these reasons as well as because he knew that they possessed great wealth, which he particularly needed, and for various other causes that promised him advantages against the Romans he made an attack upon the Saguntines.

Spain, in which the Saguntines dwell, and all the adjoining land is in the western part of Europe. It extends for a considerable distance along the inner sea, beside the Pillars of Hercules, and along the ocean; furthermore it occupies the upper part of the mainland for a very great distance, as far as the Pyrenees. Frag. 53 this range, beginning at the sea called anciently the sea of the bebyrces but later the sea of the narbonenses, reaches to the great outer sea, and confines many diverse nationalities; it also separates Spain from the neighboring land of Gaul. The tribes did not employ the same language nor carry on a common government. This resulted in their not having a single name. The Romans called them Hispanii, but the Greeks Iberians, from the river Iber.

These Saguntines, then, being besieged sent to those near them and to the Romans asking for aid. But Hannibal checked any local movement, and the Romans sent ambassadors to him bidding him not come near the Saguntines,

and threatening in case he should not obey to sail to Carthage at once and lay accusations against him. When the envoys were now close at hand, Hannibal sent some of the natives who were to pretend that they were kindly disposed to them and were instructed to say that the general was not there but had gone some distance away into parts unknown; they advised the enemy, therefore (they were to say), to depart as quickly as possible and before their presence should be reported lest in the disorder prevailing because of the absence of the general they should lose their lives. The envoys accordingly believed them and set off for Carthage. An assembly being called some of the Carthaginians counseled maintaining peace with the Romans, but the party attached to Hannibal affirmed that the Saguntines were guilty of wrongdoing and the Romans were meddling with what did not concern them. Finally those who urged them to make war won the day.

Meanwhile Hannibal in the course of his siege was conducting vigorous assaults. Many kept falling and many more were being wounded on Hannibal's side. One day the Carthaginians succeeded in shaking down a portion of the outer circuit and had been daring enough to enter through the breach, when the Saguntines made a sortie and scared them away. This gave the besieged strength and the Carthaginians fell back in dejection. They did not leave the spot, however, till they had captured the city, though the siege dragged on to the eighth month. Many unusual events happened in that time, one of which was Hannibal's being dangerously wounded. The place was taken in this manner. They brought to bear against the wall an engine much higher than the fortification and carrying heavy-armed soldiers, some visible, some concealed. While the Saguntines, therefore, were quite strenuously fighting against the men they saw, thinking them the only ones, those hidden had dug through the wall from below and found their way inside. The Saguntines overwhelmed by the unexpectedness of the event ran up to the citadel and held a conference to see whether by any reasonable concessions they might be preserved. But as Hannibal held out no moderate terms and no assistance came to them from the Romans, they begged for a cessation of the assaults until they should deliberate a little about their position. During this respite they gathered together the most highly prized of their treasures and cast them into the fire; then such as were incapable of fighting committed suicide, and those who were in their prime advanced in a body against their opponents and in a desperate struggle were cut down.

VIII, 22. — For their sakes the Romans and the Carthaginians embarked upon war. Hannibal after gaining numerous allies was hastening toward Italy. The Romans on ascertaining this assembled in their senate-hall, and many speeches were delivered. Lucius Cornelius Lentulus addressed the people and said they must not delay but vote for war against the Carthaginians and separate consuls and armies into two detachments, and send the one to Spain and the other to Libya, in order that at one and the same time the land of the enemy might be desolated and his allies injured; thus neither would he be able

to assist Spain nor could he himself receive assistance from there. To this Quintus Fabius Maximus rejoined that it was not so absolutely and inevitably necessary to vote for war, but they could first employ an embassy, and then if the Carthaginians persuaded them that they were guilty of no wrong, they should remain quiet, but if the same people were convicted of wrongdoing, they might thereupon wage war against them, "in order," he said, "that we may cast the responsibility for the war upon them." Frag. 54 the opinions of the two men were substantially these. the senate decided to make preparations, to be sure, for conflict, but to despatch envoys to carthage and denounce hannibal; and if the carthaginians refrained from approving the exploits, they would arbitrate the matter, or if all responsibility were laid upon his shoulders, they would demand his extradition, and if he were not given up, they would declare war upon the nation.

The envoys set out and the Carthaginians considered what must be done. And a certain Hasdrubal, one of those who had been primed by Hannibal, counseled them that they ought to get back their ancient freedom and shake off by means of money and troops and allies, all welded together, the slavery imposed by peace, adding: "If you only permit Hannibal to act as he wishes, the proper thing will be done and you will have no trouble." After such words on his part the great Hanno, opposing Hasdrubal's argument, gave it as his opinion that they ought not to draw war upon themselves lightly nor for small complaints concerning foreigners, when it was in their power to settle a part of the difficulty and divert the rest of it upon the heads of those who had been active in the matter. With these remarks he ceased, and the elder Carthaginians who remembered the former war sided with him, but those in robust manhood and especially all the partisans of Hannibal violently gainsaid him. Frag. 54 inasmuch, then, as they made no definite answer and showed contempt for the envoys, marcus fabius thrusting his hands beneath his toga and holding them with palms upward said: "here i bring to you, carthaginians, both war and peace: do you choose whichever of them you wish." upon their replying that they chose neither, but would readily accept either that the romans should leave, he immediately declared war upon them.

In this way, then, and for these reasons the Romans and the Carthaginians became involved in war for the second time. And the Divinity beforehand indicated what was to come to pass. For in Rome an ox talked with a human voice, and another at the Ludi Romani threw himself out of a house into the Tiber and was lost, many thunderbolts fell, and blood in one case was seen coming from sacred statues whereas in another it dripped from the shield of a soldier, and the sword of another soldier was snatched by a wolf from the very midst of the camp. Many unknown wild beasts went before Hannibal leading the way, as he was crossing the Iber, and a vision appeared to him in a dream. He thought that the gods once, sitting in assembly, sent for him and bade him march with all speed into Italy and receive from them a guide for the way, and that by this guide he was commanded to follow without turning around. He

did turn around, however, and saw a great tempest moving and an immense serpent accompanying it. In surprise he asked his conductor what these creatures were; and the guide said: “Hannibal, they are on their way to help you in the sack of Italy.”

BOOK 14, BOISSEVAIN.

VIII, 23. — These things inspired Hannibal with a firm hope, but threw the Romans into a state of profound terror. The Romans divided their forces into two parts and sent out the consuls, — Sempronius Longus to Sicily and Publius Scipio to Spain. Hannibal, desiring to invade Italy with all possible speed, marched on hurriedly and traversed without fighting the whole of Gaul lying between the Pyrenees and the Rhone. As far as the Rhone river no one came to oppose him, but at that point Scipio showed himself although he had no troops with him. Nevertheless with the help of the natives and their nearest neighbors he had already destroyed the boats in the river and had posted guards over the stream. Hannibal therefore used up some time in building rafts and skiffs, some of them out of a single log of wood, but still with the help of a large corps of workers had everything in readiness that was needful for crossing before Scipio's own army could arrive. He sent his brother Mago accompanied by the horsemen and a few light troops to cross at a point where the river is scattered over considerable breadth, with branches separated by islands; he himself, of course, proceeded by way of the natural ford, his object being that the Gauls should be deceived and array themselves against him only, while they set their guards with less care at other points along the river. This object was accomplished. Mago had already got across the river when Hannibal and his followers were crossing by the ford. On reaching the middle of the stream they raised a war cry and the trumpeters joined with the blare of their instruments, and Mago fell upon their antagonists from the rear. In this way the elephants and all the rest were ferried safely over. They had just finished crossing when Scipio's own force arrived. Both sides, then, sent horsemen to reconnoitre, after which they entered upon a cavalry battle with the same results as attended the war as a whole. The Romans, that is, after first seeming to get the worst of it and losing a number of men were victorious.

Then Hannibal, in haste to set out for Italy but suspicious of the more direct roads, turned aside from them and followed another, on which he underwent bitter hardships. The mountains there are exceedingly precipitous and the snow falling in great quantities was driven by the winds and filled the chasms, and the ice was frozen to a great thickness. These things conspired to cause them fearful suffering, and many of his soldiers perished through the winter cold and lack of food; many also returned home. There is a story to the effect that he himself would also have turned back but for the fact that the road already traversed was longer and more difficult than the portion left before him. For this reason he did not retrace his steps, but suddenly appearing south of the Alps spread astonishment and terror among the Romans.

So he advanced taking possession of whatever lay before him. Scipio sent his brother Gaius Scipio, who was serving as a lieutenant under him, into

Spain to either seize and hold it or bring Hannibal back, but he himself marched against Hannibal. They waited a few days; then both moved into action. Frag. 56 before beginning operations, hannibal called together the soldiers and brought in the captives whom he had taken by the way: he asked the latter whether they chose to undergo imprisonment and to endure a grievous slavery, or to fight in single combat with one another on condition that the victors should be released without ransom. when they accepted the second alternative, he set them to fighting. and at the end of the conflict he addressed his own soldiers, encouraging them and whetting their eagerness for war. Scipio also did this on the Roman side. Then the contest began and looked at the outset as if it would involve the entire armies: but Scipio in a preliminary cavalry skirmish was defeated, lost many men, was wounded and would have been killed, had not his son Scipio, though only seventeen years old, come to his aid; he was consequently alarmed lest his infantry should similarly meet with a reverse, and he at once fell back and that night withdrew from the field.

VIII, 24. — Hannibal did not learn of his withdrawal till daybreak and then went to the Po, and finding there neither rafts nor boats, — for they had been burned by Scipio, — he ordered his brother Mago to swim across with the cavalry and pursue the Romans, whereas he himself marched up toward the sources of the river and commanded that the elephants cross where the tributary streams converged. In this manner, while the water was temporarily dammed and torn piecemeal by the animals' bulk, he effected a crossing more easily below them. Scipio overtaken stood his ground and would have offered battle but for the fact that by night the Gauls in his army deserted. Embarrassed by this occurrence and still suffering from his wound he once more broke up at night and located his entrenchments on high ground. He was not pursued, but subsequently the Carthaginians came up and encamped, with the river between the two forces.

Scipio on account of his wound and because of what had taken place was inclined to wait and send for reinforcements; and Hannibal after many attempts to provoke him to battle, finding that he could not do this and that he was short of food, attacked a fort where a large supply for the Romans was stored. As he made no headway he employed money to bribe the commander of the garrison, which thus came into his possession by betrayal. He hoped also to attain his other objects, partly by arms and partly by gold. Meanwhile Longus had entrusted Sicily to his lieutenant and had come in response to Scipio's call. Not much later influenced by ambition on the one hand and also by the fact of a victory over some marauders he presented himself in battle array. He lost the day by falling into an ambushade, and when Hannibal appeared upon the scene with his infantry and elephants the followers of the Roman leader turned to flight and many were put to the sword, many also heedless of the river fell in and were choked. Only a few saved themselves with Longus. However, Hannibal though victorious was not happy, because

he had lost many soldiers and all of his elephants, except one, as a result of the winter and from wounds.

Accordingly, they arranged an armistice without any desire for peace implied and both sides retired to the territory of their allies and passed the winter in the cities there. Plenty of provisions kept coming to the Romans, but Hannibal, not satisfied with the contributions of the allies, made frequent raids upon the Roman villages and cities and sometimes would conquer, sometimes be repulsed. Once he was beaten by Longus with the cavalry and received a wound. Some of the Roman settlers encouraged by this came out by themselves to oppose him when he assailed them. These would-be warriors he destroyed and received the capitulation of the place, which he razed to the ground. Of the captives taken he killed the Romans but released the rest. This he did also in the case of all those taken alive, hoping to conciliate the cities by their influence. And, indeed, many of the Gauls as well as Ligurians and Etruscans either murdered the Romans dwelling within their borders or surrendered them and then transferred their allegiance.

As Hannibal was advancing toward Etruria Longus attacked him in the midst of a great storm. Many fell on both sides and Hannibal entered Ligurian territory and delayed some time. He was suspicious of even his own men and was free to trust no one, but made frequent changes of costume, wore false hair, spoke different languages at different times (for he knew a number, including Latin) and both night and day he would frequently make the rounds of his camp. He was always listening to some conversations in the guise of an entirely different person from Hannibal and occasionally he talked thus in character.

VIII, 25. — While this was going on in Italy the other Scipio, Gaius, had sailed along the coast to Spain, and had won over, partly by force and partly without opposition, all the districts to the Iber that border on the sea and considerable of the upper peninsula. He had also defeated Banno in battle and had taken him prisoner. Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, on learning this crossed the Iber and reduced some of the rebels, but at Scipio's approach he fell back.

B.C. 217

(*a.u.* 537)The people of Rome again chose Flaminius and Geminus consuls. Just after the advent of spring Hannibal was apprised that Flaminius together with Servilius Geminus would march against him with a large force, and he devoted his attention to deceiving them. He pretended that he was going to spend his time and meet the issue where he was, and when the Romans, thinking that he was permanently located, began to show carelessness in their line of march, he started just after nightfall, leaving his cavalry behind at camp, noiselessly traversed the passes and hastened on toward Aretium; and the cavalry, after he had got far ahead, set out to follow him. When the consuls found out that they had been tricked, Geminus stayed behind to harass

the revolted districts and prevent them from assisting the Carthaginians, and Flaminius alone pursued, eager that his alone should be the credit of the expected victory. He succeeded in occupying Aretium beforehand, for Hannibal in taking a shorter road had encountered difficult marching, and had lost numerous men, many pack animals, and one of his eyes. It was late, then, before he reached Aretium and found there Flaminius, whom he regarded with contempt. He did not give battle, for the situation was unsuitable, but by way of testing his enemy's disposition he laid waste the country. At this the Romans made a sally and he retired, to give them the idea that he was afraid. During the night he broke up and found a satisfactory spot for battle, where he remained. He arranged that most of the infantry should form an ambush along the mountain sides and ordered all the cavalry to lie in wait concealed from view outside the pass; he himself encamped with a few followers on the hilltop. Flaminius was in good spirits and when he saw him with but a few men on the high ground he believed that the rest of the army must have been sent to some distant point and hoped to take him easily thus isolated. So he carelessly entered the mouth of the pass and there (for it was late) pitched camp. About midnight, when they were sleeping unguarded through scorn of their enemies, the Carthaginians surrounded them on every side at once and by using from a distance javelins, slings, and arrows they killed some still in their beds, others just seizing their arms, without receiving any serious harm in return. The Romans, having no tangible adversaries and with darkness and mist prevailing, found no chance to employ their valor. So great was the uproar and of such a nature the disordered alarm that seized them, that they were not even aware of earthquakes then prevailing, although many buildings fell in ruins and many mountains either were cleft asunder or collapsed so that they blocked up ravines, and rivers shut off from their ancient outlet sought another. Such were the earthquakes which overwhelmed Etruria, yet the combatants were not conscious of them. Flaminius himself and a vast number of others fell, though not a few managed to climb a hill. When it became day, they started to flee and being overtaken surrendered themselves and their arms on promise of free pardon. Hannibal, however, recking little of his oaths, imprisoned and kept under guard the Romans themselves, but released their subjects and allies among all the captives he had in his army. After this success he hastened toward Rome and proceeded as far as Narnia devastating the country and winning over the cities, save Spolegium; there he surrounded and slew the prætor Gaius Centenius who was in ambush. He made an attack upon Spolegium, but was repulsed, and as he saw that the bridge over the Nar had been torn down and ascertained that this had been done also in the case of the other rivers which he was obliged to cross, he ceased his headlong rush upon Rome. Instead, he turned aside into Campania, for he heard that the land was excellent and that Capua was a great city, and thought that if he should first occupy these he might acquire the rest of Italy in a short time.

The people of Rome when informed of the defeat were grieved and lamented both for themselves and for the lost. They were in sore straits and tore down the bridges over the Tiber, save one, and proceeded hurriedly to repair their walls, which were weak in many places. Frag. 56 wishing to have a dictator ready, they had proclaimed one in assembly. satisfied if they themselves only should be saved, they had despatched no aid to the allies. but now, learning that hannibal had set out into campania, they determined to assist the allies also. To Hannibal they opposed the dictator Fabius and the master of horse Marcus Minucius. These leaders set out in his direction but did not come into close quarters with him. They followed and kept him in view in the hope that a favorable opportunity for battle might possibly befall. Fabius was unwilling to risk a conflict with cowed and beaten soldiers against a greater number who had been victorious. Furthermore he hoped that the more his foes should injure the country, the sooner would they be in want of food. Calculating in this way he did not defend Campania nor any other district. For these reasons he confined hostilities entirely within Campania; unknown to the enemy he had surrounded them on every side and now kept guard over them. He himself secured an abundance of provisions both from the sea and from the territory of allies, but the invaders, he knew, had only the products of the land which they were devastating to depend upon. Therefore he waited and did not mind the delay. Hence also he was blamed by his fellow-citizens and was even given the name of The Delayer.

VIII, 26. — When it came to be nearly winter and Hannibal could not pass that season where he was owing to a lack of the necessities of life and had been checked in many attempts to get out of Campania, he devised a plan of this kind. He first slew all the captives, that no one of them might escape and acquaint the Romans with what was being done. Then he gathered the cattle which were in camp, affixed torches to their horns, and went at nightfall to the mountains forming the boundary of Samnium, where he lighted the torches and threw the cattle into a fright. They, maddened by the fire and the driving, set fire to the forest in many places and consequently rendered it easy for Hannibal to cross the mountains. The Romans in the plain as well as those on the heights dreaded an ambushade and would not budge. Thus Hannibal got across and made his way into Samnium.

Fabius, ascertaining the next day what had been done, gave chase and routed those left behind on the road to hinder his men's progress, afterward defeating also troops that came to the assistance of the first party. He then encamped not far from the enemy, yet would not come into conflict with them. However, he prevented them from scattering and foraging, so that Hannibal in perplexity at first started for Rome. As Fabius would not fight, but quietly accompanied him, he again turned back into Samnium. Frag. 56 and fabius following on continued to besiege him from a safe distance, being anxious not to lose any of his own troops, especially since he could obtain necessities in abundance, whereas he saw that his foe actually possessed

nothing outside of his weapons and that no assistance was sent to him from home. Frag. 56 for the carthaginians were disposed to make sport of him in that he wrote of his splendid progress and his many successes and in the same breath asked soldiers of them and money. they said that his requests were not in accord with his successes: conquerors ought to find their army sufficient, and to forward money to their homes instead of demanding more.

As long as Fabius was in the field, no disaster happened to the Romans, but when he started for Rome on some public business, they met with a setback. Rufus, his master of horse, was only a young man and therefore full of empty conceit; he was not observant of the errors of warfare and was wearied by the delays of Fabius: hence, when he once held the leadership of the army alone, he disregarded the injunctions of the dictator and hastened to bring on a set battle, in which at first he seemed to be victorious, but was soon defeated. Indeed, he would have been utterly destroyed, had not some Samnites arrived by chance to aid the Romans and impressed the Carthaginians with the idea that Fabius was approaching. When for this reason they retired he thought that he had vanquished them and sent messages to Rome magnifying his exploit and also slandering the dictator; he called Fabius timorous and hesitating and a sympathizer with the enemy.

The people of Rome believed that Rufus had really conquered, and in view of this unexpected encouragement they commended and honored him. They were suspicious of Fabius both because of the outcome and because he had not ravaged his own land in Campania, and it would have taken but little to make them depose him from his command. However, as they believed him useful, Frag. 56 they did not depose him but they assigned equal power to his master of horse so that both held command on an equal footing. when this had been decreed, fabius harbored no wrath against either the citizens or rufus; but rufus, who had not shown the right spirit in the first place, was now especially puffed up and could not contain himself. he kept asking for the right to hold sole sway a day at a time, or for several days alternately. fabius, possessed with dread that he might work some harm if he should get possession of the undivided power, would not consent to either plan of his, but divided the army in such a way that they each, the same as the consuls, had a separate force. and immediately rufus encamped apart, in order to illustrate the fact that he was holding sway in his own right and not subject to the dictator. Hannibal, accordingly, perceiving this came up as if to seize a position, and drew him into battle. He then encompassed him about by means of an ambuscade and plunged him into danger, to such an extent, indeed, that he would have annihilated his entire army, if Fabius had not assailed Hannibal in the rear and prevented it.

After this experience Frag. 56 rufus altered his attitude, led the remnant of the army immediately into fabius's quarters and laid down his command. he did not wait for the people to revoke it, but voluntarily gave up the leadership which he, a mere master of the horse, had obtained from his superior. and for

this all praised him. and fabius at once, nothing doubting, accepted entire control and the people sanctioned it. Frag. 56 thereafter as head of the army he afforded greatest security, and when about to retire from office sent for the consuls, surrendered the army to them, and advised them very fully regarding all the details of what must be done. and they were not unduly bold, but acted entirely on the suggestion of fabius, notwithstanding that Geminus had had some previous success. He had seen the Carthaginian fleet at anchor off Italy but not venturing to display any hostility because of the Roman ability to meet it, and he had started on a retaliatory voyage, first making sure the good conduct of the Corsicans and Sardinians by a cruise past their coasts; he had then landed in Libya and plundered the shore district. In spite of this achievement he was not so puffed up by it as to risk a decisive engagement with Hannibal, but was willing to abide by the injunctions of Fabius. One consequence was that the cities were no longer found siding with the Carthaginians, as they had done; for they feared that Hannibal would be driven out of Italy and they themselves suffer some calamity at the hands of the Romans since they were their kinsmen. The majority were engaged in trying to read the future, but a few again espoused the Roman cause, and some sent them offerings. And though Hiero often sent grain (and also sent a statue of Victory), the Romans accepted it only once. Yet they were in such hard straits for money that the silver coinage which was previously unalloyed and pure was now mixed with copper.

IX, 1. — All this is what took place in Italy at that period. Some slaves also formed a conspiracy against Rome, but were apprehended in advance. And a spy caught in the city had his hands cut off and was released that he might tell the Carthaginians his experience with his own lips. — In Spain in a sea-fight near the mouth of the Iber Scipio was victorious; for when the struggle proved to be too even, the sails were cut down in order that the men being placed in a desperate position might struggle more zealously. He also ravaged the country, got possession of numerous fortresses and through his brother Publius Scipio gained control of some Spanish cities. A Spaniard named Habelux affecting loyalty to the Carthaginians but in reality in the Roman service persuaded the Carthaginian guardian of the Spanish hostages to send them to their homes, in order that they might use their influence to bring their cities into friendly relations. Habelux naturally took charge of them, inasmuch as he had been the one to suggest the idea, but first sent to the Scipios and held a discussion about what he desired; then, while he was secretly taking the hostages away by night, he of course got captured. In this way it was the Romans who obtained possession of these men and acquired control of their native states by returning them to their homes.

BOOK 15, BOISSEVAIN.

B.C. 216

(*a.u.* 538) Though in these matters they were fortunate, they encountered elsewhere a fearful disaster, than which they never suffered one more terrible either earlier or subsequently. It was preceded by certain portents and the solemn verses of the Sibyl which had prophesied the disaster to them so many years before. Remarkable was also the prediction of Marcius. He also was a soothsayer and it was his rede that, inasmuch as they were Trojans of old, they should be overthrown in the Plain of Diomed. This was in Daunian Apulia and took its name from the settlement of Diomed, which he made there in the course of his wanderings. In that plain is also Cannæ, where the present misfortune occurred, close to the Ionian Gulf and near the mouths of the Aufidus. The Sibyl had urged them to beware of the spot, yet said it would avail them naught, even if they should keep it under strictest guard.

Such were the oracular utterances: now what befell the Romans was this. Frag. 56 the commanders were æmilius paulus and terentius varro, men not of similar temperament. for the one was a patrician, possessed of the graces of education, and esteemed safety before haste: but terentius had been brought up among the rabble, was practiced in vulgar bravado, and so displayed lack of prudence in nearly all respects, thinking, for instance, that he alone should have the leadership in view of the quiet behavior of his colleague. now they both reached the camp at a most opportune time: hannibal had no longer any provender; spain was in turmoil; the affection of the allies was being alienated from him; and if they had waited for even the briefest possible period, they would have conquered. as matters went, however, the recklessness of terentius and the submissiveness of paulus compassed their defeat. Hannibal attempted to lead them into a conflict at once, and with a few followers drew near their stronghold: then, when a sortie was made, he purposely fell back to create the impression of being afraid and so drew them the more surely into a set battle. But, as Paulus restrained his own soldiers from pursuit, Hannibal simulated terror and that night packed up as if to depart; and he left behind him numerous articles lying within the palisade and ordered the rest of the baggage to be escorted with a considerable show of carelessness so as to make the Romans devote their attention to plundering it and give him thereby a chance to attack them. He would have translated his wish into fact, if Paulus had not held back his soldiers, in spite of their reluctance, and held back Terentius as well.

So Hannibal, having failed in this essay also, came by night to Cannæ, and since he knew the place as one fit for ambushades and for a pitched battle, he encamped there. And first he ploughed the whole site over, because it had a sandy subsoil and his object was to have a cloud of dust raised in the conflict;

the wind generally springs up there in summer toward noon, and he contrived to get it behind his back. The consuls seeing at dawn that his stockade was empty of men at first waited, apprehending ambush, but later in the broad daylight came to Cannæ. Each of the Roman leaders bivouacked apart beside the river, for since they were not congenial they avoided association together. Paulus remained quiet, but Terentius was anxious to force the issue; when he saw, however, that the soldiers were rather listless, he gave up the idea. But Hannibal, who was determined to goad them into battle even against their will, shut them off from their sources of water, prevented their scattering into small parties, and threw the bodies of the slain into the stream above their intrenchments and in plain sight, in order to disgust them with the drinking supply. Then the Romans started to array themselves for battle. Hannibal anticipating this movement had planted ambuscades at the foot of the hills but held the remainder of his army drawn up. He also ordered some men at a given signal to simulate desertion; they were to throw away their shields and spears and larger swords but secretly to retain their daggers, so that after his antagonists had received them as unarmed, they might attack them unexpectedly.

The Romans having had in view since early morning the troops arrayed about Hannibal were now arming themselves and taking their places. The trumpets incited both parties, the signals were raised, and then ensued the clash of battle and a contest which assumed a variety of aspects. Until noon the advantage had not fallen distinctly to either side. Then the wind came up and the false deserters were received as men destitute of arms and got behind the Romans, alleging the very natural reason that they wanted to be out of the way of the Carthaginian attack. At this moment the men rose from ambush on both sides, Hannibal with his cavalry charged the front ranks, the enemy confused the Romans on every hand, the wind and the dust cloud assailed their faces violently, causing perplexity, and interfered with their breathing, which was already growing quick and labored from exertion, so that deprived of sight, deprived of voice, they perished in a wild mêlée, preserving no semblance of order. So great a multitude fell that Hannibal did not even try to find out the number of the common people, and in regard to the number of the knights and members of the senate he did not write to the Carthaginians at home but indicated it by the finger-rings; these he measured off by the quart and sent away. Only the senators and the knights wore finger-rings. Yet after all a number made good their escape even on this occasion, among them Terentius; Paulus was killed. Hannibal did not pursue nor did he hasten to Rome. He might have set out at once for Rome with either his entire army or at least a portion of it and have quickly ended the war; yet he did not do so, although Maharbal urged him to do so. Hence he was censured as being able to win victories but not understanding how to use them. Since they had delayed this time, they could never again have an opportunity to make haste. Therefore Hannibal regretted it, feeling that he had committed a blunder, and

was ever crying out: "Oh Cannæ, Cannæ!"

IX, 2. — The Romans, who had been in such imminent danger of being destroyed, won back their superiority through Scipio. He was a son of the Publius Scipio in Spain, and had saved the life of his father when the latter was wounded: Frag. 56 he was at this time serving in the army, had fled to canusium, and later achieved renown. by common consent of the fugitives assembled at canusium he received the leadership, set in order affairs at that place, sent garrisons to the regions in proximity, and both planned and executed all measures well.

The people of Rome heard of the defeat but did not believe it. When they at last came to believe it, they were filled with sorrow and met in the senate-house, but were ready to break up without accomplishing anything, when finally Fabius proposed that they send scouts to bring a report of what had really happened and what Hannibal was doing. He advised them not to lament but to go about in silence that the necessary measures might be taken, and furthermore to collect as large a force as they might and to call upon adjoining settlements for aid. After this, upon learning that Hannibal was in Apulia and receiving a letter from Terentius stating that he was alive and what he was doing, they recovered a little of their courage. Marcus Junius was named dictator and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus master of the horse. Immediately they enrolled not only those of the citizens who were in their prime but also those even who were past the fighting age; they added to their forces prisoners on promise of pardon and slaves on promise of freedom and a brigand here and there; moreover they called on their allies to help, reminding them of any kindness ever shown them and promising in addition to give to some of them grain, to others money, as they had never done before; they also sent emissaries to Greece to either persuade or hire men to serve as their allies.

Hannibal, learning that the Romans had united their troops and were engaged in preparations, still delayed at Cannæ despairing of a capture by assault. Of the captives he released the allied contingent without ransom as before, but the Romans he kept, hoping to dispose of them by sale, since this would make him better off but the Romans worse off. When no one came from Rome in quest of the captives, he ordered them to send some of their number home after ransom, provided they had first taken oath to return. When even then the Romans refused to ransom them, he shipped those who were of any value to Carthage, and of the rest he put some to death after maltreating them and forced the others to fight as gladiators, pitting friends and relatives against each other. Those who were sent for ransom returned in order to be true to their oaths, but later fled. They were disfranchised by the censors and committed suicide.

Hannibal sent his brother Mago to report the victory to the Carthaginians and to ask them for money and troops. He on his arrival counted over the rings and described the success naturally in even more glowing terms than it deserved; everything that he asked was voted and they would not listen to

Hanno who opposed it and advised them to end the war while they seemed to have the upper hand. However, they never put their vote into effect, but delayed. Hannibal meanwhile had advanced into Campania, had seized a Samnite fortress, and marched upon Neapolis. He sent before him a few soldiers with the booty and when the people of the city, thinking them alone, rushed out upon them, he unexpectedly appeared in person and slew a large number. He did not capture the city, nor did he lay siege to it for long. The reason will presently be plain. Of the Campanian inhabitants of Capua a part clung to Roman friendship, but others favored Hannibal. After his success at Cannæ and when some of their men taken captive had been released the populace was clamorous to revolt to Hannibal, but the men of rank waited for some time. Finally the crowd made a rush upon them as they were assembled in the senate-house and would have made away with them all but for the action of some one of the crowd who saw how great a misfortune this would be. This person denounced the senators as by all means deserving to perish, but said that they ought first to choose others to fill their places, for the State could not endure without some men to concert measures for them. Having gained the assent of the Capuan people he ejected each one of them from the senate-house, asking the populace, as he did so, whom they chose in his place. Thus, as they found themselves unable to choose others on short notice, they let all the old senators go unharmed, because they appeared to be necessary. Later they became reconciled with one another and made peace with Hannibal. This is why he quickly retired from Neapolis and came to Capua. He held a conference with the people and made many attractive offers, among other things promising to give them the supreme direction of Italy; for he was anxious that they should be animated by hope and, feeling that they would be working for themselves, develop greater zeal in the struggle.

At the revolt of Capua the rest of Campania also became restive, and the news of the town's secession troubled the Romans. As for Hannibal, he started on a campaign against the Nucerini. Under stress of siege and owing to lack of food they thrust out that portion of the population which was not available for fighting. Hannibal would not receive them, however, and gave them assurance of safety only in case they should go back to the city. Frag. 56 therefore the rest also agreed to leave the city carrying one change of clothing. as soon, however, as hannibal was master of the situation, he shut the senators into bath-houses and suffocated them, and in the case of the others, although he had told them to go away where they pleased, he cut down on the road many even of them. a number of them saved their lives only by taking refuge in the woods. thereupon the rest became afraid and would no longer come to terms with him, but resisted while they were able. The people of Nola were planning to range themselves under his banner, but when they saw what had been done to their countrymen, they quietly let Marcellus in and later repulsed Hannibal when he assaulted their city. Repelled from Nola he captured the people of Acerræ by starving them out. Frag. 56 he made the

same terms with them as with the dwellers in Nuceria and also accorded them the same treatment. After that he directed his forces against Casilinum in which Romans and about a thousand of the allies had taken refuge. These put to death the native citizens who were meditating how to betray them, repulsed Hannibal several times and held out nobly against hunger. When food was failing them they sent a man across the river on an inflated skin to inform the dictator. The latter put jars filled with wheat into the river at night and bade them keep their eyes on the current in the darkness. For a while he thus supplied them with nutriment without being discovered, but eventually a jar was dashed against some obstacle and shattered; then the Carthaginians became aware of what was going on and put chains across the river. After a number had perished of hunger and of their wounds, they abandoned one half of the city, cut down the bridge, and held out in the other half. They now threw turnip seed from the wall upon a spot outside, doing this in order to alarm the enemy and make them believe that they were likely to endure for a long time. Hannibal, indeed, thinking that they must have plenty of food and astonished at their endurance invited them to capitulate and released them for money. The Romans outside were glad to ransom them, and more than that they showed them honor.

IX, 3. — While these events took place the messengers returned from Delphi saying that the Pythia admonished them to shake off sloth and devote themselves to the war. Then they were filled with new strength. They overtook Hannibal and encamped near him so as to watch his movements. Junius the dictator ordered the Romans to do exactly as the Carthaginians were commanded to do. So they took their food and sleep at the same time, visited the sentries in the same manner, and were doing everything else in similar fashion. When Hannibal understood the situation, he waited for a stormy night and announced to some of his soldiers a skirmish for after nightfall. Junius did the same thing. Thereupon Hannibal ordered different detachments to attack him in succession at different times in order that his opponent might be involved in constant labor as a result of sleeplessness and the storm. He himself rested with the troops not in action. When day was about to break, he recalled the army, as was expected, and the Romans put away their weapons and retired to rest; then all of a sudden he attacked them, with the result that he killed a number and captured the entrenchments, which were deserted.

Conditions in Sicily and Sardinia grew unsettled but did not receive any consideration at the hands of the Romans. B.C. 215

(a.u. 539) The consuls chosen were Gracchus, previously master of the horse, and Postumius Albinus. Albinus was ambuscaded and destroyed with his entire army by the Boii as he was traversing a wooded mountain. The barbarians cut off his head, scooped out the interior and after gilding it used it for a bowl in their sacred ceremonials. — Portents occurred at this time. A

cow brought forth a horse and fire shone out at sea. The consuls Gracchus and Fabius encamped and kept watch of Hannibal while he stayed in Capua, to see what he did. They spent their time in sending scouts in every direction, defending the allies, trying to win back the revolted and injuring their adversaries' interests. Hannibal, so long as he obtained a barely sufficient supply of food at the cost of encountering dangers, led a temperate life, as did his army; but after they had taken Capua and wintered there in idleness with ample provisions, they began to lose their physical strength by not laboring and their intellectual force by tranquillity, and in changing their ancestral habits they learned an accomplishment new to them, — that of being defeated in battle. — When the work of war finally became pressing, Hannibal transferred his quarters to the mountains and gave the army exercise. But they could not get strong in a short space of time. He was encouraged by the arrival of reinforcements from home, especially in the matter of elephants. He now set out against Nola intending to capture it or else to draw Marcellus, who was ravaging Samnium, away from that region. As he could accomplish nothing, he withdrew from the city and laid waste the country, until he suffered a decisive defeat in battle, — an event which grieved him. Many Spaniards and even many Libyans now forsook him and deserted to the Romans, — a new experience for him. Consequently, despairing of his own and the soldiers' prospects he abandoned that entire region and retired to Capua. Afterward he left there also to take up a different position.

B.C. 217

(*a.u.* 537)The Scipios had crossed the river Iber and were ravaging the country; they had secured control of various cities and when Hasdrubal for this reason hastened to oppose them, they had conquered him in battle. The Carthaginians learning this thought that Hasdrubal needed more assistance than did Hannibal, and fearing that the Scipios might attempt to cross into Libya also they sent only a small body of troops to Hannibal, but despatched the largest detachment with Mago to Spain with the utmost speed; and they bade him after the reduction of Spain to remain to guard their interests there, whereas Hasdrubal was to be sent with a body of troops against Italy. B.C.

216

(*a.u.* 538)The Scipios, made aware of the plan, no longer gave battle for fear that Hasdrubal perhaps might win a victory and then hasten to Italy. However, as the Carthaginians went on injuring the part of the country that was friendly to the Romans, Publius engaged in a struggle with such of his opponents as attacked him and won a victory; Gnæus intercepted the enemy who were retiring from this battle and annihilated them. As a result of this disaster and because numerous cities were transferring their allegiance to the Romans and some of the Libyans had gone over to their side, Hasdrubal remained there longer than he was intending. The Scipios sent their accessions at once to Italy, and they themselves continued to adjust affairs in Spain. They captured

the subjects of Saguntum who had caused them the war and their reverses, and they tore down the hostile settlement and sold the men. After this they took possession of Saguntum and restored it to its original inhabitants. They were so scrupulous in regard to the plunder that they sent nothing home. They allowed the partners of their campaign to do so, but for themselves they sent only some jackstones to their children. Hence the senate upon the request of Gnaeus for leave of absence that he might go home and borrow a dowry for his daughter, who was of age to be married, voted that a dowry be given her from the public funds.

IX, 4. — In the course of the same period both Sicily and Sardinia had become openly hostile. But the disturbance in these regions soon subsided. B.C. 215

(*a.u.* 539)Hasdrubal, who was aiding them, was captured and Manlius Torquatus recovered almost the entire island. For the time being affairs in Sicily were quiet, but afterward disturbance reigned anew. King Philip of Macedonia showed himself a most open partisan of the Carthaginians. In his desire to add Greece to his possessions he made an agreement with Hannibal that they should conduct the war in common, and that the Carthaginians should get Italy but he should have Greece and Epirus together with the islands. The agreement was made on this basis, but through the capture of the herald who had been sent to Hannibal by Philip the Romans learned what was taking place and forthwith despatched the prætor Marcus Valerius Lævinus against him. They intended to make him anxious about internal affairs, so that he should stay at home. The plan worked. B.C. 214

(*a.u.* 540)Philip had progressed as far as Corcyca with the intention of sailing to Italy, but on learning that Lævinus was already at Brundisium he returned home. When Lævinus had sailed as far as Corcyca, Philip set out against the Roman allies; he had captured Oricum and was besieging Apollonia. Lævinus made an expedition against him anew, recovered Oricum and rescued Apollonia. Then Philip after burning the ships which he had used retired homewards overland.

The people of Rome chose Fabius and Marcellus consuls. Hannibal was then traveling about in what is called Calabria and in adjacent regions, and they assigned the care of him to Gracchus, who had held office before them. The latter routed Hanno (who had come from Bruttium and confronted him near Beneventum), and then going on he watched Hannibal closely, kept ravaging the possessions of rebels and won some cities safely back. The consuls themselves turned their steps toward Campania, for they were anxious to subdue it and so leave no element of hostility behind their backs when they should march against Hannibal. They then divided forces. Fabius overran the districts of Campania and Samnium. Marcellus crossed into Sicily and proceeded to besiege Syracuse. The town had submitted to him, but then had revolted again through the treachery of some men by the use of a false

message. He would have subdued it very speedily, — for he assaulted the wall by both land and sea at once, — had not Archimedes with his inventions enabled the citizens to resist an extremely long time. By his devices he suspended stones and heavy-armed soldiers in the air whom he would let down suddenly and soon draw up again. Even ships that carried towers he would dash one upon another; he would pull them up and (Frag. 56?) lifting them high would let go all in a mass so that when they fell into the water they were sunk by the impact. At last in an incredible manner he destroyed the whole Roman fleet by conflagration. By tilting a kind of mirror toward the sun he concentrated the sun's beams on it; and as the thickness and smoothness of the mirror coöperated to ignite the air from these beams he kindled a great flame, all of which he directed upon the ships that lay at anchor in the path of the fire, and he consumed them all. Marcellus, therefore, despairing of capturing the city on account of the inventiveness of Archimedes thought to take it by famine after a regular investment. This duty he assigned to Pulcher while he himself turned his attention to those who had participated in the revolt of Syracuse. Any who yielded were granted pardon, but those who resisted he treated harshly, and he captured a number of the cities by force, some also by betrayal. In the meantime Himilco had come from Carthage with an army, had occupied Agrigentum and Heraclea and had reached Syracuse. There he was first defeated, then was in turn victorious, and finally was beaten by a sudden assault on the part of Marcellus.

IX, 5. — Thereafter Marcellus was still investing Syracuse. Hannibal was passing his time in Calabria. B.C. 212 (a.u. 542) The Romans, moreover, had again experienced many and disagreeable reverses. The consuls had received a setback near Capua, Gracchus had died in Lucania, Tarentum and other cities had revolted, Hannibal, previously cowed, remained in Italy and had marched upon Rome, and both the Scipios had perished. Elated by these events Hannibal undertook to render assistance to Capua. He went as far as Beneventum, then, ascertaining that Claudius had returned from Samnium into Lucania on account of the death of Gracchus, he became afraid that the Romans might secure control of parts of it, and he advanced no farther but turned to meet Claudius. — Upon the death of the Scipios the whole of Spain was thrown into disorder. Some towns voluntarily went over to the Carthaginians and others under compulsion, even if they did later swing back to the Roman side.

Marcellus, finding that he was accomplishing naught by assault on Syracuse, thought of the following scheme. There was a vulnerable spot in the Syracusans' wall, which they called Galeagra; it had never before been recognized as such, but the fact was at this time discovered. He waited till the whole town of Syracuse celebrated an all night festival to Artemis and then bade some soldiers scale the wall at that point. After that some gates were opened by them and, as soon as a few others had gone in, all, both inside and

outside, at a given signal raised a shout and struck their spears upon their shields, and the trumpeters blew a blast, with the result that utter panic overwhelmed the Syracusans, who were anyway somewhat the worse for drink, and the city was captured with the exception of Achradina and what is called the "island." Marcellus plundered the captured town and attacked the portions not yet taken, and with time and labor but after all successfully he conquered the remainder of Syracuse. The Romans when they became masters of these districts killed many persons, among them Archimedes. He was constructing a geometrical figure and hearing that the enemy were at hand he said: (Frag. 56?)"Let them come at my head, but keep their distance from my figure!" He was little perturbed when a hostile warrior confronted him, and by his words, "Fellow, stand away from my figure," he irritated the man and was cut down.

B.C. 211

(*a.u.* 543)

cp. Frag. 32 Marcellus for his capture of Syracuse and his conciliation of most of the rest of Sicily received high praise and was appointed consul. They had nominated Torquatus, who once had put his son to death. He declined, however, saying: "I could not endure your blunders, nor you my punctiliousness," whereupon they elected Marcellus and Valerius Lævinus.

IX, 6. — After Marcellus left Sicily, Hannibal sent a troop of cavalry there and the Carthaginians despatched another. They won several battles and acquired some cities. And if the prætor Cornelius Dolabella had not come upon the scene, they would have subjugated all Sicily.

Capua was at this time taken by the Romans. It availed nothing that Hannibal marched upon Rome in order to draw away from Capua the forces besieging it, although he traversed Latium, came to the Tiber, and laid waste the suburbs of the city. The people of Rome were frightened, but still they voted that one of the consuls should remain at Capua while the other defended them. It was Claudius who remained at Capua, for he had been wounded: Flaccus hastened to Rome.

Hannibal kept making raids all the time before their eyes and doing a great amount of harm, but for some time they were satisfied to preserve their possessions within the walls. When, however, he reached the point of assaulting the city and their armies at once, they risked the proverbial cast of the die and made a sortie. They were already engaged in skirmishing when (Frag. 56?)an extraordinary storm accompanied by an inconceivably strong wind as well as thunder, hail, and lightning, broke from a clear sky, so that both were glad enough to flee as if by mutual consent back to the place from which they had set out. They were just laying aside their arms when the sky became clear. Although Hannibal concluded that the event mentioned, coming as it did precisely at the moment of conflict, had not occurred without divine ordering, yet he did not desist from his siege operations and even attempted

again on a subsequent occasion to force the issue. But when the same phenomena were met for the second time, he became terrified. What added to his alarm was that the enemy though in so great danger did not withdraw from Capua and were getting ready to send both soldiers and a prætor into Spain, and that being in need of funds they sold the spot where he was encamped, which was a piece of public property. In despair he retired, often crying aloud, "Oh, Cannæ, Cannæ!" And he no longer showed a disposition to render aid to Capua.

The people of that city although in extremities were nevertheless desperate, believing that they could not obtain pardon from the Romans, and they therefore held out and sent a letter to Hannibal begging him to assist them. The bearers of the letter were seized by Flaccus (Claudius had before this time died of his wound) and had their hands cut off. Seeing them the Campanians were terribly dismayed and took counsel as to what they should do. After considerable talk a certain Vibius Virius, one of the foremost men and most responsible for the revolt, spoke, saying: "Our only refuge and freedom lies in death. Escort me home. I have a poison made ready." So he took with him those who were willing to accept his advice and with them voluntarily gave up his life. The rest opened the gates to the Romans. Flaccus took possession of all their arms and money, killed some of the head men and sent others to Rome. The only ones that he left unmolested were the survivors of the common people, and he spared them only on condition that they receive a Roman governor, maintain no senate, and hold no assembly.

Later they subjected themselves to other disabilities by daring to accuse Flaccus. Frag. 56 the campanians undertook to accuse flaccus and the syracusans marcellus, when the latter was already consul. And Marcellus made a defence, refusing to perform any of the duties of his office until he had defended himself. The Syracusans when given a hearing were rather sparing of their remarks and devoted themselves not to accusing Marcellus but to supplication and defence, showing that they had not of their own free will revolted from the Romans and begging that pardon be granted them. While uttering these words they fell upon the ground and bewailed their lot. When a decision was rendered, it was to the effect that Marcellus was not guilty; that the Syracusans, however, were deserving of a certain degree of kind treatment not for their acts but for their words and supplications. As Marcellus asked to be excused from returning to Sicily, they sent Lævinus. The Syracusans in this way obtained some consideration: the Campanians, however, were led by stupidity to deliver their accusation with too much audacity and were rebuked. Flaccus was not present, but one of his ex-lieutenants conducted his defence for him.

After the capture of Capua the other strongholds in the vicinity went over to the Romans, with the exception of Atellanæ. The dwellers in this town abandoned their city and went in a body to Hannibal. Also the rest of Italy that favored the Carthaginian cause was being gradually estranged and the consuls

in their tours of the country were taking possession of it. The Tarentini did not as yet openly avow their allegiance to the Romans, but secretly they were getting tired of the Carthaginians.

BOOK 16, BOISSEVAIN.

Frag. 56 the romans made propositions to hannibal that both sides should return their prisoners. they did not effect the exchange because they would not receive carthalo, as being an enemy, inside of their walls. and he refused to hold any conversation with them, but immediately turned back in a rage.

At this time, moreover, Lævinus made friends with the Ætolians, who were allies of Philip; and when Philip had advanced as far as Corcyra he scared him away again so that the king returned to Macedonia with speed.

B.C. 210

(a.u. 544)IX, 7. — The people of Rome sent Gaius Claudius Nero with soldiers into Spain. He followed the line of the coast with his fleet as far as the Iber, where he found the remainder of the Roman forces and confronted Hasdrubal before his presence had been made known. He enclosed the Carthaginians securely but was then cheated out of the advantage gained. Hasdrubal, seeing that he was cut off, sent heralds to Nero proposing to give up the whole of Spain and leave the country. Nero gladly accepted the offer and his opponent postponed the settlement of the terms to the following day. That night Hasdrubal quietly sent out a number of his men to various parts of the mountains, and they got safely away because the Romans, in expectation of a truce, were not keeping any guard. The next day he held a conference with Nero but used up the whole time without fixing upon anything definitely. That night he sent off other men in like manner. This he did similarly on several other days while disputing about some points in the treaty. When the entire infantry had gone in advance, he himself at last with the cavalry and elephants silently slipped away. He reached a place of safety and managed to make himself a source of anxiety to Nero subsequently.

On learning this the people of Rome condemned Nero and voted to entrust the leadership to somebody else. And they were at a loss whom to send, for the situation required no ordinary man and many were breaking away from allegiance on account of the untimely fate of the Scipios. Frag. 56 thereupon the famous publius scipio, who saved his wounded father, offered himself voluntarily for the work of the campaign. he surpassed in excellence and was also renowned for his education. He was chosen forthwith, but his supporters not long after regretted their action because of his youth (he was in his twenty-fourth year) and because his house was in mourning for the loss of his father and uncle. Accordingly he made a second public appearance and delivered a speech; and his words put the senators to shame, so that they did not, to be sure, release him from his command, but sent Marcus Junius, an elderly man, to accompany him.

After these events matters progressed without catastrophes for the Romans

and gradually grew better. Marcellus after his acquittal before the court had set out against Hannibal and was making nearly everything safe, though he was afraid to risk an engagement with men driven to desperation. At any time that he was forced into a combat he came out victorious as the result of prudence mingled with daring. Hannibal now undertook to inflict injury upon those regions which he was unable to occupy, being influenced by the reasons aforementioned as also by the fact that the cities in his alliance had either abandoned him or were intending to do so, and by some other causes. He hurt a great many and several towns deserted to the Romans for this reason.

In the case of the city of Salapia the following incident occurred. Two men managed affairs there and were hostile to each other. Alinius favored the Carthaginian cause, and Plautius the Roman; and the latter talked with Alinius about betraying the place to the Romans. Alinius at once informed Hannibal of the fact and Plautius was brought to trial. While Hannibal was deliberating with the councilors as to how to punish him, Plautius dared in his presence to speak again to Alinius, who stood near, about betrayal. The latter cried out: "There, there, he's talking to me about this very matter now." Hannibal distrusted him on account of the improbability of the case and acquitted Plautius as a victim of blackmail. After his release the two men became harmonious and brought in soldiers obtained from Marcellus, with whose aid they cut down the Carthaginian garrison and delivered the city to the Romans.

This was the state of Carthaginian interests in Italy. Not even Sicily retained its friendliness for them, but submitted to the consul Lævinus. The leader of the Carthaginians in Sicily was Hanno, and Mutines was a member of his staff. The latter had been with Hannibal formerly and owing to the latter's jealousy of his great deeds of valor had been sent into Sicily. When there also he made a brilliant record as commander of the cavalry, he incurred the jealousy of Hanno as well, and as a consequence was deprived of his command. Deeply grieved at this he joined the Romans. First he accomplished the betrayal of Agrigentum for them and then he helped them in reducing other places, so that the whole of Sicily came again under their sway without any great labor.

B.C. 209

(*a.u.* 545)IX, 8. — Fabius and Flaccus subdued among other cities Tarentum, which Hannibal was holding. They gave orders to a body of men to overrun Bruttium in order that Hannibal might leave Tarentum and come to its assistance. When this had happened, Flaccus kept watch of Hannibal while Fabius by night assailed Tarentum with ships and infantry at once and captured the city by means of his assault aided by betrayal. Hannibal, enraged at the trick, was eager to find some scheme for paying Fabius back. So he sent him a letter, purporting to be from the dwellers in Metapontum, looking to a betrayal of the city; for he hoped that Fabius would advance carelessly in that direction and that he might set a trap for him on the way. But the Roman

leader suspected the truth of the case and by comparing the writing with the letter which Hannibal had once written to the Tarentini, he detected the plot from the similarity of the two.

Scipio for the first part of the time, however much he may have longed to avenge his father and uncle and however much he yearned for glory in the war, nevertheless showed no haste on account of the multitude of his opponents. But after he ascertained that they were passing the winter at a considerable distance, he disregarded them and marched upon Carthage, — the Spanish town. Moreover no one gained the slightest knowledge of his march till he had come close to Carthage itself. And by much exertion he took the city.

Following the capture of Carthage a very great Frag. 56 mutiny of the soldiers came very near taking place. Scipio had promised to give a crown to the first one that set foot on the wall, and two men, the one a Roman, the other belonging to the allies, quarreled over it. Their continued dispute promoted a disturbance among the rest as well and they became inflamed to the utmost degree and were ready to commit some fearful outrage when Scipio settled the trouble by crowning both men. Frag. 56 and he distributed many gifts to the soldiers, assigning many also to public uses; and all the hostages who were being detained there he gave back freely to their relatives. as a result many towns and many princes espoused his cause, the celtiberian race among the best. he had taken among the captives a maiden distinguished for her beauty and it was thought that he would fall in love with her; but when he learned that she was betrothed to one of the celtiberian magistrates, he sent for him and delivered the young girl to him, bestowing upon him furthermore the ransom which her kinsfolk had brought for her. by this procedure he attached to his cause both them and the remainder of the nation.

Next he learned that Hasdrubal the brother of Hannibal was approaching rapidly, still ignorant of the capture of the city and expecting to meet no hostile force on his march. Scipio therefore confronted and defeated him, and afterward bivouacked in his camp and got control of many places in the vicinity. Frag. 56 for he was clever in strategy, agreeable in society, terrifying to opponents, and thoroughly humane to such as yielded. and especially the recollection that he had made a prediction, saying beforehand that he would encamp in the enemy's country, caused all to honor him. the spaniards actually named him "great king."

Hasdrubal, giving up all hope, was anxious to leave Spain for Italy. B.C. 208 (a.u. 546) So after packing everything for the march he started in winter. His fellow commanders held their ground and kept Scipio busy so that he could not pursue Hasdrubal nor lighten the burden of war for the Romans in Italy by going there, nor sail to Carthage. But, although Scipio did not pursue Hasdrubal, he sent runners through whom he apprised the people of Rome of his approach, and he himself gave attention to his own immediate concerns.

As he saw that his opponents were spread over a goodly portion of the country, he dreaded that whenever he should begin an engagement with them, he should be the cause of their gathering in one place through a necessity of aiding one another. Accordingly, he conducted in person a campaign against Hasdrubal, son of Gisco, and sent Silanus into Celtiberia against Mago, and also Lucius Scipio his brother into Bastitania. Lucius occupied the district after hard fighting, conquered Mago, kept close at his heels as he fled to Hasdrubal, and came to Scipio before the latter had accomplished anything as yet.

Now that Mago had joined Hasdrubal and Lucius his brother Scipio, at first they would make descents into the plain and fight strenuously with their cavalry, and later they would array their whole army in line of battle but did not do any fighting. This went on for several days. When the clash finally came, the Carthaginians themselves and their allies were defeated, their stronghold was taken by the Romans, and the Romans made use of the provisions in it. This Scipio had prophesied, as the story goes, three days before. For when materials for food had failed them he predicted — by what prompting is unknown — : “On such and such a day we shall make use of the enemy’s store.” — After this he left Silanus to take care of the surviving opponents and himself took his departure to the other cities, many of which he won over. When he had brought order into the newly acquired territory he took up his winter abode there. His brother Lucius he despatched to Rome to report the progress made, to convey the captives thither, and to investigate how the people of Rome felt toward him.

IX, 9. — The dwellers in Italy had suffered from disease and had encountered hardships in battles, for some of the Etruscans had rebelled. But what grieved them more than all else was the fact that they had lost Marcellus. They had been making a campaign against Hannibal, who chanced to be at Locri, and both the consuls had been surrounded by an ambuscade, Marcellus perishing instantly and Crispinus dying from a wound not long after. Hannibal found the body of Marcellus and taking his ring with which Marcellus was accustomed to seal his documents he would forward letters to the cities purporting to come from him. He was accomplishing whatever he pleased until Crispinus became aware of it and sent them a warning to be on their guard. As a result of this the tables were turned upon Hannibal. He had sent a message to the citizens of Salapia through a fictitious deserter, and approached the walls in the guise of Marcellus, using the Latin language in company with other men who understood it, in order to be taken for Romans. The Salapini, informed of his artifice, were artful enough in turn to pretend that they believed Marcellus was really approaching. Then drawing up the portcullis they admitted as many as it seemed to them they could conveniently dispose of and killed them all. Hannibal withdrew at once on learning that Locri was being besieged by the Romans, who had sailed against it from

Sicily.

Publius Sulpicius assisted by Ætolians and other allies devastated a large part of Achæa. But as soon as Philip the Macedonian formed an alliance with the Achæans, the Romans would have been driven out of Greece completely but for the fact that the helmet of Philip fell off and the Ætolians got possession of it. For in this way a report reached Macedonia that he was dead and a factional uprising took place; Philip, consequently, fearing that he should be deprived of his kingdom, hastened to Macedonia. Then the Romans stuck to their places in Greece and conquered a few cities.

B.C. 207

(*a.u.* 547) The following year upon announcement of Hasdrubal's approach the people of Rome gathered their forces, summoned their allies, and chose Claudius Nero and Marcus Livius consuls. Nero they sent against Hannibal, Livius against Hasdrubal. The latter met him near the city of Sena but did not immediately open engagement with him. For many days he remained stationary, and Hasdrubal was in no hurry for battle, either, but remained at rest awaiting his brother. Nero and Hannibal entered Lucania to encamp and neither hastened to array his forces for battle, but in other ways they had some conflicts. Hannibal kept constantly changing position and Nero kept careful watch of him. As he constantly had the advantage of him and ere long captured the letter sent to him by Hasdrubal, he began to despise Hannibal, but fearing that Hasdrubal might overwhelm Livius through mere numbers he ventured upon a hazardous exploit. He left on the spot a portion of his force sufficient to check Hannibal in case the latter should make any movement, and he gave the men injunctions to do everything to create the impression that he was also there. He selected the flower of his army and started out apparently to attack some neighboring city, nor did any one know his true intentions. He hastened on, then, against Hasdrubal, reached his colleague at night, and took up his quarters in the latter's entrenchments. Both made ready for a sudden attack upon the invader. The situation did not go concealed, but Hasdrubal inferred what had happened from the fact that the word of command was given twice; for each consul issued orders to his own troops separately. Suspecting therefore that Hannibal had been defeated and had perished, — for he calculated that if his brother were alive, Nero would never have marched against *him*, — he determined to retire among the Gauls and there find out definitely about his brother and so carry on the war at his convenience.

So after giving orders to the army to break up he started out that night, and the consuls from the noise suspected what was going on, yet they did not move immediately because of the darkness. At dawn, however, they sent the cavalry ahead to pursue the enemy and they themselves followed. Hasdrubal made a stand against the cavalry, deeming them an isolated troop, but the consuls came up and routed him and followed after the fugitives, of whom they slaughtered many. Even the elephants were of no help to the

Carthaginians. Inasmuch as some of them that had been wounded did more harm to those in charge of them than had been done by the enemy, Hasdrubal gave orders to those seated upon them to slay the beasts as fast as they got wounded. And they killed them very easily by piercing them with an iron instrument under the ear. So they were destroyed by the Carthaginians, but the men by the Romans. So many fell that the Romans became surfeited with slaughter and did not wish to pursue the rest. They had destroyed Hasdrubal along with many others, they had secured huge quantities of spoil, they had found Roman captives to the number of four thousand in the camp, and thought they had sufficiently retrieved the disaster of Cannæ.

At the conclusion of these operations Livius stayed where he was, but Nero returned to Apulia, reaching it on the sixth day; his absence up to that time had not been detected. Some of the prisoners he sent into Hannibal's camp to explain what had happened, and he fixed Hasdrubal's head on a pole nearby. Hannibal, learning that his brother was vanquished and dead, and that Nero had conquered and returned, lamented bitterly, often crying out upon Fortune and Cannæ. And he retired into Bruttium where he remained inactive.

B.C. 206

(*a.u.* 548)IX, 10. — Scipio was detailed to superintend Roman interests in Spain till what time he should reach a satisfactory adjustment of them all. First he sailed to Libya with two quinqueres, and it so happened that Hasdrubal son of Gisco landed there at the same time as he did. Syphax, who was king of a portion of Libya and had enjoyed friendly relations with the Carthaginians, entertained them both and endeavored to reconcile them. But Scipio said that he had no private enmity and he could not on his own responsibility arrange terms for his country.

Accordingly he went back again and began a war against the Iliturgitani because they had handed over to the Carthaginians the Romans who took refuge with them after the death of the Scipios. He did not make himself master of their city until he dared to scale the wall in person and got wounded. Then the soldiers, put to shame and fearing for his life, made a very vigorous assault. Having mastered the situation they killed the whole population and burned down the entire city. As a result of the fear thus inspired many voluntarily ranged themselves on his side, whereas many others had to be subdued by force. Some when subjected to siege burned their cities and slew their kinsmen and finally themselves.

After subjugating the greater part of the country Scipio shifted his position to Carthage and there instituted funeral combats in full armor in honor of his father and his uncle. When many others had contended, there came also two brothers who continued at variance about a kingdom, though Scipio had made efforts to reconcile them. And the elder slew the younger in spite of the superior strength of the latter.

Subsequently Scipio fell sick, and that was the signal for a rebellion of the

Spaniards. One of Scipio's legions that was in winter quarters near Sucro became restless. It had shown a lack of docility before this, but had not ventured upon open rebellion. Now, however, perceiving that Scipio was incapacitated and influenced further by the fact that their pay had been slow in coming they mutinied outright, drove away the tribunes, and elected consuls for themselves. Their number was about eight thousand. The Spaniards on ascertaining this revolted with greater readiness and proceeded to damage the territory belonging to the Roman alliance. Mago, who had intended to abandon Gades, consequently did not abandon it, but crossed over to the mainland and wrought considerable mischief.

Scipio learning this wrote and sent a letter to apostate legion in which he affected to pardon them for revolting on account of the scarcity of the necessities of life, and did not seem to think it proper to view them with suspicion but conferred praise upon those who had accepted their leadership for the purpose of preventing any outrage due to lack of government being either suffered or committed. When Scipio had written to this effect and the soldiers had learned that he was alive and was not angry with them, they made no further demonstrations. Even after he recovered his health he did not use harsh threats in dealing with them, but sent a promise to supply them with food and invited them all to come to him either all together or only a part at a time. The soldiers, not daring to go in small squads, went in a body. Scipio arranged that they should bivouac outside the wall — for it was nearly evening — and furnished them provisions in abundance. So they encamped, but Scipio brought it about that the boldest spirits among them should enter the city, and during the night he overpowered and imprisoned them. At daybreak he sent forth all his army as if to go on an expedition somewhere. Then he called the recent arrivals inside the wall without their weapons in order to join his undertaking after they had received their provision-money. As soon as they had accordingly entered he signaled the men who had gone forth to return just as they were. Thus he surrounded the rebels and heaped upon them many reproaches and threats, saying finally: Frag. 56 "you all deserve to die: however, i shall not put you all to death but i shall execute only a few whom i have already arrested; the rest i shall release." With these words he set the prisoners in their midst, fixed them upon crosses, and after copious abuse killed them. Some of the soldiers standing by grew indignant and raised an outcry, whereupon he punished a number of them also. After this he gave the rest their pay and conducted a campaign against Indibilis and Mandonius. As they were too timid to offer him battle, he attacked and was victorious.

Following their capitulation most of the rest of Spain was again enslaved, Mago abandoned Gades, and Masinissa took the Roman side. The Carthaginians at news of the death of Hasdrubal, Hannibal's brother, had voted to give up Spain but to recover their prestige in Italy. And they sent money to Mago that he might gather a force of auxiliaries and lead a

campaign against that country. He, setting out once more for Italy, reached the Gymnasian islands. The larger one escaped his grasp; the natives from a distance kept using their slings (in which art they were masters) against the ships, so that he could not effect a landing: but he anchored off the smaller one and waited there on account of the winter. Frag. 56 these islands are situated close to the mainland in the vicinity of the iber. they are three in number and the greeks and the romans alike call them the gymnasian, but the spaniards the baleares or hyasousæ, or, separately, the first Ebusus, the second the “Larger,” and the third the “Smaller,” exceedingly well named. — Gades was occupied by the Romans.

BOOK 17, BOISSEVAIN.

Frag. 56 IX, 11. — masinissa ranked among the most prominent men: in force and in planning alike he displayed a superiority, as it chanced, where warlike deeds were concerned. He had left the Carthaginians for the Romans as a result of circumstances now to be related. Hasdrubal the son of Gisco was a friend of his and had betrothed to him his daughter Sophonis. Hasdrubal, however, became acquainted with Syphax and perceiving that he favored the Romans did not keep his agreement with Masinissa any longer. He was so anxious to add Syphax, who was lord of a very great power, to the Carthaginian alliance that when his father about this time died he helped him to take possession of his domain, which properly belonged to Masinissa, and furthermore gave him Sophonis in marriage. Frag. 56 she was conspicuous for beauty, had been trained in a liberal literary and musical education, was of attractive manners, coy, and so lovable that the mere sight of her or even the sound of her voice vanquished even a person quite devoid of affection.

Syphax for these reasons attached himself to the Carthaginians, and Masinissa on the contrary took up with the Romans and from first to last proved very useful to them. Frag. 56 scipio after winning over the whole territory south of the pyrenees, partly by force, partly by treaty, equipped himself to journey to libya. the people of rome, however, through jealousy of his successes and through fear that he might become arrogant and play the tyrant sent two of the prætors to relieve him and called him home.

thus he was deposed from his command. but sulpicius together with attalus occupied oreus by treachery and opus by main force. philip was unable to send them speedy aid as the ætolians had seized the passes in advance. but at last he did arrive on the scene and forced attalus back to his ships. philip, however, wished to conclude a truce with the romans. and after some preliminary discussion the peace proposition was withdrawn, but he moved the ætolians out of their position of alliance with the romans and made them his own friends instead.

Hannibal for a time kept quiet, satisfied if he might only retain such advantages as were already his. And the consuls thinking that his power had slowly wasted away without a battle also waited.

B.C. 205

(a.u. 549)

Frag. 56 The succeeding year Publius Scipio and licinius crassus became consuls. And the latter stayed in italy, but Scipio had received orders to leave there for Sicily and Libya to the end that in case he should not capture Carthage he might at least eventually draw Hannibal from Italy. He did not succeed in securing an army of any real value nor in getting an expenditure for triremes, because the honors accorded to his prowess had made him an

object of jealousy. The people would scarcely supply him with the necessities. While he set out with the fleet of the allies and a few volunteers drawn from the populace, Mago left the island and after sailing along the Italian coast disembarked in Liguria. Crassus was in Bruttium lying in wait for Hannibal. Philip, however, had become reconciled with the Romans; for on ascertaining that Publius Sempronius had reached Apollonia with a large force he was glad to make peace.

(Frag. 56?) Scipio the consul landed in Sicily and made ready to sail to Libya, but he could not do so because he did not have a complete force at his disposal and what he had was undisciplined. Therefore he resided there for the entire winter, drilling his followers and enrolling others in addition. As he was on the point of making the passage, a message came to him from Rhegium that some of the citizens of Locri would betray the city. Having denounced the commander of the garrison and obtained no satisfaction from Hannibal they were now ready to go over to the Romans. Accordingly he sent a detachment there and with the aid of the traitors seized a good part of the city during the night. The Carthaginians were huddled together in the citadel and sent for Hannibal, whereupon Scipio also set sail with speed and by a sudden sally repulsed Hannibal when the latter was close to the city. Next he captured the acropolis and, after entrusting the entire city to the care of the military tribunes, sailed back again. He was unable, however, to consummate his voyage to Libya. The Carthaginians so dreaded his advance that they despatched money to Philip to induce him to make a campaign against Italy, and sent grain and soldiers to Hannibal and to Mago ships and money that he might prevent Scipio from crossing. The Romans, led by certain portents to expect a brilliant victory, entrusted to Scipio the army of Libya and gave him permission to enroll as large an additional force as he should please. B.C. 204 (*a.u.* 550) Of the consuls they set Marcus Cethegus over against Mago and Publius Sempronius against Hannibal.

IX, 12. — The Carthaginians, fearing that Masinissa would join Scipio, persuaded Syphax to restore his domain to him, the giver receiving assurance that he would get the tract back again. Masinissa was suspicious of the transaction, yet agreed to peace, in order to win the confidence of the Carthaginians and so be able to plunge them into some great catastrophe. For he was more enraged over Sophonis than over the kingdom, and consequently worked for Roman interests while affecting to be for the Carthaginians. Syphax, who was a Libyan adherent, professed a friendliness for the Romans and sent to Scipio warning him against crossing over. Scipio heard this as a piece of secret information, and to prevent the knowledge of it from reaching the soldiers he sent the herald back post-haste before he had had time to meet anybody else. Then he called together the army and hastened forward the preparations for crossing; he declared that the Carthaginians were unprepared and that first Masinissa and now Syphax was calling for them and upbraiding

them for lingering. After this speech he suffered no further delay but set sail. He brought his ships to anchor near the cape called Apollonium, and Frag. 56 pitched his camp, devastated the country, made assaults upon the cities and captured a few. as the romans were harrying the country, hanno the cavalry commander, who was a son of hasdrubal son of gisco, was persuaded by masinissa to attack them. scipio accordingly sent some horsemen and was plundering some districts that were suitable for him to overrun, to the end that his men by simulated flight might draw upon them the pursuers. so when they turned to flee, according to previous arrangements, and the carthaginians followed them up, masinissa with his followers got in the rear of the pursuers and attacked them and scipio making an onset from his ambush joined battle with them. and many were destroyed, many also were captured, among them hanno himself. therefore hasdrubal arrested the mother of masinissa, and an exchange of the two captives was effected. syphax now renounced even the appearance of friendship for the romans and openly attached himself to the carthaginians. and the romans both plundered the country and recovered many prisoners from italy who had been sent to libya by hannibal and they went into winter quarters where they were.

B.C. 203

(a.u. 551)After this Gnæus Scipio and Gaius Servilius became consuls, and during their year of office the Carthaginians, having got the worst of it in the struggle, felt a desire to arrange terms of peace and furthermore both Hannibal and Mago were driven out of Italy. It was the consuls who made a stand against Hannibal and Mago, while Scipio was inflicting damage upon Libya and assailing the cities. Meantime Frag. 56 he had captured a carthaginian vessel, but released it when they feigned to have been coming on an embassy to him. he knew, to be sure, that it was only a pretext, but preferred to avoid the possibility of it being said against him that he had detained envoys. and in the case of syphax, who was still endeavoring to negotiate a reconciliation on the terms that scipio should sail from libya and hannibal from italy, he received his proposition not in a trustful mood, but to the end that he might ruin him. For on the excuse afforded by the postponed truce he sent various bodies of soldiers at various times into the Carthaginian camp and into that of Syphax; and when they had carefully inspected everything on the side of their opponents, he put aside the treaty on a plausible pretext, which was the more readily found because Syphax had been detected in a plot against Masinissa. And Scipio went by night to where their two camps were located, not very far apart, and secretly set fire to Hasdrubal's camp at many points at once. It rapidly blazed up — for their tents had been made of corn-stalks and leafy branches — and the Carthaginians fared badly. The followers of Syphax in attempting to aid them encountered the Romans, who closed in the place, and were themselves destroyed; and their own camp was set on fire in addition, and in it many men and horses perished. The Romans escaped injury during

the rest of the night following the exploit, but just after daylight Spaniards who had lately arrived as an accession to the Carthaginian alliance fell upon them unexpectedly and killed a large number.

As a result of all this Hasdrubal straightway retired to Carthage and Syphax to his own country. Scipio set Masinissa and Gaius Lælius to oppose Syphax while he himself marched against the Carthaginians. The Carthaginians for their part sent ships toward the Roman stronghold, which the enemy were using as winter quarters and as a storehouse for all their goods. In this way they might either capture it or draw Scipio away from themselves. Such also was the result. As soon as he heard of the manoeuvre, he withdrew and hurried to the harbor, which he placed under guard. And on the first day the Romans easily repulsed their assailants, but on the next they had decidedly the worst of the encounter. The Carthaginians even went so far as to take away Roman ships by seizing them with grappling irons. They did not venture, however, to disembark but finally sailed homewards, after which they superseded Hasdrubal and chose a certain Hanno in his place. From this time Hanno was the general, but his predecessor privately got hold of some slaves and deserters whom he welded together into a fairly strong force; he then quietly persuaded some of the Spaniards who were serving in Scipio's army to help him and attempted one night to carry out a plot against the Roman's camp. Something would have come of it, had not the soothsayers, dismayed by the actions of birds, and the mother of Masinissa, as a result of divinations, caused an investigation of the Spaniards to be made. So their treachery was anticipated and punished, and Scipio again made a campaign against Carthage; he was engaged in devastating their fields [IX, 13.] while Syphax was waging war upon the followers of Lælius. That prince offered successful resistance for some time, but eventually the Romans prevailed, slaughtered many, took many alive, and captured Syphax. They also acquired possession of Cirta, his palace, without a contest by displaying to the guardians within their king, now a prisoner.

It was there that Sophonis also was. Masinissa at once rushed toward her and embracing her said: "I hold Syphax that snatched thee away. I hold thee also. Fear not. Thou hast not become a captive, since thou hast me as an ally." After these words he married her on the spot, anticipating any action on the part of the Romans out of fear that he might somehow lose her, were she reckoned among the spoil. Then he assumed control of the rest of the cities of Syphax also. Frag. 56 and they brought to scipio along with the other property syphax himself. and the commander would not consent to see him remain bound in chains, but calling to mind his entertainment at the other's court and reflecting on human possibilities he leaped from his chair, loosed him, embraced him, and treated him with respect. Once he asked him: "What possessed you to go to war with us?" Syphax excused himself skillfully and at the same time made himself secure against Masinissa by declaring that

Sophonis had been responsible for his attitude. To please her father Hasdrubal she had ensnared him by witchcraft against his will to espouse the Carthaginian cause. "At any rate," he went on, "I have paid a proper penalty for being hoodwinked by a woman, and in the midst of my evils have at least one consolation, — that Masinissa has married her. For she will certainly bring about his utter ruin likewise."

Scipio feeling suspicious about this action of Masinissa called him and censured him for having so speedily married a woman taken captive from the enemy without the commanding officer's consent, and he bade him give her up to the Romans. Masinissa, thoroughly distracted, rushed into the tent where Sophonis was and cried out to her: "If I might by my own death ensure thee liberty and freedom from outrage, I would cheerfully die for thee; but since this is impossible, I send thee before me whither I and all shall come." With these words he held out poison to her. And she uttered neither lament nor groan but with much nobility made answer: "Husband, if this is thy will, I am content. My soul shall after thee know no other lord: for my body, if Scipio require it, let him take it with life extinct." Thus she met her death, and Scipio marveled at the deed.

Lælius conducted to Rome Syphax and his son Vermina and some others of the foremost men; and the citizens gave Syphax an estate at Alba, where at his death they honored him with a public funeral, and confirmed Vermina in the possession of his father's kingdom besides bestowing upon him the captured Nomads.

Frag. 56 the carthaginians while making propositions to scipio through heralds gave him money at once and gave back all the prisoners, but in regard to the remaining matters they despatched an embassy to rome. however, the romans would not receive the envoys at that time, declaring that it was a tradition in the state not to admit an embassy from any parties and negotiate with them in regard to peace while their armies were still in italy. later, when hannibal and mago had embarked, they accorded the envoys an audience and voted the peace. But Hannibal and Mago departed from Italy not on account of the tentative arrangements but through haste to reach the scene of war at home.

The Carthaginians in Libya were not thinking seriously of peace even before this and had made propositions about a truce only for the purpose of using up time and with a view to securing Hannibal's presence. When they heard that Hannibal was really drawing near, they took courage Frag. 56 and attacked scipio both by land and by sea. when the latter complained to them about this, they returned no proper answer to the envoys and actually plotted against them when they sailed back; and had not a wind fortunately arisen to help them, they would have perished. hence scipio, though at this time the vote regarding peace was brought to him, refused any longer to make it. So the Carthaginians sent Mago back to Italy, but deposed Hanno from his command and appointed Hannibal general with full powers. Hasdrubal they

even voted to put to death, and finding that he had by poison intentionally compassed his own destruction they abused his dead body. Hannibal having secured complete leadership invaded the country of Masinissa, where he proceeded to do mischief and made ready to fight against the Romans. Counter-preparations were made by the followers of Scipio.

IX, 14. — The people of Rome were regretting that they had not prevented the return voyage of Hannibal, and when they learned that he was consolidating the opposition in Libya, they were again terrified beyond measure. B.C. 202

(*a.u.* 552) Accordingly they sent Claudius Nero, one of the consuls, to attend to him, and allotted to Marcus Servilius the protection of Italy. Nevertheless Nero was not able to reach Libya, being detained in Italy by stormy weather and again at Sardinia. After that he progressed no farther than Sicily, for he learned that Scipio had proved the victor. Scipio, indeed, was afraid that Nero might be so prompt as to appropriate the glory that properly was the fruit of his own toils, and so, at the very first glimmer of spring, he took up his march against Hannibal; he had already received information that the latter had conquered Masinissa. Hannibal, upon ascertaining the approach of Scipio, did not wait, but went out to meet him. They encamped opposite each other and did not at once come to blows, but delayed several days; and each commander addressed words to his own army and incited it to battle.

When it seemed best to Scipio not to delay any further but to involve Hannibal in conflict whether he wished it or not, he set out for Utica, that by creating an impression of fear and flight he might gain a favorable opportunity for attack; and this was what took place. Hannibal, thinking that he was in flight and being correspondingly encouraged, pursued him with cavalry only. Contrary to his expectations Scipio resisted, engaged in battle and came out victorious. After routing this body he directed his next attentions not to pursuing them but to their equipment train, which chanced to be on the march, and he captured it entire. This behavior caused Hannibal alarm, an alarm increased by the news that Scipio had done no injury to three Carthaginian spies whom he had found in his camp. Hannibal had learned this fact from one of them, for the other two had chosen to remain with the Romans. Disheartened and confused he no longer felt the courage to carry on a decisive engagement with the Romans, but determined to make efforts for a truce as quickly as possible, in order that if this attempt should not be successful, it might at least cause a temporary delay and cessation of hostilities. So he sent to Masinissa, and through him as a man of the same stock asked for a truce. And he secured a conference with Scipio, but accomplished nothing. For Scipio avoided a definite answer as much as he did a harsh one, but throughout pursued a middle course, albeit preserving an agreeable tone, in order to lead Hannibal into careless behavior by pretending a willingness to come to terms. Such was the result. Hannibal now gave no thought to battle,

but concerned himself with a desire to change his camp to a more favorable location. Scipio, gaining this information from deserters, broke up beforehand by night and occupied the spot which was the goal of Hannibal's striving. And when the Carthaginians had reached a depressed part of the road unsuited for encampment he suddenly confronted them. Hannibal refused to fight and in his efforts to locate a camp there and to dig wells he had a hard time of it all night long. Thus Scipio forced the enemy, while at a disadvantage from weariness and thirst, to offer battle whether pleased or not.

Accordingly, the Romans entered the conflict well marshaled and eager, but Hannibal and the Carthaginians listlessly and in dejection, a dejection for which a total eclipse of the sun at this time was largely accountable. From this combination of circumstances Hannibal suspected that this, too, foreboded to them nothing auspicious. In this frame of mind they stationed the elephants in front of them as a protection. Suddenly the Romans emitted a great, bloodcurdling shout, and smiting their spears against their shields advanced with determination and on a run against the elephants. Thrown into a panic by the onset most of the beasts did not await the enemy's approach, but turned to flee and receiving frequent wounds wrought greater turmoil among their keepers. Others entered the fray, and then the Romans would stand apart and the animals ran through the spaces in their ranks, getting struck and wounded from close at hand as they passed along. For a time the Carthaginians resisted, but at length, when Masinissa and Lælius fell upon them from the rear with horsemen, they all fled. The majority of them were destroyed and Hannibal came very near losing his life. As he fled, Masinissa pursued him at breakneck speed, giving his horse free rein. Hannibal turned and saw him in mad career; he swerved aside just slightly, Frag. 56 and checked his forward course: Masinissa rushed by and Hannibal got behind and wounded him. Shortly after with a few attendants the Carthaginian leader made good his escape.

B.C. 201

(*a.u.* 553)

Frag. 56 Scipio followed up his victory by a rapid advance against Carthage and proceeded to besiege it by land and sea at once. The Carthaginians at first set themselves in readiness as though to endure the siege, but later, brought to the end of their resources, they made overtures to Scipio for peace. Scipio accepted their proposals and discussed with them the articles of the compact. the terms agreed upon were: that the hostages and the captives and the deserters should be given up by the Carthaginians, that all the elephants and the triremes (save ten) should be delivered over, and that in the future they should not keep elephants nor more ships of war than ten, nor make war upon any one contrary to the advice and consent of the Romans, and a few other points.

when an agreement of this nature had been reached, the Carthaginians despatched ambassadors to Rome. (Frag. 56?) so they went their way, but the

senate did not receive the embassy readily; indeed, its members disputed for a long time, one party being opposed to another. Frag. 56 the popular assembly, however, unanimously voted for peace and accepted the agreement and sent ten men that in conjunction with scipio they might settle all the details. and the treaty was accepted, the triremes were given up and burned, and of the elephants the larger number were carried off to rome, and the rest were presented to masinissa. the romans now abandoned libya, and the carthaginians italy.

the second war, then, with the carthaginians resulted in this way at the end of sixteen years. by it scipio had been made illustrious, and he was given the title of africanus (africa was the name of that part of libya surrounding carthage), and many also called him “liberator” because he had brought back many captive citizens. he therefore attained great prominence by these deeds, but hannibal was accused by his own people of having refused to capture rome when he was able to do so, and of having appropriated the plunder in italy. he was not, however, convicted, but was shortly after entrusted with the highest office in carthage.

Frag. 57 IX, 15. — the romans now became involved in other wars, which were waged against Philip the Macedonian and against Antiochus.

BOOK 18, BOISSEVAIN.

As long as the struggle with the Carthaginians was at its height they treated Philip with consideration even if his attitude toward them was not one of friendliness; for they wished to prevent him from consolidating with the Carthaginians or leading an expedition into Italy. But when the previous hostilities had come to a standstill, they did not wait a moment, but embarked upon open warfare with him, which they justified by the presentation of many complaints. Accordingly, the Romans sent envoys to him, and when he complied with none of their orders, voted for war. They used his descent upon the Greeks as a pretext, but their real reason was irritation at his general behavior and a determination to anticipate him, so that he should not be able to enslave Greece and conduct a campaign against Italy after the fashion of Pyrrhus. B.C. 200

(*a.u.* 554)As a consequence of their vote they made effective preparations in all departments and they associated with Sulpicius Galba Lucius Apustius as legatus in charge of the fleet. Galba after crossing the Ionian Gulf was sick for some time; accordingly the aforementioned legatus and the sub-lieutenant Claudius Cento assumed charge of his entire force. The second of these with the aid of the fleet rescued Athens, which was being besieged by the Macedonians, and sacked Chalcis, which was occupied by the same enemy. Philip returned just then, having finished his campaign against Athens, but Cento drove him back at his first approach and repulsed him again on the occasion of a subsequent assault. Apustius, while Philip was busy with Greece, had invaded Macedonia, and was plundering the country as well as making garrisons and cities subject. For these reasons Philip found himself in a quandary, and for a time scurried about hither and thither, defending now one place, now another. This he did until Apustius proved himself a mighty menace to his country and the Dardanians were injuring the part of Macedonia close to their borders Frag. 57(this people dwell above the illyrians and the macedonians) and some Illyrians together with Amynder king of the Athamanians, a Thessalian tribe, though they had previously been his allies now transferred themselves to the Roman side. In view of these events he conceived a suspicion of Ætolian loyalty and began to fear for his interests at home, and he hastened thither with the larger part of his army. Apustius, apprised of his approach, retired, for by this time it was winter.

Galba on recovering from his illness made ready a still larger force and at the beginning of spring pushed forward into Macedonia. When the two leaders drew near each other they Frag. 57 both pitched camp and conducted skirmishes of the horse and light-armed troops. when the romans transferred their camp to a certain spot from which they could get food more easily, philip decided that they had shifted position out of fear of him; therefore he

attacked them unexpectedly while they were engaged in plundering and killed a few of them. and galba on perceiving this made a sortie from the camp, attacked him and slew many more in return. philip, then, in view of his defeat and the fact that he was wounded, withdrew just after nightfall. galba, however, did not follow him up but retired to apollonia. apustius with the rhodians and with attalus cruised about and subjugated many of the islands.

About the same time Frag. 57 hamilcar, a carthaginian who had made a campaign with mago in italy and remained there unnoticed, after a term of quiet caused the gauls as soon as the macedonian war broke out to revolt from the romans; then with the rebels he made an expedition against the ligurians and won over some of them also. they fought with lucius furius the prætor, were defeated, and sent envoys about peace. the ligurians obtained this, but it was not granted to the others. Instead, Aurelius the consul, who was jealous of the prætor's victory, led a new campaign against them.

B.C. 199

(a.u. 555)The succeeding year a great deal of havoc was wrought by Hamilcar and the Gauls. They conquered the prætor Gnæus Bæbius, overran the territory which was in alliance with the Romans, besieged Placentia, and capturing it razed it to the ground.

IX, 16. — To return to the campaign in Greece and Macedonia — Publius Villius the consul was encamped opposite Philip, who had occupied in advance the passes of Epirus through which are the entrances to Macedonia. Philip had extended a wall across the entire mountain region in between and held a formidable position, B.C. 198

(a.u. 556)but the consul Titus Flamininus at the conclusion of winter got around the circumvallation with a few followers by a narrow path. And appearing suddenly on higher ground he terrified Philip, who thought that the whole army of Titus had come up through the pass. Hence he fell back into Macedonia at once. The consul did not pursue him, but assumed control of the cities in Epirus. He also went into Thessaly and detached a good part of it from Philip and then retired into Phocis and Bœotia. While he was besieging Elatea his brother Lucius Flamininus in company with Attalus and the Rhodians was subduing the islands. Finally, after the capture of Cenchrea, they learned that envoys had been sent to the Achæans to see about an alliance and they despatched some themselves in turn, the Athenians associating in the embassy. And at first the opinions of the Achæans were divided, some wanting to vote their alliance to Philip and some to the Romans; eventually, however, they voted assistance to the latter. And they joined in an expedition against Corinth, where they succeeded in demolishing portions of the wall, but retired after losses suffered through sallies of the citizens.

Then Philip, growing afraid that many cities might be taken, made overtures to the consul regarding peace. The latter accepted his

representations and they and their allies met, but nothing was accomplished except that permission was granted Philip to send envoys to Rome. Nor was anything done there. For, when the Greeks insisted that he depart from Corinth and Chalcis and from Demetrias in Thessaly, the envoys of Philip said they had received no instructions on this point and closed an ineffectual mission.

The people of Rome in voting to Flamininus the supreme direction in Greece for another year also committed to his charge the case of Philip as well. The Roman leader, since he was to remain at his post, prepared for war, and the more so because the Lacedæmonian tyrant Nabis, although a friend of Philip from whom he had received Argos, had made a truce with him. The Macedonian monarch being unable to administer many districts at once and fearing that the city might be seized by the Romans had deposited it with Nabis to be restored again.

In a campaign of the consul Ælius Pætus against the Gauls many perished on both sides in the stress of conflict and no advantage was achieved. And the Carthaginian hostages together with the slaves accompanying them and the captives who had been sold to various persons had the hardihood to take possession of the several cities in which they were living; and after slaughtering many of the native population were overthrown by the prætor Cornelius Lentulus before they had wrought any more mischief. The Gauls, however, elated by their successes and aware of the fact that it was only a secondary war the Romans were waging against them prepared as if to march upon Rome. B.C. 197

(*a.u.* 557)The Romans consequently became afraid and sent both the consuls, Cornelius Cethegus and Minucius Rufus, against the Gauls. They parted company and individually ravaged different tracts of country. The enemy accordingly also divided forces to meet the consuls. One band under Hamilcar encountered Cethegus and was defeated; the rest when made aware of this showed the white feather and would no longer face Rufus; consequently the latter overran the country at will. Those who had fought against Cethegus then made peace; the remainder still continued under arms.

At this time Flamininus in company with Attalus reduced the whole of Bœotia. Attalus expired of old age in the midst of a speech which he was making to the people there. Flamininus went into Thessaly and came into collision with Philip. It was only a cavalry skirmish in which they engaged, for the ground was not suitable for a battle on a vaster scale; hence both withdrew. And having reached a certain hill, the top ridge of which is called Dog's Head (Cynoscephale), they bivouacked, one on one side, the other on the other. Here also they fought with their entire armies, and the outcome would have left both with equal honors if the Ætolians had not made the Romans superior. So Frag. 58 philip was defeated and fled, and afterward, learning that Larissa and the cities surrounding it had chosen to follow the

fortunes of the victors, he sent heralds to flamininus. and he made a truce as soon as Philip had given money and hostages, among them his own son Demetrius, and had sent out envoys to Rome in regard to peace.

During the period of these transactions Androstenes also had been vanquished by the Achæans and had lost Corinth. And Lucius Flamininus who was in charge of the fleet, when he could not persuade the Acarnanians to refrain from allying themselves with Philip, besieged and captured Leucas; later they became aware of Philip's defeat and he secured their submission with greater ease.

Thus was the Macedonian war terminated and the people of Rome very readily became reconciled with Philip upon the following terms. He should restore the captives and deserters; give up the elephants and triremes save five (including the flagship, a vessel of sixteen banks), pay an indemnity, part at once, the rest in definite installments; be king of Macedonia alone; not keep more than five thousand soldiers, nor make war with any person outside his own country. For the rest of the cities situated in Asia and Europe which were previously subservient to him they let go free.

The consuls waged once more with the Gauls a war not unfraught with difficulties, yet in spite of all they got the better of this people, too.

B.C. 195

(*a.u.* 559)IX, 17. — Porcius Cato being chosen consul won back Spain, which had been almost entirely alienated. He was a man who surpassed those of his age in every virtue. Now after the defeat inflicted upon the Romans at Cannæ a law had been passed to the effect that women should not wear gold nor be carried in chairs nor make use at all of variegated clothing; and the people were deliberating as to whether they ought to abolish this law. And on this subject Cato delivered a speech in which he made out that the law ought to prevail, and finally he added these words: "Let the women, then, be adorned not with gold nor precious stones nor with any bright and transparent clothing, but with modesty, with love of husband, love of children, persuasion, moderation, with the established laws, with our arms, our victories, our trophies." — Lucius Valerius, a tribune, spoke in opposition to Cato, urging that the privilege of the old-time ornament be restored to the women. After speaking at length in this vein to the people he then directed his discourse to a consideration of Cato, and said: "You, Cato, if you are displeased at women's ornaments and wish to do something magnificent and befitting a philosopher, clip their hair close all around and put on them short frocks and tunics with one shoulder; yes, by Jove, you go ahead and give them armor and mount them on horses and, if you like, take them to Spain; and let's bring them in here, so that they may take part in our assemblies." Valerius said this in jest, but the women hearing him (many of them were hanging about near the Forum inquisitive to know how the affair would come out) rushed into the assembly denouncing the law; and accordingly, as it was speedily repealed,

they put on some ornaments right there in the assembly and went out dancing.

Cato sailed away and reached Spain. There he learned that all the dwellers as far as the Iber had united in order to wage war against him in a body. After organizing his army he attacked and defeated them and forced them to submit to him. They did so in the fear that otherwise they might lose the cities at a single stroke. At the time he did them no harm, but later when some of them incurred his suspicion, he deprived them all of arms and made the natives themselves tear down their own walls. Letters were sent in every direction with orders that they should be delivered to everybody on the same day; and in these he commanded the people to raze the circuit of their fortifications instantler, threatening the disobedient with death. Those occupying official positions when they had read them thought in each case that the message had been written to them alone, and without taking time for deliberation they all threw down their walls.

Cato now crossed the Iber, and though he did not dare to contend with the Celtiberian allies of the enemy on account of their number, yet he handled them in marvelous fashion, now persuading them by a gift of larger pay to change front and join him, now admonishing them to return home, sometimes even announcing a battle with them for a stated day. The result of it all was that they broke up into separate factions and became so fearful that they no longer ventured to fight with him.

BOOK 19, BOISSEVAIN.

IX, 18. — At this time Flaminius, too, made a campaign against Argos, for the Romans seeing that Nabis was not loyal to them and was a source of terror to the Greeks treated him as an enemy. With an accession of allies from Philip Flaminius marched upon Sparta, crossed Taygetus without effort and advanced toward the city, meeting with no opposition. For Nabis, being afraid of the Romans and suspicious of the natives, did not rouse himself to the point of meeting Flaminius at a distance; but when the latter came nearer he made a hostile excursion from the town, thinking lightly of his opponent because of the fatigue of the journey and because Flaminius was kept employed by the business of encamping; and he did cause a few flurries. The next day he came out to face the Romans when they assaulted, but as he lost large numbers he did not come out again. So Flaminius, leaving a portion of his army there to prevent a warlike demonstration anywhere, with the rest turned his attention to the country districts; these he ravaged with the aid of his brother and the Rhodians and Eumenes, son of Attalus. Nabis was consequently in despair and despatched a herald to Flaminius about peace. The latter listened to his proposals but did not immediately cease hostilities. For Nabis did not dare to refuse the arrangements which he was asked to make, nor yet would he consent to make them. And the populace prevented him from coming to an agreement. So temporarily Nabis did not come to terms, but when the Romans attacked again and captured almost all of Sparta (it was in part destitute of a wall), he would wait no longer, but made a truce with Flaminius and by sending an embassy to Rome effected a settlement.

Flaminius hereupon set all the Greeks free; B.C. 194

(*a.u.* 560) later he convened them in session and after reminding them of the benefits they had received urged them to maintain a kindly attitude toward the Romans: he then withdrew all their garrisons and departed with his entire army.

Upon the arrival of Flaminius at Rome Nabis rebelled. And straightway the whole Greek world, so to speak, was thrown into a turmoil which the Ætolians did their best to increase. They were making ready for war and were sending embassies to Philip and Antiochus. They persuaded the latter to assume a position of hostility to the Romans, promising him that he should be king of both Greece and Italy. Roman interests were so upset that they had no hope of overcoming Antiochus, but were satisfied if they could preserve their former conquests. Antiochus was regarded as a mighty personage both in the light of his own power, through which he had performed distinguished exploits and above all had subjugated Media, B.C. 193

(*a.u.* 561) and he loomed far mightier still for having attached to his cause

Ptolemy, king of Egypt, and Ariarathes, monarch of Cappadocia, as a kinsman by marriage.

Antiochus being so esteemed, the Romans as long as they were at war with Philip were careful to court his favor, keeping up friendly relations with him through envoys and sending him gifts. But when they had vanquished their other enemy, they despised also this king whom they had formerly feared. Antiochus himself crossed over into Thrace and gained control of many districts. B.C. 192

(a.u. 562)He helped colonize Lysimachia, which had been depopulated, intending to use it as a base. It was Philip and Nabis who had invited his assistance. Hannibal, too, had been with him and had caused him to hope that he might sail to Carthage and from there to Italy, and further that he could subjugate the races along the Ionian Gulf and with them set out against Rome. Twice before, indeed, Antiochus had crossed into Europe and had reached Greece. This time he learned that Ptolemy was dead, and deeming it all important that he should obtain the sovereignty of Egypt he left his son Seleucus with a force at Lysimachia and himself set out on the march. He found out, however, that Ptolemy was alive, and so kept away from Egypt and made an attempt to sail to Cyprus. Baffled by a storm he returned home. The Romans and he both despatched envoys to each other submitting mutual complaints that they might get an excuse for the war and inspect conditions on each side betimes.

Hannibal had obtained the most important office at Carthage and in his tenure of it had offended the most powerful nobles and incurred their hatred. Malicious reports about him were conveyed to the Romans to the effect that he was rousing the Carthaginians to revolt and was negotiating with Antiochus. Learning that some men from Rome were at hand and fearing possible arrest he escaped from Carthage by night. He came then to Antiochus and paved the way for his own restoration to his native country and for war against the Romans by promising the king that he would secure to him the rulership of Greece and Italy. All went well until Scipio Africanus joined them. Scipio had been sent to Libya as arbitrator between Masinissa and the Carthaginians, who were at variance over some land boundaries, and had left their dispute still hanging in the air that they might continue to quarrel and neither of them be angry at the Romans on account of a definite decision. From there he crossed into Asia nominally as an envoy to Antiochus but in reality to smite both him and Hannibal with terror by his appearance and accomplish what was for the advantage of the Romans. After his arrival Antiochus no longer bestowed a similar degree of attention upon Hannibal. He suspected him of secret dealings with Scipio, and found him burdensome besides, because everybody ascribed every plan to Hannibal and all placed in him their hope for success in the war. For these reasons, then, he became both jealous and afraid of Hannibal, dreading that he might change his demeanor,

should he get control of any power. So he neither supplied him with an army nor sent one to Carthage; and he did not favor him very much with audiences but made it a practice not to sanction any of his proposals.

IX, 19. — The rumors about Antiochus occupied a large share of Rome's attention and caused the Romans no small degree of uneasiness. The name of Antiochus was in many mouths: some said that he already held the whole of Greece, others talked to the effect that he was hastening toward Italy. The Romans accordingly despatched envoys to Greece, among them Flaminius, who was on intimate terms with the people, in order to prevent them and Philip from creating any disturbance; and of the prætors they sent Marcus Bæbius to Apollonia, in case Antiochus should undertake to cross over into Italy that way, and Aulus Atilius to attend to Nabis. The second of these had no work to do, for Nabis had ere this perished, the victim of a plot on the part of the Ætolians, and Sparta had been captured by the Achæans: Bæbius and Philip confirmed the loyalty of many portions of Thessaly. The Macedonian king was true to his agreement with the Romans principally for the reason that Antiochus had attached some settlements belonging to him in Thrace.

Flaminius went about Greece, and some he persuaded not to revolt, others already revolted he won back, except the Ætolians and a few towns elsewhere. The Ætolian league had bound itself to Antiochus and was forming a union out of some states that were willing and others that were unwilling. Antiochus in spite of the winter time hastened forward to fulfill the hopes of the Ætolians, and this explains why he did not bring along a respectable force. With what he had, however, he took Chalcis and gained control of the rest of Eubœa. Finding some Romans among the captives he released them all. Then he entered Chalcis to spend the winter, Frag. 59 with the result that he himself and his generals and his soldiers had their mental energies ruined beforehand; for by his general indolence and his passion for a certain girl he drifted into luxurious living and at the same time rendered the best unfit for warfare.

The people of Rome learning that he was in Greece and had captured Chalcis took up the war in earnest. B.C. 191

(*a.u.* 563) Of the consuls they retained Scipio Nasica to guard Italy and sent Manius Glabrio with a large army into Greece. Nasica conducted a war against the Boii, and Glabrio drove Antiochus out of Greece. He also went to Thessaly and with the help of Bæbius and Philip gained control of many of the towns there. He captured Philip of Megalopolis and sent him to Rome, and drove Amynder out of his domain, which he then gave to the Macedonian ruler.

Antiochus meanwhile was staying at Chalcis and keeping quiet. Afterward he entered Bœotia and at Thermopylæ withstood the Romans who came to meet him. Considering the fewness of his soldiers he thought it best to seek an ally in the natural advantages of his position. And in order to avoid having

himself such an experience as the Greeks had met who were arrayed there against the Persian he sent a division of the Ætolians up to the summit of the mountains to keep guard there. Glabrio cared little for the location and did not postpone a battle: however, he despatched his lieutenants Porcius Cato and Valerius Flaccus by night against the Ætolians on the summit and himself engaged in conflict with Antiochus just about dawn. As long as he fought on level ground he had the best of it, but when Antiochus fell back to a position higher up, he found himself inferior till Cato arrived in the enemy's rear. Cato had come upon the Ætolians asleep and had killed most of them and scattered the rest; then he hurried down and participated in the battle going on below. So they routed Antiochus and captured his camp. The king forthwith retired to Chalcis, but learning that the consul was approaching went back unobserved to Asia.

Glabrio at once occupied Bœotia and Eubœa, and proceeded to deliver assaults upon Heraclea, since the Ætolians were unwilling to yield to him. The lower city he captured by means of a siege and received the capitulation of those who had fled to the acropolis. Among the prisoners taken at this time was found Democritus the Ætolian general, who had once refused alliance to Flamininus, and when the latter asked for a decree that he might send it to Rome, had said: "Don't worry. I will carry it there with my army and read it to you all on the banks of the Tiber." — Philip was engaged in besieging Lamia when Glabrio came against it and appropriated both victory and booty. Though the remainder of the Ætolians wanted to become reconciled, still they made no truce because Antiochus sent them envoys and money; and they set themselves in readiness for war. Philip affected friendliness toward the Romans, but his heart was with Antiochus. Meantime Glabrio was besieging Naupactus which belonged to the Ætolians, and Flamininus coming to them persuaded the inhabitants to make peace, for he was well known to them. They as well as the Epirots despatched envoys to Rome. Philip for sending a triumphal crown to Capitoline Jupiter received in return among other presents his son Demetrius, who was living at Rome a hostage. A truce was not made with the Ætolians, for they would not submit to any curtailment of privilege.

B.C. 190

(a.u. 564)IX, 20. — The Romans set against Antiochus the Scipios, Africanus and his brother Lucius. They granted the Ætolians a respite for the purpose of once more conducting an embassy to Rome regarding peace, and hurried on against Antiochus. On reaching Macedonia they secured allies from Philip and marched on to the Hellespont. After crossing into Asia they occupied most of the coast districts which had previously been occupied by the Romans who had gone there first, as well as by Eumenes and the Rhodians; the latter had also conquered Hannibal in the region of Pamphylia, as he was taking some ships out from Phœnicia. Eumenes and his brother Attalus proceeded to injure the country of Antiochus, and cities kept coming over, some under

compulsion, some voluntarily, to the Romans, with the ultimate result that Antiochus was obliged to abandon Europe entirely and to recall his son Seleucus from Lysimachia. When this son had accomplished the return journey, he sent him with troops against Pergamum. Inasmuch, however, as his investment of the town proved ineffectual and the Scipios soon reached his vicinity, Antiochus lost no time in concluding a truce with them; for he expected to obtain terms since Frag. 59 he had got possession of the son of africanus and was according him the kindest treatment. and finally, though he failed of securing peace, he released him without ransom. The peace project, however, came to nothing, because Antiochus would not agree to accede to the Roman demands.

Still, for a long time their attitude was marked by inaction. Finally they fell to fighting again. The following may serve as a general description of the contest. Antiochus put the chariots in front, with the elephants next, and behind these the slingers and the archers. But the Romans anticipated the charge of the chariots by a charge of their own and with a great clamor they rushed straight at them and repulsed them, so that most of these vehicles turned in the direction of the elephants. In their backward career they threw their own contingent into confusion, — for their erratic course terrified and dispersed the men marshaled close to them, — and a heavy rain which now came up rendered weak the detachment of archers and slingers. A heavy, all-enveloping mist succeeded, which was of no hindrance to the Romans, who had the upper hand and were fighting at close range; but in the case of their opponents, who were in dread and employed cavalry and archers for the most part, it made it out of the question to see which way to shoot their arrows and caused them to stumble over one another, like men in the dark. Nevertheless Antiochus developed sufficient power, by means of his armored cavalry, to rout the antagonists directly confronting him and to advance in pursuit of them as far as their camp. Indeed, he would have taken it, had not Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, who was charged with guarding it, killed the first Romans that came in after they had refused to heed his exhortations to check their flight. As a result the rest of the party turned back and the commander himself made a sortie with members of the garrison who were free from the prevailing demoralization, and their united efforts repulsed Antiochus. While this action was taking place, Zeuxis had assailed the ramparts in another quarter, had succeeded in getting within them, and continued to pillage until Lepidus became aware of it and came to the rescue of his own interests. At the same time Scipio captured the camp of Antiochus, wherein he found many human beings, many horses, baggage animals, silver and gold coins, elephants, and a number of precious objects besides. Antiochus after this defeat at once retired into Syria, and the Asiatic Greeks made common cause with the Romans.

After this, upon overtures made by Antiochus, an armistice was arranged. Africanus was well disposed toward him for his son's sake, and the consul,

too, did not want to leave the victory to be grasped by his successor, now approaching; consequently they laid upon Antiochus conditions no more severe than those they had originally set, before the battle. B.C. 189 (a.u. 565) Indeed, Gnæus Manlius who succeeded them in office was not pleased with the agreement reached, and he made additional demands upon the king, requiring him besides to give hostages, one of whom should be his son Antiochus, and to deliver up all the deserters, among whom was Hannibal. Antiochus reluctantly yielded obedience on all points: to give up Hannibal, however, was out of his power, since that prince had taken seasonable refuge with Prusias, king of Bithynia. On these terms Antiochus was able to send envoys to Rome and effect a cessation of hostilities. Lucius Scipio received praise for his victory, and it gave him the title of Asiaticus in the same way as his brother had been called Africanus for conquering Carthage, which had possessed the most considerable power in Africa.

These brothers who had proved themselves men of such valor and as a result of excellence had attained such a height of reputation were not long afterward brought to court and handed over to the populace. Lucius was condemned on the suspicion of his having appropriated no inconsiderable share of the spoil, and Africanus nominally for having made the conditions lighter out of gratitude for kindness shown his son; (the true cause of his conviction was jealousy). Frag. 60 that they could not justly be charged with wrongdoing is made plain both by other evidence and most of all by the fact that when the property of asiaticus was confiscated it was found to consist merely of his original inheritance, and that though africanus retired to liternum and abode there to the end, no one ever again passed sentence of condemnation upon him.

Manlius all this time was engaged in winning over Pisidia, Lycaonia, and Pamphylia, and a large district of Galatia in Asia. For there exists in that region too a race of Gauls which broke off from the European stock. Years ago with their king, Brennus, at their head they overran Greece and Thrace, and crossing thence to Bithynia they detached certain portions of Phrygia, Paphlagonia, Mysia adjacent to Olympus, and Cappadocia, and took up their residence in them; and they constitute to-day a separate nation bearing the name of Gauls. This people caused Manlius trouble, but he managed to overcome them too, capturing their city Ancyra by assault and gaining control of the rest of the towns by capitulation. This effected, he set sail for home after he had received a large price for peace from Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia.

IX, 21. — The Ætolians when they had sent ambassadors to Rome the second time in regard to peace themselves raised the standard of rebellion. Hence the Romans immediately dismissed the ambassadors and referred the conduct of affairs in Greece to Marcus Fulvius. He set out first for the large city of Ambracia (it had once been the royal residence of Pyrrhus and was

now occupied by the Ætolians) and proceeded to besiege it. So the Ætolians held a conference with him about peace, but finding him disinclined to a truce they sent a part of their army into Ambracia. The Romans undertook to capture the town by an underground passage and pushed their mine straight forward, temporarily eluding the notice of the besieged party; but the latter began to suspect the true state of affairs when the excavated earth attained some dimensions. As they were not aware in what direction the trench was being dug, they kept applying a bronze shield to the surface of the ground all about the circuit of the walls. By means of the resonance they found out the place and went to work in their turn to dig a tunnel from inside and approached the Romans, with whom they battled in obscurity. Finally they devised the following sort of defence. They filled a huge jar with feathers and put fire in it. To this they attached a bronze cover that had a number of holes bored in it. Then, after carrying the jar into the mine and turning the mouth of it toward the enemy, they inserted a bellows in the bottom, and by blowing this bellows with vigor they caused a tremendous amount of unpleasant smoke, such as feathers would naturally create, to pour out, so that not one of the Romans could endure it. Hence the Romans in despair of succeeding made a truce and raised the siege. When they had agreed to treat, the Ætolians also changed their course and secured an armistice. Subsequently they obtained a peace from the People by the gift of considerable money and many hostages. Fulvius induced Cephallenia to capitulate and reduced to order the Peloponnesus, which was in a state of factional turmoil.

B.C. 187

(*a.u.* 567)

B.C. 183

(*a.u.* 571) After a little, in the consulship of Gaius Flaminius and Æmilius Lepidus, Antiochus died and his son Seleucus succeeded him. Much later, at the demise of Seleucus, the Antiochus who spent some time as a hostage in Rome became king. And Philip had courage enough to revolt because he had been deprived of some towns in Thessaly and of Ænus and Maronea besides, but he was unable to do so on account of his age and what had happened to his sons. — Some Gauls crossed the Alps and desired to found a city to the south of the mountains. Marcus Marcellus took away their arms and everything that they had brought: the Romans in the capital, however, upon receiving an embassy from them restored everything on condition that they should at once retire.

These years also saw the death of Hannibal. Envoys had been sent from Rome to Prusias, monarch of Bithynia, and a part of their errand was to make him give up Hannibal, who was at his court. The Carthaginian had advance information of the facts and being unable to escape committed suicide. cp. Frag. 64. an oracle had once announced to him that he should die in the land of libyssa, and he was expecting to die in libya, his native country, but, as it

happened, his demise occurred while he chanced to be staying in a certain place called libyssa. Scipio Africanus also died at this time.

BOOK 20, BOISSEVAIN.

B.C. 179

(*a.u.* 575)IX, 22. — Philip, king of Macedonia, had put to death his son Demetrius and was about to slay his other son Perseus, when death overtook him. Because Demetrius had gained the affection of the Roman people through his sojourn as hostage and because he himself and the rest of the Macedonian people hoped that he would secure the kingdom after Philip was done with it, Perseus, who was his elder, became jealous of him and falsely reported him to be plotting against his father. Thus Demetrius was forced to drink poison and perished. Philip not long after ascertained the truth and desired to take measures against Perseus; he did not, however, possess sufficient strength and death overtook him. Perseus succeeded to the kingdom. The Romans confirmed his claims to it and renewed the compact of friendship enjoyed by his father.

In the period immediately following some events of importance took place, yet they were not of so vital a character that one should deem them worthy of record. Still later Perseus put himself in the position of an enemy to the Romans, and in order to delay actual warfare until he should reach a state of preparation he sent envoys to Rome presumably to make a defence on the charges which were being pressed against him. These messengers the Romans would not receive within the wall, but they transacted business with them in the space before the city; and no other answer was vouchsafed them than that they would send a consul with whom he might confer on whatever topics he pleased. They also caused them to depart the same day, having given them guides to prevent their associating with anybody. And Perseus was forbidden in the future to set foot on the soil of Italy.

The Romans next sent out Gnaeus Sicinius, a praetor, with a small force (they had not yet made ready their greater armament) and Perseus made a tentative invasion of Thessaly in which he won over the greater part of that country.

B.C. 171

(*a.u.* 583)When spring opened they sent Licinius Crassus against him as well as a praetor, Gaius Lucretius, in charge of the fleet. The latter first encountered Perseus near Larissa and was worsted in a cavalry skirmish: later, though, he got the best of him and Perseus accordingly retreated into Macedonia. As for Crassus, he assailed the Greek cities which were held in subjection by Philip and was repulsed from the majority of them, although he did get possession of a few. Some he razed to the ground and sold the captives. When the inhabitants of Rome learned these details, they became indignant and later they imposed a money fine on Crassus, liberated the captured cities, and bought back from the purchasers such of their inhabitants as had been sold

and were then found in Italy.

So fared the Romans in these undertakings, but in the war against Perseus as a whole they suffered many great reverses and their fortunes at many points were at a low ebb. Perseus occupied the greater part of Epirus and Thessaly, having gathered a large body of troops. As a measure of defence against the Romans' elephants he had trained a phalanx of heavy-armed warriors whose shields and helmets he had taken care should be studded with sharp iron nails. Also, in order to make sure that the beasts should not prove a source of terror to the horses he constructed images of elephants that were smeared with some kind of ointment to give them a fearful odor and were frightful both to see and to hear (for a mechanical device enabled them to emit a roar resembling thunder); and he kept continually leading the horses up to these representations until they took courage. Perseus, then, as a result of all this had acquired great confidence and entertained hope that he might surpass Alexander in glory and in the size of his domain; the people of Rome B.C. 169

(*a.u.* 585) when they learned this sent out with speed Marcius Philippus, who was consul. He, on reaching the camp in Thessaly, drilled the Romans and the allies so that Perseus, becoming afraid, remained quietly in Diium of Macedonia and close to Tempe, and continued to keep watch of the pass. Philippus, encouraged by this behavior of his, crossed the mountain range in the center and occupied some possessions of Perseus. But as he was progressing toward Pydna he fell short of provisions and turned back to Thessaly. Perseus gained boldness anew, recovered the places that Philippus had occupied, and with his fleet damaged the Romans at numerous points. He also secured allies Frag. 65 and hoped to eject the romans from greece altogether, but through his excessive and inopportune parsimony and the consequent contempt of his allies he became weak once more. so soon as roman influence was declining slightly and his own was increasing, he was filled with scorn and thought he had no further need of his allies, and would not give them the money which he had offered. the zeal of some accordingly became blunted and others abandoned him entirely, whereupon he was so overwhelmed by despair as actually to sue for peace. and he would have obtained it through eumenes but for the presence of rhodians also in the embassy. they, by adopting a haughty tone with the romans, prevented him from obtaining peace.

B.C. 168

(*a.u.* 586) IX, 23. — At this point the war waged against him was entrusted to Æmilius Paulus, now for the second time consul. He rapidly traversed the distance separating him from Thessaly and having first set the affairs of the soldiers in order forced his way through Tempe, which was being guarded by only a few men, and marched against Perseus. The latter had ere this erected breastworks along the river Elpeus which intervened, had occupied and

rendered impassable by means of stone walls and palisades and buildings all the ground between Olympus and the sea, and was encouraged by the lack of water in the place. Yet even so the consul sought to effect a passage and found a means of overcoming the prevailing drought. By piercing the sand bed at the foot of Olympus he found water that was delicious as well as drinkable. — Meanwhile envoys of the Rhodians reached him animated by the same insolence which they had displayed on their former embassy to Rome. He would make no statement to them beyond saying that he would return an answer in a few days, and dismissed them. — Since he could accomplish nothing by direct assault, but learned that the mountains were traversable here and there, he sent a portion of his army toward that pass across them which was the more difficult of approach, to seize opportune points along the route (on account of its difficulty of access it had an extremely small guard); and he himself with the remainder of his army attacked Perseus that the latter might not entertain any suspicion which might lead to his guarding the mountains with especial care. After this, when the heights had been occupied, he set out by night for the mountains and by passing unnoticed at some points and employing force at others he crossed them. Perseus on learning it became afraid that his enemy might assail him from the rear or even get control of Pydna before he could (for the Roman fleet was simultaneously sailing along the coast), and he abandoned his fortification near the river and hastening to Pydna encamped in front of the town. Paulus, too, came there, but instead of immediately beginning an engagement they delayed for a number of days. Paulus had found out prior to the event that the moon was about to suffer an eclipse, and after collecting his army on the evening when the eclipse was due to occur gave the men notice of what would happen and warned them not to let it disturb them at all. So the Romans on beholding the eclipse looked for no evil to come from it, but it made an impression of terror upon the Macedonians and they thought that the prodigy had a bearing on the cause of Perseus. While each side was in this frame of mind an entirely accidental occurrence the next day threw them into a fierce conflict and put an end to the war. One of the Roman pack-animals had fallen into the water from which a supply was being drawn, and the Macedonians laid hold of him, while the water-carriers in turn tightened their grasp. At first they fought by themselves; then the remainder of the forces gradually issued from the respective camps to the assistance of their own men and everybody on both sides became engaged. A disordered but sharp conflict ensued in which the Romans were victorious and pursuing the Macedonians as far as the sea slaughtered numbers of them by their own efforts and allowed the fleet, which was drawing inshore, to slay numbers more. Not one of them would have been left alive but for the timely succor of night (for the battle had raged during the late afternoon).

Perseus consequently made his escape to Amphipolis, where he intended to rally the survivors and reorganize the campaign; but as nobody came to him

save Cretan mercenaries and he learned that Pydna and other cities had espoused the Roman cause, he removed thence, and after putting aboard some vessels all the money that he was carrying he sailed away by night to Samothrace. Before long he ascertained that Octavius was approaching at the head of his fleet and that Paulus was in Amphipolis; so he sent him a letter requesting permission to confer about terms. Since, however, he described himself in the letter as "king", he did not get any answer. Subsequently he despatched a letter without any such appellation contained in it and was granted a conference to consider the question of peace, but the victor declared that he would not sanction any conditions that did not include Perseus's surrender of his person and all his possessions to the Romans' keeping. Hence they failed to come to an agreement. Frag. 65 after this a demand was made upon Perseus by the Romans for the surrender of one Evander, a Cretan, who had assisted him in many schemes against them and was most faithful to him. the prince, fearing that he might declare all the intrigues to which he had been privy, did not deliver him but secretly slew him and had it rumored that the man had perished by his own hand. then the associates of Perseus, fearing his treachery (for they were not ignorant of what had occurred), began to desert his standard. Perseus, then, being afraid that he should be delivered up to the Romans tried one night to escape by flight and might have taken himself away unobserved to Cotys, a Thracian potentate, but for the fact that the Cretans abandoned him. They placed the money in boats and weighed anchor for home. So he remained there for some days with Philip, one of his sons, hidden from sight, but on ascertaining that the rest of his children and his retinue had fallen into the hands of Octavius Frag. 65 he allowed himself to be found. upon his being brought to Amphipolis Paulus did him no injury, but both entertained him and had him sit at his table, keeping him, likewise, although a prisoner, unconfined, and showing him courtesy. After this Paulus returned through Epirus to Italy.

IX, 24. — About the same time Lucius Anicius, a praetor sent to conduct operations against Gentius, both conquered those who withstood him and pursued Gentius, when he fled, to Scodra (where his palace was located) and shut him up there. The place was built on a spur of the mountain and had deep ravines containing boiling torrents winding about it, besides being girt by a steadfast wall; and so the Roman commander's siege of it would have come to naught, if Gentius presuming greatly upon his own power had not voluntarily advanced to battle. This act gave the control of his entire domain to Anicius, who then proceeded, before Paulus could arrive, to Epirus and tamed the quarrelsome pride of that district as well.

The Romans of the capital by some vague report heard of the victory of Paulus on the fourth day after the battle, but they placed no sure confidence in it. Then letters were brought from Paulus regarding his success and they were mightily pleased and plumed themselves not merely upon having vanquished Perseus and acquired Macedonia but upon having beaten the renowned Philip

of old time and Alexander himself together with all that empire which he had held. When Paulus reached Rome many decrees in his honor were passed and the celebration of his triumph proved a most brilliant event. He had in his procession all the booty which he had captured, and he had also Bithys, the son of Cotys, besides Perseus and his wife and three children altogether in the garb of captives. Fearing that Heaven might wax envious of the Romans on account of their excess of good fortune he prayed, as Camillus had done before, that no ill to the State might result from it all but rather to him if it should be unavoidable: and, indeed, he lost two sons, one a little before the celebration and the other during the triumphal festival itself. Frag. 66 he was not only good at generalship, but he looked down upon money. of this the following is a proof. though he had at that time entered for a second term upon the consulship and had gained possession of untold spoils, he continued to live in so great indigence that when he died the dowry was with difficulty paid back to his wife.

Of the captives Bithys was returned to his father without ransom, but Perseus with his children and attendants was settled in Alba. There he endured so long as he still hoped to recover his sovereignty, but when he despaired of doing so he despatched himself. His son Philip and his daughter also died shortly after: only the youngest son survived for a time and served in the capacity of under-secretary to the magistrates of Alba. Thus Perseus, who boasted of tracing his descent through twenty kings and often had Philip and still oftener Alexander in his mouth, lost his kingdom, became a captive, and marched in the procession of triumph wearing chains as well as his diadem.

Frag. 67 the rhodians, who in their earlier dealings with the romans displayed self-esteem, now begged the latter not to bear ill-will toward them: Frag. 67 and whereas they had previously refused to accept the title of roman allies, they were now especially anxious to secure it; and they obtained the object of their eagerness, but only after long delay. The Romans harbored resentment against the Cretans, too, but in response to a number of embassies on the part of this nation they eventually relaxed their anger. Their behavior was similar Frag. 68 in the case of prusias and eumenes. the former came personally to the city and entered the senate-house, covered the threshold with kisses, and worshipped the senators; thus he obtained pity and was held guiltless: Eumenes through Attalus his brother secured himself against any continuation of malice on their part.

At this time, too, the affairs of Cappadocia were settled in the following manner. The monarch of that country, Ariarathes, had a legitimate son Ariarathes. But since for a long time before she had this son his wife had failed to conceive, she had adopted a child whom she called Orophernes. When the true son was later born the position of the other was detected and he was banished. Naturally after the death of Ariarathes he headed an uprising against his brother. Eumenes allied himself with Ariarathes, and Demetrius the king of Syria with Orophernes. Ariarathes after sustaining a defeat found

an asylum with the Romans and was appointed by them to share the kingdom with Orophernes. But the fact that Ariarathes had been termed "friend and ally" by the Romans enabled him subsequently to make the entire domain his own. Attalus soon succeeded Eumenes (who died) and drove Orophernes and Demetrius out of Cappadocia altogether.

IX, 25. — Ptolemy, ruler of Egypt, passed away leaving two sons and one daughter. When the brothers began to quarrel with each other about the supreme office, Antiochus the son of Antiochus the Great sheltered the younger, who had been driven out, in order that under the pretext of defending him he might interfere in Egyptian politics. In a campaign directed against Egypt he conquered the greater part of the country and spent some time in besieging Alexandria. As the unsubdued sought refuge with the Romans, Popilius was sent to Antiochus and bade him keep his hands off Egypt; for the brothers, comprehending the designs of Antiochus, had become reconciled. When the latter was for putting off his reply, Popilius drew a circle about him with his staff and demanded that he deliberate and answer standing where he was. Antiochus then in fear raised the siege. The Ptolemies (such was the name of both princes) on being relieved of foreign dread fell into renewed disputing. Then they were reconciled again by the Romans on the condition that the elder should have Egypt and Cyprus, and the other one the country about Cyrene, which was likewise part of Egypt at that time. The younger one was vexed at having the inferior portion and came to Rome where he secured from the government a grant of Cyprus in addition. Then the elder once more effected an arrangement with the younger son by giving him some cities in exchange for Cyprus and being rated to contribute money and grain.

B.C. 164

(a.u. 590)Antiochus subsequently died, leaving the kingdom to a child of the same name whom the Romans confirmed in possession of it and sent three men (with sufficient show of reason, for he was a minor) to act as his guardians. They on finding elephants and triremes contrary to the compact ordered the elephants all to be slain and administered everything else in the interest of Rome. Therefore Lysias, who had been entrusted with the surveillance of the king, incited the populace to cast out the Romans and also kill Gaius Octavius. When these plans had been carried out Lysias straightway despatched envoys to Rome to offer a defence for what had been done. Demetrius the son of Seleucus son of Antiochus, who was staying in Rome as a hostage at the time of his father's death and had been deprived of the kingdom by his uncle Antiochus, asked for his ancestral domain when he learned of the death of Antiochus, but the Romans would neither help him to get it nor permit him to set out from Rome. In spite of his dissatisfaction he remained quiet. But when the affair of Lysias came up, he no longer delayed but escaped by flight and sent a message to the senate from Lycia saying that his objective was not his *cousin* Antiochus (the children of brothers were so

termed by the ancients) but Lysias, and his purpose was to avenge Octavius. Hastening to Tripolis in Syria he won over this town also, pretending that he had been sent out by the Romans to take charge of the kingdom. No one at this time had any idea of his secret flight, and so after conquering Apamea and gathering a body of troops he marched to Antioch. There he destroyed Lysias and the boy, who came to meet him in the guise of friends (through fear of the Romans they had offered no opposition), B.C. 162

(*a.u.* 592)and he recovered the kingdom, whereupon he forwarded to Rome a crown and the assassins of Octavius. The citizens, being enraged at him, would accept neither the one nor the other.

Next the Romans made a campaign against the Dalmatians. This race consists of Illyrians who dwell along the Ionian Gulf, some of whom the Greeks used to call Taulantii, and part of them are close to Dyrrachium. The cause of the war was that they had been abusing some of their neighbors who were in a league of friendship with the Romans, and when the Romans joined an embassy in their behalf the Dalmatians returned an answer that was not respectful, and even arrested and killed the envoys of the other nations. B.C. 155

(*a.u.* 599)Scipio Nasica subdued this race in a campaign against them. He captured their towns and several times sold the captives. — Other events, too, took place in those days, — not, however, of a kind to deserve mention or historical record.

BOOK 21, BOISSEVAIN.

B.C. 153

(*a.u.* 601)IX, 26. — The rattling of dice in the box of Circumstance now announced the final cast in the struggle with Carthage, — the third of the series. The Carthaginians could not endure their subordinate position, but contrary to the treaty were setting their fleet in readiness and making alliances as measures of preparation for war with the Nomads: B.C. 152

(*a.u.* 602)and the Romans, having settled other questions to their own satisfaction, did not remain at rest, but by the mouth of Scipio Nasica their commissioner they charged their rivals with this breach of faith and ordered them to disband their armament. The Carthaginians found fault with Masinissa and on account of the war with him declined to obey the command. The Romans then arranged terms for them with Masinissa and prevailed upon him to retire from some territory in their favor. B.C. 150

(*a.u.* 604)Since they showed themselves no more tractable than before, the Romans waited a bit, and as soon as information was received that the Carthaginians had been worsted in a great battle by Masinissa they voted for war against them. The Carthaginians, who were feeling the effects of their defeat, became frightened on learning this and sent envoys to Rome to secure an alliance; for other neighboring tribes were also beginning to attack them. They feigned a readiness to yield to the Romans on all points, and their very intention of not remaining true to their agreements rendered them all the more ready to promise anything.

B.C. 149

(*a.u.* 605)When the senate called a meeting to consider the matter, Scipio Nasica advised receiving the Carthaginian embassy and making a truce with them, but Marcus Cato declared that no truce ought to be arranged nor the decree of war rescinded. The senators accepted the supplication of the envoys, promised to grant them a truce, and asked for hostages as an earnest of these conditions. These hostages were sent to Sicily and Lucius Marcius and Marcus Manilius went there, took charge of them, and sent them on to Rome. They themselves made haste to occupy Africa. After encamping they summoned the magistrates of Carthage to appear before them. When these officials arrived they did not unmask all their demands at once, for they feared that if the Carthaginians understood them in season they would plunge into war with resources unimpaired. So first they asked for and received grain, next the triremes, and after that the engines; and then they demanded the arms besides. They secured the entire visible supply (but the Carthaginians had a great deal of other equipment safely hidden) and at length ordered them to raze their city and to build in its place an unwallled town inland, eighty stades distant from the sea. At that the Carthaginians were dissolved in tears,

acknowledged that they were trapped, and bewailed their fate, begging the consuls not to compel them to act as the assassins of their country. They soon found that they could accomplish nothing and had to face the repeated command either to execute the order or to cast the die of war. Many of the people then remained there on the Roman side, tacitly admitting their success: the remainder withdrew, and after killing some of their rulers for not having chosen war in the first place and after murdering such Romans as were discovered within the fortification they turned their attention to war. Under these circumstances they liberated all the slaves, restored the exiles, chose Hasdrubal once more as leader, and made ready arms, engines, and triremes. With war at their doors and the danger of slavery confronting them they prepared in the briefest possible time everything that they needed. They spared nothing, but melted down the statues for the sake of the bronze in them and used the hair of their women for ropes. The consuls at first, thinking them unarmed, expected to overcome them speedily and merely prepared ladders, with which they expected to scale the wall at once. As the assault showed their enemies to be armed and they saw that they possessed means for a siege, the Romans, before approaching close to the city again, devoted themselves to the manufacture of engines. The construction of these machines was fraught with danger, since Hasdrubal set ambuscades for those who were gathering the wood and annoyed them considerably, but in time they were able to assail the town. Now Manilius in his assault from the land side could not injure the Carthaginians at all, but Marcius, while delivering an attack from marshy ground on the side where the sea was, managed to shake down a part of the wall, though he could not get inside. The Carthaginians repulsed those who attempted to force their way in, and at night issued through the ruins to slay numerous men and burn up a very large number of engines. Hasdrubal and the cavalry, however, did not allow them to scatter over any considerable territory and Masinissa lent them no aid. He had not been invited at the opening of the war, and, though he had promised Hasdrubal that he would fight now, they gave him no opportunity of doing so.

IX, 27. — The consuls in view of the outcome of their attempts and because their fleet had been damaged by its stay in the lake raised the siege. Marcius endeavored to achieve some advantage by sea or at least to injure the coast districts, but not accomplishing anything he sailed for home, then turned back and subdued Ægimurus: and Manilius started for the interior, but upon sustaining injuries at the hands of Himilco, commander of the Carthaginian cavalry, whom they called also Phameas, he returned to Carthage. There, while the outside forces of Hasdrubal troubled him, the people in the city harassed him by excursions both night and day. In fact, the Carthaginians came to despise him and advanced as far as the Roman camp, but being for the most part unarmed they lost a number of men and shut themselves up in their fortifications again. Manilius was particularly anxious to get into close

quarters with Hasdrubal, thinking that, if he could vanquish him, he should find it easier to wage war upon the remainder. His wish to get into close quarters with him was eventually realized. He followed Hasdrubal to a small fort whither the latter was retiring, and before he knew it got into a narrow passage over rough ground and there suffered a tremendous reverse. He would have been utterly destroyed, had he not found a most valuable helper in the person of Scipio the descendant of Africanus, Frag. 69 who excelled in apprehending and devising beforehand the most advantageous movements, but excelled also in executing them. in bodily frame he was strong; he was amiable, too, and moderate; and for these reasons he escaped envy. he chose to make himself like to his inferiors, not better than his equals (he served as military tribune), and weaker than greater men. Manilius both reported what Scipio had done and sent a letter to the people of Rome concealing nothing, but including among other matters an account of the proceedings of Masinissa and Phameas. These were as follows.

Masinissa on his death-bed was at a loss to know how he should dispose of his kingdom, his dilemma being due to the number of his sons and the variety of their family ties on their mothers' side. Therefore he sent for Scipio to advise him, and the consul let Scipio go. But the demise of Masinissa occurred before Scipio arrived, and he gave his ring to his son Micipsa and delivered and committed all the other interests pertaining to his kingdom to Scipio, so soon as the latter should arrive. Scipio being aware of the preferences of Masinissa's sons assigned the kingdom to no one of them singly; but whereas there were three most distinguished, the eldest Micipsa, the youngest Gulussa, and intermediate in age Mastanabal, he appointed these to have charge of affairs, though separately. To the eldest, who was versed in business and fond of wealth, he entrusted the fiscal administration, to the second son, who possessed the critical faculty, he granted the right to decide disputes, and to Gulussa, who chanced to be of a warlike temperament, he delivered the troops. They had also numerous brothers on whom he bestowed certain cities and districts. He took Gulussa along with him and introduced him to the consul.

Now at the beginning of spring they made a campaign against the allies of the Carthaginians and brought many of them to terms forcibly while inducing many others to capitulate. Scipio was especially active in the work. Frag. 70 when phameas, despairing of carthaginian success, went over to the Romans and held a conference with Scipio, then they all set out against Hasdrubal. For several days they assailed his fortress, but as necessities failed them they retired in good order. During the siege Phameas had attacked them and made a show of fighting, and in the progress of the action he had deserted together with some of the cavalry. Then Manilius went to Utica and remained quiet, while Scipio took Phameas back to Rome, where he himself received commendation and Phameas was honored to the extent of being allowed to sit with the senate in the senate-house.

IX, 28. — It was at this time, too, that the episode occurred in which Prusias figured. The latter being old and of an irritable disposition became possessed by a fear that the Bithynians would expel him from his kingdom, choosing in his stead his son Nicomedes. So on some pretext he sent his son to Rome, with orders to make that his home. But since he plotted against the younger man even during the sojourn in Rome and labored to kill him, some Bithynians made visits to Rome, took Nicomedes away secretly and conveyed him to Bithynia, and after slaying the old man designated him king. This act vexed the Romans, but did not incense them to the point of war.

A certain Andriscus, who was a native of Atramyttium and resembled Perseus in appearance, caused a wide area of Macedonia to revolt by pretending to be his son and calling himself Philip. First he went to Macedonia and tried to upheave the country, but as no one would yield him allegiance he took his way to Demetrius in Syria to obtain from him the aid which relationship might afford. Demetrius arrested him and sent him to Rome, where he met with general contempt, both because he stood convicted of not being the son of Perseus and because he had no other qualities that were worthy of attention. On being released he gathered a band of revolutionists, drew after him a number of cities, and finally, assuming the kingly garb and mustering an army, he reached Thrace. There he added to his army numbers of the independent lands as well as numbers of princes who disliked the Romans, invaded Macedonia (which he occupied), and setting out for Thessaly made not a little of that territory his own.

The Romans at first scorned Andriscus and then they sent Scipio Nasica to effect some peaceful settlement in those parts. On reaching Greece and ascertaining what had occurred he despatched a letter to the Romans explaining the case; then after collecting troops from allies there he gave attention to the business in hand and advanced as far as Macedonia. The people of Rome when informed of the doings of Andriscus sent an army and Publius Juventius, a prætor. Juventius had just reached the vicinity of Macedonia, when Andriscus gave battle, killed the prætor, and would have annihilated his entire force but for its withdrawal by night. Next he invaded Thessaly, damaged a very great extent of it, and ranged Thracian interests on his side. Consequently the people of Rome once more despatched a prætor, Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, with a strong body of troops: he proceeded to Macedonia and enjoyed the assistance of the fleet of Attalus. The fleet inspired Andriscus with some alarm for the coast districts so that he did not venture to advance farther but moved up to a point slightly beyond Pydna. There he had the best of it in a cavalry encounter but out of fear of the infantry turned back. His elation was such that he divided his army into two sections, and with one remained on the watch where he was, while he sent the other to ravage Thessaly. Metellus in derision of the forces confronting him joined battle, and by overpowering those with whom he first came into conflict he got control of the remainder with greater ease; for they made terms

with him readily, inasmuch as they had erred. Andriscus fled to Thrace and after assembling a body of fighters gave battle to Metellus as the latter was advancing on his track. His vanguard, however, was routed first; then his contingent of allies was scattered; and Andriscus himself was betrayed by Byzes, a Thracian prince, and executed.

One Alexander, that also declared himself to be a son of Perseus and collected a band of warriors, had occupied the country round about the river which is called the Mestus: but he now took to flight, and Metellus chased him as far as Dardania.

B.C. 148

(*a.u.* 606)IX, 29. — The Romans put Piso the consul in the field against the Carthaginians. Piso did not try conclusions with Carthage and Hasdrubal, but devoted himself to the coast cities. He was repulsed from Aspis, captured and razed Neapolis, and in his expedition against the town of Hippo merely used up time without accomplishing anything. The Carthaginians took heart both for the reasons indicated and because some allies had joined their cause. Learning this the Romans in army and city alike had recourse to Scipio and created him consul in spite of the fact that his age would not properly let him hold the office. Cp. Frag. 71 own deeds and the excellence of his father Paulus and of his grandfather Africanus implanted in the breasts of all a firm hope that through him they should vanquish their enemies and utterly root out Carthage.

B.C. 147

(*a.u.* 607)While Scipio was en route to Libya, Mancinus was sailing along the coast of Carthage. He noticed a point called Megalia which was inside the city wall and was located on a cliff having a sheer descent into the sea. This point was a long distance away from the rest of the town and had but few guards because of the natural strength of its position. Suddenly Mancinus applied ladders to it from the ships and ascended. Not till he was safely up did some of the Carthaginians hastily gather, but even so they were unable to repulse him from his vantage ground. He then sent to Piso an account of his exploit and a request for assistance. Piso, however, being far in the interior, proved of no aid to Mancinus, but Scipio happened along at nightfall just after the receipt of the news and immediately sent him help. The Carthaginians would have either captured or destroyed Mancinus, if they had not seen Scipio's vessels skirting the shore: then they grew discouraged, but would not fall back. So Scipio sent them some captives to tell them that he was at hand, upon receipt of which information they no longer stood their ground, but retired to send for Hasdrubal and fortify with trenches and palisades the cross-wall in front of the residences. Scipio now left Mancinus to guard Megalia and himself set out to join Piso and the troops so as to have their support in his conduct of operations. He made a rapid return journey with the lightest equipped portion of the army and found that Hasdrubal had entered Carthage

and was attacking Mancinus fiercely. The arrival of Scipio put an end to the attack. When Piso too had come there, Scipio bade him take up his position outside the wall opposite certain gates, and he sent other soldiers around to a little gate a long distance away from the main force, with orders as to what they must do. He himself about midnight took the strongest portion of the army, got inside the circuit (using deserters as guides) and moving quietly to a point inside the little gate he hacked the bar in two, let in the men who were on the watch outside and destroyed the guards. Then he hastened to the gate opposite which Piso had his station, routing the intervening guards (who were only a few in each place), so that Hasdrubal by the time he found out what had happened could see that nearly the entire body of Roman troops was inside. For a while the Carthaginians withstood them: then they abandoned the city, all but the Cotho and Byrsa, in which they took refuge. Next Hasdrubal killed all the Roman captives in order that his people in despair of pardon might show the greater fortitude in resistance. He also made away with many of the natives on the charge that they wanted to betray their own cause. And Scipio encircled them with trench and palisade and intercepted them by a wall, yet it was some time before he took them captive. The walls were strong and the men within being many in number and confined in a small space fought with vehemence. They were well off for food, too, for Bithias from the mainland opposite the city sent merchantmen, amid wind and wave into the harbor to them so often as there was a heavy gale blowing. To overcome this obstacle Scipio conceived and executed a startling operation, namely, the damming of the narrow entrance to the harbor. The work was difficult and toilsome, for the Carthaginians undertook to check them, yet he accomplished it by the number of laborers at his disposal. Many battles took place in the meantime, but the enemy were unable to prevent the filling of the channel.

IX, 30. — So when the mouth of the harbor had been filled up, the Carthaginians were terribly oppressed by the scarcity of food; some of them deserted, others endured it and died, and still others ate the dead bodies. Hasdrubal, accordingly, in dejection sent envoys to Scipio with regard to truce, and would have obtained immunity, had he not desired to secure both preservation and freedom for all the rest as well. After he had failed for this reason to accomplish his purpose he confined his wife in the acropolis because she had made propositions to Scipio for the safety of herself and her children, and behaved in other ways more boldly on account of his despair. He, therefore, and some others, mastered by frenzy, fought both night and day; and sometimes they would be defeated and sometimes gain advantage; and they devised machinery to oppose the Roman engines. Bithias, who held a high-perched fortress and scoured wide stretches of the mainland, did what he could to help the Carthaginians and damage the Romans. Hence Scipio also divided his army, assigning one half of it to invest Carthage while he sent the other half against Bithias, placing at the head of it his lieutenant Gaius Lælius.

He himself spent his time in passing from one division to the other for inspection. Then the fortress was taken, and the siege of Carthage was once more conducted by an undivided force.

B.C. 146

(a.u. 608)The Carthaginians despairing consequently of being any longer able to save both walls betook themselves to the enclosure of the Byrsa, since it was higher up, at the same time transferring thither all the objects that they could. By night they burned the dockyard and most of the other structures in order to deprive the enemy of any benefit from them. When the Romans became aware of their action, they occupied the harbor and advanced against Byrsa. Occupying the houses on each side of it some of the besiegers walked straight along on top of the roofs by successively stepping to those immediately adjacent, and others by digging through the walls pushed onward below until they reached the very citadel. When they had got so far, the Carthaginians offered no further opposition, but all except Hasdrubal sued for clemency. He together with the deserters (for Scipio would not grant them a truce) was crowded into the temple of Æsculapius, as were also his wife and children, and there he defended himself against assailants until the deserters set fire to the temple and climbed to the roof to await the last extremity of the flames. Then, beaten, he came to Scipio holding the suppliant branch. His wife, who witnessed his entreaty, after calling him by name and reproaching him for securing safety for himself when he had not allowed her to obtain terms threw her children into the fire and likewise cast herself in.

Thus did Scipio take Carthage, and he forwarded to the senate a letter in these terms: "Carthage is taken. What are your orders?" This being read they held a session to consider what should be done. Cato advanced the opinion that they ought to raze the city and blot out the Carthaginians, whereas Scipio Nasica still advised sparing the Carthaginians. From this beginning the senate became involved in great dispute and contention until some one said that if for no other reason it must be considered necessary to spare them for the Romans' own sake. With this nation for antagonists they would be sure to practice excellence and not turn aside to pleasures and luxury; for if those who were able to compel them to practice warlike pursuits should be removed from the scene, they might become inferior from want of practice, for a lack of worthy competitors. As a result of these words all became unanimous in favor of demolishing Carthage, since they felt sure that that people would never remain entirely at peace. The whole town was therefore overthrown from pinnacle to foundation and it was decreed that for any person to settle upon its site should be an accursed act. The majority of the population captured were thrown into prison and there perished, and some few (still excepting the very foremost men) were sold. These leaders and the hostages and Hasdrubal and Bithias lived to the end of their lives in different parts of Italy as prisoners, yet free from bonds. Scipio secured both glory and honor

and was called Africanus not after his grandfather but from his own achievements.

IX, 31. — This year likewise saw the ruin of Corinth. The head men of the Greeks had been deported to Italy by Æmilius Paulus, whereupon their countrymen at first through embassies kept requesting the return of the men, and when their prayers were not granted some of the exiles in despair of ever effecting a return to their homes committed suicide. The Greeks took this situation with a very bad grace and made it a matter of public lamentation, besides evincing anger at any persons dwelling among them that favored the Roman cause; yet they displayed no open symptoms of hostility until they got back the remnants of those hostages. B.C. 149

(*a.u.* 605)

Fræg. 72 Then those that had been wronged and those that had obtained a hold upon the goods of others fell into strife and began a real warfare. the quarrel began by the action of the achæans in bringing charges against the lacedæmonians as being responsible for what had happened to them. the mediators whom the romans despatched to them they would not heed: they rather set their faces toward war, acting under the supervision of Critolaus. Metellus was consequently afraid that they might lay hands on Macedonia, — B.C. 148

(*a.u.* 606)they had already appeared in Thessaly, — and so he went to meet them and routed them.

At the fall of Critolaus the Greek world was split asunder. Some of them had embraced peace and laid down their weapons, whereas others had committed their interests to the care of Diæus and were still involved in factional turmoil. B.C. 146

(*a.u.* 608)On learning this the people of Rome sent Mummius against them. He got rid of Metellus and gave his personal attention to the war. Part of his army sustained a slight reverse through an ambuscade and Diæus pursued the fugitives up to their own camp, but Mummius made a sortie, routed him, and followed to the Achæan entrenchments. Diæus now gathered a larger force and undertook to give battle to them, but, as the Romans would make no hostile demonstration, he conceived a contempt for them and advanced to a depressed piece of ground lying between the camps. Mummius seeing this secretly sent horsemen to assail them on the flank. After these had attacked and thrown the enemy into confusion, he brought up the phalanx in front and caused considerable slaughter. As a consequence Diæus in despair killed himself, and of the survivors of the battle the Corinthians were scattered over the country, while the rest fled to their homes. Hence the Corinthians within the wall believing that all their citizens had been lost abandoned the city, and it was empty of men when Mummius took it. After that he won over without trouble both that nation and the rest of the Greeks. He now took possession of their arms, all the offerings that were consecrated in their temples, the statues,

paintings, and whatever other kind of ornament they had; and as soon as he could send his father and some other men to arrange terms for the vanquished he caused the walls of some of the cities to be taken down and declared them all to be free and independent except the Corinthians. The dwellers in Corinth he sold, and confiscated their land and demolished their walls and all their houses besides, out of fear that some states might again unite with them, since they constituted the greatest state. To prevent any of them from remaining hidden and any of the other Greeks from being sold as Corinthians he assembled everybody present before he had disclosed his determination, and after having his soldiers surround them in such a way as not to attract notice he proclaimed the enslavement of the Corinthians and the liberation of the remainder. Then he instructed them all to take hold of any Corinthians standing beside them. In this way he arrived at an accurate distinction.

Thus was Corinth overthrown. The rest of the Greek world suffered temporarily from murders and levies of money, but afterward came to enjoy such immunity and prosperity that it used to be said: "If they had not been taken captive as early as they were, they could not have been preserved."

So this end simultaneously befell Carthage and Corinth, famous, ancient cities: but at a much later date they received colonies of Romans, became again flourishing, and regained their original position.

The exploits of the Romans up to this point, found by me in ancient books that record these matters, written by men of old time, I have drawn thence in a condensed form and have embodied in the present history. As for what comes next in order, — the transactions of the consuls and dictators, so long as the government of Rome was still conducted by these officials, — let no one censure me as having passed this by through contempt or indolence or antipathy and having left the history as it were incomplete. The gap has not been overlooked by me through sloth, nor have I of my own free will left my task half finished, but through lack of books to describe the events. I have frequently instituted a search for them, yet I have not found them, and I do not know whether the cause is that the passage of time has destroyed them, and so they are not preserved, or whether the persons to whom I entrusted the errand perhaps did not search for them with sufficient diligence; for I was living abroad and passing my life on an islet far from the city. And because it has not been my lot to gain access to these books in this instance, my history turns out to be only half complete for the acts of the consuls and even for those of the dictators. Hence, passing over them, though reluctantly, I will record the deeds of the emperors, with some brief introductory remarks to make clear to those who shall read my history by what steps the Romans passed from aristocracy (or democracy) to the rule of one man, and to impart, in addition, coherence to the narrative.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOKS 22-35 FROM VARIOUS SOURCES

NOTE. — no summary exists of the missing books twenty-two to thirty-five inclusive, and we are driven to rely on scattered and inconsequential fragments (that have somehow escaped the wreck of seasons) as the basis for whatever mental image we may choose to form of the lost narrative. these bits possess the same value for dio's history as do the unrelated pieces of marble and clay from excavations in enabling us to gain a wider understanding of antique sculpture and pottery. for an account of the sources of these fragments see the introduction, under the caption entitled THE WRITING.

BOOK 22, BOISSEVAIN.

Frag. LXXIII Viriathus was a Lusitanian, of very obscure origin, as some think, who enjoyed great renown through his deeds, for from a shepherd he became a robber and later on also a general. He was naturally adapted and had trained himself to be very quick in pursuing and fleeing, and of great force in a stationary conflict. He was glad to get any food that came to hand and whatever drink fell to his lot; he lived most of his life under the open sky and was satisfied with nature's bedding. Consequently he was superior to any heat or any cold, and neither was he ever troubled by hunger nor did he suffer from any other disagreeable condition; since he found all his wants met quite sufficiently by whatever he had at hand, which seemed to him unexcelled. While he possessed such a physical constitution, as the result of nature and training, he surpassed still more in spiritual endowment. He was swift to perceive and do whatever was requisite, — he could tell what must be done and at the same time he understood the proper occasion for it, — and he was clever at pretending not to know the most evident facts and to know the most hidden secrets. Furthermore he was not only general but his own assistant in every business equally, and was seen to be neither humble nor pompous, but in him obscurity of family and reputation for strength were so mingled that he seemed to be neither inferior nor superior to any one. And, in fine, he carried on the war not for the sake of personal gain or power nor through anger, but because of the opportunity for action; therefore he was regarded as most thoroughly a lover of war and a successful warrior. (Valesius, .)

Frag. LXXIV

B.C. 143

(*a.u.* 611) 1. Claudius, the colleague of Metellus, impelled by pride of birth and jealousy of Metellus, when he had had Italy allotted to his command and found no sign of war, was eager to secure by any means some pretext for a triumph; hence without taking the trouble to lodge any formal complaint he set the Salassi, a Gallic tribe, at war with the Romans. He had been sent to reconcile them, because they were disputing with their neighbors about the water necessary for the gold mines, and he overran their entire country ... the Romans sent him two of the ten priests. (Valesius, .)

2. Claudius, even if he understood thoroughly that he had not conquered, nevertheless even then displayed such arrogance as not to say a word in either the senate or the popular assembly about the triumph; but acting as if the right were indisputably his, even if no one should vote to that effect, he asked for the requisite expenditures. (Valesius, *ib.*)

Frag. LXXV

B.C. 142

(*a.u.* 612)As regards character Mummius and Africanus differed vastly from each other in every respect. The latter ruled with a view to the greatest uprightness and with exactitude, not esteeming one influence above another; he called to account many of the senators and many of the knights, as well as other individuals. Mummius, on the other hand, was more urbane and humane in his behavior; he imputed no dishonor to any one, and abolished many of the regulations framed by Africanus, so far as was possible. To such an extent of amiability did his nature lead him, that he lent some statues to Lucullus for the consecration of the temple of Felicitas (material for which he had gathered in the Spanish war), and then, when that general was unwilling to return them on the ground that they had been made sacred by the dedication, he showed no anger, but permitted his own spoils to lie there offered up in another's name. (Valesius, .)

Frag. LXXVI

B.C. 140

(*a.u.* 614) Pompeius received many setbacks and incurred great disgrace. There was a river flowing through the country of the Numantini that he wished to turn aside from its ancient channel and let in upon their fields; and after tremendous exertions he did accomplish this. But he lost many soldiers, and no advantage from turning it aside came to the Romans, nor harm to the enemy.... (Valesius, *ib.*)

Frag. LXXVIICæpio effected nothing worthy of mention against the foe, but brought much serious harm to his own men, so that he ran the risk of being killed by them. He treated them all, but especially the cavalry, with such harshness and cruelty that a vast number of most unseemly jokes and stories passed current about him during the nights; and the more he grew vexed at it, the more jests did they make and endeavor to infuriate him. When what was going on became known and no one could be found guilty — though he suspected it was the doing of the cavalry — as he could fix the responsibility upon no one single man he became angry at all of them, and commanded them, six hundred in number, accompanied only by their grooms, to cross the river by which they were encamped and bring wood from the mountain on which Viriathus was bivouacking. The danger was manifest to all, and the tribunes and lieutenants begged him not to destroy them. The cavalry waited for a little to see if he would listen to the others, and when he would not yield, they deemed it unworthy to supplicate him, as he was most eager for them to do, but choosing rather to perish utterly than to speak a respectful word to him, they started on the mission assigned. The horsemen of the allies and other volunteers accompanied them. They crossed the river, cut the wood, and threw it in all around the general's quarters, intending to burn them down. And he would have perished in the flames, if he had not fled away in time. (Valesius, .)

Frag. LXXVIII

B.C. 139

(*a.u.* 615) Popilius so terrified Viriathus that the latter sent to him about peace immediately and before they had tried any battle at all, killed some of the leaders of the rebels whose surrender had been demanded by the Romans — among these his father-in-law, though commanding his own force, was slaughtered — and delivered up the rest, all of whose hands the consul cut off. And he would have agreed to a complete truce, if their weapons had not been demanded in addition: with this condition neither he nor the rest of the throng would comply. (Ursinus, .)

BOOK 23, BOISSEVAIN.

Frag. LXXIX

B.C. 136

(*a.u.* 618) The Romans received the Numantine ambassadors on their arrival outside the walls, to the end that their reception might not seem to imply a ratification of the truce. However, they sent gifts of friendship notwithstanding, not wishing to deprive them of the hope of possibly coming to terms. Mancinus and his followers told of the necessity of the compact made and the number of the saved, and stated that they still held all of their former possessions in Spain. They besought their countrymen to consider the question not in the light of their present immunity, but with reference to the danger that then encompassed the soldiers, and to think not what ought to have been done, but what might have been the outcome. The Numantini brought forward many statements about their previous good-will toward the Romans and considerable about the latter's subsequent injustice, by reason of which they had been forced into the war, and the perjury of Pompeius: and they asked for considerate treatment in return for the preservation of Mancinus and the rest. But the Romans both dissolved the truce and decided that Mancinus should be given up to the Numantini. (Ursinus, .)

Frag. LXXX Claudius through his harshness would have committed many outrageous acts, had he not been restrained by his colleague Quintus. The latter, who was amiable and possessed exactly the opposite temperament, did not oppose him with anger in any matter and, indeed, occasionally yielded to him, and by gentle behavior so manipulated him that he found very few opportunities for irritation. (Valesius, .)

Frag. LXXXI Furius led out among his lieutenants both Pompeius and Metellus though they were hostile both to him and to each other; for, expecting to achieve some great success, he wished to have in them sure witnesses to his deeds and to receive the evidence of his prowess from their unwilling lips. (Valesius, *ib.*)

BOOK 24, BOISSEVAIN.

Frag. LXXXIII. Tiberius Gracchus caused an upheaval of the Roman state, — and this in spite of the fact that he belonged to one of the foremost families (his grandfather being Africanus), that he possessed a natural endowment worthy of the latter, that he had gone through a most thorough course of education, and had a high spirit. In proportion to these great gifts of his was the allurements that they offered to follow his ambitions: and when once he had turned aside from what was best he drifted even involuntarily into what was worst. It began with his being refused a triumph over the Numantini: he had hoped for this honor because he had previously had the management of the business, but so far from obtaining anything of the kind he incurred the danger of being delivered up; then he decided that deeds were estimated not on the basis of goodness or truth but according to mere chance. And this road to fame he abandoned as not safe, but since he desired by all means to become prominent in some way and expected that he could accomplish this better through the popular than through the senatorial party, he attached himself to the former. (Valesius, .)

2. Marcus Octavius on account of an hereditary feud with Gracchus willingly made himself his opponent. B.C. 133

(*a.u.* 621) Thereafter there was no semblance of moderation: striving and quarreling as they were, each to survive the other rather than to benefit the community, they committed many acts of violence as if they were in a principality instead of a democracy, and suffered many unusual calamities proper for war but not for peace. In addition to their individual conflicts, there were many who, banded together, instituted grievous abuses and battles in the senate-house itself and the popular assembly as well as throughout the rest of the city: they pretended to be executing the law, but were in reality making in all things every effort not to be surpassed by each other. The result was that the authorities could not carry on their accustomed tasks, courts came to a stop, no contract was entered into, and other sorts of confusion and disorder were rife everywhere. The place bore the name of city, but was no whit different from a camp. (Valesius, .)

3. Gracchus proposed certain laws for the benefit of those of the people who served in the army, and transferred the courts from the senate to the knights, bedeviling and disturbing all established customs in order that he might be enabled to lay hold on safety in some wise. And after he found not even this of advantage to him, but his term of office was drawing to a close, when he would be immediately exposed to the attacks of his enemies, he attempted to secure the tribuneship also for the following year (in company with his brother) and to appoint his father-in-law consul: to obtain this end he

would make any statement or promise anything whatever to anybody. Often, too, he put on a mourning garb and brought his mother and children, tied hand and foot, into the presence of the populace. (Valesius, ib.)

Frag. LXXXIII

B.C. 129

(*a.u.* 625) Scipio Africanus had more ambition in his makeup than was suitable for or compatible with his general excellence. And in reality none of his rivals took pleasure in his death, but although they thought him a great obstacle in their way even they missed him. They saw that he was valuable to the State and never expected that he would cause them any serious trouble. When he was suddenly taken away all the possessions of the powerful class were again diminished, so that the promoters of agrarian legislation ravaged at will practically all of Italy. And this seems to me to have been most strongly indicated by the mass of stones that poured down from heaven, falling upon some of the temples and killing men, and by the tears of Apollo. B.C. 131 (*a.u.* 623) For the god wept copiously for three days, so that the Romans on the advice of the soothsayers voted to cut down the statue and to sink it in the deep. (Valesius, .)

BOOK 25, BOISSEVAIN.

Frag. LXXXIV Gracchus had a disposition like his brother; only the latter drifted from excellence into ambition and then to baseness whereas this man was naturally intractable and played the rogue voluntarily and far surpassed the other in his gift of language. For these reasons his designs were more mischievous, his daring more spontaneous, and his self-will greater in all junctures alike. He was the first to walk up and down in the assemblies while he harangued and the first to bare his arm; hence neither of these practices has been thought improper, since he did it. And because his speaking was characterized by great condensation of thought and forcefulness of words and he consequently was unable to restrain himself easily but was often led to say what he did not wish, he used to bring in a flute-player, and from him, playing a low accompaniment, he would take his rhythm and time, or if even so he in some way fell out of measure, he would stop. This was the sort of man that attacked the government, and, by assuming no speech or act to be forbidden, in the briefest time became a great power among the populace and the knights. All the nobility and the senatorial party if he had lived longer ... B.C. 121 (*a.u.* 633) but as it was his great authority made him envied even by the members of his faction, and he was ruined by his own devices. (Valesius, *ib.*)

BOOK 26, BOISSEVAIN.

Frag. LXXXV

B.C. 114

(*a.u.* 640) 1. The priestesses for the most part incurred destruction and shame themselves, and proved the source of great evils to numerous others as well, while the entire city because of them was thrown into an uproar. For the people, in view of the fact that what was immaculate by law and sacred by the dictates of religion and decent through fear of vengeance had been polluted, were ready to believe that anything most shameful and unholy might be done. For this reason they visited punishment not only on the convicted, but also on all the rest who had been accused, to show their hatred of what had occurred. Hence the whole episode in which the women were concerned seemed now to be due not so much to their feminine incontinence as to a kind of madness inspired by supernatural powers. (Valesius, .)

2. Three altogether had had intercourse with men; and of them Marcia had acted individually, granting her favors to one single knight and would never have been discovered, had not the investigation into the cases of the others spread and overtaken her besides. Æmilia and Licinia had a multitude of lovers and carried on their wanton behavior with each other's help. At first they surrendered themselves to some few privately and secretly, telling each man that he was the only one admitted. Later they themselves bound every one who could suspect and inform against them to certain silence in advance by the price of intercourse with them, and those who had previously enjoyed their conversation, though they saw this, yet endured it in order not to be detected by a show of vexation. So after holding commerce with many, now singly, now in groups, now privately, now publicly, Licinia enjoyed the society of the brother of Æmilia, and Æmilia that of Licinia's brother. These doings were hidden for a great period of time, and though many men and many women, both free and slaves, were in the secret, it was hidden for a very long period, until one Manius, who seems to have been the first to assist and coöperate in the whole evil, gave information of the matter because he had not obtained freedom nor any of the other objects of his hope. He was, indeed, very skillful not only at leading women into prostitution, but also in slandering and ruining some of them. (Valesius, .)

Frag. LXXXVI

B.C. 112

(*a.u.* 642) This was calculated to bring him [*sc.* Marcus Drusus] glory first of itself and second in the light of Cato's disaster; and because he had shown great amiability toward the soldiers and seemed to have made success of more importance than truth, he also secured a renown greater than his deeds

deserved. (Valesius, .)

Frag. LXXXVII

B.C. 108

(*a.u.* 646) 1. When Jugurtha sent to Metellus about peace the latter made separate demands upon him as if each were to be the last, and in this way got from him hostages, arms, the elephants, the captives, and the deserters. All of these last he killed but did not grant a truce because Jugurtha, fearing to be arrested, refused to come to him and because Marius and Gnæus prevented. (Ursinus, .)

2. For he [*sc.* Marius] was in general seditious and turbulent, wholly friendly to the rabble from which he had sprung and wholly ready to overthrow the nobility. He risked with perfect readiness any statement, promise, lie, or false oath in any matter where he hoped to gain a benefit. Blackmailing one of the foremost citizens or commending some rascal he thought child's play. And let no one be surprised that such a man could conceal his villanies for a very long time: for, as a result of his exceeding cunning and the good fortune which he enjoyed all through his early life, he actually acquired a reputation for virtue. (Valesius, .)

3. Marius was the more easily able to calumniate Metellus for the reason that the latter was numbered among the nobles and was managing military concerns excellently, whereas he himself was just beginning to come forward from a very obscure and doubtful origin into public notice: — the populace was readily inclined to overthrow Metellus through envy, and favored Marius increasingly for his promises: — of great assistance, too, was the report that Metellus had said to Marius (who was just then coming forward for election): “You ought to be satisfied if you get to be consul along with my son” (who was a mere lad). (Valesius, .)

4. Gaudas was angry at Metellus because in spite of requests he had received from him neither the deserters nor a garrison of Roman soldiers, or else because he could not sit near him, — a privilege ordinarily vouchsafed by the consuls to princes and potentates. (Valesius, *ib.*)

B.C. 107

(*a.u.* 647) 5. When Cirta was captured by capitulation Bocchus sent a herald to Marius and first demanded the empire of Jugurtha as the price for his defection, but later, as he did not obtain it, simply asked him to make terms. So he sent envoys to Rome, but Jugurtha while this was taking place retired to the most desolate portions of his own territory. (Ursinus, .)

B.C. 106

(*a.u.* 648) 6. Marius entertained the envoys of Bocchus but said he would make no compact with him unless he should receive Jugurtha's prisoners from his hands; and this was done. (Ursinus, .)

BOOK 27, BOISSEVAIN.

Frag. LXXXVIII Tolosa, which was formerly at peace with the Romans but had revolted, under the influence of hope in the Cimbri, to the extent of imprisoning the garrison, was occupied by them at night: they were admitted unexpectedly by friends and plundered the temples, obtaining much other money besides, for the place had been wealthy from of old, containing among other offerings those of which the Gauls under the leadership of Brennus had once despoiled Delphi. Nothing of importance, however, reached the Romans in the capital, but the victors themselves confiscated the most of it. For this a number were called to account. (Valesius, .)

Frag. LXXXIX

B.C. 105

(*a.u.* 649) 1. Servilius by reason of his jealousy of his colleague became the cause of many evils to the army; for, though he had in general equal powers, his reputation was naturally diminished by the fact that the other was also consul. And ... after the death of Scaurus he [Manlius?] sent for Servilius: but the latter replied that each of them ought to keep his position. Then, apprehending that Manlius might gain some success by his own resources, he grew jealous of him, fearing that he might secure individual glory, and went to him: yet he did not bivouac on the same ground nor make him the partaker of any plan, but took up a distinct position with the evident intention of joining battle with the Cimbri before him and winning all the glory of the war. At the outset they still inspired the enemy with dread, as long as their quarrel was concealed, so much so as to lead the foe to desire peace, but when the Cimbri sent a herald to Manlius as consul Servilius became indignant that they had not directed their embassy to him, refused to agree to any reconciliation, and came near slaying the envoys. (Valesius, .)

2. The soldiers forced Servilius to go to Manlius and consult with him about the emergency. But so far from coming into accord they became as a result of the meeting even more hostile than before: they fell into strife and abuse and parted in a disgraceful fashion. (Valesius, .)

Frag. XC

B.C. 104

(*a.u.* 650) After Gnæus Domitius obtained leave to bring suit against Scaurus, one of the slaves then came forward and offered to bring any damaging charges against his master: but he refused to become involved in such despicable business, and arresting the fellow delivered him over to Scaurus. (Valesius, *ib.*)

Frag. XCI 1. Publius Licinius Nerva, who was prætor in the island, on

learning that the slaves were not being justly treated in some respects, or else because he sought an occasion of profit (for he was not inaccessible to bribes), circulated the announcement that all who had any charges to bring against their masters should come to him, for he would assist them. Accordingly, many of them banded together, and some declared they were being wronged and others made known some other grievances against their masters, thinking they had secured an opportunity for accomplishing without bloodshedding all that they wished. The freeborn, after consultation, resisted them and would not yield to them on any point. Therefore Licinius, inspired with fear by the united front of both sides and dreading that some great mischief might be done by the defeated party, would not admit any of the slaves but sent them away thinking that they would suffer no harm or that at any rate they would be scattered and so could cause no more disturbance. But they, fearing their masters because they had dared to raise their voices at all against them, organized a force and by common consent turned to robbery. (Valesius, .)

B.C. 103

(a.u. 651)2. The Messenians, believing that they would suffer no abuse, had deposited in that place for safe keeping all their most valuable and highly prized possessions. Athenio, who as a Cilician held the chief command of the robbers, on learning this attacked them while they were celebrating a public festival in the suburbs, killed many of them as they were scattered about, and almost took the city by storm. After building a wall to fortify Macella, a strong position, he did serious injury to the country. (Valesius, .)

Frag. XCII

B.C. 102

(a.u. 652)1. After the defeat of the barbarians though many had fallen in battle some few were saved. Whereupon Marius attempted to console these survivors and to make amends by restoring to them all the plunder at a nominal price, to prevent its being thought that he had bestowed favors gratuitously upon any one. By this act Marius, who previously had been the darling of the populace alone because sprung from that class and raised to power by it, now won over even the nobles by whom he was hated, and was praised equally by all. He received from a willing and harmonious people a reelection for the following year, to enable him to subdue his remaining foes. (Valesius, ib.)

2. The Cimbri when they had once halted lost much of their spirit and consequently grew duller and weaker in both soul and body. The reason was that in place of their former outdoor life they rested in houses, instead of their former cold plunges they used warm baths, whereas they were wont to eat raw meat they now filled themselves with richly spiced dishes and relishes of the country, and they saturated themselves, contrary to their custom, with wine and strong drink. These practices extinguished all their fiery spirit and

enervated their bodies, so that they could no longer bear toils or hardships or heat or cold or sleeplessness. (Valesius, ib.)

BOOK 28, BOISSEVAIN.

Frag. XCIII

B.C. 99

(a.u. 655)1. The son of Metellus besought everybody to such an extent both in private and in public to let his father return from exile that he received the appellation *Pius*, i.e. dutiful. (Valesius, .)

2. Furius had such enmity toward Metellus that when he was censor he took his horse away. (Valesius, ib.)

3. Publius Furius, indicted for his deeds committed in the tribuneship, was slain by the Romans in the Comitia itself. He richly deserved to die, for he was a seditious person and after first joining Saturninus and Glaucia he veered about, deserted to the opposing faction, and joined its members; it was not proper, however, for him to perish in just this way. And this action seemed to be on the whole justifiable. (Valesius, .)

Frag. XCIV1. For there were other factional leaders, but the greatest authority was possessed by Marcius over one group, and by Quintus over the other: these men were eager for power, of insatiable ambition, and consequently greatly inclined toward strife. Those qualities they possessed in common; but Drusus had the advantage of birth, and of wealth, which he lavishly expended upon those who at any time made demands upon him, while the other greatly surpassed him in audacity, daring, the anticipation of plots, and malignity suitable to the occasion. Hence not unnaturally, since they supplemented each other partly by their likeness and partly by their differences, they created an extremely strong factional feeling which remained even after the death of both. (Valesius, .)

2. Drusus and Cæpio, formerly great friends and united by mutual ties of marriage, became privately at enmity with each other and carried their feud even into politics. (Valesius, ib.)

Frag. XCV

B.C. 92

(a.u. 662)1. Rutilius, an upright man, was most unjustly condemned. He was brought to court by a preconcerted plan of the knights on a charge of having been bribed while serving in Asia as lieutenant under Quintus Mucius, and they imposed a fine upon him. The reason for this act was their rage at his having ended many of their irregularities in connection with the collecting of taxes. (Valesius, .)

2. Rutilius made a very able defence, and there was no one of his words which would not be the natural utterance of an upright man who was being blackmailed and grieved far more for the conditions of the State than for his own possessions: he was convicted, however, and immediately stripped of his

property. This process more than any other revealed the fact that he had in no wise deserved the sentence passed upon him. He was found to possess much less than the accusers had charged him with having confiscated from Asia, and he could trace all of his goods back to just and lawful sources of acquisition. Such was his unworthy treatment, and Marius was not free from responsibility for his conviction; a man so excellent and of such good repute had been an annoyance to him. Wherefore Rutilius, indignant at the conduct of affairs in the city, and disdaining to live longer in the company of such a creature, withdrew, though under no compulsion, and went even as far as Asia. There for a time he dwelt in Mitylene; then after that place had received injury in the Mithridatic war he transferred his residence to Smyrna and there lived to the end of his life nor wished ever to return home. And in all this he suffered not a whit in reputation or plenty. He received many gifts from Mucius and a vast number from all the peoples and kings as well who had become acquainted with him, till he possessed far more than his original property. (Valesius, .)

BOOK 29, BOISSEVAIN.

Frag. XCVI

B.C. 90

(*a.u.* 664)1. Lupus, suspecting that the patricians making the campaign with him were revealing his plans to the enemy, sent word about them to the senate before he had any definite information, and, as a consequence, although they were in no case well disposed toward each other through factional differences, he set them still more at variance. There would have been even greater disturbance, had not some of the Marsi been detected mixing with the foraging parties of the Romans and entering the ramparts under the guise of allies, where they took cognizance of speeches and actions in the camp and reported them to their own men. In consequence of this discovery they ceased to be angry with the patricians. (Valesius, .)

2. Marius suspected Lupus, although a relative, and through jealousy and hope of being appointed consul even a seventh time as the only man who could bring success out of the existing situation, bade him delay: their men, he said, would have provisions, whereas the other side would not be able to hold out for any considerable time when the war was in their country. (Valesius, *ib.*)

3. The Picentes subdued those who would not join their rebellion and abused these men in the presence of their friends and from the heads of their wives they tore out the hair along with the skin. (Valesius, *ib.*)

REMAINS OF BOOKS 30-35, BOISSEVAIN.

Frag. XCVIII. Mithridates, when the Roman envoys arrived, did not make the slightest move, but after bringing some counter-charges and also exhibiting to the envoys the amount of his wealth, some of which he had at that time spent on various objects public and private, he remained quiet. But Nicomedes, elated by their alliance and being in need of money, invaded his territory. (Ursinus, .)

2. Mithridates despatched envoys to Rome requesting them if they deemed Nicomedes a friend to persuade him or compel him to act justly toward him, or if not, to allow him (Mithridates) to take measures against his foe. They, so far from doing what he wished, even threatened him with punishment if he should not give back Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes and remain at peace with Nicomedes. His envoys they sent away the very day and furthermore ordered him never to send another one unless he should render them obedience. (Ursinus, ib.)

Frag. XCVIII

B.C. 89

(*a.u.* 665) Cato, the greater part of whose army was effeminate and superannuated, found his power diminished in every direction: and once, when he had ventured to rebuke them because they were unwilling to work hard or obey orders readily, he came near being overwhelmed with a shower of missiles from them. He would certainly have been killed, if they had had plenty of stones; but since the site where they were assembled was given over to agriculture and happened to be very wet, he received no hurt from the clods of earth. The man who began the mutiny, Gaius Titius, was arrested: he was a low fellow who made his living in the courts and was excessively and shamelessly outspoken; he was sent to the city to the tribunes, but escaped punishment. (Valesius, .)

Frag. XCIX

B.C. 88

(*a.u.* 666)1. All the Asiatics, at the bidding of Mithridates, massacred the Romans; only the people of Tralles did not personally kill any one, but hired a certain Theophilus, a Paphlagonian (as if the victims were more likely thus to escape destruction, or as if it made any difference to them by whom they should be slaughtered). (Valesius, .)

2. The Thracians, persuaded by Mithridates, overran Epirus and the rest of the country as far as Dodona, going even to the point of plundering the temple of Zeus. (Valesius, ib.)

Frag. C

(*a.u.* 667)1. Cinna, as soon as he took possession of the office, was anxious upon no one point so much as to drive Sulla out of Italy. He made Mithridates his excuse, but in reality wanted this leader to remove himself that he might not, by lurking close at hand, prove a hindrance to the objects that Cinna had in mind. He fairly distinguished himself by his zeal for Sulla and would refuse to promise nothing that pleased him. For Sulla, who saw the urgency of the war and was eager for its glory, before starting had arranged everything at home for his own best interests. He appointed Cinna and one Gnæus Octavius to be his successors, hoping in this way to retain considerable power even while absent. The second of the two he understood was generally approved for his excellence and good nature, and he thought he would cause no trouble: the other he well knew was an unprincipled person, but he did not wish to antagonize him, because the man had some influence and was ready, as he had said and declared on oath, to assist him in every way possible. Sulla himself, though an adept at discovering the minds of men and inferring correctly in regard to the nature of things, made a thorough mistake in this matter and bequeathed a great war to the State. (Valesius, .)

2. Octavius was naturally dull in politics. (Valesius, *ib.*)

3. The Romans, when civil war set in, sent for Metellus, urging him to help them. (Ursinus, .)

4. The Romans, at odds with one another, sent for Metellus and bade him come to terms with the Samnites, as he best might: for at this time they alone were still damaging Campania and the district beyond it. He, however, concluded no truce with them. They demanded citizenship to be given not to themselves alone but also to those who had deserted to their side, refused to give up any of the booty which they had, but demanded back all the captives and deserters from their own ranks, so that even the senators no longer chose to make peace with them on these terms. (Ursinus, .)

5. When Cinna had put in force again the law regarding the return of exiles, Marius and the rest of his followers who had been expelled leaped into the city with the army left to them by all the gates at once; these they shut, so that no one could make his escape, and despatched every man they met, making no distinction, but treating them all alike as enemies. They took special pains to destroy any persons who had possessions, because they coveted such property, and outraged their children and wives as if they had enslaved some foreign city. The heads of the most eminent citizens they fastened to the rostra. That sight was no less cruel than their ruin; for the thought might occur to the spectators that what their ancestors had adorned with the beaks of the enemy was now being deformed by the heads of the citizens.

For, in fine, so great a desire and greed for slaughter possessed Marius, that when he had killed most of his enemies and no one because of the great

confusion prevailing occurred to him whom he wished to destroy, he gave the word to the soldiers to stab all in succession of the passers-by to whom he should not extend his hand. For Roman affairs had come to this, that a man had to die not only without a trial and without having incurred enmity, but by reason of Marius's hand not being stretched out. Now naturally in so great a throng and uproar it was not only no object to Marius to make the gesture, but it was not even possible, no matter how much he wished it, to use his hand as he pleased. Hence many died for naught who ought certainly on every account not to have been slain. The entire number of the murdered is beyond finding out; for the slaughter went on five whole days and an equal number of nights. (Valesius, .)

B.C. 86

(a.u. 668)6. While the Romans were offering the New Year's sacrifice at the opening of the season and making their vows for their magistrate according to ancestral rites, the son of Marius killed a tribune with his own hands, sending his head to the consuls, and hurled another from the Capitol, — a fate which had never befallen such an official, — and debarred two prætors from both fire and water. (Valesius, .)

Frag. CII. The lieutenant of Flaccus, Fimbria, when his chief had reached Byzantium revolted against him. He was in all matters very bold and reckless, passionately fond of any notoriety whatsoever and contemptuous of all that was superior. This led him at that time, after his departure from Rome, to pretend an incorruptibility in respect to money and an interest in the soldiers, which bound them to him and set them at variance with Flaccus. He was the more able to do this because Flaccus was insatiable in regard to money, not being content to appropriate what was ordinarily left over, but enriching himself even from the soldiers' allowance for food and from the booty, which he invariably maintained belonged to him. (Valesius, .)

2. When Flaccus and Fimbria had arrived at Byzantium and Flaccus after commanding them to bivouac outside the wall had gone into the city, Fimbria seized the occasion to accuse him of having taken money, and denounced him, saying that he was living in luxury within, whereas they were enduring hardships under the shelter of tents, in storm and cold. The soldiers then angrily rushed into the city, killed some of those that fell upon them and scattered to the various houses. (Valesius, ib.)

3. On the occasion of some dispute between Fimbria and the quæstor Flaccus threatened to send him back to Rome whether he liked it or not, and when the other consequently made some abusive reply deprived him of his command. Fimbria set out upon his return with the worst possible will and on reaching the soldiers at Byzantium greeted them as if he were upon the point of departure, asked for a letter, and lamented his fate, pretending to have suffered undeservedly. He advised them to remember the help he had given them and to be on their guard; and his words contained a hidden reference to

Flaccus, implying that he had designs upon them. Finding that they accepted his story and were well disposed toward him and suspicious of the general, he went on still further and incited them to anger by accusing Flaccus of various faults, finally stating that he would betray them for money; hence the soldiers drove away Thermus, who had been assigned to take charge of them. (Valesius, ib.)

4. Fimbria destroyed many men not to serve the best ends of justice nor to secure the greatest benefit to Rome but through bad temper and lust of slaughter. A proof is that he once ordered many crosses to be made, to which he was wont to bind them and wear out their lives by cruel treatment, and then when these were found to be many more than those who were to be put to death he commanded some of the bystanders to be arrested and affixed to the crosses that were in excess, that they might not seem to have been made in vain. (Valesius, .)

5. The same man on capturing Ilium despatched as many persons as he could, sparing none, and all but burned the whole city to the ground. He took the place not by storm but by guile. After bestowing some praise on them for the embassy sent to Sulla and saying that it made no difference with which one of the two they ratified a truce (for he and Sulla were both Romans) he thereupon went in among them as among friends and performed these deeds. (Valesius, ib.)

Frag. CII

B.C. 85

(*a.u.* 669)1. Metellus after being defeated by Cinna went to Sulla and was of the greatest assistance to him. For in view of his reputation for justice and piety not a few who were opposed to Sulla's policy decided that it was not without reason that Metellus had joined him but that he chose what was really juster and more advantageous for the country, and hence they went over to their side. (Valesius, .)

2. A thunderbolt fell upon the Capitol, causing the destruction of the Sibylline books and of many other things. (Mai, .)

Frag. CIII

B.C. 83

(*a.u.* 671) Pompey was a son of Strabo, and has been compared by Plutarch with Agesilaus the Lacedæmonian. Indignant at those who held the city he proceeded absolutely alone to Picenum before he had quite yet come to man's estate: from the inhabitants on account of his father's position of command he collected a small band and set up an individual sovereignty, thinking to perform some famous exploit by himself; then he joined the party of Sulla. Beginning in this way he became no less a man than his chief, but, as his title indicates, grew to be "Great." (Valesius, .)

(a.u. 672) Sulla delivered the army to a man who was in no wise distinguished nor generally commended, in spite of the fact that he had many who had been with him from the beginning superior in both experience and action, whom up to that time he had employed in all emergencies and treated as most faithful. Before he became victor he was accustomed to make requests of them and use their assistance to the fullest extent. But as he drew near his dream of absolute dominion, he made no account of them any longer but reposed his trust rather in the basest men who were not conspicuous for family or possessed of a reputation for uprightness. The reason was that he saw that such persons were ready to assist him in all his projects, even the vilest; and he thought they would be most grateful to him if they should obtain even very small favors, would never show contempt nor lay claim to either his deeds or his plans. The virtuous element, on the other hand, would not be willing to help him in his evil-doing but would even rebuke him; they would demand rewards for benefits conferred, according to merit, would feel no gratitude for them but take them as something due, and would claim his actions and counsels as their own. (Valesius, .)

Frag. CV1. Sulla up to that day that he conquered the Samnites had been a conspicuous figure, possessing a renown from his leadership and plans, and was believed to be most devoted to humaneness and piety, so that all thought that he had Fortune as an ally because of his excellence. After this event he changed so much that one would not say his earlier and his later deeds were those of the same person. This probably shows that he could not endure good fortune. Acts that he censured in other persons while he was still weak, and others, far more outrageous even, he committed: it had presumably always been his wish to do so, but he had been hindered by lack of opportunity. This fact produced a strong conviction in the minds of some that bad luck has not a little to do with creating a reputation for virtue. As soon as Sulla had vanquished the Samnites and thought he had put an end to the war (the rest of it he held of no account) he changed his tactics and, as it were, left his former personality behind outside the wall and in the battle, and proceeded to surpass Cinna and Marius and all their associates combined. Treatment that he had given to no one of the foreign peoples that had opposed him he bestowed upon his native land, as if he had subdued that as well. In the first place he sent forthwith the heads of Damasippus and the members of his party stuck on poles to Præneste, and many of those who voluntarily surrendered he killed as if he had caught them without their consent. The next day he ordered the senators to assemble at the temple of Bellona, giving them the idea that he would make some defence of his conduct, and ordered those captured alive to meet at the so-called "public" field, pretending that he would enroll them in the lists. This last class he had other men slay, and many persons from the

city, mixed in among them, likewise perished: to the senators he himself at the same time addressed a most bitter speech. (Valesius, .)

2. The massacre of the captured persons was going on even under Sulla's direction with unabated fury, and as they were being killed near the temple the great uproar and lamentation that they made, their shrieks and wails, invaded the senate-house, so that the senate was terrified for two reasons. The second of the two was that they were not far from expecting that they themselves, also, might yet suffer some terrible injury, so unholy were both his words and his actions: therefore many, cut to the heart with grief at the thought of reality and possibility, wished that they themselves belonged to the number of men already dead outside, and so might secure a respite at last from fear. Their cases, however, were postponed, while the rest were slaughtered and thrown into the river, so that the savagery of Mithridates, deemed so terrible, in slaughtering all the Romans in Asia in one day, was now held to be of slight importance in comparison with the number massacred and their manner of death. Nor did the terror stop here, but the slaughters which began at this point as if by a kind of signal occurred in the country district and all the cities of Italy. Toward many Sulla himself showed hatred and toward many others his companions did the same, some truthfully and some in pretence, in order that displaying by the similarity of their deeds a character similar to his and establishing him as their friend they might not, by any dissimilarity, incur suspicion, seem to be reproving him at all, and so endanger themselves. They murdered all whom they saw to surpass them either in wealth or in any other respect, some through envy and others on account of their possessions. For under such conditions many neutral persons even, though they might have taken neither side, became subject to some private complaint, as surpassing some one in excellence or wealth and family. No safety was visible for any one against those in power who wished to commit an injustice in any case. (Valesius, .)

B.C. 81

(a.u. 673)3. Such calamities held Rome encompassed. Who could narrate the insults to the living, many of which were offered to women, and many to the noblest and most prominent children, as if they were captives in war? Yet those acts, though most distressing, yet at least in their similarity to others that had previously taken place seemed endurable to such persons as were away from them. But Sulla was not satisfied, nor was he content to do the same as others: a certain longing came over him to far excel all in the variety of his slaughters, as if there were some virtue in being second to none even in bloodguiltiness, and so he exposed to view a new device, a whitened tablet, on which he inscribed the names. Notwithstanding this all previous atrocities continued undiminished, and not even those whose names were not inscribed on the tablets were in safety. For many, some living and others actually dead, had their names subsequently inscribed at the pleasure of the slayers, so that

in this aspect the phenomenon exhibited no novelties, and equally by its terror and its absurdity distressed absolutely every one. The tablets were exposed like some register of senators or list of soldiers approved, and all those passing by at one time or another ran eagerly to it in crowds, with the idea that it contained some favorable announcement: then many found relatives' names and some, indeed, their own inscribed for death, whereupon their condition, overwhelmed by such a sudden disaster, was a terrible one; many of them, making themselves known by their behavior, perished. There was no particle of safety for any one outside of Sulla's company. For whether a man approached the tablets, he incurred censure for meddling with matters not concerning him, or if he did not approach he was regarded as a malcontent. The man who read the list through or asked any question about anything inscribed became suspected of enquiring about himself or his companions, and the one who did not read or enquire was suspected of being displeased at it and for that reason incurred hatred. Tears or laughter proved fatal on the instant: hence many were destroyed not because they had said or done anything forbidden, but because they either drew a long face or smiled. Their attitudes were so carefully observed as this, and it was possible for no one either to mourn or to exult over an enemy, but even the latter class were slaughtered on the ground that they were jeering at something. Furthermore many found trouble in their very names, for some who were unacquainted with the proscribed applied their names to whomsoever they pleased, and thus many perished in the place of others. This resulted in great confusion, some naming any man they met just as ever they pleased, and the others denying that they were so called. Some were slaughtered while still ignorant of the fact that they were to die, and others, who had been previously informed, anywhere that they happened to be; and there was no place for them either holy or sacred, no safe retreat, no refuge. Some, to be sure, by perishing suddenly before learning of the catastrophe hanging over them, and some at the moment they received the news, were fortunately relieved of the terrors preceding death: those who were warned in advance and hid themselves found it a very difficult matter to escape. They did not dare to withdraw, for fear of being detected, nor could they endure to remain where they were for fear of betrayal. Very many of them were betrayed by their associates and those dearest to them, and so perished. Consequently not those whose names were inscribed merely, but the rest, as well, suffered in anticipation. (Valesius, p-662.)

4. The heads of all those slaughtered in any place were brought to the Roman Forum and exposed on the rostra, so that as often as proscriptions were issued, so often did the heads appear. (Valesius, *ib.*)

Frag. CVI

B.C. 74

(*a.u.* 680) Lucullus said that he would rather have rescued one Roman from

danger than have captured at one stroke all the forces of the enemy. (Mai, .)

Frag. CVIII.1. For titles do not change the characters of men, but one makes titles take on new meanings according to one's management of affairs. Many monarchs are the source of blessings to their subjects, — wherefore such a state is called a kingdom, — whereas many who live under a democracy work innumerable evils to themselves. (Mai, . Cp. Frag. XII.)

2. For nothing leads on an army or anything else requiring some control to better or worse like the character and habits of the person presiding over it. The disposition and character of their leaders the majority imitate, and they do whatever they see them doing, some from real inclination, and others as a mere pretence. (Mai, .)

3. The subservient element is wont ever to shape itself according to the disposition of its rulers. (Mai, , from Antonius Melissa, , ed. Tigur.)

4. For who would not prefer to be upright and at his death to lie in the bosom of the State, rather than to behold her devastated? (Mai, .)

5. If any one were building a house for you where you were not going to remain, you would think the undertaking a loss: do you now wish to grow rich in that place from which you must depart repeatedly before evening? (Mai, ib.)

6. Do you not know that we tarry in others' domains just like strangers and sojourners? Do you not know that it is the lot of sojourners to be driven out when they are not expecting or looking for it? That is our case. (Mai, ib.)

7. Who would not choose to die from one blow, and that with no pain or very little, instead of after sickness? Who would not pray to depart from a sound body with sound spirits rather than to rot with some decay or dropsy, or wither away in hunger? (Mai, ib.)

8. Things hoped for that fail of realization are wont to grieve some persons more than the loss of things never expected at all. They regard the latter as far from them and so pursue them less, as if they belonged to others, whereas the former they approach closely, and grieve for them as if deprived of rightful possessions. (Mai, .)

9. Expectation of danger, without danger, puts the person expecting in the position of having made things secure beforehand through imagining some coming unpleasantness. (Mai, , from Antonius Melissa.)

10. To be elated by good fortune is like running the stadium race on a slippery course. (Mai, ib., also from Antonius.)

11. The same author [i.e., Dio the Roman] said: "Is it not an outrage to trouble the gods, when we ourselves are not willing to do what the gods deem to be in our power?" (Mai, , from the Anthology of Arsenius.)

12. The same said: "It is much better to win some success and be envied than to fail and be pitied." (Mai, ib., from Arsenius.)

13. The same said: "It is impossible for any one who acts contrary to right principles to derive any benefit from them." (Mai, .)

Frag. CVIII

B.C. 70

(*a.u.* 684)The Cretans sent an embassy to the Romans, hoping to renew the old truce and furthermore to obtain some kindness for their preservation of the quæstor and his fellow soldiers. But they, rather imbued with anger at their failure to overcome the Cretans than grateful to the enemy for not having destroyed them, made no reasonable answer and demanded back from them all the captives and deserters. They demanded hostages and large sums of money, required the largest ships and the chief men to be given up, and would not wait for an answer from the envoys' country but sent out one of the consuls immediately to take possession of those things and make war upon them if they failed to give, — as proved to be the case. For the men who at the outset, before any such demand was made and before they had conquered, had refused to make terms would naturally not endure after their victory the imposition of exorbitant demands of such a character. The Romans knowing this clearly and suspecting further that the envoys would try to corrupt some persons with money, so as to hinder the expedition, voted in the senate that no one should lend them anything. (Ursinus, .)

BOOK 36

Metellus subdues Crete by force (chapters 1, 2)

Mithridates and Tigranes renew the war (chapter 3).

Lucullus does not take advantage of his victory: a successor is appointed: he captures Tigranocerta (chapter 4).

Arsaces, the Parthian, lends aid to neither party (chapter 5).

Lucullus, after a rather disastrous conflict, besieges and captures Nisibis (chapters 6-8).

Meanwhile he loses the Armenias: Fabius is conquered (chapters 10, 11).

Triarius follows Mithridates to Comana: is afterwards overcome by him (chapters 12-15).

Uprising in Lucullus's army: Mithridates regains everything (chapters 16-19).

Insolence of the pirates (chapters 20-23).

The consequent war, in spite of opposition on the part of many, is by the Gabinian law entrusted to Pompey and is very quickly brought to an end (chapters 23-37).

Cornelian laws in regard to canvassing for office and edicts of praetors: the Roscian in regard to seats for the knights: the Manilian in regard to the voting of freedmen (chapters 38-42).

The Mithridatic war by the Manilian law is given in charge of Pompey (chapters 43, 44).

Pompey vanquishes Mithridates in a night battle (chapters 45-50).

Tigranes, the father, surrenders himself: his son is put in chains (chapters 51-53).

An attack of the Albani is repulsed (chapter 54).

DURATION OF TIME.

Q. Hortensius, Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus Coss. (B.C. 69 = a.u. 685.)

L. Caecilius Metellus (dies, then) Q. Marcius Rex alone. (B.C. 68 = a.u. 686.)

M. Acilius Glabrio, C. Calpurnius Piso. (B.C. 67 = a.u. 687.)

L. Volcatius Tullus, M. Aemilius Lepidus. (B.C. 66 = a.u. 688.)

BOOK 36, BOISSEVAIN.

The beginning of this book is missing in the MSS. The gist of the lost portion may in all probability be gathered from the following sentences of Xiphilinus (, R. Steph.):

“When the consuls drew lots, Hortensius obtained the war against the Cretans. Because of his fondness, however, for residence in the capital, and because of the courts (in which his influence was only second to Cicero’s) he voluntarily relinquished the campaign in favor of his colleague and himself remained at home. Metellus accordingly started for Crete ...

“Lucius Lucullus at about this period worsted the lords of Asia, — Mithridates and Tigranes the Armenian, — in the war, and having compelled them, to avoid a pitched battle proceeded to besiege Tigranocerta. The barbarians did him serious injury by means of their archery as well as by the naphtha which they poured over his engines. This chemical is full of bitumen and is so fiery that whatever it touches it is sure to burn to a cinder, and it can not be extinguished by any liquid. As a consequence Tigranes recovered courage and marched forth with an army of such huge proportions that he actually laughed heartily at the appearance of the Romans present there. He is said to have remarked that in cases where they came to make war only a few presented themselves, but when it was an embassy, many came. However, his amusement was of short duration, and he forthwith discovered how far courage and skill surpass any mere numbers. Relics of his subsequent flight were found by the soldiers in the shape of his tiara and the band that goes around it; and they gave them to Lucullus. In his fear that these marks might lead to his recognition and capture he had pulled them off and thrown them away.”

[B.C. 69 (*a.u.* 685)]

[1] ... and because he had enjoyed the extremes of fortune in both respects, he allowed it. For after his many defeats and victories no fewer, he had a firm belief that he had in consequence become more versed in generalship. His foes accordingly busied themselves as if they were then for the first time beginning war, sending an embassy to their various neighbors, including among others Arsaces the Parthian, although he was hostile to Tigranes on account of some disputed territory. This they offered to vacate for him, and proceeded to malign the Romans, saying that the latter, should they conquer them while isolated, would immediately make a campaign against him. Every victorious force was inherently insatiable of success and put no bound to acquisition, and the Romans, who had won the mastery over many, would not choose to leave him alone.

[2] While they were so engaged, Lucullus did not follow up Tigranes, but allowed him to reach safety quite at leisure. Because of this he was charged by the citizens, as well as others, with refusing to end the war, in order that he

might retain his command a longer time. Therefore they then restored the province of Asia to the praetors, and later, when he apparently acted in this way again, sent to him the consul of that year, to relieve him. Tigranocerta he did seize when the foreigners that dwelt with the natives revolted to the side of the Armenians. The most of these were Cilicians who had once been deported, and they let in the Romans during the night. Thereupon everything was laid waste except what belonged to the Cilicians; and many wives of the principal chiefs Lucullus held, when captured, free from outrage: by this action he won over their husbands also. He received further Antiochus, king of Commagene (the Syrian country near the Euphrates and the Taurus), and Alchaudonius, an Arabian chieftain, and others who had made proposals for peace.

[3] From them he learned of the embassy sent by Tigranes and Mithridates to Arsaces, and despatched to him, on his part, some of the allies with threats, in case he should aid the foe, and promises, if he should espouse the Roman cause. Arsaces at that time (for he still nourished anger against Tigranes and felt no suspicion toward the Romans) sent a counter-embassy to Lucullus, and established friendship and alliance. Later, at sight of Secilius, who had come to him, he began to suspect that the emissary was there to spy out the country and his power. It was for this cause, he thought, and not for the sake of the agreement which had already been made that a man distinguished in warfare had been sent. Hence he no longer rendered them any help. On the other hand, he made no opposition, but stood aloof from both parties, naturally wishing neither to grow strong. He decided that an evenly balanced contest between them would bring him the greatest safety.

[B.C. 68 (*a.u.* 686)]

[4] Besides these transactions Lucullus this year subdued many parts of Armenia. In the year of Quintus Marcius (Note by the author. — By this I mean that although he was not the only consul appointed, he was the only one that held office. Lucius Metellus, elected with him, died in the early part of the year, and the man chosen in his stead resigned before entering upon office, wherefore no one else was appointed.), — in this year, then, when summer was half way through (in the spring it was impossible to invade hostile territory by reason of the cold), Lucullus entered upon a campaign and devastated some land purposing to draw the barbarians, while defending it, imperceptibly into battle. As he could not rouse them for all that, he attacked. [5] In this engagement the opposing cavalry gave the Roman cavalry hard work, but none of the foe approached the infantry; indeed, whenever the foot-soldiers of Lucullus assisted the horse, the adversaries of the Romans would turn to flight. Far from suffering harm, however, they shot backward at those pursuing them, killing some instantly and wounding great numbers. Such wounds were dangerous and hard to heal. This was because they used double arrow-points and furthermore poisoned them, so that the missiles, whether they stuck fast anywhere in the body or were drawn out, would quickly

destroy it, since the second iron point, having no attachment, would be left within.

[6] Lucullus, since many were being wounded, some were dying, and some were being maimed, and provisions at the same time were failing them, retired from that place and marched against Nisibis. This city is built in the region called Mesopotamia (Author's note. — Mesopotamia is the name given to all the country between the Tigris and Euphrates.) and now belongs to us, being considered a colony of ours. But at that time Tigranes, who had seized it from the Parthians, had deposited in it his treasures and most of his other possessions, and had stationed his brother as guard over it. Lucullus reached this city in summer time, and although he directed his attacks upon it in no half-hearted fashion, he effected nothing. For the walls being of brick, double and of great thickness, with a deep moat intervening, could be neither shaken down nor dug through and consequently Tigranes was not lending them assistance.[7] When winter set in, and the barbarians were behaving rather carelessly, inasmuch as they had the upper hand and were all but expecting to drive out the Romans, Lucullus waited for a night without a moon, when there was a violent storm of thunder and rain, so that the foe, not being able to see ahead or hear a sound, left the outer city (all but a few of them) and the intervening moat. He then assailed the wall at many points, ascending it without difficulty from the mounds, and easily slew the guards, not many in number, who had been left behind upon it. In this way he filled up a part of the moat — the barbarians had broken down the bridges in advance — and got across, since in the downpour neither archery nor fire could harm him. Immediately he captured nearly everything, for the inner circle was not very strong by reason of the confidence felt in the outer works beyond it. Among those that fled to the acropolis, whom he subsequently caused to capitulate, was the brother of Tigranes. He also obtained considerable money and passed the winter there.

[8] Nisibis, then, he overpowered as described, but many localities of Armenia and the other countries around Pontus he lost. Tigranes had not aided the town in question through the idea that it could not be captured, but had hurried to the aforementioned places to see if he could acquire them before Lucullus, while the latter was occupied near the other city. Despatching Mithridates to his native land, Tigranes himself entered his own district of Armenia. There he was opposed by Lucius Fannius, whom he cut off and besieged, however, until Lucullus ascertaining it sent assistance. [9] Meanwhile Mithridates had invaded the other Armenia and surrounding neighborhood, where he fell upon and destroyed many of the Romans to whom he appeared unexpectedly as they were wandering about the country. Others he annihilated in battle, and thereby won back speedily most of the positions. For the men of that land were well disposed toward him because of kinship and because of his being hereditary monarch: they hated the Romans because the latter were foreigners and because they had been ill treated by those set over them.

Consequently they sided with Mithridates and afterward conquered Marcus Fabius, leader of the Romans in that place. The Thracians, who had formerly been mercenaries under Mithridates, but were then with Fabius, and the slaves present in the Roman camp gave them vigorous assistance. Thracians sent ahead by Fabius to reconnoitre brought back to him no reliable report, and later, when Mithridates suddenly fell upon him as he was proceeding along in a rather unguarded fashion, they joined in the attack on the Romans. At the same instant the slaves (to whom the barbarians had proclaimed freedom) took a hand in the work. They would have crushed their adversaries, had not Mithridates while occupied with the enemy — although over seventy years old he was in the battle — been hit with a stone. This caused the barbarians to fear that he might die; and while they halted battle on this account, Fabius and the others were able to escape to safety.^[10] The Roman general was subsequently shut up and besieged in Cabira, but was rescued by Triarius. The latter was in that vicinity on his way from Asia to Lucullus. Having learned what had happened he collected as large a force as was possible with the resources at hand and in his advance so alarmed Mithridates (probably by the size of the Roman detachment) as to make him withdraw before Triarius came in view. At this the Romans took courage, and pursuing the enemy as far as Comana, whither he had retired, won a victory over him. Mithridates was in camp on the opposite side of the river from the point where the Romans approached, and was anxious to join battle while they were worn out from the march. Accordingly he himself met them first, and directed that at the crisis of the battle others should cross from another direction, by a bridge, to take part in the attack. But whereas he fought an equal conflict a long time he was deprived of reinforcements by the confusion on the bridge across which many were pushing at one time, crowded all, together.

[11] Thereafter they both retreated to their own fortifications and rested, for it was now winter. Comana belongs to the present territory of Cappadocia and was reported to have preserved right through to that time the Tauric statue of Artemis and the race of Agamemnon. As to how these reached them or how remained there I can find no certain account, since there are various stories. But what I understand accurately I will state. There are two cities in Cappadocia not far apart and of the same name which contend for the same honors. Their myths and the relics they exhibit are alike, and both treasure a sword, which is supposedly the very one connected with the story of Iphigenia.

[B.C. 67 (*a.u.* 687)]

[12] To resume our narrative. The following year, in the consulship of Manius Acilius and Gaius Piso, Mithridates encamped against Triarius near Gaziura, trying to challenge and provoke him to battle; for incidentally he himself practiced watching the Romans and trained his army to do so. His hope was to engage and vanquish Triarius before Lucullus came up and thus get back the rest of the province. As he could not arouse him, he sent some

men to Dadasa, a garrison where the Romans' baggage was deposited, in order that his opponent by defending it might be drawn into conflict. And so it was. Triarius for a time fearing the numbers of Mithridates and expecting Lucullus, whom he had sent for, remained quiet. But when news came of the siege of Dadasa, and the soldiers in fear for the place got disturbed and kept threatening that if no one would lead them out they would go to the rescue at their own bidding, he reluctantly left his position. As he was now moving forward the barbarians fell upon him, surrounded and overwhelmed by their numbers those near at hand, and encompassed with cavalry and killed those who, not knowing that the river had been directed into the plain, had fled thither.^[13] They would have destroyed them utterly, had not one of the Romans, pretending to come from the allies of Mithridates — no few of whom, as I have said, were along with the expedition on an equal footing with the Romans, — approached the leader, as if wishing to make some communication, and wounded him. To be sure, the fellow was immediately seized and put to death, but the barbarians were so disheartened in view of the occurrence that many of the Romans escaped.

When Mithridates had had his wound cured, he suspected that there were some others, too, of the enemy in the camp. So he held a review of the soldiers as if with a different purpose, and gave the order that they should retire singly to their tents with speed. Then he despatched the Romans, who were thus left alone.^[14] At this juncture the arrival of Lucullus gave the idea to some that he would conquer Mithridates easily, and soon recover all that had been let slip: however, he effected nothing. For his antagonist, entrenched on the high ground near Talaura, would not come out against him, and the other Mithridates from Media, son-in-law of Tigranes, fell upon the Romans while scattered, and killed many of them. Likewise the approach of Tigranes himself was announced.

Then there was mutiny in the army; for the Valerians, who had been exempted from military service and afterward had started on a campaign again, had been restless even at Nisibis on account of the victory and ensuing idleness, and also because they had had provisions in abundance and the bulk of the management, Lucullus being absent on many errands. But it was chiefly because a certain Publius Clodius (whom some called Claudius) under the influence of an innate love of revolution solidified the seditious element among them, though his sister was united in wedlock to Lucullus. They were especially wrought up at that time, moreover, through hearing that Acilius the consul, who had been sent out to relieve Lucullus for reasons mentioned, was drawing near. They held him in slight repute, regarding him as a mere private citizen.^[15] Lucullus was in a dilemma both for these reasons and because Marcius (consul the year before Acilius), who was en route to Cilicia, the province he was destined to govern, had refused a request of his for aid. He hesitated to depart through a barren country and feared to stand his ground: hence he set out against Tigranes, to see if he could repulse the latter while off

his guard and tired from the march, and thus put a stop, to a certain extent, to the mutiny of the soldiers. He attained neither object. The army accompanied him to a certain spot from which it was possible to turn aside into Cappadocia, and all with one consent without a word turned off in that direction. The Valerians, indeed, learning that they had been exempted from the campaign by the authorities at home, withdrew altogether.

[16] Let no one wonder that Lucullus, who had proved himself of all men most versed in warfare, and was the first Roman to cross the Taurus with an army and for hostile operations, who had vanquished two powerful kings and would have captured them if he had chosen to end the war quickly, was unable to rule his fellow-soldiers, and that they were always revolting and finally left him in the lurch. He required a great deal of them, was difficult of access, strict in his demands for labor, and inexorable in his punishments: he did not understand how to win over a man by argument, or to attach him to himself by kindness, or to make a comrade of him by sharing honors or wealth, — all of which means are necessary, especially in a large body, and most of all in a body of soldiers. Hence the soldiers, as long as they prospered and got booty that was a fair return for their dangers, obeyed him: but when they encountered trouble and fell into fear instead of hopes, they no longer heeded him at all. The proof of this is that Pompey took these same men (he enrolled the Valerians again) and kept them without the slightest show of revolt. So much does man differ from man.

[17] After this action of the soldiers Mithridates won back almost all his domain and wrought dire devastation in Cappadocia, since neither Lucullus defended it, under the excuse that Acilius was near, nor Acilius himself. For the latter, who in the first place was hurrying on to rob Lucullus of the fruits of victory, now, when he learned what had taken place, did not come to the camp, but delayed in Bithynia. As for Marcius, the pretext which he gave for not assisting Lucullus was that his soldiers refused to follow him. When he reached Cilicia he received one Menemachus, a deserter from Tigranes, and Clodius who had revolted under Lucullus, and, fearing a repetition of the doings at Nisibis, he put him in command of the fleet; for Marcius, too, had one of his sisters as wife. Now Clodius, after being captured by the pirates and released by them in consequence of their fear of Pompey, came to Antioch in Syria, declaring that he would be their ally against the Arabians, with whom the people were then at variance. There, likewise, he caused some to revolt, and his activity nearly cost him his life.

[18] ... he spares. In his eagerness for supremacy he assailed even the Cretans who had come to terms with him, and not heeding their objection that there was a state of truce he hastened to do them harm before Pompey came up. Octavius, who was there, had no troops and so kept quiet: in fact, he had not been sent to do any fighting, but to take charge of the cities. Cornelius Sisenna, the governor of Greece, did, to be sure, when he heard the news, come to Crete and advise Metellus to spare the villages, but on failing to

persuade him made no active opposition. Metellus, after many other outrages, captured by treachery the city Eleuthera and extorted money from it. The traitors had repeatedly at night saturated with vinegar a very large brick tower, most difficult of capture, so that it became brittle. Next he took by storm Lappa, in spite of Octavius's occupancy, and did the latter no harm, but put to death the Cilicians, his followers. [19] Octavius, incensed at this, no longer remained quiet, but first used the army of Sisenna (that general had fallen sick and died) to aid here and there the victims of oppression, and then, when the detachment of Metellus had retired, proceeded to Aristion at Hieropydna, by whose side he fought. Aristion, on the retreat from Cydonia about that time, had conquered one Lucius Bassus who sailed out to oppose him, and had gained possession of Hieropydna. They held out for a while, but at the approach of Metellus left the fortification and put to sea. There they encountered a storm, and were driven ashore, losing many men. Henceforth Metellus was master of the entire island.

In this way the Cretans, who had been free through all preceding ages and had never owned a foreign lord, were enslaved; and from their subjugation Metellus obtained his title. He was, however, unable to have Panares and Lasthenes (whom he had also captured) march in his triumph. For Pompey had got them away beforehand by persuading one of the tribunes that it was to him they had submitted and not to Metellus.

[20] I will now relate the progress of Pompey's career. The pirates, occupied in plundering, kept troubling continually those who sailed as well as the dwellers on land. There was never a time when piracy was not practiced, nor may it cease so long as the nature of mankind remains the same. But formerly plundering was limited to certain localities and small bands operating only during the regular season on sea and on land; whereas at this time, ever since war had been carried on continuously in many different places, and many cities had been uprooted, while sentences hung over the heads of all the fugitives even, and fear confronted men in everything, large numbers turned to plundering. Now the bandit organizations on the mainland, being rather in sight of towns, which could thus perceive a source of injury close by, proved not so very difficult to overwhelm and were somehow broken up with a fair degree of ease; but those on the sea had grown to the greatest proportions. While the Romans were busy with antagonists they flourished. They sailed about to many quarters, adding to their band all of like condition, and some of these, after the fashion of allies, assisted many others. [21] How much they accomplished with the help of the outsiders has been told. When those nations were overthrown, instead of ceasing they did much serious damage alone by themselves to the Romans and Roman allies. They were no longer in small force, but were accustomed to sail in great expeditions; and they had generals, so that they had acquired a great reputation. They robbed and harried first and foremost sailors: for such not even the winter season was any longer safe; the pirates through daring and through practice and through success were now

showing absolute fearlessness in their seamanship. Second, they pillaged even craft lying in harbors. If any one ventured to put out against them, usually he was defeated and perished; but even if he conquered he would be unable to capture any of the enemy by reason of the speed of their ships. Accordingly, they would return after a little, as if victors, to ravage and set in flames not only farms and country districts, but also whole cities. But other places they conciliated, so as to gain apparently friendly naval stations and winter quarters.

[22] As they progressed by these means it became customary for them to go into the interior, and they did much mischief even among those who had no sea-traffic. This is the way they treated not only those outside of their body of allies, but the land of Italy itself. Believing that they would obtain greater gains from that quarter and that they would terrify all others still more, if they refused to hold their hands even from that country, they sailed into the very harbor of Ostia, and also of other cities in the vicinity, burned the ships and ravaged everything. Finally, as no setback occurred, they took up their abode on the land, disposing of whatever men they did not kill, and of the spoils they took quite fearlessly, as if in their own territory. And though some plundered in one region and others elsewhere, — it not being possible for the same persons to do harm the whole length of the sea, — they nevertheless showed such friendship one for another that they sent money and assistance even to those entirely unknown, as if to nearest kin. One of the largest elements in their strength was that those who helped any of them all would honor, and those who came into collision with any of them all would despoil.

[23] To such an extent did the supremacy of the pirates grow that their hostility became a matter of moment, constant, admitting no precaution, implacable. The Romans, of course, from time to time heard and saw a little of what was going on, inasmuch as imports in general ceased coming in and the corn supply was shut off entirely; but they gave no serious attention to it when they ought. On the contrary, they would send out fleets and generals, according as they were stirred by individual reports, but effected nothing; instead, they caused their allies all the greater distress by these very means, until they were finally reduced to extremities. Then at last they came together and deliberated many days as to what steps must be taken. Wearied by the continued dangers and noting how great and far reaching was the war raised against them, and believing, too, that it was impossible to assail the pirates all at once or individually, because the latter gave mutual assistance and it was impracticable to drive them back everywhere at once, the people fell into a dilemma and into great despair of making any successful stroke. In the end one Aulus Gabinius, a tribune, set forth his plan: he was either prompted by Pompey or wished to do him some favor; certainly he was not impelled by any love of the common welfare, for he was the vilest of men: his plan was that they should choose from among the ex-consuls one general with full powers over all, who should command for three years and have the use of a

huge force, with many lieutenants. He did not actually utter the name of Pompey, but it was easy to see that if once the multitude should hear of any such proposition, they would choose him. [24] So it turned out. His motion was carried and immediately all save the senate began to favor Pompey. That body was in favor of enduring anything whatever at the hands of the freebooters rather than to put so great command into Pompey's hands. In fact they came near slaying Gabinius in the very halls of the senate, but he eluded them somehow. When the people learned the intention of the senators they raised an uproar, going to the point of making a rush at them as they sat assembled: and if the elders had not gotten out of the way, the populace would without doubt have killed them. They all scattered and secreted themselves except Gaius Piso the consul (it was in his year and Acilius's that these events took place), who was arrested and condemned to perish for the others; but Gabinius begged him off. After this the leading men themselves gladly held their peace on condition of being allowed to live, but used influence on the nine tribunes, to have them oppose Gabinius. All of the latter, however, except a Lucius Trebellius and Lucius Roscius, out of fear of the multitude would not say a word in opposition; and those two men, who had the courage, were unable to redeem any of their promises by either word or deed. For when the appointed day came on which the motion was to be ratified, things went as follows.

Pompey, who was thoroughly anxious to command, and already by reason of his own ambition and the zeal of the populace no longer so much regarded this commission as an honor as the failure to win it a disgrace, seeing the opposition of those in power had a wish to appear as if compulsion were being used. In general he was as little as possible in the habit of revealing his real desires, but still more on this occasion did he feign reluctance, because of the ensuing jealousy, should he of his own accord lay claim to the leadership, and because of the glory if he should be appointed unwillingly as the one most worthy to command.

[25] He now came forward and said: "Quirites, I rejoice at the honor laid upon me by you. All men naturally take pride in benefits conferred upon them by the citizens, and I, who have often enjoyed honors at your hands, scarcely know how to be worthily pleased at the present contingency. However, I do not think that you should be so insatiable with regard to my services, nor that I should incessantly be in some position of command. For I have labored since childhood, and as you know, you should be promoting others as well. Do you not recall how many toils I underwent in the war against Cinna, though I was the veriest youth, or how many labors in Sicily and in Africa before I had quite reached the age of iuvenis, or how many dangers I encountered in Spain, while I was not as yet a senator? I shall not say that you have shown yourselves ungrateful toward me for all these labors. How could I? Quite the reverse, in addition to the many other important favors of which you have deemed me worthy, the very fact that I was trusted to undertake the post of general against Sertorius, when no one else was either willing or able, and that

I held a triumph, contrary to custom, after resigning it, brought me the greatest honor. I only say that I have undergone many anxieties and many dangers, that I am worn out in body and wearied in soul. Do not keep reckoning that I am still young, nor calculate that I have lived just so many years. For if you count up the campaigns that I have made and the dangers I have faced, you will find them far more in number than my years, and by this means you will more readily believe that I can no longer withstand the anxieties and the hardships.”

[26] “Some one might possibly reply: ‘But you see that all such opportunities for toil are causes of jealousy and hatred.’ This feature you hold in no account — you ought not properly even to pretend to regard it — but to me it would prove most grievous. And I must admit that I am not so much disturbed or troubled by any danger to be encountered in the midst of wars as by such exhibitions. For what person in his right mind could take pleasure in living among men who are jealous of him, and who would feel the heart to carry out any public enterprise, if destined in case of failure to submit to punishment and if successful to be the object of rancorous envy? In view of these and other considerations allow me to remain at peace and attend to my own business, so that now at last I may bestow some care upon my private affairs and not perish from exhaustion. Against the pirates elect somebody else. There are many who are both willing and able to serve as admirals, both younger and older men, so that your choice from so numerous a company becomes easy. Of course I am not the only one who loves you, nor am I alone skilled in warfare, but — not seeming to favor any by mentioning names — equally so is A or B.”

[27] At this point in his harangue Gabinius, interrupting, cried: “Pompey’s behavior in this very matter, Quirites, is worthy of his character. He does not seek the leadership, nor does he accept it without thought when granted him. An upright man has no business, generally speaking, to desire the annoyances incident to office, and it is Pompey’s way to undertake all tasks imposed upon him only with due consideration, in order that he may accomplish them with corresponding safety. Precipitation in promises and in action, more hasty than the occasion demands, causes the downfall of many; but exactitude at the start as well as in execution possesses a constant value and is to the advantage of all. You must choose not what would satisfy Pompey, but what is of benefit to the state. Not office seekers, but those who have capacity should be appointed to the business in hand; the former exist in very large numbers, but any other such man as my candidate you will not find. You recall, further, how many reverses of a serious nature we endured in the war against Sertorius through lack of a general, and that we found no one else among young or old adapted to it except the man before you; and that we sent him to the field in place of both consuls, although at that time he had not yet reached a mature age and was not a member of the senate. I should be glad if we did have many able men, and if I ought to pray for such, I would so pray: since, however, this

ability does not depend on prayer or come of its own accord to any one, but a man has to be born with a natural bent for it, to learn what is pertinent and practice what is fitting and beyond everything to enjoy good fortune, which would very rarely fall to the lot of the same man, you must all unanimously, whenever such an one is found, both support him and make the fullest use of him even if he does not wish it. Such violence proves most noble both to him who exerts it and to him who suffers it, — to the former because he would be preserved by it, and to the latter because it would preserve the citizens, in whose behalf the excellent and patriotic man would most readily give up both body and soul.

[28] “Do you think that whereas this Pompey when a youth could conduct campaigns, be general, increase our possessions, preserve those of our allies, and acquire those of our adversaries, now, in the prime of life, when every man fairly surpasses himself, with a mass of additional experience gained from wars he could not prove most useful to you? Will you reject, now that he has reached man’s estate, him whom while *iuvenis* you chose to lead? Will you not confide this campaign to the man, now become a member of the senate, to whom while still a knight you committed those wars? Will you not, now that you have most amply tested his mettle, commit the present emergency, no less pressing than former ones, to him for whom alone you asked in the face of those urgent dangers ere you had applied any accurate test at all? Will you not send out against the pirates one, now an ex-consul, whom before he could yet properly hold office you elected against Sertorius? Rather, do not for a moment adopt any other course; and Pompey, do you heed your country, and me. By her you were borne, by her you were reared. You must be a slave to whatever is for her advantage, not shrinking from any hardship or danger to secure it. And should it become necessary for you to lose your life, you must in that case not await your fated day but embrace whatever death meets you. [29] But truly I am ridiculous to give you this advice, — you who in so many great conflicts have exhibited both your bravery and your love for your country. Heed me, therefore, and these citizens here; do not fear because some are envious. Rather press on all the more for this very reason to a goal which is the friendship of the majority and the common advantage of us all, and scorn your traducers. Or, if you are willing to grieve them a little, take command for this very reason, that you may distress them by serving and winning glory contrary to their expectations, and that you may in person set an ending worthy of yourself beside your former accomplishments, by ridding us of many great evils.”

[30] When Gabinius had thus expressed himself, Trebellius strove to make a dissenting speech; but as he did not receive leave to speak he proceeded to oppose the casting of a vote. Gabinius was incensed, and delayed the balloting regarding Pompey, but introduced a new motion concerning the same man. The first seventeen tribes to register an opinion decided that Trebellius was at fault and might be no longer tribune. And not until the eighteenth was on the

point of voting the same way, was he barely induced to maintain silence. Roscius, seeing this, did not dare utter a word, but by a gesture of his raised hand urged them to choose two men, so that he might by so doing cut off a little of Pompey's supremacy. At this gesticulation of his the crowd gave a great threatening shout, whereat a crow flying above their heads was so startled that it fell as if smitten by lightning. After that Roscius kept not only his tongue but his hand still. Catulus was for remaining silent, but Gabinius urged him to make some speech, inasmuch as he ranked among the foremost in the senate and it seemed likely that through his agency the rest might reach a harmonious decision; it was Gabinius's hope, likewise, that he would join in approving the general desire from the fact that he saw the tribunes in bad straits. Accordingly Catulus received permission to speak, since all respected and honored him as one who at all times spoke and acted for their advantage, and delivered an address about as follows:

[31] "That I have been exceedingly zealous, Quirites, in behalf of your body, all of you, doubtless, clearly understand. This being so, it is requisite for me to set forth in simple fashion and quite frankly what I know to be for the good of the State; and it is only fair for you to listen to it calmly and afterward to deliberate. For, if you raise an uproar, you will fail of obtaining some perhaps very useful suggestion which you might have heard, but if you pay attention to what is said you will be sure to discover definitely something to your advantage. I for my part assert in the first place most emphatically that it is not proper to confide to any one man so many positions of command, one after another. This has been forbidden by law, and by test has been found to be most perilous. What made Marius such a monster was practically nothing else than being entrusted with so many wars in the briefest space of time and being made consul six times as rapidly as possible: and similarly the cause of Sulla's frenzy was that he held command of the armies so many years in succession, and later was appointed dictator, then consul. It does not lie in man's nature for a person, not necessarily young but mature quite as often, after exercise in authority for a considerable period to be willing to abide by ancestral customs.[32] I do not say this in any spirit of condemnation of Pompey, but because it does not appear at all advantageous to you on general grounds, and further it is not permitted according to the laws. For if an enterprise brings honor to those deemed worthy of it, all whom that enterprise concerns ought to obtain honor; this is the principle of democracy: and if it brings labor, all ought to share that labor proportionately; this is mere equity.

"Again, in such an affair it is to your advantage for many individuals to have practice in exploits, so that as a result of trial your choice may be an easy one from among those who can be trusted for any urgent business; but if you take that other course it is quite inevitable that the scarcity should be great of those who will practice what they should, and to whom interests can be trusted. This is the chief reason why you were at a loss for a general in the war with Sertorius; previous to that time you were accustomed to employ the same

men for a long period. Consequently, even if in all other respects Pompey deserves to be elected against the pirates, still, inasmuch as he would be chosen contrary to the injunction of the laws and to the principles laid down by experience, it behooves both you and him most strongly that it be not done.

[33] “This is the first and most important point I have to mention. Second arises the consideration, that when consuls and praetors and those serving in their place can take offices and leaderships in a way prescribed by the laws it is neither decent nor advantageous for you to overlook them and introduce some new office. To what end do you elect the annual officials, if you are going to make no use of them for such businesses? Not, presumably, that they may stalk about in purple-bordered togas, nor that endued with the name alone of the office they may be deprived of its duties. How can you fail to alienate these and all the rest who have a purpose to enter politics at all, if you break down the ancient offices, and entrust nothing to those elected by law, but assign a strange and previously non-existent position of command to a private individual? [34] If there should be any necessity of choosing, in addition to the annual officials, still another, there is for this, too, an ancient precedent, — I mean the dictator. However, because he held such power, our fathers did not appoint him on all occasions nor for a longer period than six months. Accordingly, if you need any such person, you may, without transgressing the laws or making light of the common welfare, designate either Pompey or any one else dictator, — on condition that he shall sway for not more than the time ordained, nor outside of Italy. You doubtless are not ignorant that this latter limitation, too, our fathers guarded scrupulously, and no instance would be found of a dictator chosen for any other country, except one sent to Sicily, and that without accomplishing anything. But if Italy needs no such person and you would no longer endure, apart from the functions of dictator, even the name (this is clear from your anger against Sulla), how would it be right for a new position of command to be created, and that, too, for three years and embracing practically all interests both in Italy and without? What disasters come to cities from such a course, and how many men on account of lawless lust for rule have often disturbed our populace and done themselves countless evils, you all alike understand.

[35] “About this, then, I shall say no more. Who can fail to know that on general principles it is neither decent nor advantageous to commit matters to any one man, or for any one man to be put in charge of all the blessings we own, even if he be the best man conceivable? Great honors and excessive powers excite and ruin even such persons. I ask you, however, to consider my next assertion, — that it is not possible for one man to preside over the entire sea and to manage the entire war properly. You must, if you shall in the least do what is needful, make war on them everywhere at once, so that they may neither unite, nor by finding a refuge among those not attacked, become hard to capture. Any one man who might be in command could by no manner of means accomplish this. For how on about the same days could he fight in Italy

and in Cilicia, Egypt and Syria, Greece and Spain, in the Ionian Sea and the islands? Consequently you need many soldiers and generals both, to take matters in hand, if they are going to be of any use to you. ^[36] In case any one declares that even if you confide the entire war to some one person he will most certainly have plenty of admirals and lieutenants, my reply would be: 'Would it not be much juster and more advantageous for these men destined to serve under him to be chosen by you beforehand for the very purpose and to receive an independent command from you? What prevents such a course?' By this plan they will pay more heed to the war, since each of them is entrusted with his own particular share and cannot lay upon any one else the responsibility for neglect of it, and there will be keener rivalry among them because they are independent and will themselves get the glory for whatever they effect. By the other plan what man do you think, subordinate to some one else, will with equal readiness perform any duty, when the credit for his victory will belong not to himself but to another?

"Accordingly, that one man could not at one time carry on so great a war has been admitted on the part of Gabinius himself, in that he asks for many helpers to be given to whomever is elected. Our final consideration is whether actual commanders or assistants should be sent, and whether they should be despatched by the entire populace, or by the commandant alone for his assistance. Every one of you would agree that my proposition is more law-abiding in all respects, and not merely in reference to the case of the freebooters. Aside from that, notice how it looks for all our offices to be overthrown on the pretext of 'pirates' and for no one of them either in Italy or in subject territory during this time ..."

^[37] ... and of Italy in place of consul for three years, they assigned to him fifteen lieutenants and voted all the ships, money and armaments that he might wish to take. These measures as well as the others which the senate decided to be necessary to their effectiveness in any given case that body ratified even against its will. Its action was prompted more particularly by the fact that when Piso refused to allow the subordinate officers to hold enlistments in Gallia Narbonensis, of which he was governor, the populace was furiously enraged and would straightway have cast him out of office, had not Pompey begged him off. So after making preparations as the business and his judgment demanded he patrolled at one time the whole stretch of sea that the pirates were troubling, partly himself and partly through the agency of his under officers, and subdued the greater part of it that very year. For whereas the force that he directed was vast both in point of fleet and in point of heavy-armed infantry, so that he was irresistible both on sea and on land, his kindness to those who made terms with him was equally vast, so that he won over great numbers by such procedure. Persons defeated by his troops who made trial of his clemency went over to his side very readily. For besides other ways in which he took care of them he would give them any lands he saw vacant and cities that needed inhabitants, in order that they might never

again through poverty fall into need of criminal exertions. Among the other cities settled in this way was the one called in commemoration Pompeiopolis. It is in the coast region of Cilicia and had been sacked by Tigranes. Soli was its original name.

[38] Besides these events in the year of Acilius and Piso, an ordinance directed at men convicted of bribery regarding offices was framed by the consuls themselves, to the effect that no one of those involved should either hold office or be a senator, and should furthermore be subject to a fine. For now that the power of the tribunes had returned to its ancient state, and many of the persons whose names had been stricken off by the censors were aspiring to get back the rank of senator by one means or another, a great many political unions and combinations were formed aiming at all the offices. The consuls took this course not because they were angry at the affair — they themselves were shown to have been actively engaged, and Piso, who was indicted by several persons on this charge, escaped being brought to trial only by purchasing exemption — but because pressure had been exerted by the senate. The reason for this was that one Gaius Cornelius, while tribune, undertook to lay very severe penalties upon such unions, and the populace sided with him. The senate, being aware that an excessive punishment threatened has some deterrent force, but that men are then not easily found to accuse or condemn the guilty, since the latter will be in desperate danger, whereas moderation stimulates many to accusations and does not divert condemnations, was desirous of remodeling his proposition somehow, and bade the consuls frame it as a law.[39] Now when the comitiae had been announced in advance and accordingly no law could be enacted till they were held, the canvassers kept doing much evil in this intervening time, to such an extent that assassinations occurred. As a consequence the senators voted that the law should be introduced before the elections and a body-guard be given to the consuls. Cornelius, angry at this, submitted a proposal that the senators be not allowed to grant office to any one seeking it in a way not prescribed by law, nor to vote away any other prerogative of the people. This had been the law from very early times: it was not, however, being observed in practice. Thereupon arose a great uproar, since many of the senate and Piso in particular resisted; the crowd broke his staves to pieces and threatened to tear him limb from limb. Seeing the rush they made, Cornelius for the time being before calling for any vote dismissed the assembly: later he added to the law that the senate should invariably hold a preliminary consultation about these cases and that it be compulsory to have the preliminary decree ratified by the people.[40] So he secured the passage of both that law and another now to be explained.

All the praetors themselves compiled and published the principles according to which they intended to try cases; for all the decrees regarding contracts had not yet been laid down. Now since they were not in the habit of doing this once for all and did not observe the rules as written, but often made

changes in them and incidentally a number of clauses naturally appeared in some one's favor or to some one's hurt, he moved that they should at the very start announce the principles they would use, and not swerve from them at all. In fine, the Romans took such good care about that time to have no bribery, that in addition to punishing those convicted they furthermore honored the accusers. For instance, when Marcus Cotta dismissed the quaestor Publius Oppius because of bribery and suspicion of conspiracy, though he himself had made great profit out of Bithynia, they exalted Gaius Carbo who thereupon accused Cotta, with consular honors, notwithstanding he had served as tribune merely. Subsequently the latter himself was governor of Bithynia and erred no less widely than Cotta; he was, in his turn, accused by his son and convicted. Some persons, of course, can more easily censure others than admonish themselves, and when it comes to their own case commit very readily deeds for which they think their neighbors deserving of punishment. Hence they can not, from the mere fact that they prosecute others, inspire confidence in their own detestation of the acts in question.

[41] As for Lucius Lucullus, he finished his term of office as city praetor, but on being chosen by lot thereafter to serve as governor of Sardinia he refused, detesting the business because of the throng who were fostering corruption in foreign lands. That he was suited for the place he had given the fullest proof. Acilius once commanded the chair from which he had heard cases to be broken in pieces because Lucullus seeing Acilius pass by did not rise from his seat: yet the praetor did not give way to rage, and after that both he and his fellow officials tried cases standing up on account of the consul's action.

[42] Roscius likewise introduced a law, and so did Gaius Manilius, at the time when they were tribunes. The former received some praise for his, — for it consisted in marking off sharply the seats of the knights in theatres from the other locations, — but Manilius came near having to stand trial. He had granted the class of freedmen, some of whom he got together from the populace on the last day of the year and toward evening, the right to vote with those who had freed them. The senate learned of it immediately on the following day, the first of the month, the day on which Lucius Tullius and Aemilius Lepidus entered upon the consulship, and rejected his law.

[B.C. 66 (*a.u.* 688)]

He, then, in fear because the populace was terribly angry, at first ascribed the idea to Crassus and some others; as no one believed him, however, he paid court to Pompey even in the latter's absence, especially because he knew that Gabinius had the greatest influence with him. He went so far as to offer him command of the war against Tigranes and against Mithridates, and the governorship of Bithynia and Cilicia at the same time.

[43] Now irritation and opposition had developed even then on the part of the nobles particularly because Marcius and Acilius were making peace before the period of their command had expired. And the populace, although a little earlier it had sent the men to establish a government over the conquered

territory, regarding the war as at an end from the letters which Lucullus sent them, nevertheless voted to do as Manilius proposed. Those who urged them most to this course were Caesar and Marcus Cicero. These men seconded the measure not because they thought it advantageous to the state nor because they wished to do Pompey a favor. Inasmuch, however, as things were certain to turn out that way, Caesar cultivated the good will of the multitude: he saw, in the first place, how much stronger they were than the senate and further he paved the way for a similar vote some time to be passed for his own profit. Incidentally, too, he was willing to render Pompey more envied and invidious as a result of the honors conferred upon him, so that the people might get their fill of him more quickly. Cicero saw fit to play politics and was endeavoring to make it clear to both populace and nobles that to whichever side he should attach himself, he would substantially benefit them. He was accustomed to fill a double rôle and espoused now the cause of one party and again that of the other, to the end that he might be sought after by both. A little while before he had said that he chose the side of the optimates and for that reason wished to be aedile rather than tribune; but now he went over to the side of the rabble.^[44] Soon after, as a suit was instituted by the nobles against Manilius and the latter was striving to cause some delay about it, Cicero tried to thwart him, and only after obstinate objection did he put off his case till the following day, offering as an excuse that the year was drawing to a close. He was enabled to do this by the fact that he was praetor and president of the court. But since the crowd was still discontented he entered their assembly, presumably compelled thereto by the tribunes, where he inveighed against the senate and promised to speak in support of Manilius. For this he fell into ill repute generally, and was termed "deserter." [Probably spurious: "because Caesar cultivated the populace from the beginning, whereas Cicero usually played a double part; sometimes he sided with the people, sometimes with the assembly, and for this reason he was termed 'deserter.'" — Mai, J: but a tumult that immediately arose prevented the court from being convened. Publius Paetus and Cornelius Sulla (a nephew of that great Sulla) who had been appointed consuls and then convicted of bribery, plotted to kill their accusers, Gotta and Torquatus, Lucii, especially after the latter had been convicted in turn. Among others who had been suborned were Gnaeus Piso and Lucius Catiline, a man of great audacity; he had himself sought the office and was on this account inclined to anger. They were unable, however, to accomplish anything because the plot was announced beforehand and a body-guard given to Cotta and Torquatus by the senate. Indeed, a decree would have been pronounced against them, had not one of the tribunes opposed it. And since even so Piso showed signs of audacity, the senate being afraid he would cause some riot sent him straightway to Spain on the pretext that he was to look after some disorder.^[45] He there met his death at the hands of natives whom he had wronged.

Pompey was at first making ready to sail to Crete and to Metellus, and when he learned the decrees that had been passed pretended to be annoyed as

before, and charged the members of the opposite faction with always loading business upon him so that he might meet some reverse. In reality he received the news with the greatest joy, and no longer regarding as of any importance Crete or the other maritime points wherever anything had been left unsettled, he made preparations for the war with the barbarians.

Meanwhile, wishing to test the disposition of Mithridates, he sent Metrophanes bearing friendly proposals to him. Mithridates at that time held him in contempt; for Arsaces, king of the Parthians, having died about this period he expected to conciliate Phraates, his successor. But Pompey speedily contracted friendship with Phraates on the same terms and persuaded him to invade in advance the Armenia belonging to Tigranes. When Mithridates ascertained this he was alarmed and by means of an embassy immediately arranged a treaty. As for Pompey's command that he lay down his arms and deliver up the deserters, he had no chance to deliberate; for the large number of deserters who were in his camp hearing it and fearing they should be delivered up, and the barbarians fearing that they should be compelled to fight without them, raised an uproar. And they would have done some harm to the king, had he not by pretending falsely that he had sent the envoys not for the truce but to spy out the Roman troops, with difficulty kept them in check.

[46]Pompey, therefore, having decided that he must needs fight, in the course of his other preparations made an additional enlistment of the Valerians. When he was now in Galatia, Lucullus met him. The latter declared the whole conflict over, and said there was no further need of an expedition and that for this reason also the men sent by the senate for the administration of the districts had arrived. Failing to persuade him to retire Lucullus turned to abuse, stigmatizing him as officious, a lover of war, a lover of office, and so on. Pompey, paying him but slight attention, forbade every one any longer to obey his commands and pressed on against Mithridates, being in haste to join issue with him as quickly as possible.

[47] The king for a time kept fleeing, since he was inferior in numbers: he continually devastated the country before him, gave Pompey a long chase, and made him feel the want of provisions. But when the Roman invaded Armenia both for the above reasons and because he wanted to capture it while abandoned, Mithridates fearing it would be occupied before his advent also entered the country. He took possession of a strong hill opposite and there rested with his entire army, hoping to exhaust the Romans by lack of provisions, while he could get abundance from many quarters, being in a subject territory. He kept sending down some of his cavalry into the plain, which was bare, and injured considerably those who encountered them; after such a movement he would receive large accessions of deserters.

Pompey was not bold enough to assail them in that position, but he moved his camp to another spot where the surrounding country was wooded and he would be troubled less by the cavalry and bowmen of his adversaries, and there he set an ambuscade where an opportunity offered. Then with some few

he openly approached the camp of the barbarians, threw them into disorder, and enticing them to the point he wished killed a large number. Encouraged by this, he sent some one way, some another, over the country after provisions.

[48] When Pompey went on procuring these in safety and through certain men's help had become master of the land of Anaitis, which belongs to Armenia and is dedicated to some god after whom it is named, and many others kept seceding to him, while the soldiers of Marcius were added to his force, Mithridates becoming frightened no longer kept his position, but immediately started unobserved in the night, and thereafter by night marches advanced into the Armenia of Tigranes. Pompey followed on, eager to secure a battle. This, however, he could not do by day, for they would not come out of their camp, and he did not venture the attempt by night, fearing his ignorance of the country, until they got near the frontier. Then, knowing that they would escape, he was compelled to have a night battle. Having decided on this course he started off before them at noontime, unobserved of the barbarians, by the road along which they were to march.

Finding a sunken part of the road, between some low hills, he there stationed his army on the higher ground and awaited the enemy. When the enemy entered the sunken way, with confidence and without an advance guard (since they had suffered no injury previously and now at last were gaining safety, so that they expected that the Romans would no longer follow them), he fell upon them in the darkness. There was no illumination from heaven and they had no kind of light.

[49] The nature of the ensuing battle I will now describe. First, all the trumpeters together at a signal sounded the attack, next the soldiers and all the multitude raised a shout, some rattling their spears against their shields, and others stones against the bronze implements. The hollowed mountains took up and gave back their din with most frightful effect, so that the barbarians, hearing them suddenly in the night and the wilderness, were terribly alarmed, thinking they had encountered some supernatural phenomenon. Directly the Romans from the heights smote them at all points with stones, arrows, and javelins, inevitably wounding some by reason of their numbers, and reduced them to every extremity of evil. They were not drawn up in line of battle, but for marching, and both men and women were moving about in the same place with horses and camels and all sorts of implements; some were borne on coursers, others on chariots, covered wagons, and carts indiscriminately; and some getting wounded already and others expecting to be wounded caused confusion, in consequence of which they were more easily slain, since they kept becoming entangled one with another. This was what they endured while they were still being struck from afar off. But when the Romans after exhausting their long-distance ammunition charged down upon them, the edges of the force were slaughtered, one blow sufficing for their death, since the majority were unarmed, and the center was crushed together, as all by

reason of the encompassing fear fell toward it. So they perished, pushed about and trampled down by one another without being able to defend themselves or venture any movement against the enemy. For whereas they were strongest in cavalry and bowmen, they were unable to see before them in the darkness and unable to make any manoeuvre in the defile.

When the moon rose, some rejoiced, with the idea that in the light they could certainly ward off some one. And they would have been benefited a little, if the Romans had not had the moon behind them, and so produced much illusion both in sight and in action, while assailing them now on this side and now on that. For the attackers, being many in number and all in one body, casting the deepest imaginable shadow, baffled their opponents before they had yet come into conflict with them. The barbarians thinking them near would strike the empty air in vain and when they reached common ground would be wounded in the shadow where they were not expecting it. Thus numbers of them were killed and the captives were not fewer than the slain. Many also escaped, among them Mithridates.

[50] The latter's next move was to hasten to Tigranes. On sending couriers to him, however, he found no friendship awaiting him, because Tigranes' son had risen against him, and while holding the youth under guard the father suspected that Mithridates, his grandfather, had been responsible for the quarrel. For this reason far from receiving him Tigranes even arrested and threw into prison the men sent ahead by him. Failing therefore of the hoped-for refuge he turned aside into Colchis, and thence on foot reached Maeotis and the Bosphorus, using persuasion with some and force with others. He recovered the territory, too, having terrified Machares, his son, who had espoused the cause of the Romans and was then ruling it, to such an extent that he would not even come into his presence. And him Mithridates caused to be killed through his associates to whom he promised to grant immunity and money.

In the course of these events Pompey sent men to pursue him: when, however, he outstripped them by fleeing across the Phasis, the Roman leader colonized a city in the territory where he had been victorious, bestowing it upon the wounded and the more elderly of his soldiers. Many of those living round about voluntarily joined the settlement and later generations of them are in existence even now, being called Nicopolitans and paying tribute to the province of Cappadocia.

[51] While Pompey was thus engaged, Tigranes, the son of Tigranes, taking with him some of the foremost men because the father was not ruling to suit them, fled for refuge to Phraates; and, though the latter, in view of the agreements made with Pompey, stopped to consider what it was advisable to do, persuaded to invade Armenia. They came, actually, as far as the Artaxatians, subduing all the country before them, and assailed those men likewise. Tigranes the elder in fear of them had fled to the mountains. But since it seemed that time was required for the siege, Phraates left a part of the

force with his own son and retired to his native country. Thereupon the father took the field against the young Tigranes, thus isolated, and conquered him. The latter, in his flight, set out at first for Mithridates, his grandfather; but when he learned that he had been defeated and was rather in need of aid than able to assist any one, he went over to the Romans. Pompey, employing him as a guide, made an expedition into Armenia and against his father.

[52] The latter, learning this, in fear immediately sent heralds to him for peace, and delivered up the envoys of Mithridates. When, on account of the opposition of his son, he could gain no moderate terms, and even as things were Pompey had crossed the Araxes and drawn near the Artaxatians, then at last Tigranes surrendered the town to him and came voluntarily into the midst of his camp. The old king had arrayed himself so far as possible in a way to indicate his former dignity and his present humbled condition, in order that he might seem to his enemy worthy of respect and pity. He had put off his tunic shot with white and the all-purple candys, but wore his tiara and headband. Pompey, however, sent an attendant and made him descend from his horse; for Tigranes was riding up as if to enter the very fortification, mounted on horseback according to the custom of his people. But when the Roman general saw him entering actually on foot, with fillet cast off, and prostrate on the earth doing obeisance, he felt an impulse of pity; so starting up hastily he raised him, bound on the headband and seated him upon a chair close by, and he encouraged him, telling him among other things that he had not lost the kingdom of Armenia but had gained the friendship of the Romans. By these words Pompey restored his spirits, and then invited him to dinner.

[53] But the son, who sat on the other side of Pompey, did not rise at the approach of his father nor greet him in any other way, and furthermore, though invited to dinner, did not present himself. Wherefore he incurred Pompey's most cordial hatred. Now, on the following day, when the Roman heard the recitals of both, he restored to the elder all his ancestral domain. What he had acquired later, to be sure, — these were chiefly portions of Cappadocia and Syria, as well as Phoenicia and the large Sophanenan tract bordering on Armenia, — he took away, and demanded money of him besides. To the younger he assigned Sophanene only. And inasmuch as this was where the treasures were, the young man began a dispute about them, and not gaining his point — for Pompey had no other source from which to obtain the sums agreed upon — he became vexed and planned to escape by flight.

Pompey, being informed of this beforehand, kept the youth under surveillance without bonds and sent to those who were guarding the money, bidding them give it all to his father. But they would not obey, stating that it was necessary for the young man, to whom the country was now held to belong, to give them this command. Then Pompey sent him to the forts. He, finding them all locked up, approached close and reluctantly ordered that they be opened. When the keepers obeyed as little as before, asserting that he issued the command not of his own free will, but under compulsion, Pompey

was irritated and put Tigranes in chains.

Thus the elder secured the treasures, and Pompey passed the winter in the land of Anaitis and near the river Cyraus, after dividing his army into three portions. From Tigranes he received plenty of everything and far more money than had been agreed upon. For this reason especially he shortly afterward enrolled the king among his friends and allies and brought the latter's son to Rome under guard.

[54] The quiet of his winter quarters, however, was not unbroken. Oroeses, king of the Albanians dwelling beyond the Cynus, made an expedition against them just at the time of the Saturnalia. He was impelled partly by a wish to do a favor to Tigranes the younger, who was a friend of his, but mostly by the fear that the Romans would invade Albania, and he cherished the idea that if he should fall upon them in the winter, when they were not expecting hostilities and were not encamped in one body, he would surely achieve some success. Oroeses himself descended upon Metellus Celer, in whose charge Tigranes was, and sent others against Pompey and against Lucius Flaccus, the commander of the third division, in order that all might be thrown into confusion at once, and so not assist one another.

In spite of all, he accomplished nothing at any point. Celer vigorously repulsed Grosses. Flaccus, being unable to preserve the whole circuit of the ditch intact by reason of its size, constructed another within it. This fixed in his opponents' minds the impression that he was afraid, and so he enticed them within an outer ditch, where by a charge upon them when they were not looking for it he slaughtered many in close conflict and many in flight. Meanwhile Pompey, having received advance information of the attempt which the barbarians had made on the rest, to their surprise encountered beforehand the detachment that was proceeding against him, conquered it, and at once hurried on just as he was against Oroeses. The latter, indeed, he did not overtake; for Oroeses, after the repulse by Celer, had fled on being informed of the failures of the rest; many of the Albanians, however, he overwhelmed near the crossing of the Cynus and killed. After this he made a truce at their request. For although on general principles he was extremely anxious to make a return invasion of their country, he was glad to postpone the war because of the winter.

BOOK 37

The following is contained in the Thirty-seventh of Dio's Rome: I

How Pompey fought against the Asiatic Iberians (chapters 1-7).

How Pompey annexed Pontus to Bithynia: how Pompey brought Syria and Phoenicia under his sway (chapters 8, 9).

How Mithridates died (chapters 10-14).

About the Jews (chapters 15-19).

How Pompey after settling affairs in Asia returned to Rome (chapters 20-23).

About Cicero and Catiline and their transactions (chapters 24-42).

About Caesar and Pompey and Crassus and their sworn fellowship (chapters 43-58).

Duration of time, six years, in which there were the following magistrates, here enumerated:

L. Aurelius M.F. Cotta, L. Manlius L.F. (B.C. 65 == a.u. 689.)

L. Caesar, C. Marcius C.F. Figulus. (B.C. 64 == a.u. 690.)

M. Tullius M.F. Cicero, C. Antonius M.F. (B.C. 63 == a.u. 691.)

Decimus Iunius M.F. Silanus, L. Licinius L.F. Murena. (B.C. 62 == a. u. 692.)

M. Pupius M.F. Piso, M. Valerius M.F. Messala Niger (B.C. 61 == a.u. 693.)

L. Afranius A.F., C. Caecilius C.F. Celer. (B.C. 60 == a.u. 694.)

BOOK 37, BOISSEVAIN.

[B.C. 65 (*a.u.* 689)]

[1] The following year after these exploits and in the consulship of Lucius Cotta and Lucius Torquatus, he engaged in warfare against both the Albanians and the Iberians. With the latter of these he was compelled to become embroiled quite contrary to his plan. The Iberians dwell on both sides of the Cynus, adjoining on the one hand the Albanians and on the other the Armenians. Arthoces, their king, fearing that Pompey would direct his steps against him, too, sent envoys to him on a pretence of peace, but prepared to attack the invader at a time when, feeling secure, he should be therefore off his guard. Pompey learning of this betimes was in good season in making an incursion into the territory of Arthoces, ere the latter had made ready sufficiently or had occupied the pass on the frontier, which was well nigh impregnable. He marched on, indeed, to the city called Acropolis, before Arthoces ascertained that he was at hand. At that moment he was right at the narrowest point, where the Cynus flows on the one side and the Caucasus extends on the other, and had fortified the mountain in order to guard the pass. Arthoces, panic-stricken, had no chance to array his forces, but crossed the river, burning down the bridge; and those within the wall, in view of his flight and a defeat they had sustained in battle, surrendered. Pompey made himself master of the thoroughfares, left a garrison in charge of them, and advancing from that point subjugated all the territory within the river boundary. [2] But when he was on the point of crossing the Cynus also, Arthoces sent to him requesting peace and promising voluntarily to furnish him control of the bridge and provisions. Both of these promises the king fulfilled as if he intended to come to terms, but terrified when he saw his adversary already across he fled away to the Pelorus, another river that flowed through his dominions. The man that he might have hindered from crossing he avoided by running away after drawing him on.

Pompey, seeing this, pursued after, overtook and conquered him. By a charge he got into close quarters with the enemy's bowmen before they could show their skill, and in the briefest time routed them. When things took this turn, Arthoces crossed the Pelorus and fled, burning the bridge over that stream too: of the rest some were killed in hand-to-hand fights, and some while fording the river on foot. Many, also, scattered through the woods, survived for a few days by shooting from the trees, which were exceedingly tall, but soon the trees were cut down at the base and they also were destroyed. Under these conditions Arthoces again sent a herald to Pompey for peace, and forwarded gifts. These the other accepted, in order that the king in his hope to secure a truce might not proceed farther in any direction; but he did not agree to grant peace till the petitioner should first convey to him his children as hostages. Thus Pompey waited for a time until in the course of the

summer the Pelorus became fordable in places, and then the Romans crossed over; their passage was especially easy as they met no one to hinder them. Then Arthoces sent his children to him and finally concluded a treaty.

[3] Pompey, learning directly that the Phasis was not distant, decided to descend along its course to Colchis and thence to march to the Bosphorus against Mithridates. He advanced as planned, traversing the territory of the Colchians and their neighbors, using persuasion in some quarters and inspiring fear in others. There perceiving that his route on land led through many unknown and hostile tribes, and that the sea journey was rather difficult on account of the country's having no harbors and on account of the people inhabiting the region, he ordered the fleet to blockade Mithridates so as to watch that the latter did not set sail in any direction and to cut off his importation of provisions, while he himself turned his steps against the Albanians. He took what was not the shortest path, but went inland to Armenia in order that such action, coupled with the truce, might enable him to find them not expecting him. And the Cynus, too, he crossed at a point where it had become passable because of summer, ordering the cavalry to cross down stream with the baggage animals next, and the infantry afterward. The object was that the horses should break the violence of the current with their bodies, and if even so any one of the pack animals should be swept off its feet it might collide with the men going alongside and not be carried further down. From there he marched to Cambyse without suffering any injury at the hands of the enemy, but through the influence of the scorching heat and consequent thirst he in common with, the whole army experienced hardship in his progress even at night over the greater part of the road. Their guides, being some of the captives, did not lead them by the most suitable route, and the river was of no advantage to them; for the water, of which they drank great quantities, was very cold and made a number sick.

When no resistance to them developed at this place either, they marched on to the Abas, carrying supplies of water only; everything else they received by the free gift of the natives, and for this reason they committed no depredations.

[4] After they had already got across the river, Oroeses was announced as coming up. Pompey was anxious to lead him into conflict somehow before he should find out the number of the Romans, for fear that when he learned it he might retreat. Accordingly he marshaled his cavalry first, giving them notice beforehand what they should do; and keeping the rest behind them in a kneeling position and covered with their shields he made these last remain motionless, so that Oroeses should not ascertain their presence until he came close up. Thereupon the latter, in contempt for the cavalry who were alone, as he thought, joined battle with them, and when after a little they purposely turned to flight, pursued them at full speed. Then the infantry suddenly rising stood apart to furnish their own men a safe means of escape through their midst, but received the enemy, who were heedlessly bent on pursuit, and

surrounded a number of them. So these soldiers cut down those caught inside the circle; and the cavalry, some of whom went round on the right and some on the other side of them, assailed in the rear those outside. Each of these bodies slaughtered many in that place and others who had fled into the woods they burned to death, and they cried out, "Ha! ha! the Saturnalia!" with reference to the attack made at that festival by the Albanians.

[5] After accomplishing this and overrunning the country, Pompey granted peace to the Albanians, and on the arrival of heralds concluded a truce with some of the other tribes that dwell along the Caucasus as far as the Caspian Sea, where the mountains, which begin at the Pontus, come to an end. Phraates likewise sent to him, wishing to renew the covenants. The sight of Pompey's onward rush and the fact that his lieutenants were also subjugating the rest of Armenia and that region of Pontus and that Grabinus had advanced across the Euphrates as far as the Tigris filled him with fear of them, and he was anxious to confirm the agreement. He effected nothing, however. Pompey, in view of the existing conditions and the hopes which they inspired, held him in contempt and replied scornfully to the ambassadors, among other things demanding back the territory of Corduene, concerning which Phraates was having a dispute with Tigranes. When the envoys made no answer, inasmuch as they had received no instructions on this point, he wrote a few words to Phraates, but instead of waiting for any answer suddenly despatched Afranius into the territory, and having occupied it without a battle gave it to Tigranes.

[B.C. 65]

Afranius, returning through Mesopotamia to Syria, contrary to the agreement made with the Parthian, wandered from the way and endured much evil by reason of the winter and lack of supplies. Indeed, he would have perished, had not Carraeans, colonists of the Macedonians who dwelt somewhere in that vicinity, supported him and helped him forward.

[6] This was the treatment that Pompey out of the fullness of his power accorded Phraates, thereby indicating very clearly to those desiring personal profit that everything depends on armed force, and he who is victorious by its aid wins inevitably the right to lay down what laws he pleases. Furthermore, he did violence to the title of that ruler, in which Phraates delighted before all the world and before the Romans themselves, and by which the latter had always addressed him. For whereas he was called "king of kings," Pompey clipped off the phrase "of kings" and wrote "to the king," with merely that direction, in spite of the fact that he had given this title to the captive Tigranes even contrary to their custom when he celebrated the triumph over him in Rome. Phraates, consequently, although he feared and was subservient to him, was vexed at this, feeling that he had been deprived of the kingdom; and he sent ambassadors, reproaching him with all the injustice he had done, and forbade him to cross the Euphrates.

[7] As Pompey made no reasonable reply, the other immediately instituted a campaign in the spring against Tigranes, being accompanied by the latter's son, to whom he had given his daughter in marriage. This was in the consulship Of Lucius Caesar and Gaius Figulus.

[B.C. 64 (*a.u.* 690)]

In the first battle Phraates was beaten, but later was victorious in his turn. And when Tigranes invoked the assistance of Pompey, who was in Syria, he sent ambassadors to the Roman commander, making many accusations and throwing out numerous hints against the Romans, so that Pompey was both ashamed and alarmed. As a result the latter lent no aid to Tigranes and took no hostile measures against Phraates, giving as an excuse that no such expedition had been assigned to him and that Mithridates was still in arms. He declared himself satisfied with what had been effected and said that he feared in striving for additional results he might meet with reverses, as had Lucullus.

Such was the trend of his philosophy: he maintained that to make personal gains was outrageous and to aim at the possessions of others unjust, as soon as he was no longer able to use them. Through dread of the forces of the Parthian, therefore, and fear of the unsettled state of affairs he did not take up this war in spite of many solicitations. As for the barbarians' complaints, he disparaged them, offering no counter-argument, but asserting that the dispute which the prince had with Tigranes concerned some boundaries, and that three men should decide the case for them. These he actually sent, and they were enrolled as arbitrators by the two kings, who then settled all their mutual complaints. For Tigranes was angry at not having obtained assistance, and Phraates wished the Armenian ruler to survive, so that in case of need he might some day have him as an ally against the Romans. They both understood well that whichever of them should conquer the other would simply help on matters for the Romans and would himself become easier for them to subdue. For these reasons, then, they were reconciled.

Pompey passed the winter in Aspis, winning over the sections that were still resisting, and took Symphorion, a fort which Stratonice betrayed to him. She was the wife of Mithridates, and in anger toward him because she had been abandoned sent the garrison out pretendedly to collect supplies and let the Romans in, although her child was with

[B.C. 65 (*a.u.* 689)]

[8] ... [not (?)] for this alone in his aedileship he (C. Jul. Caesar) received praise, but because he had also conducted both the Roman and the Megalesian games on the most expensive scale and had further arranged contests of gladiators in the most magnificent manner. Of the sums expended on them a portion was raised by him in conjunction with his colleague Marcus Bibulus, but another portion by him privately; and his individual expenditure on the spectacles so much surpassed, that he appropriated to himself the glory for them, and was thought to have taken the whole cost on himself. Even Bibulus joked about it saying that he had suffered the same fate as Pollux: for,

although that hero possessed a temple in common with his brother Castor, it was named only for the latter.

[9] All this contributed to the Romans' joy, but they were quite disturbed at the portents of that year. On the Capitol many statues were melted by thunderbolts, among other images one of Jupiter, set upon a pillar, and a likeness of the she-wolf with Romulus and Remus, mounted on a pedestal, fell down; also the letters of the tablets on which the laws were inscribed ran together and became indistinct. Accordingly, on the advice of the soothsayers, they offered many expiatory sacrifices and voted that a larger statue of Jupiter should be set up, looking toward the east and the Forum, in order that the conspiracies by which they were distraught might dissolve.

Such were the occurrences of that year. The censors also became involved in a dispute regarding the dwellers beyond the Po: one thought it wise to admit them to citizenship, and another not; so they did not perform any of their duties, but resigned their office. Their successors, too, did nothing in the following year, for the reason that the tribunes hindered them in regard to the list of the senate, in fear lest they themselves should be dropped from that assembly. Meantime all those who were resident aliens in Rome, except those who dwelt in what is now Italy, were banished on the motion of one Gaius Papius, a tribune, because they were getting to be in the majority and were not thought fit persons to dwell among the citizens.

[B.C. 64(*a.u.* 690)]

[10] In the ensuing year, with Figulus and Lucius Caesar in office, notable events were few, but worthy of remembrance in view of the contradictions in human affairs. For the man who had slain Lucretius at the instance of Sulla and another who had murdered many of the persons proscribed by him were tried for the slaughter and punished, — Julius Caesar being most instrumental in bringing this about. Thus the changes of affairs often render those once thoroughly powerful exceedingly weak. But though this matter went contrary to the expectation of the majority, they were equally surprised that Catiline, who had incurred guilt on those same grounds (for he, too, had put out of the way many similar persons), was acquitted. The result was that he became far worse and for that reason also perished.

[B.C. 63 (*a.u.* 691)]

For, when Marcus Cicero was consul with Gaius Antonius, and Mithridates no longer inflicted any injury upon the Romans but had destroyed his own self, Catiline undertook to set up a new government, and by banding together the allies against the state threw the people into fear of a mighty conflict. Now each of these occurrences came about as follows.

[11] Mithridates himself did not give way under his disasters, but trusting more in his will than in his power, especially while Pompey was lingering in Syria, planned to reach the Ister through Scythia, and from that point to invade Italy. As he was by nature given to great projects and had experienced many failures and many successes, he regarded nothing as beyond his ability

to venture or to hope. If he missed he preferred to perish conjointly with his kingdom, with pride unblemished, rather than to live deprived of it in inglorious humility. On this idea he grew strong. For in proportion as he wasted away through weakness of body, the more steadfast did he grow in strength of mind, so that he even revived the infirmity of the former by the reasonings of the latter.

The rest who were his associates, as the position of the Romans kept getting always more secure and that of Mithridates weaker, — among other things the greatest earthquake that had ever occurred destroyed many of their cities — became estranged; the military also mutinied and unknown persons kidnapped some of his children, whom they conveyed to Pompey.

[12] Thereupon he detected and punished some; others he chastised from mere suspicion: no one could any longer trust him; of his remaining children, even, he put to death one of whom he grew suspicious. Seeing this, one of his sons, Pharnaces, impelled at once by fear of the king and an expectation that he would get the kingdom from the Romans, being now of man's estate, plotted against him. He was detected, for many both openly and secretly meddled constantly with all he was doing; and if the body-guard had had even the slightest good will toward their aged sovereign, the conspirator would immediately have met his just deserts. As it was, Mithridates, who had proved himself most wise in all matters pertaining to a king, did not recognize the fact that neither arms nor multitude of subjects are of value to any one, without friendship on the part of the people; nay, the more dependents a person has (unless he holds them faithful to him) the greater burden they are to him. At any rate Pharnaces, followed both by the men he had made ready in advance, and by those whom his father had sent to arrest him (and these he very easily made his own) hastened straight on against the father himself. The old king was in Panticapaeum when he learned this, and sent ahead some soldiers against his son, saying that he himself would soon follow them. These also Pharnaces quickly diverted from their purpose, inasmuch as they did not love Mithridates either, and after receiving the voluntary submission of the city, put to death his father, who had fled for refuge into the palace.

[13] The latter had tried to make way with himself, and after removing beforehand by poison his wives and remaining children, he had swallowed what was left to the last drop. Neither by that means nor by the sword was he able to induce death with his own hands. For the poison, although deadly, did not prevail over him, since he had inured his constitution to it, taking every day precautionary antidotes in large doses: and the force of the sword blow was lessened on account of the weakness of his hand, caused by his age and the interference of those around him, and on account of the effect of the poison, of whatever sort it was. When, therefore, he failed to pour out his life through his own efforts and seemed to linger beyond the proper time, those whom he had sent against his son fell upon him and hastened his end with swords and spear points. Mithridates, who had experienced the most varied

and tremendous fortune, found the close of his life equally far from being simple. He desired to die against his will, and though anxious to kill himself was not able; but first by poison and then by the sword at once became a suicide and was slain by his foes.

[14] Pharnaces embalmed his body and sent it to Pompey as a proof of what had been done, and surrendered himself and his dominions. The Roman showed Mithridates no indignity, on the contrary commanding that he be buried among the graves of his ancestors; for, feeling that his hostility had been extinguished with his life, he indulged in no vain anger against the dead body. The kingdom of Bosphorus, however, he granted to Pharnaces as the wages of his bloody deed, and enrolled him among his friends and allies.

After the death of Mithridates all portions of his dominions, except a few, were subjugated. Garrisons which at that date were still holding a few fortifications outside of Bosphorus, did not immediately come to terms, — not so much because they were minded to resist him as because they were afraid that some persons might confiscate beforehand the money which they were guarding and lay the blame upon them: hence they waited, wishing to exhibit everything to Pompey himself.[15] When, then, the regions in that quarter had been subdued, and Phraates remained quiet, while Syria and Phoenicia were in a state of calm, the conqueror turned against Aretas. The latter was king of the Arabians, now slaves to the Romans as far as the Red Sea. Previously he had done the greatest injury to Syria and had on this account become involved in a battle with the Romans who were defending it: he was defeated by them, but nevertheless continued hostile at that time. Upon him and his neighbors Pompey made a descent, overcame them without effort, and handed them over to a garrison. Thence he proceeded against Palestine, in Syria, because its inhabitants were harming Phoenicia. Their rulers were two brothers, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who were themselves quarreling, as it chanced, and stirring up the cities concerning the priesthood (for so they called their kingdom) of their God, whoever he is.

Pompey immediately brought to his side without a battle Hyrcanus, who had no force worthy of note, and by confining Aristobulus in a certain spot compelled him to come to terms. And when he would surrender neither money nor garrison, Pompey threw him into prison. After this he more easily overcame the rest, but in the siege of Jerusalem found trouble. [16] Most of the city he took without exertion, as he was received by the party of Hyrcanus, but the temple itself, which the others had occupied in advance, he did not capture without labor. It was on high ground and strengthened by its own defences, and if they had continued defending it on all days alike, he could not have got possession of it. As it was, they made an exception of what were called the days of Saturn, and by doing no work at all on them offered the Romans an opportunity in this vacant interval to batter down the wall. The latter on learning this superstition of theirs, made no serious attempt the rest of the time, but on those days, when they came around in succession,

assaulted most vigorously. Thus the holders were captured on the day of Saturn, making no defence, and all the money was plundered. The kingdom was given to Hyrcanus, and Aristobulus was carried back to Rome.

This was the course of events at that time in Palestine. That is the name that has been applied from of old to the whole race, which extends from Phoenicia to Egypt along the inner sea. They have also another name that has been acquired, — i.e., the country has been called Judaea, and the people themselves Jews. [17]I do not know from what source this title was first given them, but it applies also to all the rest of mankind, although of foreign race, who cherish their customs. This nation exists among the Romans also, and though often diminished has increased to a very great extent and has won its way to the right of freedom in its observances. They are distinguished from the rest of mankind in every detail of life, so to speak, and especially by the fact that they do not honor any of the usual gods, but reverence mightily one particular divinity. They never had any statue in Jerusalem itself, but believing him to be inexpressible, invisible, they worship him in the most extravagant fashion on earth. They built to him a temple that was extremely large and beautiful, except in so far as it was void and roofless, and dedicated the day called the day of Saturn, on which, among many other most peculiar actions, they undertake no serious occupation.

Now as for him, who he is and why he has been so honored, and how they got their superstition about accounts have been given by many, no one of which pertains to this history.

[18] The custom of referring the days to the seven stars called planets was established by the Egyptians, but has spread to all men, though it was instituted comparatively not long ago. At any rate the original Greeks in no case understood it, so far as I am aware. But since it is becoming quite habitual to all the rest of mankind and to the Romans themselves, and this is to them already in a way an hereditary possession, I wish to make a few brief statements about it, telling how and in what way it has been so arranged.

I have heard two accounts, in general not difficult of comprehension, and containing some one's theories. If one apply the so-called "principle of the tetrachord" (which is believed to constitute the basis of music) in order to these stars, by which the whole universe of heaven is divided into regular intervals, as each one of them revolves, and beginning at the outer orbit assigned to Saturn, then omitting the next two name the master of the fourth, and after him passing over two others reach the seventh, and in the return cycle approach them by the names of the days, one will find all the days to be in a kind of musical connection with the arrangement of the heavens.

[19] This is one of the accounts: the other is as follows. If you begin at the first one to count the hours of the day and of the night, assigning the first to Saturn, the next to Jupiter, the third to Mars, the fourth to Sol, the fifth to Venus, the sixth to Mercury, and the seventh to Luna, according to the order of the cycles the Egyptians observe in their system, and if you repeat the

process, covering thus the twenty-four hours, you will find that the first hour of the following day comes to the sun. And if you carry on the operation throughout the next twenty-four hours, by the same method as outlined above, you will consecrate the first hour of the third day to the moon, and if you proceed similarly through the rest, each day will receive the god that appertains to it. This, then, is the tradition.

[20] Pompey, when he had accomplished what has been related, went again to the Pontus and after taking charge of the forts returned to Asia and thence to Greece and Italy. He had won many battles; had brought into subjection many potentates and kings, some by going to war with them and some by treaty, he had colonized eight cities, had created many lands and sources of revenue for the Romans, and had established and organized most of the nations in the continent of Asia then belonging to them with their own laws and governments, so that even to this day they use the laws that he laid down.

But although these achievements were great and had been equaled by no earlier Roman, one might ascribe them both to good fortune and to his fellow campaigners. The performance for which credit particularly attaches to Pompey himself, which is forever worthy of admiration, I will now proceed to set forth.

[21] He had enormous power both on sea and on land; he had supplied himself with vast sums of money from captives; he had made friends with numerous potentates and kings; and he had kept practically all the communities which he ruled well disposed through benefits bestowed. And although by these means he might have occupied Italy and have taken possession of the whole Roman sway, since the majority would have accepted him voluntarily, and if any had resisted they would certainly have capitulated through weakness, yet he did not choose to do this. Instead, as soon as he had crossed to Brundisium he gave up of his own accord all his powers, without waiting for any vote to be passed concerning the matter by the senate or the people, not troubling himself even about using them in the course of the triumph. For since he understood that the careers of Marius and Sulla were held in abomination by all mankind, he did not wish to cause them any fear even for a few days that they should undergo any similar experiences. Consequently he did not so much as acquire any name from his exploits, although he might have taken many.

As for the triumphal celebration — I mean that one which is considered the chief, — although according to most ancient precedents it is not lawful that it be held without those who aided the victory, he nevertheless accepted it, as it had been voted to him. He conducted the procession in honor of all his wars at once, including in it many trophies beautifully arrayed to represent each of his deeds, even the smallest: and after them all came one huge one, arrayed in costly fashion and bearing an inscription to the effect that it was a World Trophy. He did not, however, add any other title to his name, but was satisfied with that of Magnus only, which, as is known, he had gained even before

these achievements. Nor did he get any other extravagant privilege awarded him: only he did use once such as had been voted him in absence. These were that he should wear the laurel wreath on the occasion of all meetings at any time, and should be clad in the robe of office at all of them, as well as in the triumphal garb at the horse-races. They were granted him chiefly through the coöperation of Caesar, and contrary to the judgment of Marcus Cato.

[22] Regarding the former a statement has already been made as to who he was, and it has been related that he cultivated the common people, and while generally striving to depose Pompey from his high position, still made a friend of him in cases where he was sure of pleasing the populace and gaining influence himself. But this Cato belonged to the family of the Porcii and emulated the great Cato, except that he had enjoyed a better Greek education than the former. He promoted assiduously the interests of the multitude and admired no one man, being excessively devoted to the common weal; suspicious of sovereignty, he hated everything that had grown above its fellows, but loved everything mediocre through pity for its weakness. He showed himself a passionate adherent of the populace as did no one else, and indulged in outspokenness beyond the limits of propriety, even when it involved danger. All this he did not with a view to power or glory or any honor, but solely for the sake of a life of independence, free from the dictation of tyrants. Such was the nature of the man who now for the first time came forward before the people and opposed the measures under consideration, not out of any hostility to Pompey, but because they transgressed time-honored customs.

[23] These honors, then, they granted Pompey in his absence, but none when he had come home, though they would certainly have added others, had he wished it; upon some other men, indeed, who had been less successful than he, they often bestowed many extravagant distinctions. That they did so unwillingly, however, is clear.

Pompey knew well that all the gifts granted by the common people to those who have any influence and are in positions of authority contain the suggestion, no matter how willingly they are voted, of having been granted through force applied out of the resources of the strong. He knew that such honors bring no glory to those who receive them, because it is believed that they were obtained not from willing donors, but under compulsion, and not from good will, but as a result of flattery. Hence he did not permit any one to propose any measure whatever. This course he declared far better than to reject what has been voted to one. The latter method brought hatred for the high position that led to such measures being passed, and connoted arrogance and insolence in not accepting what is granted by your superiors or at all events by your peers. By the former method you possessed in very fact the democratic name and behavior both, not indicated but existent. For having received almost all the offices and positions of command contrary to ancient precedent, he refused to accept all such others as were destined to bring him

only envy and hatred even from the very givers, without enabling him to benefit any one or be benefited.

[24] All this took place in course of time. Temporarily the Romans had a respite from war for the remainder of the year, so that they even held the so-called *augurium salutis* after a long interval. This is a kind of augury, which consists of an enquiry whether the god allows them to request welfare for the State, as if it were unholy even to make a request for it until the action received sanction. That day of the year was observed on which no army went out to war, or was taking defensive measures against any, or was fighting a battle. For this reason, amid the constant perils (especially those of a civil nature), it was not held. In general it was very difficult for them to secure exactly the day which should be free from all those disturbances, and furthermore it was most ridiculous, when they were voluntarily causing one another unspeakable woes through factional conflicts and were destined to suffer ills whether they were beaten or victorious, that they should still ask safety from the divine power.

[25] Notwithstanding, it was in some way possible at that time for the divination to be held, but it did not prove to be pure. Some strange birds flew up and made the augury of no effect. Other unlucky omens, too, developed. Many thunderbolts fell from a clear sky, the earth was mightily shaken, and human apparitions were visible in many places, and in the West flashes ran up into heaven, so that any one, even an ignorant fellow, was bound to know in advance what was signified by them. For the tribunes united with Antonius, the consul, who was much like themselves in character, and some one of them supported for office the children of those exiled by Sulla, while a second was for granting to Publius Paetus and to Cornelius Sulla, who had been convicted with him, the right to be members of the senate and to hold office. Another made a motion for a cancellation of debts, and for allotments of land to be made both in Italy and in the subject territory. These motions were taken in hand betimes by Cicero and those who were of the same mind as he, and were quashed before any action resulted from them.

[26] Titus Labienus, however, by indicting Gaius Rabirius for the murder of Saturninus caused them the greatest disorder. For Saturninus had been killed some thirty-six years earlier, and the steps taken against him by the consuls of the period had been at the direction of the senate: as a result of the present action the senate was likely to lose authority over its votes. Consequently the whole system of government was stirred up. Rabirius did not admit the murder, but denied it. The tribunes were eager to overthrow completely the power and the reputation of the senate and were preparing for themselves in advance authority to do whatever they pleased. For the calling to account of acts that had received the approval of the senate and had been committed so many years before tended to give immunity to those who were undertaking anything similar, and curtailed the punishments they could inflict. Now the senate in general thought it shocking for a man of senatorial rank who was

guilty of no crime and now well advanced in years to perish, and were all the more enraged because the dignity of the government was being attacked, and control of affairs was being entrusted to the vilest men.

[27] Hence arose turbulent exhibitions of partisanship and contentions about the court, the one party demanding that it should not be convened and the other that it should sit. When the latter party won, because of Caesar and some others, there was strife again regarding the trial. Caesar himself was judge with Lucius Caesar; for the charge against Rabirius was not a simple one, but the so-called *perduellio*:- — and they condemned him, although they had not been chosen according to precedent by the people, but by the praetor himself, which was not permitted. Rabirius yielded, and would certainly have been convicted before the popular court also, had not Metellus Celer who was an augur and praetor hindered it. For since nothing else would make them heed him and they were unconcerned that the trial had been held in a manner contrary to custom, he ran up to Janiculum before they had cast any vote whatever, and pulled down the military signal, so that it was no longer lawful for them to reach a decision.

[28] Now this matter of the signal is about as follows. In old times there were many enemies dwelling near the city, and the Romans (according to the account) fearing that while they were holding an assembly foes might occupy Janiculum to attack the city decided that not all should vote at once, but that some men under arms should by turns always guard that spot. So they garrisoned it as long as the assembly lasted, but when it was about to be dissolved, the signal was pulled down and the guards departed. Regularly no business was any longer allowed to be transacted unless the post were garrisoned. It was permissible only in the case of assemblies which collected by companies, for these were outside the wall and all who had arms were obliged to attend them. Even to this day it is done from religious grounds.

So on that occasion, when the signal was pulled down, the assembly was dissolved and Rabirius saved. Labienus, indeed, had the right to go to court again, but he did not do this.

[29] As for Catiline, his ruin was accomplished in the following way and for the reasons which I shall narrate. He had been seeking the consulship even then, and contriving every conceivable way to get appointed, when the senate decreed, chiefly at the instance of Cicero, that a banishment of ten years should be added by law to the penalties imposed for bribery. Catiline thought, as was doubtless true, that this ruling had been made on his account, and planned, by collecting a small band, to slay Cicero and some other foremost men on the very day of the election, in order that he might immediately be chosen consul. This project he was unable, however, to carry out. Cicero learned of the plot beforehand, informed the senate of it, and delivered a long accusation against him. Being unsuccessful, however, in persuading them to vote any of the measures he asked — this was because his announcement was not regarded as credible and he was suspected of having uttered false charges

against the men on account of personal enmity — Cicero became frightened, seeing that he had given Catiline additional provocation, and he did not venture to enter the assembly alone, as had been his custom, but he took his friends along prepared to defend him if any danger threatened; and he wore for his own safety and because of their hostility a breastplate beneath his clothing, which he would purposely uncover. For this reason and because anyway some report had been spread of a plot against him, the populace was furiously angry and the fellow conspirators of Catiline through fear of him became quiet. [30] In this way new consuls were chosen, and Catiline no longer directed his plot in secret or against Cicero and his adherents only, but against the whole commonwealth. He assembled from Rome itself the lowest characters and such as were always eager for a revolution and as many as possible of the allies, by promising them cancellation of debts, redistribution of lands, and everything else by which he was most likely to allure them. Upon the foremost and most powerful of them (of whose number was Antonius the consul) he imposed the obligation of taking the oath in an unholy manner. He sacrificed a boy, and after administering the oath over his entrails, tasted the inwards in company with the rest. Those who coöperated with him most were: In Rome, the consul and Publius Lentulus, who, after his consulship, had been expelled from the senate (he was now acting as praetor, in order to gain senatorial rank again); at Faesulae, where the men of his party were collecting, one Gaius Mallius, who was most experienced in military matters (he had served with Sulla's centurions) and the greatest possible spendthrift. Everything that he had gained at that epoch, although a vast sum, he had consumed by evil practices, and was eager for other similar exploits. Afranius, returning through Mesopotamia to Syria, contrary to the agreement made with the Parthian, [B.C. 65] wandered from the way and endured much evil by reason of the winter and lack of supplies. Indeed, he would have perished, had not Carraeans, colonists of the Macedonians who dwelt somewhere in that vicinity, supported him and helped him forward.

[31] While they were making these preparations, information came to Cicero, first of what was occurring in the city, through some letters which did not indicate the writer but were given to Crassus and some other influential men. On their publication a decree was passed that a state of disorder existed and that a search should be made for those responsible for it. Next came the news from Etruria, whereupon they voted to the consuls in addition the guardianship of the city and of all its interests, as they had been accustomed to have: for to this decree was subjoined the command that they should take care that no injury happen to the republic. When this had been done and a garrison stationed at many points, there was no further sign of revolution in the city, insomuch that Cicero was even falsely charged with sycophancy; but messages from the Etruscans confirmed the accusation, and thereupon he prepared an indictment for violence against Catiline.

[32] The latter at first accepted it with entire readiness as if supported by a

good conscience, and made ready for the trial, even offering to surrender himself to Cicero so that the latter could watch and see that he did not escape anywhere. As Cicero, however, refused to take charge of him, he voluntarily took up his residence at the house of Metellus the praetor, in order that he might be as free as possible from the suspicion of promoting a revolution until he should gain some additional strength from the conspirators in that very town. But he made no headway at all, because Antonius through fear shrank back and Lentulus was anything but an energetic sort of person. Accordingly, he gave them notice to assemble by night in a particular house, where he met them without Metellus's knowledge and upbraided them for their timorousness and weakness. Next he set forth in detail how great punishments they would suffer if they were detected and how many desirable things they would obtain if successful, and by means so encouraged and incited them, that two men promised to rush into Cicero's house at daybreak and murder him there.

[33] Information of this, too, was given in advance: for Cicero, being a man of influence, had through his speeches by either conciliation or intimidation gained many followers, who reported such occurrences to him: and the senate voted that Catiline should leave the city. The latter was glad enough to withdraw on this excuse and went to Faesulae, where he prepared an out and out war. He took the consular name and dress and proceeded to organize the men previously collected by Mallius, meanwhile gaining accessions first of freemen, and second of slaves.

The Romans consequently condemned him for violence, ordered Antonius to the war (being ignorant, of course, of their conspiracy), and themselves changed their apparel. The crisis kept Cicero likewise where he was. The government of Macedonia had fallen to him by lot, but he did not set out for that country, — retiring in favor of his colleague on account of his occupation in the prosecutions, — nor for Hither Gaul, which he had obtained in its place, on account of the immediate situation. Instead, he charged himself with the protection of the city, but sent Metellus to Gaul to prevent Catiline from alienating it.

[34] It was extremely well for the Romans that he remained. For Lentulus made preparations to burn down the city and commit wholesale slaughter with the aid of his fellow conspirators and of Allobroges, who chanced to be there on an embassy: these also he persuaded to join him and the others implicated in the revolution in their undertaking. The consul learning of their purpose arrested the men sent to carry it out and brought them with their letter into the senate-chamber, where, by granting them immunity, he proved all the conspiracy. As a consequence Lentulus was forced by the senate to resign the praetorship, and was kept under guard along with the others arrested while the remnant of the society was being sought for. These measures pleased the populace equally: especially so, when, during a speech of Cicero's on the subject, the statue of Jupiter was set up on the Capitol at the very time of the

assembly, and by instructions of the soothsayers was placed so as to face the East and the Forum. For these prophets had decided that some conspiracy would be brought to light by the erection of the statue, and when its setting up coincided with the time of the conspirators' arrest, the people magnified the divine power and were the more angry at those charged with the disturbance.

[35] A report went abroad that Crassus was also among them, and one of the men arrested, too, gave this information; still, not many believed it. Some, in the first place, thought they had no business to suspect him of such a thing; others regarded it as a trumped-up charge emanating from the guilty parties, in order that the latter might thereby get some help from him, because he possessed the greatest influence. And if it did seem credible to any persons, at least they did not see fit to ruin a man who was foremost among them and to disquiet the city still more. Consequently this charge fell through utterly.

Now many slaves, and freemen as well, some through fear and others for pity of Lentulus and the rest, made preparations to deliver them all forcibly and rescue them from death. Cicero learned of this beforehand and occupied the Capitol and Forum betimes by night with a garrison. At dawn he received from above an inspiration to hope for the best: for in the course of sacrifices conducted in his house by the Vestals in behalf of the populace, the fire, contrary to custom, shot up in a tongue of great length. Accordingly, he ordered the praetors to administer an oath to the populace and have them enlisted, in case there should be any need of soldiers, and meanwhile himself convened the senate: then, by throwing them into agitation and fright, he persuaded them to condemn to death the persons held under arrest.

[36] At first the senators had been at variance, and came near setting them free. For while all before Caesar had voted that they should be put to death, he gave his decision that they should be imprisoned and deported to various cities after having their property confiscated, with the condition that there should be no further deliberation about immunity for them, and if any one of them should run away, he should be considered among the enemies of that city from which he fled. Then all who subsequently made known their opinions, until it came to Cato, cast this vote, so that some of the first also changed their minds. But the fact that Cato himself gave a sentence of death against them caused all the rest to vote similarly. So the conspirators were punished by the decision of the majority and a sacrifice and period of festival over them was decreed, — something that had never before happened from any such cause. Others, also, against whom information was lodged, were sought out and some incurred suspicion and were held to account for merely intending to join that party. The consuls managed most of the investigations, but Aulus Fulvius, a senator, was slain by his own father; and some think that the latter was not the only private individual who did this. There were many others, that is, not only consuls but persons in private life, who killed their children. This was the course of affairs at that time.

[37] The priestly elections, on motion of Labienus supported by Caesar,

were again referred by the people to popular vote, contrary to the law of Sulla, but in renewal of the law of Domitius. Caesar at the death of Metellus Pius was eager for his priesthood, although young and not having served as praetor. Resting his hopes of it upon the multitude, therefore, especially because he had helped Labienus against Rabirius and had not voted for the death of Lentulus, he took the above course. And he was appointed pontifex maximus, in spite of the fact that many others, Catulus most of all, were his rivals for the honor. This because he showed himself perfectly ready to serve and flatter every one, even ordinary persons, and he spared no speech or action for getting possession of the objects for which he strove. He paid no heed to temporary groveling when weighed against subsequent power, and he cringed as before superiors to those men whom he was planning to dominate.

[38] Toward Caesar, accordingly, for these reasons, the masses were well disposed, but their anger was directed against Cicero for the death of the citizens, and they displayed their enmity in many ways. Finally, when on the last day of his office he desired to give a defence and account of all that had been done in his consulship, — for he took great pleasure not only in being praised by others, but also in extolling himself, — they made him keep silence and did not allow him to utter a word outside of his oath; in this they had Metellus Nepos, the tribune, to aid them. Only Cicero, in violent protestation, did take an additional oath that he had saved the city.

[B.C. 62 (*a.u.* 692)]

[39] For that he incurred all the greater hatred. Catiline met his doom at the very opening of the year in which Junius Silanus and Lucius Licinius held office. For a while, although he had no small force, he watched the movements of Lentulus and delayed, in the hope that if Cicero and his adherents should be slain in good season he could easily execute his remaining designs. But when he ascertained that Lentulus had perished and that many of his followers had deserted for that reason, he was compelled to risk the uttermost, especially as Antonius and Metellus Celer, who were besieging Faesulae, did not allow him to advance in any direction. He proceeded, therefore, against Antonius — the two were separately encamped — although the latter had greater renown than Metellus and was invested with greater power. The reason was that Catiline had hopes of his letting himself be beaten in order to fulfill the demands of his oath.

[40] The latter, who suspected this, no longer felt kindly toward Catiline, because he was weak; for most men form both friendships and enmities with reference to persons' influence and to individual advantage. Furthermore, being afraid that the arch-conspirator, when he saw them fighting earnestly, might utter some reproach and bring to light things that should not be mentioned, he pretended to be sick and confided the conduct of the battle to Marcus Petreius. This commander joined battle with them and not without bloodshed cut down Catiline and three thousand others while fighting most valiantly. No one of them fled, but every man fell at his post. Even the victors

mourned their common loss, inasmuch as they had destroyed (no matter how justly) so many and such brave men, who were citizens and allies. His head Antonius sent to the city in order that its inhabitants might believe in his death and have no further fear. He himself was named imperator for the victory, although the number of the slaughtered was smaller than usual. Sacrifices of oxen were also voted, and the people changed their raiment to signify their deliverance from all dangers.

[41] Nevertheless, the allies who had shared the undertaking with Catiline and still survived after that did not remain quiet, but through fear of punishment created disturbances. Against each division of them praetors were sent, overcame them in season, while still in a way scattered, and punished them. Others that were avoiding observation were convicted and condemned on information from Lucius Vettius, a knight, who had taken part in the conspiracy but now on promise of immunity revealed them. This went on until, after having impeached some men and written their names on a tablet, he desired the privilege of writing in others. The senators suspected that he was not dealing fair and would not give him the document again for fear he should erase some names, but had him mention orally all he had omitted. Then in shame and fear he made known only a few others.

Since even under these circumstances disquietude prevailed in the city and among the allies through ignorance of the persons named, and some were needlessly troubled about themselves, while some incorrectly suspected others, the senate decreed that the names be published. As a result the innocent regained composure and judgments were pronounced upon those called to account. Some were present to be condemned and others let their cases go by default.

[42] Such was the career of Catiline and his downfall which, owing to the reputation of Cicero and the speeches delivered against him, brought him a greater name than his deeds deserved. Cicero came near being tried immediately for the killing of Lentulus and the other prisoners. This complaint, though technically brought against him, was really directed against the senate. For among the populace its members were subject to denunciations of the utmost virulence voiced by Metellus Nepos, to the effect that they had no right to condemn any citizen to death without the consent of the people. But Cicero had no trouble at that time. The senate had granted immunity to all those who administered affairs during that period and had further proclaimed that if any one should dare to call any one of them to account again, he should be in the category of a personal and public enemy; so that Nepos was afraid and aroused no further tumult.

[43] This was not the senate's only victory. Nepos had moved that Pompey be summoned with his army (he was still in Asia), pretendedly for the purpose of bringing calm to the existing conditions, but really in hope that he himself might through him get power in the disturbances he was causing, because Pompey favored the multitude: this plan the senators prevented from being

ratified. For, to begin with, Cato and Quintus Minucius in their capacity as tribunes vetoed the proposition and stopped the clerk who was reading the motion. Nepos took the document to read it himself, but they snatched it away, and when even so he undertook to make some oral remarks they laid hold of his mouth. The result was that a battle with sticks and stones and even swords took place between them, in which some others joined who assisted both sides. Therefore the senators convened in session that very day, changed their togas and gave the consuls charge of the city, “that it suffer no injury.” Then even Nepos was afraid and retired immediately from their midst: subsequently, after publishing some piece of writing against the senate, he set out to join Pompey, although he had no right to be absent from the city a single night.

[44] After this occurrence Caesar, who was now praetor, likewise showed no further revolutionary tendencies. He effected the removal of the name of Catulus from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus — he was calling him to account for theft and was demanding an account of the money he had spent — and the entrusting to Pompey of the construction of the remainder of the edifice. For many details, considering the size and character of the work, were but half finished. Or else Caesar pretended it was so, in order that Pompey might gain the glory for its completion and inscribe his name instead. He was not, to be sure, so ready to do him a favor as to submit to having passed concerning himself some decrees similar to that regarding Nepos. He did not, in fact, act thus for Pompey’s sake, but in order that he might ingratiate himself with the populace. Still, as it was, all feared Pompey to such an extent, seeing that it was not yet clear whether he would give up his legions, that when he sent ahead Marcus Piso, his lieutenant, to seek the consulship, they postponed the elections in order that the latter might attend them, and on his arrival elected him unanimously. For Pompey had recommended the man not only to his friends, but also to his enemies.

[45] It was at this time that Publius Clodius debauched Caesar’s wife in her house and during the performance of the secret rites which according to ancestral precedent the Vestals carried out at the residences of consuls and praetors in behalf of the whole male population. Caesar brought no charge against him, understanding well that on account of his connections he would not be convicted, but divorced his wife, telling her that he did not really believe the story but that he could no longer live with her inasmuch as she had been suspected of committing adultery at all: a chaste woman must not only not err, but not even incur any evil suspicion.

[B.C. 61 (*a.u.* 693)]

[46] Following these events the stone bridge, called the Fabrician, leading to the little island in the Tiber was constructed. The next year in the consulship of Piso and Marcus Messala, the men in power showed their hatred of Clodius and at the same time made expiation for his pollution by delivering him to the court, after the pontifices had decided that the rites because of his act had not

been duly performed and should be annulled. He was accused of adultery, in spite of Caesar's silence, and of desertion at Nisibis and furthermore of having had guilty relations with his sister: yet he was acquitted, although the juries had requested and obtained of the senate a guard to prevent their suffering any harm at his hands. Regarding this Catulus said jestingly that they had asked for the guard not in order to condemn Clodius with safety, but in order to preserve for themselves the money which they had received in bribes.

The author of this speech died shortly after, — a man who had always, more conspicuously than his predecessors, held democracy in honor above everything. That year the censors enrolled in the senatorial body all who had attained office, even beyond the proper number. Until then, too, the populace had watched unbroken series of armed combats, but now they introduced the custom of going out to take lunch in the course of the entertainment. This practice which began at that time continues even now, when the person in authority exhibits games.

[47] This was the course of affairs in the city. Gaul in the vicinity of Narbo was being devastated by the Allobroges, and Gaius Pomptinus, its governor, sent his lieutenants against the enemy, but himself made a stand at a convenient spot from which he could keep watch of what occurred; this would enable him to give them opportune advice and assistance, as their advantage might from time to time dictate.

Manlius Lentinus made a campaign against the city of Valentia and terrified the inhabitants so, that the majority ran away and the rest sent ambassadors for peace. Just then the country population coming to their aid suddenly fell upon him; and he was repulsed from the wall, but ravaged the land with impunity until Catugnatus, the commander of their whole tribe, and some others of the dwellers across the Isar brought them help. For the time being he did not dare to hinder them from crossing, by reason of the number of the boats, for fear they might gather in a body on seeing the Romans arrayed against them. As the country was wooded, however, right down to the river bank, he planted ambuscades in it, and captured and destroyed them as fast as they crossed. While following up some fugitives he fell in with Catugnatus himself, and would have perished with all his force, had not the advent of a violent storm detained the barbarians from pursuit.

[48] Later, when Catugnatus had gone away to some distant place, Lentinus overran the country again, and seized and razed to the ground the wall where he had met with mishap. Also, Lucius Marius and Servius Galba crossed the Rhone and after damaging the possessions of the Allobroges finally reached the city of Solonium and occupied a strong position commanding it. In the battle they conquered their opponents and set fire to the fortification, a portion of which was of wood: they did not, however, capture it, being hindered by the appearance of Catugnatus. Pomptinus, on receipt of this news, proceeded against him with his entire force, and besieged and got possession of the

inhabitants all except Catagnatus. After that he more easily subjugated the remaining portions.

[B.C. 60 (*a.u.* 694)]

[49] At this juncture Pompey entered Italy and had Lucius Afranius and Metellus Celer appointed consuls, vainly hoping that through them he could effect whatever he desired. Among his chief wishes was to have some land given to him for the comrades of his campaigns and to have all his acts approved; but he failed of these objects at that time, because those in power, who were formerly not pleased with him, prevented the questions being brought to vote. And of the consuls themselves Afranius (who understood how to dance better than to transact any business) did not unite with him for any purpose, and Metellus, in anger that Pompey had divorced his sister in spite of having had children by her, consistently opposed him in everything. Moreover, Lucius Lucullus whom Pompey had once treated contemptuously at a chance meeting in Gaul was greatly incensed against him, bidding him give an account individually and separately of everything he had done instead of demanding a ratification for all of his acts at once. He said it was only fair to refuse to let absolutely everything that Pompey had done, as to the character of which no one knew anything, be confirmed; it was unjust to treat them like deeds performed by some master. When he (Lucullus) had finished any of his own undertakings, he was accustomed to ask that an investigation of each one be made in the senate, in order that the senators might ratify whichever suited them. Lucullus was strongly supported by Cato and Metellus and the rest who had the same wishes as they.

[50] Accordingly, when the tribune who moved that land be assigned to the adherents of Pompey added to the proposition (in order that they might more readily vote this particular measure and ratify his acts) that the same opportunity be afforded all the citizens as well, Metellus contested every point with him and attacked the tribune to such an extent that the latter had him put in a cell. Then Metellus wished to assemble the senate there. When the other — his name was Lucius Flavius — set the tribune's bench at the very entrance of the cell and sitting there became an obstacle to any one's entrance, Metellus ordered the wall of the prison to be cut through so that the senate might have an entrance through it, and made preparations to pass the night where he was. Pompey, on learning of this, in shame and some fear that the populace might take offence, directed Flavius to withdraw. He spoke as if this were a request from Metellus, but was not believed: for the latter's pride was well known to all. Indeed, Metellus would not give his consent when the other tribunes wished to set him free. He would not even yield when Flavius threatened him again that he would not allow him to go out to the province which he had obtained by lot unless he should assist the tribune in putting the law through: on the contrary he was very glad to remain in the city.

Pompey, therefore, since he could accomplish nothing because of Metellus and the rest, said that they were jealous of him and that he would let the

people know of this. Fearing, however, that he should miss their support as well, and so be subjected to still greater shame, he abandoned his original aims. Thus he learned that he had no power in reality, but only the reputation and envy resulting from his former authority, which on the other hand afforded him no actual benefit; and he repented of having let his legions go and of having delivered himself to his enemies.

[51] Clodius's hatred of the influential men led him after the trial to desire to be tribune, and he induced some of those who held that office to move that a share in it be given to the patricians also. As he could not bring this about, he abjured his noble rank and changing his tactics set out to obtain the prerogatives of the populace, and was even enrolled in their list. Immediately he sought the tribuneship but was not appointed, owing to the opposition of Metellus, who was related to him and did not like his actions. The excuse that Metellus gave was that the transference of Clodius had not been in accord with tradition; this change had been permitted only at the time when the *lex curiata* was introduced. Thus ended this episode.

Since now the taxes were a great oppression to the city and the rest of Italy, the law that abolished them caused pleasure to all. The senators, however, were angry at the praetor who proposed it (Metellus Nepos was the man) and wished to erase his name from the law, entering another one instead. Although this plan was not carried out, it was still made clear to all that they received not even benefits gladly from inferior men. About this same time Faustus, son of Sulla, gave a gladiatorial combat in memory of his father and entertained the people brilliantly, furnishing them with baths and oil gratis.

[52] While this happened in the city, Caesar had obtained the government of Lusitania after his praetorship: and, though he might without any great labor have cleared the land of brigandage (which probably always existed there) and then have kept quiet, he refused to do so. He was eager for glory, emulating Pompey and his other predecessors who at one time had held great power, and he harbored no small designs; it was his hope, in case he should at that time accomplish anything, to be immediately chosen consul and show the people deeds of magnitude. That hope was based more especially upon the fact that in Gades, when he was praetor, he had dreamed of intercourse with his mother, and had learned from the seers that he should come to great power. Hence, on beholding there a likeness of Alexander dedicated in the temple of Hercules he had given a groan, lamenting that he had performed no great work as yet.

Accordingly, though he might, as I have said, have been at peace, he took his way to Mount Herminium and ordered the dwellers on it to move into the plain, pretendedly that they might not rush down from their strongholds and plunder, but really because he well knew that they would never do what he asked, and that as a result he should get a cause for war. This also happened. After these men, then, had taken up arms he proceeded to draw them on. When some of the neighbors, fearing that he would betake himself against

them too, carried off their children and wives and most valuable possessions out of the way across the Doriis, he first occupied their cities, where these measures were being taken, and next joined battle with the men themselves. They put their flocks in front of them, so that the Romans might scatter to seize the cattle, whereupon they would attack them. But Caesar, neglecting the quadrupeds, took the men by surprise and conquered them. [53] Meanwhile he learned that the inhabitants of Herminium had withdrawn and were intending to ambuscade him as he returned. So for the time being he returned by another road, but again made an attempt upon them in which he was victorious and pursued them in flight to the ocean. When, however, they abandoned the mainland and crossed over to an island, he stayed where he was, for his supply of boats was not large. He did put together some rafts, by means of which he sent on a part of his army, and lost numerous men. The person in command of them had advanced to a breakwater which was near the island and had disembarked the troops with a view to their crossing over on foot, when he was forced off by the flood tide and put out to sea, leaving them in the lurch. All of them died bravely defending themselves save Publius Scaefius, the only one to survive. Deprived of his shield and wounded in many places he leaped into the water and escaped by swimming. These events occurred all at one time. Later, Caesar sent for boats from Gades, crossed over to the island with his whole army and overcame the dwellers there without a blow, as they were in poor condition from lack of food. Thence he sailed along to Brigantium, a city of Gallaecia, alarmed the people (who had never before seen a vessel) by the breakers which his approach to land caused, and subjugated them.

[54] On accomplishing this he thought he had gained a sufficient means of access to the consulship and set out hastily, even before his successor arrived, to the elections. He decided to seek the position even before asking for a triumph, since it was not possible to hold a festival beforehand. He was refused the triumph, for Cato opposed him with might and main. However, he let that go, hoping to perform many more and greater exploits and celebrate corresponding triumphs, if elected consul. Besides the omens previously recited, on which, he at all times greatly prided himself, was the fact that a horse of his had been born with clefts in the hoofs of its front feet, and bore him proudly, whereas it would not endure any other rider. Consequently his expectations were of no small character, so that he willingly resigned the triumphal celebration and entered the city to canvass for office. Here he courted Pompey and Crassus and the rest so skillfully that though they were still at enmity with each other, and their political clubs were likewise, and though each opposed everything that he learned the other wished, he won them over and was unanimously appointed by them all. This evidences his cleverness in the greatest degree that he should have known and arranged the occasions and the amount of his services so well as to attach them both to him when they were working against each other.

[55] He was not even satisfied with this, but actually reconciled them, not because he was desirous of having them agree, but because he saw that they were the most powerful persons. And he understood well that without the aid of both or of one he could never come to any great power; but if he should make a friend of merely either one of them, he should by that fact find the other his antagonist and should suffer more reverses through him than he would win success by the support of the other. For, on the one hand, it seemed to him that all men work more strenuously against their enemies than they coöperate with their friends, not merely as a corollary of the fact that anger and hate impel more earnest endeavor than any friendship, but also because, when one man works for himself, and a second for another, success does not hold a like amount of pleasure or failure of pain in the two cases. Per contra he reflected that it was handier to get in people's way and prevent their reaching any prominence than to be willing to lead them to great heights. The chief reason for this was that he who keeps another from attaining magnitude pleases others as well as himself, whereas he who exalts another renders him burdensome to both those parties.

[56] These reasons led Caesar at that time to insinuate himself into their good graces, and subsequently he reconciled them with each other. He did not believe that without them he could either attain permanent power or fail to offend one of them some time, and had equally little fear of their harmonizing their plans and so becoming stronger than he. For he understood perfectly that he should master other people immediately through their friendship, and a little later master them through the agency of each other. And so it was.

Pompey and Crassus, the moment they entered into his plan, themselves made peace each with the other as if of their own accord, and took Caesar into partnership respecting their designs. Pompey, on his side, was not so strong as he had hoped to be, and seeing that Crassus was in power and that Caesar's influence was growing feared that he should be utterly overthrown by them; but he had the additional hope that if he made them sharers in present advantages, he should win back his old authority through them. Crassus thought that he should properly surpass them all by reason of his family as well as his wealth; and since he was far inferior to Pompey and thought that Caesar would rise to great heights, he desired to set them in opposition one to the other, in order that neither of them should have the upper hand. He expected that they would be evenly matched antagonists and in this event he would get the benefit of the friendship of each and gain honors beyond both of them. For without supporting in all respects either the policy of the populace or that of the senate he did everything to advance his own supremacy. Thus it happened that he did both of them equal services and avoided the enmity of either, promoting on occasion whatever measures pleased both to such an extent as was likely to give him the credit for everything that went to the liking of the two, without any share in more unpleasant issues.

[57] Thus the three for these reasons cemented friendship, ratified it with

oaths, and managed public affairs by their own influence. Next they gave and received in turn, one from another, whatever they set their hearts on and was in view of the circumstances suitable to be carried out by them. Their harmony caused an agreement also on the part of their political followers: these, too, did with impunity whatever they wished, enjoying the leadership of their superiors toward any ends, so that few traces of moderation remained and those only in Cato and in any one else who wished to seem to hold the same opinions as did he. No one in that generation took part in politics from pure motives and without any individual desire of gain except Cato. Some were ashamed of the acts committed and others who strove to imitate him took a hand in affairs in places, and manifested something of the same spirit: they were not persevering, however, inasmuch as their efforts sprang from cultivation of an attitude and not from innate virtue.

[58] This was the condition into which these men brought the affairs of Rome at that time while they concealed their sworn fellowship as much as possible. They did whatever had approved itself to them, but fabricated and put forth the most opposite motives, in order that they might still lie concealed for a very long time till their preparations should be sufficiently made.

Yet Heaven was not ignorant of their doings, and it straightway revealed plainly to those who could understand any such signs all that would later result from their domination. For of a sudden such a storm came down upon the whole city and all the land that quantities of trees were torn up by the roots, many houses were shattered, the boats moored in the Tiber both near the city and at its mouth were sunk, and the wooden bridge destroyed, and a small theatre built of timbers for some assembly was overturned, and in the midst of all this great numbers of human beings perished. These portents appeared in advance, — an image, as it were, of what should befall the people both on land and on water.

BOOK 38

The following is contained in the Thirty-eighth of Dio's Rome: How Caesar and Bibulus fell to quarreling (chapters 1-8).

How Cicero was exiled (chapters 9-17).

How Philiscus consoled Cicero in the matter of his exile (chapters 18-30).

How Caesar fought the Helvetii and Ariovistus (chapters 31-50).

Duration of time, two years, in which there were the following magistrates, here enumerated:

C. Julius C.F. Caesar, M. Calpurnius || C.F. Bibulus ||. (B.C. 59 = a.u. 695.)

||L. Calpurnius || L.F. Piso, A. Gabinius A.F. (B.C. 58 = a.u. 696.)

The names within the parallel lines are lacking in the MSS., but were inserted by Palmer (and BOISSEVAIN).

BOOK 38, BOISSEVAIN.

[B.C. 59 (*a.u.* 695)]

[1] The following year Caesar wished to court the favor of the entire multitude, that he might make them his own to an even greater degree. But since he was anxious to seem to be advancing also the interests of the leading classes, so as to avoid getting into enmity with them, he often told them that he would propose no measure which would not advantage them also. Now there was a certain proposition about the land which he was for assigning to the whole populace, that he had framed in such a way as to incur no little censure for it. However, he pretended he would not introduce this measure, either, unless it should be according to their wishes. So far as the law went, indeed, no one could find fault with him. The mass of the citizens, which was unwieldy (a feature which more than any other accounted for their tendency to riot), was thus turning in the direction of work and agriculture; and most of the desolated sections of Italy were being colonized afresh, so that not only those who had been worn out in the campaigns, but also all of the rest should have subsistence a plenty, and that without any individual expense on the part of the city or any assessment of the chief men; rather it included the conferring of both rank and office upon many. He wanted to distribute all the public land except Campania — this he advised their keeping distinct as a public possession, because of its excellence — and the rest he urged them to buy not from any one who was unwilling to sell nor again for so large a price as the settlers might wish, but first from people who were willing to dispose of their holdings and second for as large a price as it had been valued at in the tax-lists. They had a great deal of surplus money, he asserted, as a result of the booty which Pompey had captured, as well as from the new tributes and taxes just established, and they ought, inasmuch as it had been provided by the dangers that citizens had incurred, to expend it upon those very persons. Furthermore he was for constituting the land commissioners not a small body, to seem like an oligarchy, nor composed of men who were laboring under any legal indictment, lest somebody might be displeased, but twenty to begin with, so that many might share the honor, and next those who were most suitable, except himself. This point he quite insisted should be settled in advance, that it might not be thought that he was making a motion on his own account. He himself was satisfied with the conception and proposal of the matter; at least he said so, but clearly he was doing a favor to Pompey and Crassus and the rest.

[2] So far as the motion went, then, he escaped censure, so that no one, indeed, ventured to open his mouth in opposition: for he had read it aloud beforehand in the senate, and calling upon each one of the senators by name had enquired his opinion, for fear that some one might have some fault to find; and he promised to frame differently or even erase entirely any clause

which might not please any person. Still on the whole quite all the foremost men who were outside the plot were irritated. And this very fact troubled them most, that Caesar had compiled such a document that not one could raise a criticism and yet they were all cast down. They suspected the purpose with which it was being done, — that he would bind the multitude to him as a result of it, and have reputation and power over all men. For this reason even if no one spoke against him, no one expressed approval, either. This sufficed for the majority and they kept promising him that they would pass the decree: but they did nothing; on the contrary, fruitless delays and postponements kept arising. [3] As for Marcus Cato, who was in general an upright man and displeased with any innovation but was able to exert no influence either by nature or by education, he did not himself make any complaint against the motion, but without going into particulars urged them to abide by the existing system and take no steps beyond it. At this Caesar was on the point of dragging Cato out of the very senate-house and casting him into prison. The latter gave himself up quite readily to be led away and not a few of the rest followed him; one of them, Marcus Petreius, being rebuked by Caesar because he was taking his departure before the senate was yet dismissed, replied: “I prefer to be with Cato in his cell rather than here with you.” Abashed at this speech Caesar let Cato go and adjourned the senate, saying only this much in passing: “I have made you judges and lords of the law so that if anything should not suit you, it need not be brought into the public assembly; but since you are not willing to pass a decree, that body itself shall decide.”

[4] Thereafter he communicated to the senate nothing further under this head but brought directly before the people whatever he desired. However, as he wished even under these circumstances to secure as sympathizers some of the foremost men in the assembly, hoping that they had now changed their minds and would be a little afraid of the populace, he began with his colleague and asked him if he criticised the provisions of the law. When the latter made no answer save that he would endure no innovations in his own office, Caesar proceeded to supplicate him and persuaded the multitude to join him in his request, saying: “You shall have the law if only he wishes it.”

Bibulus with a great shout replied: “You shall not have this law this year, even if all of you wish it.” And having spoken thus he took his departure.

Caesar did not address any further enquiries to persons in office, fearing that some one of them might also oppose him; but he held a conference with Pompey and Crassus, though they were private citizens, and bade them make known their views about the proposition. This was not because he failed to understand their attitude, for all their undertakings were in common; but he purposed to honor these men in that he called them in as advisers about the law when they were holding no office, and also to stir terror in the rest by securing the adherence of men who were admittedly the foremost in the city at that time and had the greatest influence with all. By this very move, also, he

would please the multitude, by giving proof that they were not striving for any unusual or unjust end, but for objects which those great men were willing both to scrutinize and to approve.

[5] Pompey, accordingly, very gladly addressed them as follows: "Not I alone, Quirites, sanction the proposition, but all the rest of the senate as well, seeing that it has voted for land to be given, aside from the partners of my campaign, to those who formerly followed Metellus. At that time, indeed, since the treasury had no great means, the granting of the land was naturally postponed; but at present, since it has become exceedingly rich through my efforts, it behooves the senators to redeem their promise and the rest to reap the fruit of the common toils." After these remarks he went over in detail every feature of the proposition and approved them all, so that the crowd was mightily pleased. Seeing this, Caesar asked him if he would willingly lend assistance against those who took the opposite side, and advised the multitude to ask his aid similarly for this end. When this was done Pompey was elated because both the consul and the multitude had petitioned his help, although he was holding no position of command. So, with an added opinion of his own value and assuming much dignity he spoke at some length, finally declaring "if any one dares to raise a sword, I, too, will oppose to him my shield." These utterances of Pompey Crassus, too, approved. Consequently even if some of the rest were not pleased, most became very eager for the ratification of the law when these men whose reputations were in general excellent and who were, according to common opinion, inimical to Caesar (their reconciliation was not yet manifest) joined in the approbation of his measure.

[6] Bibulus, notwithstanding, would not yield and with three tribunes to support him continued to hinder the enactment of the law. Finally, when no excuse for delay was any longer left him, he proclaimed a sacred period for all the remaining days of the year alike, during which people could not, in accordance with the laws, come together for a meeting. Caesar paid slight attention to him and announced an appointed day on which they should pass the law. When the multitude by night had already occupied the Forum, Bibulus appeared with the force at his disposal and made his way to the temple of the Dioscuri from which Caesar was delivering his harangue. The men fell back before him partly out of respect and partly because they thought he would not actually oppose them. But when he reached an elevated place and attempted to dispute with Caesar, he was thrust down the steps, his staves were broken to pieces, and the tribunes as well as the others received blows and wounds.

Thus the law was ratified. Bibulus was for the moment satisfied to save his life, but on the following day tried in the senate to annul the act; however, he effected nothing, for all, subservient to the will of the multitude, remained quiet. Accordingly he retired to his home and did not again so much as once appear in public until the last day of the year. Instead he remained in his house, — notifying Caesar through his assistants on the introduction of every

new measure that it was a sacred period and by the laws he could rightfully take no action during it. Publius Vatinius, a tribune, indeed undertook to place Bibulus in a cell for this, but was prevented from confining him by the opposition of his associates in office. However, Bibulus in this way put himself out of politics and the tribunes belonging to his party likewise were never again entrusted with any public duty.

[7] It should be said that Metellus Celer and Cato and through him one Marcus Favonius, who imitated him in all points, for a while would not take the oath of obedience to the law. (This custom once, begun, as I have stated, became the regular practice in the case of other unusual measures also.) A number besides Metellus, who referred to his title of Numidicus, flatly declared they would never join in approving it. When, however, the day came on which they were to incur the stated penalties, they took the oath, either as a result of the human trait according to which many persons utter promises and threats more easily than they put anything into execution, or else because they were going to be fined to no purpose, without helping the commonwealth at all by their obstinacy. So the law was ratified, and furthermore the land of Campania was given to those having three or more children. For this reason Capua was then for the first time considered a Roman colony.

By this means Caesar attached to his cause the people, and he won the knights, as well, by allowing them a third part of the taxes which they had hired. All the collections were made through them and though they had often asked the senate to grant them some satisfactory schedule, they had not gained it, because Cato and the others worked against them. When, then, he had conciliated this class also without any protest, he first ratified all the acts of Pompey — and in this he met no opposition from Lucullus or any one else, — and next he put through many other measures while no one opposed him. There was no gainsaying even from Cato, although in the praetorship which he soon after held, he would never mention the title of the other's laws, which were called the "Julian." While he followed their provisions in allotting the courts he most ridiculously concealed their names.

[8] These, then, because they are very many in number and offer no contribution to this history, I will leave aside. — Quintus Fufius Calenus, finding that the [B.C. 59 (*a.u.* 695)] votes of all in party contests were promiscuously mingled, — each of the classes attributing the superior measures to itself and referring the less sensible to the others — passed when praetor a law that each should cast its votes separately: his purpose was that even if their individual opinions could not be revealed, by reason of doing this secretly, yet the views of the classes at least might be made known.

As for the rest, Caesar himself proposed, advised and arranged everything in the city once for all as if he were its sole ruler. Hence some facetious persons hid the name of Bibulus in silence altogether and named Caesar twice, and in writing would mention Gaius Caesar and Julius Caesar as being the consuls. But in matters that concerned himself he managed through others,

for he guarded most strenuously against the contingency of presenting anything to himself. By this means he more easily effected everything that he desired. He himself declared that he needed nothing more and strongly protested that he was satisfied with his present possessions. Others, believing him a necessary and useful factor in affairs proposed whatever he wished and had it ratified, not only before the populace but in the senate itself. For whereas the multitude granted him the government of Illyricum and of Gaul this side of the Alps with three legions for five years, the senate entrusted him in addition with Gaul beyond the mountains and another legion.

[9] Even so, in fear that Pompey in his absence (during which Aulus Gabinius was to be consul) might lead some revolt, he attached to his cause both Pompey and the other consul, Lucius Piso, by the bond of kinship: upon the former he bestowed his daughter, in spite of having betrothed her to another man, and he himself married Piso's daughter. Thus he fortified himself on all sides. But Cicero and Lucullus, little pleased at this, undertook to kill both Caesar and Pompey through the medium of one Lucius Vettius; they failed of their attempt, however, and all but perished themselves as well. For Vettius, being informed against and arrested before he had acted, denounced them; and had he not charged Bibulus also with being in the plot against the two, they would have certainly met some evil fate. As it was, inasmuch as in his defence he accused the man who had revealed the project to Pompey, he was suspected of not speaking the truth on other points either, but created the impression that the matter had been somehow purposely contrived with a view to calumniating the opposite party. About these details some spread one report and others another, but nothing was definitely proven. Vettius was brought before the populace and after naming only those whom I have mentioned was thrown into prison, where not much later he was treacherously murdered.

[10] In consequence of this Cicero became an object of suspicion on the part of Caesar and Pompey, and he strengthened their conjecture in his defence of Antonius. The latter, in his governorship of Macedonia, had committed many outrages upon the subject territory as well as the section that was under truce, and had been well chastised in return. He ravaged the possessions of the Dardani and their neighbors and then did not dare to withstand their attack, but pretending to retire with his cavalry for some other purpose took to flight; in this way the enemy surrounded his infantry and drove them out of the country with violence, taking away their plunder from them besides. When he tried the same tactics on the allies in Moesia he was defeated near the city of the Istrians by the Bastarnian Scythians who came to their aid; and thereupon he decamped. It was not for this conduct, however, that he was accused, but he was indicted for conspiracy with Catiline; yet he was convicted on the former charge, so that it was his fate to be found not guilty of the crime for which he was being tried, but to be punished for something of which he was not accused. That was the way he finally came off; but at the

time Cicero in the character of his advocate, because Antonius was his colleague, made a most bitter assault upon Caesar as responsible for the suit against the man, and heaped some abuse upon him in addition.

[11] Caesar was naturally indignant at it, but, although consul, refused to be the author of any insolent speech or act against him. He said that the rabble purposely cast out many idle slurs upon their superiors, trying to entice them into strife, so that the commoners might seem to be equal and of like importance, in case they should get anything similar said of themselves. Hence he did not see fit to put any person on an equal footing with himself. It had been his custom, therefore, to conduct himself thus toward others who insulted him at all, and now seeing that Cicero was not so anxious about abusing him as about obtaining similar abuse in return and was merely desirous of being put on an equality with him, he paid little heed to his traducer, acting as if nothing had been said; indeed, he allowed him to employ vilifications unstintedly, as if they were praises showered upon him. Still, he did not disregard him entirely. Caesar possessed in reality a rather decent nature, and was not easily moved to anger. Accordingly, though punishing many, since his interests were of such magnitude, yet his action was not due to anger nor was it altogether immediate. He did not indulge wrath at all, but watched his opportunity and his vengeance dogged the steps of the majority of culprits without their knowing it. He did not take measures so as to seem to defend himself against anybody, but so as to arrange everything to his own advantage while creating the least odium. Therefore he visited retribution secretly and in places where one would least have expected it, — both for the sake of his reputation, to avoid seeming to be of a wrathful disposition, and to the end that no one through premonition should be on his guard in advance, or try to inflict some dangerous injury upon his persecutor before being injured. For he was not more concerned about what had already occurred than that (future attacks) should be hindered. As a result he would pardon many of those, even, who had harmed him greatly, or pursue them only a little way, because he believed they would do no further injury; whereas upon many others, even more than was right, he took vengeance looking to his safety, and said that what was done he could never make undone, but because of the extreme punishment he would for the future at least suffer no calamity.

[12] These calculations induced him to remain quiet on this occasion, too; but when he ascertained that Clodius was willing to do him a favor in return, because he had not accused him of adultery, he set the man secretly against Cicero. In the first place, in order that he might be lawfully excluded from the patricians, he transferred him with Pompey's coöperation again to the plebian rank, and then immediately had him appointed tribune. This Clodius, then, muzzled Bibulus, who had entered the Forum at the expiration of his office and intended in the course of taking the oath to deliver a speech about present conditions, and after that attacked Cicero also.

He soon decided that it was not easy to overthrow a man who, on account of his skill in speaking, had very great influence in politics, and so proceeded to conciliate not only the populace, but also the knights and the senate with whom Cicero most held in regard. His hope was that if he could make these men his own, he might easily cause the downfall of the orator, whose great strength lay rather in the fear than in the good-will which he inspired. Cicero annoyed great numbers by his words, and those who were won to him by benefits conferred were not so numerous as those alienated by injuries done them. Not only did it hold true in his case that the majority of mankind are more ready to feel irritation at what displeases them than to feel grateful to any one for good treatment, and think that they have paid their advocates in full with wages, whereas they are determined to give those who oppose them at law a perceptible setback: but furthermore he invited very bitter enemies by always striving to get the better of even the strongest men and by always employing an unbridled and excessive frankness of speech to all alike; he was in desperate pursuit of a reputation for being able to comprehend and speak as no one else could, and before all wanted to be thought a valuable citizen. As a result of this and because he was the greatest boaster alive and thought no one equal to himself, but in his words and life alike looked down on all and would not live as any one else did, he was wearisome and burdensome, and was consequently both envied and hated even by those very persons whom he pleased.

[13] Clodius therefore hoped that for these reasons, if he should prepare the minds of the senate and the knights and the populace in advance, he could quickly make way with him. So he straightway distributed free corn gratis (he had already in the consulship of Gabinius and Piso introduced a motion that it be measured out to those who lacked), and revived the associations called *collegia* in the native language, which had existed anciently but had been abolished for some time. The tribunes he forbade to depose a person from any office or disfranchise him, save if a man should be tried and convicted in presence of them both. After enticing the citizens by these means he proposed another law, concerning which it is necessary to speak at some length, so that it may become clearer to most persons.

Public divination was obtained from the sky and from some other sources, as I said, but that of the sky carried the greatest weight, — so much so that whereas the other auguries held were many in number and for each action, this one was held but once and for the whole day. Besides this most peculiar feature it was noticeable that whereas in reference to all other matters sky-divination either allowed things to be done and they were carried out without consulting any individual augury further, or else it would prevent and hinder something, it restrained the balloting of the populace altogether and was always a portent to check them, whether it was of a favorable or ill-boding nature. Now the cause of this custom I am unable to state, but I set down the common report. Accordingly, many persons who wished to obstruct either the

proposal of laws or official appointments that came before the popular assembly were in the habit of announcing that they would use the divination from the sky for that day, so that the people could ratify nothing during the period. Clodius was afraid that if he indicted Cicero some person by such means might interpose a postponement or delay the trial, and so introduced measure that no one of the officials should, on the days when it was necessary for the people to vote on anything, observe the signs from heaven.

[14] Such was the nature of the indictment which he then drew up against Cicero. The latter understood what was going on and induced Lucius Ninnius Quadratus, a tribune, to oppose it all: then Clodius, in fear lest a tumult and delay of some kind should arise as a result, outwitted him by deceit. He made arrangements with Cicero beforehand to bring no indictment against him, if he, in turn, would not interfere with any of the measures under consideration; whereupon, while the latter and Ninnius were quiet, he secured the passage of the laws, and next proceeded against the orator. Thus was the latter, who thought himself extremely wise, deceived on that occasion by Clodius, — if we ought to say Clodius and not Caesar and his party. For the law that Clodius proposed after this trick was not on its face enacted against Cicero (i.e. it did not contain his name), but against all those simply who put to death or had put to death any citizen without the condemnation of the populace; yet in fact it was drawn up as strongly as possible against that one man.

It brought within its scope, indeed, all the senate, because they had charged the consuls with the protection of the city, by which act it was permitted the latter to take such steps, and subsequently had voted to condemn Lentulus and the rest who at that time suffered the death penalty. Cicero, however, incurred the responsibility alone or most of all, because he had laid information against them and had each time made the proposition and put the vote and had finally seen to their execution by the agents entrusted with such business. For this reason he took vigorous retaliatory measures, and discarding senatorial dress went about in the garb of the knights, paying court meanwhile, as he went back and forth, day and night alike to all who had any influence, not only of his friends but also of his opponents, and especially to Pompey and Caesar, inasmuch as they did not show their enmity toward him. [15] In their anxiety not to appear by their own action to have set Clodius on or to be pleased with his measures, they devised the following way, which suited them admirably and was obscure to their foe, for deceiving Cicero. Caesar advised him to yield, for fear he might perish if he remained where he was: and in order to have it believed the more readily that he was doing this through good will, he promised that the other should employ him as helper, so that he might retire from Clodius's path not with reproach and as if under examination, but in command and with honor.

Pompey, however, turned him aside from this course, calling the act outright desertion, and uttering insinuations against Caesar to the effect that through enmity he was not giving sound advice; for his own counsel, as

expressed, was for Cicero to remain and come to the aid of the senate and himself with outspokenness, and to defend himself immediately against Clodius: the latter, he declared, would not be able to accomplish anything with the orator present and confronting him and would furthermore meet his deserts, and he, Pompey, would coöperate to this end. After these speeches from them, modeled in such a way not because the views of the two were opposed, but for the purpose of deceiving the man without arousing his suspicion, Cicero attached himself to Pompey. Of him he had no previous suspicion and was thoroughly confident of being rescued by his assistance. Many men respected and honored him, for numerous persons in trouble were saved some from the judges and others from their very accusers. Also, since Clodius had been a relative of Pompey's and a partner of his campaigns for a long period, it seemed likely that he would do nothing that failed to accord with his wishes. As for Gabinius, Cicero expected that he could count on him absolutely as an adherent, being a good friend of his, and equally on Piso because of his regard for right and his kinship with Caesar. ^[16] On the basis of these calculations, then, he hoped to win (for he was confident beyond reason even as he had been terrified without investigating), and in fear lest his withdrawal from town should seem to have been the result of a bad conscience, he paid heed to Pompey, while stating to Caesar that he was considerably obliged to him.

Thus it came about that the victim of the deceit continued his preparations to administer a stinging defeat to his enemies. For, in addition to the encouraging circumstances already mentioned, the knights in convention sent to the consuls and senate on the Capitol [B.C. 58 (*a.u.* 696)] envoys in his behalf from their own number, and the senators Quintus Hortensius and Gaius Curio. One of the many ways in which Ninnius, too, assisted him was to urge the populace to change their garb, as if for a universal disaster. And many even of the senators did this and would not change back until the consuls by edict rebuked them.

The forces of his adversaries were more powerful, however. Clodius would not allow Ninnius to take any action in his behalf, and Gabinius would not grant the knights access to the senate; on the contrary, he drove one of them, who was very insistent, out of the city and chided Hortensius and Curio for having come before them when they were assembled and having undertaken the embassy. Moreover Clodius led them before the populace where they were well thrashed and beaten for their embassy by some appointed agents. After this Piso, though he seemed well disposed toward Cicero and had advised him to slip away beforehand on seeing that it was impossible for him to attain safety by other means, nevertheless, when the orator took offence at this counsel, came before the assembly at the first opportunity — he was too feeble most of the time — and to the question of Clodius as to what opinion he held regarding the proposed measure said: "No deed of cruelty or sadness pleases me." Gabinius, too, on being asked the same question, not only

praised Clodius but indulged in invectives against the knights and the senate.

[17] Caesar, however (whom since he had taken the field Clodius could make arbiter of the proposition only by assembling the throng outside the walls), condemned the lawlessness of the action taken in regard to Lentulus, but still did not approve the punishment proposed for it. Every one knew, he said, all that had been in his mind concerning the events of that time — he had cast his vote for letting the men live — but it was not fitting for any such law to be drawn up touching events now past. This was Caesar's statement; Crassus showed some favor to Cicero through his son but himself took the side of the multitude. Pompey kept promising the orator assistance, but by making various excuses at different times and arranging purposely many journeys out of town failed to defend him.

Cicero seeing this was frightened and again undertook to resort to arms, — among other things he did was to abuse Pompey openly with insults — but was prevented by Cato and Hortensius, for fear a civil war might result. Then at last, against his will, with shame and the ill-repute of having gone into exile voluntarily, as if conscience-stricken, he departed. Before leaving he ascended the Capitol and dedicated a little image of Minerva, whom he styled "protectress." It was to Sicily that he secretly betook himself. He had once been governor there, and entertained a lively hope that he would be honored among its towns and private citizens and by its rulers.

On his departure the law took effect; so far from meeting with any opposition, it was supported, as soon as he was once out of the way, by those very persons (among others) who were thought to be the foremost movers in Cicero's behalf. His property was confiscated, his house was razed to the ground, as though it had been an enemy's, and its foundation was dedicated for a temple of Liberty. Upon the orator himself exile was imposed, and a continued stay in Sicily was forbidden him: he was banished three thousand seven hundred and fifty stadia from Rome, and it was further proclaimed that if he should ever appear within those limits, both he and those who harbored him might be killed with impunity.

[18] He, accordingly, went over to Macedonia and was living in the depths of grief. But there met him a man named Philiscus, who had made his acquaintance in Athens and now by chance fell in with him again.

"Are you not ashamed, Cicero," said this person, "to be weeping and behaving like a woman? Really, I should never have expected that you, who have partaken of much education of every kind, who have acted as advocate to many, would grow so faint-hearted."

"Ah," replied the other, "it's not the same thing, Philiscus, to speak for others as to advise one's own self. The words spoken in others' behalf, proceeding from a mind that stands erect, undeteriorated, have the greatest possible effect. But when some affliction overwhelms the spirit, it is made turbid and dark and can not think out anything appropriate. Wherefore, I suppose, it has well been said that it is easier to counsel others than one's self

to be strong under suffering.”

“Yours is a very human objection,” rejoined Philiscus. “I did not think, however, that you, who have shown so much wisdom and have trained yourself in so much learning, had failed to prepare yourself for all human possibilities, so that if any unexpected accident should happen to you, it would not find you unfortified. Since, notwithstanding, you are in this plight, why I might benefit you by rehearsing what is good for you. Thus, just as men who put a hand to people’s burdens relieve them, so I might lighten this misfortune of yours, and the more easily than they inasmuch as I shall take upon myself the smallest share of it. You will not deem it unworthy, I trust, to receive some encouragement from another. If you were sufficient for your own self, we should have no need of these words. As it is, you are in a like case to Hippocrates or Democedes or any other of the great physicians, if one of them should fall a victim to a disease hard to cure and should need another’s hand to bring about his own recovery.”

[19] “Indeed,” said Cicero, “if you have any such train of reasoning as will dispel this mist from my soul and restore me to the light of old, I am most ready to listen. For of words, as of drugs, there are many varieties and diverse potencies, so that it will not be surprising if you should be able to steep in some mixture of philosophy even me, the shining light of senate, assembly, and law-courts.”

“Come then,” continued Philiscus, “since you are ready to listen, let us consider first whether these conditions that surround you are actually bad, and next in what way we may cure them. First of all, now, I see you are in good physical health and quite vigorous, — a state which is by nature a blessing to mankind, — and next that you have provisions in sufficiency so as not to hunger or thirst or be cold or endure any other unpleasant experience through lack of means, a second circumstance which any one might naturally set down as good for man’s nature. For when one’s physical constitution is good and one can live along without worry every accessory to happiness is enjoyed.”

[20] To this Cicero replied: “No, not one of such accessories is of use when some grief is preying upon one’s spirit. The reflections of the soul distress one far more than bodily comforts can cause delight. Even so I at present set no value on my physical health because I am suffering in mind, nor yet in the abundance of necessities; for the deprivations I have endured are many.”

Said the other: “And does this grieve you? Now if you were going to be in want of things needful, there would be some reason for your being annoyed at your loss. But since you have all the necessities in full measure, why do you harass yourself because you do not possess more? All that belongs to one beyond one’s needs is in excess and its nature is the same whether present or absent, for you are aware that even formerly you did not make use of what was not necessary: hence suppose that at that time the things which you did not need were non-existent or else that those of which you are not in want are now here. Most of them were not yours by inheritance that you should be

particularly exercised about them, but were furnished you by your own tongue and by your words, — the same causes that effected their loss. Accordingly, you should not take it hard that just as things were acquired, so they have been lost. Sea-captains are not greatly disturbed when they suffer great reverses. They understand, I think, how to look at it sensibly, — that the sea which gives them wealth takes it away again.

[21] “This is enough on one point. I think it should be enough for a man’s happiness to possess a sufficiency and to lack nothing that the body requires, and I hold that everything in excess brings anxieties and trouble and jealousies. But as for your saying there is no enjoyment in physical blessings unless one have corresponding spiritual advantages, the statement is true: it is impossible if the spirit is in poor condition that the body should fail to partake of the sickness. However, I think it much easier for one to care for mental than for physical vigor. The body, being of flesh, contains many paradoxical possibilities and requires much assistance from the higher power: the intellect, of a nature more divine, can be easily trained and prompted. Let us look to this, therefore, to discover what spiritual blessing has abandoned you and what evil has come upon you that you cannot shake off.

[22] “First, then, I see that you are a man of the greatest intellectual gifts. The proof is that you nearly always persuaded both the senate and the people in cases where you gave them any advice and helped private citizens very greatly in cases where you acted as their advocate. And second that you are a most just man. Indeed you have contended everywhere for your country and for your friends and have arrayed yourself against those who plotted against them. Yes, this very misfortune which you have suffered has befallen you for no other reason than that you continued to speak and act in everything for the laws and for the government. Again, that you have attained the highest degree of temperance is shown by your very habits. It is not possible for a man who is a slave to sensual pleasures to appear constantly in public and to go to and fro in the Forum, making his deeds by day witnesses of those by night. And because this is so I thought you were the bravest of men, enjoying, as you did, so great strength of intellect, so great power in speaking. But it seems that you, startled out of yourself by having failed contrary to your hope and deserts, have been drawn back a little from the goal of real bravery. This loss, however, you will recover immediately, and as your circumstances are such, with a good physical state and a good spiritual, I cannot see what there is to distress you.”

[23] At the end of this speech of his Cicero rejoined:— “There seems to you, then, to be no great evil in dishonor and exile and not living at home nor being with your friends, but instead being expelled with violence from your country, existing in a foreign land, and wandering about with the name of exile, causing laughter to your enemies and disgrace to your connections.”

“Not a trace of evil, so far as I can see,” declared Philiscus. “There are two elements of which we are constituted, — soul and body, — and definite

blessings and evils are given to each of the two by Nature herself. Now if there should be any failure in these details, it might properly be considered hurtful and base, but if all should be right it would be advantageous rather. This, at the outset, is your condition. Those things which you mentioned, cases of dishonor among them, and everything else of the sort are disgraceful and evil only through law and a kind of notion, and work no injury to either body or soul. What body could you cite that has fallen sick or perished and what spirit that has grown wickeder or even more ignorant through dishonor and exile and anything of that sort? I see none. And the reason is that no one of these accidents is by nature evil, just as neither honorable position nor residence in one's country is by nature excellent, but whatever opinion each one of us holds about them, such they seem to be. For instance, mankind do not universally apply the term 'dishonor' to the same conditions, but certain deeds which are reprehensible in some regions are praised in others and various actions honored by this people are punishable by that. Some do not so much as know the name, nor the fact which it implies. This is quite natural. For whatever does not touch what belongs to man's nature is thought to have no bearing upon him. Just exactly as it would be most ridiculous, surely, if some judgment or decree were delivered that so-and-so is sick or so-and-so is base, so does the case stand regarding dishonor.

[24] "The same thing I find to be true in regard to exile. Living abroad is somehow in a way dishonorable, so that if dishonor pure and simple contains no evil, surely an evil reputation can not be attached to exile either. You know at any rate that many live abroad the longest possible time, some unwillingly and others willingly; and some even spend their whole life traveling about, just as if they were expelled from every place: and yet they do not regard themselves as being injured in doing so. It makes no difference whether a man does it voluntarily or not. The person who trains unwillingly gets no less strong than he who is willing about it, and the person who navigates unwillingly obtains no less benefit than the other. And as for this very element of unwillingness, I do not see how it can encounter a man of sense. If the difference between being well and badly off is that some things we readily volunteer to do and others we are unwilling and grudge to perform, the trouble can be easily mended. For if We endure willingly all necessary things and show the white feather before none of them, all those matters in which one might assume unwillingness have been abolished. There is, indeed, an old saying and a very good one, to the effect that we ought not to think it requisite for whatever we wish to come to pass, but to wish for whatever does come to pass as the result of any necessity. We neither have free choice in our course of life nor is it on ourselves that we are dependent; but according as it may suit Fortune, and according to the character of the Divinity granted each one of us for the fulfillment of what is ordained, must we also regard our life.

[25] "Such is the nature of the case whether we like it or not. If, now, it is not mere dishonor or mere exile that troubles you, but the fact that not only

without having done your country any hurt, but after having benefited her greatly you were dishonored and expelled, look at it in this way, — that once it was destined for you to have such an experience, it has been the noblest and the best fortune that could befall you to be despitefully used without having committed any wrong. You advised and performed all that was proper for the citizens, not as individual but as consul, not meddling officiously in a private capacity but obeying the decree of the senate, not as a party measure but for the best ends. This or that other person, on the contrary, out of his superior power and insolence had devised everything against you, wherefore disasters and grief belong to him for his injustice, but for you it is noble as well as necessary to bear bravely what the Divinity has determined. Surely you would not have preferred to coöperate with Catiline and to conspire with Lentulus, to give your country the exact opposite of advantageous counsel, to discharge none of the duties laid upon you by it, and thus to remain at home under a burden of wickedness instead of displaying uprightness and being exiled. Accordingly, if you have any care for reputation, it is far preferable for you to have been driven out, guilty of no wrong, than to have remained at home by executing some villainy; for, among other considerations, shame attaches to the men who have unjustly cast one forth, but not to the man who is wantonly expelled.

[26] “Moreover, the story as I heard it was that you did not depart unwillingly nor after conviction, but of your own accord; that you hated to live with them, seeing that you could not make them better and would not endure to perish with them, and that you were exiled not from your country but from those who were plotting against her. Consequently they would be the ones dishonored and banished, having cast out all that is good from their souls, but you would be honored and fortunate, as being nobody’s slave in unseemly fashion and possessing all fitting qualities, whether you choose to live in Sicily, in Macedonia, or anywhere else in the world. Surely it is not localities that give either good fortune or unhappiness of any sort, but each man makes for himself both country and happiness always and everywhere. This is what Camillus had in mind when he was glad to dwell in Ardea; this is the way Scipio reckoned when he lived his life out without grieving in Liternum. What need is there to mention Aristides or to cite Themistocles, men whom exile rendered more esteemed, or Anni ... or Solon, who of his own accord left home for ten years?

“Therefore do you likewise cease to consider irksome any such thing as pertains neither to our physical nor to our spiritual nature, and do not vex yourself at what has happened. For to us belongs no choice as I told you, of living as we please, but it is quite requisite for us to endure what the Divinity determines. If we do this voluntarily, we shall not be grieved: if involuntarily, we shall not escape at all what is fated and we shall lay upon ourselves besides the greatest of ills, — distressing our hearts to no purpose. The proof of it is that men who bear good-naturedly the most outrageous fortunes do not

regard themselves as being in any very dreadful circumstances, while those that are disturbed at the lightest disappointments feel as if all human ills were theirs. And, among people in general, some who handle fair conditions badly and others who handle unfavorable conditions well make their good or ill fortune appear even in the eyes of others to be of precisely the same nature as they figure it to themselves. [27] Bear this in mind, then, and be not cast down by your present state, nor grieve if you learn that the men who exiled you are flourishing. In general the successes of men are vain and ephemeral, and the higher a man climbs as a result of them the more easily, like a breath, does he fall, especially in partisan conflicts. Borne along in a tumultuous and unstable medium they differ little, or rather not at all, from ships in a storm, but are carried up and then down, now hither, now yon; and if they make the slightest error, they sink altogether. Not to mention Drusus or Scipio or the Gracchi or some others, remember how Camillus the exile later came off better than Capitolinus, and remember how much Aristides subsequently surpassed Themistocles.

“Do you, then, as well, entertain a strong hope that you will be restored; for you have not been expelled on account of wrong doing, and the very ones who drove you forth will, as I take it, seek for you, while all will miss you. [28] But if you continue in your present state, — as give yourself no care about it, even so. For if you lean to my way of thinking you will be quite satisfied to pick out a little estate on the coast and there carry on at the same time farming and some historical writing, like Xenophon, like Thucydides. This form of learning is most lasting and most adaptable to every man, every government, and exile brings a leisure in some respects more productive. If, then, you wish to become really immortal, like those historians, imitate them. Necessities you have in sufficiency and you lack no measure of esteem. And, if there is any virtue in it, you have been consul. Nothing more belongs to those who have held office a second, a third, or a fourth time, except an array of idle letters which benefit no man, living or dead. Hence you would not choose to be Corvinus or Marius, the seven times consul, rather than Cicero. Nor, again, are you anxious for any position of command, seeing that you withdrew from one bestowed upon you because you scorned the gains to be had from it and scorned a brief authority that was subject to the scrutiny of all who chose to practice sycophancy, matters I have mentioned not because any one of them is requisite for happiness, but because, since it was best, you have been engaged in politics enough to learn from it the difference in lives and to choose the one but reject the other, to pursue the one but avoid the other.

“Our life is but short and you ought not to live all of it for others, but by this time to grant a little to yourself. Consider how much quiet is better than disturbance and a placid life than tumults, freedom than slavery, and safety than dangers, that you may feel a desire to live as I am urging you to do. In this way you will be happy, and your name because of it shall be great, — yes, always, whether you are alive or dead.

[29] "If, however, you are eager for a return and hold in esteem a brilliant political career, — I do not wish to say anything unpleasant, but I fear, as I cast my eyes on the case and call to mind your freedom of speech, and behold the power and numbers of your adversaries, that you may meet defeat once again. If then you should encounter exile, you can merely change your mind, but if you should incur some fatal punishment you will be unable to repent. Is it not assuredly a dreadful, a disgraceful thing to have one's head cut off and set up in the Forum, if it so happen, for any one, man or woman, to insult? Do not hate me as one foreboding evil to you: I but give you warning; be on your guard. Do not let the fact that you have certain friends among the influential men deceive you. You will get no help against those hostilely disposed from the men who seem to love you; this you probably know by experience. Those who have a passion for domination regard everything else as nothing in comparison with obtaining what they desire: they often give up their dearest friends and closest kin in exchange for their bitterest foes."

[30] On hearing this Cicero grew just a little easier in mind. His exile did not, in fact, last long. He was recalled by Pompey himself, who was most responsible for his expulsion. The reason was this.

Clodius had taken a bribe to deliver Tigranes the younger, who was even then still in confinement at the abode of Lucius Flavius, and had let him go. He outrageously insulted Pompey and Grabinus who had been incensed at the proceeding, inflicted blows and wounds upon their followers, broke to pieces the consul's rods, and dedicated his property. Pompey, enraged by this and particularly because the authority which he himself had restored to the tribunes Clodius had used against him, was willing to recall Cicero, and immediately began through the agency of Ninnius to negotiate for his return.

The latter watched for Clodius to be absent and then introduced in the senate the motion in Cicero's behalf. When another one of the tribunes opposed him, he not only went into the matter at some length, intimating that he should communicate it also to the people, but he furthermore opposed Clodius once for all at every point. From this ensued disputes and many consequent woundings on both sides. But before matters reached that point Clodius felt anxious to get Cato out of the way so that he might the more easily be successful in the business he had in hand, and likewise to take measures against Ptolemy who then held Cyprus, because the latter had failed to ransom him from the pirates. Hence he made the island public property and despatched Cato, very loath, to attend to its administration.

[31] While this went on in the city, Caesar found no hostility in Gaul: everything was absolutely quiet. The state of peace, however, did not continue, but to one war which at first arose against him another was added, so that his greatest wish was fulfilled of making war against and setting right everything at once.

The Helvetians, who abounded in numbers and had not land sufficient for their populous condition, refused to send out a part to form a colony for fear

that separated they might be more subject to plots on the part of the tribes whom they had once injured. They decided all to leave their homes, with the intention of transferring their dwelling-place to some other larger and better country, and burned all their villages and cities so as to prevent any one's regretting the migration. After adding to their numbers some others who wanted the same changes, they started off with Orgetorix as leader, — their intention being to cross the Rhone and settle somewhere near the Alps.

When Caesar severed the bridge and made other preparations to hinder them from crossing, they sent to him to ask a right of way and promised in addition to do no harm to Roman territory.

And though he had the greatest distrust of them and had not the slightest idea of allowing them to proceed, yet, because he was still poorly equipped he answered that he wished to consult his lieutenants about their requests and would give them their reply on a stated day. In fact he offered some little hope of his granting them the passage. Meanwhile he dug ditches and erected walls in commanding positions, so that their road was made impassable.

[32] Accordingly the barbarians waited a little time, and then, when they heard nothing as agreed, they broke camp and proceeded through the Allobroges's country, as they had started. Encountering the obstacles they turned aside into Sequanian territory and passed through their land and that of the Aedui, who gave them a free passage on condition that they do no harm. Not abiding by their covenant, however, they plundered the Aeduans' country. Then the Sequani and Aedui sent to Caesar to ask assistance, and begged him not to let them perish.

Though their statements did not correspond with their deeds, they nevertheless obtained what they requested. Caesar was afraid the Helvetians might turn also against Tolosa and chose to drive them back with the help of the other tribes rather than to fight them after they had effected a reconciliation, — which, it was clear, would otherwise be the issue. For these reasons he fell upon the Helvetians as they were crossing the Arar, annihilated in the very passage the last of the procession and alarmed those that had gone ahead so much by the suddenness and swiftness of the pursuit and the report of their loss, that they desired to come to some agreement guaranteeing land.

[33] They did not, however, reach any terms; for when they were asked for hostages they became offended, not because they were distrusted but because they disliked to give hostages to any one. So they disdained a truce and went forward again.

Caesar's cavalry had galloped far ahead of the infantry and was harassing, incidentally, their rear guards, when they faced about with their horse and conquered it. As a result they were filled with pride, and thinking that he had fled, both because of the defeat and because owing to a lack of provisions he was turning aside to a city that was off the road, they abandoned further progress to pursue after him. Caesar saw this, and fearing their impetus and numbers hurried with his infantry to some higher ground but sent forward his

horsemen to engage the enemy till he should have marshaled his forces in a suitable place. The barbarians routed them a second time and were making a spirited rush up the hill when Caesar with forces drawn up dashed down upon them suddenly from his commanding position and without difficulty repulsed them, while they were scattered. After these had been routed some others who had not joined in the conflict — and owing to their multitude and eagerness not all had been there at once — took the pursuers in the rear and threw them into some confusion, but effected nothing further. For Caesar after assigning the fugitives to the care of his cavalry himself with his heavy-armed force turned his attention to the others. He was victorious and followed to the wagons both bodies, mingled in their flight; and there, though from these vehicles they made a vigorous defence, he vanquished them. After this reverse the barbarians were divided into two parties. The one came to terms with him, went back again to their native land whence they had set out, and there built up again the cities to live in. The other refused to surrender arms, and, with the idea that they could get back again to their primeval dwelling-place, set out for the Rhine. Being few in numbers and laboring under a defeat they were easily annihilated by the allies of the Romans through whose country they were passing.

[34] So went the first war that Caesar fought; but he did not remain quiet after this beginning. Instead, he at the same time satisfied his own desire and did his allies a favor. The Sequani and Aedui had marked the trend of his wishes and had noticed that his deeds corresponded with his hopes: consequently they were willing at one stroke to bestow a benefit upon him and to take vengeance upon the Celts that were their neighbors. The latter had at some time in the past crossed the Rhine, cut off portions of their territory, and, holding hostages of theirs, had rendered them tributaries. And because they happened to be asking what Caesar was yearning for, they easily persuaded him to assist them.

Now Ariovistus was the ruler of those Celts: his dominion had been ratified by action of the Romans and he had been registered among their friends and allies by Caesar himself, in his consulship. In comparison, however, with the glory to be derived from the war and the power which that glory would bring, the Roman general heeded none of these considerations, except in so far as he wished to get some excuse for the quarrel from the barbarian so that it should not be thought that there was any grievance against him at the start. Therefore he sent for him, pretending that he wanted to hold some conversation with him. Ariovistus, instead of obeying, replied: "If Caesar wishes to tell me anything, let him come himself to me. I am not in any way inferior to him, and a man who has need of any one must always go to that person." At this the other showed anger on the ground that he had insulted all the Romans, and he immediately demanded of him the hostages of the allies and forbade him either to set foot on their land or to bring against them any auxiliary force from home. This he did not with the idea of scaring him but because he hoped

to make him furious and by that means to gain a great and fitting pretext for the war. What was expected took place. The barbarian, enraged at the injunctions, made a long and outrageous reply, so that Caesar no longer bandied words with him but straightway, before any one was aware of his intentions, seized on Vesontio, the city of the Sequani, in advance.

[35] Meanwhile reports reached the soldiers. "Ariovistus is making vigorous preparations," was "There are many other Celts, some of whom have already crossed the Rhine undoubtedly to assist him, while others have collected on the very bank of the river to attack us suddenly," was another. Hence they fell into deep dejection. Alarmed by the stature of their enemies, by their numbers, their boldness, and consequent ready threats, they were in such a mood as to feel that they were going to contend not against men, but against uncanny and ferocious beasts. And the talk was that they were undertaking a war which was none of their business and had not been decreed, merely on account of Caesar's personal ambition; and they threatened, also, to leave him in the lurch if he should not change his course. He, when he heard of it, did not make any address to the body of soldiers. It was not a good plan, he thought, to discuss such matters before the multitude, especially when his words would reach the enemy; and he was afraid that they might by refusing obedience somehow raise a tumult and do some harm. Therefore he assembled his lieutenants and the subalterns, before whom he spoke as follows.

[36] "My friends, we must not, I think, deliberate about public interests in the same way as about private. In fact, I do not see that the same mark is set up for each man privately as for all together publicly. For ourselves it is proper both to plan and to perform what looks best and what is safest, but for the public what is most advantageous. In private matters we must be energetic: so only can a good appearance be preserved. Again, a man who is freest from outside entanglements is thought to be also safest. Yet a state, especially if holding sovereignty, would be very rapidly overthrown by such a course. These laws, not drawn up by man but enacted by nature herself, always did exist, do exist, and will exist so long as the race of mortals endures.

"This being so, no one of you at this juncture should have an eye to what is privately pleasant and safe rather than to what is suitable and beneficial for the whole body of Romans. For besides many other considerations that might naturally arise, reflect that we who are so many and of such rank (members of the senate and knights) have come here accompanied by a great mass of soldiers and with money in abundance not to be idle or careless, but for the purpose of managing rightly the affairs of our subjects, preserving in safety the property of those bound by treaty, repelling any who undertake to do them wrong, and increasing our own possessions. If we have not come with this in mind, why in the world did we take the field at all instead of staying at home with some occupation or other and on our private domains? Surely it were

better not to have undertaken the campaign than when assigned to it to throw it over. If, however, some of us are here because compelled by the laws to do what our country ordains, and the greater number voluntarily on account of the honors and rewards that come from wars, how could we either decently or without sin be false at once to the hopes of the men that sent us forth and to our own? Not one person could grow so prosperous as a private citizen as not to be ruined with the commonwealth, if it fell. But if the republic succeeds, it lifts all fortunes and each one individually.

[37] “I am not saying this with reference to you, my comrades and friends who are here: you are not in general ignorant of the facts, that you should need to learn them, nor do you assume an attitude of contempt toward them, that you should require exhortation. I am saying it because I have ascertained that there are some of the soldiers who themselves are talking to the effect that the war we have taken up is none of our business, and are stirring up the rest to sedition. My purpose is that you yourselves may as a result of my words show a more ardent zeal for your country and teach them all they should know. They would be apt to receive greater benefit in hearing it from you privately and often than in learning it but once from my lips. Tell them, then, that it was not by staying at home or shirking campaigns or avoiding wars or pursuing idleness that our ancestors made the State so great, but it was by bringing their minds to venture readily everything that they ought and by working eagerly to the bitter end with bodily labor for everything that pleased them, by regarding their own things as belonging to others but acquiring readily the possessions of their neighbors as their own, while they saw happiness in nothing else than in doing what was required of them and held nothing else to be ill fortune than resting inactive. Accordingly, as a result of this policy those men, who had been at the start very few and possessed at first a city than which none was more diminutive, conquered the Latins, conquered the Sabines, mastered the Etruscans, Volsci, Opici, Leucanians and Samnites, in one word subjugated the whole land bounded by the Alps and repulsed all the alien tribes that came against them.

[38] “The later Romans, likewise, and our own fathers imitated them, not being satisfied with their temporary fortune nor content with what they had inherited, and they regarded sloth as their sure destruction but exertion as their certain safety. They feared that if their treasures remained unaugmented they would be consumed and worn away by age, and were ashamed after receiving so rich a heritage to make no further additions: thus they performed greater and more numerous exploits.

“Why should one name individually Sardinia, Sicily, Macedonia, Illyricum, Greece, Ionic Asia, the Bithynians, Spaniards, Africans? I tell you the Carthaginians would have given them plenty of money to stop sailing against that city, and so would Philip and Perseus to stop making campaigns against them; Antiochus would have given much, his children and descendants would have given much to let them remain on European soil. But

those men in view of the glory and the greatness of the empire did not choose to be ignobly idle or to enjoy their wealth in confidence, nor did the elders of our own generation who even now are still alive.

“They knew well that the same practices as acquire good things serve also to preserve them: hence they made sure many of their original belongings and acquired many new ones. What need is there here to catalogue in detail Crete, Pontus, Cyprus, Asiatic Iberia, Farther Albania, both Syrian nations, each of the two Armenias, the Arabians, the Palestinians? We did not even know their names accurately in the old days: yet now we lord it over some ourselves and others we have bestowed upon various persons, insomuch that we have gained from them income and powers and honors and alliances.

[39] “With such examples before you, then, do not bring shame upon our fathers’ deeds nor let slip that empire which is now the greatest. We cannot deliberate in like manner with the rest of mankind who possess no similar advantages. For them it suffices to live in ease and, with safety guaranteed, to be subservient to others, but for us it is inevitable to toil and march and amid dangers to preserve our existing prosperity. Against this prosperity many are plotting. Every object which surpasses others attracts both emulation and jealousy; and consequently an eternal war is waged by all inferiors against those who excel them in any respect. Hence we either ought not from the first to have increased, thus differing from other men, or else, since we have grown so great and have gained so many possessions, it has been fated that we should either rule these firmly or ourselves perish utterly. For it is impossible for men who have advanced to so great reputation and such vast power to live apart and without danger. Let us therefore obey Fortune and not repel her, seeing that she voluntarily and self-invited belonged to our fathers and now abides with us. This result will not be reached if we cast away our arms and desert the ranks and sit idly at home or wander among our allies. It will be reached if we keep our arms constantly in hand — this is the only way to preserve peace — and practice warlike deeds in the midst of dangers — this is the only way we shall avoid fighting forever — and aid promptly those allies that ask us — in this way we shall get more — and do not indulge those enemies who are always turbulent — in this way no one will any longer care to wrong us.

[40] “For if some god had actually become our sponsor that, even if we should fail to do this, no one would plot against us and we should forever enjoy in safety all that we have won, it would still be disgraceful to say that we ought to keep quiet; yet those who are willing to do nothing that is requisite would have some show of excuse. But, as a fact, it is inevitable that men who possess anything should be plotted against by many, and it behooves us to anticipate their attacks. One class that holds quietly to its own possessions incurs danger even for these, while another without any compulsion employs war to acquire the possessions of others and keeps them. No one who is in terror regarding his own goods longs for those of his

neighbors; for the fear concerning what he already has effectually deters him, from meddling in what does not belong to him. Why then does any man say such a thing as this, — that we must not all the time be gaining something more!

“Do you not recall, partly from hearsay and partly from observation, that none of the Italian races refrained from plotting against our country until our ancestors brought war into their territories, nor did the Epirots until they crossed over into Greece? Philip did not refrain, but intended to make a campaign against Italy until they wrought harm to his land in advance. Nor was there hesitation on the part of Perseus, of Antiochus, of Mithridates, until they were subjected to the same treatment. And why must one mention the remaining cases? For a while the Carthaginians suffered no damage at our hands in Africa, and crossed into Italy, where they overran the country, sacked the towns and almost captured the City itself; but when war began to be made against them they decamped altogether from our land. One might instance this same course of events in regard to the Gauls and Celts. For these people while we remained on this side of the Alps often crossed them and ravaged a large part of Italy. But when we ventured at last to make a campaign beyond the mountains and to surround them with war, and actually detached a portion of their territory, we never again saw any war begun by them in Italy except once. When, accordingly, in the face of these facts anybody says that we ought not to make war he simply says that we ought not to be rich, ought not to rule others, ought not to be free, to be Romans. Just as you would not endure it if a man should say any of these things, but would kill him even as he stood before you, so now also, my comrades, assume a like attitude toward those who utter the other form of statement, judging their disposition not by their words but by their acts.

[41] “Now no one of you would contend, I think, that these are not the right kind of ideas to entertain. If, however, any one thinks that the fact of no investigation having been made about this war before the senate and of no vote having been passed in presence of the assembly is a reason why we need be less eager, let him reflect that of all the wars which have ever fallen to our lot some, to be sure, have come about as a result of preparation and previous announcement, but others equally on the spur of the moment. For this reason all uprisings that are made while we are staying at home and keeping quiet and in which the beginning of the complaints arises from some embassy both need and demand an enquiry into their nature and the introduction of a vote, after which the consuls and praetors must be assigned to them and the forces sent out: but all that come to light after persons have already gone forth and taken the field are no longer to be brought up for decision, but to be taken hold of in advance, before they increase, as matters decreed and ratified by Necessity herself.

“Else for what reason did the people despatch you to this point, for what reason did they send me immediately after my consulship? Why did they, on

the one hand, elect me to hold command for five years at one time, as had never been done before, and on the other hand equip me with four legions, unless they believed that we should certainly be required to fight, besides? Surely it was not that we might be supported in idleness or traveling about to allied cities and subject territory prove a worse bane to them than an enemy. Not a man would make this assertion. It was rather that we might keep our own land, ravage that of the enemy, and accomplish something worthy both of our numbers and our expenditures. Therefore with this understanding both this war and every other whatsoever has been entrusted, has been delivered to us. They acted very sensibly in leaving in our hands the decision as to whom we should fight against, instead of voting for the war themselves. For they would not have been able to understand thoroughly the affairs of our allies, being at such a distance from them, and would not have taken measures against known and prepared enemies at an equally fitting moment. So we, to whom is left at once the decision and the execution of the war, by turning our weapons immediately against foes that are actually in the field shall not be acting in an unauthorized or unjust or incautious manner.

[42] “But suppose some one of you interrupts me with the following objection: ‘What has Ariovistus done so far out of the way as to become an enemy of ours in Place of a friend and ally?’ Let any such man consider the fact that one has to defend one’s self against those who are undertaking to do any wrong not only on the basis of what they do, but also on the basis of what they intend, and has to check their growth in advance, before suffering some hurt, instead of waiting to have some real injury inflicted and then taking vengeance. Now how could he better be proven to be hostile, yes, most hostile toward us than from what he has done? I sent to him in a friendly way to have him come to me and deliberate in my company about present conditions, and he neither came nor promised that he would appear. And yet what did I do that was unfair or unfitting or arrogant in summoning him as a friend and ally? What insolence and wantonness rather, has he omitted in refusing to come? Is it not inevitable that he did this from one of two reasons, either that he suspected he should suffer some harm or that he felt contempt for me? Well, if he had any suspicions he convicted himself most clearly of conspiring against us. For no one that has not endured any injury is suspicious toward us nor does one become so as a result of an upright and guileless mind: no, it is those who have prepared to wrong others that are ready to be suspicious of them because of their own conscience. If, again, nothing of this sort was at the bottom of his action, but he merely looked down on us and insulted us with overweening words, what must we expect him to do when he lays hold of some real project? For when a man has shown such disdain in matters where he was not going to gain anything, how has he not been convicted of entire injustice in intention and in performance?

“Still, he was not satisfied with this, but further bade me come to him, if I wanted anything of him. [43] Do not, I beg of you, regard this addition as slight.

It is really a good indication of his disposition. That he should have refused to visit me a person speaking in his defence might refer to shrinking and sickness and fear. But that he should send a summons to me admits of no excuse, and furthermore proves him to have acted from no other impulse than a readiness to yield me obedience in no point and a determination to impose corresponding demands in every case. With now much insolence and abuse does this very course of his teem! The proconsul of the Romans summons a man and the latter does not come: then one of the Allobroges [*sic*] summons the proconsul of the Romans. Do not think this a small matter and of little moment in that it was I, Caesar, whom he failed to obey, or because he called me Caesar. It was not I that summoned him, but the Roman, the proconsul, the rods, the dignity, the legions: it was not I that was summoned by him, but all of these. Privately I have no dealings with him, but in common we have all spoken and acted, received his retort and suffered.

[44] "Therefore the more that anybody asserts that he has been registered among our friends and among our allies, the more he will prove him to deserve our hatred. Why? Because acts such as not even any of our admittedly bitterest foes has ever ventured to perform have been committed by Ariovistus under the titles of friendship and of alliance; it looks as though he had secured them for the very purpose of having a chance to wrong us with impunity. On the other hand, our former treaty with him was not made with the idea of being insulted and plotted against, nor will it now be we who break the truce. For we sent envoys to him as to one who was still a friend and ally, but he — well you see how he has used us. Accordingly just as when he chose to benefit us and desired to be well treated in return he justly obtained his wishes, so now, too, when he does the opposite of that in everything, with thorough justice would he be held in the position of a foe. Do not be surprised that whereas once upon a time I myself did some little business in his behalf both in the senate and before the people I now speak in this way. So far as I am concerned my sentiments are the same now as then: I am not changing front. And what are they? To honor and reward the good and faithful, but to dishonor and punish the evil and unfaithful. It is he that is changing front, in that he makes an unfair and improper use of the privileges bestowed by us.

[45] "As to its being most just, then, for us to fight against him no one, I think, will have any contention to make. And that he is neither invincible nor even a difficult adversary you can see from the other members of his race whom you have often conquered before and have recently conquered very easily, and you can calculate further from what we learn about the man himself. For in general he has no native force that is united and welded together, and at present, since he is expecting no reverse, he utterly lacks preparation. Again, not one of his countrymen would readily aid him, not even if he makes most tempting offers. Who would choose to be his ally and fight against us before receiving any injury at our hands? Is it not rather likely that all would coöperate with us, instead of with him, — from a desire to

overthrow his principality, which joins theirs, and obtain from us some share of his territory?

“Even if some should band together, they would not prove at all superior to us. For, to omit the rest, — our numbers, our age, our experience, our deeds, — who is there ignorant of the fact that we have armor over all our body alike, whereas they are for the most part naked, and that we employ both plan and arrangement, whereas they, unorganized, rush at everything in a rage. Be sure not to dread their charge nor the greatness of either their bodies or their shout. For voice never yet killed any man, and their bodies, having the same hands as we, can accomplish no more, but will be capable of much greater damage through being both big and naked. And though their charge is tremendous and headlong at first, it is easily exhausted and lasts but a short time. ^[46] To you who have doubtless experienced what I mention and have conquered men like them I make these suggestions so that you need not appear to have been influenced by my talk and may really feel a most steadfast hope of victory as a result of what has already been accomplished. However, a great many of the very Gauls who are like them will be our allies, so that even if these nations did have anything terrible about them, it will belong to us as well as to the others.

“Do you, then, look at matters in this way and instruct the rest. I might as well tell you that even if some of you do hold opposite views, I, for my part, fight just as I am and will never abandon the position to which I was assigned by my country. The tenth legion will be enough for me. I am sure that they, even if there should be need of going through fire, would readily go through it naked. The rest of you be off the quicker the better and cease consuming supplies here to no purpose, recklessly spending the public money, laying claim to other men’s labors, and appropriating the plunder gathered by others.”

^[47] At the end of this speech of Caesar’s not only did no one raise an objection, even if some thought altogether the opposite, but they all approved his words, especially those who were suspected by him of spreading the talk they had heard mentioned. The soldiers they had no difficulty in persuading to yield obedience: some had of their own free will previously decided to do so and the rest were led to that course through emulation of them. He had made an exception of the tenth legion because for some reason he always felt kindly toward it. This was the way the government troops were named, according to the arrangement of the lists; whence those of the present day have similar titles.

When they had been thus united, Caesar, for fear that by delay they might again become indifferent, no longer remained stationary, but immediately set out and pressed forward against Ariovistus. By the suddenness of his approach he so alarmed the latter that he forced him to hold a conference with him regarding peace. They did not come to terms, however, since Caesar wished to impose all commands and Ariovistus refused to obey at all.

War consequently broke forth; and not only were the two chief parties interested on the alert, but so were also all the allies and enemies of both sides in that region; for they felt sure that the battle between them would take place in the shortest possible time and that they themselves should have to serve in every way those who once conquered. The barbarians had the superiority in numbers and in size of bodies, but the Romans in experience and armor. To some extent also Caesar's skill in planning was found to counterbalance the fiery spirit of the Celts and their disorderly, headlong charge. As a result, then, of their being evenly matched, their hopes and consequent zeal were in perfect equipoise.

[48] While they were encamped opposite each other the women on the barbarian side after divination forbade the men to engage in any battle before the new moon. For this reason Ariovistus, who already paid great heed to them whenever they took any such action, did not join in conflict with his entire force immediately, although the Romans were challenging him to come out. Instead, he sent out the cavalry together with the foot soldiers assigned to them and did the other side severe injury. Scornfully elated by his success he undertook to occupy a position beyond the line of their trench. Of this he held possession, while his opponents occupied in turn another. Then, although Caesar kept his army drawn up outside until afternoon, he would not proceed to battle, but when his foe toward evening retired he suddenly came after them and all but captured their palisade. Since his affairs progressed so well he recked little any longer of the women, and on the following day when, according to their daily custom the Romans were marshaled, he led out his forces against them.

[49] The Romans, seeing them advancing from their quarters, did not remain motionless, but made a forward dash which gave their opponents no chance to get carefully ordered, and by attacking with a charge and shout intercepted their javelins in which they had especial confidence. In fact, they got into such close quarters with them that the enemy could not employ their pikes or long swords. So the latter used their bodies in shoving oftener than weapons in fighting and struggled to overturn whoever they encountered and to knock down whoever withstood them. Many deprived even of the use of the short swords fought with hands and mouths instead, dragging down their adversaries, biting, tearing, since they far surpassed them in the size of their bodies. The Romans, however, did not suffer any great bodily injuries in consequence: they closed with their foes and by their armor and skill somehow proved a match. Finally, after carrying on that sort of battle for a very long time, late in the day they prevailed. For their daggers, which were smaller than those of the Gauls and had steel blades, proved very useful to them: moreover, the men themselves, constrained thereto by the very labor, lasted better than the barbarians because the endurance of the latter was not of like quality with the vehemence of their attacks. The Gauls for these reasons were defeated: they were not routed, merely because they were unable,

through confusion and feebleness, to flee, and not because they lacked the wish. Three hundred therefore, more or less, gathered in a body, opposed their shields on all sides of them and standing upright, apart from the press, proved hard to move by reason of their solidity: so that they neither accomplished aught nor suffered aught.

[50] The Romans, when their warriors neither advanced against them nor fled but stood quietly in the same spot as if on towers, likewise laid aside first of all their short spears which could not be used: and as they could not with their swords fight in close combat nor reach the others' heads, where alone the latter, fighting with them exposed, were vulnerable, they threw down their shields and made an attack. Some by a long run and others from close at hand leaped upon the foes in some way and struck them. At this many fell immediately, beneath a single blow, and many did not fall till after they were dead. They were kept upright even when dead by the closeness of their formation. In this way most of the infantry perished either there or near the wagons, according to how far they were pushed out of line toward them, with wives and children. Ariovistus with fifty horsemen straightway left the country and started for the Rhine. He was pursued, but not overtaken, and escaped on a boat ahead of his followers. Of the rest the Romans entered the river to kill some, and others the chief himself took up and brought away.

BOOK 39

The following is contained in the Thirty-ninth of Dio's Rome.

How Caesar fought the Belgae (chapters 1-5).

How Cicero came back from exile (chapters 6-11).

How Ptolemy, expelled from Egypt, sought refuge in Rome (chapters 12-16).

How Cato settled matters in Cyprus (chapters 17-23).

How Pompey and Crassus were chosen consuls (chapters 24-37).

How Pompey's Theatre was dedicated (chapters 38, 39).

How Decimus Brutus, Caesar's lieutenant, conquered the Veneti in a sea-fight (chapters 40-43).

How Publius Crassus, Caesar's lieutenant, fought the Aquitani (chapters 44-46).

How Caesar after fighting with some of the Celtae crossed the Rhine: and about the Rhine (chapters 47-49).

How Caesar crossed over into Britain: and about the island (chapters 50-54).

How Ptolemy was restored to Egypt by Gabinius, and how Gabinius was brought to trial for it (chapters 55-85).

Duration of time, four years, in which there were the following magistrates, here enumerated.

P. Cornelius P.F. Lentulus Spinther, C. Caecilius C.F. Metellus Nepos.
(B.C. 57 = a.u. 697.)

Cn. Cornelius P.F. Lentulus Marcellinus, L. Marcius L.F. Philippus.
(B.C. 56 = a.u. 698.)

Cn. Pompeius Cn. F. Magnus (II), M. Licinius P.F. Crassus (II). (B.C. 55 = a.u. 699.)

L. Domitius Cn. F. Ahenobarbus, Appius Claudius Appi F. Pulcher. (B.C. 54 = a.u. 700.)

BOOK 39, BOISSEVAIN.

[B.C. 57 (*a.u.* 697)]

[1] Such was the end of these wars. After this, when the winter had passed in which Cornelius Spinther and Metellus Nepos began their consulship, a third war burst upon them. The Belgae, dwelling near the Rhine with many mingled tribes and extending to the ocean opposite Britain, had been during the previous epoch at peace with the Romans so far as concerned a part of their nation, while the rest paid no heed to them: but now, noting Caesar's prosperity and fearing that he might advance against them, they made a change of front and by common agreement (except on the part of the Remi) took counsel against the Romans and conspired, making Galba their head.

Caesar learned this from the Remi and was on his guard against them: subsequently he encamped at the river Axona, collected his soldiers all together and exercised them. He did not venture to come into close quarters with the enemy, though they were overrunning Roman territory, until they felt contempt for him, thinking him afraid, and undertook to destroy the bridge and put a stop to the conveyance of grain, which the allies brought across it. He was made aware beforehand by deserters that this was to be done, and by night sent against the foe the light-armed troops and the cavalry. [2] So they, unexpectedly assaulting the barbarians, killed many of them, so that the following night they all withdrew thence to their own land, especially since the Aeduans were reported to have invaded it. Caesar perceived what was going on, but through ignorance of the country did not dare to pursue them immediately. At daybreak, however, he took the cavalry, bade the infantry follow behind, and came up with the fugitives. They proceeded to give battle, for he was thought to have come with his cavalry alone, and he delayed them until the infantry arrived. In this way he surrounded them with his whole force, cut down the majority, and made terms with the survivors. Later he brought into allegiance some of the peoples without fighting and some by war.

[3] The Nervii voluntarily retired before him from their plain country, — for they were not a match for his forces, — but betook themselves into the wooded parts of the mountains, and then, when they saw him settled in camp, they came charging down unexpectedly. Opposite Caesar himself they soon turned to flight, but got the better of the major part of his army, capturing the camp without striking a blow. When Caesar became aware of this, — he had advanced a little way in pursuit of those he had routed, — he turned back and came upon them engaged in pillage within the fortification, where he ensnared and slaughtered them. After accomplishing this he found no difficulty in subduing the rest of the Nervii.

[4] Meanwhile the Aduatuci, near neighbors of theirs, sprung from the Cimbri and possessing their spirit, started out as if to assist them but were overpowered before they effected anything, whereupon they withdrew, and

leaving all their other sites established themselves in one fort, the strongest. Caesar assaulted it but was for many days repulsed, until he turned to the making of engines. Then for a time they gazed at the Romans cutting wood and constructing the machines and through their inexperience laughed at what was taking place. But when the things were finished and heavy-armed soldiers upon them approached from all sides, they were panic-stricken because never before had they seen such an affair; so they sent the heralds for peace, supplied the soldiers with provisions, and threw some of their weapons from the wall. When, however, they saw the machines stripped of men again, and noticed the latter, as after a victory, following their own hearts' desires, they changed their minds and recovering courage made a sally by night to cut them down unawares. But Caesar was carefully managing everything every moment, and when they fell on the outposts from every side they were beaten back. Not one of the survivors could any longer obtain pardon, and they were all sold.

[5] When these had been subjugated and others, too, some by him and many by his lieutenants, winter set in and he retired to winter-quarters. The Romans at home heard of this and were astonished that he had seized so many nations, whose names they had known but imperfectly before, and voted a sacrifice of fifteen days for his deeds, — something that had never before occurred.

During the same period Servius Galba, acting as his lieutenant, had, while the season lasted and the army remained a unit, brought to terms the Varagri, dwelling beside Lake Lemannus and beside the Allobroges as far as the Alps: some he had mastered by force and others by capitulation, so that he was even preparing to winter where he was. When, however, the majority of the soldiers had departed, some on furloughs because they were not far from Italy, and others elsewhere to their own possessions, the natives took advantage of this fact and unexpectedly attacked him. Then he was led by despair to a kind of frenzy and suddenly dashing out of the winter camp astounded those attacking him by the strangeness of the move and passing through them gained the heights. On reaching safety he fought them off and later enslaved them: he did not winter there, however, but transferred his quarters to the Allobroges.

[6] These were the events in Gaul. Pompey meanwhile had brought about a vote for the recall of Cicero. The man that he had expelled through the agency of Clodius he now brought back to help him against that very person. So prone is human nature to change and in such wise do persons select in turn the very opposite things as likely to cause them benefit or injury. His helpers among the praetors and tribunes were Titus Annius Milo and the rest, who brought the proposition before the populace. Spintner the consul was zealous for Cicero partly as a favor to Pompey and partly to damage Clodius, by reason of a private enmity which had led him as judge to condemn the man for incest: Clodius was supported by various men in public office, by Appius Claudius, his brother, who was praetor, and by Nepos the consul who hated

Cicero for some reason of his own. [7] These parties, accordingly, with the consuls as leaders made more noise than before, and so did the rest in the city, championing one side or the other. Many disorderly proceedings were the result, chiefest of which was that during the very casting of the vote on the subject Clodius, knowing that the masses would be for Cicero, took the gladiators that his brother held in readiness for the funeral games in honor of Marcus his relative, leaped into the assemblage, wounded many and killed many more. Consequently no decision was reached and the perpetrator, as the companion of armed champions, was dreaded in general by all: he then stood for the aedileship, with a view to escaping the penalty for his violence by being elected. Milo had indicted him but did not succeed in bringing him to court, for the quaestors, by whom the allotment of jurors had to be made, had not been elected, and Nepos forbade the praetor to allow any case before their allotment. Now it was proper for the aediles to be chosen before the quaestors, and this proved the principal cause of delay. [8] Much disturbance was created by the contest over this very point, and at last Milo himself collected some gladiators and others who desired the same objects as he did and kept continually coming to blows with Clodius, so that fatal conflicts took place throughout practically the entire city. Nepos now, inspired with fear by his colleague and by Pompey and by the other prominent men, changed his attitude, and as the senate decreed, on motion of Spinther, that Cicero should be restored, and the populace on the motion of both consuls voted it, Clodius, to be sure, spoke against it to them, but he had Milo as an opponent so that he could commit no violence, and Pompey, among others, spoke in favor of the enactment, so that that party proved much the stronger.

[9] Cicero accordingly came home from exile and expressed his gratitude to both senate and people, — the consuls affording him an opportunity, — in their respective assemblies. He laid aside his hatred of Pompey for his banishment, became reconciled with him, and immediately repaid his kindness. A sore famine had arisen in the city and the entire populace rushed into the theatre (the kind of theatre that they were then still using for public gatherings) and from there to the Capitol where the senators were in session, threatening first to slay them with their own hands and later to burn them alive, temple and all. It was then that Cicero persuaded them to elect Pompey as commissioner of the grain supply and to give him consequently the office of proconsul for five years both within Italy and without. So he now, as previously in the case of the pirates, was to hold sway over the entire world at that time under Roman power.

[10] Caesar and Crassus really disliked Cicero, but paid some attention to him when they perceived that he would return in any case, Caesar even while absent displaying some good-will toward him; they received, however, no thanks for their pains. Cicero knew that they had not acted according to their real inclination and regarded them as having been most to blame for his banishment. And though he was not quite bold enough to oppose them openly,

since he had recently tasted the fruits of unrestrained free speech, nevertheless he composed secretly a little book and inscribed upon it that it contained a kind of defence of his policy. In it he heaped together masses of denunciation against them and others, which led him to such fear of these statements getting out in his lifetime that he sealed up the volume and delivered it to his son with the injunction not to read nor to publish what was written, until his father should have departed from life.

[11] Cicero, accordingly, took root anew and got back his property and likewise the foundation of his home, although the latter had been given up to Liberty and Clodius both called the gods to witness and interposed religious scruples against its desecration. But Cicero found a flaw in the enactment of the *lex curiata* by the provisions of which his rival had been taken from the nobles into the rank of the people, on the ground that it had not been proposed within the limit of days set by ancestral custom. Thus he tried to make null and void the entire tribuneship of Clodius (in which also the decree regarding his house had been passed), saying that inasmuch as the transference of the latter to the common people had taken place unlawfully, it was not possible for any one of his acts while in office to be considered binding. By this means he persuaded the pontifices to give back to him the foundation as properly his and unconsecrated. So he obtained that and money for the construction of his house, and whatever else of his property had been damaged.

[12] After this there was further trouble on account of King Ptolemy. He had spent much money upon some of the Romans, some of his own income and some borrowed, in order to strengthen his kingdom and receive the name of friend and ally. He was collecting this sum forcibly from the Egyptians and was irritated at the difficulty he encountered as well as at their bidding him demand back Cyprus from the Romans or else renounce his friendship for the foreigners, — neither of which demands suited his wishes. Since he could neither persuade them to be quiet nor yet force them, as he had no foreign troops, he made his escape from Egypt, went to Rome, and accused them of having expelled him from his kingdom: he obtained the right to be restored by Spinther, to whom Cilicia had been entrusted.

[13] While this was going on, the people of Alexandria, who for a while did not know that he had departed for Italy or supposed he was dead, placed Berenice his daughter on the throne in his place. Then, learning the truth, they sent a hundred men to Rome to defend themselves against his complaints and to bring counter charges of all the wrongs they had suffered. He heard of it in advance (he was still in Rome) and lay in wait for the envoys, by sending various men in different directions, before their arrival. The majority of them perished on the road, and of the survivors he slew some in the city itself and others he either terrified by what had happened or by administering bribes persuaded them neither to touch upon the matters regarding which they had been sent, nor to make any mention at all of those who had been killed. [14] The affair, however, became so noised abroad that even the senate was

mightily displeased, being urged on to action chiefly by Marcus Favonius, who assigned two causes for his indignation, — first, that many envoys sent by allies had perished by violence, and second, that numerous Romans also on this occasion had taken bribes. So they summoned Dio, the presiding officer of the envoys (for he had survived) in order to learn the truth from him. But this time, too, Ptolemy gained such a victory by money that neither did Dio enter the assemblage, nor was any mention made of the murder of the dead men, so long as Ptolemy was on the ground. Furthermore, when Dio was subsequently treacherously slain, he paid no penalty for that deed, either. This was chiefly due to the fact that Pompey had entertained him in his house and continued to render him powerful assistance. Of the other abuses that sprang from this source many were accused at a later time, but few convicted. For bribery was rampant and each coöperated with the other because of his own fear.

[15] While mortals were being influenced by money to behave themselves so, Heaven at the very beginning of the next year by striking with a thunderbolt the statue of Jupiter erected on the Alban hill, delayed the return of Ptolemy some little time. For when they had recourse to the Sibylline verses they found written in them this very passage: “If the king of Egypt come requesting some aid, refuse him not friendship altogether, nor yet succor him with any great force: otherwise, you will have both toils and dangers.” Thereupon, amazed at the coincidence between the verses and the events of the time, they were persuaded by Gaius Cato the tribune to rescind all their decisions in the case. This was the way the oracle was given, and it was made public by Cato (for it was forbidden to announce to the populace any of the Sibylline statements unless the senate voted it). Yet as soon as the sense of the verses, as usually happens, began to be talked about, he was afraid that it might be concealed, led the priests before the populace and there compelled them to utter the oracle before the senate had given them any instructions. The more scruples they had against doing so, the more insistent was the multitude.

[16] Cato’s wish prevailed; it was written in the Latin tongue and proclaimed. After this they gave their opinions: some were for assigning the restoration of Ptolemy to Spinther without an army and others urged that Pompey with two lictors should escort him home (Ptolemy, on learning of the oracle, had preferred this latter request and his letter was read in public by Aulus Plautius, the tribune). The senators then, fearing that Pompey would by this means obtain still greater power, opposed it, using the matter of the grain as an excuse.

All this happened in the consulship of Lucius Philippus and Gnaeus Marcellinus. Ptolemy, when he heard of it, refused the favor of restoration, went to Ephesus, and passed his time in the temple of the goddess.

[17] The year before a peculiar incident, which still has some bearing upon history, had taken place. It was this. The law expressly forbids any two persons of the same clan to hold the same priesthood at the same time. Now

Spinther the consul was anxious to place his son Cornelius Spinther among the augurs, and when Faustus, the son of Sulla, of the Cornelian gens had been enrolled before him, took his son out of the clan and put him in that of Manlius Torquatus, and thus though the letter of the law was preserved, its spirit was broken.

[B.C. 56 (*a.u.* 698)]

[18] Clodius had now come to the office of aedile, in the year of Philippus and Marcellinus; being anxious to avoid the lawsuit he had got himself elected by a political combination. He immediately instituted proceedings against Milo for procuring gladiators: what he was doing himself and was likely to be brought to trial for he brought as a charge against his rival. He did this not really in the expectation of convicting Milo, — for the latter had many strong champions, among them Cicero and Pompey, — but in order that under this pretext he might carry on a campaign against Milo and harass his helpers. The following was one of his numerous devices. [19] He had instructed his clique that whenever he should ask them in the assemblies: “Who was it that did or said so-and-so?” they should all cry out: “Pompey!” Then on several occasions he would suddenly ask about everything that could be taken amiss in Pompey, either in physical peculiarities or any other respect, taking up various small topics, one at a time, as if he were not speaking of him particularly. Thereupon, as usually happens in such cases, some would start off and others join in the refrain, saying “Pompey!” and there was considerable jeering. The man attacked could not control himself and keep quiet nor would he stoop to a trick like Clodius’s, so that he grew exceedingly angry, yet could not stir: thus nominally Milo was condemned, but in reality Pompey was convicted without even making a defence. For Clodius went one step farther and would not allow the *lex curiata* to be brought up for discussion; and until that was enacted no other serious business could be transacted in the commonwealth or any suit introduced.

[20] For a season Milo served as a shield for their abuses and assassinations, but about this time some portents occurred. In Albanum a small temple of Juno, set on a kind of table facing the east, was turned around to the west; a flash of light starting from the south shot across to the north; a wolf entered the city; an earthquake occurred; some of the citizens were killed by a thunderbolt; in Latin territory a subterranean tumult was distinctly heard: and the soothsayers, being anxious to produce a remedy, said that some spirit was angry with them because of some temples or sites not inhabited for holy purposes. Then Clodius substituted Cicero for Milo and attacked him vigorously in speeches because he had built upon the foundation of the house dedicated to Liberty; and once he went to it, with the apparent intention of razing it anew to the ground, though he did not do so, being prevented by Milo. [21] Cicero was angry at such treatment and kept making complaints, and finally with Milo and some tribunes as attendants he ascended the Capitol and took down the tablets set up by Clodius to commemorate his exile. This time

Clodius came up with his brother Gaius, a praetor, and took them away from him, but later he watched for a time when Clodius was out of town, ascended the Capitol again, took them and carried them home. After this occurrence no quarter was shown on either side, but they abused and slandered each other as much as they could, without refraining from the basest means. One declared that the tribuneship of Clodius had been contrary to law and that therefore his deeds in office had no authority, and the other that Cicero's exile had been justly decreed and his restoration unlawfully voted.

[22] While they were contending, and Clodius was getting much the worst of it, Marcus Cato came upon the scene and made them equal. He had a grudge against Cicero and was likewise afraid that all his acts in Cyprus would be annulled, because he had been sent out under Clodius as tribune; hence he readily took sides with the latter. He was very proud of his deeds and anxious above all things that they should be confirmed. For Ptolemy, who at that time was master of the island, when he learned of the vote that had been passed, and neither dared to rise against the Romans nor could endure to live, deprived of that province, had taken his life by drinking poison. Then the Cypriots, without reluctance, accepted Cato, expecting to be friends and allies of the Romans instead of slaves. It was not, however, of this that Cato made his chief boast; but because he had administered everything in the best possible manner, had collected slaves and large amounts of money from the royal treasury, yet had met with no reproach but had given account of everything unchallenged, — it was for this that he laid claim to valor no less than if he had conquered in some war. So many persons accepted bribes that he thought it more unusual for a man to despise money than to conquer the enemy.

[23] So at that time Cato for the reasons specified had some hope of a proper triumph, and the consuls in the senate proposed that a praetorship be given him, although by law it could not yet be his. He was not appointed (for he spoke against the measure himself), but obtained even greater renown from it. Clodius undertook to name the servants brought from Cyprus Clodians, because he himself had sent Cato there, but failed because the latter opposed it. So they received the title of Cyprians, although some of them wanted to be called Porcians; but Cato prevented this, too. Clodius took his opposition extremely ill and tried to pick flaws in his administration: he demanded accounts for the transactions, not because he could prove him guilty of any wrongdoing, but because nearly all of the documents had been destroyed by shipwreck and he might gain some prestige by following this line. Caesar, also, although not present, was aiding Clodius at this time, and according to some sent him in letters the accusations brought against Cato. One of their attacks upon Cato consisted in the charge that he himself had persuaded the consuls (so they affirmed) to propose a praetorship for him, and that he had then voluntarily put it by, in order not to appear to have missed it when he wanted it.

[24] So they kept up the conflict, and Pompey, too, encountered some trouble in the distribution of the grain. Many slaves had been freed in anticipation of the event, of whom he wished to take a census in order that the grain delivery might take place with some decency and order. This, to be sure, he managed fairly easily through his own wisdom and because of the large supply of grain: but in seeking the consulship he found annoyances which likewise entailed a measure of censure for him. Clodius's behavior irritated him, but even more the fact that he was treated slightly by the rest, whose superior he was: and he felt injured both on account of his reputation and on account of the hopes by reason of which while still a private citizen he had thought to be honored beyond them all. Sometimes he could bring himself to despise all this. At first when people began to speak ill of him he was annoyed, but after a time, when he came to consider carefully his own excellence and their baseness, he paid no further attention to them. [25] The fact, however, that Caesar's influence had grown and the populace admired his achievements so much as to despatch ten men from the senate in recognition of the apparently absolute subjugation of the Gauls and that the people were so slated by consequent hopes as to vote him large sums of money was a thorn in Pompey's side. He attempted to persuade the consuls not to read Caesar's letters but conceal the facts for a very long time until the glory of his deeds should of its own motion spread itself abroad, and further to send some one to relieve him even before the specified date. So jealous was he that he proceeded to disparage and abrogate all that he himself had effected with Caesar's aid: he was displeased at the great and general praise bestowed upon the latter (whereby his own exploits were being over-shadowed) and reproached the populace for paying little heed to himself and going frantic over Caesar. Especially was he vexed to see that they remembered former achievements just so long as nothing occurred to divert them, that they turned with greatest readiness to each new event, even if it were inferior to something previous because they became tired of the usual and liked the novel, and that they overthrew all established glory by reason of envy, but helped to build up any new power by reason of their hopes. [26] This was what caused his displeasure; and as he could not effect anything through the consuls and saw that Caesar had passed beyond the need of keeping faith with him, he regarded the situation as grave. He held that there were two things that destroy friendship, — fear and envy, — and that these can only arise from rival glory and strength. As long as persons possess these last in equal shares, their friendship is firm, but when one or the other excels in the least degree, then the inferior party is jealous and hates the superior while the stronger despises and abuses the weaker: so, whichever way you take it, the one is vexed by his inferiority, the other is elated by his advantage, and they come to strife and war in place of their former friendship. On the basis of some such calculations Pompey began to arm himself against Caesar. And because he thought he

could not easily alone overthrow him, he cultivated Crassus even more than before, that he might act with him.

[27] When they had compared notes, they decided that it would be really impossible for them to accomplish anything as private citizens, but if they should get the consulship and divide the authority between them for rivalry against him, they would both be a match for him and quickly overcome him, being two against one. So they arranged an entire plan of dissimulation, to wit, that if any of their companions should urge them to the office, they should say they no longer cared to obtain the consulship: after this they put forth their best efforts to get it, in spite of the fact that they had formerly been friends with some of the other candidates. When they began to canvass for the office outside of the times directed by law and others made it plain that they would not allow them to be appointed (among these were the consuls themselves, for Marcellinus had some little influence), they brought it about that the elections should not be held that year (and to this end they employed Gaius Cato and some others), in order that an interrex might be chosen and they seek and secure the place in accordance with the laws. [28] Now this was done under some other pretext (as it was said, by reason of engagements made at a different time), but in reality by their own influence, for they openly showed dislike of those who opposed them. The senate, however, was violently enraged, and once while they were wrangling left the room. That was the end of the proceedings for the time being, and again when the same disturbance happened the senators voted to change their dress, as if for some calamity, and they paid no attention to Cato, who, because he gained nothing by speaking against the proposed step, rushed out of the gathering and called in any one he met in the market-place, in order that no decision might be reached; for, if any person not a senator were within, they might not give their vote. But other tribunes were quick and prevented those invited from entering, and so this decree was passed, and it was also proposed that the senators should not be spectators at the festival then going on. When Cato opposed this measure, too, they rushed out in a body, and after changing their dress returned, hoping thus to frighten him. When even so he would not moderate his behavior, they all together proceeded to the Forum and brought to a state of sincere sorrow the multitude, who had come running to that place; Marcellinus was the speaker, and he lamented the present occurrences, while the rest listening wept and groaned, so that no one had a word to say against him. After doing this the senators entered the senate-house immediately, intending to vent their wrath upon those who were responsible.[29] But Clodius had meantime jumped to the side of Pompey and espoused his cause again in the hope that if he should help him in securing the prize now at stake, he would make him entirely his friend. So he came before the populace in his ordinary garb, without making any change as the decree required, and addressed a speech to them against Marcellinus and the rest. As great indignation at this act was shown by the senators, he abandoned the people in the midst of his speech and hastened to

the senate, where he came near meeting his end. For the senate confronted him and prevented his going in, while at that moment he was surrounded by the knights and would have been torn limb from limb, had he not raised an outcry, calling upon the people for aid; whereupon many ran to the scene bringing fire and threatening to burn his oppressors along with the senate-house, if they should do him any harm.

[30] He, then, came within an ace of being killed. But Pompey, not alarmed at all by this, on one occasion rushed into the senatorial assembly, thwarting them as they were just about to vote, and prevented the measure from being carried. When Marcellinus after that publicly asked him whether he really desired to become consul, he in hope that the other might give ground admitted that he was a candidate, but said that he did not want the office so far as the just men were concerned, but that on account of the seditious he was exerting every influence to that end. So Pompey came out openly as his rival, and Crassus on being interrogated gave the same implication himself, not admitting the fact, to be sure, but not denying it, either: instead, he took, as usual, a middle course and said that he would do whatever was advantageous to the republic. In view of this situation Marcellinus and many others were terrified, as they observed their equipment and opposing array, and would no longer frequent the senate-house.

As the number required by custom for passing any vote about the elections did not assemble, it was impossible to have any business at all about them brought forward, and the year thus passed away. However, the senators did not change their attire nor attend the festivals nor celebrate the feast of Jupiter on the Capitol nor go out to Albanum for the *Feriae Latinae*, held there for the second time by reason of something not rightly done. Instead, like persons in bondage and not possessing authority to choose officials or conduct any other public business they spent the rest of the year.

[B.C. 55 (*a.u.* 699)]

[31] And after this Crassus and Pompey were appointed consuls by the interrex, as no one else of the earlier canvassers opposed them. Lucius Domitius, who contested the office up to the very last day of the year, started out from home for the assembly of the people just after dark, but when the boy that carried the torch in front of him was stabbed, he was frightened and went no farther. Hence, as no one else contested their election, and furthermore because of the action of Publius Crassus, who was a son of Marcus and then lieutenant under Caesar, in bringing soldiers to Rome for this very purpose, they were easily chosen.

[32] When they had thus assumed the leadership of the State, they had the other offices given to such as were well disposed toward them and prevented Marcus Cato from being appointed praetor. They suspected that he would not submit to their régime and were unwilling to add any legal power to his outspoken opposition. The nomination of the praetors was made in peace, for Cato did not see fit to offer any violence: in the matter of the curule aediles,

however, assassinations took place, so that Pompey was implicated in much bloodshed. The other officials, too, — those elected by the people, — they appointed to please themselves (for they controlled the elections), and they made friends with the other aediles and most of the tribunes. Two tribunes, Gaius Ateius Capito and Publius Aquilius Gallus, would not come to terms with them.

[33] Accordingly, when the offices had been settled, they possessed the object of their strivings. They themselves made no mention of these matters before either the senate or the populace, but gravely pretended that they wanted nothing further. Gaius Trebonius, however, a tribune, presented a measure that to the one Syria and its environs be given to rule over for five years, and to the other the Hispaniae, where there had recently been an uprising, for a similar period; also that they should employ as many soldiers as they might wish, both citizens and allies, and should make peace and war with whomsoever they pleased. Many, and especially the friends of Caesar, took offence at this, because those men after obtaining provinces to govern were likely to keep Caesar from holding his position for a much longer time; and therefore some prepared to speak against the measure. Then the consuls fearing that they might fail utterly of the projects they had in hand won over all such supporters on the condition of extending his leadership also for three years more (to follow the actual facts). However, they submitted no part of his case to the populace until their own business had been ratified. And the adherents of Caesar anticipated in this way, kept quiet, and the greater part of the rest, in bondage to fear and satisfied if even so they should save their lives, remained still. [34] On the other hand, Cato and Favonius resisted all their schemes, having the two tribunes and others to help them, since in fighting few against many their frankness was of no avail. Favonius, who obtained from Trebonius only one hour for his speech in opposition, used it up in crying out at random about the distressing condition of the times. Cato received the right of employing two hours in his harangue and turned his efforts to censuring the immediate proposition and the whole situation, as he was wont, and so he exhausted his time before he had touched upon any of the revolutionary aspects of the matter. This was done not because he did not have the privilege of speaking also on that topic, but in order that he might be silenced by Trebonius while still appearing to have something more to say and thus obtain this additional grievance to bring up against him. For he well understood that had he employed the entire day, he was still sure to be unable to persuade them to vote anything that he wished. Hence, when bidden to be silent he did not stop immediately, but had to be pushed and dragged from the assemblage, whereupon he came back, and at last though consigned to prison he did not moderate his behavior.

[35] That day was so spent that the tribunes were unable to speak any word at all. For in the meetings of the people where a measure was also under discussion, the right to speak was given to all the private citizens before those

that held the offices, to the end, as it seemed, that none of them captivated beforehand by the opinion of a superior should dissimulate the thoughts that he had in mind, but should say what he thought with entire frankness. Hence Gallus, being afraid that some one might on the next day keep him from the Forum or do something worse still, went into the place of assembly directly after nightfall and passed the night there for the sake of the safety that the place afforded, and for the purpose of leaving there at dawn to join the populace outside. Trebonius, by shutting all the doors of the senate-house, caused this man to have spent the night and most of the day there in vain. Others occupied the site of the gathering by night and barred out Ateius, Cato, Favonius and the remainder of their followers. When Favonius and Ninnius got in somehow unobserved and Cato and Ateius climbed upon the shoulders of some of those standing around and being lifted up by them declared an omen directing the meeting to break up, the attendants of the tribunes drove them both out, wounded the rest who were with them and actually killed a few.

[36] After the law was in this way ratified and the people were already departing from the assembly Ateius took Gallus covered with blood (he had been struck in being forced out of the gathering), led him into the presence of those still on the spot, exhibited him to them, and by making all the comments that were natural, stirred them mightily. The consuls were made aware of this and came quickly, having, indeed, been waiting somewhere near to see what was going on. As they had a considerable body-guard they intimidated the men, immediately called a meeting and passed the additional measures relating to Caesar. The same persons tried to resist these, too, but were unable to accomplish anything.

[37] The consuls had this enactment passed, and next they laid heavier penalties upon such as bribed any persons, as if they themselves were any the less guilty because they had secured their office not by money but by force. They had even undertaken to curtail personal expenditures, which had gone to great lengths, although they themselves indulged in every kind of luxury and delicacy; they were prevented, however, by this very business of lawmaking. For Hortensius, one of the men fondest of expensive living, by reviewing the great size of the city and adverting with commendation to the costliness of their homes and their magnanimity toward others, persuaded them to give up their intention, for he could use their mode of life to champion his words. They respected his contention, and furthermore, because they shrank from appearing to debar others through any envy from rights that they themselves enjoyed, they voluntarily withdrew their motion.

[38] These were the same days in which Pompey dedicated the theatre wherein we take pride even at the present time. In it he provided an entertainment consisting of music and gymnastic contests, and in the hippodrome a horse-race and the slaughter of many beasts of all kinds. Five hundred lions were used up in five days, and eighteen elephants fought against

men in heavy armor. Some of these beasts were killed immediately and others much later. For some of them, contrary to Pompey's wish, were pitied by the people when they were wounded and ceased fighting and walked about with their trunks raised toward heaven. They lamented so bitterly as to give rise to the report that they did so not by accident, but were crying out upon the oaths in which they trusted when crossing over from Libya, and were calling upon Heaven to avenge them. For it is said that they would not set foot upon the ships before they received a pledge under oath from their leaders that they should verily suffer no harm: whether this is really so or otherwise, I know not. For some in time past have further declared that in addition to understanding the language of their native country they also comprehend what is going on in the sky, so that at the time of new moon, before that luminary comes within the gaze of men, they reach running water and there make a kind of purification of themselves. These are some of the things I have heard; I have heard also that this theatre was not erected by Pompey, but by one Demetrius, a freedman of his, with the money he had gained while making campaigns with the general. Wherefore he yielded the name of the structure most justly to his master, that he might not be ill spoken of for having, as his freedman, gathered money enough to suffice for so huge an expenditure.

[39] No doubt in this Pompey afforded the populace no little delight, but in making with Crassus the levies, according to their votes, he displeased them exceedingly. Then the majority repented of their course and praised Cato and the rest. So the latter group both on his account and because a certain lawsuit, nominally against their lieutenants but really against them and with reference to their acts had been instituted by some of the tribunes, dared indeed to commit no act of violence, but, together with the malcontents in the senate, changed their clothing as if for a calamity. They immediately, however, repented in regard to this costume and without waiting for any excuse went back to their accustomed dress. Now when the tribunes endeavored to abolish the levies and rescind the vote for the proposed campaigns, Pompey, for his part, showed no anger. He had sent out his lieutenants without delay and he himself was glad to remain where he was on the plea that he was prevented from going abroad, especially as he ought to be in Rome on account of his duties in the care of the grain; and his plan in that case was to let his officers subdue the Hispaniae and himself manage the affairs at Rome and in the rest of Italy. Crassus, however, since neither of these considerations operated in his case, turned to force of arms. The tribunes, then, seeing that their boldness, being unarmed, was too weak to hinder any of his undertakings, in general kept silence. They announced many unusual portents, however, that applied to him, as if they could avoid including the public in their curse: at one time as he was offering on the Capitol the customary prayers for his campaign they spread a report of omens and wonders, and again when he was setting out they called down many terrible curses upon him. Ateius even attempted to cast him into prison, but other tribunes resisted, and there was a conflict among them

and a delay, in the midst of which Crassus left the pomerium.

[B.C. 56 (*a.u.* 698)]

[40] Now he, whether by chance or as a result of the curses, before long met with defeat. As for Caesar, he, in the consulship of Marcellinus and Philippus, had made an expedition against the Veneti, who live near the ocean. They had seized some Roman soldiers sent out for grain and afterward detained the envoys who came to see about them, to the end that in exchange they might get back their own hostages. Caesar, instead of giving these back, sent out different bodies of troops in various directions, some to waste the possessions of those who had joined the revolt and thus to prevent the two bands from aiding each other, and others to guard the possessions of those that were under treaty for fear they too might cause some disturbance: he himself meanwhile went straight against the Veneti. He constructed in the interior boats, which he heard were of advantage for the reflux tide of the ocean, and conveyed them down the river Liger, but in so doing used up almost the entire season to no purpose. Their cities, established in strong positions, were inaccessible, and the ocean surging around practically all of them rendered an infantry attack out of the question, and a naval attack equally so in the midst of the ebb and flow of the tide. Consequently Caesar was in despair until Decimus Brutus came to him with swift ships from the Mediterranean. And he was inclined to think he would be unable to accomplish anything with those either, but the barbarians through contempt for the smallness and weakness of the cutters incurred defeat. [41] For these boats, with a view to rapid progress, had been built rather light in the prevailing style of naval architecture among us, whereas those of the barbarians, because in the constant reflux of the ocean they often needed to rest on dry ground and to hold out against the succession of ebb and flow, surpassed them very much in both size and stoutness. For these reasons the barbarians, never having had any experience with such a fleet, in view of the appearance of the ships believed their effectiveness of no importance; and as soon as they were lying at anchor they set sail against them, thinking to sink them in a very short time by means of their boathooks. They were carried by an extremely powerful wind, for their sails were of leather and so received greedily the full force of the wind. [42] Now Brutus for a time paid good heed to that fact and did not dare to sail out against them because of the number and size of the ships and the sweep of the wind and their impetus, but prepared to repel their attack near the land and to abandon the boats altogether. When, however, the wind suddenly fell, the waves were stilled, and the boats could no longer be propelled even with oars but because of their great heaviness stopped almost motionless, then he took courage and sailed to meet them. Falling upon them he wrought them many serious injuries with impunity, using both flank and smashing tactics, now ramming one of them, now backing water, in whatever way and as much as he liked, sometimes with many vessels against one and again with equal numbers opposed, occasionally even approaching safely with few against many. At

whatever point he was superior to them, there he stuck to them closely, and some he sank by ripping them open, and others he boarded from all sides with his mariners for a hand to hand conflict, thus slaughtering many. If he found himself inferior at any place, he very easily retired, so that the advantage rested with him in any case. [43] The barbarians did not use archery and had not provided themselves beforehand with stones, not expecting to have any need of them. Hence, if any one came into close quarters with them, they fought him off after a fashion, but with those that stood a little distance from them they knew not how to cope. So they were wounded and killed, some being unable to repel any one, and some of the boats were rammed and torn open, while others were set on fire and burned; still others were drawn off in tow, as if empty of men. The rest of the crews seeing this waited no longer: some killed themselves to avoid being captured alive and others leaped into the sea with the idea that from there they might board the hostile ships, or in any event not perish at the hands of the Romans. In earnestness and daring they were no whit inferior, but grieved terribly at being betrayed by the stationary qualities of their vessels. The Romans, to make sure that the wind when it sprang up again should not move the ships, applied from a distance long poles fitted with knives, by means of which they cut the ropes and split the sails. Through the circumstance that the enemy were compelled to fight a kind of land battle in their boats against a foe conducting a naval battle, great numbers perished there and all the survivors were captured. Of these Caesar slew the most prominent and sold the rest.

[44] Next he made a campaign against the Morini and Menapii, their neighbors, expecting to terrify them by what he had already accomplished and capture them easily. He failed, however, to subdue any of them. They had no cities, living only in huts, and they conveyed their most valued treasures to the ruggedest parts of the mountains, so that they did the attacking parties of the Romans much more harm than they themselves suffered. Caesar attempted by cutting down the forests to make his way into the very mountains, but renounced his plan on account of their size and the nearness of winter, and retired.

[45] While he was still in Venetia, Quintus Titurius Sabinus, his lieutenant, was despatched against the Unelli, whose leader was Viridovix. At first he was greatly terrified at their numbers and would have been satisfied if only the camp should be saved, but later he perceived that though this advantage made them bolder, they were not in reality dangerous, and he took courage. Most of the barbarians, in fact, in their threats make all sorts of terrible boasts that are without foundation.

Even so he did not dare to venture a passage of arms openly with them, for they kept him in position by mere numbers, but induced them recklessly to assault his rampart, though the site was on high ground. He did this by sending about evening, as a deserter, one of his allies who spoke their language, and persuaded them that Caesar had met with reverses. Trusting this

report they straightway started out heedlessly against the Romans (for they were gorged with food and drink), in the fear that they might flee before their arrival. Moreover, since their plans contemplated not allowing even the fire-priest to be saved they brought along chips and logs, carrying some and dragging others, with the evident intention of burning them alive. Thus they made their attack up-hill and came climbing up eagerly, meeting with no resistance. Sabinus did not move until the most of them were within his power. Then he charged down upon them from all sides at once, and terrifying those in front he dashed them all headlong down the hill, and while they were upset, tumbling over one another and the logs, he cut them down to such an extent that no one of them or of the others rose against him again. For the Gauls, who are unreasonably insatiate in all respects alike, know no limits in either their courage or their fear, but fall from the one into unthinkable cowardice and from the other into headstrong audacity.

[46] About the same period, Publius Crassus, too, son of Marcus Crassus, subjugated nearly all of Aquitania. The people are themselves Gauls, and dwell next to Celtica, and their territory extends straight along the Pyrenees to the ocean. Against these Crassus made his campaign, conquering the Sotiates in battle and capturing them by siege. He lost a few men, to be sure, by treachery in the course of a parley, but defended them vigorously in this very action. On seeing some others in a gathering with soldiers of Sertorius from Spain who carried on the war with more strategy than recklessness, believing that the Romans through lack of supplies would soon abandon the country, he pretended to be afraid of them. Though incurring their contempt he did not even so draw them into a conflict with him, but while they were calmly awaiting developments he attacked them suddenly and unexpectedly. At the point where he met them he accomplished nothing, because the barbarians advanced and repelled him vigorously; but while their main force was there, he sent some men around to the other side of their camp, got possession of this, which was destitute of men, and passing through it took the fighters in the rear. In this way they were all annihilated, and the rest, all but a few, made terms without a murmur.

[B.C. 55 (*a.u.* 699)]

[47] This was the work of the summer. While the Romans were in winter quarters on friendly ground the Tencteri and Usipetes, Celtic tribes, partly because forced out by the Suebi and partly because called upon by the Gauls, crossed the Rhine and invaded the country of the Treveri. Finding Caesar there they became afraid and sent to him to make a truce, asking for land or at least the permission to take some. When they could obtain none, at first they promised voluntarily to return to their homes and requested an armistice. Later their young men, seeing a few horsemen of his approaching, despised them and altered their determination: thereupon they stopped their journey, harassed the small detachment, which would not await their attack, and elated over this success continued the war.

[48] Their elders, condemning their action, came to Caesar even contrary to their advice and asked him to pardon them, laying the responsibility upon a few. He detained these emissaries with the assurance that he would give them an answer before long, set out against the other members of the tribe, who were in their tents, and came upon them as they were passing the noon hour and expecting no hostile demonstration, inasmuch as the delegation was with him.

Rushing into the tents he found great numbers of infantrymen who did not have time even to pick up their weapons, and he cut them down near the wagons where they were disturbed by the presence of the women and the children scattered promiscuously about. The cavalry was absent at the time, and immediately, when the men learned of the occurrence, they set out to their native abodes and retired among the Sugambri. He sent after them and demanded their surrender, not because he expected that they would give themselves up to him (the men beyond the Rhine were not so afraid of the Romans as to listen to anything of that sort), but in order that on this excuse he might cross the stream itself. He himself was exceedingly anxious to do something that no one had previously equaled, and he expected to keep the Celts at a distance from the Gauls by invading the former's territory. When, therefore, the cavalry refused to give themselves up, and the Ubii, whose land was coterminal with the Sugambri and who were at variance with them, invoked his aid, he crossed the river by bridging it. But on finding that the Sugambri had betaken themselves into their strongholds and that the Suebi were gathering apparently to come to their aid, he retired within twenty days.

[49] The Rhine issues from the Celtic Alps, a little outside of Rhaetia, and proceeding westward, with Gaul and its inhabitants on the left, it bounds the Celts on the right, and finally empties into the ocean. This has always, even till now, been considered the boundary, from which they came to the difference in names, since very anciently both the peoples dwelling on each side of the river were called Celts.

[50] Caesar, then, first of Romans crossed the Rhine at this time, and later in the consulship of Pompey and Crassus he traversed the channel of Britain. This country is distant from the Belgic mainland, opposite the Morini, three hundred and fifty stades at the shortest computation, and extends alongside the rest of Gaul and nearly all of Spain, reaching out into the sea. To the very first of the Greeks and Romans it was not even known; to their descendants it was a matter of dispute whether it was a continent or an island. And its history was written from both points of view by many who knew nothing about it, because they had not seen with their own eyes nor heard from the natives with their own ears, but indulged in guesses according as each had leisure or fondness for talk. As time went on, first under Agricola as *propraetor* and now under Severus as emperor, it has been clearly proven to be an island.

[51] To this land then, Caesar, since he had won over the Morini and the rest of Gaul was quiet, desired to cross. He made the voyage with infantry by the

most desirable course, but did not select the best landing-place. For the Britons, having ascertained in advance that he was sailing against them, had secured all the landings on the main coast. Accordingly, he sailed around a kind of projecting headland and coasted along on the other side of it. There he disembarked in shoal water, conquered those who joined battle with him and got a footing on dry land before more numerous assistance could come, after which he repulsed their attack also. Not many of the barbarians fell, for they had chariot drivers, and being mounted easily escaped the Romans whose cavalry had not yet arrived; but alarmed at the reports about them from the mainland and because they had dared to cross at all and had managed to set foot upon the land, they sent to Caesar some of the Morini who were friends of theirs, to see about terms of peace. On this occasion he demanded hostages, which they were willing to give.^[52] But as the Romans meanwhile began to encounter difficulties by reason of a storm which damaged their fleet that was present and also the one on the way, they changed their minds and though not attacking the invaders openly (for their camp was strongly guarded), they received some who had been sent out to bring in provisions on the assumption that the country was friendly, and destroyed them all, save a few, to whose rescue Caesar came with speed. After that they assaulted the very camp of the invaders. Here they accomplished nothing, but fared badly; they would not, however, make terms until they had been often defeated. And Caesar properly did not intend to make peace with them, but since the winter was approaching and he was not equipped with a sufficient force to continue fighting at that season, — moreover because his supplies had failed and the Gauls in absence had begun an uprising, — he somewhat unwillingly concluded a truce with them, demanding this time still more hostages, but obtaining only a few.

^[53] So he sailed back to the mainland and put an end to the disturbances. From Britain he had won nothing for himself or for the City except the glory of having conducted an expedition against that land. But on this he prided himself greatly and the Romans at home magnified it to a remarkable degree. Seeing that the formerly unknown had become certain and the previously unheard of accessible, they regarded the hope arising from these facts as already realized and exulted over their expected achievements as if the latter were already within their grasp.

^[54] Hence they voted to celebrate a thanksgiving for twenty days: but while that was taking place there was an uprising in Spain, which was consequently assigned to Pompey's care. Some tribes had revolted and obtained the help of the Vaccaei: while still unprepared they were conquered by Metellus Nepos, but as he was besieging Clunia they assailed him, proved themselves his superiors, and won back the city; at another time they were beaten, though without being enslaved or anything like it. In fact, they so far surpassed their opponents in numbers that Nepos was glad to remain quiet and not run any risks.

^[55] About this same time Ptolemy, although the Romans voted not to assist

him and were even now highly indignant at the bribery he had instituted, was nevertheless restored and got back the kingdom. Pompey and Gabinius effected this. So much power did official authority and abundance have as against the decrees of the people and the senate that when Pompey sent orders to Gabinius, then governor of Syria, the latter immediately put his army in motion. So the former out of kindness and the latter through corrupt influence restored the king contrary to the wish of the commonwealth, paying no heed either to it or to the utterances of the Sibyl. Gabinius was later brought to trial for this, but on account of Pompey's influence and the money at his command was not convicted. Public administration had so deteriorated among the Romans of that day that when some of the magistrates and jurymen received from him only a very little of the great bribes that he disbursed, they heeded no requirement of propriety, and furthermore instructed others to commit crimes for money, showing them that they could easily buy immunity from punishment. At this time, consequently, Gabinius was acquitted; but he was again brought to trial on some other charge, — chiefly that he had plundered more than a million from the province, — and was convicted. This was a matter of great surprise to him, seeing that by money he had freed himself from the former suit; but it was for that reason principally that he was condemned on these charges. It was also a surprise to Pompey, because previously he had, through his friends, rescued Gabinius even at a distance, but now while in the suburbs of the city and, as you might say, in the courtroom itself, he had accomplished nothing.

[56] This was the way of it. Gabinius had injured Syria in many ways, even to the point of inflicting more damage upon the people than had the pirates, who were then in their prime. Still, he regarded all his gains from that source as mere trifles and was at one time planning and preparing to lead a campaign also against the Parthians and their wealth. Phraates had been treacherously murdered by his children, and Orodes having taken the kingdom in turn had expelled Mithridates his brother from Media, which he was governing. The latter took refuge with Gabinius and persuaded him to connive at his restoration. However, when Ptolemy came with Pompey's letter and promised that he would furnish large sums, both to him and the army, Gabinius abandoned the Parthian project and hastened to Egypt. This he did although the law forbade governors to enter any one's territory outside their own borders or to begin wars on their own responsibility, and although the people and the Sibyl had declared that the man should not be restored. But the only restraint these considerations exercised was to lead him to sell them for a higher price. He left in Syria Sisenna his son, a mere boy, and a very few soldiers with him, exposing the province to which he had been assigned more than ever to the pirates. He himself then reached Palestine, arrested Aristobulus, who had caused some trouble at Rome and escaped, sent him to Pompey, imposed tribute upon the Jews and thereafter invaded Egypt.

[57] Berenice was at this time ruling the Egyptians, and though she feared

the Romans she accorded him no satisfactory treatment. Instead, she sent for one Seleucus who purported to belong to the royal race that once had flourished in Syria, acknowledged him as her husband and made him sharer of the kingdom and of the war. When he was seen to be held in no esteem she had him killed and joined to herself on the same terms Archelaus, son of that Archelaus who had deserted to Sulla; he was an energetic man living in Syria. Gabinius could, indeed, have stopped the evil in its beginning: he had arrested Archelaus, of whom he had been suspicious all along, and seemed likely, therefore, to have no further trouble. He was afraid, however, that this course might cause him to receive from Ptolemy less of the money that had been stipulated, on the assumption that he had done nothing of importance, and he hoped that he could exact even a larger amount in view of the cleverness and renown of Archelaus; moreover he received numerous other contributions from the prisoner himself and so voluntarily released him, pretending that he had escaped.^[58] Thus he reached Pelusium without meeting opposition, and while advancing from there with his army in two divisions he encountered and conquered the Egyptians on the same day, and after this vanquished them again on the river with his ships and also on land. For the Alexandrians are very apt to face everything boldly and to speak out whatever may occur to them, but for war and its terrors they are decidedly worthless. This is true in spite of the fact that in seditions, which occur among them in great numbers and of serious proportions, they always become involved in slaughter, set no value upon life as compared with the rivalry of the moment, but pursuing destruction in such quarrels as if it were a most necessary prize. So Gabinius conquered them, and after slaying Archelaus and many others he immediately gained control of all Egypt and delivered it over to Ptolemy.

Now Ptolemy killed his daughter and the foremost and richest of the other citizens, because he had much need of money. ^[59] Gabinius after restoring him in this fashion sent no message home about what he had done, in order not to give them information against himself of his transgressions of the law. But it was not possible for a proceeding of such magnitude to be concealed. The people learned it directly, for the Syrians cried out loudly against Gabinius, especially since in his absence they were terribly abused by the pirates; and again the tax collectors, being unable to levy taxes on account of the marauders, were owing numerous sums. This enraged the populace: they passed resolutions and were ready to condemn him. Cicero attacked him vigorously and advised them to read again the Sibylline verses, expecting that there was contained in them some punishment, in case their injunctions should be transgressed. ^[60] Pompey and Crassus were still consuls, the former acted as his own interests dictated, the latter was for pleasing his colleague and also soon received money sent him by Gabinius. Thus they openly justified his conduct, calling Cicero among other names "exile," and would not put the question to a vote.

[B.C. 54 (*a.u.* 700)]

When, however, they had ended their office, Lucius Domitius and Appius Claudius became their successors, once more many resolutions were published and the majority proved to be against Gabinius. Domitius was hostile to Pompey on account of the latter's canvass and because he had been appointed consul contrary to his wish. Claudius, although a relative of Pompey's, still wished to play the game of politics and indulge the people, and furthermore he expected to get bribes from Gabinius, if he should cause him any uneasiness. So both worked in every way against him. The following fact, also, militated strongly against him; that he had not received a certain lieutenant sent in advance by Crassus to succeed him in the office, but held fast to the position as if he had obtained an eternal sovereignty. They decided, therefore, that the verse of the Sibyl should be read, in spite of Pompey's opposition. [61] Meantime the Tiber, perhaps because excessive rains took place somewhere up the stream above the city, or because a violent wind from the sea beat back its outgoing tide, or still more probably, by the act of some Divinity, suddenly rose so high as to inundate all the lower levels in the city and to overwhelm much even of the higher ground. The houses, therefore, being constructed of brick, were soaked through and washed away, while all the cattle perished under water. And of the men all who did not take refuge betimes on very high points were caught, some in their dwellings, some on the streets, and lost their lives. The remaining houses, too (because the evil lasted for many days), became rotten and injured some persons at once and others afterward. The Romans, distressed at such calamities and expecting others worse because, as they thought, Heaven had become angry with them for the restoration of Ptolemy, were urgent to put Gabinius to death even while absent, believing that they would be harmed less if they should destroy him with speed. So insistent were they that although nothing about punishment was found in the Sibylline oracles, still the senate passed a preliminary resolution that the governors and populace might accord him very bitter and harsh treatment.

[62] While this was going on, money sent ahead by Gabinius caused by its very presence a setback to his interests though he was not only absent but not even on his way home. And, indeed, he was placed by his conscience in such a wretched and miserable condition that he long delayed coming to Italy, and was conveyed to his house by night, and for a considerable number of days did not dare to appear outside of his house. Complaints were many and he had abundance of accusers. Accordingly, he was first tried for the restoration of Ptolemy, as his greatest offence. Practically the entire populace surged into the courthouse and often wished to tear him to pieces, particularly because Pompey was not present and Cicero accused him with fearful earnestness. Though this was their attitude, he was acquitted. For he himself, appreciating the gravity of the charges on which he was tried, expended vast sums of money, and the companions of Pompey and Caesar very willingly aided him, declaring that a different time and different king were meant by the Sybil, and,

most important of all, that no punishment for his deeds were recorded in her verses.

[63] The populace, therefore, came near killing the jurymen, but, when they escaped, turned their attention to the remaining complaints against him and caused him to be convicted at least on those. The men who were chosen by lot to pass judgment on the charges both feared the people and likewise obtained but little from Gabinius; knowing that his conduct in minor matters only was being investigated and expecting to win this time also he did not lay out much. Hence they condemned him, in spite of Pompey's proximity and Cicero's advocacy of his cause. Pompey had left town to attend to the grain, much of which had been ruined by the river, but set out with the intention of attending the first court, — for he was in Italy, — and, as he missed that, did not retire from the suburbs until the other was also finished. He had the people assemble outside the pomerium, since, as he held already the office of proconsul, he was not allowed to enter the town, and harangued them at length in behalf of Gabinius, reading to them a letter sent to him by Caesar in the man's behalf. He even implored the jurymen, and not only prevented Cicero from accusing him again but actually persuaded him to plead for him; as a result the derogatory epithet of "deserter" became widely applied to the orator. However, he did Gabinius no good: the latter was at this time convicted and exiled, as stated, but was later restored by Caesar.

[64] At this same time the wife of Pompey died, after giving birth to a baby girl. And whether by the arrangement of Caesar's friends and his or because there were some who wished on general principles to do them a favor, they caught up the body, as soon as she had received proper eulogies in the Forum, and buried it in the Campus Martius. The opposition of Domitius and his declaration (among others) that it was impious for any one to be buried in the sacred spot without some decree proved of no avail.

[65] At this season Gaius Pomptinus also celebrated the triumph over the Gauls. Up to that time, as no one granted him the right to hold it, he had remained outside the pomerium. And he would have missed it then, too, had not Servius Galba, who had made a campaign with him, granted as praetor secretly and just before dawn to certain persons the privilege of voting: — this, in spite of the fact that it is not permitted by law for any business to be transacted in the popular assembly before the first hour. For this reason some of the tribunes, who had been left out of the meeting, caused him trouble (at least, in the procession), so that there was some killing.

BOOK 40

The following is contained in the Fortieth of Dio's Rome.

How Caesar for the second time sailed across into Britain (chapters 1-3.)

How Caesar turned back from Britain and again engaged in war with the Gauls (chapters 4-11).

How Crassus began to carry on war with the Parthians (chapters 12, 13).

About the Parthians (chapters 14, 15).

How Crassus was defeated by them and perished (chapters 16-30).

How Caesar subjugated the whole of Transalpine Gaul (chapters 31-43).

How Milo killed Clodius and was condemned by the court (chapters 44-57).

How Caesar and Pompey began to be at variance (chapters 58-66).

Duration of time, the remainder of the consulship of Domitius and Appius Claudius, together with four additional years, in which there were the following magistrates here enumerated.

Cn. Domitius M.F. Calvinus, M. Valerius || Messala. || (B.C. 53 = a.u. 701.)

|| Cn. Pompeius || Cn. F. Magnus (III), Caecilius Metellus Scipio Nasicae F. (B.C. 52 = a.u. 702.)

Servius Sulpicius Q.F. Rufus, M. Claudius M.F. Marcellus. (B.C. 51 = a.u. 703.)

L. Aemilius M.F. Paulus, || C. Claudius C.F. Marcellus. || (B.C. 50 = a.u. 704.)

BOOK 40, BOISSEVAIN.

[B.C. 54 (*a.u.* 700)]

[1] These were the occurrences in Rome while the city was passing through its seven hundredth year. In Gaul Caesar during the year of those same consuls, Lucius Domitius and Appius Claudius, among other undertakings constructed ships of a style halfway between his own swift vessels and the native ships of burden, endeavoring to make them as light as possible and yet entirely seaworthy, and he left them on dry land to avoid injury. When the weather became fit for sailing, he crossed over again to Britain, giving as his excuse that the people of that country, thinking that he would never cross to them again because he had once retired empty-handed, had not sent all the hostages they had promised; the truth of the matter was that he vehemently coveted the island, so that he would have certainly found some other pretext, if this had not been in existence. He came to land at the same place as before, no one daring to oppose him because of the number of his ships and his approaching the shore at all points at once; thus he got possession of the harbor immediately. [2] The barbarians for the reasons specified had not been able to hinder his approach and being far more afraid than before, because he had come with a larger army, carried away all their most valued possessions into the most woody and overgrown portions of the neighboring country. After they had put them in safety by cutting down the surrounding wood and piling more upon it row after row until the whole looked like an entrenched camp, they proceeded to annoy Roman foraging parties. Indeed, in one battle after being defeated on open ground they drew the invaders toward that spot in pursuit, and killed many of them. Soon after, as storm had once more damaged the ships, the Britons sent for allies and set out against their naval arsenal itself, with Casuellaunus, regarded as the foremost of the chiefs in the island, at their head. The Romans upon meeting them were at first thrown into confusion by the attack of their chariots, but later opened ranks, and by letting them pass through and striking the occupants obliquely as they drove by, made the battle equal. [3] For the time being both parties remained where they were. At another meeting the barbarians proved superior to the infantry, but were damaged by the cavalry and withdrew to the Thames, where they encamped after planting stakes across the ford, some visible and some under water. But Caesar by a powerful assault forced them to leave the palisade and later on by siege drove them from the fort, and others repulsed a party of theirs that attacked the harbor. They then became terrified and made terms, giving hostages and being rated for a yearly tribute.

[4] Under these circumstances Caesar departed entirely from the island and left no body of troops behind in it. He believed that such a force would be in danger while passing the winter on a foreign shore and that it might be inconvenient for him to absent himself from Gaul for any considerable period:

hence he was satisfied with his present achievements, in the fear that if he reached for more, he might be deprived of these. It seemed that in this he had done rightly, as was, indeed, proved by what took place. For when he had gone to Italy, intending to winter there, the Gauls, though each separate nation contained many garrisons, still planned resistance and some of them openly revolted. So if this had happened while he was staying in Britain to finish the winter season, all the hither regions would have been a scene of confusion indeed.

[5] This war was begun by the Eburones, under Ambiorix as chief. They said the disturbance was due to their being oppressed by the presence of the Romans, who were commanded by Sabinus and Lucius Cotta, lieutenants. As a matter of fact they despised the garrison, thinking they would not prove competent to defend themselves and expecting that Caesar would not speedily head an expedition against their tribe. They accordingly came upon the soldiers unawares, expecting to take the camp without striking a blow, and, when they failed of this, had recourse to deceit. Ambiorix after setting ambuscades in the most suitable spots came to the Romans for a parley and represented that he had taken part in the war against his will and was himself sorry. But against the others he advised them be on their guard, for his compatriots would not obey him and were intending to attack the garrison at night. Consequently he made the suggestion to them that they should abandon Eburonia, because they would be in danger, if they stayed, and pass on as quickly as possible to where some of their comrades were wintering near by.^[6] The Romans were persuaded by this disclosure, especially as he had received many favors from Caesar and seemed in this to be repaying him in kindness. They packed up their belongings with zeal just after nightfall and later started out, but fell into the ambush set and suffered a terrible reverse. Cotta with many others perished immediately: Sabinus was sent for by Ambiorix under the pretext of saving him, for the Gallic leader was not on the ground and even then seemed faithful to him personally; on his arrival, however, Ambiorix seized him, stripped him of his arms and clothing, and then struck him down with his javelin, uttering boasts over him, one to this effect: "How can such creatures as you are have the idea of ruling a nation of our strength?" This was the fate that these men suffered. The rest managed to break through to the fortress from which they had set out, but when the barbarians assailed that, too, and they could neither repel them nor escape, they killed one another.

[7] After this event some other of the neighboring tribes revolted, among them the Nervii, though Quintus Cicero, a brother of Marcus Cicero and lieutenant of Caesar, was wintering in their territory. Ambiorix added them to his force and began a conflict with Cicero. The contest was close, and after capturing some prisoners alive the chieftain tried to deceive him likewise, but being unable to do so resorted to siege. Before long by means of his large force and the experience which he had gained from the campaign that he

made with the Romans, together with some detailed information that he obtained from the captives, he managed to enclose him with a palisade and ditch. There were battles, as natural in such operations, — many of them, — and far larger numbers of barbarians perished, because there were more of them. They, however, by reason of their abundant army were never in sight of destruction, whereas the Romans, not being many in the first place, kept continually growing fewer and were encompassed without difficulty. [8] They were unable to treat their wounds with success through lack of the necessary applications, and did not have a large supply of food, because they had been besieged unexpectedly. No one came to their aid, though many were wintering at no great distance, for the barbarians guarded the roads with care and all who were sent out they caught and slaughtered before the eyes of their friends. As they were therefore in danger of being captured, a Nervian who was friendly to them as the result of kindness shown and at this time was besieged with Cicero, presented them with a slave of his to send as a messenger through the lines. Because of his dress and his native speech he would be able to associate with the enemy as one of their number, without attracting notice, and after that he could depart. [9] In this way Caesar learned of what was taking place (he had not yet gone to Italy but was still on the way), and, turning back, took with him the soldiers in the winter establishments through which he passed, and pressed rapidly on. Meanwhile being afraid that Cicero in despair of assistance might suffer disaster or capitulate, he sent forward a horseman. He did not trust the servant of the Nervian, in spite of having received an actual proof of his good will: he was afraid that he might pity his countrymen and work him some great evil. So he sent a horseman of the allies who knew their dialect and had dressed himself in their garb. And in order that even he might not voluntarily or involuntarily reveal the secret he gave him no verbal message and wrote to Cicero in Greek all the injunctions that he wished to give, in order that even if the letter should be captured, it might still be incomprehensible to the barbarians and afford them no information. He had also the custom as a usual thing, when he was sending a secret order to any one, to write constantly the fourth letter beyond, instead of the proper one, so that the writing might be unintelligible to most persons. The horseman reached the camp of the Romans, but not being able to come close up to it he fastened the letter to a small javelin and hurled it into the enemy's ranks, fixing it purposely in a tower.[10] Thus Cicero, on learning of the advent of Caesar, took courage and held out more stubbornly. The barbarians for a long time knew nothing of the assistance he was bringing; he journeyed by night, lying by day in most obscure places, so as to fall upon them as far as possible unawares. At last from the unnatural cheerfulness of the besieged they suspected it and sent out scouts. Learning from them that Caesar was at last drawing near they set out against him, thinking to attack him while off his guard. He received advance information of this movement and remained where he was that night, but just before dawn took up a strong

position. There he encamped apparently with the utmost haste, for the purpose of appearing to have only a few followers, to have suffered from the journey, to fear their onset, and by this plan to draw them to the higher ground. And so it proved. Their contempt for him led them to charge up hill, and they met with such a severe defeat that they committed not another warlike act.

[11] In this way both they and all the rest were at that time subdued; they did not, however, feel kindly toward the Romans. The Treveri, indeed, when Caesar sent for the principal men of each tribe and punished them, through fear that they, too, might be called upon to pay the penalty assumed again a hostile attitude, lending an attentive ear to the persuasions of Indutiomarus. They led some others who feared the same treatment to revolt and headed an expedition against Titus Labienus, who was among the Remi, but were annihilated in an unexpected sally made by the Romans.

[12] This was what took place in Gaul, and Caesar wintered there so as to be able to keep strict control of affairs. Crassus, desiring for his part to accomplish something that would confer some glory and profit upon him, made a campaign against the Parthians, since after consideration he saw no such opportunity in Syria, where the people were quiet and the officers who had formerly warred against the Romans were by reason of their impotency causing no disturbance. He had no complaint to bring against the Parthians nor had war been decreed, but he heard that they were exceeding wealthy and expected that Orodes would be easy to capture, because but newly established. Therefore he crossed the Euphrates and proceeded to traverse a considerable portion of Mesopotamia, devastating and ravaging the country. As his crossing was unexpected by the barbarians no strong guard had been placed at that point. Silaces, then governor of that region, was quickly defeated near Ichnai, a fortress so named, after contending with a few horsemen. He was wounded and retired to report personally to the king the Romans' invasion:[13] Crassus quickly got possession of the garrisons and especially the Greek cities, among them one named Nicephorium. Many of the Macedonians and of the rest that fought for the Parthians were Greek colonists, oppressed by violence, and not unwillingly transferred their allegiance to the Romans, who, they strongly hoped, would be favorable to the Greeks. The inhabitants of Zenodotium, pretending a willingness to revolt, sent for some of the invaders, but when they were within the town cut them off and killed them, for which act they were driven from their homes. Outside of this Crassus for the time being neither inflicted nor received any serious harm. He certainly would have subdued the other regions beyond the Tigris, if he had followed up the advantage from his own attack and the barbarians' panic equally in all respects, and had he wintered furthermore where he was, keeping a sharp lookout on their behavior. As it turned out, he captured only what he could seize by sudden assault and paid no heed to the rest nor to the people themselves, but wearied by his stay in Mesopotamia and longing for the indolence of Syria he afforded the Parthians time to prepare themselves

and to injure the soldiers left behind in their country.

[14] This was the beginning that the Romans made of war against them. They dwell beyond the Tigris, possessing for the most part forts and garrisons, but also a few cities, among them Ctesiphon, in which there is a palace. Their stock was very likely in existence among the original barbarians and they had this same name even under the Persian rule. But at that time they inhabited only a small portion of the country and had not obtained any transmontane sovereignty. When the Persian kingdom had been destroyed and that of the Macedonians had reached its prime, and then the successors of Alexander had quarreled one with another, cutting off separate portions for their own and setting up individual monarchies, this land then first attained prominence under a certain Arsaces from whom their succeeding rulers have received the title of Arsacidae. By good fortune they acquired all the neighboring territory, kept control of Mesopotamia by means of satrapies, and finally advanced to so great glory and power as to fight against the Romans at that period and to be considered worthy antagonists up to present time. They are really formidable in warfare and possess the greater reputation, in spite of never having gained anything from the Romans and having parted with certain portions of their own domain, because they have not yet been enslaved, but even now carry wars against us to the end, whenever they get into conflicts. [15] About their race and their country and the peculiarities of their customs many persons have spoken, and I have no intention of compiling an account. But it is fair to mention in what follows their equipment of arms, and the way they handle a war: the examination of these details properly concerns the present narrative, since it here needs to introduce them. The Parthians make no use of a shield, but their forces consist of mounted archers and pike-bearers, mostly in full armor. Their infantry is small, made up of the weaker persons; hence it may be said they are all archers. They practice from boyhood, and the sky and the country coöperate with them for two good ends. The latter, being for the most part level, is excellent for raising horses and very suitable for riding over with horses. Therefore even in war the people lead about whole droves so that they can use some horses at one place and others at another, can ride up suddenly from a distance and also retire to a distance speedily. The sky above them, too, which is very dry and contains not the least moisture, affords them perfect opportunity for archery, except in the winter. For that reason they make no campaigns in any direction during the winter season. But the rest of the year they are almost invincible in their own country and in any that has similar characteristics. By long custom they can endure the sun, which is very scorching, and they have discovered many remedies for the scantiness and difficulty of a supply of drink, — a fact which is a help to them in repelling without difficulty the invaders of their land. Outside of this district and beyond the Euphrates they have once or twice exercised some sway by battles and sudden incursions, but to fight with any nation continuously, without stopping, is not in their power, when they encounter an entirely different

condition of land and sky and have no supplies of either food or pay.

[16] Such is the Parthian state. Crassus, as has been stated, invaded Mesopotamia and Orodes sent envoys to him in Syria to censure him for the invasion and ask the causes of the war; he sent also Surena with an army to the captured and revolted sections. He himself had in mind to lead an expedition against Armenia, which had once belonged to Tigranes, in order that Artabazes, son of Tigranes, the king of the land at that time, should, through fear for his own domains, send no assistance to the Romans. Now Crassus said that he would tell him in Seleucia the causes of the war. (This is a city in Mesopotamia having even at the present day chiefly a Greek population.) And one of the Parthians, bringing down upon the palm of his left hand the fingers of the other, exclaimed: "More quickly will hair grow herein, than you will reach Seleucia."

[B.C. 53 (*a.u.* 701)]

[17] And when the winter set in, in which Gnaeus Calvinus and Valerius Messala became consuls, many portents occurred even in Rome itself. Owls and wolves were seen, prowling dogs did damage, some sacred statues exuded sweat and others were destroyed by lightning. The offices, partly through rivalry but chiefly by reason of birds and omens, were with difficulty filled at last in the seventh month. Those signs, however, gave no clear indication as to what the event would be. For affairs in the City were in turmoil, the Gauls had risen again, and, though the Romans knew it not as yet, they had broken into war against the Parthians: but to Crassus signs that were both evident and easy to interpret appeared as he was crossing the Euphrates opposite Zeugma. That spot has been so called from the campaign of Alexander, because he crossed at this point. [18] The omens were of the following nature. There is a small shrine and in it a golden eagle, which is found in all the legions that are on the register, and it never moves from the winter-quarters except the whole army goes forth on some errand. One man carries it on a long shaft, which ends in a sharp spike for the purpose of setting it firmly in the ground. Now of these so-called eagles one was unwilling to join him in his passage of the Euphrates at that time, but stuck fast in the earth as if planted until many took their places around it and pulled it out by force, so that it accompanied even involuntarily. But one of the large standards, that resemble sheets, with purple letters upon them to distinguish the division and its commander, turned about and fell from the bridge into the river. This happened in the midst of a violent wind. Then Crassus, who had the rest of equal length cut down, so as to be shorter and consequently steadier to carry, only increased the prodigies. In the very passage of the river so great a mist enshrouded the soldiers that they fell over one another and could see nothing of the enemy's country until they set foot upon it: and the sacrifices both for crossing and for landing proved very unfavorable. Meantime a great wind burst upon them, bolts of lightning fell, and the bridge, before they had all passed over, was destroyed. The occurrences were such that any one, even if extremely ignorant and

uninstructed, would interpret them to mean that they would fare badly and not return. Hence there was great fear and dejection in the army. [19] Crassus, trying to encourage them, said: "Be not alarmed, fellow soldiers, that the bridge has been destroyed nor think because of this that any disaster is portended. For I declare to you upon oath that I have decided to make my return march through Armenia." By this he would have emboldened them, had he not at the end added in a loud voice the words: "Be of good cheer: for none of you shall come back *this* way." When they heard this, the soldiers deemed that it, no less than the rest, had been a portent for them, and fell into greater discouragement; and so it was that they paid no heed to the remainder of his exhortation, in which he belittled the barbarian and glorified the Roman State, offered them money and announced prizes for valor.

Still, even so, they followed and no one said a word or committed an act to oppose him, partly by reason of the law, but further because they were terrified and could neither plan nor carry out any measures of safety. In all other respects, too, as if predestined to ruin by some Divinity, they deteriorated both in mind and body.

[20] Nevertheless, the greatest injury was done them by Abgarus of Osrhoene. He had pledged himself to peace with the Romans in the time of Pompey, but now chose the side of the barbarians. The same was done by Alchaudonius the Arabian, who always attached himself to the stronger party. The latter, however, revolted openly, and hence was not hard to guard against. Abgarus favored the Parthian cause, but pretended to be well disposed toward Crassus. He spent money for him unsparingly, learned all his plans (which he reported to the foe), and further, if any course was excellent for the Romans he tried to divert him from it, but if disadvantageous, to urge him to it. At last he was responsible for the following occurrence. Crassus was intending to advance to Seleucia by such a route as to reach there safely along the side of the Euphrates and on its stream, with his army and provisions. Accompanied by the people of that city, whom he hoped to win over easily, because they were Greeks, he could cross without difficulty to Ctesiphon. Abgarus caused him to give up this course, on the ground that it would take a long time, and persuaded him to assail Surena, because the latter was near and had only a few men.

[21] Then, when he had arranged matters so that the invader should perish and the other should conquer (for he was continually in the company of Surena, on the pretext of spying), he led out the Romans, blinded by folly, to what he said was a victory in their very hands, and in the midst of the action joined the attack against them.

It happened like this.

[B.C. 52 (*a.u.* 702)]

The Parthians confronted the Romans with most of their army hidden; the ground was uneven in spots and wooded. Crassus seeing them — not Crassus the commander, but the younger, who had come to his father from Gaul, —

and despising them (supposing them to be alone), led out his cavalry and, as they turned purposely to flight, pursued them. In his eagerness for victory he was separated far from his phalanx, and was then caught in a trap and cut down. [22] When this took place the Roman infantry did not turn back, but valiantly joined battle with the Parthians to avenge his death. They accomplished nothing worthy of themselves, however, because of the enemy's numbers and tactics, especially as they suffered from the plotting of Abgarus. If they decided to lock shields for the purpose of avoiding the arrows by the density of their array, the pike-bearers were upon them with a rush, would strike down some, and at least scatter the others: and if they stood apart, so as to turn these aside, they would be shot with arrows.

Hereupon many died from fright at the very charge or the pike-bearers, and many hemmed in by the horsemen perished. Others were upset by the pikes or were carried off transfixed. The missiles falling thick upon them from all sides at once struck down many by an opportune blow, put many out of the battle, and caused annoyance to all. They flew into their eyes and pierced their hands and all the other parts of the body and penetrating their armor, forced them to take off their protection and expose themselves to wounds each minute. Thus, while a man was guarding against arrows or pulling out one that had stuck fast he received more wounds, one upon another. Consequently it was not feasible for them to move, nor feasible to remain at rest. Neither course afforded them safety, and both were fraught with destruction, the one because it was out of their power, and the other because they were more easily wounded. [23] This was what they suffered while they were fighting only against visible enemies. Abgarus did not immediately make his attempt upon them. When he, too, attacked, the Orshoeni themselves struck the Romans from behind in exposed places while they were facing in a different direction, and rendered them easier for the others to slaughter. For the Romans, altering their formation, so as to be facing them, put the Parthians behind them. They wheeled around again against the Parthians, then back again against the Orshoeni, then against the Parthians once more. Thrown into still greater confusion by this circumstance, because they were continually changing position this way and that and were forced to face the body that was wounding them at the time, many fell upon their own swords or were killed by their comrades. Finally they were shut up in so narrow a place, with the enemy continually assaulting them from all sides at once, and compelled to protect their exposed parts by the shields of those who stood beside them, that they could no longer move. They could not even get a sure footing by reason of the number of corpses, but kept falling over them. The heat and thirst — it was mid-summer and this action took place at noon — and the dust of which all the barbarians raised as much as possible by riding around them, told fearfully upon the survivors, and many succumbed to these influences, even though unwounded. [24] And they would have perished utterly, but for the fact that some of the pikes of the barbarians were bent and others were broken, while the bowstrings snapped

under the constant shooting, the missiles were all discharged, every sword blunted, and, chief of all, that the men themselves grew weary of the slaughter. Under these conditions, then, when it grew night the assailants being obliged to ride off to a distance retired. They never encamp near even the weakest bodies, because they use no intrenchments and if any one comes upon them in the darkness, they are unable to deploy their cavalry or their archery to advantage. However, they captured no Roman alive at that time. Seeing them standing upright in their armor and perceiving that no one threw away any part of it or fled, they deemed that they still had some strength, and feared to lay hold of them.

[25] So Crassus and the rest, as many as could, set out for Carrae, kept faithful to them by the Romans that had stayed behind within the walls. Many of the wounded being unable to walk and lacking vehicles or even men to carry them (for the survivors were glad of the chance to drag their own persons away) remained on the spot. Some of them died of their wounds or by making away with themselves, and others were captured the next day. Of the captives many perished on the road, as their physical strength gave out, and many later because they were unable to obtain proper care immediately. Crassus, in discouragement, believed he would be unable to hold out safely even in the city any longer, but planned flight at once. Since it was impossible for him to go out by day without being detected, he undertook to escape by night, but failed to secure secrecy, being betrayed by the moon, which was at its full. The Romans accordingly waited for moonless nights, and then starting out in darkness and a foreign land that was likewise hostile, they scattered in tremendous fear. Some were caught when it became day and lost their lives: others got safely away to Syria in the company of Cassius Longinus, the quaestor. Others, with Crassus himself, sought the mountains and prepared to escape through them into Armenia. [26] Surena, learning this, was afraid that if they could reach any headquarters they might make war on him again, but still was unwilling to assail them on the higher ground, which was inaccessible to horses. As they were heavy-armed men, fighting from higher ground, and in a kind of frenzy, through despair, contending with them was not easy. So he sent to them, inviting them to submit to a truce, on condition of abandoning all territory east of the Euphrates. Crassus, nothing wavering, trusted him. He was in the height of terror and distraught by his private misfortune and the public calamity as well; and because, further, he saw that the soldiers shrank from the journey (which they thought long and rough) and that they feared Orodes, he was unable to foresee anything that he ought. When he displayed acquiescence in the matter of the truce, Surena refused to conduct the ceremony through the agency of others, but in order to cut him off with only a few and seize him, he said that he wished to hold a conference with the commander personally. Thereupon they decided to meet each other in the space between the two armies with an equal number of men from both sides. Crassus descended to the level ground and Surena sent him a present of a

horse, to make sure of his coming to him more quickly. [27] While Crassus was thus delaying and planning what he should do, the barbarians took him forcibly and threw him on his horse. Meanwhile the Romans also laid hold of him, they came to blows, and for a time carried on an equal struggle; then aid came to the kidnapers, and they prevailed. The barbarians, who were in the plain and were prepared beforehand, were too quick for the Romans above to help their men. Crassus fell among the rest, whether he was slain by one of his own men to prevent his capture alive, or whether by the enemy because he was wounded anyway. This was his end. And the Parthians, as some say, poured gold into his mouth in mockery; for though a man of great wealth he was so eager for money as to pity those who could not support an enrolled legion from their own means, regarding them as poor men. Of the soldiers the majority escaped through the mountains to friendly territory, but a fraction fell into the hands of the enemy.

[B.C. 52 (*a.u.* 702)]

[28] The Parthians at this time did not advance beyond the Euphrates, but won back the whole country east of it. Later they also (though not in any numbers) invaded Syria, because the province had neither general nor soldiers. The fact that there were not many of them enabled Cassius easily to effect their repulse. When at Carrae the soldiers through hatred of Crassus granted to Cassius absolute control of themselves, and the commander himself on account of the greatness of the disaster voluntarily allowed it, but Cassius would not accept it: now, however, he took charge of Syria perforce, for the time being and subsequently. For the barbarians would not keep away from it, but campaigned once more against them with a larger band and under the nominal leadership of one Pacorus by name, the son of Orodes, though under the real direction of Osaces (for the other was still a child). They came as far as Antioch, subduing the whole country before them. They had hopes of subjugating also what remained, since the Romans were not at hand with a force fit to cope with them, and the people were fretting under Roman rule but ready to turn to the invaders, who were neighbors and acquaintances.

[29] As they failed to take Antioch, where Cassius repulsed them severely and they were unable to institute any siege, they turned to Antigonea. The neighborhood of the city was overgrown with wood and they were dismayed, not being able to march into it. They then formed a plan to cut down the trees and lay bare the whole place so that they might approach the town with boldness and safety. Finding themselves unable to do this, because the task was a great one and their time was spent in vain, while Cassius harassed those scattered about, they retired apparently with the intention of proceeding against some other position. Meanwhile Cassius set an ambush on the road along which they were to depart, and confronting them there with a few men he induced them to pursue, led them into the trap, and killed Osaces and others. Upon the latter's death Pacorus abandoned all of Syria and never invaded it again.

[30] He had scarcely retired when Bibulus arrived to govern Syria. His coming, to be sure, was in contravention of a decree intended to prevent rivalry for office, so productive of seditions, that no praetor nor consul, at once or at any time within four years, should go abroad to hold office. He administered the subject country in peace, and turned the Parthians against one another. Having won the friendship of Orondapates, a satrap, who had a grudge against Orodes, he persuaded him through messengers to set up Pacorus as king, and with him to conduct a campaign against the other.

[B.C. 51 (*a.u.* 703)]

This war came to an end in the fourth year from the time when it had begun, and while Marcus Marcellus and Sulpicius Rufus were consuls.

[31] In that same period Caesar by battle again gained control of Gallic affairs, which were in an unsettled state. He accomplished very much himself and some things through his lieutenants, of which I will state only the most important.

[B.C. 54 (*a.u.* 700)]

Ambiorix won the confidence of the Treveri, who at this time were still smarting under the setback of Indutiomarus's death, raised a greater conspiracy in that quarter, and sent for a mercenary force from the Celtae. Labienus wishing to join issue with them before this last contingent should be added to their number invaded the country of the Treveri in advance. The latter did not defend themselves, as they were awaiting reinforcements, but put a river between the two armies and remained quiet. Labienus then gathered his soldiers and addressed them in words of such a nature as were likely to alarm his own men and encourage the others: they must, he said, before the Celtae repelled them, withdraw to Caesar and safety; and he immediately gave the signal to pack up the baggage. Not much later he began actually to withdraw, expecting that that would occur which really did. The barbarians heard of his speech, — they took very good care in such matters and it was for just that reason that it had been delivered publicly, — and thought he was really afraid and truly taking to flight. Hence they eagerly crossed the river and started toward the Romans with spirit, as fast as each one could. So Labienus received their attack while they were scattered, and after terrifying the foremost easily routed the rest because of the action of the men in front. Then as they were fleeing in disorder, falling over one another and crowding toward the river, he killed many of them.

[B.C. 53 (*a.u.* 701)]

[32] Not a few of them escaped even so, of whom Caesar made no account, except of Ambiorix: this man by hurrying now one way and now another and doing much injury caused Caesar trouble in seeking and pursuing him. Not being able to catch him by any device the Roman commander made an expedition against the Celtae, alleging that they had wished to help the Treveri. On this occasion likewise he accomplished nothing, but retired rapidly through fear of the Suebi: he gained the reputation, however, of

having crossed the Rhine again, and of the bridge he destroyed only the portions near the barbarians, constructing upon it a guard-house, as if he might at any time have a desire to cross. Then, in anger at the successful flight of Ambiorix, he delivered his country, though guilty of no rebellion, to any one who wished, to be plundered. He gave public notice of this in advance, that as many as possible might assemble, wherefore many Gauls and many Sugambri came for the plunder. It did not suffice the Sugambri, however, to make spoil of Gallic territory, but they attacked the Romans themselves. They watched until the Romans were absent getting provender and made an attempt upon their camp; but meanwhile the other soldiers, perceiving it, came to the rescue and killed a number of the assailants. Inspired with a fear of Caesar by this encounter they hurriedly withdrew homeward: he inflicted no punishment upon any one of them because of the winter and the political disputes in Rome, but after dismissing the soldiers to their winter-quarters, went himself to Italy on the plea of caring for Hither Gaul, but really in order that he might be located close to what was taking place in the city.

[B.C. 52 (*a.u.* 702)]

[33] Meantime the Gauls made another outbreak. The Arverni under the leadership of Vercingetorix revolted, killed all the Romans they found in their country, and proceeding against the tribes in alliance with the foreigner bestowed favors upon such as were willing to join their revolt, and injured the rest. Caesar, on ascertaining this, returned and found that they had invaded the Bituriges. He did not try to repel them, all his soldiers not being at hand as yet, but by invading the Arvernian country in his turn drew the enemy home again, whereupon, not deeming himself yet a match for them, he retired in good season. [34] They accordingly went back to the Bituriges, captured Avaricum, a city of theirs, and in it maintained a resistance a long time, for the wall was hard to approach, being bordered on one side by almost trackless swamps and on the other by a river with a swift current. When, therefore, later they were besieged by the Romans, their great numbers made it easy for them to repel assaults, and they made sallies, inflicting great damage. Finally they burned over everything in the vicinity, not only fields and villages but also cities from which they thought assistance could come to the foe, and if anything was being brought to them from allies at a distance, they seized it for booty. Therefore the Romans, while appearing to besiege the city, really suffered the fate of besieged, until a furious rain and great wind sprang up (the winter having already set in) during their attack on one point in the wall, which first drove the assailants back, making them seek shelter in their tents, and then confined the barbarians, too, in their houses. When they had gone from the battlements the Romans suddenly attacked again, while there were no men there: and first capturing a tower, before the enemy became aware of their presence, they then without difficulty got possession of the remaining works, plundered the whole city, and in anger at the siege and their hardship slew all the men.

[35] After effecting this Caesar conducted a campaign against their territory. The rest of the Arverni in view of the war being made upon them had gained possession in advance of the bridges which he had to cross; and he being in doubt as to how he should pass over, proceeded a considerable distance along the bank to see if he could find any place suitable for going over on foot through the water itself. Soon after he reached a woody and overshadowed spot, from which he sent forward the baggage-carriers and most of his army a long way, with line stretched out: he bade them go forward so that all his troops might appear to be in that one division. He himself with the strongest portion remained behind, cut down the wood, made rafts, and on them crossed the stream while the barbarians still had their attention fixed on those going along in front and calculated that Caesar was among them. After this he called back the advance party by night, transferred them across in the same way, and conquered the country. The people fled in a body to Gergovia, carrying there all their most valued possessions, and Caesar had a great deal of toil to no purpose in besieging them. [36] Their fort was on a strong hill and they had strengthened it greatly with walls; also the barbarians round about had seized all the high ground and were keeping guard over it, so that if they remained in position they could safely hold their own, and if they charged down they would gain the greater advantage. For Caesar, not having any sure position to choose, was encamped in the plain and never knew beforehand what was going on: but the barbarians, higher up, could look down upon his camp and kept making opportune charges. If they ever advanced farther than was fitting and were beaten back, they quickly got within their own domain again; and the Romans in no way could come as near to the places as stones and javelins could be hurled. The time was in general spent uselessly: often when he assaulted the very height upon which their fortress was located, he would capture a certain portion of it so that he could wall it in and continue thence more easily his progress against the rest of it, but on the whole he met with reverses. He lost a number of his soldiers, and saw that the enemy could not be captured. Moreover, there was at this time an uprising among the Aedui, and while he was absent attending to them, the men left behind fared badly. All these considerations led Caesar to raise the siege.

[37] The Aedui in the beginning abode by their agreements and sent him assistance, but later they made war rather involuntarily, being deceived by Litaviccus and others. He, having been unable by any other course to persuade them to adopt a hostile attitude, managed to get the appointment of conveying some men to Caesar to be the latter's allies. He started off as if to fulfill this mission, but sent ahead also some horsemen and bade some of them return and say that their companions and the rest of their men in the camp of the Romans had been arrested by the latter and put to death. Then he further excited the wrath of his soldiers by delivering a speech appropriate to the message. In this way the Aedui themselves rose and led others to revolt with them. Caesar, as soon as he ascertained this, sent to them the Aedui whom he

had and was thought to have slain, so that they might be seen by all to be alive, and followed on with his cavalry. On this occasion, then, they repented and made terms. [38] The Romans were later, by reason of Caesar's absence, defeated close to Gergovia and then entirely withdrew from that country; wherefore those who had caused the uprising and were always desirous of a change in politics feared that if they delayed the Romans might exact vengeance from them, and consequently rebelled entirely. Members of their tribe who were campaigning with Caesar, when they learned of this, asked him to allow them to return home, promising that they would arrange everything. Released on these conditions they came to Noviodunum where the Romans had deposited money and grain and many hostages, and with the coöperation of the natives destroyed the garrisons, who were not expecting hostility, and became masters of all of them. That city, because advantageous, they burned down, to prevent the Romans from making it a starting point for the war, and they next caused the remainder of the Aedui to revolt. Caesar, therefore, attempted to march against them at once, but not being able, on account of the river Liger he turned his attention to the Lingones. And not even there did he meet with success. Labienus, however, occupied the island in the Sequana river by conquering its defenders on the shore, and crossed over at many points at once, both down stream and up, in order that his troops might not be hindered by all crossing at one spot.

[39] Before this happened Vercingetorix, filled with contempt for Caesar because of his reverses, had marched against the Allobroges. And he intercepted the Roman leader, who had meantime started out evidently to aid them, when he was in Sequania, and surrounded him but did him no damage: on the contrary he compelled the Romans to be brave through despair of safety, but he failed himself by reason of his numbers and audacity and was even defeated to a certain extent by the Celtae that were allies of the Romans; for to their charges with unwearying bodies they added the strength of daring and so broke through the enclosing ranks. Having discovered this device Caesar did not give ground, but shut up in Alesia such of the foe as fled, and besieged them. [40] Now Vercingetorix at first, before the wall had entirely cut off his followers, had sent out the horsemen to get fodder for the horses (there being none on hand), and in order to let them disperse, each to his native land, and bring thence provisions and assistance. As these delayed and food supplies began to fail the beleaguered party, he thrust out the children and the women and the most useless among the rest, vainly hoping that either the outcasts would be saved as booty by the Romans or else those left in the town might perhaps survive by enjoying for a longer time the supplies that would have belonged to their companions. But Caesar to begin with had not sufficient himself to feed others. Thinking, therefore, that by their return he could make the deficiency of food seem more severe to the enemy (for he expected that the expelled would without doubt be received), he forced them all back. So these perished most miserably between the city and the camp,

because neither party would receive them. The relief looked for from the horsemen and such others as they were conducting reached the barbarians before long, but it was then defeated by the onset of the Romans in a cavalry battle. Thereupon the relief party tried by night to enter the city through the enclosing wall but was bitterly disappointed: for the Romans had made hidden pits in those roads which were used by horses and had fixed stakes in them, afterward making the whole surface resemble the surrounding country; thus horse and man, falling into them absolutely without warning, were mangled. These reinforcements did not, however, give up until, marshaled once more in battle array beside the very walls, they themselves and at the same time the men in the city who came out to fight had met with failure.

[41] Now Vercingetorix might have escaped, for he had not been captured and was unwounded, but he hoped because he had once been on friendly terms with Caesar, that he would obtain pardon from him. So he came to him without any announcement by herald, but appeared before him suddenly, as Caesar was seated on a platform, and threw some that were present into alarm; he was first of all very tall, and in a suit of armor he made an extremely imposing figure. When quiet had been restored, he uttered not a word, but fell upon his knees and remained so, with clasped hands. This inspired many with pity at remembrance of his former fortune and at the distressing state in which he now appeared. But Caesar reproached him in this very matter on which he most relied for ultimate safety, and by setting before him how he had repaid friendliness with the opposite treatment proved his offence to have been the more abominable. Therefore he did not pity him even for one moment, but immediately confined him in bonds, and later, after sending him to his triumph, put him to death.

[B.C. 51 (*a.u.* 703)]

[42] This was really a later occurrence. At the time previously mentioned he gained some of the survivors by capitulation and enslaved the rest, after conquering them in battle. The Belgae, who live near by, put at their head Commius, an Atrebatian, and resisted for a great while. They fought two close cavalry battles and the third time in an infantry battle they showed themselves at first an equal match, but later, attacked unexpectedly in the rear by cavalry, they turned to flight. [43] After this the remainder abandoned the camp by night, and as they were passing through a wood set fire to it, leaving behind only the wagons, in order that the enemy might be delayed by these and by the fire, and they retire to safety. Their hopes, however, were not realized. The Romans, as soon as they perceived their flight, pursued them and on encountering the fire they extinguished part of it and hewed their way through the rest. Some even ran right through the flame, overtook the fugitives without warning and slaughtered great numbers. Thereafter some of them capitulated, but the Atrebatian, who escaped, would not keep quiet even after this experience. He undertook at one time to ambush Labienus, and after a defeat in battle was persuaded to hold a conference with him. Before any terms were

made he was wounded by one of the Romans who surmised that it was not his real intention to make peace, but he escaped and again proved troublesome to them. At last, despairing of his project, he secured for his associates entire amnesty extending to all their people, and for himself, as some say, on condition of never appearing again within sight of any Roman. So the contending parties became reconciled and subsequently the rest, some voluntarily and others overcome in war, were subdued. Then Caesar by garrisons and legal penalties and levies of money and assignment of tribute humbled some and tamed others.

[B.C. 50 (*a.u.* 704)]

[44] Thus this trouble came to an end in the consulship of Lucius Paulus and Gaius Marcellus. Caesar in the interest of the Gauls and to see about the term allowed him for leadership had to leave Gaul and return to Rome. His office was about to terminate, the war had ceased, and he had no longer any satisfactory excuse for not disbanding his troops and returning to private life. Affairs in the city at this time were in turmoil, Crassus was dead, and Pompey had again come to power, after being three times consul and having managed to get the government of Spain granted to him for five years more. The latter had no longer any bond of alliance with Caesar, especially now that the child, who alone had kept them on friendly terms, had passed away. The returning general therefore was afraid that stripped of his soldiers he might fall into the power of Pompey and of his other enemies, and therefore did not dismiss them.

[B.C. 53 (*a.u.* 701)]

[45] In these same years many tumults of a seditious character had arisen in the city, and especially in connection with the elections, so that it was fully six months before Calvinus and Messala could be appointed consuls. And not even then would they have been chosen, had not Quintus Pompeius Rufus, though the grandson of Sulla and serving as tribune, been cast into prison by the senate, whereupon the measure was voted by the rest who were anxious to commit some outrages, and the campaign against opposition was handed over to Pompey. Sometimes the birds had prevented elections, refusing to allow the offices to belong to interreges; above all the tribunes, by managing affairs in the city so that they instead of the praetors conducted games, hindered the remaining offices from being filled. This also accounts for Rufus having been confined in a cell. He later on brought Favonius the aedile to the same place on some small charge, in order that he might have a companion in his disgrace. But all the tribunes introduced various obstructive pleas, proposing, among other things, to appoint military tribunes, so that more persons, as formerly, might come to office. When no one would heed them, they declared that Pompey, at all events, must be chosen dictator. By this pretext they secured a very long delay: for he was out of town, and of those on the spot there was no one who would venture to vote for the demand (for in remembrance of Sulla's cruelty they all hated that policy), nor yet venture to

refuse to choose Pompey, on account of their fear of him.^[46] At last, quite late, he came himself, refused the dictatorship offered to him, and made preparation to have the consuls named. These likewise on account of the turmoil from assassinations did not appoint any successors, though they had laid aside their senatorial garb and in the dress of knights convened the senate as if on the occasion of some great calamity. They also passed a decree that no one, — either an ex-praetor or an ex-consul, — should assume foreign office until five years should have elapsed: this they did to see if people when it was no longer in any one's power to be immediately elected would cease their craze for office. For no moderation was being shown and there was no purity in their methods, but they vied with one another in expending great sums and fighting more than ever, so that once the consul Calvinus was wounded. Hence no consul nor praetor nor prefect of the city had any successor, but at the beginning of the year the Romans were absolutely without a government in these branches.

[B.C. 52 (*a.u.* 702)]

[47] Nothing good resulted from this, and among other things the market recurring every ninth day was held on the very first of January. This seemed to the Romans to have taken place not by accident, and being considered in the light of a portent it caused trepidation. The same feeling was increased when an owl was both seen and caught in the city, a statue exuded perspiration for three days, a flash darted from the south to the east, and many thunderbolts, many clods, stones, tiles and blood descended through the air. It seems to me that that decree passed the previous year, near the close, with regard to Serapis and Isis, was a portent equal to any: the senate decided to tear down their temples, which some private individuals had built. For they did not reverence these gods any long time and even when it became the fashion to render public devotion to them, they settled them outside the pomerium.

[48] Such being the state of things in the city, with no one in charge of affairs, murders occurred practically every day and they did not finish the elections, though they were eager for office and employed bribery and assassination on account of it. Milo, for instance, who was seeking the consulship, met Clodius on the Appian Way and at first simply wounded him: then, fearing he would attack him for what had been done, he slew him. He at once freed all the servants concerned in the business, and his hope was that he might be more easily acquitted of the murder, now that the man was dead, than he would be for the wound in case he had survived. The people in the city heard of this about evening and were thrown into a terrible uproar: for to factional disturbances there was being added a starting-point for war and evils, and the middle class, even though they hated Clodius, yet on account of humanity and because on this excuse they hoped to get rid of Milo, showed displeasure.^[49] While they were in this frame of mind Rufus and Titus Munatius Plancus took hold of them and excited them to greater wrath. As

tribunes they conveyed the body into the Forum just before dawn, placed it on the rostra, exhibited it to all, and spoke appropriate words with lamentations. So the populace, as a result of what it both saw and heard, was deeply stirred and paid no further heed to considerations of sanctity or things divine, but overthrew all the customs of burial and nearly burned down the whole city. The body of Clodius they picked up and carried into the senate-house, arranged it in due fashion, and then after heaping a pyre of benches burned both the corpse and the convention hall. They did this, therefore, not under the stress of such an impulse as often takes sudden hold of crowds, but of set purpose, so that on the ninth day they held the funeral feast in the Forum itself, with the senate-house still smouldering, and furthermore undertook to apply the torch to Milo's house. This last was not burned because many were defending it. Milo for a time, in great terror over the murder, was hidden not only by ordinary citizens but under the guard of knights and some senators. When this other act, however, occurred, he hoped that the wrath of the senate would pass over to the outrage of the opposing party. They had assembled late in the afternoon on the Palatine for this very purpose, and had voted that an interrex be chosen by show of hands and that he and the tribunes and Pompey, moreover, care for the guarding of the city, that it suffer no detriment. Milo, accordingly, made his appearance in public, and pressed his claims to the office as strongly as before, if not more strongly.

[50] As a consequence of this, conflicts and killings in plenty began again, so that the senate ratified the aforementioned measures, summoned Pompey, allowed him to make fresh levies, and changed their garments. Not long after his arrival they assembled under guard near his theatre outside the pomerium and resolved that the bones of Clodius should be taken up, and assigned the rebuilding of the senate-house to Faustus, son of Sulla. It was the Curia Hostilia which had been remodeled by Sulla. Wherefore they came to this decision about it and ordered that when repaired it should receive again the former's name. The city was in a fever of excitement about the magistrates who should rule it, some talking to the effect that Pompey ought to be chosen dictator and others that Caesar should be elected consul. They were so determined to honor the latter for his achievements that they voted to offer sacrifices over them sixty days. Fearing both of the men the rest of the senate and Bibulus, who was first to be asked and to declare his opinion, anticipated the onset of the masses by giving the consulship to Pompey to prevent his being named dictator, and to him alone in order that he might not have Caesar as his colleague. This action of theirs was strange; it had been taken in no other case, and yet they seemed to have done well. For since he favored the masses less than Caesar, they hoped to detach him from them altogether and to make him their own. This expectation was fulfilled. Elated by the novelty and unexpectedness of the honor, he no longer formed any plan to gratify the populace but was careful to do everything that pleased the senate.

[51] He did not, however, wish to hold office alone. Possessing the glory that

lay in such a vote having been passed he was anxious to divert the envy that arose from it. Also he felt afraid that, as the field was vacant, Caesar might be given him as colleague through the enthusiasm of the powerful classes and the populace alike. First of all, therefore, in order that his rival might not think he had been entirely neglected and therefore show some just displeasure, he arranged through the tribunes that he should be permitted even in absence to be a candidate for the office, when the proper time came according to law. Pompey himself then chose as assistant Quintus Scipio, who was his father-in-law and had incurred a charge of bribery. This man, by birth son of Nasica, had been transferred by the lot of succession to the family of Metellus Pius, and for that reason bore the latter's name. He had given his daughter in marriage to Pompey, and now received in turn from him the consulship and immunity from accusation.^[52] Very many had been examined in the complaint above mentioned, especially because the courts, by Pompey's laws, were more carefully constituted. He himself selected the entire list of names from which drawings for jurors had to be made, and he limited the number of advocates on each side, in order that the jurymen might not be confused and disturbed by the numbers of them. He ordered that the time allotted to the plaintiff be two hours, and to the defendant three. And what grieved many most of all, he revised the custom of eulogizers being presented by those on trial (for great numbers kept escaping the clutches of the law because commended by persons worthy of confidence); and he had a measure passed that such prisoners should in future be allowed no one whomsoever to eulogize them. These and other reforms he instituted in all the courts alike; and against those who practiced bribery for office he raised up as accusers those who had formerly been convicted of some such offence, thus offering the latter no small prize. For if any one secured the conviction of two men on charges equal to that against himself, or even on smaller charges, or if one man on a greater charge, he went scot free.

^[53] Among many others who were thus convicted was Plautius Hypsaesus, who had been a rival of Milo and of Scipio for the consulship. Though all three had been guilty of bribery he alone was condemned. Scipio was indicted, and by two persons at that, but was not tried, on account of Pompey: and Milo was not charged with this crime (for the murder formed a greater complaint against him), but being brought to trial on the latter charge he was convicted, as he was not able to use any violence. Pompey kept the city in general well under guard and himself with armed soldiers entered the court. When some raised an outcry at this, he ordered the soldiers to drive them out of the Forum by striking them with the side, or the flat, of their swords. When they would not yield, but showed defiance as if the broadsides were being used for mere sport, some of them were wounded and killed.

^[54] After this, the courts being convened in quiet, many were condemned on various charges, and, for the murder of Clodius, Milo among others though he had Cicero as a defender. That orator, seeing Pompey and the soldiers

contrary to custom in the court, was alarmed and overwhelmed with dread, so that he did not deliver any of the speech he had prepared, but after saying a few words with effort in a half-dead voice, was glad to retire. This speech which is now supposed to have been delivered at that time in behalf of Milo he wrote some time later and at leisure, when he had recovered his courage. There is also the following story about it. When Milo, in banishment, made the acquaintance of the speech sent to him by Cicero, he wrote back saying that it was lucky for him those words had not been spoken in that form in the court; for he would not be eating such fine mullets in Massilia (where he was passing his exile), if any such defence had been made. This he wrote, not because he was pleased with his circumstances, — he made many ventures to secure his return, — but as a joke on Cicero, because after saying nothing important at the time of the defence he later both practiced and sent to him these fruitless words, as if they could now be of any service to him.

[55] In this way Milo was convicted; and so were Rufus and Plancus, as soon as they had finished their term of office, together with numerous others on account of the burning of the senate-house. Plancus was not even benefited by Pompey, who was so earnest in his behalf that he sent to the court a volume containing both a eulogy of the prisoner and a supplication for him. Marcus Cato, who was eligible to sit as a jurymen, said he would not allow the eulogizer to destroy his own laws. But he got no opportunity to cast his vote; for Plancus rejected him, feeling sure that he would give his voice for condemnation: (by the laws of Pompey each of the parties to a suit was allowed to set aside five out of the number that were to judge him;) the other jurors, however, voted against him, especially as it did not seem right to them after they had condemned Rufus to acquit Plancus, who was on trial on the same charge. And when they saw Pompey coöperating with him, they showed the more zeal against him, for fear they might be thought to be absolute slaves of his rather than jurymen. It should be said that on this occasion, too, Cicero accused Plancus no better than he had defended Milo: for the appearance of the courtroom was the same, and Pompey in each case was planning and acting against him, — a circumstance that naturally led to a second collision between them.

[56] After attending to these matters Pompey revived the law about elections (which had fallen somewhat into disuse) commanding those who seek an office to present themselves without fail before the assembly, so that no one who is absent may be chosen. He also confirmed the ordinance, passed a short time previously, that those who had held office in the city should not be allotted to foreign governorships before five years had passed. He was not ashamed at this time to record such measures, although a little later he himself took Spain for five years more and granted Caesar, whose friends were in a terrible state of irritation, the right to canvass for the consulship (as had been decreed), even in his absence. He amended the law to read that only those should be permitted to do it who were granted the privilege by name and

without disguise; but of course this was no different from its not being prohibited at all, for men who had any influence were certainly going to manage to get the right voted to them.

[57] Such were the political acts of Pompey. Scipio without enacting any new laws abolished the measures emanating from Clodius, with regard to the censors. It looked as though he had done this out of favor to them since he restored to them the authority which they formerly had; but it turned out to be the opposite. For in view of the fact that there were many worthless men both in the equestrian and in the senatorial orders, so long as it had not been permitted them to expel any one, either accused or convicted, no fault was found with them on account of those whose names were not expunged. But when they got back their old power and were allowed to do this and to examine the life of each man separately, they had not the hardihood to come to an open break with many and did not wish to incur any censure for not expelling those guilty of improper conduct, and for this reason no sensible person had any desire for the office any longer.

[58] This was the vote passed with regard to the censors. Cato on the whole did not wish any office, but seeing Caesar and Pompey outgrowing the system of government, and surmising that they would either get control of affairs between themselves or would quarrel with each other and create a mighty strife, the victor in which would be sole ruler, he wished to overthrow them before they became antagonists, and hence sought the consulship to use it against them, because as a private citizen he was likely to wield no influence.

[B.C. 51 (*a.u.* 703)]

His designs were guessed, however, by the adherents of the two men and he was not appointed, but instead Marcus Marcellus and Sulpicius Rufus were chosen, the one on account of his acquaintance with the law and the other for his ability in speaking. One special reason was that they, even if they did not employ bribes or violence, yet showed deference to all and were wont to exhort people frequently, whereas Cato was deferential to no one. He never again became a candidate for the office, saying that it was the duty of an upright man not to avoid the leadership of the commonwealth if any person wished him to enjoy it, nor yet to pursue it beyond the limits of propriety. [59] Marcellus at once directed all his efforts to compass the downfall of Caesar, — for he was of Pompey's party, — and among the many measures against him that he proposed was one to the effect that a successor to him should be sent before the appointed time. He was resisted by Sulpicius and some of the tribunes, — by the latter out of good will toward Caesar. Sulpicius made common cause with them and with the multitude, because he did not like the idea of a magistrate who had done no wrong being stopped in the middle of his term. Pompey was starting from the city with the avowed intention of leading an expedition into Spain, but he did not at this time even leave the bounds of Italy, and after assigning to his lieutenants the entire business abroad he himself kept close watch on the city. Now when he heard how

things were going, he pretended that the plan of having Caesar detached from his command did not please him either, but he arranged matters so that when Caesar should have served out the time allowed him, an event not of the distant future, but due to occur the following year, — he should lay down his arms and return home to be a private citizen. In pursuance of this object he made Gaius Marcellus, a cousin of Marcus, or a brother (both traditions are current), obtain the consulship, because although allied to Caesar by marriage he was hostile to him; and he made Gaius Curio, who was also an oldtime foe of his rival, receive the tribuneship.

[B.C. 50 (*a.u.* 704)]

[60] Caesar was on no account inclined to become a private citizen after so great a command and one of such long standing, and was afraid that he might fall into the power of his enemies. Therefore he made preparations to stay in office in spite of them, collected additional soldiers, gathered money, manufactured arms, and conducted himself to please all. Meanwhile, desiring to settle matters at home somewhat beforehand, so as not to seem to be gaining all his ends by violence, but some by persuasion, he decided to effect a reconciliation with Curio. For the latter belonged to the family of the Curiones, had a keen intelligence, was eloquent, was greatly trusted by the populace and absolutely unsparing of money for all purposes by which he could either benefit himself or hoped to gain benefit for others. So, by buoying him up with many hopes and releasing him from all his debts which on account of his great expenditures were numerous, Caesar attached him to himself. In view of the present importance of the objects for which he was working he did not spare money, since he could collect it from the people themselves, and he also promised various persons large sums, of which he was destined to give them not the smallest particle. He courted not only the free but the slaves who had any influence whatever with their masters, and as a result a number of the knights and the senators, too, joined his party.

[61] Thus Curio began to espouse Caesar's cause; not immediately, however, did he begin to show open activity, because he was seeking an excuse of fair semblance and was trying to appear to have transferred his allegiance not willingly, but under compulsion. He also took into consideration that the more he should associate with his patron's enemies in the guise of their friend the more and the greater secrets of theirs he would learn. For these reasons he dissimulated for a very long time, and to prevent any suspicion of his having changed sides and not maintaining and representing still at this time an attitude of unqualified opposition to Caesar as one of the leading spirits in the movement, he even made a public harangue against him, as a result of which he gained the tribuneship and prepared many unusual measures. Some bills he offered against the senate and its most powerful members, who were especially active in Pompey's behalf, not because he either wished or expected that any one of them would be passed, but in order that, as they did not accept them, so no measure might be passed against Caesar (for many

motions to his detriment were being offered by many persons), and that he himself might transfer his support on this excuse.

[62] After this, having used up considerable time at various occasions on various pretexts, not a single one of which met with favor, he pretended to be vexed and asked that another month be inserted for the legislation that resulted from his measures. This practice was followed at regular periods, established by custom, but not for any such reason as his, and he himself, being pontifex, understood that fact. Nevertheless he said that it ought to be done and made a fine show of forcing his fellow-priests. At last not being able to persuade them to assent to his proposal (of which he was very glad), he would not permit any other matter for this reason to be voted upon. On the contrary he already began openly to justify Caesar's actions, since, as he said, he was unable to accomplish anything against him, and brought forward every possible proposition which was sure of not being accepted. The chief of these was that all persons in arms must lay these down and disband their legions, or else they should not strip Caesar of his weapons and expose him to the forces of his rivals. This he said, not because he wished Caesar to do it, but because he well understood that Pompey would not yield obedience to it, and thus a plausible excuse was offered the former for not dismissing his soldiers.

[63] Pompey, accordingly, as he could effect nothing in any other way, proceeded without any further disguise to harsh measures and openly said and did everything against Caesar. He failed, however, to accomplish aught. Caesar had many followers, among them Lucius Paulus, colleague of Marcellus, and Lucius Piso, his father-in-law, who was censor. For at this time Appius Claudius and Piso (though the latter did not desire it), were made censors. So Piso on account of his relationship belonged to Caesar, while Claudius opposed him, espousing Pompey's cause, yet quite involuntarily he rendered Caesar very efficient aid. He expelled very many both of the knights and the senators, overpowering his colleague, and in this made them all favor Caesar's aspirations. Piso on every account wished to avoid trouble and to maintain friendship with his son-in-law paid court to many people, being himself responsible for none of the above acts, but he did not resist Claudius when he drove from senate all the freedmen and numbers of the real nobility, among them Sallustius Crispus who wrote the History. When Curio, however, was about to have his name expunged, Piso, with the help of Paulus (whose kinsman he was), did beg him off. [64] Consequently Claudius did not expel him but made public in the senate the opinion that he had of him, so that he, indignant, rent his clothes. Marcellus followed him, and thinking that the senate would pass some severe vote against Curio and, because of him, against Caesar, brought forward propositions about him. Curio at first opposed any decision being rendered regarding him; but on coming to realize that of the majority of the senators then present some really were attached to Caesar's cause and others thoroughly feared him, he allowed them to decide, saying incidentally only this: "I am conscious of doing what is best and most

advantageous for my country: to you, however, I surrender both my body and soul to treat as you please." Marcellus accordingly accused him, thinking that he would certainly be convicted, and then when he was acquitted by the majority the accuser took it greatly to heart: rushing out of the assembly he came to Pompey, who was in the suburbs, and on his own responsibility, without the formality of a vote, gave him charge to keep guard over the city along with two legions of civilians. These soldiers were then present, having been collected in the following way and for the following purpose. [65] Pompey before this, while he was still on friendly terms with Caesar, had given him one legion composed of those troops which according to the register belonged to him, inasmuch as he was not conducting any war and Caesar had need of soldiers. When they fell out with each other, in his desire to get this back from him and to deprive him of yet another he delivered a speech, stating that Bibulus required soldiers against the Parthians; and in order that no new levies should be raised, — for the matter was urgent, he said, and they had an abundance of legions, — he got it voted that each of them, himself and Caesar, must send one to him. Thereupon he failed to despatch any of those engaged in warfare under his own command, but ordered those whose business it was to demand that legion which he had given to Caesar. So nominally both of them contributed, but in reality Caesar alone sent the two. He knew what was being done, but complied with the demand, not wishing to incur the charge of disobedience, particularly because on this excuse he intended to raise in turn many more soldiers.

[66] These legions, therefore, were apparently made ready to be sent against the Parthians, but when there proved to be no need of them, (there was really no use to which they could be put,) Marcellus, fearing that they might be restored to Caesar, at first declared that they must remain in Italy, and then, as I have said, gave them into Pompey's charge. These proceedings took place near the close of the year and were destined not to be in force for long, since they had been approved neither by the senate nor by the populace: accordingly, he brought over to Pompey's side Cornelius Lentulus and Gaius Claudius, who were to hold the consulship the next year, and caused them to issue the same commands. Since they were allowed to give out letters to men appointed to office and to perform even so early some other functions belonging to the highest post in the state before they assumed it, they believed that they had authority also in this matter. And Pompey, although he was very exact in all other details, nevertheless on account of his need of soldiers did not investigate this action at all, nor the sources from which he was getting them, nor in what way, but accepted them very gratefully. Yet no such result was accomplished as one would have expected to come from so great a piece of audacity: they merely displayed their enmity toward Caesar, as a consequence of which they could not gather any further formidable equipment, and furnished to him a plausible excuse for retaining the troops that were with him. For Curio using the acts mentioned as his text delivered

before the populace a violent arraignment both of the consuls and of Pompey, and when he had finished his term he at once set out to join Caesar.

BOOK 41

The following is contained in the Forty-first of Dio's Rome.

How Caesar came into Italy, and how Pompey, leaving it, sailed across to Macedonia (chapters 1-17).

How Caesar subjugated Spain (chapters 18-37).

How Caesar sailed across to Macedonia to encounter Pompey (chapters 38-46).

How Caesar and Pompey fought at Dyrrachium (chapters 47-51).

How Caesar conquered Pompey at Pharsalus (chapters 52-63).

Duration of time, two years, in which there were the following magistrates, here enumerated.

L. Cornelius P.F. Lentulus, C. Claudius M.F. Marcellus. (B.C. 49 = a.u. 705.)

C. Iulius C.F. Caesar (II), P. Servilius P.F. Isauricus. (B.C. 48 = a.u. 706.)

BOOK 41, BOISSEVAIN.

[B.C. 49 (*a.u.* 705)]

[1] This is what he (*sc.* Curio) did then: later he came to Rome with a letter to the senate from Caesar on the very first day of the month on which Cornelius Lentulus and Gaius Claudius entered upon office; and he would not give it to the consuls until they reached the senate-house, for fear that if they received it outside they might conceal it. Even as it was they waited a long time, not wishing to read it, but at last they were compelled by Quintus Cassius Longinus and Mark Antony, the tribunes, to make it public. Now Antony for the favor he did Caesar at the time in this matter was destined to receive a great return and to be raised himself to heights of power. In the letter was contained a list of the benefits which Caesar had conferred upon the commonwealth and a defence of the charges which were brought against him. He promised that he would disband his legions and give up his office if Pompey would also do the same: for while the latter bore arms, he said, it was not just for him to be compelled to part with his and so be exposed to his enemies.

[2] The vote on this proposition was taken not individually for fear that through having respect to others or some element of fear the senators might express the opposite of their true opinion; but it was done by their taking their stand on this side or on that of the senate-chamber. No one voted that Pompey should cease to bear arms (for he had his troops in the suburbs), but all, except one Marcus Caelius and Curio, who had carried his letter, decided that Caesar must. About the tribunes I say nothing because no necessity was laid upon them to separate into two different groups; for they had authority to contribute their vote if they wished, or otherwise not. This, then, was the decision made, but Antony and Longinus did not allow any point in it to be ratified either on that day or the next. [3] The rest, indignant at this, voted to change their garb, but through the intervention of the same men did not obtain ratification of this measure either. Their opinion, however, was recorded and the appropriate action followed: namely, all straightway left the senate-house, and after changing their clothes came in again and proceeded to deliberate about vengeance to be taken on the obstructionists. They, seeing this, at first resisted but later became afraid, especially when Lentulus advised them to get out of the way before the votes should be cast: hence after many remarks and protestations they set out with Curio and with Caelius to Caesar, little heeding that they had been expelled from the senate. This was the determination reached at that time, and the care of the city was committed to the consuls and to the other magistrates, as had been the custom. Afterward the senators went outside the pomerium to Pompey himself, declared that there was a state of disorder, and gave to him both the money and soldiers. They voted that Caesar should surrender his office to his successors and send away his legions

by a given day, or else be considered an enemy, because acting contrary to the interests of the country.

[4] When he was informed of this he came to Ariminum, then for the first time overstepping the confines of his own province, and after collecting his soldiers he bade Curio and the others who had come with him relate what had been done by them. After this was finished he inspirited them by adding such words as the occasion demanded. Next he set out and marched straight upon Rome itself, taking possession of all the intervening cities without a conflict, since the garrisons of some abandoned them by reason of weakness and others espoused his cause. Pompey, perceiving this, was frightened, especially when he learned all his intentions from Labienus. The latter had abandoned Caesar and come as a deserter, and he announced all the latter's secrets to Pompey. One might feel surprise that after having always been honored by Caesar in the highest degree, to the extent of governing all the legions beyond the Alps whenever their head was in Italy, he should have done this. The reason was that when he had clothed himself with wealth and fame he began to conduct himself more haughtily than his position warranted, and Caesar, seeing that he put himself on the same level with his master, ceased to be so fond of him. As he could not endure this changed attitude and was at the same time afraid of suffering some harm, he transferred his allegiance.

[5]Pompey as a result of what was told him about Caesar and because he had not yet prepared a force to cope with him changed his plans: for he saw that the dwellers in the city, yes, the members of the sedition themselves, even more than the others, shrank from the war through remembrance of the deeds of Marius and Sulla and wished to escape it in safety. Therefore he sent as envoys to Caesar, Lucius Caesar, a relative of his, and Lucius Roscius, a praetor, — both of them volunteering for the service, — to see if he could avoid his open attack and then make an agreement with him on some fair terms. The other replied to the same effect as in his letter, previously forwarded, and said also that he wished to converse with Pompey: but the people were displeased to hear this, fearing that some measures might be concerted against them. When, however, the envoys uttered many words in praise of Caesar, and finally promised besides that no one should suffer any harm at his hands and that the legions should immediately be disbanded, they were pleased and sent the same envoys to him again, and besought both of the opposing leaders with shouts, calling upon them everywhere and always to lay down their arms at the same time. [6] Pompey was frightened at this, knowing well that he would be far inferior to Caesar if they should both have to depend on the clemency of the populace, and betook himself to Campania before the envoys returned, with the idea that there he could more easily make war. He also commanded the whole senate together with those who held the offices to accompany him, granting them permission by a decree of absence, and telling them in advance that whoever remained behind he should regard as equal and alike to those were working against him. Furthermore he enjoined them to

vote that all the public moneys and the votive offerings in the city be removed, hoping that from this source he could gather a vast number of soldiers. For practically all the cities of Italy felt such friendliness for him that when a short time before they had heard he was dangerously ill, they vowed they would offer public sacrifices for his preservation. That this was a great and brilliant honor which they bestowed upon him no one could gainsay; there is no one in whose behalf such a vote has been passed, except those who later assumed absolute sovereignty: nevertheless he had not a sure ground of confidence that they would not abandon him under the influence of fear of a stronger power. The recommendation about the moneys and the votive offerings was allowed, but neither of them was touched; for having ascertained meanwhile that Caesar's answer to the envoys had been anything but peaceful and that he also reproached them with having made some false statements about him, that his soldiers were many and bold and liable to do any kind of mischief (such reports, tending to greater terror, as are usually made about such matters), the senators became frightened and hastily took their departure before they could lay a finger on any of the objects.

[7] For reason their removal was equally in all other respects of a tumultuous and confused appearance. The departing citizens, practically all of whom were the foremost men of the senate and of the knights and of the populace, nominally were setting out for war, but really were undergoing the experiences of captives. They were terribly distressed at being compelled to abandon their country and their pursuits there, and to consider foreign walls more native than their own. Such as removed with their entire household said farewell to the temples and their houses and their paternal threshold with the feeling that these would straightway become the property of their opponents: they themselves, not being ignorant of Pompey's intention, had the purpose, in case they should survive, of establishing themselves in Macedonia or Thrace. And those who left behind on the spot their children and wives and their other most valued possessions appeared to have some little hope of their country but really fared much worse than the others, since being sundered from their dearest treasures they exposed themselves to a double and most hostile fortune. For in delivering their closest interests to the power of their bitterest foes they were destined to play the coward and yet themselves encounter danger, to show zeal and yet to be deprived of what they prized: moreover they would find a friend in neither rival, but an enemy in both, — in Caesar because they themselves did not remain behind, and in Pompey because they did not take the others with them. Hence they assumed a twofold attitude in their decisions, in their prayers, and in their hopes: with their bodies they were being drawn away from those nearest to them, and their souls they found cleft in twain.

[8] These were the feelings of the departing throng: and those left behind had to face a different, but equally unpleasant situation. Bereft of the association of their nearest relatives, deprived, as it were, of their guardians

and far from able to defend themselves, exposed to the enemy and about to be subject to the authority of him who should make himself master of the city, they were themselves distressed by fear both of outrages and of murders as if they were already taking place. In view of these same possibilities such as were angry at the fugitives, because they themselves had been left in the lurch, cursed them for it, and those who condoned their action because of the necessity still felt consequent fears. The rest of the populace entire, even if they possessed not the least kinship with those departing, were nevertheless grieved at their fate, some expecting that their neighbors, and others that their comrades would go far away from them and do and suffer many unusual things. Most of all they bewailed their own lot, seeing the magistrates and the senate and all the rest who had any power, — they were not sure whether a single one of them would be left behind, — cast out of their country and away from them. They reflected how those men, had not many altogether dreadful calamities fastened themselves upon the State, would never have wished to flee, and they likened themselves, made destitute of allies, in every conceivable respect to orphaned children and widow women. Being the first to await the wrath and the lust of the oncoming foe, they remembered their former sufferings, some by experience and others by hearing it from the victims, all the outrages that Marius and Sulla had committed, and they therefore did not look to Caesar for moderate treatment. On the contrary, because his army was constituted very largely of barbarians, they expected that their misfortunes would be far more in number and more terrible than those of yore.

[9] Since, then, all of them were in this condition, and no one except those who appeared to be good friends of Caesar made light of the situation, and even they, in consideration of the change of character to which most men are subject according to their circumstances, were not courageous enough to think that the source of their confidence was reliable, it is not easy to conceive how great confusion and how great grief prevailed at the departure of the consuls and those who set out with them. All night they made an uproar in packing up and going about, and toward dawn great sorrow fell upon them, induced by the action of the priests, who went about offering prayers on every side. They invoked the gods, showered kisses on the floors, enumerated how many times and from what perils they had survived, and lamented that they were leaving their country, — a venture they had never made before. Near the gates, too, there was much wailing. Some took fond leave at once of each other and of the city as if they were beholding them for the last time: others bewailed their own lot and joined their prayers to those of the departing: the larger number, on the ground that they were being betrayed, uttered maledictions. The whole population, even those that stayed behind, were there with all the women and all the children. Then the one group set out on their way and the other group escorted them. Some interposed delays and were detained by their acquaintances: others embraced and clung to each other for a long time. Those

that remained accompanied those setting out, calling after them and expressing their sympathy, while with invocations of Heaven they besought them to take them, too or to remain at home themselves. Meanwhile there were shrill sounds of wailing over each one of the exiles even from outsiders, and insatiate floods of tears. Hope for the best they were scarcely at all inclined to entertain in their condition; it was rather suffering which was expected, first by those who were left and subsequently by those who were departing. Any one that saw them would have guessed that two peoples and two cities were being made from one and that one was being driven out and was fleeing, whereas the other was being left to its fate and was being captured.

[10] Pompey thus left the city drawing many of the senators after him; some remained behind, either attached to Caesar's cause or maintaining a neutral attitude toward both. He hastily raised levies from the cities, collected money, and sent garrisons to almost every point. Caesar, when he learned this, did not hurry to Rome: it, he knew, was offered as a prize to the victors, and he said that he was not marching against that place as hostile to him but against his political opponents in its behalf. And he sent a letter throughout all Italy in which he summoned Pompey to a kind of trial, encouraged all to be of good cheer, bade them remain in their places, and made them many promises. He set out next against Corfinium, which, being occupied by Lucius Domitius, had not joined his adherents, and after conquering in battle a few who met him he shut up the rest in a state of siege. Pompey, inasmuch as these citizens were being besieged and many of the others were falling off to Caesar, had no further hope of Italy but resolved to cross over into Macedonia, Greece, and Asia. He derived much encouragement from the remembrance of what he had achieved there and from the friendship of the people and the princes. (Spain was likewise devoted to him, but he could not reach it safely because Caesar had possession of both the Gauls.) Moreover he calculated that if he should sail away, no one would pursue him on account of the lack of boats and on account of the winter, — the late autumn being far advanced, — and meanwhile he would at leisure amass both money and troops, much of them from subject and much from allied territory. [11] With this design, therefore, he himself set out for Brundisium and bade Domitius abandon Corfinium and accompany him. In spite of the large force that Domitius had and the hopes he reposed in it — for he had courted the favor of the soldiers in every way and had won some of them by promises of land (having belonged to Sulla's veterans he had acquired a large amount in that reign) — he nevertheless obeyed orders. Meanwhile Pompey proceeded with his preparations to evacuate the country in safety: his associates learning this shrank from the journey abroad, because it seemed to them a flight, and attached themselves to Caesar. So these joined the invader's army: but Domitius and the other senators after being censured by Caesar for arraying themselves in opposition, were released and came to Pompey.

[12] Caesar now was anxious to join issue with him before he sailed away, to fight it out with him in Italy, and to overtake him while he was still at Brundisium; for since there were not sufficient boats for them, Pompey had sent forward the consuls and others, fearing that they might begin some rebellion if they stayed on the spot. Caesar, seeing the difficulty of capturing the place, urged his opponent to accede to some agreement, assuring him that he should obtain both peace and friendship again. When Pompey made no further response than that he would communicate to the consuls what Caesar said, the latter, inasmuch as they had decided to receive no citizen in arms for a conference, assaulted the city. Pompey repelled him for some days until the boats came back. Having meanwhile barricaded and obstructed with fortifications the roads leading to the harbor so that no one should attack him while sailing off, he then set sail by night. Thus he crossed over to Macedonia in safety and Brundisium was captured as well as two boats full of men.

[13] Pompey accordingly deserted in this way his country and the rest of Italy, choosing and carrying out quite the opposite of his former course, when he sailed back to it from Asia; wherefore he obtained the reverse fortune and the reverse reputation. Formerly he broke up his legions at Brundisium, in order not to cause the citizens any solicitude, but now he was leading away through the town to fight against them other forces gathered from Italy. Whereas he had brought the wealth of the barbarians to Rome, he had now conveyed away from it all that he possibly could to other places. And of all those at home he was in despair, but purposed to use against his country foreigners and the allies once enslaved by him, and he put far more hope in them both of safety and of power than in those who had been benefited. Instead of the brilliance, therefore, which, acquired in those wars, had marked his arrival, he set out with humiliation as his portion in return for his fear of Caesar: and instead of fame which he had had for exalting his country, he became most infamous for his desertion of her.

[14] At the very moment of coming to land at Dyrrachium he learned that he should not obtain a prosperous outcome. Thunderbolts destroyed soldiers even as the ships were approaching; spiders occupied the army standards; and after he had left the vessel serpents followed and obliterated his footprints. These were the portents which he encountered in person, but before the whole capital others had occurred both that year and a short time previously. For there is no doubt about the fact that in seditions the state is injured by both parties. Hence many wolves and owls were seen in the City itself and continual earthquakes with bellowings took place, fire shot down from the west to the east, and other fires burned both the temple of Quirinus and a second. The sun, too, suffered a total eclipse, and thunderbolts damaged a sceptre of Jupiter, a shield and a helmet of Mars that were votive offerings on the Capitol, and furthermore the tablets which contained the laws. Many animals brought forth creatures outside of their own species, certain oracles purporting to be those of the Sibyl were made known, and some men

becoming inspired practiced numerous divinations. No praefectus urbi was chosen for the Ferae, as had been the custom, but the praetors, at least according to some accounts, performed all his duties; others say they did this only in the next year. If the former are right it happened twice; and the first season Perperna who had once been censor with Philippus died, being the last, as I stated, of all the senators who had been alive in his censorship. This event, too, seemed likely to cause political confusion. The people were, then, naturally disturbed at the portents, but as both sides thought and hoped that they could lay them all on their opponents, they offered no expiatory sacrifices.

[15] Caesar at this time did not even attempt to sail to Macedonia, because he was short of boats and had fears for Italy, dreading that the lieutenants of Pompey from Spain might assail and occupy it. He put Brundisium under guard for the purpose that no one of those departed should sail back again, and went to Rome. There the senate had been assembled for him outside the pomerium by Antony and Longinus: they, who had been expelled from it, now convened that body. He accordingly made a speech of some length and of a temperate character, so that they might experience good-will toward him at the present and feel an excellent hope for the future. And since he saw them displeased at what was going on and suspicious of the multitude of soldiers, he wished to encourage and to conciliate them somewhat, to the end that quiet might prevail in their quarter while he was conducting the war. Therefore he censured no one and delivered no threat against any person, but made an attack not without imprecations upon those who wished to war against citizens, and at last moved that ambassadors be sent immediately in behalf of peace and harmony to the consuls and to Pompey. [16] He made these same statements also to the populace, when that body had likewise assembled outside the pomerium, and he sent for corn from the islands and promised each one of them seventy-five denarii. He hoped to tempt them with this bait. The men, however, reflected that those who are pursuing certain ends and those who have attained them do not think or act alike: at the start of their operations they make all the most delightful offers to such as can work against them in any way, but when they succeed in what they wish, they remember nothing at all about it and use against those very persons the power which they have received from them. They remembered also the behavior of Marius and Sulla, — how many kind things they had often told them, and then what treatment they had given them in return for their confidence, — and furthermore perceiving Caesar's necessity and seeing that his armed followers were many and were everywhere in the city, they were unable either to trust or to be cheered by his words. On the contrary, as they had fresh in their memory the fear caused by former events, they suspected him also, particularly because the ambassadors apparently intended to initiate a reconciliation were chosen, to be sure, but did not go out. Indeed, for even making mention of them once Piso, his father-in-law, was severely rebuked.

[17] The people, far from getting at that time the money which he had promised them, had to give him all the rest that remained in the public coffers for the support of his soldiers, whom they feared. Amid all these happenings, as being favorable, they wore the garb of peace, which they had not as yet put off. Lucius Metellus, a tribune, opposed the proposition about the money, and when his efforts proved ineffectual went to the treasury and kept watch of its doors. The soldiers, paying little heed to either his guarding or his outspokenness, cut through the bar, — for the consuls had the key, as if it were not possible for persons to use axes in place of it, — and carried out all the money. In fact, Caesar's other projects also, as I have often stated, he both brought to vote and carried out in the same fashion, under the name of democracy, — the most of them being introduced by Antony, — but with the substance of despotism. Both men named their political rivals enemies of their country and declared that they themselves were fighting for the public interests, whereas each really ruined those interests and increased only his own private possessions.

[18] After taking these steps Caesar occupied Sardinia and Sicily without a battle, as the governors there at that time withdrew. Aristobulus he sent home to Palestine to accomplish something against Pompey. He also allowed the children of those proscribed by Sulla to canvass for office, and arranged everything else both in the city and in the rest of Italy to his own best advantage, so far as circumstances permitted. Affairs, at home he now committed to Antony's care and himself set out for Spain which distinctly chose to follow Pompey and caused him some uneasiness lest his rival should induce the Gallic countries to revolt. Meantime Cicero and other senators did not appear in Caesar's sight, but retired to join Pompey, who, they believed, had more justice on his side and would conquer in the war. For the consuls before setting sail and Pompey using the authority of proconsul had ordered them all to accompany him to Thessalonica on the general ground that the capital was being held by certain enemies but that they themselves were the senate and would maintain the form of the government wherever they should be. For this reason most of the senators and the knights, some of them immediately and others later, and all the cities that were not subdued by Caesar's arms, embraced his cause.

[19] The Massilians, however, alone of the peoples who dwell in Gaul, refused to coöperate with Caesar, and would not receive him into their city, but made a noteworthy answer to him. They said they were allies of the Roman people and were favorably disposed toward both generals, and they could not go into details and were not competent to judge which of the two was in the wrong: consequently, in case of friendly overtures being made they would receive them both, they said, without their arms, but on a war basis neither of them. On being placed in a state of siege they repulsed Caesar himself and held out for a very long time against Trebonius and Decimus Brutus, who subsequently besieged them. Caesar contended stoutly for some

time, thinking to capture them easily, and regarding it as ridiculous that after vanquishing Rome without a battle he was not received by the Massilians; but later, when their resistance proved stubborn, he committed them to the care of others and himself hastened to Spain. [20] He had sent thither already Gaius Fabius, but fearing he would fail while contending by himself, he too began a campaign. Afranius and Petreius at this time had charge of affairs in the vicinity of the Iber and had posted a guard over the pass in the mountains, but chiefly they had gathered their forces in Ilerda, and there awaited the attackers. Fabius repulsed the hostile garrison at the Pyrenees but as he was crossing the river Sicoris they fell upon him suddenly and killed many of his men who were cut off. The bridge assisted them materially by breaking before all had crossed. When Caesar came up not much later, he crossed the river by another bridge and challenged them to battle; but they did not dare to try conclusions with him for a very considerable number of days, and remained quietly encamped opposite him. Encouraged from this cause he undertook to seize the ground, a strong position, between their rampart and the city, with the intention of shutting them off from the walls. Afranius and his followers on perceiving this occupied it first, repulsed their assailants, and pursued them when they fled. Then when others came out against them from the fortress they first resisted, then yielded purposely, and so enticed the sallying party into positions which ere favorable to themselves, where they slew many more of them. After this they took courage, attacked Caesar's foraging parties and harassed the scattered members. And on one occasion when some soldiers had crossed to the other side of the river and meantime a great storm had come up and the bridge which they had used was destroyed, they crossed over also by the other bridge, which was near the city, and annihilated them all, as no one was able to come to their assistance.

[21] Caesar, when this continued to happen, fell into desperate straits: none of his allies rendered him assistance, for his opponents met and annihilated them as fast as they heard that each one was approaching, and it was with difficulty that he managed to obtain provisions, inasmuch as he was in a hostile territory and unsuccessful in his operations. The Romans at home, when they ascertained it, renounced all hopes of him, and believing that he would survive but a short time longer fell off to Pompey. Some few senators and others set out to join the latter even so late as this. It happened just at this time that the Massilians were defeated in a naval battle by Brutus through the size of his ships and the strength of his marines, although they had Domitius as an ally and surpassed in their experience of naval affairs; they were subsequently shut in entirely. But for this nothing would have prevented Caesar's projects from being ruined. As it was, however, the victory by preconcerted arrangement was announced to the Spaniards with so many embellishments that it led some of them to change and follow the fortunes of Caesar. When he had obtained these as adherents, he secured plenty of food, constructed bridges, harassed his opponents, and once intercepted suddenly a

number of them who were wandering about the country and destroyed them.

[22] Afranius was disheartened at these results, and seeing that affairs in Ilerda were not safe or satisfactory for a prolonged delay, he determined to retire to the Iber and to the cities there. He set out on this journey by night, intending to escape the enemy's notice or at least get the start of them. His departure proved no secret, yet he was not immediately pursued, for Caesar did not think it safe in the darkness to follow up with men who were strangers to the place an enemy that was well acquainted with the country. When, however, day dawned, he hastened forward and overtaking them in the middle of their journey he encompassed them suddenly on all sides from a distance; for he was much superior in numbers and found the bowl-shaped character of the country a help. He did not wish to come into close quarters with the enemy, partly because he was afraid that they might become frenzied and accomplish some desperate undertaking, and partly again because he hoped to win them over without conflict. This also took place. They tried to break through at many points, but were unable to do so anywhere: they were wearied from loss of sleep and from their march; they had no food, since, expecting to finish their journey the same day, they had brought none, and were not well supplied with water, for that region is notably waterless: for these reasons they surrendered themselves, on condition that they should not be maltreated nor compelled to join his expedition against Pompey. [23] Caesar kept each of his promises to them scrupulously. He killed not a single man captured in this war in spite of the fact that his foes had once, during a kind of truce, destroyed some of his own men who were in an unguarded position; and he did not force them to fight against Pompey, but released the most eminent and employed the rest as voluntary allies induced by the prospect of gains and honors. By this act he grew very greatly both in reputation and prosperity, and attached to his cause all the cities in Spain and all the soldiers who were in them (some of whom were in Baetica and others, quite a number, with Marcus Terentius Varro, the lieutenant). [24] In taking charge of these and arranging their affairs he pursued his course as far as Gades, injuring no one except so far as a collection of money was concerned, — for of this he levied very large amounts. Many of the natives he honored both privately and publicly and to all the people of Gades he granted citizenship, in which the people of Rome later confirmed them. This kindness he did them in return for the vision of his dream at the time that he was quaestor there, wherein he seemed to have intercourse with his mother and had received the hope of sole rulership, as I have stated. After this act he assigned that nation to Cassius Longinus because the latter was accustomed to the inhabitants from his quaestorship which he had served under Pompey. Caesar himself proceeded by boat to Tarraco. Thence he advanced across the Pyrenees, but did not set up any trophy on their summits because he understood that not even Pompey was well spoken of for so doing; but he erected a great altar constructed of polished stones not far from his rival's trophies.

[25] While this was going on the Massilians, as ships had again been sent them by Pompey, faced danger afresh. They were defeated, to be sure, on this occasion also, but held their ground even though they learned that Caesar was already master of Spain. All attacks they vigorously repulsed and made a truce, pretendedly for the purpose of arranging terms with Caesar, when he should come. Then they sent out Domitius secretly and wrought such havoc among the soldiers who had attacked them in the midst of the truce and by night, that these ventured to make no further attempts. With Caesar, however, when he came himself, they made terms: he at that time deprived them of their arms, ships and money, and later of everything else except the name of freedom. To counterbalance this misfortune Phocaea, their mother city, was made independent by Pompey.

[26] At Placentia some soldiers mutinied and refused to accompany Caesar longer, under the pretext that they were exhausted, but really because he did not allow them to plunder the country nor to do all the other things on which their minds were set; they were hoping to obtain anything whatever of him, inasmuch as he stood in such tremendous need of them. Yet he did not yield, but, with a view to being safe from them and in order that after listening to his address and seeing the persons punished they should feel no wish in any way to transgress the established rules, he called together both the mutinous body and the rest, and spoke as follows: — [27] “Fellow soldiers, I desire to have your love, and still I should not choose on that account to participate in your errors. I am fond of you and should wish, as a father might for his children, that you should be preserved, be prosperous, and have a good repute. Do not think it is the duty of one who loves to assent to things which ought not to be done, and for which it is quite inevitable that dangers and ill-repute should fall to the lot of his beloved, but rather he must teach them the better way and keep them from the worse, both by advising and by disciplining them. You will recognize that I speak the truth if you do not estimate advantage with reference to the pleasure of the moment but instead with reference to what is continually beneficial, and if you will avoid thinking that gratifying your desires is more noble than restraining them. It is disgraceful to take pleasure temporarily in something of which you must later repent, and it is outrageous after conquering the enemy to be vanquished by some pleasure or other.

[28] “To what do the words I speak apply? To the fact that you have provisions in abundance, — I am going to speak right out with no disguise: you do get your pay in full and on time and you are always and everywhere supplied with plenty of food — that you endure no inglorious toil nor useless danger; furthermore that you gather many great prizes for your bravery and are rebuked little or not at all for your errors, and yet you do not see fit to be satisfied with these things. I am speaking not of all of you, for you are not all such men, but only to those who for their own gain are casting reproach on the rest. Most of you obey my orders very scrupulously and satisfactorily, abide by your ancestral customs, and in that way have acquired so much land and

wealth and glory; some few, however, are attaching much disgrace and disrespect to all of us. Though I understood clearly before this that they were that sort of persons, — for there is none of your interests that I fail to notice, — still I pretended not to know it, thinking that they might become better if they believed they were not observed in some of their evil deeds and had the fear that if they ever presumed too far they might be punished for the guilt of which they were conscious. Since they, however, proceeding on the ground that they may do whatever they wish because they were not brought to book at the very start, are overbold and are trying to make the rest of you, who are guilty of no irregularity, likewise mutinous, it becomes necessary for me to devote some care to them and to give them my attention. [29] In general, no society of men can preserve its unity and continue to exist, if the criminal element be not disciplined: if the part afflicted does not receive proper medicine, it causes all the rest, as in fleshly bodies, to be sick at the same time. And least of all in armies can discipline be relaxed, because when the wrongdoers have strength they become more daring and corrupt the excellent also by causing them to grow dejected and to believe that they will obtain no benefit from right behavior. Wherever the insolent element has the advantage, there inevitably the decent element has the worst of it: and wherever injustice is unpunished, there uprightness also goes without reward. What is there you could assert is doing right, if these men are doing no wrong? How could you logically desire to be honored, if these men do not endure their just punishment? Are you ignorant of the fact that if one class is freed from the fear of retribution and the other is deprived of the hope of prizes, no good is brought about, but only numberless ills? Hence if you really practice valor and excellence, you should detest these men as enemies. What is friendly is not distinguished from what is hostile by any characteristic of birth, but is determined by habits and actions, which if they are good can make the alien intimate, but if they are bad can alienate everything, even kindred. [30] And you should speak in your own defence, because by the behavior of these few we must all inevitably fall into disrepute, even if we have done no wrong. Every one who is acquainted with our numbers and progress refers the errors of the few to us all; and thus though we do not share in their gains, we bear an equal share of their reproach. Who would not be indignant at hearing that we had the name of Romans, but did deeds of the Celtae? Who would not lament the sight of Italy ravaged like Britain? Is it not outrageous for us to cease injuring the possessions of the Gauls, because they are subdued, and then to devastate the property of dwellers south of the Alps, as if they were some Epirots, or Carthaginians, or Cimbi? Is it not disgraceful for us to give ourselves airs and say that we were the first of the Romans to cross the Rhine and to sail the ocean, and then to plunder our native land which is safe from harm at the hands of foes and to receive blame instead of praise, dishonor in place of honor, loss instead of gain, punishment instead of prizes? [31] Do not think that because you are in the army, that makes you stronger than the citizens at

home. You are both Romans, and they like you both have been and will be soldiers. Nor yet again that because you have arms, it is permitted you to injure. The laws have more authority than you, and some day you will without fail lay down these weapons. Do not, again, rely on your numbers. Those capable of being wronged are, if they unite, more than you. And they will unite, if you do wrong. Do not, because you have conquered the barbarians, despise these citizens also, from whom you differ not the slightest either in birth or in education, in the matter of food or in customs. Instead, as is proper and advantageous for you, use no violence and wrong no one of them, but receive provisions from their willingness to provide, and accept rewards from their willing hands. [32] In addition to what I have just said and other considerations that one might cite who should enter upon a long discussion of such questions, you must also take account of the following fact, — that we have come here now to assist our country under oppression and to ward off those that are harming her. If she were in no danger, we should neither have come into Italy with arms, — since it is unlawful, — nor should we have left unfinished the business of the Celts and Britons, when we might have subjugated those regions too. Then is it not remarkable if we who are here for vengeance upon the evildoers should show ourselves no less greedy of gain than they? Is it not inconceivable that when we have arrived to aid our country we should force her to require other allies against us? And yet I think my claims so much better warranted than Pompey's that I have often challenged him to a trial; and since he by reason of his guilty conscience has refused to have the questions peaceably decided, I hope by this act of his to attach to my cause all the allies and the entire people. But now, if we also shall take up a course similar to his, I shall not have any decent excuse to offer nor be able to charge my opponents with any unbecoming conduct. You must also look ahead very carefully to the justice of your cause. If you have this, the strength that arms afford is full of hope, but without it nothing remains sure, though for the moment a man may be successful.

[33] "That nature has ordained this most of you understand, and you fulfill all your duties without urging. That is why I have convened you, — to make you both witnesses and spectators of my words and acts. But you are not of such a character as some men I have been mentioning and therefore it is that you receive praise. Only some few of you observe how, in addition to working many injuries and paying no penalty at all for them hitherto, these malcontents are also threatening us. However, as a general principle, I do not think it well for any ruler to be subdued by his subjects, nor do I believe that any safety could possibly result, if the class appointed to assist a person should attempt to overcome him. Consider what sort of order could exist in a house where those in the prime of youth should despise their elders, or what order in schools, if the students should pay no heed to their instructors? What health would there be for the sick, if those indisposed should not obey their physicians in all points, or what safety for the navigators if the sailors should

turn a deaf ear to their pilots? It is by a natural law both necessary and salutary that the principle of ruling and again that of being ruled have been placed among men, and without them it is impossible for anything to continue to exist for ever so short a time. Now it belongs to him who is stationed over another both to think out and to command the requisite course, and to him who is made subservient to obey without questioning and to put the order into action. By this the sensible element is distinguished from the senseless and the understanding element from the ignorant in all matters.

[34] "Since these things are so I would never under compulsion assent to these brawlers nor give them my permission perforce. Why am I sprung from Aeneas and Iulus, why have I been praetor, why consul, for what end have I led some of you out from home and gathered others later, for what end have I received and held the authority of a proconsul now for so long a time, if I am to be a slave to any one of you and conquered by any one of you here in Italy and near to Rome, — I, to whom you owe your subjection of the Gauls and your conquest of Britain? What should I fear or dread? That some one of you will kill me? Nay, but if you all had this mind, I would voluntarily choose to die rather than to give up the dignity of my position as leader or to abandon the attitude of mind befitting the head of an enterprise. For a far greater danger than the unjust death of one man confronts the city, if the soldiers shall become accustomed to issue orders to their generals and to take the justice of the law into their own hands.[35] No one of them, however, has so much as made this threat: if he had, I am sure he would have been slain forthwith by the rest of you. But they are withdrawing from the campaign on the pretence of being wearied and are laying down their arms because (they say) they are worn out, and certainly if they do not obtain my consent to this wish of theirs, they will leave their ranks and go over to Pompey: some of them make this perfectly evident. Who would not be glad to be deprived of such men, and who would not pray that such soldiers might belong to his rival, seeing that they are not content with what is given and are not obedient to orders, but that simulating old age in the midst of youth and in strength simulating weakness they claim the right to lord it over their rulers and to tyrannize over their leaders? I had ten thousand times rather be reconciled with Pompey on any terms whatever or suffer any other conceivable fate than do anything unworthy of my native thought or of my own deliberate policy. Are you unaware that it is not sovereignty or gain that I desire and that I am not bent upon accomplishing anything absolutely, an at any cost, so that I would lie and flatter and fawn upon people to this end? Will you give up, then, for these reasons the campaign, O what can I call you? Yet still it shall be not as you yourselves desire and say but as is profitable for the commonwealth and for myself."

After this speech he distributed lots among them for the infliction of the death penalty, and the most audacious, — for these, as was previously arranged, drew the lots, — he condemned, and the rest he dismissed, saying

he had no further need of them. And they repented of what they had done and were ready to renew the campaign.

[36] While he was still on the way Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, the man who later became a member of the triumvirate, in his capacity of praetor took counsel with the people to elect Caesar dictator and immediately moved his nomination, contrary to ancestral custom. The latter accepted the office as soon as he entered the city, but committed no act of terror while in it. On the contrary he granted a return to all the exiles except Milo, and filled the offices for the ensuing year: at that time they had chosen no one temporarily in place of the absentees, and whereas there was no aedile in town, the tribunes exercised all the functions pertaining to the aedileship: moreover he set up priests in the places of those who were lost (though not observing all the detailed ceremonies that were customary for them at such a juncture), and to the Gauls who live this side of the Alps and beyond the Po he gave citizenship because he had once governed them. After effecting this he resigned the name of dictator, for he had quite all the power and functions of the position constantly in his grasp. He employed the strength that is afforded by arms, and also got in addition a quasi-legal authority from the senate that was on the spot; for he was permitted to do with impunity whatever he might wish.

[37] Having obtained this he at once set aright an affair of great moment and necessity. The money lenders had exacted money quite relentlessly from some, who needed large funds on account of the political disputes and the wars. Many of the debtors by reason of the same events were not able, even if they wished it, to pay back anything; for they did not find it easy to sell anything or to borrow more. Hence the mutual dealings of the two classes were oftentimes marked by deceit and oftentimes by treachery, so that there was fear of the matter progressing till it became an incurable evil. Certain modifications in regard to interest had been made even before this by some of the tribunes, but since even so payment was not secured, but the one class kept forfeiting its securities and the other demanding the principal in money, Caesar now came to the aid of both so far as he could. He ordered that securities should have a fixed valuation according to their worth, and to decide that point he assigned arbiters to be allotted to persons disputing any point. [38] Since also many were said to possess large properties but to be concealing all their wealth, he forbade any one to have more than fifteen thousand denarii in silver or gold: this law, he alleged, he did not enact himself, but he was simply enforcing a measure some time previously introduced. His object was either that those who owed should make good some of their debt to the lenders and the rest lend to such as needed, or else that the well-to-do might be clearly apparent and no one of them keep his property all together, for fear some political change might take place in his absence. When the populace, elated at this, asked that in addition to it rewards be offered to servants for information against their masters, he refused to add such a clause to the law and furthermore called down dire destruction upon

himself if he should ever trust a slave speaking against his master.

[39] Caesar after doing this and removing all the Capitoline offerings and others hastened to Brundisium toward the close of the year and before entering upon the consulship to which he had been elected. And as he was attending to the details of his departure a kite in the Forum let fall a sprig of laurel upon one of his companions. Later, while he was sacrificing to Fortuna, the bull escaped before being wounded, rushed out of the city, and coming to a kind of pond swam across it. As a consequence he continued his preparations with greater courage and especially because the soothsayers declared that destruction should be his if he remained at home, but if he crossed the sea salvation and victory. When he had gone, the boys in the city spontaneously divided into two classes, one side calling itself Pompeians and the other Caesarians, and they fought one another after a fashion without arms, and those conquered who used Caesar's name.

[40] While such was the progress of events in Rome and in Spain, Marcus Octavius and Lucius Scribonius Libo by using Pompey's fleet expelled from Dalmatia Publius Cornelius Dolabella, who was there attending to Caesar's interests. After this they shut up Gaius Antonius, who was desirous of aiding him, in a little islet and there, abandoned by the natives and oppressed by hunger, they captured him with all his force save a few; some of them had escaped in season to the mainland, and others who were sailing across on rafts and were caught made away with themselves. [41] Curio had meanwhile reduced Sicily without a battle; for Cato, the governor of it, being no match for him and not wishing idly to expose the cities to danger, withdrew beforehand to Pompey; afterward, however, the conqueror passed over to Africa and perished. At his approach by sea Lucius Caesar abandoned the city of Aspis in which he merely happened to be staying, and Publius Attius Varus, then in charge of the affairs of that region, was defeated by him and lost many soldiers and a few cities. Juba, however, son of Hiempsus and king over the Numidians, esteemed the interests of Pompey as those of the people and the senate, and hated Curio both for this reason and because the latter when tribune had attempted to take away his kingdom from him and confiscate the land: therefore he vigorously prosecuted the war against him. He did not wait for him to invade his home country of Numidia but assailed him with something less than his entire force at the siege of Utica, for fear that the Roman, being previously informed, might retire; and he was rather more anxious to take vengeance on him than to repulse him. Accordingly, Juba sent forward a few men who reported that the king had departed in some other direction and to a distance: he himself followed after these and did not miss the results he had hoped for. [42] Before this Curio with the idea that his enemy was approaching had transferred his men to the camp near the sea and had framed an intention, in case he were hard pushed, of embarking on the ships and leaving Africa altogether. But when he ascertained that only a few men were arriving and these without Juba, he took courage and started out that

very night as if to a victory waiting for him, and fearing only that they should escape him. In his advance he destroyed some of the van who were sleeping on the road and became much emboldened. Next, about dawn, he encountered the rest who had started out ahead from the camp; and without any delay, in spite of the fact that his soldiers were exhausted both by the march and by loss of sleep, he at once joined battle with them. At this juncture, while matters were at a standstill and they were fighting rather evenly, Juba suddenly appeared upon the scene and by his unexpected coming as well as by his numbers overwhelmed him. Curio and most of the others he killed on the spot by means of this surprise, and the rest he pursued as far as the ditch, after which he confined them to their ships and in the midst of the confusion got possession of large amounts of money and destroyed many men. Numbers of them perished when they seemed to have escaped, some being knocked down in the *mêlée* while boarding the boats, and others drowned while in the ships themselves by the overloading of the vessels. During these occurrences some being afraid they might suffer the same fate went over to Varus expecting that their lives would be spared, but received no benefit from it. For Juba asserted that it was he who had conquered them and so slaughtered them all except a few. Thus Curio died after rendering most valuable assistance to Caesar upon whom he had founded many hopes. Juba found honors at the hands of Pompey and the senators who were in Macedonia and was saluted as king: but on the part of Caesar and those in the city he was censured and declared an enemy, while Bocchus and Bogud were named kings because they were hostile to him.

[B.C. 48 (*a.u.* 706)]

[43] The ensuing year the Romans had two sets of magistrates, contrary to custom, and a mighty conflict was engendered. The people of the city had chosen as consuls Caesar and Publius Servilius, together with praetors, and everything else according to law: the party in Thessalonica had made no such preparations although they had by some accounts about two hundred of the senate and the consuls and had appropriated a small piece of land for divinations to the end that their proceedings might seem to take place under a certain form of law. Wherefore they regarded the people and the entire city as present there (the reason being that the consuls had not introduced the *lex curiata*), and they employed those same officials as formerly, only changing their names and calling some proconsuls, others proprætors, and others proquaestors. For they were very careful about ancestral customs even though they had raised their arms against their country and abandoned their native shores, and were anxious to perform all necessary acts not merely with a view to temporary demands or contrary to the exact wording of the ordinances. It is quite time that nominally these officials ruled the two parties, but in reality it was Pompey and Caesar who were supreme, bearing, for the sake of good repute, the legal titles, — one that of consul and the other that of proconsul, — and doing not what the magistrates allowed but whatever they themselves

pleased.

[44] Under these conditions, with the government divided in twain, Pompey wintered in Thessalonica and did not keep a very careful guard of the coast. He did not think that Caesar had yet arrived in Italy from Spain, and even if he were there he did not suspect that his rival, in winter, at least, would venture to cross the Ionian sea. Caesar was in Brundisium, waiting for spring, but when he ascertained that Pompey was some distance off and that Epirus just opposite was rather heedlessly guarded, he seized the opportunity of the war to attack him while in a state of relaxation. When the winter was about half gone he set out with a portion of his army, — there were not enough ships to carry them all across at once, — escaped the attention of Marcus Bibulus to whom the guarding of the sea had been committed, and crossed to the so-called Ceraunian Headlands, a point in the confines of Epirus, near the opening of the Ionian gulf. Having reached there before it became noised abroad that he would sail at all, he despatched the ships to Brundisium for the rest: but Bibulus damaged them on the return voyage and actually took some in tow, so that Caesar learned by experience that he had enjoyed a more fortunate than prudent voyage.

[45] During this delay, therefore, he acquired Oricum and Apollonia and other points there which had been abandoned by Pompey's garrisons. This "Corinthian Apollonia" is well situated as regards the land and as regards the sea, and excellently in respect to rivers. What I have remarked, however, above all else is that a huge fire issues from the ground near the Aöus river and neither spreads to any extent over the surrounding land nor sets on fire that very place where it is located nor even makes the ground dry and brittle, but leaves the grass and trees flourishing very near it. In pouring rains it increases and rises high. For this reason it is called Nymphaeum and affords a kind of oracle. You take a grain of incense and after making whatever prayer you wish throw it carrying the prayer. At this the fire, if your wish is to be fulfilled, receives it very readily and in case the grain falls somewhere outside, darts forward, snatches it up and consumes it. But if the wish is not to be fulfilled, the fire does not go to it, and if it is carried into the flame, the latter recedes and flees before it. These two actions it performs in this way in all matters save those of death and marriage: about these two it is not granted any one to learn anything whatever from it.

[46] Such is the nature of this marvel. Now as Antony, to whom had been assigned the duty of conveying those that remained at Brundisium, proved slow, and no message came about them on account of the winter and of Bibulus, Caesar suspected that they had adopted a neutral attitude and were watching the course of events, as often happens in political disputes. Wishing therefore, to sail himself to Italy, and alone, he embarked on a small boat as some one else, saying that he had been sent by Caesar; and he forced the captain, although there was a wind, to set sail. When, however, they were away from land, the gale came sweeping violently down upon them and the

billows rocked them terribly, so that the captain not even under compulsion dared any longer sail on, but undertook to return even without his passenger's consent. Then the latter revealed himself, as if by this act he should stop the storm, and said, "Be of good cheer: you carry Caesar." Such a disposition and such a hope he had, either accidentally or as the result of some oracle, that he felt a secure trust in safety even contrary to the appearance of things. Nevertheless, he did not get across, but after struggling for a long time in vain sailed back.

[47] After this he encamped opposite Pompey, near Apsus. The latter as soon as he had heard of his rival's advent had made no delay, but hoping to quell him easily before he secured the presence of the rest who were with Antony, he marched in haste and in some force toward Apollonia. Caesar advanced to meet him as far as the river, thinking that even as he was he would prove a match for the troops then approaching: but when he learned that he was actually far inferior in numbers, he halted. In order that this action should not seem due to fear, and he not be thought to be opening the war, he submitted some conciliatory proposals to the opposing body and continued his abode in that place. Pompey, knowing this, wished to try conclusions with him as soon as possible and for this reason undertook to cross the river. But the bridge on receiving the weight broke down and some of the advance guard being isolated, perished. Then he desisted in dejection that he had failed in his first recourse to hostile action. Meanwhile Antony had arrived, and Pompey in fear retired to Dyrrachium. [48] While Bibulus lived, Caesar's lieutenant had not dared even to set out from Brundisium, so close was the guard kept over it. But when that officer, worn out by hard work, had died and Libo succeeded him as admiral, Antony despised him and set sail with the evident intention of forcing the passage. Driven back to land he repelled the other's vigorous attack upon him and later, when Libo was anxious to disembark somewhere, he allowed him to find anchorage nowhere near that part of the mainland. The admiral being in need of anchorage and water, since the little island in front of the harbor, which was the only place he could approach, is destitute of water and harbor alike, sailed off to some distant point where he was likely to find both in abundance. In this way Antony was enabled to set sail, and later when the foe attempted to assail them on the high seas he suffered no damage at his hands: a violent storm came up which prevented the attack, but caused injuries to both sides.

[49] When the soldiers had come safely across, Pompey, as I have said, retired to Dyrrachium, and Caesar followed him, encouraged by the fact that he had survived his previous experiences with the number of followers he now had. Dyrrachium is situated in the land formerly belonging to the tribe of Illyrians called Parthini, but now and even at that time regarded as a part of Macedonia; and it is very favorably placed, whether it be the Epidamnus of the Corcyraeans or some other. Those who record this fact also refer its founding and its name to a hero Dyrrachus. The other authorities have

declared that the place was renamed by the Romans with reference to the difficulties of the rocky shore, because the term Epidamnus has in the Latin tongue the meaning "loss," and so seemed to be very ill-omened for their crossing over to it.

[50] Pompey after taking refuge in this Dyrrachium built a camp outside the city and surrounded it with deep ditches and stout palisades. Caesar encamped over against it and made assaults, in the hope of shortly capturing the palisades by the number of his soldiers: when, however, he was repulsed, he attempted to wall it off. While he was at that work, Pompey fortified some points by stakes, cut off others by a wall, and fortified still others with a ditch, establishing towers and guards on the high places, so as to render the circuit of the encompassing wall necessarily infinite and to render an approach impossible to the foe, even if they conquered. There were meanwhile many battles between them, but brief ones, in which now one party, now the other, was victorious or beaten, so that a few were killed on both sides alike. Upon Dyrrachium itself Caesar made an attempt by night, between the marshes and the sea, in the expectation that it would be betrayed by its defenders. He passed inside the narrows, but at that point was attacked by many in front and many behind, who were conveyed along the shore in boats and suddenly fell upon him; thus he lost numerous men and very nearly perished himself. After this occurrence Pompey took courage and concerted a plan for a night assault upon the circumvallation; as he was unexpected he captured a portion of it by storm and caused a great slaughter among the men encamped near it.

[51] Caesar in view of this event and because the grain had failed him, — the entire sea and land in the vicinity being hostile, — and because for this reason some had deserted, feared that he might either be overcome while watching his adversary or be abandoned by his other followers. Therefore he leveled all the works that had been constructed, destroyed also all the parallel walls, and thereupon made a sudden start and set out for Thessaly. During this same time that Dyrrachium was being besieged Lucius Cassius Longinus and Gnaeus Domitius Calvinus had been sent by him into Macedonia and into Thessaly. Longinus was disastrously defeated by Scipio and by Sadalus, a Thracian; Calvinus was repulsed from Macedonia by Faustus, but on receiving accessions from the Locrians and Aetolians he invaded Thessaly with these troops, and after being ambushed and then again laying counter-ambuscades conquered Scipio in battle, and by that act gained a few cities. Thither, accordingly, Caesar hastened, thinking that by combining with these officers he could more easily get an abundance of food and continue the prosecution of the war. When no one would receive him, because he had had bad luck, he reluctantly held aloof from the larger settlements, but assaulted Gomphi, a little city of Thessaly, took it, killed many and plundered all its inhabitants in order that by this act he might inspire the rest with terror. Metropolis, at any rate, another town, would have no conflict with him but forthwith capitulated without a struggle: and as he did no harm to its citizens

he more easily won over some other places by his display of equal readiness in opposite contingencies.

[52] So he became strong again. Pompey did not institute an immediate pursuit, for his antagonist had withdrawn suddenly by night and had hastily crossed the Genusus river: however, he was strongly inclined to think that he had subdued him completely. Consequently he assumed the name of imperator, though he made no boast of it and did not even wind laurel about his fasces, disliking to show such exultation over the downfall of citizens. Consistently with this same attitude he neither sailed to Italy himself nor sent any others there, though he might easily have reduced the whole peninsula. As regards a fleet he was absolute master, for he had five hundred swift ships and could touch at many points at once: and the sentiment of that country was not opposed to him, nor, if it had been ever so hostile, could the people have been a match for him in war. But he wished to remain at a distance, so as to get the reputation of fighting for his land, and did not see fit to cause any fear to the persons who then in Rome. Hence he made no attempt on Italy, not even sending to the government any despatch about his successes. But after this he set out against Caesar and came to Thessaly.

[53] As they lay opposite each other the appearance of the camps bore, indeed, some resemblance of war, but the use of arms was suspended as in time of peace. As they reviewed the greatness of the danger and foresaw the obscurity and uncertainty of the issue, and still stood in some awe of their common ancestry and kinship, they were led to delay. Meanwhile they exchanged propositions about friendship and appeared to some likely to become reconciled without accomplishing anything. This was due to the fact that they were both reaching out for supreme dominion and were influenced by a great deal of native ambition and a great deal of acquired rivalry, — for men can least endure to be outdone by their equals and intimates; they were not willing to make any concessions to each other, since each felt that he might win, nor could they feel any confidence, if they did come to terms, that they would not be always yearning for the advantage and fall into strife again over complete control. [54] In temper they differed from each other to this extent, — that Pompey desired to be second to no man and Caesar to be first of all, and the former was anxious to be honored by willing subjects and to preside over and be loved by a people fully consenting, whereas the latter cared not at all if he ruled over an unwilling nation and issued orders to men that hated him, and bestowed the honors with his own hand upon himself. The deeds, however, through which they hoped to accomplish all that they wished, were perforce common to both alike. For it was impossible that either one of them should succeed without fighting against his countrymen, leading foreigners against kindred, obtaining much money by unjust pillage, and killing unlawfully many of his dearest associates. Hence, even though they differed in their desires, yet in their acts, by which they hoped to fulfill those desires, they were alike. Consequently they would not yield to each other on

any point, in spite of the many just grounds that they alleged, and finally came into collision.

[55] The struggle proved a mighty one, and resembled no other conflict. The leaders believed themselves to be the most skilled in all matters of warfare and clearly the most distinguished not only of the Romans but also of the remainder of mankind then in existence. They had practiced those pursuits from boyhood, had constantly been connected with them, had exhibited deeds worthy of note, had been conspicuous for great valor and great good fortune, and were therefore most worthy of commanding and most worthy of victory. As to forces, Caesar had the largest and the most genuinely Roman portion of the citizen-army and the most warlike men from the rest of Italy, from Spain, and the whole of Gaul and the islands that he had conquered: Pompey had attracted many from the senatorial and the equestrian order and from the regular enrollment and had gathered a vast number from subject and pacified peoples and kings. Aside from Pharnaces and Orodes, — the latter, indeed, although an enemy because of his having killed the Crassi, he tried to win over, — all the rest who had ever had even the smallest dealings with Pompey gave him money and either sent or led auxiliaries. The Parthian king promised to be his ally if he should take Syria: but as he did not get it, the prince did not help him. While Pompey decidedly excelled in numbers, Caesar's followers were equal to them in strength, and so, the advantage being even, they just balanced each other and were equally prepared for danger.

[56] In these circumstances and by the very cause and purpose of the war a most notable struggle took place. The city of Rome and the entire dominion over it, even then great and mighty, lay before them as a prize: it was clear to all that it would become the slave of him who conquered. When they reflected on this fact and furthermore recalled their former deeds, — Pompey, Africa and Sertorius and Mithridates and Tigranes and the sea: Caesar, Gaul and Spain and the Rhine and Britain, — they were excited to frenzy, thinking that they were facing danger for those conquests too, and each was eager to acquire the other's glory. For the renown of the vanquished no less than his other possessions becomes the property of the victors. The greater and more powerful the antagonist that a man overthrows, to the greater heights is he raised. [57] Therefore they delivered to the soldiers also many exhortations, but very much alike on both sides, saying all that is fitting to be mentioned on such occasions with reference both to the immediate nature of the danger and to its future results. As they both came from the same state and were talking to the same subjects and calling each other tyrants and themselves liberators from tyranny, they had nothing of different kinds to say, but stated that it would be the lot of the one party to die, of the other to be preserved, of the one party to be captives, of the other to enjoy the master's lot, to possess everything or to be deprived of everything, to suffer or to inflict a most terrible fate. After giving some such exhortations to the citizens and furthermore leading the subject and allied contingents into hopes for the better

and fears for the worse, they hurled at each other kinsmen, sharers of the same tent, those who had eaten together, those who had drunk together. Why should any one then lament the fate of others involved, when those very men, who were all these things to each other, and had shared many secret words, many similar exploits, who had once been concerned in a marriage and loved the same child, one as a father, the other as grandfather, nevertheless fought? All the ties that nature by mingling their blood had created, they now, directed by insatiate lust of power, hastened to break, tear, and cleave asunder. Because of them Rome was forced to encounter danger for herself against herself, and though victor to be worsted.

Such was the struggle in which they joined. [58] They did not, however, immediately come to close quarters. Sprung from the same country and from the same hearth, with almost identical weapons and similar formation, each side shrank from beginning the battle, shrank from slaying any one. There was great silence then, and dejection on the part of both; no one went forward nor moved at all: but with heads bowed they stood motionless, as if devoid of life. Caesar and Pompey, therefore, fearing that if they remained quiet any longer their animosity might be dulled or they might even become reconciled, hurriedly commanded the trumpeters to blow the signal and the men to raise the war cry in unison. Both orders were obeyed, but the contestants were so far from being imbued with courage, that at the similar sound of the trumpeter's call and at their own outcry in the same language, they felt their affinity and were impressed with their kinship, and so fell into tears and wailing. [59] At length the allied troops began the battle, and the rest joined in combat, fairly beside themselves at what they were doing. Those whose part in the conflict was a distant one were less sensible of the horror; they threw, shot, hurled javelins, discharged slings, without knowing whom they hit: but the heavy-armed and the cavalry had a fearful experience, as they were close to each other and could even speak a little back and forth; at the same moment they would recognize their vis-à-vis and would wound him, would call to him and slaughter him, would remember their country and despoil the slain. These were the actions and the sufferings of the Romans and the rest from Italy who were joined with them in the campaign, wherever they happened upon each other. Many sent messages home through their very destroyers. The subject force fought both zealously and unflinchingly, showing much alertness as once for their own freedom, so now to secure the slavery of the Romans; they wanted, since they were inferior to them at all points, to have them as fellow-slaves.

[60] It was a very great battle and full of diverse incidents, partly for the reasons mentioned and partly on account of the numbers and the variety of the armaments. There were vast bodies of heavy-armed soldiers, vast bodies of cavalry, others that were archers and still others that were slingers, so that they occupied the whole plain and when scattered often fought with their own men, because similarly arrayed, and often promiscuously with others. Pompey

surpassed in his body of horse and archers; hence they surrounded troops from a distance, employed sudden assaults, and after throwing them into confusion retired; then again and still again they would attack them, changing now to this side and now to that. The Caesarians were on their guard against this, and by deploying their ranks always managed to face those assailing them, and when they came into close quarters with them readily laid hold of both men and horses in the contest; light-armed infantry had, in fact, been drawn up with their cavalry for this very purpose. And all this took place, as I said, not in one spot but in many places at once, scattered about; and with some contending from a distance and others fighting at close quarters, this body smiting its opponents and that group getting struck, one detachment fleeing, and a second pursuing, many infantry battles and many cavalry battles as well were to be seen. Under these conditions many unexpected things happened. One man having routed another was himself turned to flight, and another who had forced a man out of line was in turn attacked by him. One soldier who had struck another was himself wounded and a second, who had fallen, killed the enemy who stood over him. Many died without being wounded, and many when half dead caused more slaughter. Some exulted and sang the paean, while others were grieved and lamented, so that all places were filled with cries and groans. The majority were thrown into confusion by this fact, for the mass of words which were unintelligible to them, because belonging to different nations and languages, alarmed them greatly, and those who could understand one another suffered a calamity many times worse; in addition to their private misfortunes they saw and heard at the same time those of near neighbors.

[61] At last, after they had struggled evenly for a very long space of time and many on both sides alike had fallen or been wounded, Pompey, since the larger part of his army was Asiatic and untrained, was defeated, even as had been made clear to him before the action. Thunderbolts had fallen into his camp, a fire had appeared in the air over Caesar's ditch and then fell up his own, bees had swarmed upon his military standards, and many of the victims after being led up close the very altar had run away. And so far did the effects of that contest extend to the rest of mankind that on the very day of the battle collisions of armies and the clash of arms occurred in many places: in Pergamum a kind of noise of drums and cymbals rose from the temple of Dionysus and spread throughout the city; in Tralles a palm tree grew up in the temple of Victory and the goddess herself turned about toward an image of Caesar located beside her; in Syria two young men (as they seemed) announced the result of the battle and vanished; and in Patavium, which now belongs to Italy but was then still a part of Gaul, certain birds not only brought news of it but even acted it out to some extent, for one Gaius Cornelius drew from them accurate information of all that had taken place, and narrated it to the bystanders. These things happened separately on that very same day and were naturally distrusted at the time; but when news was brought of the

engagement, astonishment was felt.

[62] Of Pompey's followers who were not destroyed on the spot some fled whithersoever they could, and others changed their allegiance. Those of them who were soldiers of the line Caesar enrolled among his own troops, exhibiting no resentment. Of the senators and knights all those whom he had captured before and pitied he killed, unless his friends begged some of them off; for he allowed each of these on this occasion to save one man. The rest who had then for the first time fought against him he released, saying: "Those have not wronged me who have advanced the interests of Pompey, their friend, and had received no benefit from me." This same attitude he adopted toward the potentates and peoples who joined his cause. He pardoned them all, bearing in mind that he himself was acquainted with none or almost none of them, whereas from his rival they had previously obtained many favors. These he praised far more than such as had previously received some kindness from Pompey but in the midst of dangers had left him in the lurch: the former he could reasonably expect would be favorably disposed to him also, but as to the latter, no matter how anxious they seemed to be to please him in anything, he believed that inasmuch as they had betrayed a friend in this crisis they would not spare him either on occasion. [63] A proof of his feeling is that he spared Sidalus the Thracian and Deiotarus the Gaul, who had been in the battle, and Tarcondimotus, who was ruler of a portion of Cilicia and had very greatly assisted Caesar's opponent in the way of ships. What need is there of listing the rest who sent auxiliaries, to all of whom he granted pardon and merely exacted money from them? He did them no other damage and took from them nothing else, though many had frequently received great gifts from Pompey, some long ago and some just at that time. A certain portion of Armenia that had belonged to Deiotarus he did give to Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, yet in this he did not injure Deiotarus at all, but rather conferred an additional favor upon him. He did not sunder the territory his domains, but after occupying all of Armenia before occupied by Pharnaces he bestowed one part of it on Ariobarzanes and another part upon Deiotarus. Pharnaces made a plea that he had not assisted Pompey and therefore, in view of his behavior, deserved to obtain pardon: Caesar, however, gave him no satisfactory response, and furthermore reproached him with the very fact that he had proved himself base and impious toward his benefactor. Such humaneness and uprightness did he afterward show in every case to all those who had fought against him. Moreover, all the letters that were found filed away in Pompey's chests which convicted any persons of good-will toward the latter or ill-will toward himself he neither read nor had copied but burned them immediately, in order not to be forced by what was in them to take severe measures; and for this reason if no other any one ought to hate the men that plotted against him. This is not a mere random remark, but may serve to call attention to the fact that Marcus Brutus Caepio, who afterward killed him, was captured by him and preserved from harm.

BOOK 42

The following is contained in the Forty-second of Dio's Rome.

How Pompey, defeated in Thessaly, took to flight and perished in Egypt (chapters 1-5).

How Caesar, following Pompey, came into Egypt (chapters 6-16).

How the news about Caesar and Pompey was announced at Rome, and what decrees were passed in honor of Caesar (chapters 17-20).

How in the absence of Caesar the population of Rome revolted (chapters 21-33).

How Caesar fought and subdued the Egyptians and showered favors upon Cleopatra (chapters 34-44).

How Caesar conquered Pharnaces (chapters 45-48).

How Caesar returned to Rome and reconciled the interests there (chapters 49-55).

How Caesar led an expedition into Africa (chapters 56-58).

Duration of time, the remainder of the consulship of Julius Caesar (II) and Publius Servilius Isauricus, together with one additional year, in which there were the following magistrates here enumerated.

C. Iulius C.F. Caesar, Dictator (II), M. Antonius M.F., Master of Horse, and the two consuls C. Fufius C.F. Calenus and P. Vatinius P.F. (B.C. 47 = a.u. 707.)

BOOK 42, BOISSEVAIN.

[B.C. 48 (*a.u.* 706)]

[1] The general nature of the battle has, accordingly, been described. As a result of it Pompey straightway despaired of all his undertakings and no longer made any account of his own valor or of the number of his remaining soldiers or of the fact that Fortune often restores the vanquished in the shortest space of time; yet in former times he had always possessed the greatest cheerfulness and the greatest hopefulness on all occasions of failure. The reason for this was that in the cases just mentioned he had usually been evenly matched with the foe and hence had not discounted a victory in advance; but by reflecting beforehand on the dual possibilities of the outcome of the engagement, while he was still coolheaded and before being involved in any alarm, he had not neglected to prepare for the worst. In this way he had not been compelled to yield to disasters and was able with ease to renew the conflict: but this time as he had expected to far surpass Caesar he had foreseen nothing. For instance, he had not put the camp in proper condition nor provided a refuge for himself if defeated. And whereas he might have delayed action and so have conquered without a battle, — for his army kept increasing every day and he had abundant provisions because he was in a country for the most part friendly and because he was lord of the sea, — nevertheless, whether of his own accord and thinking he would conquer in any event, or because he was forced by his associates, he brought on an engagement. Consequently as soon as he was defeated he was terribly alarmed and had no opportune plan or sure hope ready to enable him to face the danger anew. Whenever any event befalls a man unexpectedly and most contrary to what seemed reasonable, it humbles his mind and drives out the faculty of calculation, so that he becomes the poorest and weakest judge of what must be done. Calculation cannot live in the midst of fears; if it occupies the ground first, it thrusts them out very effectively, but if it be a second comer, it gets the worst of the encounter.

[2] Hence Pompey, also, having considered none of the chances beforehand, was found naked and defenceless, whereas, had anything been foreseen, he might, perhaps, without trouble have quickly recovered all his losses. Large numbers of the combatants had survived and he had other forces that were considerable. Above all, he had gotten into his possession large amounts of money and was master of the entire sea, and the cities both there and in Asia were fond of him even in his misfortune. But, as it turned out, since he had fared so ill where he felt most encouraged, in the temporary seizure of fear he made no use of any one of these resources, but left the fortifications at once and fled with a few companions toward Larissa. He did not enter the city although the Larissaeans invited him, because he feared that by so doing he might incur some blame. Bidding them make terms with the victor, he himself

took provisions, embarked on the sea, and sailed away to Lesbos on a merchantman, to his wife Cornelia and his son Sextus. After taking charge of them he did not even enter Mitylene but started for Egypt, hoping to secure an alliance with Ptolemy, the king of that country. This was the son of that Ptolemy who, through the agency of Gabinius, had received back the kingdom at his hands, and he had as an acknowledgment of that service sent a fleet to Pompey's assistance. I have heard that Pompey thought also of fleeing to the Parthians, but I cannot credit the report. For that race so hated all the Romans ever since Crassus had led his expedition against them, and Pompey especially, because related to him, that they imprisoned his envoy who came with a request for aid, though he was a senator. And Pompey would have never endured in his misfortune to become a suppliant of a most hostile nation for what he had failed to obtain while enjoying success. [3] However, — he proceeded to Egypt for the reasons mentioned, and after coasting along the shore as far as Cilicia went across from there to Pelusium, where Ptolemy, just then engaged in a war with his sister Cleopatra, was encamped. Bringing the ships to anchor he sent some men to remind the prince of the favor shown his father and to ask that he be permitted to land on definite and secure conditions: he did not venture to disembark before obtaining some guarantee of safety. Ptolemy made him no answer, for he was still a mere child, but some of the Egyptians and Lucius Septimius, a Roman who had made campaigns with Pompey but was a relative of Gabinius and had been left behind by him to keep guard over Ptolemy, came in the guise of friends: for all that they impiously plotted against him and by their act brought guilt upon themselves and all Egypt. They themselves perished not long after and the Egyptians for their part were first delivered to be slaves of Cleopatra (this they particularly disliked) and later were enrolled among the Roman subjects. [4] Now at this time Septimius and Achillas, the commander-in-chief, and others who were with them declared they would readily receive Pompey, — to the end, of course, that he might be the more easily deceived and ensnared. Some of them sent on his messengers ahead, bidding them be of good cheer, and the natives themselves next embarked on some small boats and sailed out to him. After many friendly greetings they begged him to come over to their vessels, saying that by reason of its size and the shallow water a trireme could not closely approach their land and that they were very eager to see Pompey himself more quickly. He thereupon changed ships, although all his fellow voyagers urged him not to do it, trusting in his hosts and saying merely:

“Whoever to a tyrant wends his way, His slave is he, e'en though his steps be free.”

Now when they drew near the land, fearing that if he even met Ptolemy he might be saved, by the king himself or by the Romans who dwelt with him or by the Egyptians, who regarded him with great affection, they killed him before sailing into harbor. He said not a word and uttered no complaint, but as soon as he perceived their plot and recognized that he would not be able to

ward them off nor escape, he veiled his face.

[5] Such was the end of the famous Pompey the Great, wherein once more the weakness and the strange fortune of the human race are proved. He was no whit deficient in foresight, but was deceived by having been always absolutely secure against any force of harmful potency. He had won many unexpected victories in Africa, and many in Asia and Europe, both by land and by sea ever since boyhood; and was now in the fifty-eighth year of his age defeated without good reason. He who had subdued the entire Roman sea perished on it: and whereas he had once, as the story goes, been master of a thousand ships, he was destroyed in a tiny boat near Egypt and really by that same Ptolemy whose father he had once restored from exile to that land and to his kingdom. The man whom at that time Roman soldiers were still guarding, soldiers left behind by Gabinius as a favor to Pompey and on account of the hatred felt by the Egyptians for the young prince's father, seemed now to have put him to death by the hands of those Romans and those Egyptians. Pompey, who was previously considered the dominant figure among the Romans so that he even had the nickname of *Agamemnon*, was now slain like any of the lowest of the Egyptians themselves, near Mount Casius and on the anniversary of the day on which he had celebrated a triumph over Mithridates and the pirates. Even in this point, therefore, there was nothing similar in the two parts of his career. Of yore on that day he had experienced the most brilliant success, whereas he now suffered the most grievous fate: again, following a certain oracle he had been suspicious of all the citizens named Cassius, but instead of being the object of a plot by any man called Cassius he died and was buried beside the mountain that had this name. Of his fellow voyagers some were captured at once, while others fled, among them his wife and child. The former under a safe conduct came later safely to Rome: the latter, Sextus, proceeded to Africa to his brother Gnaeus; these are the names by which they are distinguished, since they both bore the appellation Pompey.

[6] Caesar, when he had attended to pressing demands after the battle and had assigned to certain others Greece and the remainder of that region to win over and administer, himself pursued after Pompey. He hurried forward as far as Asia in quest of news about him, and there waited for a time since no one knew which way he had sailed. Everything turned out favorably for him: for instance, while crossing the Hellespont in a kind of ferryboat, he met Pompey's fleet sailing with Lucius Cassius in command, but so far from suffering any harm at their hands he terrified them and won them to his side. Next, meeting with no resistance any longer he took possession of the rest of that district and regulated its affairs, levying a money contribution, as I said, but otherwise doing no one any harm and even conferring benefits on all, so far as was visible. He did away with the taxgatherers, who abused the people most cruelly, and he converted the product of the taxes into a payment of tribute.

[7] Meanwhile, learning that Pompey was sailing to Egypt, he was afraid

that his rival by occupying it in advance might again acquire strength, and he set out with, all speed. Him he found no longer alive. Then with a few followers he sailed far in advance of the others to Alexandria itself before Ptolemy came from Pelusium. On discovering that the people of the city were in a tumult over Pompey's death he did not at once venture to disembark, but put out to sea and waited till he saw the head and finger-ring of the murdered man, sent him by Ptolemy. Thereupon he approached the land with some courage: the multitude, however, showed irritation at the sight of his lictors and he was glad to make his escape into the palace. Some of his soldiers had their weapons taken from them, and the rest accordingly put to sea again until all the ships had reached harbor. [8] Caesar at the sight of Pompey's head wept and lamented bitterly, calling him countryman and son-in-law, and enumerating all the kindnesses they had shown each other. He said at he owed no reward to the murderers, but heaped reproaches upon them, and the head he commanded to be adorned and after proper preparation to be buried. For this he received praise, but for his pretences he was made a laughing stock. He had from the outset been thoroughly set upon dominion; he had always hated Pompey as his antagonist and adversary; besides all his other measures against him he had brought on this war with no other purpose than to secure his rival's ruin and his own leadership; he had but now been hurrying to Egypt with no other end in view than to overthrow him completely if he should still be alive: yet he feigned to miss his presence and made a show of vexation over his destruction.

[9] Under the belief that now that Pompey was out of the way there was no longer any spot left that was hostile to him, he spent some time in Egypt collecting money and adjudicating the differences between Ptolemy and Cleopatra. Meanwhile other wars were being prepared for him. Egypt revolted, and Pharnaces had begun, just as soon as he learned that Pompey and Caesar were at variance, to lay claim to his ancestral domain: he hoped that they would consume much time in their disputes and use up their own powers upon each other. He was at this time still clinging to the districts mentioned, partly because he had once asserted his claim and partly because he understood that Caesar was far off; and he had occupied many points in advance. Meanwhile Cato and Scipio and the rest who were of the same mind with them set on foot in Africa a war that was both a civil and a foreign conflict.

[10] It was this way. Cato had been left behind at Dyrrachium by Pompey to keep an eye upon reinforcements from Italy, in case any one should cross, and to repress the Parthini in case they should cause any disturbance. At first he carried on war with the latter, but after Pompey's defeat he abandoned Epirus and proceeding to Corcyra with those of the same mind as himself he there received the men who escaped from the battle and the rest who had the same interests. Cicero and a few other senators had set out for Rome at once: but the majority, together with Labienus and Afranius, since they had no hope in

Caesar, — the one because he had deserted, the other because after having been pardoned by him he had again made war on him, — went to Cato, put him at their head and continued the war. [11] Their number was later increased by the addition of Octavius. The latter after sailing into the Ionian sea and arresting Gaius Antonius conquered several places but could not take Salona though he besieged it for a very long time. Having Gabinius to assist them they repulsed him vigorously and finally along with the women made a sortie which was eminently successful. The women with hair let down and robed in black garments took torches, and after arraying themselves wholly in the most terrifying manner assaulted the besieging camp at midnight: they threw the outposts, who thought they were spirits, into panic and then from all sides at once hurled the fire within the palisade and following on themselves slew many in confusion and many who were asleep, occupied the place without delay, and captured at the first approach the harbor in which Octavius was lying. They were not, however, left at peace. He escaped them somehow, gathered a force again, and after defeating them in battle invested their city. Meanwhile Gabinius died of sickness and he gained control of the whole sea in that vicinity, and by making descents upon the land did the inhabitants much harm. This lasted until the battle near Pharsalus, after which his soldiers at the onset of a contingent from Brundisium changed sides without even making a resistance. Then, destitute of allies he retired to Corcyra.

[12] Gnaeus Pompey first sailed about with the Egyptian fleet and overran Epirus, so-called, almost capturing Oricum. The commander of the place, Marcus Acilius, had blocked up the entrance to the harbor by boats crammed with stones and about the mouth of it had raised towers on both sides, on the land, and on ships of burden. Pompey, however, had submarine divers scatter the stones that were in the vessels and when the latter had been lightened he dragged them out of the way, freed the passage, and next, after putting heavy-armed troops ashore on each half of the breakwater, he sailed in. He burned all the boats and most of the city and would have captured the rest of it, had he not been wounded and caused the Egyptians to fear that he might die. After receiving medical attendance he no longer assailed Oricum but journeyed about pillaging various places and once vainly made an attempt upon Brundisium itself, as some others had done. This was his occupation for awhile. When his father had been defeated and the Egyptians on receipt of the news sailed home, he betook himself to Cato. [13] And his example was followed by Gaius Cassius, who had done very great mischief both in Italy and in Sicily and had overcome a number of opponents in many battles by sea and by land.

Many simultaneously took refuge with Cato because they saw that he excelled them in uprightness, and he, using them as comrades in struggle and counselors to all matters, sailed to the Peloponnesus with the apparent intention of occupying it, for he had not yet heard that Pompey was dead. He did seize Patrae and there received among other accessions Petreius and

Pompey's son-in-law Faustus. Subsequently Quintus Fufius Calenus led an expedition against them, whereupon they set sail, and coming to Cyrene there learned of the death of Pompey. Their views were now no longer harmonious: Cato, loathing the thought of Caesar's sovereignty, and some others in despair of getting pardon from him, sailed to Africa with the army, added Scipio to their number, and were as active as possible against Caesar; the majority scattered, and some of them retired to make their peace as each one best might, while the rest, among them Gaius Cassius, went to Caesar forthwith and received assurance of safety.

[14] Calenus had been sent by Caesar into Greece before the battle, and he captured among other places the Peiraeus, owing to its being unwallled. Athens (although he did a great deal of damage to its territory) he was unable to take before the defeat of Pompey. The inhabitants then capitulated voluntarily and Caesar without resentment released them altogether, making only this remark, that in spite of their many offences they were saved by the dead. This speech signified that it was on account of their ancestors and on account of the latter's glory and excellence that he spared them. Accordingly Athens and most of the rest of Greece then at once made terms with him: but the Megarians in spite of this resisted and were captured only at a considerably later date, partly by force and partly by treachery. Wherefore a great slaughter of the people was instituted and the survivors sold. Calenus had so acted that he might seem to have taken a merited vengeance upon them. But since he feared that the city might perish utterly, he sold the dwellers in the first place to their relatives, and in the second place for a very small sum, so that they might regain their freedom.

[15] After these achievements Caesar marched upon Patrae and occupied it easily, as he had frightened out Cato and his followers in advance. While these various troubles were being settled, there was an uprising in Spain, although the country was at peace. The Spaniards were at the time subject to many abuses from Quintus Longinus, and at first some few banded together to kill him. He was wounded but escaped, and after that proceeded to wrong them a great deal more. Then a number of Cordubasians and a number of soldiers who had formerly belonged to the Pompeian party rose against him, putting at their head Marcus Marcellus Aeserninus, the quaestor. He did not accept their appointment with his whole heart, but seeing the uncertainty of events and admitting that they might turn out either way, he straddled the issue. All that he said or did was of a neutral character, so that whether Caesar or Pompey should prevail he would seem to have fought for the cause of either one. He favored Pompey by receiving those who transferred their allegiance to him and by fighting against Longinus, who declared he was on Caesar's side: at the same time he did a kindness to Caesar because he assumed charge of the soldiers when (as he would say) Longinus was guilty of certain irregularities, and kept these men for him, while not allowing their commander to be alienated. And when the soldiers inscribed the name of

Pompey on their shields he erased it so that he might by this act offer to the one man the deeds done by the arms and to the other their reputed ownership, and by laying claim to one thing or the other as done in behalf of the victor and by referring the opposite to necessity or to different persons he might continue safe.^[16] Consequently, although he had the opportunity of overthrowing Longinus altogether by mere numbers, he refused, but while extending his actions over considerable time in the display and preparation of what he desired, he put the responsibility for doubtful measures upon other persons. Therefore both in his setbacks and the advantages he gained he could make the plea that he was acting equally in behalf of the same person: the setbacks he might have planned himself or might not, and for the advantages others might or might not be responsible. He continued in this way until Caesar conquered, when, having incurred the victor's wrath, he was temporarily banished, but was later brought back from exile and honored. Longinus, however, being denounced by the Spaniards in an embassy, was deprived of his office and while on his way home perished near the mouth of the Iber.

These events took place abroad. ^[17] The population of Rome while the interests of Caesar and Pompey were in a doubtful and vacillating state all professedly espoused the cause of Caesar, influenced by his troops that were in their midst and by his colleague Servilius. Whenever a victory of his was reported, they rejoiced, and whenever a reverse, they grieved, — some really, some pretendedly in each case. For there were many spies prowling about and eavesdroppers, observing what was being said and done on such occasions. Privately the talk and actions of those who detested Caesar and preferred Pompey's side were the very opposite of their public expressions. Hence, whereas both parties made a show of receiving any and all news as favorable to their hopes, they in fact regarded it sometimes with fear and sometimes with boldness, and inasmuch as many diverse rumors would often be going the rounds on the same day and in the same hour their position was a most trying one. In the briefest space of time they were pleased, were grieved, grew bold, grew fearful. ^[18] When the battle of Pharsalus was reported they were long incredulous. Caesar sent no despatch to the government, hesitating to appear to be rejoicing publicly over such a victory, for which reason also he celebrated no triumph: and again, there seemed little likelihood of its being true, in view of the relative equipment of the two forces and the hopes entertained. When at last they gave the story credence, they took down the images of Pompey and of Sulla that stood upon the rostra, but did nothing further at that time. A large number did not wish to do even that, and an equally large number fearing that Pompey might renew the strife regarded this as quite enough for Caesar and expected that it would be a fairly simple matter to placate Pompey on account of it. Moreover, when he died, they would not believe this news till late, and until they saw his signet that had been sent. (On this were carved three trophies, as on that of Sulla.) ^[19] But

when he appeared to be really dead, at last they openly praised the winner and abused the loser and proposed that everything in the world which they could devise be given to Caesar. In the course of it all there was a great rivalry among practically all of the foremost men who were eager to outdo one another in fawning upon him and voting pleasing measures. By their shouts and by their gestures all of them as if Caesar were present and looking on showed the very greatest zeal and deemed that in return for it they would get immediately, — as if they were doing it to please him at all and not from necessity, — the one an office, another a priesthood, and a third some pecuniary reward. I shall omit those honors which had either been voted to some others previously, — images, crowns, front seats, and things of that kind, — or were novel and proposed now for the first time, which were not also confirmed by Caesar: for I fear that I might become wearisome, were I to enumerate them all. This same plan I shall adopt in my later narrations, adhering the more strictly to it, as the honors proposed grew more in number and more universal. Only such as had some special and extraordinary importance and were then confirmed will be set down. [20] They granted him, then, permission to do whatever he liked to those who had favored Pompey's cause; it could not be said that he had not already received this right from himself, but it was intended that he might seem to be acting with some show of legal authority. They appointed him lord of wars and peace (using the confederates in Africa as a Pretext) in regard to all mankind, even though he should make no communication on the subject to the people or the senate. This was also naturally in his power before, inasmuch as he had so large a force; and the wars he had fought he had undertaken himself in nearly every case: nevertheless, because they wished still to appear to be free and independent citizens, they voted him these rights and everything else which it was in his power to have even against their will. He received the privilege of being consul for five consecutive years and of being chosen dictator not for six months but for an entire year, and could assume the tribunician authority practically for life. He was enabled to sit with the tribunes upon the same benches and to be reckoned with them for other purposes, — a right commonly accorded to no one. All the elections except those of the people were put in his hands and for this reason they were delayed till after his arrival and were carried on only toward the close of the year. The governorships in subject territory the citizens themselves of course allotted to the consuls, but they voted that Caesar might give them to the praetors without the casting of lots: for they had gone back to consuls and praetors again contrary to their decrees. And another practice which had the sanction of custom, indeed, but in the corruption of the times might justly be deemed a cause of hatred and resentment, formed the matter of one of their resolutions. Caesar had at that time heard not a word of the mere inception of the war against Juba and against the Romans who had fought on his side, and yet they assigned a triumph for him to hold, as if he had been victor.

[21] In this way these votes and ratifications took place. Caesar entered upon the dictatorship at once, though he was outside Italy, and chose Antony, who had not yet been praetor, as his master of the horse: and the consul proposed his name, although the augurs most strongly opposed him with the declaration that no one was allowed to be master of the horse for more than six months. They incurred, however, a great deal of laughter for this, — deciding that Caesar should be chosen dictator for a year contrary to all ancestral precedent, and then splitting hairs about the master of the horse. [22] Marcus Caelius actually perished because he dared to break the laws laid down by Caesar regarding loans of money, as if their propounder was defeated and ruined, and because he had therefore stirred up to strife Rome and Campania. He had been very prominent in carrying out Caesar's wishes, for which reason moreover he had been appointed praetor; but he became angry because he had not also been made praetor urbanus, and because his colleague Trebonius had been preferred before him for this office, not by lot as had been the custom, but by Caesar's choice. Hence he opposed his colleague in everything and would not let him perform any of the duties that belonged to him. He would not consent to his executing judgments according to Caesar's laws, and furthermore gave notice to such as owed any sum that he would assist them against the money-lenders, and to all who dwelt in other peoples' houses that he would release them from payment of rent. Having by this course won the attachment of many he set upon Trebonius with their aid and would have killed him, had he not managed to change his robe and escape in the crowd. After this failure Caelius privately issued a law in which he gave to all the use of houses free and annulled debts. [23] Servilius consequently sent for some soldiers who chanced to be going by on the way to Gaul and after convening the senate under their protection he presented a proposition about the matter in hand. No ratification was reached, since the tribunes prevented it, but the sense of the meeting was recorded and Servilius then ordered the court officers to take down the offending tablets. When Caelius drove them away and acted in a disorderly manner toward the consul himself, they convened again, still protected by the soldiers, and delivered to Servilius the "care of the city," a phrase I have often used previously in regard to it. After this he would not permit Caelius, even in his capacity as praetor, to do anything, but assigned the duties pertaining to his office to some other praetor, debarred him from the senate, dragged him from the rostra in the midst of some vociferation, and broke to pieces his chair.

[24] Of course Caelius was violently angry at him for each of these acts, but since Servilius had a rather respectable body of troops in town he was afraid that he might suffer chastisement, and therefore decided to set out for Campania to join Milo, who was instituting a kind of rebellion. The latter, when it proved that he was the only one of the exiles not restored by Caesar, had come to Italy, where he gathered a number of men, some in want of a livelihood and others fearing some punishment, and ravaged the country,

assailing Capua and other cities. It was to him that Caelius wished to betake himself, in order that with his aid he might do Caesar all possible harm. He was watched, however, and could not leave the city openly; and he did not venture to escape secretly because (among other motives) he hoped to accomplish a great deal more by possessing the attire and the title of praetor. At last, therefore, he approached the consul and obtained from him leave of absence, saying that he wished to proceed to Caesar. The other, though he suspected his intention, still allowed him to do this, particularly because he was very insistent, invoking Caesar's name and pretending that he was eager to submit his defence. Servilius sent a tribune with him, so that if he should attempt any rebellious conduct he might be prevented. When they got to Campania, and found that Milo after a defeat near Capua had taken refuge in the Tifatine mountain, and Caelius would go no farther, the tribune was alarmed and wished to bring him back home. Servilius, learning of this in advance, declared war upon Milo in the senate and gave orders that Caelius (who must be prevented from stirring up any confusion) should remain in the suburbs. However, he did not keep him under strict surveillance, because the man was a praetor. Thus Caelius made his escape and hastened to Milo: and he would certainly have aroused some sedition, had he found him alive. As it proved, Milo had been driven from Campania and had perished in Apulia: Caelius therefore went to Bruttium, presumably to form some league in that district, and there he perished before doing anything important; for the persons who favored Caesar banded together and killed him.

So these men died, but that did not bring quiet to Rome. On the contrary, many dreadful events took place, as, indeed, omens indicated beforehand. Among other things that happened toward the end of that year bees settled on the Capitol beside the statue of Hercules. At the time sacrifices to Isis chanced to be going on and the soothsayers gave their opinion to the effect that the precincts of that goddess and of Serapis should be razed to the ground, as of yore. In the course of demolition a small shrine of Bellona had unwittingly been taken down, and in it were found jars full of human flesh.

[B.C. 47 (*a.u.* 707)]

The following year a violent earthquake occurred, an owl was seen, thunderbolts descended upon the Capitol and upon the temple of the so-called Public Fortune and into the gardens of Caesar, where a horse of considerable value was destroyed by them, and the temple of Fortune opened of its own accord. In addition to this, blood issuing from a bake-shop flowed to another temple of Fortune, whose statue on account of the fact that the goddess necessarily oversees and can fathom everything that is before us as well as behind and does not forget from what beginnings any great man came they had set up and named in a way not easy for Greeks to describe. Also some infants were born holding their left hands to their heads, so that whereas no good was looked for from the other signs, from this especially an uprising of inferiors against superiors was both foretold by the soothsayers and accepted

by the people as true.

[27] These portents so revealed by supernatural power disturbed them; and their fear was augmented by the very appearance of the city, which had been strange and unaccustomed at the beginning of the month and thereafter for a long time. There was as yet no consul or praetor, and Antony, in so far as his costume went (which was the *toga laticlavia*) and his lictors, of whom he had only six, and his convening the senate, furnished some semblance of democracy: but the sword with which he was girded, and the throng of soldiers that accompanied him, and his actions themselves most of all indicated the existence of one sole ruler. Many robberies, outrages, and murders took place. And not only were the existing conditions most distressing to the Romans, but they dreaded a far greater number of more terrible acts from Caesar. For when the master of the horse never laid aside his sword even at the festivals, who would not have been suspicious of the dictator himself? (At the most of these festivals Antony presided at the orders of Caesar. Some few the tribunes also had in charge.) It any persons stopped to think of his magnanimity, which had led him to spare many that had opposed him in battle, nevertheless seeing that men who had gained an office did not stick to the same principles as guided them in striving for it, they therefore expected that he too would change his tactics. [28] They felt aggrieved and discussed the matter with one another at length, — those at least who were safe in so doing, for they could not make everybody a companion with impunity. Many who would seem to be good friends and others who were relatives were liable to slander them, perverting some statements, and telling downright lies on other points. This was a cause of the greatest discomfort to the rest who were not equally safe, because, being able neither to lament nor to share their views with others they could not in any way get rid of their thoughts. Communication with those similarly afflicted lightened their burden somewhat, and the man who could safely utter and hear in return what the citizens were undergoing became easier. But distrust of such as were not of like habits with themselves confined their dissatisfaction within their minds and inflamed them the more, as they could not tell their secret nor obtain any relief. In addition to keeping their sufferings shut up within they were compelled to praise and admire their treatment, as also to celebrate festivals, perform sacrifices, and appear happy in it all.

[29] This was the condition of the Romans in the City at that time. And, as if it were not sufficient for them to be abused by Antony, Lucius Trebellius and Publius Cornelius Dolabella, tribunes, began a factional disturbance. The latter fought on the side of the debtors, to which category he belonged, and had therefore changed his legal standing from patrician to plebeian, to get the tribuneship. The former said he represented the nobles, but none the less published edicts and had recourse to murders. This, too, naturally resulted in a great disturbance and many weapons were everywhere in evidence, although the senators had commanded that no changes should be made before Caesar's

arrival in the city, and Antony that no private individual in the city should carry arms. As they paid no attention themselves, however, to these orders, but resorted to all kinds of measures against each other and against the men just mentioned, there arose a third dispute between Antony and the senate. In order to have it thought that that body had allowed him weapons and the authority that resulted from them (which he had been overready to usurp) he got the privilege of keeping soldiers within the wall and of helping the tribunes in maintaining a guard over the city. After this Antony did whatever he desired with a kind of legal right, and Dolabella and Trebellius were nominally guilty of violence: but their effrontery and resources led them to resist both each other and him as if they too had received some position of command from the senate. [30] Meanwhile Antony learned that the legions which Caesar after the battle had sent ahead into Italy, as if to indicate that he would follow them, were engaged in doubtful proceedings; and in fear of some insurrection from that quarter he turned over the charge of the city to Lucius Caesar, appointing him praefectus urbi, an office never before conferred by a master of the horse. He himself set out to the soldiers. The tribunes that were at variance with the two despised Lucius because of his advanced age and inflicted many outrages upon one another and on the rest until they learned that Caesar, having settled the affairs of Egypt, had started for Rome. They were carrying on the quarrel under the assumption that he would never return again but be killed somewhere abroad by the Egyptians, as, indeed, they kept hearing. When his coming was reported they moderated their conduct for a time, but as soon as he set out against Pharnaces they relapsed into factional differences once more. [31] Antony was unable to restrain them, and finding that his opposition to Dolabella was obnoxious to the populace he at first joined his party and brought charges against Trebellius, — one being to the effect that he was appropriating the soldiers to his own use. Later, when he perceived that he was not esteemed at all by the multitude, which was attached only to Dolabella, he became vexed and changed sides. He was especially influenced in this course by the fact that while not sharing popular favor with the plebeian leader he received the greatest share of blame from the senators. So nominally he adopted a neutral attitude toward both, but really in secret he chose the cause of Trebellius, and coöperated with him among other ways by allowing him to obtain soldiers. From this time on he made himself a spectator and director of their contests; and they fought, seized in turn the most advantageous points in the city, and entered upon a career of killing and burning, so that on one occasion the holy vessels were carried by the virgins out of the temple of Vesta. [32] Once more the senators voted that the master of the horse should guard the city still more scrupulously, and practically the entire town was filled with soldiers. Yet there was no respite. Dolabella in despair of obtaining any pardon from Caesar desired to accomplish some great evil and then perish, — with the idea that he would forever have renown for this act. So many men in the past have

become infatuated with basest deeds for the mere sake of fame! Under this influence he too wrought universal disturbance, promising even that on a certain specified day he would enact his laws in regard to debts and house-rents. On receipt of these announcements the crowd erected barricades around the Forum, setting up wooden towers at some points, and put itself in readiness to cope with any force that might oppose it. At that, Antony brought down from the Capitol about dawn a large body of soldiers, cut down the tablets of the laws and hurled some offenders who still continued to be unruly from the cliffs of the Capitol itself.

[33] However, this did not stop the factional disputes. Instead, the greater the number of those who perished, the more did the survivors raise a tumult, thinking that Caesar had got involved in a very great and difficult war. And they did not cease until suddenly he himself appeared before them. Then they became quiet even if unwilling. Some of them were expecting to suffer every conceivable ill fate, for there was talk against them all through the city, and some made one charge and others another: but Caesar at this juncture also pursued his usual method. He accepted their attitude of the moment as satisfactory and did not concern himself with their past conduct: he spared them all and some of them (including Dolabella) he honored. To the latter he owed some kindness, which he did not see fit to forget. For in place of overlooking that favor because he had been wronged, he pardoned him in consideration of the benefit received, and besides bringing him to other honors Caesar not long after appointed him consul, though he had not yet served as praetor.

[34] These were the events which were brought about in Rome by Caesar's absence. The reasons why he was so long in coming there and did not arrive immediately after Pompey's death are as follows.

[B.C. 48 (*a.u.* 708)]

The Egyptians were discontented at the levies of money and highly indignant because not even their temples were left untouched. They are the most excessively religious people on earth and wage wars even against one another on account of their beliefs, since their worship is not a unified system, but different branches of it are diametrically opposed one to another. As a result, then, of their vexation at this and their further fear that they might be surrendered to Cleopatra, who had great influence with Caesar, they commenced a disturbance. For a time the princess had urged her claim against her brother through others who were in Caesar's presence, but as soon as she discovered his disposition (which was very susceptible, so that he indulged in amours with a very great number of women at different stages of his travels), she sent word to him that she was being betrayed by her friends and asked that she allowed to plead her case in person. She was a woman of surpassing beauty, especially conspicuous at that time because in the prime of youth, with a most delicious voice and a knowledge of how to make herself agreeable to every one. Being brilliant to look upon and to listen to, with the

power to subjugate even a cold natured or elderly person, she thought that she might prove exactly to Caesar's tastes and reposed in her beauty all her claims to advancement. She begged therefore for access to his presence, and on obtaining permission adorned and beautified herself so as to appear before him in the most striking and pitiable guise. When she had perfected these devices she entered the city from her habitation outside, and by night without Ptolemy's knowledge went into the palace. [35] Caesar upon seeing her and hearing her speak a few words was forthwith so completely captivated that he at once, before dawn, sent for Ptolemy and tried to reconcile them, acting as an advocate for the same woman whose judge he had previously assumed to be. For this reason and because the sight of his sister within the royal dwelling was so unexpected, the boy was filled with wrath and rushed out among the people crying out that he had been betrayed, and at last he tore the diadem from his head and cast it down. In the mighty tumult which thereupon arose Caesar's soldiers seized the prince who had caused the commotion; but the Egyptian mob was in upheaval. They assaulted the palace by land and sea together and would have taken it without difficulty (for the Romans had no force present sufficient to cope with the foreigners, because the latter had been regarded as friends) but for the fact that Caesar, alarmed, came out before them and standing in a safe place promised to do for them whatsoever they wished. Then he entered an assembly of theirs and producing Ptolemy and Cleopatra read their father's will, in which it was directed that they should live together according to the customs of the Egyptians and rule in common, and that the Roman people should exercise a guardianship over them. When he had done this and had added that it belonged to him as dictator, holding all the power of the people, to have an oversight of the children and to fulfill the father's wishes, he bestowed upon them both the kingdom and granted Cyprus to Arsinoë and Ptolemy the Younger, a sister and a brother of theirs. So great fear possessed him that he not only laid hold on none of the Egyptian domain, but actually gave the inhabitants in addition some of what was his.

[36] By this action they were calmed temporarily, but not long after they raised a rebellion which reached the dignity of war. Potheinos, a eunuch who had taken a prominent part in urging the Egyptians on, who was also charged with the management of Ptolemy's funds, was afraid that he might some time pay the penalty for his behavior. Therefore he sent secretly to Achilles who was at this time still near Pelusium and by frightening him and inspiring him at the same time with hopes he made him his associate, and next won over also all the rest who bore arms. To all of them alike it seemed a shame to be ruled by a woman: for they suspected that Caesar on the occasion mentioned had given the kingdom to both of the children merely to quiet the people, and that in the course of time he would offer it to Cleopatra alone. Also they thought themselves a match for the army he then had present. Some started immediately for Alexandria where they busied themselves with their project. [37] Caesar when he learned this was afraid of their numbers and daring, and

sent some men to Achilles not in his own but in Ptolemy's name, bidding him keep the peace. But he, understanding that this was not the child's command, but Caesar's, so far from giving it any attention was filled with contempt for the sender, believing him afraid. Then he called his soldiers together and by haranguing them at length in favor of Ptolemy and against Caesar and Cleopatra he finally so incensed them against the messengers, though they were Egyptians, that they defiled themselves with their murder and accepted the necessity of a war without quarter. Caesar, when the news was brought him, summoned his soldiers from Syria, put a ditch around the palace and the other buildings near it, and fortified it with a wall reaching to the sea. Meanwhile Achilles had arrived on the scene with his regular followers and with the Romans left behind by Grabinus and Septimius to keep guard over Ptolemy: these as a result of their stay there had changed their character and were attached to the local party. Thus he immediately won over the larger part of the Alexandrians and made himself master of the most advantageous positions. After this many battles between the two armies occurred both by day and at night and many places were set on fire, and among others the docks and the storehouses both of grain and of books were burned, — the volumes being, as is reported, of the greatest number and excellence.

Achilles commanded the mainland, with the exception of what Caesar had walled off, and the latter the sea — except the harbor. Caesar, indeed, was victorious in a sea-fight, and when the Egyptians consequently, fearing that he would sail into their harbor, had filled up the entrance all except a narrow passage, he cut off that outlet also by sinking freight ships full of stones; so they were unable to stir, no matter how much they might desire to sail out. After this achievement provisions, and among other things water, were brought in more easily. Achilles had deprived them of the city water supply by cutting the pipes.

[39] While these events were taking place one Ganymedes, a eunuch, abducted Arsinoë, as she was not very well guarded, and led her out to the people. They declared her queen and proceeded to prosecute the war more vigorously, inasmuch as they now had a representative of the race of the Ptolemies. Caesar, therefore, in fear that Pothemos might kidnap Ptolemy, put the former to death and guarded the latter strictly without any further dissimulation. This contributed to incense the Egyptians still more, to whose party numbers were added daily, whereas the Roman soldiers from Syria were not yet on the scene. Caesar was anxious to bring the people to a condition of peace, and so he had Ptolemy take his stand on a high place from which they could hear his voice and bade him say to them that he was unharmed and was averse to warfare. He urged them to peaceful measures and promised that he would arrange the details for them. Now if he had talked thus to them of his own accord, he could have persuaded them to become reconciled; but as it was, they suspected that it was all prearranged by Caesar, and they would not yield.

[40] As time went on a dispute arose among the followers of Arsinoë, and Ganymedes prevailed upon her to put Achilles to death, on the ground that he wished to betray the fleet. When this had been done he assumed command of the soldiers and gathered all the boats that were in the river and the lake, besides constructing others. All of them he conveyed through the canals to the sea, where he attacked the Romans while off their guard, burned some of their freight ships to the water's edge and towed others away. Then he cleared out the entrance to the harbor and by lying in wait for vessels there he caused the foreigners great annoyance. One day Caesar noticed them behaving carelessly, by reason of their supremacy, and suddenly sailed into the harbor, where he burned a number of boats, and disembarking on Pharos slew the inhabitants of the island. When the Egyptians on the mainland saw that, they came to their aid over the bridges and after killing many of the Romans in their turn they hurled the remainder back to their boats. While these fugitives were forcing their way into them at any point and in crowds, Caesar, besides many others, fell into the sea. And he would have perished miserably weighed down by his robes and pelted by the Egyptians — his garments, being purple, offered a good mark — had he not thrown off the incumbrances and then succeeded in swimming out somewhere to a skiff, which he boarded. In this way he was saved without wetting one of the documents of which he held up a large number in his left hand as he swam. His clothing the Egyptians took and hung upon the trophy which they set up to commemorate this rout, as if they had as good as captured the man himself. They also kept a close watch upon the landings (for the legions which had been sent from Syria were now near at hand) and did the Romans much injury. Caesar could ward off in a way the attack of those who assailed him in the direction of Libya: but near the mouth of the Nile they deceived many of his men by using signal fires as if they too were Romans, and captured them, so that the rest no longer ventured to coast along until Tiberius Claudius Nero at length sailed up the river itself, conquered the foe in battle, and rendered the approach less terrifying to his own followers.

[41] Meanwhile Mithridates, named the Pergamenian, undertook to ascend with his ships the mouth of the Nile opposite Pelusium; but when the Egyptians barred his entrance with their boats he betook himself by night to the canal, hauled the ships over into it (it was one that does not open into the sea), and through it sailed up into the Nile. After that he suddenly began from the sea and the river at once a conflict with the vessels that were guarding the mouth and broke up their blockade, whereupon he assaulted Pelusium with both his infantry and his force of ships, and took it. Advancing then to Alexandria he learned that a certain Dioscorides was going to confront them, and he ambushed and annihilated him.

[42] The Egyptians on receiving the news would not end the war even under these conditions; yet they were irritated at the sovereignty of the eunuch and the woman and thought if they could put Ptolemy at their head, they would be

superior to the Romans. So then, finding themselves unable to seize him by any kind of violence because he was skillfully guarded, they pretended that they were worn out by disasters and desired peace; and they sent to Caesar a herald to ask for Ptolemy, to the end that they might consult with him about the terms on which they would make a truce. Caesar thought that they had in very truth changed front, especially since he heard that they were cowardly and fickle and perceived that at this time they were terrified in the face of their defeats. And in order not to be regarded as hindering peace, even if they were devising some trick, he said that he approved their request, and sent them Ptolemy. He saw no tower of strength in the lad in view of his youth and ignorance, and hoped that the Egyptians would either become reconciled with him on what terms he wished or else would better deserve the waging of war and subjugation, so that there might be some reasonable excuse for delivering them to Cleopatra. He had no idea of being defeated by them, particularly since his force had been augmented. [43] The Egyptians, when they secured the child, had not a thought for peace but straightway set out against Mithridates as if they were sure to accomplish some great achievement in the name and by the family of Ptolemy. They cut him off near the lake, between the river and the marshes, and raised a great clamor. Caesar through fear of being ambushed did not pursue them but at night he set sail as if he were hurrying to some outlet of the Nile and kindled an enormous fire on each vessel so that it might be thought that he was going a very long distance in this direction. He started at first, then, to sail away, but afterward extinguished the glare, returned and passed alongside the city to the peninsula on the Libyan side, where he landed; there he disembarked the soldiers, went around the lake, and fell upon the Egyptians unexpectedly about dawn. They were so startled on the instant that they sent a herald to him for terms, but, when he would not receive their entreaty, a fierce battle subsequently took place in which he was victorious and slew great numbers of the enemy. Some fled hastily to cross the river and perished in it, together with Ptolemy.

[B.C. 47 (*a.u.* 707)]

[44] In this way Caesar overcame Egypt. He did not, however, make it subject to the Romans, but bestowed it upon Cleopatra, for whose sake he had waged the conflict. Yet, being afraid that the Egyptians might rebel again because they were delivered to a woman to rule them and that the Romans for this reason and because the woman was his companion might be angry, he commanded her to make her other brother partner of her habitation, and gave the kingdom to both of them, — at least nominally. In reality Cleopatra alone was to hold all the power. For her husband was still a child and in view of Caesar's favor there was nothing that she could not do. Hence her living with her brother and sharing the sovereignty with him was a mere pretence which she accepted, whereas she actually ruled alone and spent her life in Caesar's company.

[45] She would have detained him even longer in Egypt or else would have

at once set out with him for Rome, had not Pharnaces drawn Caesar most unwillingly from Afric's shores and hindered him from hurrying to Italy. This man was a son of Mithridates and ruled the Cimmerian Bosphorus, as has been stated: it was his desire to win back again all his ancestral kingdom, and so he revolted just at the time of the quarrel between Caesar and Pompey, and, as the Romans had at that time found business, with one another and afterward were detained in Egypt, he got possession of Colchis without effort and, in the absence of Deiotarus, subjugated all of Armenia and some cities of Cappadocia and Pontus that were attached to the district of Bithynia. [46] While he was thus engaged Caesar himself did not stir, — Egypt was not yet settled and he had some hope of overcoming the man through others — but he sent Gnaeus Domitius Calvinus, assigning him charge of Asia and ... legions. This officer added to his force Deiotarus and Ariobarzanes and marched straight against Pharnaces, who was in Nicopolis, — a city he had previously occupied. Indeed, he felt contempt for the barbarian, because the latter in terror of his presence was ready to agree to an armistice looking to an embassy, and so he would not conclude a truce with him, but attacked him and was defeated.

After that he had to retire to Asia, since he was no match for his conqueror, and winter was approaching. Pharnaces, greatly elated, joined to his cause nearly all of Pontus, captured Amisus, though it held out against him a long time, plundered the city and put to the sword all the young men in it. He then hastened into Bithynia and Asia with the same hopes as his father had harbored. Meanwhile, learning that Asander whom he had left as governor of the Bosphorus had revolted, he no longer advanced any farther. For Asander, as soon as the advance of Pharnaces to a point distant from his own position was reported to him and it seemed likely that even if he should temporarily escape his observation with the greatest success, he would still not get out of it well later, rose against him, so as to do a favor to the Romans and to receive the government of the Bosphorus from them. [47] This was the news on hearing which Pharnaces started against him, but the venture was in vain. For on ascertaining that Caesar was on the way and was hurrying into Armenia Pharnaces turned back and met him there near Zela. Now that Ptolemy was dead and Domitius vanquished Caesar had decided that delay in Egypt was neither fitting nor profitable for him, but set out from there and by using great speed reached Armenia. The barbarian, alarmed and fearing his quickness much more than his army, sent messengers to him before he drew near, making frequent propositions to see if in any way on any terms he could compromise the existing situation and escape. One of the principal pleas that he presented was that he had not coöperated with Pompey, and by this he hoped that he might induce the Roman general to grant a truce, particularly since the latter was anxious to hasten to Italy and Africa; and once he was gone he, Pharnaces, could easily wage war again. Caesar suspected this, and the first and second sets of envoys he treated with great kindness in order that

he might fall upon the foe in a state quite unguarded, through hopes of peace: when the third deputation came he began to reproach him, one of his grounds of censure being that he had deserted Pompey, his benefactor. Then without delay, that very day and just as he was, Caesar marched forward and attacked him as soon as he came up to him; for a little while some confusion was caused by the cavalry and the scythe-bearing chariots, but after that he conquered the Asiatics with his heavy-armed soldiers. Pharnaces escaped to the sea and later forced his way into Bosphorus, where Asander shut him up and killed him.

[48] Caesar took great pride in the victory, — more, indeed, than in any other, in spite of the fact that it had not been very glorious, — because on the same day and at one and the same hour he had come to the enemy, had seen him, and had conquered him. All the spoils, though of great magnitude, he bestowed upon the soldiers, and he set up a trophy to offset one which Mithridates had raised to commemorate the defeat of Triarius. He did not dare to take down that of the barbarians because it had been dedicated to the gods of war, but by the erection of his own he overshadowed and to a certain extent demolished the other. Next he gained possession of all the region belonging to the Romans and those bound to them by oath which Pharnaces had ravaged, and restored it to the individuals who had been dispossessed, except a portion of Armenia, which he granted to Ariobarzanes. The people of Amisus he rewarded with freedom, and to Mithridates the Pergamenian he gave a tetrarchy in Galatia with the name of kingdom and allowed him to wage war against Asander, so that by conquering him, because he had proved base toward his friend Mithridates might get Bosphorus also.

[49] After accomplishing this and bidding Domitius arrange the rest he came to Bithynia and from there to Greece, whence he sailed for Italy, collecting all the way great sums of money from everybody, and upon every pretext, just as before. On the one hand he levied all that individuals had promised in advance to Pompey, and on the other he asked for still more from outside sources, bringing some accusation against the places to justify his act. All votive offerings of Heracles at Tyre he removed, because the people had received the wife and child of Pompey when they were fleeing. Many golden crowns, also, commemorative of victories, he took from potentates and kings. This he did not out of malice but because his expenditures were on a vast scale and because he was intending to lay out still more upon his legions, his triumph, and everything else that could add to his brilliance. Briefly, he showed himself a money-getter, declaring that there were two things which created and protected and augmented sovereignties, — soldiers and money; and that these two were dependent upon each other. By proper support armies were kept together, and this support was gathered by the use of arms: and if either the one or the other were lacking, the second of them would be overthrown at the same time.

[50] These were ever his ideas and this his talk upon such matters. Now it

was to Italy he hurried and not to Africa, although the latter region had been made hostile to him, because he learned of the disturbances in the City and feared that they might get beyond his control. However, as I said, he did no harm to any one, except that there too he gathered large sums of money, partly in the shape of crowns and statues and the like which he received as gifts, and partly by borrowing not only from individual citizens but also from cities. This name (of borrowing) he applied to levies of money for which there was no other reasonable excuse; his exactions from his creditors were none the less unjustified and acts of violence, since he never intended to pay these loans. What he said was that he had spent his private possessions for the public good and it was for that reason he was borrowing. Wherefore, when the multitude demanded that there should be an annulment of debts, he would not do it, saying; "I too am heavily involved." He was easily seen to be wresting away the property of others by his position of supremacy, and for this his companions as well as others disliked him. These men had bought considerable of the confiscated property, in some cases for more than its real value, in the hope of retaining it free of charge, but found themselves compelled to pay the full price.

[51] To such persons he paid no attention. However to a certain extent he did court the favor of the people as individuals. To the majority he allowed the interest they were owing, an act by which he had incurred the enmity of Pompey, and he released them from all rent for one year, up to the sum of five hundred denarii; furthermore he raised the valuations on goods in which it was allowable according to law for loans to be paid to their value at the time of payment, and this after having considerably lowered the price for the populace on all confiscated property. By these acts he gained the attachment of the people; and he won the affection of the members of his party and those who had fought for him also. For upon the senators he bestowed priesthoods and offices, — some which lasted for the rest of that year and some which extended to the following season. In order to reward a larger number he appointed ten praetors for the next year and more than the customary number of priests. To the pontifices and the augurs, of whom he was one, and to the so-called Fifteen he added one each, although he really wished to take all the priesthoods himself, as had been decreed. To the knights in his army and to the centurions and subordinate officers he gave among other rights the important privilege of choosing some of their own number for the senate to fill the places of those who had perished.

[52] The unrest of the troops, however, made trouble for him. They had expected to obtain great things, and finding their rewards not less, to be sure, than their deserts, but inferior to their expectations, they raised an outcry. The most of them were in Campania, being destined to sail on ahead to Africa. These nearly killed Sallust, who had been appointed praetor so as to recover his senatorial office, and when escaping them he set out for Rome to lay before Caesar what was being done, a number followed him, sparing no one

on their way, and killed among others whom they met two senators. Caesar as soon as he heard of their approach wished to send his guard against them, but fearing that it too might join the uprising he remained quiet until they reached the suburbs. While they waited there he sent to them and enquired what wish or what need had brought them. Upon their replying that they would tell him face to face he allowed them to enter the city unarmed, save as to their swords; these they were regularly accustomed to wear in the city, and they would not have submitted to laying them aside at this time. [53] They insisted a great deal upon the toils and dangers they had undergone and said a great deal about what they had hoped and what they declared they deserved to obtain. Next they asked to be released from service and were very clamorous on this point, not because they wished to return to private life, — they were far from anxious for this since they had long become accustomed to the gains from warfare — but because they thought they would scare Caesar in this way and accomplish anything whatever, since his projected invasion of Africa was close at hand. He, however, made no reply at all to their earlier statements, but said merely: “Quirites, what you say is right: you are weary and worn out with wounds,” and then at once disbanded them all as if he had no further need of them, promising that he would give the rewards in full to such as had served the appointed time. At these words they were struck with alarm both at his attitude in general and because he had called them *Quirites* and not soldiers; and humiliated, in fear of suffering some calamity, they changed their stand, and addressed him with many entreaties and offers, promising that they would join his expedition as volunteers and would carry the war through for him by themselves. When they had reached this stage and one of their leaders also, either on his own impulse or as a favor to Caesar, had said a few words and presented a few petitions in their behalf, the dictator answered: “I release both you who are here present and all the rest whose years of service have expired. I really have no further need of you. Yet even so I will pay you the rewards, that no one may say that I after using you in dangers later showed myself ungrateful, even though you were unwilling to join my campaign while perfectly strong in body and able in other respects to prosecute a war.” [54] said for effect, for they were quite indispensable to him. He then assigned them all land from the public holdings and from his own, settling them in different places, and separating them considerable distances from one another, to the end that they should not inspire their neighbors with terror nor (dwelling apart) be ready for insurrection. Of the money that was owing them, large amounts of which he had promised to give them at practically every levy, he offered to discharge a part immediately and to supply the remainder with interest in the near future. When he had said this and so enthralled them that they showed no sign of boldness but expressed their gratitude, he added: “You have all that is due you from me, and I will compel no one of you to endure campaigns any longer. If, however, any one wishes of his own accord to help me subjugate what remains, I will gladly receive him.” Hearing this they were

overjoyed, and all alike were anxious to join the new expedition.

[55] Caesar put side the turbulent spirits among them, not all, but as many as were moderately well acquainted with farming and so could make a living, — and the rest he used. This he did also in the case of the rest of his soldiers. Those who were overbold and able to cause some great evil he took away from Italy in order that they might not raise an insurrection by being left behind there; and in Africa he was glad to employ different men on different pretexts, for while he was making away with his opponents through their work, he at the same time got rid of them. Though he was the kindest of men and most frequently did favors of various sorts for his soldiers and others, he bitterly hated those given to uprisings and punished them with extreme severity.

This he did in that year in which he ruled as dictator really for the second time and the consuls were said to be Calenus and Vatinius, appointed near the close of the season.[56] He next crossed over into, although winter had set in. And he had no little success when, somewhat later, he made an unlooked for attack on his opponents. On all occasions he accomplished a great deal by his rapidity and the unexpectedness of his expeditions, so that if any one should try to study out what it was that made him so superior to his contemporaries in warfare, he would find by careful comparison that there was nothing more striking than these two characteristics. Africa had not been friendly to Caesar formerly, but after Curio's death it became entirely hostile. Affairs were in the hands of Varus and Juba, and furthermore Cato, Scipio, and their followers had taken refuge there simultaneously, as I have stated. After this they made common cause in the war, trained the land forces, and making descents by sea upon Sicily and Sardinia they harassed the cities and brought back ships from which they obtained arms and iron besides, which alone they lacked. Finally they reached such a condition of readiness and disposition that, as no army opposed them and Caesar delayed in Egypt and the capital, they despatched Pompey to Spain. On learning that the peninsula was in revolt they thought that the people would readily receive him as being the son of Pompey the Great; and while he made preparations to occupy Spain in a short time and set out from there to the capital, the others were getting ready to make the voyage to Italy. [57] At the start they experienced a slight delay, due to a dispute between Varus and Scipio about the leadership because the former had held sway for a longer time in these regions, and also Juba, elated by his victory, demanded that he should have first place. But Scipio and Cato reached an agreement as being far in advance of them all, the former in esteem, the latter in understanding, and won over the rest, persuading them to entrust everything to Scipio. Cato, who might have led the forces on equal terms with him or even alone, refused, first because he thought it a most injurious course in the actual state of affairs, and second, because he was inferior to the other in political renown. For he saw that in military matters the principle of preference to ex-magistrates as a matter of course had especial force, and

therefore he willingly yielded him the command and furthermore delivered to him the troops that he had brought there. After this Cato made a request for Utica, which was suspected of favoring Caesar's cause and had come near having its citizens removed by the others on this account, and he received it to guard; and the whole country and sea in that vicinity was entrusted to his garrisons. The rest Scipio commanded as dictator. His very name was a source of strength to those who sided with him, since by some strange, unreasonable hope they believed that no Scipio could meet with misfortune in Africa.

[58] Caesar, when he learned this and saw that his own soldiers also were persuaded that it was so and were consequently afraid, took with him as an aid a man of the family of the Scipios who bore that name (he was otherwise known as Salvito) and then made the voyage to Adrymetum, since the neighborhood of Utica was strictly guarded. His unexpected crossing in the winter enabled him to escape detection. When he had left his ship an accident happened to him which, even if some disaster was portended by Heaven, he nevertheless turned to a good omen. Just as he was setting foot on land he slipped, and the soldiers seeing him fall on his face were disheartened and in their chagrin raised an outcry; but he never lost his presence of mind, and stretching out his hands as if he had fallen on purpose he embraced and kissed repeatedly the land, and cried with a shout: "I have thee, Africa!" His next move was an assault upon Adrymetum, from which he was repulsed and moreover driven violently out of his camp. Then he transferred his position to another city called Ruspina, and being received by the inhabitants set up his winter quarters there and made it the base for subsequent warfare.

BOOK 43

The following is contained in the Forty-third of Dio's Rome:

How Caesar conquered Scipio and Juba (chapters 1-8). How the Romans got possession of Numidia (chapter 9). How Cato slew himself (chapters 10-13). How Caesar returned to Rome and celebrated his triumph and settled what business remained (chapters 14-21). How the Forum of Caesar and the Temple of Venus were consecrated (chapters 22-25). How Caesar arranged the year in its present fashion (chapters 26, 27). How Caesar conquered in Spain Gnaeus Pompey the son of Pompey (chapters 28-45). How for the first time consuls were appointed for not an entire year (chapters 46-48). How Carthage and Corinth received colonies (chapters 49, 50). How the Aediles Cereales were appointed (chapter 51).

Duration of time, three years, in which there were the following magistrates here enumerated.

C. Iulius C.F. Caesar, Dictator (III), with Aemilius Lepidus, Master of Horse, and Consul (III) with Aemilius Lepidus Cos. (B.C. 46 — a.u. 708.)

C. Iulius Caesar, Dictator (IV), with Aemilius Lepidus, Master of Horse; also Consul (IV) alone. (B.C. 45 — a.u. 709.)

C. Iulius Caesar, Dictator (V), with Aemilius Lepidus, Master of Horse, and Consul (V) with M. Antonius Cos. (B.C. 44 — a.u. 710.)

BOOK 43, BOISSEVAIN.

[B.C. 46 (*a.u.* 708)]

[1] Such were his adventures at this time. The following year he became both dictator and consul at the same time (it was the third occasion on which he had filled each of the two offices), and Lepidus became his colleague in both instances. When he had been named dictator by Lepidus the first time, he had sent him immediately after the praetorship into Hither Spain; and when he returned he had honored him with triumphal celebrations though Lepidus had conquered no foes nor so much as fought with any, — the excuse being that he had been at the scene of the exploits of Longinus and of Marcellus. Yet he sent home nothing (if you want the facts) except what money he had plundered from the allies. Caesar besides exalting Lepidus with these honors chose him subsequently as his colleague in both the positions mentioned.

[2] Now while they were still in office, the populace of Rome became excited by prodigies. There was a wolf seen in the city, and a pig that save for its feet resembled an elephant was brought forth. In Africa, too, Petreius and Labienus who had observed that Caesar had gone out to villages after grain, by means of the Nomads drove his cavalry, that had not yet thoroughly recovered strength from its sea-voyage, in upon the infantry; and while as a result the force was in utter confusion, they killed many of the soldiers at close quarters. They would have cut down all the rest besides, who had crowded together on a bit of high ground, had they not been severely wounded. Even as it was, by this deed they alarmed Caesar considerably. When he stopped to consider how he had been tripped by a few, while expecting, too, that Scipio and Juba would arrive directly with all their powers, as they had been reported, he was decidedly in a dilemma, and did not know what course to adopt. He was not yet able to bring the war to a satisfactory conclusion; he saw, furthermore, that to stay in the same place was difficult because of the lack of subsistence even if the foe should keep away from his troops, and that to retire was impossible, with the enemy pressing upon him both by land and by sea. Consequently he was in a state of dejection.

[3] He was still in this situation when one Publius Sittius (if we ought to call it him, and not the Divine Power) brought at one stroke salvation and victory. This man had been exiled from Italy, and had taken along some fellow-exiles: after crossing over into Mauritania he collected a band and was general under Bocchus. Though he had no benefit from Caesar to start with, and although in general he was not known to him, he undertook to share in the war and to help him to overcome the existing difficulty. Accordingly he bore no direct aid to Caesar himself, for he heard that the latter was at a distance and thought that his own assistance (for he had no large body of troops) would prove of small value to him. It was Juba whom he watched start out on his expedition, and

then he invaded Numidia, which along with Gaetulia (likewise a part of Juba's dominion) he harried so completely that the king gave up the project before him and turned back in the midst of his journey with most of his army; some of it he had sent off to Scipio. This fact made it as evident as one could wish that if Juba had also come up, Caesar would never have withstood the two. He did not so much as venture to join issue with Scipio alone at once, because he stood in terrible dread of the elephants (among other things), partly on account of their fighting abilities, but still more because they were forever throwing his cavalry into confusion. [4] Therefore, while keeping as strict a watch over the camp as he could, Caesar sent to Italy for soldiers and elephants. He did not count on the latter for any considerable military achievement (since there were not many of them) but intended that the horses, by becoming accustomed to the sight and sound of them, should learn for the future not to fear at all those belonging to the enemy.

Meanwhile, also, the Gaetulians came over to his side, with some others of the neighboring tribes. The latter's reasons for this step were, first, — the persuasion of the Gaetuli, who, they heard, had been greatly honored, and second, the fact that they remembered Marius, who was a relative of Caesar. When this had occurred, and his auxiliaries from Italy in spite of delay and danger caused by bad weather and hostile agents had nevertheless accomplished the passage, he did not rest a moment. On the contrary he was eager for the conflict, looking to annihilate Scipio in advance of Juba's arrival, and moved forward against him in the direction of a city called Uzitta, where he took up his quarters on a certain crest overlooking both the city and the enemy's camp, having first dislodged those who were holding it. Soon after this he chased Scipio, who had attacked him, away from this higher ground, and by charging down behind him with his cavalry did some damage.

This position accordingly he held and fortified; and he took another on the other side of the city by dislodging Labienus from it; after which he walled off the entire town. For Scipio, fearing lest his own power be spent too soon, would no longer risk a battle with Caesar, but sent for Juba. And when the latter repeatedly failed to obey his summons he (Scipio) promised to relinquish to him all the rights that the Romans had in Africa. At that, Juba appointed others to have charge of the operations against Sittius, and once more started out himself against Caesar.

[5] While this was going on Caesar tried in every way to draw Scipio into close quarters. Baffled in this, he made friendly overtures to the latter's soldiers, and distributed among them brief pamphlets, in which he promised to the native that he would preserve his possessions unharmed, and to the Roman that he would grant immunity and the honors which he owed to his own followers. Scipio in like manner undertook to circulate both offers and pamphlets among the opposite party, with a view to making some of them his own: however, he was unable to induce any of them to change sides. Not that some of them would not have chosen his cause by preference, if any

announcement similar to Caesar's had been made: their failure to do so was due to the fact that he promised them nothing in the way of a prize, but merely urged them to liberate the Roman people and the senate. And so, inasmuch as he chose a respectable proposition instead of something which would advantage them in the needs of the moment, he failed to gain the allegiance of a single one.

[6] While Scipio alone was in the camp, matters progressed as just described, but when Juba also came up, the scene was changed. For these two both tried to provoke their opponents to battle and harassed them when they showed unwillingness to contend; moreover by their cavalry they kept inflicting serious damage upon any who were scattered at a distance. But Caesar was not for getting into close quarters with them if he could help it. He stuck to his circumvallation, kept seizing provender as was convenient, and sent after other forces from home. When at last these reached him with much difficulty — (for they were not all together, but kept gathering gradually, since they lacked boats in which to cross in a body) — still, when in the course of time they did reach him and he had added them to his army, he took courage again; so much so, that he led out against the foe, and drew up his men in front of the trenches. Seeing this his opponents marshaled themselves in turn, but did not join issue with Caesar's troops. This continued for several days. For aside from cavalry skirmishes of limited extent after which they would invariably retire, neither side risked any important movement.

[7] Accordingly Caesar, who bethought himself that because of the nature of the land he could not force them to come into close quarters unless they chose, started toward Thapsus, in order that either they might come to the help of the city and so engage his forces, or, if they neglected it, he might capture the place. Now Thapsus is situated on a kind of peninsula, with the sea on one side and a marsh stretching along on the other: between them lies a narrow, swampy isthmus so that one has access to the town from two directions by an extremely narrow road running along both sides of the marsh close to the surf. On his way toward this city Caesar, when he had come within these narrow approaches, proceeded to dig ditches and to erect palisades. And the others made no trouble for him (for they were not his match), but Scipio and Juba undertook to wall off in turn the neck of the isthmus, where it comes to an end near the mainland, dividing it into two portions by means of palisades and ditches.

[8] They were still at work, and accomplishing a great deal every day (for in order that they might build the wall across more quickly they had assigned the elephants to that portion along which a ditch had not yet been dug and on that account was somewhat accessible to the enemy, while on the remaining defences all were working), when Caesar suddenly attacked the others, the followers of Scipio, and with slings and arrows from a distance threw the elephants into thorough confusion. As they retreated he not only followed them up, but unexpectedly reaching the workers he routed them, too. When

they fled into the redoubt, he dashed in with them and captured it without a blow.

Juba, seeing this, was so startled and terrified, that he ventured neither to come into close quarters with any one, nor even to keep the camp properly guarded, but fled incontinently homeward. So then, when no one would receive him, chiefly because Sittius had conquered all antagonists beforehand, he renounced all chances of safety, and with Petreius, who likewise had no hope of amnesty, in single conflict fought and died.

[9]Caesar, immediately after Juba's flight, captured the palisade and wrought a vast slaughter among all those that met his troops: he spared not even those who would change to his side. Next, meeting with no opposition, he brought the rest of the cities to terms; the Nomads whom he acquired he reduced to a state of submission, and delivered to Sallust nominally to rule, but really to harry and plunder. This officer certainly did receive many bribes and make many confiscations, so that accusations were even preferred and he bore the stigma of the deepest disgrace, inasmuch as after writing such treatises as he had, and making many bitter remarks about those who enjoyed the fruits of others' labor, he did not practice what he preached. Wherefore, no matter how full permission was given him by Caesar, yet in his History the man himself had chiseled his own code of principles deep, as upon a tablet.

Such was the course which events took. Now as for These tribes in Libya, the Region surrounding Carthage (which we call also Africa) received the title of Old, because it had been long ago subjugated, whereas the region of the Nomads was called New, because it had been newly captured. Scipio, who had fled from the battle, chancing upon a boat set sail for Spain and Pompey. He was cast ashore, however, upon Mauritania, and through fear of Sittius made way with himself.

[10] Cato, since many had sought refuge with him, was at first preparing to take a hand in affairs and to offer a certain amount of resistance to Caesar. But the men of Utica were not in the beginning hostile to Caesar, and now, seeing him victorious, would not listen to Cato. This made the members of the senate and the knights who were present afraid of arrest at their hands, and they took counsel for flight. Cato himself decide neither to war against Caesar — indeed, he lacked the power, — nor to give himself up. This was not through any fear: he understood well enough that Caesar would have been very ready to spare him for the sake of that reputation for humaneness: but it was because he was passionately in love with freedom, and would not brook defeat in aught at the hands of any man, and regarded pity emanating from Caesar as more hateful than death.

He called together those of the citizens who were Present, enquired whither each one of them had determined to proceed, sent them forth with supplies for the journey, and bade his son betake himself to Caesar.

To the youth's interrogation, "Why then do you also not do so?" he replied:—"I, brought up in freedom, with the right of free speech, can not in

my old age change and learn slavery instead; but you, who were both born and brought up under such a régime, you ought to serve the deity that presides over your fortunes.”

[11] When he had done this, after sending to the people of Utica an account of his administration and returning to them the surplus funds, as well as whatever else of theirs he had, he was filled with a desire to depart previous to Caesar's arrival. He did not undertake any such project by day (for his son and others surrounding him kept him under surveillance), but when evening was come he slipped a tiny dagger secretly under his pillow, and asked for Plato's book on the Soul, which he had written out. This he did either endeavoring to divert the company from the suspicion that he had any sinister plan in mind, in order to render himself as free from scrutiny as possible, or else in the wish to obtain some little consolation in respect to death from the reading of it. When he had read the work through, as it drew on toward midnight, he stealthily drew out the dagger, and smote himself upon the belly. He would have immediately died from loss of blood, had he not by falling from the low couch made a noise and aroused those sleeping in the antechamber. Thereupon his son and some others who rushed in duly put back his bowels into his belly again, and brought medical attendance for him. Then they took away the dagger and locked the doors, that he might obtain sleep, — for they had no idea of his perishing in any other way. But he, having thrust his hands into the wound and broken the stitches of it expired.

Thus Cato, who had proved himself both the most democratic and the strongest willed of his contemporaries acquired a great glory even from his very death, so that he obtained the commemorative title “of Utica,” both because he had died, as described, in that city, and because he was publicly buried by the people.[12] Caesar declared that with him he was angry, because Cato had grudged him the distinction attaching to the preservation of such a man, but released his son and most of the rest, as was his custom: for some came over to him immediately of their own volition, and others later, so as to approach him after time should have somewhat blurred his memory. So these escaped, but Afranius and Faustus would not come to him of their own free will, for they felt sure of destruction. They fled to Mauritania, where they were captured by Sittius. Caesar put them to death without a trial, on the ground that they were captives for a second time. And in the case of Lucius Caesar, though the man was related to him and came a voluntary suppliant, nevertheless, since he had fought against him straight through, he at first bade him stand trial so that the conqueror might seem to have some legal right on his side in condemning him: later Caesar shrank from killing him by his own vote, and put it off for the time, but afterward did slay him secretly. [13] Even among his own followers those that did not suit him he sacrificed without compunction to the opposing side in some cases, and in others by prearrangement caused them to perish in the actual conflicts, through the agency of their own comrades, for, as I have said, he did not take measures

openly against all those that had troubled him, but any that he could not prosecute on some substantial charge he quietly put out of the way in some obscure fashion. And yet at that time he burned without reading all the papers that were found in the private chests of Scipio, and of the men who had fought against him he preserved many for their own sakes, and many also on account of their friends. For, as has been said, he allowed each of his fellow-soldiers and companions to ask the life of one man. He would have preserved Cato, too. For he had conceived such an admiration for him that when Cicero subsequently wrote an encomium of Cato he was no whit vexed, — although Cicero had likewise warred against him, — but merely wrote a short treatise which he entitled *Anticato*.

[14] Caesar after these events at once and before crossing into Italy disencumbered himself of the more elderly among his soldiers for fear they might revolt again. He arranged the other matters in Africa just as rapidly as was feasible and sailed as far as Sardinia with all his fleet. From that point he sent the discarded troops in the company of Graius Didius into Spain against Pompey, and himself returned to Rome, priding himself chiefly upon the brilliance of his achievements but also to some extent upon the decrees of the senate. For they had decreed that offerings should be made for his victory during forty days, and they had granted him leave to celebrate the previously accorded triumph upon white horses and with such lictors as were then in his company, with as many others as he had employed in his first dictatorship, and all the rest, besides, that he had in his second. Further, they elected him superintendent of every man's conduct (for some such name was given him, as if the title of censor were not worthy of him), for three years, and dictator for ten in succession. They moreover voted that he should sit in the senate upon the *sella curulis* with the acting consuls, and should always state his opinion first, that he should give the signal in all the horse-races, and that he should have the appointment of the officers and whatever else formerly the people were accustomed to assign. And they resolved that a representation of his chariot be set on the Capitol opposite Jupiter, that upon an image of the inhabited world a bronze figure of Caesar be mounted, holding a written statement to the effect that he was a demi-god, and that his name be inscribed upon the Capitol, in place of that of Catulus, on the ground that he had finished the temple, in the course of the construction of which he had undertaken to call Catulus to account. These are the only measures I have recorded, not because they were also the only ones voted, — for a vast number of things was proposed and of course ratified, — but because he disregarded the rest, whereas these he accepted.

[15] Now that they had been settled, he entered Rome, where he saw that the inhabitants were afraid of his power and suspicious of his designs as a result of which they expected to suffer many terrible evils such as had taken place before. Seeing also that on this account excessive honors had been accorded him, through flattery but not through good-will, he began to encourage the

Romans and to inspire them with hope by the following speech delivered in the senate:

“Let none of you, Conscript Fathers, expect that I shall make any harsh proclamation or perform any cruel act merely because I have conquered and am able to say whatever I may please without being called to account, and to do with authority whatever I may choose. It is true that Marius and Cinna and Sulla and all the rest, so to speak, who ever subdued their adversaries, in their initial undertakings said and did much that was humane, principally as a result of which they converted to their side some whose alliance, or at least whose refraining from hostilities, they enjoyed; and then after conquering and becoming masters of the ends they sought, they adopted a course of behavior diametrically opposed to their former stand both in word and in deed. Let no one, however, for any such reason assume that this same policy will be mine. I have not associated with you in former time under a disguise, possessing in reality some different nature, only to become emboldened in security now because that is possible: nor have I been so excited or beclouded by my great good fortune as to desire also to play the tyrant over you. Both of these afflictions, or rather the second, seems to have befallen those men whom I mentioned. No, I am in nature the same sort of a man as you have always found me: — why should I go into details and become burdensome by a praise of self? — I should not think of treating Fortune so shabbily, but the more I have enjoyed her favors, the better will I use her in every respect. I have been anxious to secure so great power and to rise to such a height as to chastise all active foes and admonish all those disaffected for no other reason than that I might be able to play a brave part without danger, and to obtain prosperity with fame. ^[16] It is not, besides, in general either noble or just for a man to be convicted of adopting that course for which he had rebuked those who differed from him in opinion: nor should I ever be satisfied to be compared with them through my imitation of their deeds, and to differ merely by the reputation of my complete victory. For who ought to benefit people more and more abundantly than he who has the greatest power. Who ought to err less than he who is the strongest? Who should use the gifts of Heaven more sensibly than he who has received the greatest from that source? Who ought to handle present blessings more uprightly than he who has the most of them and is most afraid of their being lost? Good fortune, joined with temperance, continues: and authority, if it maintains moderation, preserves all that has been gained. Above all, as is seldom the case with those persons that succeed without virtue, they make it possible for rulers while alive to be loved unfeignedly, and when, dead to receive genuine praise. But the man who without restraint absolutely applies his power to everything finds for himself neither real good-will nor certain safety, but though accorded a false flattery in public [is secretly cursed]. For the whole world, besides those who associate with him most, both suspect and fear a ruler who is not master of his own authority.

[17] "Again, these words that I have spoken are no mere quibbles, and I have tried to make you understand that they have not fallen into my head for ostentation or by mere chance on the present occasion: on the contrary, from the outset I realized that this course was both suitable and advantageous for me; that is why I both think and speak thus. Consequently you may be not only of good courage with reference to the present, but hopeful as regards the future, reflecting (if you think I used any pretence), that I would not be deferring my projects, but would have made them known this very day.

"However, I was never otherwise minded in times past, as my works themselves, indeed, doubtless prove and now I shall feel far more eagerness with all order and decency not, — forbid it, Jupiter! — not to be your master, but your head man, not your tyrant, but your leader. In the matter of accomplishing for you everything else that must be done, I will be both consul and dictator, but in the matter of injuring any one, a private citizen. That possibility I do not think should be even mentioned. Why should I put any one of you to death, who have done me no harm, when I destroyed none of my adversaries, even if with the utmost zeal they had taken part with various enemies against me, but I took pity on all those that had withstood me but once, saving many alive of those that fought on the opposing side a second time? How should I bear malice toward any, seeing that without reading or making excerpts I immediately burned all the documents that were found among the private papers both in Pompey's and in Scipio's tents? So then, let us, Conscript Fathers, boldly unite our interests, forgetting all past events as brought to pass simply by some supernatural Force, and beginning to love each the other without suspicion as though we were some new citizens. In this way you may behave yourselves toward me as toward a father, enjoying the fore-thought and solicitude which I shall give you and fearing no vexation, and I may have charge of you as of children, praying that all noblest deeds may be ever! accomplished by your exertions, and enduring perforce human limitations, exalting the excellent by fitting honors and correcting the rest so far as is feasible.

[18] "Another point — do not fear the soldiers nor regard them in any other light than as guardians of my dominion, which is at the same time yours: that they should be maintained is inevitable, for many reasons, but they will be maintained for your benefit, not against you; they will be content with what is given them and think well of the givers. For this reason larger taxes than is customary have been levied, in order that the opposition might be made submissive and the victorious element, receiving sufficient support, might not become an opposition. Of course I have received no private gain from these funds, seeing that I have expended for you all that I possessed, including much that I had borrowed. No, you can see that a part has been expended on the wars, and the rest has been kept safe for you: it will serve to adorn the city and administer the other governmental departments. I have, then, taken upon my own shoulders the odium of the levy, whereas you will all enjoy its

advantages in common, in the campaigns as well as elsewhere. We are in need of arms, at every moment, since without them it is impossible for us, who inhabit so great a city and hold so extensive an empire, to live safely: now the surplus of money will be a mighty assistance in this matter. However, let none of you suspect that I shall harass any man who is rich or establish any new taxes: I shall be satisfied with the present collections and be anxious to help make some contribution to you than to wrong any one for his money.”

By such, statements in the senate and afterward before the people Caesar relieved them to some extent of their fears, but was not able to persuade them entirely to be of good courage until he corroborated his declarations by his deeds.

[19] After this he conducted subsequent proceedings in a brilliant manner, as was fitting in honor of so many and such decisive victories. He celebrated triumphs over the Gauls, for Egypt, for Pharnaces and for Juba, in four sections, on four separate days. Most of it doubtless delighted the spectators, but the sight of Arsinoë of Egypt — he had brought her along among the captives — and the horde of lictors and the symbols of triumph taken from citizens who had fallen in Africa displeased them exceedingly. The lictors, on account of their numbers, appeared to them a most outrageous multitude, since never before had they beheld so many at one time: and the sight of Arsinoë, a woman and once called queen, in chains (a spectacle which had never yet been offered, in Rome at least), aroused very great pity, and in consequence on this excuse they incidentally lamented their personal misfortunes. She, to be sure, was released out of consideration for her brothers, but others including Vercingetorix were put to death.

[20] The people, accordingly, were disagreeably affected by these sights that I have mentioned, and yet they deemed them very few considering the multitude of the captives and the magnitude of Caesar’s accomplishments. This, as well as the fact that he endured very goodnatureedly the army’s outspoken comments, led them to admire him extremely. For they made sport of those of their own number appointed to the senate by him and all the other failings of which he was accused: most of all they jested about his love for Cleopatra and his sojourn at the court of Nicomedes, ruler of Bithynia, inasmuch as he had once been at his court when a lad; indeed, they even declared that Caesar had enslaved the Gauls, but Nicomedes Caesar. Finally, on the top of all the rest they all together with a shout declared that if you do well, you will be punished, but if ill you shall rule. This was meant by them to signify that if Caesar should restore self-government to the people — which they regarded as just — and stand trial for the acts he had committed outside the laws, he would even undergo punishment; whereas, if he should cleave to his power, — which they deemed the course of an unjust person, — he would continue sole ruler. As for him, however, he was not displeased at their saying this: on the contrary he was quite delighted that by such frankness toward him they showed a belief that he would never be angry at it, — except in so far as

their abuse concerned his association with Nicomedes. At this he was decidedly irritated and evidently pained: he attempted to defend himself, denying with an oath that the case was such, and after that he incurred the further penalty of laughter.

[21] Now on the first day of the festival of victory a portent far from good fell to his lot. The axle of the triumphal chariot was crushed just opposite the very temple of Fortune built by Lucullus, so that he had to complete the rest of the course in another. On this occasion, too, he climbed up the stairs of the Capitol on his knees, without noticing at all either the chariot which he had dedicated to Jupiter, or the image of the inhabited world lying beneath his feet, or the inscription upon it: later on, however, he erased from that inscription the name demi-god.

After this triumphal celebration he entertained the populace splendidly, giving them grain beyond the regular measure and olive oil. Also, to the multitude which received the present of grain he assigned the seventy-five denarii which he had promised in advance, and twenty-five more, but to the soldiers five hundred in one sum. Yet he was not merely ostentatious: in most respects he was very exact; for instance, since the throng receiving doles of grain had for a very long period been growing not by lawful methods of increase but in such ways as are common in popular tumults, he investigated the matter and erased half of their names at one time.

[22] The first days of the fête he passed as was customary: on the last day, after they had finished dinner, he entered his own forum wearing fancy sandals and garlanded with all sorts of flowers; thence he proceeded homeward with the entire populace, so to speak, alongside escorting him, while many elephants carried torches. He had himself adorned the forum called after him, and it is distinctly more beautiful than the Roman (Forum); yet it had increased the reputation of the other so that that was called the Great Forum. This forum which he had constructed and the temple of Venus, looked upon as the founder of his race, he dedicated at this very time. In honor of them he instituted many contests of all kinds. He furnished with benches a kind of hunting-theatre, which from the fact that it had seats all around without a canopy was called an amphitheatre. Here in honor of his daughter he had animals killed and contests between men in armor; but whoever should care to write down their number would doubtless render his narrative tedious besides falling into errors; for all such things are regularly exaggerated by boasting. [23] I shall accordingly pass over this, and be silent on the other like events that subsequently took place — unless, of course, it should seem to me thoroughly necessary to mention some particular point, — but I will give an account of the so-called camelopard, because it was then for the first time introduced into Rome by Caesar and exhibited to all. This animal is in general a camel, except that it has sets of legs not of equal length. That is, its hind legs are shorter. Beginning from the rump its back grows gradually higher, appearing as if it would ascend indefinitely, until the most of its body reaching

its loftiest point is supported on the front legs, while the neck stretches up to an unusual height. It has skin spotted like a leopard, and for this reason bears the name common to both animals. Such is the appearance of this beast.

As for the men, he not only pitted one against another in the Forum, as had been customary, but he also in the hippodrome brought them together in companies, horsemen against horsemen, fighters on foot against similar contestants, and others that were a match for one another indiscriminately. Some even, forty in number, fought from elephants. Finally he produced a naval battle, not on the sea nor on the lake but on land. He hollowed out a certain tract on the Campus Martius and by letting water into it introduced ships. In all the contests the captives and those condemned to death took part. Some even of the knights, and, — not to mention others, — a son of a man who had been praetor fought in single combat. Indeed, a senator named Fulvius Sepinus desired to contend in full armor, but was prevented; for Caesar had expressed a fervent wish that that should never take place, though he did permit the knights to contend. The patrician children went through the so-called Troy equestrian exercise according to ancient custom, and the young men who were their peers vied with one another in chariots.

[24] Still, it must be said he was blamed for the great number of those who were slain, on the ground that he had not himself become satiated with slaughter and was further exhibiting to the populace symbols of their own miseries; and much more so because he had expended on all that array countless sums. A clamor in consequence was raised against him for two reasons, — that he had collected most of the funds unjustly, and that he had used them up for such purposes.

And by mentioning one feature of his extravagance of that time I shall thereby give an inkling of all the rest. In order that the sun might not annoy any of the spectators he had curtains stretched over them made of silk, according to some accounts. Now this product of the loom is a device of barbarian luxury and from them has come down even to us to satisfy the excessive daintiness of veritable women. The civilians perforce held their peace at such acts, but the soldiers raised an outcry, not because they cared about the money recklessly squandered but because they did not themselves get what was appropriated to those displays. In fact they did not cease from confusion till Caesar suddenly coming upon them with his own hand seized one man and delivered him up to punishment. This person was executed for the reasons stated, and two other men were slaughtered as a kind of piece of ritual. The true cause I am unable to state, inasmuch as the Sibyl made no utterance and there was no other similar oracle, but at any rate they were sacrificed in the Campus Martius by the pontifices and the priest of Mars, and their heads were set up near the palace.

[25] While Caesar was thus engaged he was also enacting many laws, passing over most of which I shall mention only those most deserving attention. The courts he entrusted to the senators and the knights alone so that

the purest element of the population, so far as was possible, might always preside: formerly some of the common people had also joined with them in rendering decisions. The expenditures, moreover, of men of means which had been rendered enormous by their licentiousness he not only controlled by law but put a strong check upon them by practical measures. There was, on account of the numbers of warriors that had perished, a dangerous scarcity of population, as was proved both from the censuses (which he attended to, among other things, as if he were censor) and from actual observation, consequently he offered prizes for large families of children. Again, because he himself as a result of ruling the Gauls many years in succession had been attracted into a desire for dominion and had by it increased the equipment of his force, he limited by law the term of ex-praetors to one year, and that of ex-consuls to two consecutive years, and enacted in general that no one should be allowed to hold any office for a longer time.

[26] After the passage of these laws he also established in their present fashion the days of the year (which were not definitely settled among the people, since even at that time they regulated their months according to the movements of the moon) by adding sixty-seven days, all that were necessary to bring the year out even. In the past some have declared that even more were interpolated, but the truth is as I have stated it. He got this improvement from his stay in Alexandria, save in so far as those people calculate their months as of thirty days each, afterward annexing the five days to the entire year as a whole, whereas Caesar distributed among seven months these five along with two other days that he took away from one month. The one day, however, which is made up of four parts Caesar introduced every fourth year, so as to have the annual seasons no longer differ at all except in the slightest degree. In fourteen hundred and sixty-one years there is need of only one (additional) intercalary day.

[27] All these and other undertakings which he was planning for the common weal he accomplished not by independent declaration nor by independent cogitation, but he communicated everything in every instance to the heads of the senate, sometimes even to the entire body. And to this practice most of all was due the fact that even when he passed some rather harsh measures, he still succeeded in pleasing them. For these actions he received praise; but inasmuch as he had some of the tribunes bring back many of those that stayed away from court, and allowed those who were convicted of bribery in office on actual proof to live in Italy, and furthermore numbered once more among the senate some who were not worthy of it, many murmurings of all sorts arose against him. Yet the greatest censure he incurred from all through his passion for Cleopatra, — not the passion he had displayed in Egypt (that was mere hearsay), but in Rome itself. For she had come to the city with her husband and settled in Caesar's own house, so that he too derived an ill repute from both of them. It caused him no anxiety, however; on the contrary he enrolled them among the friends and allies of the Roman people.

[28] Meanwhile he was learning in detail all that Pompey was doing in Spain. Thinking him not hard to vanquish, he at first despatched his fleet from Sardinia against him, but later sent on also the army that was available by list, evidently intending to conduct the entire war through his representatives. But when he ascertained that Pompey was progressing mightily and that those sent were not sufficient to fight against him, he finally himself went out to join the expedition, entrusting the city to Lepidus and certain aediles, — eight as some think, or six as is more commonly believed.

[29] The legions in Spain had rebelled during the period of command of Longinus and Marcellus and some of the cities had revolted; upon the removal of Longinus (Trebonius becoming his successor) they kept quiet for a few days: after that through fear of vengeance from Caesar they secretly sent ambassadors to Scipio expressing a wish to transfer their allegiance. He despatched to them among others Gnaeus Pompey. The latter being close to the Gymnasian islands took possession of them without a battle, save Ebusus: this one he brought over with difficulty, and then falling sick delayed there together with his soldiers. As he was late in returning, the soldiers in Spain, who had learned that Scipio was dead and Didius had set sail against them, in their fear of being annihilated before Pompey came failed to wait for him; but putting at their head Titus Quintius Scapula and Quintus Aponius, Roman knights, they drove out Trebonius and led the whole Baetic nation to revolt at the same time. They had gone [30] thus far when Pompey, recovering from his illness, arrived by sea at the mainland opposite. He immediately won over several cities without resistance, for they were vexed at the commands of their rulers and besides had no little hope in him because of the memory of his father: Carthage, which was unwilling to come to terms, he besieged. The followers of Scapula on hearing this went there and chose him general with full powers, after which they adhered most closely to him and showed the most violent zeal, regarding his successes as the successes of each individual and his disasters as their own. Consequently they were strong for both reasons, striving to obtain the successes and to avoid the disasters.

For Pompey, too, did what all are accustomed to do in the midst of such tumults and revolutions and especially after some of the Allobroges had deserted, whom Juba had taken alive in a war against Curio and had given him, there was nothing that he did not grant the rest both by word and deed.

They accordingly became more zealous in his behalf, and a number of the opposing side, particularly all who had served under Afranius, came over to him. Then there were those who came to him from Africa, among others his brother Sextus, and Varus, and Labienus with his fleet. Therefore, elated by the multitude of his army and their zeal he proceeded fearlessly through the country, gaining some cities of their own accord, some against their will, and seemed to surpass even his father in power. [31] For though Caesar had generals in Spain, — Quintus Fabius Maximus and Quintus Pedius, they did not think themselves a match for him, but remained quiet themselves, while

they sent in haste for their chief.

For a time matters went on so; but when a few of the men sent in advance from Rome had reached there, and Caesar's arrival was looked for, Pompey became frightened; and thinking that he was not strong enough to gain the mastery of all Spain, he did not wait for a reverse before changing his mind, but immediately, before testing the temper of his adversaries, retired into Baetica. The sea, moreover, straightway became hostile to him, and Varus was beaten in a naval battle near Carteia by Didius: indeed, had he not escaped to the land and sunk anchors side by side at the mouth of the harbor, upon which the foremost pursuers struck as on a reef, the whole fleet would have perished. All the country at that point except the city Ulia was an ally of Pompey's: this town, which had refused to submit to him, he proceeded to besiege.

[32] Meanwhile Caesar, too, with a few men suddenly came up unexpectedly not only to Pompey's followers, but even to his own soldiers. He had employed such speed in the passage that he was seen both by his adherents and by his opponents before news was brought that he was actually in Spain. Now Caesar hoped from this very fact and his mere presence to alarm Pompey in general, and to draw him from the siege; that was why most of the army had been left behind on the road.

But Pompey, thinking that one man was not much superior to another and quite confident in his own strength, was not seriously startled at the other's arrival, but continued to besiege the city and kept making assaults just as before. Hence Caesar stationed there a few soldiers from among the first-comers and himself started for Corduba, partly because he hoped to take it by treachery, but chiefly because he expected to attract Pompey through fear for it away from Ulia. And so it turned out. For at first Pompey left a portion of his army in position, went to Corduba and strengthened it, and as Caesar did not withstand his troops, put his brother Sextus in charge of it. However, he failed to accomplish anything at Ulia: on the contrary, when a certain tower had fallen, and that not shaken down by his own men but broken down by the crowd that was making a defence from it, some few who rushed in did not come off well; and Caesar approaching lent assistance secretly by night to the citizens, and himself again made an expedition against Corduba, putting it under siege in turn: then at last did Pompey withdraw entirely from Ulia and hastened to the other town with his entire army, — a movement not destitute of results. For Caesar, learning of this in advance, had retired, as he happened to be sick. Afterward when he had recovered and had taken charge of the additional troops who accompanied him he was compelled to carry on warfare even in the winter. [33] Housed in miserable little tents they were suffering distress and running short of food. Caesar was at that time serving as dictator, and some time late, near the close of the war, he was appointed consul, when Lepidus, who was master of the horse, convoked the people for this purpose. He, Lepidus, had become master of the horse at that time, having given

himself, while still in the consulship, that additional title contrary to ancestral traditions.

Caesar, accordingly, compelled as I have said to carry on warfare even in winter did not try to attack Corduba — it was strongly guarded — but turned his attention to Ategua, a city in which he had learned that there was an abundance of grain. Although it was strong, he hoped by the size of his army and the sudden terror of his appearance to alarm the inhabitants and capture it. In a short time he had palisaded it off and dug a ditch round about. Pompey, encouraged by the nature of the country and thinking that Caesar because of the winter would not besiege the place to any great extent, paid no heed and did not try at first to repel the assailants, since he was unwilling to injure his own soldiers in the cold. Later on, when the town had been walled off and Caesar was in position before it, he grew afraid and came with assistance. He fell in with the pickets suddenly one misty night and killed a number of them. The ungeneraled condition of the inhabitants he ameliorated by sending to them Munatius Flaccus. The latter ^[34] had contrived the following scheme to get inside. He went alone by night to some of the guards as if appointed by Caesar to visit the sentries, asked and learned the pass-word: — he was not known, of course, and would never have been suspected by the separate contingents of being anything but a friend when he acted in this manner: — then he left these men and went around to the other side of the circumvallation where he met some other guards and gave them the pass-word: after that he pretended that his mission was to betray the city, and so went inside through the midst of the soldiers with their consent and actually under their escort. He could not, however, save the place. In addition to other setbacks there was one occasion when the citizens hurled fire upon the engines and palisades of the Romans, yet did no damage to them worth mentioning; but they themselves by reason of a violent wind which just then began to blow toward them from the opposite side fared ill: for their buildings were set afire and many persons perished from the stones and missiles, not being able to see any distance ahead of them for the smoke. After this disaster, as their land was continually ravaged, and every now and then a portion of their wall would fall, undermined, they began to riot. Flaccus first conferred with Caesar by herald on the basis of pardon for himself and followers: later he failed of this owing to his resolution not to surrender his arms, but the rest of the natives subsequently sent ambassadors and submitted to the terms imposed upon each.

^[35] The capture of that city did not fail of its influence upon the other peoples, but many themselves after sending envoys espoused Caesar's cause, and many received him on his approach or his lieutenants. Pompey, in consequence, at a loss which way to turn, at first made frequent changes of base, wandering about now in one and now in another part of the country: later on he became afraid that as a result of this very behavior the rest of his adherents would also leave him in the lurch, and chose to hazard all, although

Heaven beforehand indicated his defeat very clearly. To be sure, the drops of sweat that fell from sacred statues and the confused noises of the legions, and the many animals born which proved to be perversions of the proper type, and the torches darting from sunrise to the sunset region — (all these signs then met together in Spain at one time) — gave no clear manifestation to which of the two combatants they were revealing the future. But the eagles of his legions shook their wings and cast forth the golden thunderbolts which some of them held in their talons: thus they would hurl disaster directly at Pompey before flying off to Caesar.... For a different force ... Heaven, and he held it in slight esteem, and so into war ... settled down to battle.

[36] Both had in addition to their citizen and mercenary troops many of the natives and many Moors. For Bocchus had sent his sons to Pompey and Bogud in person accompanied Caesar's force. Still, the contest turned out to be like a struggle of the Romans themselves, not of any other nations. Caesar's soldiers derived courage from their numbers and experience and above all from their leader's presence and so were anxious to be done with the war and its attendant miseries. Pompey's men were inferior in these respects, but, strong through their despair of safety, should they fail to conquer, continued zealous. Inasmuch as the majority of them had been captured with Afranius and Varro, had been spared, and delivered afterward to Longinus, from whom they had revolted, they had no hope of safety if they were beaten, and as a result of this were drawn toward desperation, feeling that they needed to be of good cheer at that particular time or else perish utterly. So the armies came together and began the battle. They had no longer any dread of each other, since they had been so many times opposed in arms, and for that reason required no urging. [37] In the course of the engagement the allied forces on both sides quickly were routed and fled; but the main bodies struggled in close combat to the utmost in their resistance of each other. Not a man of them would yield. They remained in position, wreaking slaughter and being slain, as if each separate man was to be responsible to all the rest as well for the outcome of victory or defeat. Consequently they were not concerned to see how their allies were battling but set to work as if they alone were engaged. Neither sound of paean nor groan was to be heard from any one of them: both sides limited their shouts to "Strike! Kill!", while their acts easily outran their speech. Caesar and Pompey, who saw this from horseback on certain elevated positions, felt little inclination to either hope or despair, but torn with doubts were equally distressed by confidence and fear. The battle was so nearly balanced that they suffered tortures at the sight, straining to spy out some advantage, and quivering lest they descry some setback. Their souls were filled with prayers for success and against misfortune, and with alternating strength and fear. In fact, not being able to endure it long, they leaped from their horses and joined the combat. Apparently they preferred a participation involving personal exertion and danger rather than tension of spirit, and each hoped by associating in the fight to turn the scale somehow in favor of his

own soldiers. Or, if they failed of that, they were content to meet death, side by side with them.

[38] The generals, then, took part in the battle themselves. This movement, however, resulted in no advantage to either army. On the contrary, — when the men saw their chiefs sharing their danger, a far greater disregard for their own death and eagerness for the destruction of their opponents seized both alike. Accordingly neither side for the moment turned to flight: matched in determination, they found their persons matched in power. All would have perished, or else at nightfall they would have parted with honors even, had not Bogud, who was somewhere outside the press, made an advance upon Pompey's camp, whereupon Labienus, seeing it, left his station to proceed against him. Pompey's men, interpreting this as flight, lost heart. Later they doubtless learned the truth but could no longer retrieve their position. Some escaped to the city, some to the fortification. The latter body vigorously fought off attacks and fell only when surrounded, while the former for a long time kept the wall safe, so that it was not captured till all of them had perished in sallies. So great was the total loss of Romans on both sides that the victors, at a loss how to wall in the city to prevent any running away in the night, actually heaped up the bodies of the dead around it.

[39] Caesar, having thus conquered, took Corduba at once. Sextus had retired from his path, and the natives, although their slaves, who had purposely been made free, offered resistance, came over to his side. He slew those under arms and obtained money by the sale of the rest. The same course he adopted with those that held Hispalis, who at first, pretending to be willing, had accepted a garrison from him, but later massacred the soldiers that had come there, and entered upon a course of warfare. In his expedition against them his rather careless conduct of the siege caused them some hope of being able to escape. So then he allowed them to come outside the wall, where he ambushed and destroyed them, and in this way captured the town, which was soon destitute of male defenders. Next he acquired and levied money upon Munda and the other places, some that were unwilling with great slaughter and others of their own accord. He did not even spare the offerings to Hercules, consecrated in Gades, and he detached special precincts from some towns and laid an added tribute upon others. This was his course toward those who had opposed him; but to those who displayed any good-will toward him he granted lands and freedom from taxation, to some, moreover, citizenship, and to others the right to be considered Roman colonies; he did not, however, grant these favors for nothing.

[40] While Caesar was thus occupied, Pompey, who had escaped in the rout, reached the sea, intending to use the fleet that lay at anchor in Carteia, but found that it had espoused the victor's cause. He endeavored to embark in a boat, expecting to obtain safety thereby. In the course of the attempt, however, he was roughly handled and in dejection came to land again, where, taking some men that had assembled, he set out for the interior. Pompey himself met

defeat at the hands, of Caesennius Lento, with whom he fell in: he took refuge in a wood, and was there killed. Didius, ignorant of the event, while wandering about to join him met some other enemies and perished.

[41] Caesar, too, would doubtless have chosen to fall there, at the hands of those who were still resisting and in the glory of war, in preference to the fate he met not long after, to be cut down in his own land and in the senate, at the hands of his best friends. For this was the last war he carried through successfully, and this the last victory that he won in spite of the fact that there was no project so great that he did not hope to accomplish it. In this belief he was strengthened not only by other reasons but most of all because from a palm that stood on the site of the battle a shoot grew out immediately after the victory.

And I will not assert that this had no bearing in some direction; it was, however, no longer for him, but for his sister's grandson, Octavius: the latter made the expedition with him, and was destined to shine forth brightly from his toils and dangers. As Caesar did not know this, hoping that many great additional successes would fall to his own lot he acted in no moderate fashion, but was filled with loftiness as if immortal. [42] Though it was no foreign nation he had conquered, but a great mass of citizens that he had destroyed, he not only personally directed the triumph, incidentally regaling the entire populace again, as if in honor of some common blessing, but also allowed Quintus Fabius and Quintus Pedius to hold a festival. Yet they had merely been his lieutenants and had achieved no individual success. Naturally some laughter was caused by this, as well as by the fact that he used wooden instead of ivory instruments, and representations of certain actions, and other such triumphal apparatus. Nevertheless, most brilliant triple fêtes and triple processions of the Romans were held in connection with those very things, and furthermore a hallowed period of fifty days was observed. The Parilia was honored by a perpetual horse-race, yet not at all because the city had been founded on that day, but because the news of Caesar's victory had arrived the day before, toward evening.

[43] Such was his gift to Rome. For himself he wore the triumphal garb, by decree, in all assemblages and was adorned with the laurel crown always and every-where alike. The excuse that he gave for it was that his forehead was bald; and this had some show of reason from the very fact that at the time, though well past youth, he still bestowed attention on his appearance. He showed among all men his pride in rather foppish clothing, and the footwear which he used later on was sometimes high and of a reddish color, after the style of the kings who had once lived in Alba, for he assumed that he was related to them on account of Iulus. To Venus he was, in general, devoted body and soul and he was anxious to persuade everybody that he had received from her a kind of bloom of youth. Accordingly he used also to carry about a carven image of her in full armor and he made her name his watchword in almost all the greatest dangers. The looseness of his girdle Sulla had looked

askance at, insomuch that he wished to kill him, and declared to those who begged him off: "Well, I will grant him to you, but do you be on your guard, without fail, against this ill-girt fellow." Cicero could not comprehend it, but even in the moment of defeat said: "I should never have expected one so ill-girt to conquer Pompey."

[44] This I have written by way of digression from story, so that no one might be ignorant of the stories about Caesar. — In honor of the victory the senate passed all of those decrees that I have mentioned, and further called him "liberator", inscribed it in the records, and publicly voted for a temple of Liberty. To him first and for the first time, they then, applied, as a term of special significance, the title "imperator," — not merely according to ancient custom any longer, as others besides Caesar had often been saluted as a result of wars, nor even as those who have received some independent command or other authority were called, but, in short, it was this title which is now granted to those who hold successively the supreme power. And so great an excess of flattery did they employ as even to vote that his children and grandchildren should be so called, though he had no child and was already an old man. From him this title has come down to all subsequent imperatores, as something peculiar to their office, even as in Caesar's case. The ancient custom has not, however, been thereby overthrown. Each of the two titles exists. Consequently they are invested with it a second time, when they gain some such victory as has been mentioned. Those who are imperatores in the limited sense use the appellation once, as they do others, and indeed before others: whatever rulers in addition accomplish in war any deed worthy of it acquire also the name handed down by ancient custom, so that a man is termed imperator a second and a third time, and oftener, as frequently as he can bestow it upon himself.

These privileges they granted then to Caesar, as well as a house, so that he might live in state-property, and a special period of festival whenever any victory took place and whenever there were sacrifices for it, even if he had not been with the expedition nor in general had any hand in the achievement. [45] Still, those measures, even if they seemed to them immoderate and out of the usual order, were not, so far, undemocratic. But they passed the following decrees besides, by which they declared him sovereign out and out. They offered him the magistracies, even those belonging to the people, and elected him consul for ten years, as they previously had dictator. They ordered that he alone should have soldiers, and alone administer the public funds, so that no one else was allowed to employ either of them, save whom he might permit. And they commanded at that time that an ivory statue of him, but later that a whole chariot should be escorted at the horse-races along with the likenesses of the gods. Another image they set up in the temple of Quirinus with the inscription: "to the invincible god", and another on the Capitol beside the former kings of Rome. It occurs to me really to marvel at the coincidence: there were eight such images — seven to the kings, and an eighth to the

Brutus that overthrew the Tarquins — besides this one, when they set up the statue of Caesar; and it was from this cause chiefly that Marcus Brutus was stirred to conspire against him.

[46] These were the measures that were ratified because of victory, — I am not mentioning all, but as many as I have seemed to me notable, — not on one day, but just as it happened, one at one time, another at another. Some of them Caesar began to render operative, and of others he intended to make use in the future, no matter how much he put aside some of them. Now the office of consul he took up immediately, even before entering the city, but did not hold it continuously.

[B.C. 45 (*a.u.* 709)]

When he got to Rome he renounced it, delivering it to Quintus Fabius and Graius Trebonius. When Fabius on the last day of his consulship died, he straightway chose instead of him another, Gaius Caninius Rebilus for the remaining hours. Then for the first time, contrary to precedent, it became possible for the same man to hold that office neither annually, nor for all the time left in the same year, but while living to withdraw from it without compulsion from either ancestral custom or any accusation, and for another one to take his place. In the second place the circumstances were unique, because Caninius at once was appointed consul, and ceased to serve. On this, Cicero jestingly said that the consul had displayed so great bravery and prudence in office, as never to fall asleep in it for the briefest moment. So from that period on the same persons no longer (save a few in olden times), served as consul through the entire year, but just as it happened, — some for more time, some for less, some for months, others for days — since now no one serves with any one else, as a rule, for a whole year or for a longer period than two months. In general we do not differ from our ancestors, but the naming of the years for purposes of enumeration falls to those who are consuls at the start. Accordingly I shall in most cases name those officials closely connected with events, but to secure perfect clearness with regard to what is done from time to time I shall mention also those first to serve, even if they make no contribution to the undertakings in question.

[47] Whereas the consuls were thus disposed of, the remaining magistrates were nominally elected by the plebs and by the populace, in accord with ancient customs (for Caesar would not accept the appointment of them), but really by him, and without the casting of lots they were sent out among the provinces. As for number, all were the same as before, except that thirteen praetors and forty quaestors were appointed. For, since he had made many promises to many people, he had no other way to redeem them, and that accounts for his actions. Furthermore he enrolled a vast number in the senate, making no distinction, whether a man were a soldier, or a child of one enslaved, so that the sum of them grew to nine hundred: and he enrolled many among the patricians and among the ex-consuls or such as had held some office. When some were tried for bribery and convicted he released them, so

that he was charged with bribe-taking himself. This report was strengthened by the fact that he also exposed in the market all the public lands, not only the profane, but also the consecrated lots, and auctioned off the majority of them. Nevertheless to some persons he granted ample gifts in the form of money or the sale of lands; and to a certain Lucius Basilus he allowed no rulership of a province, though the latter was praetor, but bestowed a large amount of money in place of it, so that Basilus became notorious both in this matter and because when insulted in the course of his praetorship by Caesar he stood his ground.

All this suited those citizens who were making or expecting to make corrupt gain, since they revered no element of the public weal in comparison with bettering themselves by such acts. But all the rest took it greatly to heart, and had much to say about it to intimates and also (as many as felt safe in so doing) in outspoken public conversation and the publication of anonymous pamphlets.

[48] Not only were those measures carried out that year, but two of the aediles took charge of the municipal government, since no quaestor had been elected. For just as once formerly, so now in the absence of Caesar, the aediles managed all the city affairs, in conjunction with Lepidus as master of the horse. Although they were censured for employing lictors and magisterial garb and chair precisely like the master of the horse, they got off by citing a certain law, which allowed all those receiving any office from a dictator to make use of such things. The business of administration, changed from that time for the reasons I have mentioned, was no longer invariably laid upon the quaestors, but was finally assigned to ex-praetors. Two of the aediles managed at that time the public treasures, and one of them, by provision of Caesar, superintended the Ludi Apollinares. The aediles of the populace directed the Megalesia, by decree. A certain prefect, appointed during the Feriae, himself chose a successor on the last day, and the latter another: this had never happened before, nor did it happen again.

[B.C. 44 (*a.u.* 710)]

[49] The next year after these events during which Caesar was at once dictator for the fifth time, taking Lepidus as master of the horse, and consul for the fifth time, choosing Antony as colleague, sixteen praetors were in power — this custom indeed has remained for many years — and the rostra, which was formerly in the center of the Forum, was moved back to its present position: also the images of Sulla and of Pompey were restored to it. For this Caesar received praise, and again because he put upon Antony both the glory of the deed and credit for the inscription on the image. Being anxious to build a theatre, as Pompey had done, he laid the first foundations, but did not finish it. Augustus later completed it and named it for his nephew, Marcus Marcellus. But Caesar was blamed for tearing down the dwellings and temples on the site, and likewise because he burned up the statues, — all of wood, save a few, — and because on finding considerable treasures of money

he appropriated them all.

[50] In addition, he introduced laws and extended the pomerium, his behavior in these and other matters resembling that of Sulla. Caesar, however, removed the ban from the survivors of those that had warred against him, granting them immunity with fair and equal terms; he promoted them to office; to the wives of the slain he restored their dowries, and to their children granted a share in the property, thus putting mightily to shame Sulla's blood-guiltiness; so that he himself enjoyed a great repute not alone for bravery, but also for uprightness, though it is generally difficult for the same man to be eminent in peace as well as in war. This was a source of pride to him, as was the fact that he had raised again Carthage and Corinth. To be sure, there were many other cities in and outside of Italy, some of which he had built afresh, and some which he had newly founded. Others, however, had done that: it remained for him to restore, in memory of their former inhabitants, Corinth and Carthage, ancient, brilliant, conspicuous, ruined cities: one of them he declared a Roman colony, and colonized, and the other he honored with its ancient titles, bearing no grudge for the enmity of their peoples toward places that had never harmed them.

[51] And they, even as they had once been demolished together, now revived together and bade fair to flourish once again. But while Caesar was so engaged, a longing came over all the Romans alike to avenge Crassus and those that perished with him: there was some hope then, if ever, of subjugating the Parthians. The command of the war they unanimously voted to Caesar, and made ample provision for it. They arranged, among other details, that he should have a larger number of assistants, and that the city should neither be without officials in his absence, nor by attempting to choose some on its own responsibility fall into factions: also that such magistrates should be appointed in advance for three years (this was the length of time they thought necessary for the campaign). However, they did not designate them all beforehand. Nominally Caesar was to choose half of them, having a certain legal right to do this, but really he chose the whole number. For the first year, as previously, forty quaestors were elected, and then for the first time two patrician aediles and four from the people. Of the latter two have their title from Ceres, — a custom which, then introduced, has remained to the present day. Praetors were nominated to the number of eleven. It is not on this, however, that I desire to lay emphasis (for they had formerly been as many), but on the fact that among them was chosen Publius Ventidius. He was originally from Picenum, as has been remarked, and fought against Rome when her allies were alienated. He was captured by Pompeius Strabo, and in the latter's triumph marched in chains. Later he was released; some time after he was enrolled in the senate, and was now appointed praetor by Caesar; by degrees he advanced to such prominence as to conquer the Parthians and hold a triumph over them.

All those who were to hold office the first year after that were appointed in

advance, but for the second year the consuls and tribunes only: and no one got any closer than this to being nominated for the third year. Caesar himself intended to be dictator both years, and designated Octavius in advance as master of the horse for the second, though he was at that time a mere lad. For the time being, while this was going on, Caesar appointed Dolabella consul in his own stead, leaving Antony to finish the year out in office. To Lepidus he assigned Gallia Narbonensis with the adjoining portions of Spain, and made two men masters of horse in their place, each separately. Owing, as he did, favors to many persons he repaid them by such appointments as these and by priesthoods, adding one to the “Quindecimviri”, and three others to the “Septemviri,” as they were called.

BOOK 44

The following is contained in the Forty-fourth of Dio's Rome.

About the decrees passed in honor of Caesar (chapters 1-11).

About the conspiracy formed against him (chapters 12-18).

How Caesar was murdered (chapters 19-22).

How a decree was passed that the people should not bear malice against one another (chapters 23-34).

About the burial of Caesar and the oration delivered over him (chapters 35-53).

Duration of time, to the end of the 5th dictatorship of Julius Caesar, held in company with Aemilius Lepidus as Master of the Horse, and to the end of his 5th consulship, shared with Marcus Antonius. (B.C. 44 = a.u. 710).

BOOK 44, BOISSEVAIN.

[B.C. 44 (*a.u.* 710)]

[1] This Caesar did as a preliminary step to making a campaign against the Parthians, but a baleful frenzy which fell upon certain men through jealousy of his onward progress and hatred of his being esteemed above others caused the death of the leader by unlawful means, while it added a new name to the annals of infamy; it scattered decrees to the winds and brought upon the Romans seditions again and civil wars after a state of harmony. They declared that they had proved themselves both destroyers of Caesar and liberators of the people, but in fact their plot against him was one of fiendish malice, and they threw the city into disorder when at last it possessed a stable government.

[2] Democracy has a fair appearing name which conveys the impression of bringing equal rights to all from equal laws, but its results are seen not to agree at all with its title. Monarchy, on the contrary, strikes the ear unpleasantly, but is a very excellent government to live under. It is easier to find one single excellent man than many, and if even this seems to some a difficult feat, it is quite inevitable that the other proposition be acknowledged to be impossible; for the acquirement of virtue is not a characteristic of the majority of men. And again, even though one reprobate should obtain supreme power, yet he is preferable to a multitude of such persons, as the history of the Greeks and barbarians and of the Romans themselves proves. For successes have always been greater and more in number in the case both of cities and of individuals under kings than under popular rule, and disasters do not happen so easily in monarchies as in ochlocracies. In cases where a democracy has flourished anywhere, it has nevertheless reached its prime during a short period when the people had neither size nor strength that abuses should spring up among them from good fortune or jealousies from ambition. For a city so large as this, ruling the finest and the greatest part of the known world, containing men of many and diverse natures, holding many huge fortunes, occupied with every imaginable pursuit, enjoying every imaginable fortune, both individually and collectively, — for such a city to practice moderation under a democracy is impossible, and still more is it impossible for the people, unless moderation prevails, to be harmonious. If Marcus Brutus and Gaius Cassius had stopped to think this over they would never have killed the city's head and protector nor have made themselves the cause of countless ills both to their own persons and to all the rest of mankind then existing.

[3] It happened as follows, and his death was due to the cause I shall presently describe. He had not aroused dislike without any definite justification, except in so far as it was the senators themselves who had by the novelty and excess of their honors sent his mind soaring; and then, after filling him with conceit, they found fault with his prerogatives and spread injurious

reports to the effect that he was glad to accept them and behaved more haughtily as a result of them. It is true that sometimes Caesar erred by accepting some of the honors voted him and believing that he really deserved them, yet most blameworthy are those who, after beginning to reward him as he deserved, led him on and made him liable to censure by the measures that they voted. He neither dared to thrust them all aside, for fear of being thought contemptuous, nor could he be safe when he accepted them. Excess in honors and praises renders conceited even the most modest, especially if such rewards appear to have been given with sincerity. [4] The privileges that were granted him (in addition to all those mentioned) were of the following number and kinds. They will be stated all together, even if they were not all moved or ratified at one time. First, then, they voted that he should always appear even in the city itself wearing the triumphal garb and should sit in his chair of state everywhere except at festivals. At that time he got the right to be seen on the tribune's benches and in company with those who were successively tribunes. And they gave him the right to offer the so-called *spolia opima* at the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, as if he had slain some hostile general with his own hand, and to have lictors that always carried laurel, and after the *Feriae Latinae* to ride from Albanum to the city mounted on a charger. In addition to these remarkable privileges they named him father of his country, stamped his image on the coinage, voted to celebrate his birthday by public sacrifice, ordered that there be some statue of him in the cities and all the temples of Rome, and they set on the rostra two, one representing him as the savior of the citizens and the other as the rescuer of the city from siege, along with the crowns customary for such achievements. They also passed a resolution to build a temple of Concordia Nova, on the ground that through his efforts they enjoyed peace, and to celebrate an annual festival in her honor. [5] When he had accepted these, they assigned to him the charge of filling the Pontine marshes, cutting a canal through the Peloponnesian isthmus, and constructing a new senate-house, since that of Hostilius although repaired had been demolished. The reason given for that action was that a temple of Good Fortune might be built there, which Lepidus, indeed, while master of the horse had completed: but the real intention was that the name of Sulla should not be preserved in it and that another senate-house, newly constructed, might be named the Julian, just as they had called the month in which he was born July, and one of the tribes (selected by lot) the Julian. And Caesar himself, they voted, should be sole censor for life and enjoy the immunities bestowed upon the tribunes, so that if any one should outrage him by deed or word, that man should be an outlaw and involved in the curse, and further that his son, should he beget or adopt one, was to be appointed high priest. [6] As he seemed to like this, a gilded chair was granted him, and a garb that once the kings had used and a body-guard of knights and senators: furthermore they decided that prayers should be made for him publicly every year, that they would swear by his Fortune and that all the deeds he was yet to do should receive

confirmation. Next they bestowed upon him a quinquennial festival, as to a hero, and managers of sacred rites for the festival of naked boys in Pan's honor, constituting a third priestly college which they called the Julian, and on the occasion of all combats in armor one special day of his own each time both in Rome and the rest of Italy. When he showed himself pleased at this, too, then they voted that his gilded chair and crown set with precious gems and overlaid with gold should be carried into the theatre on an equal footing with those of the gods, and that on the occasion of the horse-races his chariot should be brought in. And finally they addressed him outright as Julian Jupiter and ordered a temple to be consecrated to him and to his Clemency, electing Antony as their priest like some Dialis.

[7] At the same time with these measures they passed another which well indicated their disposition. It gave him the right to place his tomb within the pomerium; and the decrees regarding this matter they inscribed with gold letters on silver tablets and deposited beneath the feet of the Capitoline Jupiter, thus pointing out to him very clearly that he was a man. When they began to honor him it was with the idea that he would be reasonably modest; but as they went on and saw that he was delighted at what they voted, — he accepted all but a very few of their gifts, — various men kept at different times proposing various greater marks of esteem, all in excess, some as an act of extreme flattery toward him, and others as one of sarcastic ridicule. Actually some dared to suggest permitting him to have intercourse with, as many women as he liked, because even at this time, though fifty years old, he still had numerous mistresses. Others, and the majority, followed the course mentioned because they wished to make him envied and disliked as quickly as possible, that he might the sooner perish. Of course precisely that happened, though Caesar took courage on account of these very measures to believe that he would never be plotted against by the men who had voted him such honors, nor by any one else, because they would prevent it; and in consequence from this time he dispensed with a bodyguard. Nominally he accepted the privilege of being watched over by the senators and knights and thus did away with his previous guardians. [8] Once on a single day they had passed in his honor an unusually large number of decrees of especially important character, that had been voted unanimously by all the rest except Cassius and a few others, who became notorious for this action: yet they suffered no harm, a fact which conspicuously displayed their ruler's clemency. So, then, they approached him as he was sitting in the fore-part of the temple of Venus with the intention of announcing to him in a body their decisions; — such business they transacted in his absence, in order to have the appearance of doing it not under compulsion but voluntarily. And either by some Heaven-sent fatuity or through excess of joy he received them sitting, an act which aroused so great indignation among them all, not only senators but all the rest, that it afforded his slayers one of their chief excuses for their plot against him. Some who subsequently tried to defend him said that owing to diarrhoea he could not

control the movement of his bowels and had remained where he was in order to avoid a flux.

They were not able, however, to persuade the majority, since not long after this he arose and walked home without assistance; hence most men suspected him of being inflated with pride and hated him for his supercilious behavior, when it was they themselves who had made him disdainful by the extreme nature of their honors. After this occurrence suspicion was increased by the fact that somewhat later he submitted to being made dictator for life.

[9] When he had reached this point, the conduct of the men plotting against him became no longer doubtful, and in order to embitter even his best friends against him they did their best to traduce the man and finally called him “king,” — a name which was often heard in their consultations. When he refused the title and rebuked in a way those that so saluted him, yet did nothing by which he could be thought to be really displeased at it, they secretly adorned his statue, which stood on the rostra, with a diadem. And when Gaius Epidius Marullus and Lucius Caesetius Flavus, tribunes, took it down, he became thoroughly angry, although they uttered no insulting word and furthermore spoke well of him before the people as not desiring anything of the sort.^[10] At this time, though vexed, he remained quiet; subsequently, however, when he was riding in from Albanum, some men again called him king, and he said that his name was not king but Caesar: then when those tribunes brought suit against the first man that termed him king, he no longer restrained his wrath, but showed evident irritation, as if these officials were actually aiming at the stability of his government. For the moment he took no revenge upon them: later, when they issued public notice to the effect that they found themselves not at liberty to speak freely and without molestation for the public good, he appeared exceedingly angry and brought them into the senate-house, where he accused them and put their conduct to the vote. He did not put them to death, though some declared them worthy of that penalty, but first having removed them from the tribuneship through the motion of Helvius Cinna, their colleague, he erased their names from the senate. Some were pleased at this, or pretended to be, on the ground that they would have no need to incur danger by free speech, and keeping out of politics they viewed events as from a watch tower. Caesar, however, received an ill name from this fact, too, that whereas he should have hated those that applied to him the name of king, he let them go and found fault instead with the tribunes.

[11] Something else that happened not long after these events proved still more clearly that while pretendedly he shunned the title, in reality he desired to assume it. When he had entered the Forum at the festival of the Lupercalia, at which naked boys competed, and was sitting on the rostra in his golden chair adorned with the royal apparel and conspicuous by his crown wrought of gold, Antony with his fellow priests saluted him as king and surrounding his brows with a diadem said: “The people gives this to you through my hands.” He answered that Jupiter alone was king of the Romans and sent the diadem

to him to the Capitol, yet he was not angry and caused it to be inscribed in the records that the royalty presented to him by the people through the consul he had refused to receive. It was accordingly suspected that this had been done by some pre-arranged plan and that he was anxious for the name but wished to be somehow compelled to take it, and the consequent hatred against him was intense. After this certain men at the elections proposed those tribunes previously mentioned for the office of consul, and approaching Marcus Brutus and such other persons as were of high spirit attempted privately to persuade them and incited them to action publicly. [12] They scattered broadcast many letters (taking the fullest advantage of his having the same name as the great Brutus who overthrew the Tarquins), declaring that he was not truly that man's descendant: for *he* had put to death both his sons, the only ones he had, when they were mere lads, and was left no offspring surviving. This attitude was, however, a mere ruse on the part of the majority, adopted in order that being in family akin to that famous man he might be induced to undertake similar deeds. They kept continually invoking him, crying out "Brutus, Brutus!", and adding further: "We need a Brutus." Finally on the statue of the early Brutus they wrote "Would that thou wert living," and upon their contemporary's platform (he was praetor at the time) "Brutus, thou sleepest," and "Thou art not Brutus."

[13] These incidents persuaded him, especially as he had displayed hostility to Caesar from the start, to attack the leader, who had nevertheless shown himself later his benefactor. He was also influenced by the fact that he was, as I stated, both nephew and son-in-law of Cato of Utica so-called. And his wife Portia was the only woman, as they say, who had knowledge of the plot. She encountered him in the midst of his meditation upon these very matters and enquired in what he was so absorbed. When he made no answer, she suspected that she was distrusted on account of physical weakness, for fear she should reveal something even unwillingly under torture; hence she performed a noteworthy deed. She secretly inflicted a deep wound in her thigh to test herself and see if she could endure painful treatment. And when she found herself not overdistracted, she despised the wound, and came to him and said: "You, my husband, though you trusted that my spirit would not utter a secret, nevertheless were distrustful of my body, and you acted in accordance with human reason. But I have found that I can make even it keep silence." Having said this she disclosed her thigh and after making known the reason for what she had done, said: "Tell me boldly now all that you are concealing, for to make me speak fire, lashes, and goads shall alike be powerless. I was not born that kind of woman. Therefore if you shall still distrust me, it is better for me to die than live. If such be the case, let no one think me longer the daughter of Cato or your wife." Hearing this Brutus marveled; and he no longer hid anything from her but felt strengthened himself and related to her the whole story. [14] After this he obtained as an associate also Gaius Cassius, who had himself been preserved by Caesar and

moreover honored with a praetorship; he was the husband of Brutus's sister. Next they proceeded to gather those who were of the same mind as themselves, and these proved to be not few in number. There is no need of my giving a list of most of the names, for I might thus become wearisome, but I cannot omit Trebonius and Decimus Brutus, whom they also named Junius and Albinus. For these joined in the plot against Caesar though they also had been greatly benefited by him, — Decimus having been appointed consul for the second year and assigned to Hither Gaul.

[15] They came very near being detected by reason of the number of those concerned and by their delay. Caesar, however, would not receive any information about such an undertaking and punished very severely those who brought any news of the kind. Still, they stood in awe of him and put the matter off, fearing that although he had no guard they might be killed by the persons surrounding him at various times; and thus they ran the risk of being discovered and perishing. Indeed, they would have suffered this fate, had they not been forced even against their will to hasten the plot. A report went abroad, true or false after the manner of reports, that the so-called fifteen priests were declaring that the Sibyl had said the Parthians should never be captured in any other way than by a king, and the people were consequently preparing to propose that this title be granted to Caesar. The conspirators believed this to be true, and because a vote would be demanded of the officials, among whom were Brutus and Cassius, owing to the seriousness of the measure, they felt that they neither dared to oppose it nor could submit to keep silent, and so hurried on the consummation of the plot before any business connected with the measure could come up.

[16] It had been decided by them to make the attempt in the senate, for they thought that there Caesar would least expect to be harmed in any way and would so fall an easier victim, while they would possess opportunity coupled with security by having their swords instead of documents brought in boxes, and that the rest being unarmed would be unable to make any resistance. In case any one should be so rash, they expected at least that the gladiators, many of whom they had previously stationed in Pompey's Theatre under the pretext that they were to practice with arms, would assist them. These were to lie in wait there in a certain room of the peristyle. The conspirators, when the appointed day had come, gathered in the senate-hall at dawn and called for Caesar. [17] As for him, he was warned of the plot in advance by the soothsayers, and was warned also by dreams. The night before he was slain his wife had a vision of their house fallen in ruins, her husband wounded by some men and taking refuge in her bosom, and of Caesar being raised aloft upon the clouds and grasping the hand of Jupiter. Moreover omens not few nor indistinct crossed his path. The arms of Mars, at that time deposited at his house by virtue of his position as high priest and by ancestral custom, made a great noise at night, and the doors of the chamber where he slept opened of their own accord. The sacrifices which he offered because of these

occurrences indicated nothing favorable and the birds with which he practiced divination forbade him to leave the house. After his assassination, finally, some recalled a weighty incident in connection with his gilded chair, — that the servant, as Caesar was slow in coming, carried it out of the senate, thinking that he would have no further need of it.

[18] Caesar for this reason was so long in coming that the conspirators feared there might be a postponement (a rumor circulated, indeed, that he would remain at home that day), and their plot thus fall through and they themselves be detected. Therefore they sent Decimus Brutus, as one appearing to be a devoted friend, to secure his attendance. This man made light of Caesar's scruples and by adding that the senate was extremely anxious to behold him, persuaded him to go forward. At this an image of his which he kept set up in the vestibule fell of its own accord and was shattered to pieces. He ought then to have changed his purpose, but instead he paid no attention to this and would not listen to some one who was giving him information of the plot. He received from him a little roll in which all the preparations made for the attack had been accurately inscribed, but did not read it, thinking that it was some other not very pressing matter. In brief, he was so confident that to the soothsayer who had warned him to beware of that day he said jokingly: "Where are your prophecies? Don't you see that the day over which you were all of a tremble is here and I am alive?" And the other, they say, answered only this: "Yes, it is here, but not yet gone."

[19] Now when he finally reached the senate Trebonius delayed Antony somewhere at a distance outside. They had planned to kill both him and Lepidus. But fearing that they might be ill spoken of as a result of the number of those destroyed, and that it might be said that they had slain Caesar to gain power and not to free the city, as they pretended, they did not wish Antony even to be present at his slaughter. As for Lepidus, he had set out on a campaign and was in the suburbs. Antony was held by Trebonius in conversation. Meanwhile the rest in a body surrounded Caesar (he was as easy of access and ready to be addressed as any one could have wished), and some talked among themselves, while others presented petitions to him, so that suspicion might be as far from his mind as possible. When the right moment came, one of them approached him as if to express his thanks for some favor or other and pulled his cloak from his shoulder; for this, according to the agreement, served to the conspirators as a signal raised. Thereupon they attacked him from many sides at once and wounded him to death, so that by reason of their numbers Caesar was unable to say or do anything, but veiling his face was slain with many wounds. This is the truest account. In times past some have made a declaration like this, that to Brutus who struck him severely he said: "Thou, too, my child?"

[20] A great outcry naturally arose from all the rest who were inside and who were standing nearby outside at the suddenness of the event and because they were not acquainted with the slayers, their numbers, or their intention;

and all were thrown into confusion, believing themselves in danger; so they themselves started in flight by whatever way each man could, and they alarmed those who met them by saying nothing definite, but merely shouting out these words: "Run, bolt doors! Run, bolt doors!" The rest, taking it up from one another as each one echoed the cries, filled the city with lamentations, and they burst into shops and houses to hide themselves. Yet the assassins hurried just as they were to the Forum, indicating both by their gestures and their shouts not to be afraid. At the same time that they said this they called continuously for Cicero: but the crowd did not believe that they were sincere, and was not easily calmed. Late in the day at last they gradually began to take courage and became quiet, as no one was killed or arrested. [21] When they met in the assembly the assassins had much to say against Caesar and much in favor of the democracy, and they bade the people take courage and not expect any harm. They had killed him, they declared, not to secure power or any other advantage, but in order that they might be free and independent and be governed rightly. By speaking such words they calmed the majority, especially since they injured no one. Fearing for all that that somebody might concert measures against them the conspirators ascended the Capitoline with the avowed intention of offering prayer to the gods, and there they spent the day and night. And at evening they were joined by some of the other prominent men who had not shared in the plot, but were anxious, when they saw the perpetrators praised, to secure the glory of it, as well as the prizes which those concerned expected. With great justice the affair happened to turn out the opposite way: they did not secure any reputation for the deed because they had not been partakers of it in any way, but they shared the danger which fell upon the ones who committed it just as much as if they themselves had been the plotters.

[22] Seeing this, Dolabella likewise did not see fit to keep quiet, but entered upon the consular office though it did not yet belong to him, and after a short speech to the people on the situation ascended the Capitol. While affairs were in this condition Lepidus, learning what had taken place, by night occupied the Forum with his soldiers and at dawn delivered a speech against the assassins. Antony immediately after Caesar's death had fled, casting away his robe of office in order to escape notice, and had concealed himself through the night. When, however, he ascertained that the assassins were on the Capitol and Lepidus in the Forum, he assembled the senate in the precinct of Tellus and brought forward the business of the hour for deliberation. Some said one thing, some another, as each of them thought about it: Cicero, whose advice they followed, spoke to this effect: —

[23] "On every occasion I think no one ought to say anything merely for the sake of winning favor or to show his spite, but to reveal just what the man in each case thinks to be the best. We demand that those who are praetors or consuls shall do everything from upright motives, and if they make any errors we demand an account from them even if their slip was accidental; and it will

be unbearable if in debates, where we are complete masters of our own opinion, we shall abandon the common welfare with a view to private advantage. For this reason, Conscript Fathers, I have always thought that I ought to advise you on all matters with simplicity and justice, but especially under the present circumstances, when, if without being over-captious we come to an agreement, we shall be preserved ourselves and enable all the rest to survive, but if we wish to examine everything minutely, I fear ill fortune — but at the very opening of my address I do not wish to say anything displeasing. [24] Formerly, not very long ago, those who had arms usually also got control of the government and consequently issued orders to you as to the subjects on which you must deliberate, but you could not look forward and see what it was proper for them to do. But now practically all conditions are so favorably placed that the matter is in your hands and the responsibility rests upon you; and from your own selves you may obtain either concord and with it liberty, or seditions and civil wars again and a master at the close of them. Whatever you decide to-day all the rest will follow. This being the state of the case as I see it, I declare that you ought to abandon your mutual enmities or jealousies or whatever name should be applied to them, and return to that ancient condition of peace and friendship and harmony. For you should remember this, if nothing else, that so long as we enjoyed that kind of government, we acquired lands, fortunes, glory and allies, but ever since we were led into abusing one another, so far from growing better we have become decidedly worse off. I am so firmly convinced that nothing else at present could save the city that if we do not to-day, at once, with all possible speed, adopt some policy, we shall never be able to regain our position.

[25] “Notice carefully that I am speaking only the truth, of which you may convince yourselves if you regard present conditions and then consider our position in old times. Do you not see what is taking place, — that the populace is again being divided and torn asunder and that, some choosing this side, and some that, they have already fallen into two parties and two camps, that the one side has taken timely possession of the Capitol as if they feared the Gauls or somebody, and the other side with headquarters in the Forum is preparing to besiege them and so behaving like Carthaginians, and not as though they too were Romans? Do you not hear that though formerly citizens often differed, even to the extent of occupying the Aventine once, and the Capitol, and some of them the Sacred Mount, as often as they were reconciled one with another on equal terms (or by yielding but a small point) they at once stopped hating one another, to live the rest of their lives in such peace and harmony that in common they carried through successfully many great wars? As often, on the other hand, as they had recourse to murders and assassinations, the one side deceived by the justification of defending themselves against the encroachments of the other, and the other side by an ambition to appear to be inferior to none, no good ever came of it. Why need I waste time by repeating to you, who know them equally well, the names of

Valerius, Horatius, Saturninus, Glaucia, the Gracchi? With such examples before you, not of foreign origin but native to this land, do not hesitate to strive after the right course and guard against the wrong. Having from the events of history received a proof of the outcome of the situation on which you are deliberating, regard my exhortation no longer as mere words but believe that the welfare of the community is at stake this instant. Do not for any doubtful theory cast away the certainty of hope, but trusting to a reliable pledge secure in advance a sure result for your calculations.

[26] "It is in your power, if you receive this evidence that I mentioned from your own land and your own ancestors, to decide rightly. And this is why I did not wish to cite instances from abroad, though I might have mentioned countless of them. One instance, nevertheless, I will offer from the best and most ancient city from which our fathers did not disdain to introduce certain laws; for it would be a disgrace for us who so far surpass the Athenians in strength and sense, to deliberate less well than they. They were once — of course you all know this — at variance, and as a result were overcome in war by the Lacedaemonians and endured a tyranny of the more powerful citizens; and they did not obtain a respite from evils until they made a compact and agreement to forget their past injuries, though many and severe, and never to allow a single reproach because of them or to bear malice against any one. Now when they had attained such a degree of wisdom, they not only ceased enduring tyrannies and seditions, but flourished in every way, regaining their city, laying claim to the sovereignty of the Greeks, and finally becoming powerful enough to decide frequently on the preservation or destruction both of the Lacedaemonians themselves and of the Thebans. Now notice, that if those men who seized Phyle and came home from the Peirseus had chosen to take vengeance on the city party for wrongs suffered, they would, to be sure, have seemed to have performed a justifiable action, but they would have undergone, as well as have caused, many evils. Just as they exceeded their hopes by defeating their foes, they might perhaps themselves have been in turn unexpectedly worsted. [27] In such matters there is nothing sure, and one does not necessarily gain the mastery as a result of being strong, but vast numbers who were confident have failed and vast numbers who were looking to defeat somebody have perished before they could strike. The party that is overreached in any transaction is not bound to be fortunate just because it is wronged, nor is the party which has the greater power bound to be successful just because it surpasses, but both are equally subservient to human uncertainty and the mutability of fortune, and the issue they secure is often not in accordance with the favorable prognostications of the one side, but proves to be what the other actually dared not expect. As a result of this, and of intense rivalry (for man is strongly given when wronged or believing himself wronged to become beyond measure bold) many are on many occasions inspired to undergo dangers even beyond their strength, with the determination to conquer or at least not to perish utterly without having shed

some blood. So it is that partly conquering and partly defeated, sometimes gaining the mastery over others and again falling prostrate themselves, some are altogether annihilated and others gain a Cadmean victory, as it is called, and at a time when the knowledge can avail them nothing they perceive that their plans were ill drawn.

[28] “That this is so you also have learned by experience. Consider, Marius for some time had power in seditions; then he was driven out, collected a force, and accomplished what you know. Likewise Sulla — not to speak of Cinna or Strabo or the rest who intervene — influential at first, then subdued, then making himself ruler, authorized every possible terrible severity.”

After that Lepidus, evidently with the intention of following in their footsteps, instituted a kind of sedition of his own and stirred nearly the whole of Italy. When we at last got rid of him too, remember what we suffered from Sertorius and from the exiles with him. What did Pompey, what did this Caesar himself do? — not to mention here Catiline or Clodius. Did they not at first fight against each other, and that in spite of their relationship, and then fill full of countless evils not only our own city or even the rest of Italy, but practically the entire world? Well, after Pompey’s death and that great destruction of the citizens, did any quiet appear? Whence could it? By no means. Africa knows, Spain knows the multitudes who perished in each of those lands. What then? Did we have peace after this? How is it possible, when Caesar himself lies slain in this fashion, the Capitol is occupied, all through the Forum arms are seen, and throughout the city fear exists? [29] In this way, when men begin a seditious career and seek ever to repay violence with violence and inflict vengeance without care for propriety, without care for human limitations, but according to their desires and the power that arms give them, there necessarily arises in each such case a kind of circle of ills, and alternate requitals of outrages take place. The fortunate party abounds in insolence and sets no limits to the advantage it may take, and the party that is crushed, if it does not perish immediately, rages at the disaster and is eager to take vengeance on the oppressor, until it sate its wrath. Then the remainder of the multitude, even if it has not been previously involved in the transactions, now through pity of the beaten and envy of the victorious side, coöperates with the former, fearing that it may suffer the same evils as the downtrodden element and hoping that it may win the same success as the force temporarily in the ascendant. Thus the portion of the citizens that is not concerned is brought into the dispute and one class takes the evil up against another, through pretence of avenging the side which is for the moment at a disadvantage, as if they were repelling a regular, everyday danger; and individually they free themselves from it, but they ruin the community in every way. [30] Do you not see how much time we have lost in fighting one another, how many great evils we have endured meanwhile, and, what is worse than that, inflicted? And who could count the vast mass of money of which we have stripped our allies and robbed the gods, which furthermore we

have contributed ourselves from what we did not possess, and then expended it against one another? Or who could number the mass of men that have been lost, not only of ordinary persons (that is beyond computation) but of knights and senators, each one of whom was able in foreign wars to preserve the whole city by his life and death? How many Curtii, how many Decii, Fabii, Gracchi, Marcelli, Scipiones have been killed? Not, by Jupiter, to repel Samnites or Latins or Spaniards or Carthaginians, but only to perish themselves in the end. And for those under arms who died, no matter how deep sorrow one might feel for them, there is less reason to lament. They entered the battles as volunteers, if it is proper to call volunteers men compelled by fear, and they met even if an unjust at least a brave death, in an equal struggle; and in the hope that they might even survive and conquer they fell without grieving. But how might one mourn as they deserve those who were pitifully destroyed in their houses, in the roads, in the Forum, in the senate-chamber even, on the Capitol even, by violence — not only men but also women, not only those in their prime, but also old men and children? And after subjecting one another to so many of these reprisals of such a nature as all our enemies put together never inflicted upon us (nor were we ever the authors of anything similar to them), so far from loathing such acts and manfully wishing to have done with them, we rejoice and hold festivals and term those who are guilty of them benefactors. Honestly, I cannot deem this life that we have been leading human; it is rather that of wild beasts which are consumed by one another.

[31] “For what is definitely past, however, why should we lament further? We cannot now prevent its having happened. Let us fix our attention upon the future. That is, indeed, the reason why I have been mentioning former events, not for the purpose of giving a list of national calamities which ought never to have occurred, but that by exhibiting them I might persuade you to preserve at least what is left. This is the only benefit one can derive from evils, — to guard against ever again enduring anything similar. This is most within your power at the present moment, while the danger is just beginning, while not many have yet united, and those who are unruly have gained no advantage over one another nor suffered any setback, so that by hope of superiority or anger at inferiority they are led to enter danger heedlessly and contrary to their own interests. Still, in this great work you will be successful without undergoing any toil or danger, without spending money or ordering murders, but simply by voting just this, that no malice shall be borne on the part of any.

[32] Even if any errors have been committed by certain persons, this is not a time to enquire carefully into them, nor to convict, nor to punish. You are not at the moment sitting in judgment over any one, that you should need to search out what is just with absolute accuracy, but you are deliberating about the situation that has arisen and how the excitement may in the safest way be allayed. This is something we could not bring about, unless we should overlook some few things, as we are wont to do in the case of children. When

dealing with them we do not take all matters carefully into account, and many things we of necessity overlook. For venial sins it is not right to chastise them remorselessly, but rather to admonish them gently. And now, since we are not only named fathers of all the people in common, but are in reality such, let us not enter into a discussion of all the fine points, lest we all incur ruin; for anybody could find much fault with Caesar himself so that he would seem to have been justly slain, or again might bring heavy charges against those that killed him, so that they would be thought to deserve punishment. But such action is for men who are anxious to arouse seditions again. It is the task of those who deliberate rightly not to cause their own hurt by meting out exact justice, but to win preservation by a use at the same time of clemency. Accordingly, think of this that has happened as if it had been a kind of hail storm or deluge that had taken place and give it to forgetfulness. Now, if never before, gain a knowledge of one another, since you are countrymen and citizens and relatives, and secure harmony.

[33] “Now, that none of you may suspect that I wish to grant any indulgence to Caesar’s assassins to prevent their paying the penalty, just because I was once a member of Pompey’s party, I will state one fact to you. I think that all of you are firmly of the opinion that I have never adopted an attitude of friendship or hostility toward any one for purely personal reasons, but it was always for your sake and for the public freedom and harmony that I hated the one class and loved the other. For this reason I will pass over the rest that might be said, and make merely a brief statement to you. I am so far from doing this that I mentioned and not looking out for the public safety, that I affirm the others, too, should be granted immunity for their high-handed acts, contrary to established law, in Caesar’s lifetime, and they ought to keep the honors, offices, and gifts which they received from him, though I am not pleased with some of them. I should not advise you to do or to grant anything further of the kind: but since it has been done, I think you ought not to be troubled overmuch about any of these matters. For what loss so far-reaching could you sustain if A or B holds something that he has obtained outside of just channels and contrary to his deserts as the benefit you could attain by not causing fear or disturbance to men who were formerly of influence?

“This is what I have to say for the present, in the face of pressing need. When feeling has subsided, let us then consider any remaining subjects of discussion.”

[34] Cicero by the foregoing speech persuaded the senate to vote that no one should bear malice against any one else. While this was being done the assassins also promised the soldiers that they would not undo any of Caesar’s acts. They perceived that the military was mightily ill at ease for fear it should be deprived of what he had given it, and so they made haste, before the senate reached any decision whatever, to anticipate the others’ wishes. Next they invited those who were present there down below to come within hearing distance, and conversed with them on matters of importance; as a result of the

conference they sent down a letter to the Forum announcing that they would take nothing away from anybody nor do harm in other ways, and that the validity of all acts of Caesar was confirmed. They also urged a state of harmony, binding themselves by the strongest oaths that they would be honest in everything. When, therefore, the decisions of the senate also were made known, the soldiers no longer held to Lepidus nor did the others have any fear of him, but hastened to become reconciled, — chiefly at the instance of Antony, — quite contrary to his intention. Lepidus, making a pretence of vengeance upon Caesar, was anxious to institute a revolution and as he had legions at his command he expected that he would succeed to his position as ruler and gain the mastery; these were his motives in endeavoring to further a conflict. Antony, as he perceived his rival's favorable situation and had not himself any force at his back, did not dare to adopt any revolutionary measures for the time being, and furthermore he persuaded Lepidus (to prevent his becoming greater) to bow to the will of the majority. So they came to terms on the conditions that had been voted, but those on the Capitol would not come down till they had secured the son of Lepidus and the son of Antony to treat as hostages; then Brutus descended to Lepidus, to whom he was related, and Cassius to Antony, being assured of safety. While dining together they naturally, at such a juncture, discussed a variety of topics and Antony asked Cassius: "Have you perhaps got some kind of dagger under your arm even now?" To which he answered: "Yes, and a big one, if you too should desire to play the tyrant."

[35] This was the way things went at that time. No damage was inflicted or expected, and the majority were glad to be rid of Caesar's rule, some of them even conceiving the idea of casting his body out unburied. The conspirators well pleased did not undertake any further superfluous tasks and were called "liberators" and "tyrannicides." Later his will was read and the people learned that he had made Octavius his son and heir and had left Antony, Decimus, and some of the other assassins to be the young man's guardians and inheritors of the property in case it should not come to him, and furthermore that he had directed various bequests to be given to different persons, and to the city the gardens along the Tiber, as well as thirty denarii (according to the record of Octavius himself) or seventy-five according to some others, to each of the citizens. This news caused an upheaval and Antony fanned the flames of their resentment by bringing the body most inconsiderately into the Forum and exposing it covered with blood as it was and with gaping wounds. There he delivered over it a speech, in every way beautiful and brilliant but not suited to the state of the public mind at that time. His words were about as follows:

[36] "If this man had died as a private citizen, Quirites, and I had happened to be a private citizen, I should not have needed many words nor have rehearsed all his achievements, but after making a few remarks about his family, his education, and his character, and possibly mentioning some of his

services to the state, I should have been satisfied and should have refrained from becoming wearisome to those not related to him. But since this man has perished while holding the highest position among you and I have received and hold the second, it is requisite that I should deliver a twofold address, one as the man set down as his heir and the other in my capacity as magistrate. I must not omit anything that ought to be said but speak what the whole people would have chanted with one tongue if they could have obtained one voice. I am well aware that it is difficult to hit your precise sentiments. Especially is it no easy task to treat matters of such magnitude, — what speech could equal the greatness of the deeds? — and you, whose minds are insatiable because of the facts that you know already, will not prove lenient judges of my efforts. If the speech were being made among men ignorant of the subject, it would be very easy to content them, for they would be startled by such great deeds: but as the matter stands, through your familiarity with the events, it is inevitable that everything that shall be said will be thought less than the reality. Outsiders, even if through jealousy they should distrust it, yet for that very reason must deem each statement they hear strong enough: but your gathering, influenced by good-will, must inevitably prove impossible to satisfy. You yourselves have profited most by Caesar's virtues and you demand his praises not half-heartedly, as if he were no relation, but out of deep affection as one of your very own. I shall strive therefore to meet your wishes to the fullest extent, and I feel sure that you will not criticise too closely my command of words or conception of the subject, but will, out of your kindness of heart, make up whatever is lacking in that respect.

[37] "I shall speak first about his lineage, though not because it is very brilliant. Yet this too has considerable bearing on the nature of excellence, that a man should have become good not through force of circumstances but by inherent power. Those not born of noble parents may disguise themselves as honest men but may also some day be convicted of their base origin by innate qualities. Those, however, who possess the seed of honesty, descending through a long line of ancestors, cannot possibly help having an excellence which is of spontaneous growth and permanent. Still, I do not now praise Caesar chiefly because he was sprung from many noble men of recent times and kings and gods of ancient days, but because in the first place he was a kinsman of our whole city, — we were founded by the men that were his ancestors, — and secondly because he not only confirmed the renown of his forefathers who were believed by virtue to have attained divinity, but actually increased it; if any person disputed formerly the possibility of Aeneas ever having been born of Venus, he may now believe it. The gods in past times have been reported as possessing some unworthy children, but no one could deem this man unworthy to have had gods for his ancestors. Aeneas himself became king, as likewise some of his descendants. This man proved himself so much superior to them that whereas they were monarchs of Lavinium and Alba, he refused to become king of Rome; and whereas they laid the

foundation of our city, he raised it to such heights that among other services he established colonies greater than the cities over which they ruled.

[38] “Such, then, is the state of his family. That he passed through a childhood and education corresponding to the dignity of his noble birth how could one feel better assured than by the certain proofs that his deeds afford? When a man possesses conspicuously a body that is most enduring and a soul that is most steadfast in the face of all contingencies alike of peace and war, is it not inevitable that he must have been reared in the best possible way? And I tell you it is difficult for any man surpassingly beautiful to show himself most enduring, and difficult for one who is strong in body to attain greatest prudence, but most difficult of all for the same man to shine both in words and in deeds. Now this man — I speak among men who know the facts, so that I shall not falsify in the least degree, for I should be caught in the very act, nor heap up exaggerated praises, for then I should obtain the opposite results of what I wish. If I do anything of the kind, I shall be suspected with the utmost justice of braggadocio, and it will be thought that I am making his excellence less than the reputation which already exists in your own minds. Every utterance delivered under such conditions, in case it admits even the smallest amount of falsehood, not only bestows no praise on its subject but defeats its own ends. The knowledge of the hearers, not agreeing with the fictitious declaration, takes refuge in truth, where it quickly finds satisfaction and learns as well what the statement ought to have been; and then, comparing the two, detects the difference. Stating only the truth, therefore, I affirm that this Caesar was at the same time most able in body and most amiable in spirit. He enjoyed a wonderful natural talent and had been scrupulously trained in every kind of education, which always enabled him (not unnaturally) to comprehend everything that was needed with the greatest keenness, to interpret the need most plausibly, and to arrange and administer matters most prudently. No shifting of a favorable situation could come upon him so suddenly as to catch him off his guard, nor did a secret delay, no matter how long the postponement, escape his notice. He decided always with regard to every crisis before he came in contact with it, and was prepared beforehand for every contingency that could happen to him. He understood well how to discern sharply what was concealed, to dissimulate what was evident in such a way as to inspire confidence, to pretend to know what was obscure, to conceal what he knew, to adapt occasions to one another and to give an account of them, and furthermore to accomplish and cover successfully in detail the ground of every enterprise. [39] A proof of this is that in his private affairs he showed himself at once an excellent manager and very liberal, being careful to keep permanently what he inherited, but lavish in spending with an unsparing hand what he gained, and for all his relatives, except the most impious, he possessed a strong affection. He did not neglect any of them in misfortune, nor did he envy them in good fortune, but he helped the latter to increase their previous property and made up the deficiencies for the former,

giving some money, some lands, some offices, some priesthoods. Again, he was wonderfully attached to his friends and other associates. He never scorned or insulted any one of them, but while courteous to all alike he rewarded many times over those who assisted him in any project and won the devotion of the rest by benefits, not bowing to any one of brilliant position, nor humiliating any one who was bettering himself, but as if he himself were being exalted through all their successes and acquiring strength and adornment he took delight in making the largest number equal with himself. While he behaved thus toward his friends and acquaintances, he did not show himself cruel or inexorable even to his enemies, but many of those who had come into collision with him personally he let off scotfree, and many who had actually made war against him he released, giving some of them honors and offices. To this degree was he in every way inclined to right conduct, and not only had no baseness in his own making, but would not believe that it was found in anybody else.

[40] "Since I have reached these statements, I will begin to speak about his public services. If he had lived a quiet existence, perhaps his excellence would never have come to light; but as it was, by being raised to the highest position and becoming the greatest not only of his contemporaries but of all the rest who had ever wielded any influence, he displayed it more conspicuously. For nearly all his predecessors this supreme authority had served only to reveal their defects, but him it made more luminous: through the greatness of his excellence he undertook correspondingly great deeds, and was found to be a match for them; he alone of men after obtaining for himself so great good fortune as a result of true worth neither disgraced it nor treated it wantonly. The brilliant successes which he regularly achieved on his campaigns and the highmindedness he showed in everyday duties I shall pass over, although they are so great that for any other man they would constitute sufficient praise: but in view of the distinction of his subsequent deeds, I shall seem to be dealing with small matters, if I rehearse them all with exactness. I shall only mention his achievements while ruling over you. Even all of these, however, I shall not relate with minute scrupulousness. I could not possibly give them adequate treatment, and I should cause you excessive weariness, particularly since you already know them.

[41] "First of all, this man was praetor in Spain, and finding it secretly hostile did not allow the inhabitants under the protection of the name of peace to develop into foes, nor chose to spend the period of his governorship in quiet rather than to effect what was for the advantage of the nation; hence, since they would not agree to alter their sentiments, he brought them to their senses without their consent, and in doing so so far surpassed the men who had previously won glory against them as keeping a thing is more difficult than acquiring it, and reducing men to a condition where they can never again become rebellious is more profitable than rendering them subject in the first place, while their power is still undiminished. That is the reason that you

voted him a triumph for this and gave him at once the office of consul. As a result of your decree it became most plainly evident that he had waged that war not for his own desires or glory, but was preparing for the future. The celebration of the triumph he waived on account of pressing business, and after thanking you for the honor he was satisfied with merely that to secure his glory, and entered upon the consulship. [42] Now all his administrative acts in this city during the discharge of that office would be verily countless to name. And as soon as he had left it and been sent to conduct war against the Gauls, notice how many and how great were his achievements there. So far from causing grievances to the allies he even went to their assistance, because he was not suspicious at all of them and further saw that they were wronged. But his foes, both those dwelling near the friendly tribes, and all the rest that inhabited Gaul he subjugated, acquiring at one time vast stretches of territory and at another unnumbered cities of which we knew not even the names before. All this, moreover, he accomplished so quickly, though he had received neither a competent force nor sufficient money from you, that before any of you knew that he was at war he had conquered; and he settled affairs on such a firm basis and ..., that as a result Celtica and Britain felt his footstep. And now is that Gaul enslaved which sent against us the Ambrones and the Cimbri, and is entirely cultivated like Italy itself. Ships traverse not only the Rhone or the Arar, but the Mosa, the Liger, the very Rhine, and the very ocean. Places of which we had not even heard the titles to lead us to think that they existed were likewise subdued for us: the formerly unknown he made accessible, the formerly unexplored navigable by his greatness of purpose and greatness of accomplishment. [43] And had not certain persons out of envy formed a faction against him, or rather us, and forced him to return here before the proper time, he would certainly have subdued Britain entire together with the remaining islands surrounding it and all of Celtica to the Arctic Ocean, so that we should have had as borders not land or people for the future, but air and the outer sea. For these reasons you also, seeing the greatness of his mind and his deeds and good fortune, assigned him the right to hold office a very long time, — a privilege which, from the hour that we became a democracy has belonged to no other man, — I mean holding the leadership during eight whole years in succession. This shows that you thought him to be really winning all those conquests for you and never entertained the suspicion that he would strengthen himself to your hurt.

“No, you desired that he should spend in those regions as long a time as possible. He was prevented, however, by those who regarded the government as no longer a public but their own private possession, from subjugating the remaining countries, and you were kept from becoming lords of them all; these men, making an ill use of the opportunity given them by his being occupied, ventured upon many impious projects, so that you came to require his aid. [44] Therefore abandoning the victories within his grasp he quickly brought you assistance, freed all Italy from the dangers in which it had

become involved, and furthermore won back Spain which had been estranged. Then he saw Pompey, who had abandoned his fatherland and was setting up a kingdom of his own in Macedonia, transferring thither all your possessions, equipping your subjects against you, and using against you money of your own. So at first he wished to persuade Pompey somehow to stop and change his course and receive the greatest pledges that he should again attain a fair and equal position with him; and he sent to him both privately and publicly. When, however, he found himself unable in any way to effect this, but Pompey burst all restraints, even the relationship that had existed between himself and Caesar, and chose to fight against you, then at last he was compelled to begin a civil war. And what need is there of telling how daringly he sailed against him in spite of the winter, or how boldly he assailed him, though Pompey held all the strong positions there, or how bravely he vanquished him though much inferior in number of soldiers? If a man wished to examine each feature in detail, he might show the renowned Pompey to have been a child, so completely was he outgeneraled at every point.

[45] “But this I will omit, for Caesar himself likewise never took any pride in it, but he accepted it as a dispensation of destiny, repugnant to him personally. When Heaven had most justly decided the issue of the battle, what man of those then captured for the first time did he put to death? Whom, rather, did he not honor, not alone senators or knights or citizens in general, but also allies and subjects? No one of them either died a violent death, or was made defendant in court, no individual, no king, no tribe, no city. On the contrary, some arrayed themselves on his side, and others at least obtained immunity with honor, so that then all lamented the men that had been lost. Such exceeding humanity did he show, that he praised those who had coöperated with Pompey and allowed them to keep everything the latter had given them, but hated Pharnaces and Orodes, because though friends of the vanquished they had not assisted him. It was chiefly for this reason that he not long after waged war on Pharnaces, and was preparing to conduct a campaign against Orodes. He certainly [would have spared] even [Pompey himself if] he had captured him alive. A proof of this is that he did not pursue him at once, but allowed him to flee at his leisure. Also he was grieved to hear of Pompey’s death and did not praise his murderers, but put them to death for it soon after, and even destroyed besides Ptolemy himself, though a child, because he had allowed his benefactor to perish.

[46] “How after this he brought Egypt to terms and how much money he conveyed to you from there it would be superfluous to relate. And when he made his campaign against Pharnaces, who already held considerable of Pontus and Armenia, he was on the same day reported to the rebel as approaching him, was seen confronting him, engaged in conflict with him, and conquered him.

“This better than anything else established the truth of the assertion that he had not become weaker in Alexandria and had not delayed there out of

voluptuousness. For how could he have won that victory so easily without employing a great store of insight and great force? When now Pharnaces had fled he was preparing to conduct a campaign at once against the Parthian, but as certain quarrels were taking place there he withdrew rather unwillingly, but settled this dispute, too, so that no one would believe there had been a disturbance. Not a soul was killed or exiled or even dishonored in any way as a result of that trouble, not because many might not justly have been punished, but because he thought it right while destroying enemies unsparingly to preserve citizens, even if they were poor stuff. Therefore by his bravery he overcame foreigners in war, but out of his humanity kept unharmed the seditious citizens, although many of them by their acts had often shown themselves unworthy of this favor. This same policy he followed again both in Africa and in Spain, releasing all who had not before been captured and been made recipients of his mercy. To grant their lives invariably to such as frequently plotted against him he deemed folly, not humanity. On the other hand, he thought it quite the duty of a manly man to pardon opponents on the occasion of their first errors and not to keep an inexorable anger, yes, and to assign honors to them, but if they clung to their original course, to get rid of them. Yet why did I say this? Many of them also he preserved by allowing all his associates and those who had helped him conquer to save, one each, the life of a captive.

[47] “Moreover, that he did all this from inherent excellence and not from pretence or to gather any advantage, as others in large numbers have displayed humaneness, the greatest evidence is that everywhere and under all circumstances he showed himself the same: anger did not brutalize him nor good fortune corrupt him; power did not alter, nor authority change him. Yet it is very difficult when tested in so many enterprises of such a scope and following one another in quick succession at a time when one has been successful in some, is still engaged in conducting others, and only suspects the existence of others, to prove equally efficient on all occasions and to refrain from wishing to do anything harsh or frightful, if not out of vengeance for the past, at least as a measure of safeguard for the future. This, then, is enough to prove his excellence. He was so truly a scion of gods that he understood but one thing, to save those that could be saved. But if you want more evidence, it lies in this, that he took care to have those who warred against him chastised by no other hands than his own, and that he won back those who in former times had slipped away. He had amnesty granted to all who had been followers of Lepidus and Sertorius, and next arranged that safety should be afforded all the survivors among those proscribed by Sulla; somewhat later he brought them home from exile and bestowed honors and offices upon the children of all who had been slain by that tyrant. Greatest of all, he burned absolutely every one of the letters containing secret information that was found in the tent of either Pompey or Scipio, not reading or noticing any portion of them, in order that no one else might derive from them the power to

play the rogue. That this was not only what he said, but what he did, his acts show clearly. No one as a result of those letters was even frightened, let alone suffering any great calamity. And no one knows those who escaped this danger except the men themselves. This is most astonishing and has nothing to surpass it, that they were spared before being accused, and saved before encountering danger, and that not even he who saved their lives learned who it was he pitied.

[48] “For these and all his other acts of lawmaking and reconstruction, great in themselves, but likely to be deemed small in comparison with those others into which one cannot enter minutely, you loved him as a father and cherished him as a benefactor, you glorified him with such honors as you bestowed on no one else and desired him to be continual head of the city and of the whole domain. You did not dispute at all about titles, but applied them all to him as being still less than his merits, with the purpose that whatever was lacking in each one of them of what was considered a proper expression of the most complete honor and authority might be made up by what the rest contributed. Therefore, as regards the gods he was appointed high priest, as regards us consul, as regards the soldiers imperator, and as regards the enemy dictator. But why do I enumerate these details, when in one phrase you called him father of his country, — not to mention the rest of his titles?

[49] “Yet this father, this high priest, this inviolable being, hero, god, is dead, alas, dead not by the violence of some disease, nor exhausted by old age, nor wounded abroad somewhere in some war, nor snatched away irresistibly by some supernatural force: but plotted against here within the walls — the man that safely led an army into Britain; ambushed in this city — the man who had increased its circuit; struck down in the senate-house — the man that had reared another such edifice at his own charge; unarmed the brave warrior; defenceless the promoter of peace; the judge beside the court of justice; the governor beside the seat of government; at the hands of the citizens — he whom none of the enemy had been able to kill even when he fell into the sea; at the hands of his comrades — he who had often taken pity on them. Where, Caesar, was your humaneness, where your inviolability, where the laws? You enacted many laws to prevent any one’s being killed by personal foes, yet see how mercilessly your friends killed you, and now slain you lie before us in that Forum through which you often crowned led triumphal marches, wounded unto death you have been cast down upon that rostra from which you often addressed the people. Woe for the blood-bespattered locks of gray, alas for the rent robe, which you assumed, it seems, only to the end that you might be slain in it!”

[50] At this deliverance of Antony’s the throng was at first excited, then enraged, and finally so inflamed with passion that they sought his murderers and reproached the senators besides, because the former had killed and the latter had beheld without protest the death of a man in whose behalf they had voted to offer yearly prayers, by whose Health and Fortune they took oaths,

and whom they had made sacrosanct equally with the tribunes. Then, seizing his body, some wished to convey it to the room in which he had been slaughtered, and others to the Capitol and to burn it there: but being prevented by the soldiers, who feared that the theatres and temples would be burned to the ground at the same time, they placed it upon a pyre there in the Forum, just as they were. Even under these circumstances many of the surrounding buildings would have been destroyed, had not the soldiers presented an obstacle, and some of the bolder spirits the consuls forced over the cliffs of the Capitol. For all that the remainder did not cease their disturbance, but rushed to the houses of the murderers, and during the excitement they killed without reason Helvius Cinna, a tribune, and some others; this man had not only not plotted against Caesar, but was one of his most devoted friends. Their error was due to the fact that Cornelius Cinna the praetor had a share in the attack. [51] After this the consuls forbade any one outside the ranks of soldiers to carry arms. They accordingly refrained from assassinations, but set up a kind of altar on the site of the pyre — his bones the freedmen had previously taken up and deposited in the ancestral tomb — and undertook to sacrifice upon it and offer victims to Caesar, as to a god. This the consuls overturned and punished some who showed displeasure at the act, also publishing a law that no one should ever again be dictator. In fact they invoked curses and proclaimed death as the penalty upon any man who should propose or support such a measure, and furthermore they fined the present malcontents directly. In making this provision for the future they seemed to assume that the shamefulness of the deeds consisted in the names, whereas these occurrences really arose from the supremacy of arms and the character of each individual, and degraded the titles of authority in whatever capacity exercised. For the time being they despatched immediately to the colonies such as held allotments of land previously assigned by Caesar; this was from fear that they might cause some disturbance. Of Caesar's slayers they sent out some, who had obtained governorships, to the provinces, and the rest to various different places on one pretext or another: and these persons were honored by many persons as benefactors.

[52] In this way Caesar disappeared from the scene. Inasmuch as he had been slain in Pompey's edifice and near his statue which at that time stood there, he seemed in a way to have afforded his rival his revenge; and this idea gained ground from the fact that tremendous thunder and a furious rain occurred. In the midst of that excitement there also took place the following incident, not unworthy of mention. One Gaius Casca, a tribune, seeing that Cinna had perished as a result of his name being similar to the praetor's, and fearing that he too might be killed, because Publius Servilius Casca was one of the tribunes and also one of the assassins, issued a book which showed that they had in common only one and the same name and pointed out their difference of disposition. Neither of them suffered any harm (for Servilius was strongly guarded) and Gaius won some consideration, so that he is

remembered by this act.

[53] These were the proceedings, at that time, of the consuls and the rest. Dolabella was invested with his office by Antony, who feared that he might cause a sedition, although he was at first not disposed to take such action, on the ground that Dolabella had not yet the right to it. When, however, the excitement subsided, and Antony himself was charged with investigating the acts of Caesar's administration and carrying out all the latter's behests, he no longer kept within bounds. As soon as he had got hold of the dead man's documents, he made many erasures, and many substitutions, — inserting laws as well as other matter. Moreover, he deprived some of money and offices, which in turn he gave to others, pretending that in so doing he was carrying out Caesar's directions. Next he made many seizures on the spot, and collected large sums of money from individuals, peoples and kings, selling to some land, to others liberty, to others citizenships, to others exemption from taxes. This was done in spite of the fact that the senate at first had voted that no tablet should be set up on account of any contract that Caesar had made (all such transactions were inscribed on bronze tablets), and later, when Antony persisted, declaring that many urgent matters had been provided for by his chief, it had ordered that all the foremost citizens should join in passing upon them. He, however, paid no attention to this, and had an utter contempt for Octavius, who as a stripling and inexperienced in business had declined the inheritance because it was troublesome and hard to manage: and Antony himself, assuming to be the heir not only of the property but also of the supremacy of Caesar, managed everything. One of his acts was to restore some exiles. And since Lepidus had great power and caused him considerable fear, he gave his daughter in marriage to this leader's son and made arrangements to have the latter appointed high priest, so as to prevent any meddling with enterprises which he had on foot. In order to carry out this plan with greater ease, he diverted the choice of high priest from the people back to the priests, and in company with the latter he consecrated him, performing few or none of the accustomed rites, though he might have secured the priesthood for himself.

BOOK 45

VOL. 3. — I

The following is contained in the Forty-fifth of Dio's Rome:

About Gaius Octavius, who afterward was named Augustus (chapters 1-9).

About Sextus, the son of Pompey (chapter 10).

How Caesar and Antony entered upon a period of hostility (chapters 11-17).

How Cicero delivered a public harangue against Antony (chapters 18-47).

Duration of time, the remainder of the year of the 5th dictatorship of C. Julius Caesar with M. Aemilius Lepidus, Master of the Horse, and of his 5th consulship with Marcus Antonius. (B.C. 44 = a. u. 710.)

BOOK 45, BOSSEVAIN.)

[B.C. 44 (*a. u.*710)]

[1] This was Antony's course of procedure. — Gaius Octavius Copia, — this was the name of the son of Caesar's niece, Attia, — came from Velitrae in the Volscian country, and having been left without a protector by the death of his father Octavius he was brought up in the house of his mother and her husband, Lucius Philippus, but on attaining maturity spent his time with Caesar. The latter, who was childless, based great hopes upon him and was devoted to him, intending to leave him as successor to his name, authority, and supremacy. He was influenced largely by Attia's explicit affirmation that the youth had been engendered by Apollo. While sleeping once in his temple, she said, she thought she had intercourse with a serpent, and through this circumstance at the end of the allotted time bore a son. Before he came to the light of day she saw in a dream her womb lifted to the heavens and spreading out over all the earth; and the same night Octavius thought the sun rose from her vagina. Hardly had the child been born when Nigidius Figulus, a senator, straightway prophesied for him sole command of the realm.

He could distinguish most accurately of his contemporaries the order of the firmament and the mutations of the stars, what they accomplished by separation and what by conjunctions, in their associations and retirements, and for this reason had incurred the charge of practicing some kind of forbidden pursuits. He accordingly met on that occasion Octavius, who was somewhat tardy in reaching the senate on account of the birth of the child, — there happened to be a meeting of the senate that day, — and asked him why he was late. On learning the cause he cried out: "You have begotten a master over us." At that Octavius was alarmed and wished to destroy the infant, but Nigidius restrained him, saying that it was impossible for it to suffer any such fate. [2] This was the conversation at that time. While the boy was growing up in the country an eagle snatched from his hands a loaf of bread, and after soaring aloft flew down and gave it back to him. When he was a lad and staying in Rome Cicero dreamed that the boy was let down by golden chains to the summit of the Capitol and received a whip from Jupiter. He did not know who the youth was, but meeting him the next day on the Capitol itself he recognized him, and told the vision to the bystanders. Catulus, who had likewise never seen Octavius, beheld in a vision all the noble children on the Capitol at the termination of a solemn procession to Jupiter, and in the course of the ceremony the god cast what looked like an image of Rome into that child's lap. Startled at this he went up into the Capitol to offer prayers to the god, and finding there Octavius, who had ascended the hill for some other reason, he compared his appearance with the dream and was satisfied of the truth of the vision. When later he had become a young man and was about to reach maturity, he was putting on the dress of an adult when his tunic was rent

on both sides from his shoulders and fell to his feet. This event of itself not only had no significance as forecasting any good fortune, but displeased the spectators considerably because it had happened in his first putting on the garb of a man: it occurred to Octavius to say: "I shall put the whole senatorial dignity beneath my feet"; and the outcome proved in accordance with his words. Caesar founded great hopes upon him as a result of this, introduced him into the class of patricians and trained him for rulership. In everything that is proper to come to the notice of one destined to control so great a power well and worthily he educated him with care. The youth was trained in oratorical speeches, not only in the Latin but in this language [Greek], labored persistently in military campaigns, and received minute instruction in politics and the science of government.

[3] Now this Octavius chanced at the time that Caesar was murdered to be in Apollonia near the Ionic Gulf, pursuing his education. He had been sent thither in advance to look after his patron's intended campaign against the Parthians. When he learned of the event he was naturally grieved, but did not dare at once to take any radical measures. He had not yet heard that he had been made Caesar's son or heir, and moreover the first news he received was to the effect that the people were of one mind in the affair. When, however, he had crossed to Brundisium and had been informed about the will and the people's second thought, he made no delay, particularly because he had considerable money and numerous soldiers who had been sent on under his charge, but he immediately assumed the name of Caesar, succeeded to his estate, and began to busy himself with the situation. [4] At the time he seemed to some to have acted recklessly and daringly in this, but later as a result of his good fortune and the successes he achieved he acquired a reputation for bravery. In many instances in history men who were wrong in undertaking some project have been famed for wisdom because they proved fortunate in it: others who used the best possible judgment have had to stand a charge of folly because they did not attain their ends. He, too, acted in a blundering and dangerous way; he was only just past boyhood, — eighteen years of age, — and saw that the succession to the inheritance and the family was sure to provoke jealousy and censure: yet he started in pursuit of objects that had led to Caesar's murder, and no punishment befell him, and he feared neither the assassins nor Lepidus and Antony. Yet he was not thought to have planned poorly, because he became successful. Heaven, however, indicated not obscurely all the upheaval that would result from it. As he was entering Rome a great variegated iris surrounded the whole sun.

[5] In this way he that was formerly called Octavius, but already at this time Caesar, and subsequently Augustus, took charge of affairs and settled them and brought them to a successful close more vigorously than any mature man, more prudently than any graybeard. First he entered the city as if for the sole purpose of succeeding to the inheritance, and as a private citizen with only a few attendants, without any ostentation. Still later he did not utter any

threat against any one nor show that he was displeased at what had occurred and would take vengeance for it. So far from demanding of Antony any of the money that he had previously plundered, he actually paid court to him although he was insulted and wronged by him. Among the other injuries that Antony did him by both word and deed was his action when the *lex curiata* was proposed, according to which the transfer of Octavius into Caesar's family was to take place: Antony himself, of course, was active to have it passed, but through some tribunes he secured its postponement in order that the young man being not yet Caesar's child according to law might not meddle with the property and might be weaker in all other ways. [6] Caesar was restive under this treatment, but as he was unable to speak his mind freely he bore it until he had won over the crowd, by whose members he understood his father had been raised to honor. He knew that they were angry at the latter's death and hoped they would be enthusiastic over him as his son and perceived that they hated Antony on account of his having been master of the horse and also for his failure to punish the murderers. Hence he undertook to become tribune as a starting point for popular leadership and to secure the power that would result from it; and he accordingly became a candidate for the place of Cinna, which was vacant. Though hindered by Antony's clique he did not desist and after using persuasion upon Tiberius Cannutius, a tribune, he was by him brought before the populace. He took as an excuse the gift bequeathed by Caesar and in his speech touched upon all the important points, promising that he would discharge this debt at once, and gave them cause to hope for much besides. After this came the festival appointed in honor of the completion of the temple of Venus, which some, while Caesar was alive, had promised to celebrate, but were now holding in, slight regard as they did the horse-race connected with the Parilia; and to win the favor of the populace he provided for it at his private expense on the ground that it concerned him because of his family. At this time out of fear of Antony he brought into the theatre neither Caesar's gilded chair nor his crown set with precious stones, though it was permitted by decree. [7] When, however, a certain star through all those days appeared in the north toward evening, some called it a comet, and said that it indicated the usual occurrences; but the majority, instead of believing this, ascribed it to Caesar, interpreting it to mean that he had become a god and had been included in the number of the stars. Then Octavius took courage and set up in the temple of Venus a bronze statue of him with a star above his head. Through fear of the populace no one prevented this, and then, at last, some of the earlier decrees in regard to honors to Caesar were put into effect. They called one of the months July after him and in the course of certain triumphal religious festivals they sacrificed during one special day in memory of his name. For these reasons the soldiers also, and particularly since some of them received largesses of money, readily took the side of Caesar.

Rumors accordingly went abroad, and it seemed likely that something

unusual would take place. This idea gained most headway for the reason that when Octavius was somewhat anxious to show himself in court in an elevated and conspicuous place, as he had been wont to do in his father's lifetime, Antony would not allow it, but had his lictors drag him down and drive him out. [8] All were exceedingly vexed, and especially because Caesar with a view to casting odium upon his rival and arousing the multitude would no longer even frequent the Forum. So Antony became terrified, and in conversation with the bystanders one day remarked that he harbored no anger against Caesar, but on the contrary owed him affection, and felt inclined to dispel the entire cloud of suspicion. The statement was reported to the other, they held a conference, and some thought they had become reconciled. As a fact they understood each other's dispositions accurately, and, thinking it inopportune at that time to put them to the test, they came to terms by making a few mutual concessions. For some days they were quiet; then they began to suspect each other afresh as a result of either some really hostile action or some false report of hostility, — as regularly happens under such conditions, — and were again at variance. When men become reconciled after a great enmity they are suspicious of many acts that contain no malice and of many chance occurrences. In brief, they regard everything, in the light of their former hostility, as done on purpose and for an evil end. While they are in this condition those who stand on neutral ground aggravate the trouble, irritating them still more by bearing reports to and fro under the pretence of devotion. There is a very large element which is anxious to see all those who have power at variance with one another, — an element which consequently takes delight in their enmity and joins in plots against them. And the party which has previously suffered from calumny is very easy to deceive with words adapted to the purpose by a band of friends whose attachment is not under suspicion. This also accounts for the fact that these men, who did not trust each other previously, became now even more estranged.

[9] Antony seeing that Caesar was gaining ground attempted to attract the populace by various baits, to see if he could detach the people from his rival and number them among his own forces. Hence through Lucius Antonius, his brother, who was tribune, he introduced a measure that considerable land be opened for settlement, among the parcels being the region of the Pontine marshes, which he stated had already been filled and were capable of cultivation. The three Antonii, who were brothers, all held office at the same time. Marcus was consul, Lucius tribune, and Gaius praetor. Therefore they could very easily remove those who were temporarily rulers of their allies and subjects (except the majority of the assassins and some others whom they regarded as loyal) and choose others in place of them: they could also grant some the right to hold office for an unusually long term, contrary to the laws established by Caesar. Also Macedonia, which fell to Marcus by lot, was appropriated by his brother Gaius, but Marcus himself with the legions previously despatched into Apollonia laid claim to Gaul on this side of the

Alps, to which Decimus Brutus had been assigned; the reason was that it seemed to be very strong in resources of soldiers and money. After these measures had been passed the immunity granted to Sextus Pompey by Caesar, as to all the rest, was confirmed: he had already considerable influence. It was further resolved that whatever moneys of silver or gold the public treasury had taken from his ancestral estate should be restored. As for the lands belonging to it Antony held the most of them and made no restoration.

[10] This was the business in which they were engaged. But I shall now go on to describe how Sextus had fared. When he had fled from Corduba, he first came to Lacetania and concealed himself there. He was pursued, to be sure, but eluded discovery through the fact that the natives were kindly disposed to him out of regard for his father's memory. Later, when Caesar had started for Italy and only a small army was left behind in Baetica, he was joined both by the native inhabitants and by those who escaped from the battle, and with them he came again into Baetica, because he thought it more suitable for the carrying on of war. There he gained possession of soldiers and cities, particularly after Caesar's death, some voluntarily and some by violence; the commandant in charge of them, Gaius Asinius Pollio, held a force that was far from strong. He next set out against Spanish Carthage, but since in his absence Pollio made an attack and did some damage, he returned with a large force, met his opponent, and routed him. After that the following accident enabled him to startle and conquer the rest, as well, who were contending fiercely. Pollio had cast off his general's cloak, in order to suffer less chance of detection in his flight, and another man of the same name, a brilliant horseman, had fallen. The soldiers, hearing the name of the latter, who was lying there, and seeing the garment which had been captured, were deceived, and thinking that their general had perished surrendered. In this way Sextus conquered and held possession of nearly that entire region. When he was now a powerful factor, Lepidus arrived to govern the adjoining portion of Spain, and persuaded him to enter into an agreement on condition that he should recover his father's estate. Antony, influenced by his friendship for Lepidus and by his hostility toward Caesar, caused such a decree to be passed.

So Sextus, in this way and on these conditions, held aloof from Spain proper. [11] Caesar and Antony in all their acts opposed each other, but had not fallen out openly, and whereas in reality they were alienated they tried to disguise the fact so far as appearances went. As a result all other interests in the city were in a most undecided state and condition of turmoil. People were still at peace and yet already at war. Liberty led but a shadow existence, and the deeds done were the deeds of royalty. To a casual observer Antony, since he held the consulship, seemed to be getting the best of it, but the enthusiasm of the masses was for Caesar. This was partly on his father's account, partly on account of the hopes he held out to them, but above all because they were displeased at the considerable power of Antony and were inclined to assist Caesar while he was yet devoid of strength. Neither man had their affection,

but they were always eager for a change of administration, and it was their nature to try to overthrow every superior force and to help any party that was being oppressed. Consequently they made use of the two to suit their own desires. After they had at this period humbled Antony through the instrumentality of Caesar they next undertook to destroy the latter also. Their irritation toward the men temporarily in power and their liking for the weaker side made them attempt to overthrow the former. Later they became estranged from the weaker also. Thus they showed dislike for each of them in turn and the same men experienced their affection and their hatred, their support and their active opposition.

[12] While they were maintaining the above attitude toward Caesar and Antony, the war began as follows. Antony had set out for Brundisium to meet the soldiers who had crossed over from Macedonia. Caesar sent some persons to that city with money, who were to arrive there before Antony and win over the men, and himself went to Campania, where he collected a large crowd of men, chiefly from Capua because the people there had received their land and city from his father, whom he said he was avenging. He made them many promises and gave them on the spot five hundred denarii apiece. These men usually constituted the corps of *evocati*, whom one might term in Greek “the recalled”, because having ended their service they have been recalled to it again. Caesar took charge of them, hastened to Rome before Antony could make his way back, and came before the people, who had been made ready for him by Cannutius. There he called to their minds in detail all the excellent works his father had done, made a considerable, though moderate, defence of himself, and brought accusations against Antony. He also praised the soldiers who had accompanied him, saying that they were present voluntarily to lend aid to the city, that they had elected him to preside over the State and that through his mouth they made known these facts to all. For this speech he received the approbation of his following and of the throng that stood by, after which he departed for Etruria with a view to obtaining an accession to his forces from that country.

[13] While he was doing this Antony had been at first kindly received in Brundisium by the soldiers, because they expected they would secure more from him than was offered them by Caesar. This belief was based on the idea that he had possession of much more than his rival. When, however, he promised to give each of them a hundred denarii, they raised an outcry, but he reduced them to submission by ordering centurions as well as others to be slain before the eyes of himself and his wife. For the time being the soldiers were quiet, but on the way toward Gaul when they arrived opposite the capital they revolted, and many of them, despising the lieutenants that had been set over them, arrayed themselves on Caesar’s side. The so-called Martians and the fourth legion went over to him in a body. He took charge of them and won their attachment by giving money to all alike, — an act which added many more to his troops. He also captured all the elephants of Antony, by

confronting the train suddenly as they were being conducted along. Antony stopped in Rome only long enough to arrange a few affairs and to bind by oath all the rest of the soldiers and the senators who were in their company; then he set out for Gaul, fearing that that country too might indulge in an uprising. Caesar without delay followed behind him.

[14] Decimus Brutus was at this time governor of that province, and Antony set great hopes upon him, because he had been a slayer of Caesar. But it turned out as follows. Decimus did not look askance particularly at Caesar, for the latter had uttered no threats against the assassins: on the other hand, he saw that Antony was no more formidable a foe than his rival, or, indeed, than himself or any of the rest who were in power as a result of natural acquisitiveness; therefore he refused to give ground before him. Caesar, when he heard this decision, was for some time at a loss what course to adopt. The young man hated both Decimus and Antony but saw no way in which he could contend against them both at once. He was by no means yet a match for either one of the two, and he was further afraid that if he risked such a move he should throw them into each other's arms and face the united opposition of the two. After stopping to reflect that the struggle with Antony was already begun and was urgent, but that it was not yet a fitting season for taking vengeance for his father, he decided to make a friend of Decimus. He understood well that he should find no great difficulty in fighting against the latter, if with his aid he could first overcome his adversaries, but that Antony would be a powerful antagonist on any subsequent occasion. So much did they differ from each other. [15] Accordingly he sent a messenger to Decimus, proposing friendship and promising alliance, if he would refuse to receive Antony. This proposal caused the people in the city likewise to join in expressing their gratitude to Caesar. Just at this time the year was drawing to a close and no consul was on the ground, Dolabella having been previously sent by Antony to Syria. Eulogies, however, were delivered in the senate by the members themselves and by the soldiers who had abandoned Antony, — with the concurrence also of the tribunes. When they entered upon the new year they decided, in order that they might discuss freely existing conditions, to employ a guard of soldiers at their meetings. This pleased nearly all who were in Rome at the time, — for they cordially detested Antony, — but particularly Cicero. He, on account of his bitter and long-standing hostility toward the man, paid court to Caesar, and so far as he could, by speech and action, strove to assist him in every way and to injure Antony. It was for this reason that, when he had left the city to escort his son to Athens for the benefit of his education, he had returned on ascertaining that the two were publicly estranged.

[16] Besides these events which took place that year Servilius Isauricus died at a very advanced age. I have mentioned him both for that fact and to show how the Romans of that period respected men who were prominent through merit and hated those who behaved insolently, even on the very slightest

grounds. This Servilius while walking had once met on the road a man on horseback, who so far from dismounting on his approach spurned him violently aside. Later he recognized the fellow in a defendant of a case in court, and when he mentioned the affair to the judge, they paid no further attention to the man's plea, but unanimously condemned him.

[B.C. 43 (*a u.* 711)]

[17] In the consulship of Aldus Hirtius (who was now appointed consul in spite of the fact that his father's name had been posted on the tablets of Sulla), with his colleague Gaius Vibius, a meeting of the senate was held and votes were taken for three successive days, including the first of the month itself. As a result of the war which was upon them and the portents, very numerous and extremely unfavorable, which took place, they were so excited that they failed to pass over these *dies nefasti* on which they ought not to deliberate on any matter touching their interests. Ominous had been the falling of great numbers of thunderbolts, some of which descended on the shrine sacred to Capitoline Jupiter, that stood in the temple of Victory. Also a great wind arose which snapped and scattered the columns erected about the temple of Saturn and the shrine of Fides, and likewise knocked down and shattered the statue of Minerva the Protectress, which Cicero had set up on the Capitol before his exile. This portended, of course, the death of Cicero himself. Another thing that frightened the rest of the population was a great earthquake which occurred, and the fact that a bull which was sacrificed on account of it in the temple of Vesta leaped up after the ceremony. In addition to these clear indications of danger a flash darted across from the place of the rising sun to the place of its setting and a new star was seen for several days. Then the light of the sun seemed to be diminished and even extinguished, and at times to appear in three circles, one of which was surmounted by a fiery crown of sheaves. This, if anything, proved as clear a sign as possible to them. For three men were in power, — I mean Caesar and Lepidus and Antony, — and of them Caesar subsequently secured the victory. At the same time that these things occurred all sorts of oracles tending to the downfall of the democracy were recited. Crows, moreover, flew into the temple of the Dioscuri and pecked out the names of the consuls and of Antony and of Dolabella, which were inscribed there somewhere on a tablet. And by night dogs in large numbers gathered throughout the city and especially near the house of the high priest, Lepidus, and set up howls. Again, the Po, which had flooded a large portion of the surrounding territory, suddenly receded and left behind on the dry land a vast number of snakes. Countless fish were cast up from the sea on the shore near the mouth of the Tiber. Succeeding these terrors a plague spread over nearly the whole of Italy in a malignant form, and in view of this the senate voted that the Curia Hostilia should be rebuilt and the spot where the naval battle had taken place be filled up. However, the curse did not appear disposed to rest even at this point, especially when during Vibius's conduct of the initial sacrifices on the first of the month one of his lictors

suddenly fell down and died. Because of these events many men in the course of those days took one side or the other in their speeches and advice, and among the deliverances was the following, of Cicero: — [18] “You have heard recently, Conscript Fathers, when I made a statement to you about the matter, why I made preparations for my departure as if I were going to be absent from the city a very long time and then returned rapidly with the idea that I could benefit you greatly. I would not endure an existence under a sovereignty or a tyranny, since under such forms of government I can not enjoy the rights of free citizenship nor speak my mind safely nor die in a way that is of service to you; and again, if opportunity is afforded to obey any of duty’s calls, I would not shrink from action, though it involved danger. I deem it the task of an upright man equally to keep watch over himself for his country’s interests (guarding himself that he may not perish uselessly), and in this course of action not to fail to say or do whatever is requisite, even if it be necessary to suffer some harm in preserving his native land.

[19] “These assumptions granted, a large degree of safety was afforded by Caesar both to you and to me for the discussion of pressing questions. And since you have further voted to assemble under guard, we must frame all our words and behavior this day in such a fashion as to establish the present state of affairs and provide for the future, that we may not again be compelled to decide in a similar way about it. That our condition is difficult and dangerous and requires much care and attention you yourselves have made evident, if in no other way, at least by this measure. For you would not have voted to keep the senate-house under guard, if it had been possible for you to deliberate at all with your accustomed orderliness, and in quiet, free from fear. It is necessary for us even on account of the presence of the soldiers to accomplish some measure of importance, that we may not incur the disgrace that would certainly follow from asking for them as if we feared somebody, and then neglecting affairs as if we were liable to no danger. We shall appear to have acquired them only nominally in behalf of the city against Antony, but to have given them in reality to him against our own selves, and it will look as if in addition to the other legions which he gathers against his country he needed to acquire these very men and so prevent your passing any vote against him even to-day.

[20] “Yet some have attained such a height of shamelessness as to dare to say that he is not warring against the State and have credited you with so great folly as to think that they will persuade you to attend to their words rather than to his acts. But who would choose to desist from regarding his performances and the campaign which he has made against our allies without any orders from the senate or the people, the countries which he is overrunning, the cities which he is besieging, and the hopes upon which he is building in his entire course, — who would distrust, I say, the evidence of his own eyes, and to his ruin yield credence to the words of these men and their false statements, by which they put you off with pretexts and excuses?

I myself am far from asserting that in doing this he is carrying out any legal act of administration. On the contrary, because he has abandoned the province of Macedonia, which was assigned to him by lot, and because he chose instead the province of Gaul, which in no way pertained to him, and because he assumed control of the legions which Caesar had sent ahead against the Parthians, keeping them about him though no danger threatens Italy, and because he has left the city during the period of his consulship to go about pillaging and injuring the country, — for all these reasons I declare that he has long been an enemy of us all. [21] If you did not perceive it immediately at the start or experience vexation at each of his actions, he deserves to be hated all the more on this account, in that he does not cease injuring you, who are so long-suffering. He might perchance have obtained pardon for the errors which he committed at first, but now by his perseverance in evil he has reached such a pitch of knavery that he ought to be brought to book for his former offences as well. And you ought to be especially careful in regard to the situation, noticing and considering this point, — that the man who has so often despised you in such weighty matters cannot submit to be corrected by the same gentleness and kindness that you have shown, but must now against his will, even though never previously, be chastised by force of arms.

“And because he partly persuaded and partly compelled you to vote him some privileges, do not think that this makes him less guilty or deserving of less punishment. Quite the reverse, — for this very procedure in particular he merits the infliction of a penalty: he determined from the outset to commit many outrages, and after accomplishing some of them through you, he employed against your own selves the resources which came from you, which by deception, he forced you to vote to him, though you neither knew nor foresaw any such result. On what occasion did you voluntarily abolish the commands given by Caesar or by the lot to each man, and allow this person to distribute many appointments to his friends and companions, sending his brother Gaius to Macedonia, and assigning Gaul to himself with the aid of the legions which he was not by any means keeping to use in your defence? Do you not remember how, when he found you startled at Caesar’s demise, he carried out all the plans that he chose, communicating some to you carefully dissimulated and at inopportune moments, and on his own responsibility executing others that inflicted injuries, while all his acts were characterized by violence? He used soldiers, and barbarians at that, against you. And need any one be surprised that in those days some vote was passed which should not have been, when even now we have not obtained a free hand to speak and do what is requisite in any other way than by the aid of a body-guard? If we had been formerly endued with this power, he would not have obtained what any one may say he has obtained, nor would he have risen to the prominence enabling him to do the deeds that were a natural sequence. Accordingly, let no one retort that the rights which we were seen to give him under command and compulsion and amid laments were legally and rightfully bestowed. For, even

in private business, that is not considered binding which a man does under compulsion from another.

[23] “And yet all these measures which you are seen to have voted you will find to be slight and varying but little from established custom. What was there dreadful in the fact that one man was destined to govern Macedonia or Gaul in place of another? Or what was the harm if a man obtained soldiers during his consulship? But these are the facts that are harmful and abominable, — that your land should be damaged, allied cities besieged, that our soldiers should be armed against us and our means expended to our detriment: this you neither voted nor intended. Do not, merely because you have granted him some privileges, allow him to usurp what was not granted him; and do not think that just as you have conceded some points he ought similarly to be permitted to do what has not been conceded. Quite the reverse: you should for this very reason both hate and punish him, because he has dared not only in this case but in all other cases to use the honor and kindness that you bestowed against you. Look at the matter. Through my influence you voted that there should be peace and harmony between individuals. This man was ordered to manage the business, and conducted it in such a way (taking Caesar’s funeral as a pretext) that almost the whole city was burned down and great numbers were once more slaughtered. You ratified all the grants made to various persons and all the laws laid down by Caesar, not because they were all excellent — far from it! , — but because our mutual and unsuspecting association, quite free from any disguise, was not furthered by changing any one of those enactments. This man, appointed to examine into them, has abolished many of his acts and has substituted many others in the documents. He has taken away lands and citizenship and exemption from taxes and many other honors from the possessors, — private individuals, kings, and cities, — and has given them to men who had not received any, altering the memoranda of Caesar; from those who were unwilling to give up anything to his grasp he took away even what had been given them, and sold this and everything else to such as wished to buy. Yet you, foreseeing this very possibility, had voted that no tablet should be set up after Caesar’s death which might contain any article given by him to any person. Notwithstanding, it happened many times after that. He also said it was necessary for some provisions found in Caesar’s papers to be specially noted and put into effect. You then assigned to him, in company with the foremost men, the task of making these excerpts; but he, paying no attention to his colleagues, carried out everything alone according to his wishes, in regard to the laws, the exiles, and other points which I enumerated a few moments since. This is the way in which he wishes to execute all your decrees.

[24] “Has he then shown himself such a character only in these affairs, while managing the rest rightly? In what instance? On what motive? He was ordered to search for and declare the public money left behind by Caesar, and did he not seize it, paying some of it to his creditors and spending some on high

living so that he no longer has even any of this left? You hated the name of dictator on account of Caesar's sovereignty and rejected it entirely from the constitution: but is it not true that Antony, though he has avoided adopting it (as if the name in itself could do any harm), has exhibited the behavior belonging to it and the greed for gain, under the title of consulship? You assigned to him the duty of promoting harmony, and has he not on his own responsibility begun this great war, neither necessary nor sanctioned, against Caesar and Decimus, whom you approve? Innumerable cases might be mentioned, if one wished to go into details, in which you entrusted business to him to manage as consul, and he has not conducted a single bit of it as the circumstances demanded, but has done quite the opposite, using against you the authority that you imparted. Now will you assume to yourself also these errors that he has committed and say that you yourselves are responsible for all that has happened, because you assigned to him the management and investigation of the matters in question? It is ridiculous. If some general or envoy that had been chosen should fail in every way to do his duty, you who sent him would not incur the blame for this. It would be a sorry state of things, if all who are elected to perform some work should themselves receive the advantages and the honors, but lay upon you the complaints and the blame. [25] Accordingly, there is no sense in paying any heed to him when he says: 'It was you who permitted me to govern Gaul, you ordered me to administer the public finances, you gave me the legions from Macedonia.' Perhaps these measures were voted — yet ought you to put it that way, and not instead exact punishment from him for his action in compelling you to make that decision? At any rate, you never at any time gave him the right to restore the exiles, to add laws surreptitiously, to sell the privileges of citizenship and exemption from taxes, to steal the public funds, to plunder the possessions of allies, to abuse the cities, or to undertake to play the tyrant over his native country. And you never conceded to any one else all that was desired, though you have granted by your votes many things to many persons; on the contrary you have always punished such men so far as you could, as you will also punish him, if you take my advice. For it is not in these matters alone that he has shown himself to be such a man as you know and have seen him to be, but briefly in all undertakings which he has ever attempted to perform for the commonwealth.

[26] "His private life and his private examples of licentiousness and avarice I shall willingly pass over, not because one would fail to discover that he had committed many abominable outrages in the course of them, but because, by Hercules, I am ashamed to describe minutely and separately — especially to you who know it as well as I — how he conducted his youth among you who were boys at the time, how he auctioned off the vigor of his prime, his secret lapses from chastity, his open fornications, what he let be done to him as long as it was possible, what he did as early as he could, his revels, his periods of drunkenness, and all the rest that follows in their train. It is impossible for a

person brought up in so great licentiousness and shamelessness to avoid defiling his entire life: and so from his private concerns he brought his lewdness and greed to bear upon public matters. On this I will refrain from dilating, and likewise by Jupiter on his visit to Gabinius in Egypt and his flight to Caesar in Gaul, that I may not be charged with going minutely into every detail; for I feel ashamed for you, that knowing him to be such a man you appointed him tribune and master of the horse and subsequently consul. I will at present recite only his drunken insolence and abuses in these very positions.

[27] "Well, then, when he was tribune he first of all prevented you from settling suitably the work you then had in hand by shouting and bawling and alone of all the people opposing the public peace of the State, until you became vexed and because of his conduct passed the vote that you did. Then, though by law he was not permitted to be absent from town a single night, he escaped from the city, abandoning the duties of his office, and, having gone as a deserter to Caesar's camp, guided the latter back as a foe to his country, drove you out of Rome and all the rest of Italy, and, in short, became the prime cause of all the civil disorders that have since taken place among you. Had he not at that time acted contrary to your wishes, Caesar would never have found an excuse for the war and could not, in spite of all his shamelessness, have gathered a competent force in defiance of your resolutions; but he would have either voluntarily laid down his arms, or been brought to his senses unwillingly. As it is, this fellow is the man who furnished him with the excuses, who destroyed the prestige of the senate, who increased the audacity of the soldiers. He it is who planted the seeds of evils which sprang up afterward: he it is who has proved the common bane not only of us, but also of practically the whole world, as, indeed, Heaven rather plainly indicated. When, that is to say, he proposed those astonishing laws, the whole air was filled with thunder and lightning. Yet this accursed wretch paid no attention to them, though he claims to be a soothsayer, but filled not only the city but the whole world with the evils and wars which I mentioned.

[28] "Now after this is there any need of mentioning that he served as master of the horse an entire year, something which had never before been done? Or that during this period also he was drunk and abusive and in the assemblies would frequently vomit the remains of yesterday's debauch on the rostra itself, in the midst of his harangues? Or that he went about Italy at the head of pimps and prostitutes and buffoons, women as well as men, in company with the lictors bearing festoons of laurel? Or that he alone of mankind dared to buy the property of Pompey, having no regard for his own dignity or the great man's memory, but grasping eagerly those possessions over which we even now as at that time shed a tear? He threw himself upon this and many other estates with the evident intention of making no recompense for them. Yet with all his insolence and violence the price was nevertheless collected, for Caesar took this way of discountenancing his act. And all that he has acquired, vast in

extent and gathered from every source, he has consumed in dicing, consumed in harlotry, consumed in feasting, consumed in drinking, like a second Charybdis.

[29] "Of this behavior I shall make no chronicle. But on the subject of the insults which he offered to the State and the assassinations which he caused throughout the whole city alike how can any man be silent? Is memory lacking of how oppressive the very sight of him was to you, but most of all his deeds? He dared, O thou earth and ye gods, first in this place, within the wall, in the Forum, in the senate-house, on the Capitol, at one and the same time to array himself in the purple-bordered garb, to gird a sword on his thigh, to employ lictors, and to be escorted by armed soldiers. Next, whereas he might have checked the turmoil of the citizens, he not only failed to do so, but set you at variance when you were in concord, partly by his own acts and partly through the medium of others. Moreover he directed his attention in turn to the latter themselves, and by now assisting them and now abandoning them incurred full responsibility for great numbers of them being slain and for the fact that the entire region of Pontus and of the Parthians was not subdued at that time immediately after the victory over Pharnaces. Caesar, being called hither in haste to see what he was doing, did not finish entirely any of those projects, as he was surely intending.

[30] "Even this result did not sober him, but when he was consul he came naked, naked, Conscript Fathers, and anointed into the Forum, taking the Lupercalia as an excuse, then proceeded in company with his lictors to the rostra, and there harangued us from the elevation. From the day the city was founded no one can point to any one else, even a praetor or tribune or aedile, let alone a consul, who has done such a thing. To be sure it was the festival of the Lupercalia, and the Lupercalia had been put in charge of the Julian College; yes, and Sextus Clodius had trained him to conduct himself so, upon receipt of two thousand plethra of the land of Leontini. But you were consul, respected sir (for I will address you as though you were present), and it was neither proper nor permissible for you as such to speak in such a way in the Forum, hard by the rostra, with all of us present, and to cause us both to behold your remarkable body, so corpulent and detestable, and to hear your accursed voice, choked with unguent, speaking those outrageous words; for I will preferably confine my comment to this point about your mouth. The Lupercalia would not have missed its proper reverence, but you disgraced the whole city at once, — not to speak a word yet about your remarks on that occasion. Who is unaware that the consulship is public, the property of the whole people, that its dignity must be preserved everywhere, and that its holder must nowhere strip naked or behave wantonly? [31] Did he perchance imitate the famous Horatius of old or Cloelia of bygone days? But the latter swam across the river with all her clothing, and the former cast himself with his armor into the flood. It would be fitting — would it not? — to set up also a statue of this consul, so that people might contrast the one man armed in the

Tiber and the other naked in the Forum. It was by such conduct as has been cited that those heroes of yore were wont to preserve us and give us liberty, while he took away all our liberty from us, so far as was in his power, destroyed the whole democracy, set up a despot in place of a consul, a tyrant in place of a dictator over us. You remember the nature of his language when he approached the rostra, and the style of his behavior when he had ascended it. But when a man who is a Roman and a consul has dared to name any one King of the Romans in the Roman Forum, close to the rostra of liberty, in the presence of the entire people and the entire senate, and straightway to set the diadem upon his head and further to affirm falsely in the hearing of us all that we ourselves bade him say and do this, what most outrageous deed will that man not dare, and from what action, however revolting, will he refrain? [32] Did we lay this injunction upon you, Antony, we who expelled the Tarquins, who cherished Brutus, who hurled Capitolinus headlong, who put to death the Spurii? Did we order you to salute any one as king, when we have laid a curse upon the very name of monarch and furthermore upon that of dictator as the most similar? Did we command you to appoint any one tyrant, we who repulsed Pyrrhus from Italy, who drove back Antiochus beyond the Taurus, who put an end to the tyranny even in Macedonia? No, by the rods of Valerius and the law of Porcius, no, by the leg of Horatius and the hand of Mucius, no, by the spear of Decius and the sword of Brutus! But you, unspeakable villain, begged and pleaded to be made a slave as Postumius pleaded to be delivered to the Samnites, as Regulus to be given back to the Carthaginians, as Curtius to be thrown into the chasm. And where did you find this recorded? In the same place where you discovered that the Cretans had been made free after Brutus was their governor, when we voted after Caesar's death that he should govern them.

[33] "So then, seeing that you have detected his baneful disposition in so many and so great enterprises, will you not take vengeance on him instead of waiting to learn by experience what the man who caused so much trouble naked will do to you when he is armed? Do you think that he is not eager for the tyrant's power, that he does not pray to obtain it some day, or that he will put the pursuit of it out of his thoughts, when he has once allowed it a resting-place in his mind, and that he will ever abandon the hope of sole rulership for which he has spoken and acted so impudently without punishment! What human being who, while master of his own voice, would undertake to help some one else secure an honor, would not appropriate it himself when he became powerful? Who that has dared to nominate another as tyrant over his country and himself at once would himself refuse to be monarch? [34] Hence, even if you spared him formerly, you must hate him now for these acts. Do not desire to learn what he will do when his success equals his wishes, but on the basis of his previous ventures plan beforehand to suffer no further outrages. What defence could any one make of what took place? That Caesar acted rightly at that time in accepting neither the name of king nor the

diadem? If so, this man did wrong to offer something which pleased not even Caesar. Or, on the other hand, that the latter erred in enduring at all to look on at and listen to such proceedings? If so, and Caesar justly suffered death for this error, does not this man, admitted in a certain way that he desired a tyranny, most richly deserve to perish? That this is so is evident from what I have previously said, but is proved most clearly by what he did after that. What other end than supremacy had he in mind that he has undertaken to cause agitation and to meddle in private business, when he might have enjoyed quiet with safety? What other end, that he has entered upon campaigns and warfare, when it was in his power to remain at home without danger? For what reason, when many have disliked to go out and take charge even of the offices that belonged to them, does he not only lay claim to Gaul, which pertains to him in not the slightest degree, but use force upon it because of its unwillingness? For what reason, when Decimus Brutus is ready to surrender to us himself and his soldiers and the cities, has this man not imitated him, instead of besieging and shutting him up? The only interpretation to be put upon it is that he is strengthening himself in this and every other way against us, and to no other end.

[35] “Seeing this, do we delay and give way to weakness and train up so monstrous a tyrant against our own selves? Is it not disgraceful that our forefathers, brought up in slavery, felt the desire for liberty, but we who have lived under an independent government become slaves of our own free will? Or again, that we were glad to rid ourselves of the dominion of Caesar, though we had first received many favors from his hands, and accept in his stead this man, a self-elected despot, who is far worse than he; this allegation is proved by the fact that Caesar spared many after his victories in war, but this follower of his before attaining any power has slaughtered three hundred soldiers, among them some centurions, guilty of no wrong, at home, in his own quarters, before the face and eyes of his wife, so that she too was defiled with blood. What do you think that the man who treated them so cruelly, when he owed them care, will refrain from doing to all of you, — aye, down to the utmost outrage, — if he shall conquer? And how can you believe that the man who has lived so licentiously even to the present time will not proceed to all extremes of wantonness, if he shall further secure the authority given by arms?

[36] “Do not, then, wait until you have suffered some such treatment and begin to rue it, but guard yourselves before you are molested. It is out of the question to allow dangers to come upon you and then repent of it, when you might have anticipated them. And do not choose to neglect the seriousness of the present situation and then ask again for another Cassius or some more Brutuses. It is ridiculous, when we have the power of aiding ourselves in time, to seek later on men to set us free. Perhaps we should not even find them, especially if we handle in such a way the present situation. Who would privately choose to run risks for the democracy, when he sees that we are

publicly resigned to slavery? It must be evident to every man that Antony will not rest contented with what he is now doing, but that in far off and small concerns even he is strengthening himself against us. He is warring against Decimus and besieging Mutina for no other purpose than to provide himself, by conquering and capturing them, with resources against us. He has not been wronged by them that he can appear to be defending himself, nor does he merely desire the property that they possess and with this in mind endure toils and dangers, while ready and willing to relinquish that belonging to us, who own their property and much beside. Shall we wait for him to secure the prize and still more, and so become a dangerous foe? Shall we trust his deception when he says that he is not warring against the City? ^[37] Who is so silly as to decide whether a man is making war on us or not by his words rather than by his deeds? I do not say that now for the first time is he unfriendly to us, when he has abandoned the City and made a campaign against allies and is assailing Brutus and besieging the cities; but on the basis of his former evil and licentious behavior, not only after Caesar's death but even in the latter's lifetime, I decide that he has shown himself an enemy of our government and liberty and a plotter against them. Who that loved his country or hated tyranny would have committed a single one of the many and manifold offences laid to this man's charge? From every point of view he is proved to have long been an enemy of ours, and the case stands as follows. If we now take measures against him with all speed, we shall get back all that has been lost: but if, neglecting to do this, we wait till he himself admits that he is plotting against us, we shall lose everything. This he will never do, not even if he should actually march upon the City, any more than Marius or Cinna or Sulla did. But if he gets control of affairs, he will not fail to act precisely as they did, or still worse. Men who are anxious to accomplish an object are wont to say one thing, and those who have succeeded in accomplishing it are wont to do quite a different thing. To gain their end they pretend anything, but having obtained it they deny themselves the gratification of no desire. Furthermore, the last born always desire to surpass what their predecessors have ventured: they think it a small thing to behave like them and do something that has been effected before, but determine that something original is the only thing worthy of them, because unexpected.

^[38] "Seeing this, then, Conscript Fathers, let us no longer delay nor fall a prey to the indolence that the moment inspires, but let us take thought for the safety that concerns the future. Surely it is a shame when Caesar, who has just emerged from boyhood and was recently registered among those having attained years of discretion, shows such great interest in the State as to spend his money and gather soldiers for its preservation that we should neither ourselves perform our duty nor coöperate with him even after obtaining a tangible proof of his good-will. Who is unaware that if he had not reached here with the soldiers from Campania, Antony would certainly have come rushing from Brundisium instantly, just as he was, and would have burst into

our city with all his armies like a winter torrent? There is, moreover, a striking inconsistency in our conduct. Men who have long been campaigning voluntarily have put themselves at your service for the present crisis, regarding neither their age nor the wounds which they received in past years while fighting for you, and you both refuse to ratify the war in which these very men elected to serve, and show yourselves inferior to them, who are ready to face dangers; for while you praise the soldiers that detected the defilement of Antony and withdrew from him, though he was consul, and attached themselves to Caesar, (that is, to you through him), you shrink from voting for that which you say they were right in doing. Also we are grateful to Brutus that he did not even at the start admit Antony to Gaul, and is trying to repel him now that Antony confronts him with a force. Why in the world do we not ourselves do the same? Why do we not imitate the rest whom we praise for their sound judgment? There are only two courses open to us. [39] One is to say that all these men, — Caesar, I mean, and Brutus, the old soldiers, the legions, — have decided wrongly and ought to submit to punishment, because without our sanction or that of the people they have dared to offer armed resistance to their consul, some having deserted his standard, and others having been gathered against him. The other is to say that Antony by reason of his deeds has in our judgment long since admitted that he is our enemy and by public consent ought to be chastised by us all. No one can be ignorant that the latter decision is not only more just but more expedient for us. The man neither understands how to handle business himself (how or by what means could a person that lives in drunkenness and dicing?) nor has he any companion who is of any account. He loves only such as are like himself and makes them the confidants of all his open and secret undertakings. Also he is most cowardly in extreme dangers and most treacherous even to his intimate friends, neither of which qualities is suited for generalship or war. [40] Who can be unaware that this very man caused all our internal troubles and then shared the dangers to the slightest possible degree? He tarried long in Brundisium through cowardice, so that Caesar was isolated and on account of him almost failed: likewise he held aloof from all succeeding wars, — that against the Egyptians, against Pharnaces, the African, and the Spanish. Who is unaware that he won the favor of Clodius, and after using the latter's tribuneship for the most outrageous ends would have killed him with his own hand, if I had accepted this promise from him? Again, in the matter of Caesar, he was first associated with him as quaestor, when Caesar was praetor in Spain, next attached himself to him during the tribuneship, contrary to the liking of us all, and later received from him countless money and excessive honors: in return for this he tried to inspire his patron with a desire for supremacy, which led to talk against him and was more than anything else responsible for Caesar's death.

[41] "Yet he once stated that it was I who directed the assassins to their work. He is so senseless as to venture to invent so great praise for me. And I

for my part do not affirm that he was the actual slayer of Caesar, — not because he was not willing, but because in this, too, he was timid, — yet by the very course of his actions I say that Caesar perished at his hands. For this is the man who provided a motive, so that there seemed to be some justice in plotting against him, this is he who called him ‘king’, who gave him the diadem, who previously slandered him actually to his friends. Do I rejoice at the death of Caesar, I, who never enjoyed anything but liberty at his hands, and is Antony grieved, who has rapaciously seized his whole property and committed many injuries on the pretext of his letters, and is finally hastening to succeed to his position of ruler?

[42] “But I return to the point that he has none of the qualities of a great general or such as to bring victory, and does not possess many or formidable forces. The majority of the soldiers and the best ones have abandoned him to his fate, and also, by Jupiter, he has been deprived of the elephants. The remainder have perfected themselves rather in outraging and pillaging the possessions of the allies than in waging war. A proof of the sort of spirit that animates them lies in the fact that they still adhere to him, and of their lack of fortitude in that they have not taken Mutina, though they have now been besieging it for so long a time. Such is the condition of Antony and of his followers found to be. But Caesar and Brutus and those arrayed with them are firmly intrenched without outside aid; Caesar, in fact, has won over many of his rival’s soldiers, and Brutus is keeping the same usurper out of Gaul: and if you come to their assistance, first by approving what they have done of their own motion, next by ratifying their acts, at the same time giving them legal authority for the future, and next by sending out both the consuls to take charge of the war, it is not possible that any of his present associates will continue to aid him. However, even if they should cling to him most tenaciously, they would not be able to resist all the rest at once, but he will either lay down his arms voluntarily, as soon as he ascertains that you have passed this vote, and place himself in your hands, or he will be captured involuntarily as the result of one battle.

“I give you this advice, and, if it had been my lot to be consul, I should have certainly carried it out, as I did in former days when I defended you against Catiline and Lentulus (a relative of this very man), who had formed a conspiracy. [43] Perhaps some one of you regards these statements as well put, but thinks we ought first to despatch envoys to him, then, after learning his decision, in case he will voluntarily give up his arms and submit himself to you, to take no action, but if he sticks to the same principles, then to declare war upon him: this is the advice which I hear some persons wish to give you. This policy is very attractive in theory, but in fact it is disgraceful and dangerous to the city. Is it not disgraceful that you should employ heralds and embassies to citizens? With foreign nations it is proper and necessary to treat by heralds in advance, but upon citizens who are at all guilty you should inflict punishment straightway, by trying them in court if you can get them

under the power of your votes, and by warring against them if you find them in arms. All such are slaves of you and of the people and of the laws, whether they wish it or not; and it is not fitting either to coddle them or to put them on an equal footing with the highest class of free persons, but to pursue and chastise them like runaway servants, with a feeling of your own superiority. [44] Is it not a disgrace that he should not delay to wrong us, but we delay to defend ourselves? Or again, that he should for a long time, weapons in hand, have been carrying on the entire practice of war, while we waste time in decrees and embassies, and that we should retaliate only with letters and phrases upon the man whom we have long since discovered by his deeds to be a wrongdoer? What do we expect? That he will some day render us obedience and pay us respect? How can this prove true of a man who has come into such a condition that he would not be able, even should he wish it, to be an ordinary citizen with you under a democratic government? If he were willing to conduct his life on fair and equitable principles, he would never have entered in the first place upon such a career as his: and if he had done it under the influence of folly or recklessness, he would certainly have given it up speedily of his own accord. As the case stands, since he has once overstepped the limits imposed by the laws and the government and has acquired some power and authority by this action, it is not conceivable that he would change of his own free will or heed any one of our resolutions, but it is absolutely requisite that such a man should be chastised with those very weapons with which he has dared to wrong us. [45] And I beg you now to remember particularly a sentence which this man himself once uttered, that it is impossible for you to be saved, unless you conquer. Hence those who bid you send envoys are doing nothing else than planning how you may be dilatory and the body of your allies become as a consequence more feeble and dispirited; while he, on the other hand, will be doing whatever he pleases, will destroy Decimus, storm Mutina, and capture all of Gaul: the result will be that we can no longer find means to deal with him, but shall be under the necessity of trembling before him, paying court to him, worshiping him. This one thing more about the embassy and I am done: — that Antony also gave you no account of what business he had in hand, because he intended that you should do this.

“I, therefore, for these and all other reasons advise you not to delay nor to lose time, but to make war upon him as quickly as possible. You must reflect that the majority of enterprises owe their success rather to an opportune occasion than to their strength; and you should by all means feel perfectly sure that I would never give up peace if it were really peace, in the midst of which I have most influence and have acquired wealth and reputation, nor have urged you to make war, did I not think it to your advantage.

[46] And I advise you, Calenus, and the rest who are of the same mind as you, to be quiet and allow the senate to vote the requisite measures and not for the sake of your private good-will toward Antony recklessly betray the

common interests of all of us. Indeed, I am of the opinion, Conscript Fathers, that if you heed my counsel I may enjoy in your company and with thorough satisfaction freedom and preservation, but that if you vote anything different, I shall choose to die rather than to live. I have, in general, never been afraid of death as a consequence of my outspokenness, and now I fear it least of all. That accounts, indeed, for my overwhelming success, the proof of which lies in the fact that you decreed a sacrifice and festival in memory of the deeds done in my consulship, — an honor which had never before been granted to any one, even to one who had achieved some great end in war. Death, if it befell me, would not be at all unseasonable, especially when you consider that my consulship was so many years ago; yet remember that in that very consulship I uttered the same sentiment, to make you feel that in any and all business I despised death. To dread any one, however, that was against you, and in your company to be a slave to any one would prove exceedingly unseasonable to me. Wherefore I deem this last to be the ruin and destruction not only of the body, but of the soul and reputation, by which we become in a certain sense immortal. But to die speaking and acting in your behalf I regard as equivalent to immortality.

[47] “And if Antony, also, felt the force of this, he would never have entered upon such a career, but would have even preferred to die like his grandfather rather than to behave like Cinna who killed him. For, putting aside other considerations, Cinna was in turn slain not long afterward for this and the other sins that he had committed; so that I am surprised also at this feature in Antony’s conduct, that, imitating his works as he does, he shows no fear of some day falling a victim to a similar disaster: the murdered man, however, left behind to this very descendant the reputation of greatness. But the latter has no longer any claim to be saved on account of his relatives, since he has neither emulated his grandfather nor inherited his father’s property. Who is unaware of the fact that in restoring many who were exiled in Caesar’s time and later, in accordance forsooth with directions in his patron’s papers, he did not aid his uncle, but brought back his fellow-gambler Lenticulus, who was exiled for his unprincipled life, and cherishes Bambalio, who is notorious for his very name, while he has treated his nearest relatives as I have described and as if he were half angry at them because he was born into that family. Consequently he never inherited his father’s goods, but has been the heir of very many others, some whom he never saw or heard of, and others who are still living. That is, he has so stripped and despoiled them that they differ in no way from dead men.”

BOOK 46

The following is contained in the Forty-sixth of Dio's Rome:

How Calenus replied to Cicero in defence of Antony (chapters 1-28).

How Antony was defeated at Mutina by Caesar and the consuls (chapters 29-38).

How Caesar came to Rome and was appointed consul (chapters 39-49).

How Caesar, Antony, and Lepidus formed a solemn pact of union (chapters 50-56).

Duration of time one year, in which there were the following magistrates here enumerated:

C. Vibius C. filius Pansa Capronianus, Aulus Hirtius Auli filius (B.C. 43 = a. u. 711).

BOOK 46, BOISSAVAIN

[B.C. 43 (*a. u.* 711)]

[1] When Cicero had finished speaking in this vein, Quintus Fufius Calenus arose and said:— “Ordinarily I should not have wished either to say anything in defence of Antony or to assail Cicero. I really do not think it proper in such discussions as is the present to do either of these things, but simply to make known what one’s opinion is. The former method belongs to the courtroom, whereas this is a matter of deliberation. Since, however, he has undertaken to speak ill of Antony on account of the enmity that exists between them, instead of sending him a summons, as he ought, if Antony were guilty of any wrong, and since he has further mentioned me in a calumnious fashion, as if he could not have exhibited his cleverness without heedlessly insulting one or two persons, it behooves me also to set aside the imputation against Antony and to bring counter-charges against the speaker. I would not have his innate impudence fail of a response nor let my silence aid him by incurring the suspicion of a guilty conscience; nor would I have you, deceived by what he said, come to a less worthy decision by accepting his private spleen against Antony in exchange for the common advantage. [2] He wishes to effect nothing else than that we should abandon looking out for the safest course for the commonwealth and fall into discord again. It is not the first time that he has done this, but from the outset, ever since he had to do with politics, he has been continually causing disturbance one way or the other.

“Is he not the one who embroiled Caesar with Pompey and prevented Pompey from becoming reconciled with Caesar? The one who persuaded you to pass that vote against Antony by which he irritated Caesar, and persuaded Pompey to leave Italy and transfer his quarters to Macedonia? This proved the chief cause of all the evils which befell us subsequently. Is not he the one who killed Clodius by the hand of Milo, and slew Caesar by the hand of Brutus? The one who made Catiline hostile to us and despatched Lentulus without a trial? [3] Hence I should be very much surprised at you, seeing that you then changed your mind about his conduct just mentioned and made him pay the penalty for it, if you should now heed him again, when his talk and actions are similar. Do you not see, too, that after Caesar’s death when our affairs were settled in a most tranquil way by Antony, as not even his accuser can deny, the latter left town because he deemed our life of harmony to be alien and dangerous to him? That when he perceived that turmoil had again arisen, he bade a long farewell to his son and to Athens, and returned? That he insults and abuses Antony, whom he was wont to say he loved, and coöperates with Caesar, whose father he killed? And if chance so favor, he will ere long attack Caesar also. For the fellow is naturally distrustful and turbulent and has no ballast in his soul, and he is always stirring things up and twisting about, turning more ways than the sea-passage to which he fled and got the title of

deserter for it, asking all of you to take that man for friend or foe whom he bids.

[4] “For these reasons be on your guard against man. He is a juggler and imposter and grows rich and strong from the ills of others, blackmailing, dragging, tearing the innocent, as do dogs; but in the midst of public harmony he is embarrassed and withers away. It is not friendship or good-will among us that can support this kind of orator. From what other source do you think he has become rich or from what other source great? Certainly neither family nor wealth was bequeathed him by his father the fuller, who was always trading in grapes and olives, a man who was glad to make both ends meet by this and by his washing, and whose time was taken up every day and night with the vilest occupations. The son, having been brought up in them, not unnaturally tramples and dowses his superiors, using a species of abuse invented in the workshops and on the street corners.

[5] “Now being of such an origin yourself, and after growing up naked among your naked companions, picking up pig manure and sheep dung and human excrement, have you dared, O most accursed wretch, first to slander the youth of Antony who had the advantage of pedagogues and teachers as his rank demanded, and next to impugn him because in celebrating the Lupercalia, an ancestral festival, he came naked into the Forum? But I ask you, you that always used all the clothes of others on account of your father’s business and were stripped by whoever met you and recognized them, what ought a man who was not only priest but also leader of his fellow priests to have done? Not to conduct the procession, not to celebrate the festival, not to sacrifice according to ancestral custom, not to appear naked, not to anoint himself? ‘But it is not for that that I censure him,’ he answers, ‘but because he delivered a speech and that kind of speech naked in the Forum.’ Of course this man has become acquainted in the fuller’s shop with all minute matters of etiquette, that he should detect a real mistake and be able to rebuke it properly.

[6] “In regard to this matter I will say later all that needs to be said, but just now I want to ask the speaker a question or two. Is it not true that you for your part were nourished by the ills of others and educated in the misfortunes of your neighbors and for this reason are acquainted with no liberal branch of knowledge, that you have established a kind of association here and are always waiting, like the harlots, for a man who will give something, and that having many men in your pay to attract profit to you you pry into people’s affairs to find out who has wronged (or seems to have wronged) whom, who hates whom, and who is plotting against whom? With these men you make common cause, and through these men you are supported, selling them the hopes that chance bestows, trading in the decisions of the jurors, deeming him alone a friend who gives more and more, and all those enemies who furnish you no business or employ some other advocate, while you pretend not even to know those who are already in your clutch and affect to be bored by them,

but fawn upon and giggle at those just approaching, like the mistresses of inns?

[7] How much better it were that you too should have been born Bambalio, — if this Bambalio really exists, — than to have taken up such a livelihood, in which it is absolutely inevitable that you should either sell your speech in behalf of the innocent, or else preserve the guilty. Yet you can not do even this effectively, though you wasted three years in Athens. On what occasion? By what help? Why, you always come trembling up to court as if you were going to fight in armor and after speaking a few words in a low and half-dead voice you go away, not remembering a word of the speech you practiced at home before you came, and without finding anything to say on the spur of the moment. In making affirmations and promises you surpass all mankind in audacity, but in the contests themselves beyond uttering some words of abuse and defamation you are most weak and cowardly. Do you think any one is ignorant of the fact that you never delivered one of those wonderful speeches of yours that you have published, but wrote them all up afterward, like persons who form generals and masters-of-horse out of day? If you feel doubtful of this point, remember how you accused Verres, — though, to be sure, you only gave him an example of your father's trade, when you made water.

[8] “But I hesitate, for fear that in saying precisely what fits your case I may seem to be uttering words that are unfitting for myself. This I will pass over; and further, by Jupiter, also the affairs of Gabinius, against whom, you prepared accusers and then pled his cause in such a way that he was condemned; and the pamphlets which you compose against your friends, in regard to which you feel yourself so guilty that you do not dare to make them public. Yet it is a most miserable and pitiable state to be in, not to be able to deny these charges which are the most disgraceful conceivable to admit. But I will leave these to one side and bring forward the rest. Well, though we did grant the trainer, as you say, two thousand plethra of the ager Leontinus, we still learned nothing adequate from it. But who should not admire your system of instruction? And what is it? You are ever jealous of your superiors, you always toady to the prominent man, you slander him who has attained distinction, you inform against the powerful and you hate equally all the excellent, and you pretend love only for those through whom you may do some mischief. This is why you are always inciting the younger against their elders and lead those who trust you even in the slightest into dangers, where you desert them. [9] A proof of this is, that you have never accomplished any achievement worthy of a distinguished man either in war or in peace. How many wars have we won under you as praetor and what kind of territory did we acquire with you as consul? Your private activity all these years has consisted in continually deceiving some of the foremost men and winning them to your side and managing everything you like, while publicly you have been shouting and bawling out at random those detestable phrases,— ‘I am

the only one that loves you,' or, if it should so chance, 'And what's-his-name, all the rest, hate you,' and 'I alone am friendly to you, all the rest are engaged in plots,' and other such stuff by which you fill some with elation and conceit, only to betray them, and scare the rest so that you gain their attachment. If any service is rendered by any one whomsoever of the whole people, you lay claim to it and write your own name upon it, repeating: 'I moved it, I proposed it, it was through me that this was done so.' But if anything happens that ought not to have occurred, you take yourself out of the way and censure all the rest, saying: 'You see I wasn't praetor, you see I wasn't envoy, you see I wasn't consul.' And you abuse everybody everywhere all the time, setting more store by the influence which comes from appearing to speak your mind boldly than by saying what duty demands: and you exhibit no important quality of an orator. [10] What public advantage has been preserved or established by you? Who that was really harming the city have you indicted, and who that was really plotting against us have you brought to light? To neglect the other cases, — these very charges which you now bring against Antony are of such a nature and so many that no one could ever suffer any adequate penalty for them. Why, then, if you saw us being wronged by him at the start, as you assert, did you never attack or accuse him at the time, instead of telling us now all the transgressions he committed when tribune, all his irregularities when master of horse, all his villanies when consul? You might at once, at the time, in each specific instance, have inflicted the appropriate penalty upon him, if you had wanted to show yourself in very deed a patriot, and we could have imposed the punishment in security and safety during the course of the offences themselves. One of two conclusions is inevitable, — either that you believed this to be so at the time and renounced the idea of a struggle in our behalf, or else that you could not prove any of your charges and are now engaged in a reckless course of blackmail.

[11] "That this is so I will show you clearly, Conscript Fathers, by going over each point in detail. Antony did say some words during his tribuneship in Caesar's behalf: Cicero and some others spoke in behalf of Pompey. Why now does he accuse him of preferring one man's friendship, but acquit himself and the rest who warmly embraced the opposite cause? Antony, to be sure, hindered at that time some measures adverse to Caesar from being passed: and Cicero hindered practically everything that was known to be favorable to Caesar. 'But Antony obstructed,' he replies, 'the public judgment of the senate.' Well, now, in the first place, how could one man have had so much power? Second, if he had been condemned for this, as is said, how could he have escaped punishment? 'Oh, he fled, he fled to Caesar and got out of the way.' Of course you, Cicero, did not 'leave town' just now, but you fled, as in your former exile. Don't be so ready to apply your own shame to all of us. To flee is what you did, in fear of the court, and pronouncing condemnation on yourself beforehand. Yes, to be sure, an ordinance was passed for your recall; how and for what reasons I do not say, but at any rate it

was passed, and you did not set foot in Italy before the recall was granted. But Antony both went away to Caesar to inform him what had been done and returned, without asking for any decree, and finally effected peace and friendship with him for all those that were found in Italy. And the rest, too, would have had a share in it, if they had not taken your advice and fled. [12] Now in view of those circumstances do you dare to say he led Caesar against his country and stirred up the civil war and became more than any one else responsible for the subsequent evils that befell us? Not so, but you, who gave Pompey legions that belonged to others and the command, and undertook to deprive Caesar even of those that had been given him: it was you, who agreed with Pompey and the consuls not to accept the offers made by Caesar, but to abandon the city and the whole of Italy: you, who did not see Caesar even when he entered Rome, but had run off to Pompey and into Macedonia. Not even to him, however, did you prove of any assistance, but you neglected what was going on, and then, when he met with misfortune, you abandoned him. Therefore you did not aid him at the outset on the ground that he had the juster cause, but after setting in motion the dispute and embroiling affairs you lay in wait at a safe distance for a favorable turn; you at once deserted the man who failed, as if that somehow proved him guilty, and went over to the victor, as if you deemed him more just. And in addition to your other defects you are so ungrateful that not only are you not satisfied to have been preserved by him, but you are actually displeased that you were not made master of the horse.

[13] “Then with this on your conscience do you dare to say that Antony ought not to have held the office of master of the horse for a year, and that Caesar ought not to have remained dictator for a year? But whether it was wise or necessary for these measures to be framed, at any rate they were both passed, and they suited us and the people. Censure these men, Cicero, if they have transgressed in any particular, but not, by Jupiter, those whom they have chosen to honor for showing themselves worthy of so great a reward. For if we were forced by the circumstances that then surrounded us to act in this way and contrary to good policy, why do you now lay this upon Antony’s shoulders, and why did you not oppose it then if you were able? Because, by Jupiter, you were afraid. Then shall you, who were at that time silent, obtain pardon for your cowardice, and shall he, because he was preferred before you, submit to penalties for his excellence? Where did you learn that this was just, or where did you read that this was lawful?

[14] “‘But he did not rightly use his position as master of horse.’ Why? ‘Because,’ he answers, ‘he bought Pompey’s possessions.’ How many others are there who purchased numberless articles, no one of whom is blamed? That was the purpose in confiscating certain articles and exposing them in the market and proclaiming them by the voice of the public crier, to have somebody buy them. ‘But Pompey’s goods ought not to have been sold.’ Then it was we who erred and did wrong in confiscating them; or (to clear your

skirts and ours) it was at least Caesar who acted irregularly, he who ordered this to be done: yet you did not censure him at all. I maintain that in this charge he is proven to be absolutely beside himself. He has brought against Antony two quite opposite accusations, — one, that after helping Caesar in very many ways and receiving in return vast gifts from him he was then required under compulsion to surrender the price of them, and the second, that he inherited naught from his father, spent all that he had like Charybdis (the speaker is always bringing in some comparison from Sicily, as if we had forgotten that he had been exiled there), and paid the price of all that he purchased.

[15] “So in these charges this remarkable orator is convicted of violently contradicting himself and, by Jupiter, again in the following statements. At one time he says that Antony took part in everything that was done by Caesar and by this means became more than any one else responsible for all our internal evils, and again he charges him with cowardice, reproaching him with not having shared in any other exploits than those performed in Thessaly. And he makes a complaint against him to the effect that he restored some of the exiles and finds fault with him because he did not secure the recall of his uncle; as if any one believes that he would not have restored him first of all, if he had been able to recall whomsoever he pleased, since there was no grievance on either side between them, as this speaker himself knows. Indeed, though he told many wretched lies about Antony, he did not dare to say anything of that kind. But he is utterly reckless about letting slip anything that comes to his tongue’s end, as if it were mere breath.

[16] “Why should one follow this line of refutation further? Turning now to the fact that he goes about with such a tragic air, and has but this moment said in the course of his remarks that Antony rendered the sight of the master of the horse most oppressive by using everywhere and under all circumstances the sword, the purple, the lictors, and the soldiers at once, let him tell me clearly how and in what respect we have been wronged by this. He will have no statement to make; for if he had had, he would have sputtered it out before anything else. Quite the reverse of his charge is true. Those who were quarreling at that time and causing all the trouble were Trebellius and Dolabella: Antony did no wrong and was active in every way in our behalf, so much so that he was entrusted by us with guarding the city against those very men, and not only did this remarkable orator not oppose it (he was there) but even approved it. Else let him show what syllable he uttered on seeing the licentious and accursed fellow (to quote from his abuse), besides doing nothing that the occasion required, securing also so great authority from you. He will have nothing to show. So it looks as if not a word of what he now shouts aloud was ventured at that time by this great and patriotic orator, who is everywhere and always saying and repeating: ‘I alone am contending for freedom, I alone speak freely for the democracy; I cannot be restrained by favor of friends or fear of enemies from looking out for your advantage; I,

even if it should be my lot to die in speaking in your behalf, will perish very gladly.' And his silence was very natural, for it occurred to him to reflect that Antony possessed the lictors and the purple-bordered vesture in accordance with the customs of our ancestors in regard to masters of horse, and that he was using the sword and the soldiers perforce against the rebels. For what most excessive outrages would they not have committed but for his being hedged about with these protections, when some of them so despised him as it was?

[17] "That these and all his other acts were correct and most thoroughly in accord with Caesar's intention the facts themselves show. The rebellion went no further, and Antony, far from paying a penalty for his course, was subsequently appointed consul. Notice, I beg of you, how he administered this office of his. You will find, if you scrutinize the matter minutely, that its tenure proved of great value to the city. His traducer, knowing this, could not endure his jealousy but dared to slander him for those deeds which he would have longed to do himself. That is why he introduced the matter of his stripping and anointing and those ancient fables, not because there was any pertinence in them now, but in order to obscure by external noise his opponent's consummate skill and success. Yet this same Antony, O thou earth, and ye gods (I shall call louder than you and invoke them with greater justice), saw that the city was already in reality under a tyranny through the fact that all the legions obeyed Caesar and all the people together with the senate submitted to him to such an extent that they voted among other measures that he should be dictator for life and use the appurtenances of a king. Then he showed Caesar his error most convincingly and restrained him most prudently, until the latter, abashed and afraid, would not accept either the name of king or the diadem, which he had in mind to bestow upon himself even against our will. Any other man would have declared that he had been ordered to do it by his master, and putting forward the compulsion as an excuse would have obtained pardon for it, — yes, indeed, he would, when you think of what kind of votes we had passed at that time and what power the soldiers had secured. Antony, however, because he was thoroughly acquainted with Caesar's disposition and accurately aware of all he was preparing to do, by great good judgment succeeded in turning him aside from his course and retarding his ambitions. The proof of it is that afterward he no longer behaved in any way like a monarch, but mingled publicly and unprotected with us all; and that accounts most of all for the possibility of his meeting the fate that he did.

[18] "This is what was done, O Cicero or Cicerulus or Ciceracius or Ciceriscus or Graeculus or whatever you like to be called, by the uneducated, the naked, the anointed man: and none of it was done by you, the clever, the wise, the user of much more olive oil than wine, you who let your clothing drag about your ankles not, by Jupiter, as the dancers do, who teach you intricacies of reasoning by their poses, but in order to hide the ugliness of

your legs. Oh no, it's not through modesty that you do this, you who delivered that long screed about Antony's habits. Who is there that does not see these soft clothes of yours? Who does not scent your carefully combed gray locks? Who is there unaware that you put away your first wife who had borne you two children, and at an advanced age married another, a mere girl, in order that you might pay your debts out of her property? And you did not even retain her, to the end that you might keep Caerellia fearlessly, whom you debauched when she was as much older than yourself as the maiden you married was younger, and to whom you write such letters as a jester at no loss for words would write if he were trying to get up an amour with a woman seventy years old. This, which is not altogether to my taste, I have been induced to say, Conscript Fathers, in the hope that he should not go away without getting as good as he sent in the discussion. Again, he has ventured to reproach Antony for a little kind of banquet, because he, as he says, drinks water, his purpose being to sit up at night and compose speeches against us, — though he brings up his son in such drunkenness that the latter is sober neither night nor day. Furthermore he undertook to make derogatory remarks about Antony's mouth, this man who has shown so great licentiousness and impurity throughout his entire life that he would not keep his hands off even his closest kin, but let out his wife for hire and deflowered his daughter.

[18] "These particulars I shall leave as they stand and return to the point where I started. That Antony against whom he has inveighed, seeing Caesar exalted over our government, caused him by granting what seemed personal favors to a friend not to put into effect any of the projects that he had in mind. Nothing so diverts persons from objects which they may attain without caring to secure them righteously, as for those who fear such results to appear to endure the former's conduct willingly. These persons in authority have no regard for their own consciousness of guilt, but if they think they have been detected, they are ashamed and afraid: thereafter they usually take what is said to them as flattery and believe the opposite, and any action which may result from the words as a plot, being suspicious in the midst of their shame. Antony knew this thoroughly, and first of all he selected the Lupercalia and that procession in order that Caesar in the relaxation of his spirit and the fun of the affair might be rebuked with immunity, and next he selected the Forum and the rostra that his patron might be shamed by the very places. And he fabricated the commands from the populace, in order that hearing them Caesar might reflect not on what Antony was saying at the time, but on what the Roman people would order a man to say. How could he have believed that this injunction had really been laid upon any one, when he knew that the people had not voted anything of the kind and did not hear them shouting out. But it was right for him to hear this in the Roman Forum, where we had often joined in many deliberations for freedom, and beside the rostra from which we had sent forth thousands and thousands of measures in behalf of the democracy, and at the festival of the Lupercalia, in order that he should

remember Romulus, and from the mouth of the consul that he might call to mind the deeds of the early consuls, and in the name of the people, that he might ponder the fact that he was undertaking to be tyrant not over Africans or Gauls or Egyptians, but over very Romans. These words made him turn about; they humiliated him. And whereas if any one else had offered him the diadem, he might have taken it, he was then stopped short by that speech and felt a shudder of alarm.

“These, then are the deeds of Antony: he did not uselessly break a leg, in order himself to escape, nor burn off a hand, in order to frighten Porsenna, but by his cleverness and consummate skill he put an end to the tyranny of Caesar better than any spear of Decius and better than the sword of Brutus. [20] But you, Cicero, what did you effect in your consulship, not to mention wise and good things, that was not deserving of the greatest punishment? Did you not throw our city into uproar and party strife when it was quiet and harmonious, and fill the Forum and Capitol with slaves, among others, that you had called to your aid? Did you not ruin miserably Catiline, who was overanxious for office, but otherwise guilty of no violence? Did you not pitifully destroy Lentulus and his followers, who were not guilty, not tried, and not convicted, in spite of the fact that you are always and everywhere prating interminably about the laws and about the courts? If any one should take these phrases from your speeches, there is nothing left. You censured Pompey because he conducted the trial of Milo contrary to legalized precedent: yet you afforded Lentulus no privilege great or small that is enjoined in these cases, but without a speech or trial you cast him into prison, a man respectable, aged, whose ancestors had given many great pledges that he would be friendly to his country, and who by reason of his age and his character had no power to do anything revolutionary. What trouble did he have that would have been cured by the change of condition? What blessing did he possess that would not certainly be jeopardized by rebellion? What arms had he collected, what allies had he equipped, that a man who had been consul and was praetor should be so pitilessly and impiously cast into a cell without being allowed to say a word of defence or hear a single charge, and die there like the basest criminals? For this is what this excellent Tullius most of all desired, — that in [the Tullianum,] the place that bears his name, he might put to death the grandson of that Lentulus once became the head of the senate. [21] What would he have done if he had obtained authority to bear arms, seeing that he accomplished so many things of such a nature by his words alone? These are your brilliant achievements, these are your great exhibitions of generalship; and not only were you condemned for them by the rest, but you were so ready to vote against your own self in the matter that you fled before your trial came on. Yet what greater demonstration of your bloodguiltiness could there be than that you came in danger of perishing at the hands of those very persons in whose behalf you pretended you had done this, that you were afraid of the very ones whom you said you had benefited by these acts, and that you did not

wait to hear from them or say a word to them, you clever, you extraordinary man, you aider of other people, but secured your safety by flight as if from a battle? And you are so shameless that you have undertaken to write a history of these events that I have related, whereas you ought to have prayed that no other man even should give an account of any of them: then you might at least derive this advantage, that your doings should die with you and no memory of them be transmitted to posterity. Now, gentlemen, if you want to laugh, listen to his clever device. He set himself the task of writing a history of the entire existence of the city (for he pretends to be a sophist and poet and philosopher and orator and historian), and he began not from the founding of it, like the rest are similarly busied, but from his own consulship, so that he might proceed backwards, making that the beginning of his account, and the kingdom of Romulus the end.

[22] "Tell me now, you who write such things and do such things, what the excellent man ought to say in popular address and do in action: for you are better at advising others about any matter whatsoever than at doing your own duty, and better at rebuking others than at reforming yourself. Yet how much better it were for you instead of reproaching Antony with cowardice to lay aside yourself that effeminacy both of spirit and of body, instead of bringing a charge of disloyalty against him to cease yourself from doing anything disloyal or playing the deserter, instead of accusing him of ingratitude to cease yourself from wronging your benefactors! For this, I must tell you, is one of his inherent defects, that he hates above all those who have done him any favor, and is always fawning upon somebody else but plotting against these persons. To leave aside other instances, he was pitied and preserved by Caesar and enrolled among the patricians, after which he killed him, — no, not with his own hand (he is too cowardly and womanish), but by persuading and making ready others who should do it. The men themselves showed that I speak the truth in this. When they ran out into the Forum with their naked blades, they invoked him by name, saying 'Cicero!' repeatedly, as you all heard. His benefactor, Caesar, then, he slew, and as for Antony from whom he obtained personally safety and a priesthood when he was in danger of perishing at the hands of the soldiers in Brundisium, he repays him with this sort of thanks, by accusing him for deeds with which neither he himself nor any one else ever found any fault and attacking him for conduct which he praises in others. Yet he sees this Caesar, who has not attained the age yet to hold office or have any part in politics and has not been chosen by you, sees him equipped with power and standing as the author of a war without our vote or orders, and not only has no blame to bestow, but pronounces laudations. So you perceive that he investigates neither what is just with reference to the laws nor what is useful with reference to the public weal, but simply manages everything to suit his own will, censuring in some what he extols in others, spreads false reports against you, and calumniates you gratuitously.[23] For you will find that all of Antony's acts after Caesar's demise were ordered by you.

To speak about the disposition of the funds and the examination of the letters I deem to be superfluous. Why so? Because first it would be the business of the one who inherited his property to look into the matter, and second, if there was any truth in the charge of malfeasance, it ought to have been stopped then on the moment. For none of the transactions was carried on underhandedly, Cicero, but they were all recorded on tablets, as you yourself affirm. If Antony committed his many wrongs so openly and shamelessly as you say, and plundered the whole of Crete on the pretext that in accord with Caesar's letters it had been left free after the governorship of Brutus, though the latter was later given charge of it by us, how could you have kept silent and how could any one else have borne it? But these matters, as I said, I shall pass over; for the majority of them have not been mentioned individually, and Antony is not present, who could inform you exactly of what he has done in each instance. As to Macedonia and Gaul and the remaining provinces and legions, yours are the decrees, Conscript Fathers, according to which you assigned to the various governors their separate charges and delivered to Antony Gaul, together with the soldiers. This is known also to Cicero. He was there and helped vote for all of them just like you. Yet how much better it would have been for him then to speak in opposition, if any item of business was not going as it should, and to instruct you in these matters that are now brought forward, than to be silent at the time and allow you to make mistakes, and now nominally to censure Antony but really to accuse the senate!

[24] "Any sensible person could not assert, either, that Antony forced you to vote these measures. He himself had no band of soldiers so as to compel you to do anything contrary to your inclinations, and further the business was done for the good of the city. For since the legions had been sent ahead and united, there was fear that when they heard of Caesar's assassination they might revolt, put some inferior man at their head, and begin to wage war again: so it seemed good to you, taking a proper and excellent course, to place in command of them Antony the consul, who was charged with the promotion of harmony, who had rejected the dictatorship entirely from the system of government. And that is the reason that you gave him Gaul in place of Macedonia, that he should stay here in Italy, committing no harm, and do at once whatever errand was assigned him by you.

[25] "This I have said to you that you may know that you decided rightly. For Cicero that other point of mine was sufficient, — namely, that he was present during all these proceedings and helped us to pass the measures, though Antony had not a soldier at the time and could not have brought to bear on us pressure in the shape of any terror that would have made us neglect a single point of our interest. But even if you were then silent, tell us now at least: what ought we to have done under the circumstances? Leave the legions leaderless? Would they have failed to fill both Macedonia and Italy with countless evils? Commit them to another? And whom could we have found more closely related and suited to the business than Antony, the consul, the

director of all the city's affairs, the one who had taken such good care of harmony among us, the one who had given countless examples of his affection for the State? Some one of the assassins, perhaps? Why, it wasn't even safe for them to live in the city. Some one of the party opposed to them? Everybody suspected those people. What other man was there surpassing him in esteem, excelling him in experience? Or are you vexed that we did not choose you? What kind of administration would you have given? What would you not have done when you got arms and soldiers, considering that you occasioned so many and so great instances of turmoil in your consulship as a result of these elaborate antitheses, which you have made your specialty, of which alone you were master. [26] But I return to my point that you were present when it was being voted and said nothing against it, but assented to all the measures as being obviously excellent and necessary. You did not lack opportunity to speak; indeed you roared out considerable that was beside the purpose. Nor were you afraid of anybody. How could you, who did not fear the armed warrior, have quailed before the defenceless man? Or how have feared him alone when you do not dread him in the possession of many soldiers! Yes, you also give yourself airs for absolutely despising death, as you affirm.

"Since these facts are so, which of the two, senators, seems to be in the wrong, Antony, who is managing the forces granted him by us, or Caesar, who is surrounded with such a large band of his own? Antony, who has departed to take up the office committed to him by us, or Brutus, who prevents him from setting foot in the country? Antony, who wishes to compel our allies to obey our decrees, or they, who have not received the ruler sent them by us but have attached themselves to the man who was voted against? Antony, who keeps our soldiers together, or the soldiers, who have abandoned their commander? Antony, who has introduced not one of these soldiers granted him by us into the city, or Caesar, who by money persuaded those who had long ago been in service to come here? I think there is no further need of argument to answer the imputation that he does not seem to be managing correctly all the duties laid upon him by us, and to show that these men ought to suffer punishment for what they have ventured on their own responsibility. Therefore you also secured the guard of soldiers that you might discuss in safety the present situation, not on account of Antony, who had caused no trouble privately nor intimidated you in any way, but on account of his rival, who both had gathered a force against him and has often kept many soldiers in the city itself.

[27] "I have said so much for Cicero's benefit, since it was he who began unfair argument against us. I am not generally quarrelsome, as he is, nor do I care to pry into others' misdeeds, as he continually gives himself airs for doing. Now I will tell you what advice I have to give, not favoring Antony at all nor calumniating Caesar or Brutus, but planning for the common advantage, as is proper. I declare that we ought not yet to make an enemy of

either of these men in arms nor to enquire exactly what they have been doing or in what way. The present crisis is not suitable for this action, and as they are all alike our fellow-citizens, if any one of them fails the loss will be ours, or if any one of them succeeds his aggrandizement will be a menace to us. Wherefore I believe that we ought to treat them as friends and citizens and send messengers to all of them alike, bidding them lay down their arms and put themselves and their legions in our hands, and that we ought not yet to wage war on any one of them, but after their replies have come back approve those who are willing to obey us and fight against the disobedient. This course is just and expedient for us, — not to be in a hurry or do anything rashly, but to wait and after giving the leaders themselves and their soldiers an opportunity to change their minds, then, if in such case there be need of war, to give the consuls charge of it.

[28] “And you, Cicero, I advise not to show a womanish sauciness nor to imitate Bambalio even in making war nor because of your private enmity toward Antony to plunge the whole city publicly again into danger. You will do well if you even become reconciled to him, with whom you have often enjoyed friendly intercourse. But even if you continue embittered against him, at least spare us, and do not after acting as the promoter of friendship among us then destroy it. Remember that day and the speech which you delivered in the precinct of Tellus, and yield a little to this goddess of Concord under whose guidance we are now deliberating, and avoid discrediting those statements and making them appear as if not uttered from a sincere heart, or by somebody else on that occasion. This is to the advantage of the State and will bring you most renown. Do not think that audacity is either glorious or safe, and do not feel sure of being praised just for saying that you despise death. Such men all suspect and hate as being likely to venture some deed of evil through desperation. Those whom they see, however, paying greatest attention to their own safety they praise and laud, because such would not willingly do anything that merited death. Do you, therefore, if you honestly wish your country to be safe, speak and act in such a way as will both preserve yourself and not, by Jupiter, involve us in your destruction!”

[29] Such language from Calenus Cicero would not endure. He himself always spoke his mind intemperately and immoderately to all alike, but he never thought he ought to get a similar treatment from others. On this occasion, too, he gave up considering the public interest and set himself to abusing his opponent until that day was spent, and naturally for the most part uselessly. On the following day and the third many other arguments were adduced on both sides, but the party of Caesar prevailed. So they voted first a statue to the man himself and the right to deliberate among the ex-quaestors as well as of being a candidate for the other offices ten years sooner than custom allowed, and that he should receive from the City the money which he had spent for his soldiers, because he had equipped them at his own cost for her defence: second, that both his soldiers and those that had abandoned Antony

should have the privilege of not fighting in any other war and that land should be given them at once. To Antony they sent an embassy which should order him to give up the legions, leave Gaul, and withdraw into Macedonia — and to his followers they issued a proclamation to return home before a given day or to know that they would occupy the position of enemies. Moreover they removed the senators who had received from him governorships over the provinces and resolved that others should be sent in their place. These measures were ratified at that time. Not long after, before learning his decision, they voted that a state of rebellion existed, changed their senatorial garb, gave charge of the war against him to the consuls and Caesar (a kind of pretorian office), and ordered Lepidus and Lucius Munatius Plancus, who was governing a portion of Transalpine Gaul, to render assistance.

[30] In this way did they themselves furnish an excuse for hostility to Antony, who was without this anxious to make war. He was pleased to receive news of the decrees and forthwith violently reproached the envoys with not treating him rightly or fairly as compared with the youth (meaning Caesar). He also sent others in his turn, so as to put the blame of the war upon the senators, and make some counter-propositions which saved his face but were impossible of performance by Caesar and those who sided with him. He intended not to fulfill one of their demands, well aware that they too would not take up with anything that he submitted. He promised, however, that he would do all that they had determined, that he himself might have a refuge in saying that he would have done it, while at the same time his opponent's party would be before him in becoming responsible for the war, by refusing the terms he laid before them. In fine, he said that he would abandon Gaul and disband his legions, if they would grant these soldiers the same rewards as they had voted to Caesar's and would elect Cassius and Marcus Brutus consuls. He brought in the names of these men in his request with the purpose that they should not harbor any ill-will toward him for his operations against their fellow-conspirator Decimus.

[31] Antony made these offers knowing well that neither of them would be acted upon. Caesar would never have endured that the murderers of his father should become consuls or that Antony's soldiers by receiving the same as his own should feel still more kindly toward his rival. Nor, as a matter of fact, were his offers ratified, but they again declared war on Antony and gave notice to his associates to leave him, appointing a different day. All, even such as were not to take the field, arrayed themselves in military cloaks, and they committed to the consuls the care of the city, attaching to the decree the customary clause "to the end that it suffer no harm." And since there was need of large funds for the war, they all contributed the twenty-fifth part of the property they owned and the senators also four asses per tile of all the houses in the city that they themselves owned or dwelt in belonging to others. The very wealthy besides donated no little more, while many cities and many individuals manufactured gratuitously weapons and other necessary

accoutrements for a campaign. The public treasury was at that time so empty that not even the festivals which were due to fall during that season were celebrated, except some small ones out of religious scruple. [32] These subscriptions were given readily by those who favored Caesar and hated Antony. The majority, however, being oppressed by the campaigns and the taxes at once were irritated, particularly because it was doubtful which of the two would conquer but quite evident that they would be slaves of the conqueror. Many of those, therefore, that wished Antony well, went straight to him, among them tribunes and a few praetors: others remained in their places, one of whom was Calenus, but did all that they could for him, some things secretly and other things with an open defence of their conduct. Hence they did not change their costume immediately, and persuaded the senate to send envoys again to Antony, among them Cicero: in doing this they pretended that the latter might persuade him to make terms, but their real purpose was that he should be removed from their path. He too reflected on this possibility and becoming alarmed would not venture to expose himself in the camp of Antony. As a result none of the other envoys set out either.

[33] While this was being done portents of no small moment again occurred, significant for the City, and for the consul Vibius himself. In the last assembly before they set out for the war a man with the so-called sacred disease fell down while Vibius was speaking. Also a bronze statue of him which stood at the porch of his house turned around of itself on the day and at the hour that he started on the campaign, and the sacrifices customary before war could not be interpreted by the seers by reason of the quantity of blood. Likewise a man who was just then bringing him a palm slipped in the blood which had been shed, fell, and defiled the palm. These were the portents in his case. Now if they had befallen him when a private citizen, they would have pertained to him alone, but since he was consul they had a bearing on all alike. They included the following incidents: the figure of the Mother of the Gods on the Palatine formerly facing the east turned around of its own accord to the west; that of Minerva held in honor near Mutina, where the most fighting was going on, sent forth after this a quantity of blood and milk; furthermore the consuls took their departure just before the *Feriae Latinae*; and there is no case where this happened that the forces fared well. So at this time, too, both the consuls and a vast multitude of the people perished, some immediately and some later, and also many of the knights and senators, including the most prominent. For in the first place the battles, and in the second place the assassinations at home which occurred again as in the Sullan régime, destroyed all the flower of them except those actually concerned in the murders.

[34] Responsibility for these evils rested on the senators themselves. For whereas they ought to have set at their head some one man of superior judgment and to have coöperated with him continuously, they failed to do this, but made protégés of a few whom they strengthened against the rest, and later undertook to overthrow these favorites as well, and consequently they

found no one a friend but all hostile. The comparative attitude of men toward those who have injured them and toward their benefactors is different, for they remember a grudge even against their wills but willingly forget to be thankful. This is partly because they disdain to appear to have been kindly treated by any persons, since they will seem to be the weaker of the two, and partly because they are irritated at the idea that they will be thought to have been injured by anybody with impunity, since that will imply cowardice on their part. So those senators by not taking up with some one person, but attaching themselves to one and another in turn, and voting and doing now something for them, now something against them, suffered much because of them and much also at their hands. All the leaders had one purpose in the war, — the abolition of the popular power and the setting up of a sovereignty. Some were fighting to see whose slaves they should be, and others to see who should be their master; and so both of them equally wrought havoc, and each of them won glory according to fortune, which varied. The successful warriors were deemed shrewd and patriotic, and the defeated ones were called both enemies of their country and pestilential fellows.

[35] This was the state that the Roman affairs had at that time reached: I shall now go on to describe the separate events. There seems to me to be a very large amount of self-instruction possible, when one takes facts as the basis of his reasoning, investigates the nature of the former by the latter, and then proves his reasoning true by its correspondence with the facts.

The precise reason for Antony's besieging Decimus in Mutina was that the latter would not give up Gaul to him, but he pretended that it was because Decimus had been one of Caesar's assassins. For since the true cause of the war brought him no credit, and at the same time he saw the popular party flocking to Caesar to avenge his father, he put forward this excuse for the conflict. That it was a mere pretext for getting control of Gaul he himself made plain in demanding that Cassius and Marcus Brutus be appointed consuls. Each of these two utterances, of the most opposite character as they were, he made with an eye to his own advantage. Caesar had begun a campaign against his rival before the war was granted him by the vote, but had done nothing worthy of importance. When he learned of the decrees passed he accepted the honors and was glad, especially because when he was sacrificing at the time of receiving the distinction and authority of praetor the livers of all the victims, twelve in number, were found to be double. He was impatient, to be sure, at the fact that envoys and proposals had been sent also to Antony, instead of unrelenting war being declared against him at once, and most of all because he ascertained that the consuls had forwarded some private despatch to his rival about harmony, that when some letters sent by the latter to certain senators had been captured these officials had handed them to the persons addressed, concealing the transaction from him, and that they were not carrying on the war zealously or promptly, making the winter their excuse. However, as he had no means of making known these facts, — for he

did not wish to alienate them, and on the other hand he was unable to use any persuasion or force, — he stayed quiet himself in winter quarters in Forum Corneliū, until he became frightened about Decimus. ^[36] The latter had previously been vigorously fighting Antony off. On one occasion, suspecting that some men had been sent into the city by him to corrupt the soldiers, he called all those present together and after giving them a few hints proclaimed by herald that all the men under arms should go to one side of a certain place that he pointed out and the private citizens to the other side of it: in this way he detected and arrested Antony's followers, who were isolated and did not know which way to turn. Later he was entirely shut in by a wall; and Caesar, fearing he might be captured by storm or capitulate through lack of provisions, compelled Hirtius to join a relief party. Vibius was still in Rome raising levies and abolishing the laws of Antony. Accordingly, they started out and without a blow took possession of Bononia, which had been abandoned by the garrisons, and routed the cavalry who later confronted them: by reason of the river, however, near Mutina and the guard beside it they found themselves unable to proceed farther. They wished, notwithstanding, even so to make known their presence to Decimus, that he might not in undue season make terms, and at first they tried sending signals from the tallest trees. But since he did not understand, they scratched a few words on a thin sheet of lead, and rolling it up like a piece of paper gave it to a diver to carry across under water by night. Thus Decimus learned at the same time of their presence and their promise of assistance, and sent them a reply in the same fashion, after which they continued uninterruptedly to communicate all their plans to each other.

^[37] Antony, therefore, seeing that Decimus was not inclined to yield, left him to the charge of his brother Lucius, and himself proceeded against Caesar and Hirtius. The two armies faced each other for a number of days and a few insignificant cavalry battles occurred, with honors even. Finally the Celtic cavalry, of whom Caesar had gained possession along with the elephants, withdrew to Antony's side again. They had started from the camp with the rest and had gone on ahead as if intending to engage separately those of the enemy who came to meet them; but after a little they turned about and unexpectedly attacked those following behind (who did not stand their ground), killing many of them. After this some foraging parties on both sides fell to blows and when the remainder of each party came to the rescue a sharp battle ensued between the two forces, in which Antony was victorious. Elated by his success and in the knowledge that Vibius was approaching he assailed the antagonists' fortification, thinking possibly to destroy it beforehand and make the rest of the conflict easier. They, in consideration of their disaster and the hope which Vibius inspired, kept guard but would not come out for battle. Hence Antony left behind there a certain portion of his army with orders to come to close quarters with them and so make it appear as much as possible that he himself was there and at the same time to take good care that no one

should fall upon his rear. After issuing these injunctions he set out secretly by night against Vibius, who was approaching from Bononia. By an ambush he succeeded in wounding the latter severely, in killing the majority of his soldiers and confining the rest within their ramparts. He would have annihilated them, had he proceeded to besiege them for any time at all. As it was, after accomplishing nothing at the first assault he began to be alarmed lest while he was delaying he should receive some setback from Caesar and the rest; so he again turned against them. Wearied by the journey both ways and by the battle he was also in doubt whether he should find that his opponents had conquered the force hostile to them; and in this condition he was confronted by Hirtius and suffered a decisive defeat. For when Hirtius and Caesar perceived what was going on, the latter remained to keep watch over the camp while the former set out against Antony. [38] Upon the latter's defeat not only Hirtius was saluted as imperator by the soldiers and by the senate, but likewise Vibius, though he had fared badly, and Caesar who had done no fighting even. To those who had participated in the conflict and had perished there was voted a public burial, and it was resolved that the prizes of war which they had taken while alive should be restored to their fathers and sons.

Following this official action Pontius Aquila, one of the assassins and a lieutenant of Decimus, conquered in battle Titus Munatius Plancus, who opposed him; and Decimus, when a certain senator deserted to Antony, so far from displaying anger toward him sent back all his baggage and whatever else he had left behind in Mutina, the result being that the affection of many of Antony's soldiers grew cool, and some of the nations which had previously sympathized with him proceeded to rebel: Caesar and Hirtius, however, were elated at this, and approaching the fortifications of Antony challenged him to combat; he for a time was alarmed and remained quiet, but later when some reinforcements sent by Lepidus came to him he took courage. Lepidus himself did not make it clear to which of the two sides he sent the army: he thought well of Antony, who was a relative, but had been summoned against him by the senate; and for these reasons he made plans to have a refuge in store with both parties, by not giving to Marcus Silanus, the commander, orders that were in the least clear. But he, doubtless knowing well his master's frame of mind, went on his own responsibility to Antony. [39] So when the latter had been thus assisted he became bold and made a sudden sally from the gates: there was great slaughter on both sides, but at last he turned and fled.

Up to this time Caesar was being strengthened by the people and the senate, and because of this expected that among other honors to be bestowed he would be forthwith appointed consul. It happened that Hirtius perished in the occupation of Antony's camp and Vibius died of his wounds not long after, so that Caesar was charged with having caused their death that he might succeed to the office. But the senate had previously, while it was still uncertain which of the two would prevail, done away with all the privileges

which formerly, granted to any person beyond the customs of the forefathers, had paved the way to sovereignty: they voted that this edict should apply to both parties, intending by it to anticipate the victor, while laying the blame upon the other, who should be defeated. First they forbade any one to hold office more than a year, and second that any superintendent of grain supplies or commissioner of food should be chosen. When they ascertained the outcome, they rejoiced at Antony's defeat, changed their raiment once more, and celebrated a solemn thanksgiving for sixty days. All those arrayed on his side they held in the light of enemies, and took possession of their property as they did of the leader's. ^[40] Nor did they propose that Caesar any longer should receive any great reward, but even undertook to overthrow him, by allowing Decimus to secure all the prizes for which he was hoping. They voted Decimus not only the right of sacrifice but a triumph and gave him charge of the rest of the war and of the legions, — those of Vibius and others. Upon the soldiers that had been besieged with him they resolved that eulogies should be bestowed and all the other rewards which had formerly been offered to Caesar's men, although these troops had contributed nothing to the victory, but had merely beheld it from the walls. Aquila, who had died in the battle, they honored with an image, and restored to his heirs the money which he had expended from his own purse for the equipment of Decimus's soldiers. In a word, practically every advantage that had been given Caesar against Antony was voted to others against the man himself. And to the end that no matter how much he might wish it he should not be able to do any harm, they armed all his enemies against him. To Sextus Pompey they entrusted the fleet, to Marcus Brutus Macedonia, and to Cassius Syria together with the war against Dolabella. They would certainly have further deprived him of the forces that he had, but they were afraid to vote this openly, owing to their knowledge that his soldiers were devoted to him. Still, even so, they strove to set his followers at variance with one another and with him. They did not wish to approve and honor all of them, for fear they should fill them with too great conceit, nor again to dishonor and neglect all, for fear they should alienate them the more and as a consequence force them to agree together. Hence they adopted a middle course, and by approving some of them and others not, by allowing some to wear an olive garland at the festivals and others not, and furthermore by voting to some money to the extent of twenty-five hundred denarii and to others not a farthing, they hoped to bring about between them and by that means weaken them. ^[41] Those charged with these commissions also they sent not to Caesar but to the men in the field. He became enraged at this, but nominally allowed the envoys to mix with the army without his presence, though he sent word beforehand that no answer should be given and that he himself should be at once sent for. So when he came into the camp and joined them in listening to the despatches, he succeeded in conciliating them much more by that very action. Those who had been preferred in honor were not so delighted at this precedence as they were suspicious of the affair, particularly

as a result of Caesar's influence. And those who had been slighted were not at all angry at their comrades, but added their doubts of the sincerity of the decrees, imputing their dishonor to all and sharing their anger with them. The people in the City, on learning this, though frightened did not even so appoint him consul, for which he was most anxious, but granted him the distinction of consular honors, so that he might now record his vote along with the ex-consuls. When he took no account of this, they voted that he should be made a praetor of the first rank and subsequently also consul. In this way did they think they had handled Caesar cleverly as if he were in reality a mere youth and child, as they were always repeating. He, however, was exceedingly vexed at their general behavior and especially at this very fact that he was called child, and so made no further delay, but turned against their camps and powers. With Antony he secretly arranged a truce, and he assembled the men who had escaped from the battle, whom he himself had conquered and the senate had voted to be enemies, and in their presence made many accusations against both the senate and the people.

[42] The people in the City on hearing this for a time held him in contempt, but when they heard that Antony and Lepidus had become of one mind they began again to court his favor, — for they were in ignorance of the propositions he had made to Antony, — and assigned to him charge of the war against the two. Caesar was accordingly ready to accept even this if he could be made consul for it. He was working in every way to be elected, through Cicero among others, and so earnestly that he promised to make him his colleague. When he was not even then chosen, he made preparations, to be sure, to carry on war, as had been decreed, but meanwhile arranged that his own soldiers (of their own motion, of course) should suddenly take an oath not to fight against any legion that had been Caesar's. This had a bearing on Lepidus and Antony, since the majority of their adherents were of that class. So he waited and sent as envoys to the senate on this business four hundred of the soldiers themselves.

[43] This was the excuse that they had for an embassy, but in addition they demanded the money that had been voted them and urged that Caesar be appointed consul. While the senators were postponing their reply, which required deliberation, as they said, they asked (naturally on the instructions from Caesar) that amnesty be granted to some one who had embraced Antony's cause. They were not really anxious to obtain it, but wanted to test the senators and see if they would grant the request, or, if such were not the issue, whether to pretend to be displeased about it would serve as a starting point for indignation. They failed to gain their petition, for while no one spoke against it there were many preferring the same request on behalf of others and thus among a mass of similar representations their demand also was rejected on some plausible excuse. Then they openly showed their anger, and one of them issued from the senate-chamber and grasping a sword (they had gone in unarmed) said: "If you do not grant the consulship to Caesar, this shall grant

it.” And Cicero interrupting him answered: “If you exhort in this way, he will get it.” Now for Cicero this instrument had destruction in readiness. Caesar did not censure the soldier’s act, but made a complaint because they had been obliged to lay aside their arms on entering the senate and because one of them was asked whether they had been sent by the legions or by Caesar. He summoned in haste Antony and Lepidus (whom he had attached to him through friendship for Antony), and he himself, pretending to have been forced to such measures by his soldiers, set out with all of them against Rome.

[44] Some of the knights and others who were present they suspected were acting as spies and they consequently slew them, besides injuring the lands of such as were not in accord with them and doing much other damage with this excuse. The senators on ascertaining their approach sent them their money before they came near, hoping that when the invaders received that they might retire, and when they still pressed on they appointed Caesar consul. Nothing, however, was gained by this step. The soldiers were not at all grateful to them for what they had done not willingly but under compulsion, but were even more emboldened, in the idea that they had thoroughly frightened them. Learning of this the senate altered its policy and bade the host not approach the city but remain over one hundred and fifty stadia from it. They themselves also changed their garb again and committed to the praetors the care of the city, as had been the custom. And besides garrisoning other points they occupied Janiculum in advance with the soldiers that were at hand and with others from Africa.

[45] While Caesar was still on the march this was the condition of things; and all the people who were at that time in Rome with one accord sought a share in the proceedings, as the majority of men are wont to be bold until they come in sight and have a taste of dangers. When, however, he arrived in the suburbs, they were alarmed, and first some of the senators, later many of the people, went over to his side. Thereupon the praetors also came down from Janiculum and surrendered to him their soldiers and themselves. Thus Caesar took possession of the city without a blow and was appointed consul also by the people, though two proconsuls were chosen to hold the elections; it was impossible, according to precedent, for an interrex to be created for so short a period merely to superintend the comitia, because many men who held the curule offices were absent from the city. They endured having the two proconsuls named by the praetor urbanus rather than to have the consuls elected under his direction, because now these proconsular officials would limit their activities to the elections and consequently would appear to have been invested with no powers outlasting them. This was of course done under pressure of arms. Caesar, that he might appear to not to have used any force upon them, did not enter the assembly, — as if it was his presence that any one feared instead of his power.

[46] Thus he was chosen consul, and there was given him as a fellow-official — perhaps one ought to say *under*-official — Quintus Pedius. He was very

proud of this fact that he was to be consul at an earlier age than it had ever been the lot of any one else, and further that on the first day of the elections, when he had entered the Campus Martius, he saw six vultures, and later while haranguing the soldier twelve others. For, comparing it with Romulus and the omen that had befallen the latter, he began to expect that he should obtain his sovereignty. He did not, however, simply on the ground that he had already been given the distinction of the consular honors, assume distinction as being consul for the second time. This custom was since then observed in all similar cases to our own day. The emperor Severus was the first to change it; for he honored Plautianus with the consular honors and afterward introduced him to the senate and appointed him consul, proclaiming that he was entering the consulship the second time. In imitation of him the same thing was done in other instances. Caesar, accordingly, arranged affairs in general in the city to suit his taste, and gave money to the soldiers, to some what had been voted from the funds prescribed, and to the rest individually from his private funds, as the story went, but in reality from the public store.

In this way and for the reasons mentioned did the soldiers receive the money on that occasion. But some of them got a wrong idea of the matter and thought it was compulsory for absolutely all the citizen forces at all times to be given the twenty-five hundred denarii, if they went to Rome under arms. For this reason the followers of Severus who had come to the city to overthrow Julianus behaved most terrifyingly both to their leader himself and to us, while demanding it. And they were won over by Severus with two hundred and fifty denarii, while people in general were ignorant what claim was being set up.

[47] Caesar while giving the soldiers the money also expressed to them his fullest and sincerest thanks. He did not even venture to enter the senate-chamber without a guard of them. To the senate he showed gratitude, but it was all fictitious and pretended. For he was accepting as if it were a favor received from willing hands what he had attained by violence. And they actually took great credit to themselves for their behavior, as if they had given him the office voluntarily; and moreover they granted to him whom previously they had not even wished to choose consul the right after his term expired to be honored, as often as he should be in camp, above all those who were consuls at one time or another. To him on whom they had threatened to inflict penalties, because he had gathered forces on his own responsibility without the passing of any vote, they assigned the duty of collecting others: and to the man for whose disenfranchisement and overthrow they had ordered Decimus to fight with Antony they added Decimus's legions. Finally he obtained the guardianship of the city, so that he was able to do everything that he wished according to law, and he was adopted into Caesar's family in the regular way, as a consequence changing his name. He had, as some think, been even before this accustomed to call himself Caesar, as soon as this name was bequeathed to him together with the inheritance. He was not, however,

exact about his title, nor did he use the same one in dealing with everybody until at this time he had ratified it in accordance with ancestral custom, and was thus named, after his famous predecessor, Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus. For it is the custom when a person is adopted for him to take most of his appellation from his adopter but to keep one of his previous names slightly altered in form. This is the status of the matter, but I shall call him not Octavianus but Caesar, because this name has prevailed among all such as secure dominion over the Romans. He took another one in addition, namely *Augustus*, and therefore the subsequent emperors assume it. That one will be given when it comes up in the history, but until then the title Caesar will be sufficient to show that Octavianus is indicated.

[48] This Caesar, then, as soon as he had conciliated the soldiers and enslaved the senate, turned himself to avenging his father's murder. As he was afraid of somehow causing an upheaval among the populace in the pursuit of this business he did not make known his intention until he had seen to the payment of the bequests made to them. When they had been made docile by means of the money, although it belonged to the public funds and had been collected on the pretext of war, then at length he began to follow up the assassins. In order that this procedure of his might not appear to be characterized by violence but by justice, he proposed a law about their trial and tried the cases in their absence. The majority of them were out of town and some even held governorships over provinces. Those who were present also did not come forward, by reason of fear, and withdrew unobserved. Consequently they were convicted by default, and not only those who had been the actual murderers of Caesar and their fellow-conspirators, but many others who so far from plotting against Caesar, had not even been in the city at the time. This action was directed chiefly against Sextus Pompey. The latter though he had had no share whatever in the attack was nevertheless condemned because he had been an enemy. Those adjudged guilty were debarred from fire and water and their property was confiscated. The provinces, — not only those which some of them were governing, but all the rest, — were committed to the friends of Caesar.

[49] Among those held liable was also Publius Servilius Casca, the tribune. He had suspected Caesar's purpose in advance, before he entered the city, and had quietly slipped away. For this act he was at once removed from his office, on the charge of having left the city contrary to precedent, by the populace convened by his colleague Publius Titius; and in this way he was condemned. When Titius not long after died, the proverbial fate that had been observed from of old was once more in evidence. No one up to that time who had expelled a colleague had lived the year out: but first Brutus after the expulsion of Collatinus died in his turn, then Gracchus was stabbed after expelling Octavius, and Cinna who put Marullus and Flavus out of the way not long after perished. This has been the general experience.

Now the assassins of Caesar had many accusers who were anxious to

ingratiate themselves with his son, and many who were persuaded so to act by the rewards offered. They received money from the estate of the convicted man and the latter's honors and office, if he had any, and exemption from further service in the army, applicable to themselves and their children and grandchildren. Of the jurors the majority voted against the accused out of fear of Caesar and a wish to please him, generally hinting that they were justified in doing this. Some cast their votes in consideration of the law enacted about punishing the culprits, and others in consideration of the arms of Caesar. And one, Silicius Corona, a senator, voted outright to acquit Marcus Brutus. He made a great boast of this at the time and secretly received approval from the rest: that he was not immediately put to death gained for Caesar a great reputation for toleration, but later he was executed as the result of a proscription.

[50] After accomplishing this Caesar's next step was naturally a campaign against Lepidus and Antony. Antony on fleeing from the battle described had not been pursued by Caesar on account of the war being entrusted to Decimus; and the latter had not pursued because he did not wish a rival to Caesar to be removed from the field. Hence the fugitive collected as many as he could of the survivors of the battle and came to Lepidus, who had made preparations to march himself into Italy in accordance with the decree, but had again been ordered to remain where he was. For the senators, when they ascertained that Silanus had embraced Antony's cause, were afraid that Lepidus and Lucius Plancus might also coöperate with him, and sent to them to say that they had no further need of them. To prevent their suspecting anything ulterior and consequently causing trouble they ordered them to help in building homes for the men once driven out of Vienna (in Gallia Narbonensis) by the Allobroges and then located between the Rhone and the Arar, at their confluence. Therefore they submitted, and founded the so-called Lugudunum, now known as Lugdunum. They might have entered Italy with their arms, had they wished, for the decrees by this time exerted a very weak influence upon such as had troops, but, with an eye to the outcome of the war Antony was conducting, they wished to appear to have yielded obedience to the senate and incidentally to strengthen their position. [51] Indeed, Lepidus censured Silanus severely for making an alliance with Antony, and when the latter himself came would not hold conversation with him immediately, but sent a despatch to the senate containing an accusation of his own against him, and for this stand he received praise and command of the war against Antony. Hence the first part of the time he neither admitted Antony nor repelled him, but allowed him to be near and to associate with his followers; he would not, however, hold a conference with him. But when he ascertained Antony's agreement with Caesar, he then came to terms with both of them himself. Marcus Juventius, his lieutenant, learned what was being done and at first tried to alter his purpose; then, when he did not succeed in persuading him, he made away with himself in the sight of the soldiers. For this the senate voted

eulogies and a statue to Juventius and a public funeral, but Lepidus they deprived of his image which stood upon the rostra and made him an enemy. They also set a certain day for his comrades and threatened them with war if they should not abandon him before that day. Furthermore they changed their clothing again, — they had resumed citizen's apparel in honor of Caesar's consulship, — and summoned Marcus Brutus and Cassius and Sextus to proceed against them. When the latter seemed likely to be too slow in responding, they committed the war to Caesar, being ignorant of the conspiracy existing. [52] He nominally received it, in spite of having made his soldiers give voice to a sentiment previously mentioned, but accomplished no corresponding results. This was not because he had formed a compact with Antony and through him with Lepidus, — little he cared for that fact, — but because he saw they were powerful and knew their purposes were linked by the bands of kinship, and he could not use force with them; and besides he cherished hopes of bringing about through them the downfall of Cassius and Brutus, who were already very influential, and subsequently of wearing them out one against the other. Accordingly, even against his will he kept his covenant with them and directed his efforts to effecting a reconciliation for them with the senate and with the people. He did not himself propose the matter, lest some suspicion of what had really taken place should arise, but he set out as if to make war on them, while Quintus urged, as if it were his own idea, that amnesty and restoration be granted them. He did not secure this, however, until the senate had communicated it to the supposedly ignorant Caesar and he had unwillingly agreed to it, compelled, as he alleged, by the soldiers.

[53] While this was being done Decimus at first set forth in the intention of making war upon the pair, and associated with him Lucius Planeus, since the latter had been appointed in advance as his colleague for the following year. Learning, however, of his own condemnation and of their reconciliation he wished to lead a campaign against Caesar, but was abandoned by Plancus who favored the cause of Lepidus and Antony. Then he decided to leave Gaul and hasten into Macedonia on land through Illyricum to Marcus Brutus, and sent ahead some of the soldiers while he was engaged in finishing some business he had in hand. But they embraced Caesar's cause, and the rest were pursued by Lepidus and Antony and then were won over through the agency of others. So, being deserted, he was seized by a personal foe. When he was about to be executed he complained and lamented so loudly that one Helvius Blasio, who was kindly disposed to him from association on campaigns, in his sight voluntarily slew himself first.

[54] So Decimus afterward died also. Antony and Lepidus left lieutenants in Gaul and themselves proceeded to join Caesar in Italy, taking with them the larger and the better part of their armies. They did not trust him very far and wished not to owe him any favor, but to seem to have obtained amnesty and restoration on their own merits and by their own strength, and not through

him. They also hoped to become masters of whatever they desired, of Caesar and the rest in the City, by the size of their armies. With such a feeling they marched through the country, according it friendly treatment. Still, it was damaged by their numbers and audacity no less than if there had been a war. They were met near Bononia by Caesar with many soldiers: he was exceedingly well prepared to defend himself against them, if they should offer any violence. Yet at this time he found no need of arms to oppose them. They really hated one another bitterly, but because they had just about equal forces and desired one another's assistance to take vengeance first on the rest of their enemies, they entered upon a simulated agreement. [55] They came together to confer, not alone but bringing an equal number of soldiers, on a little island in the river that flows past Bononia, with the understanding that no one else should be present on either side. First they withdrew to a distance from the various followers and searched one another carefully to make sure that no one had a dagger hidden under his arm. Then they considered at leisure different points and in general made a solemn compact for securing sovereignty and overthrowing enemies. But to prevent its appearing that they were headed straight toward an oligarchy and so envy and opposition arise on the part of the people at large, the three were to be chosen in common as a kind of commissioners and correctors for the administration and settlement of affairs. This office was not to be perpetual, but for five years, under the general proviso that they should manage all questions, whether they made any communication about them to the people and the senate or not, and give the offices and other honors to whomsoever they pleased. The private arrangement, however, in order that they should not be thought to be appropriating the entire sovereignty, was that both Libyas, Sardinia, and Sicily should be given to Caesar, all of Spain and Gallia Narbonensis to Lepidus, and the rest of Gaul south and north of the Alps to Antony to rule. The former was called Gallia Togata, as I have said, because it seemed to be more peaceful than the other divisions, and because the dwellers there already employed Roman citizen-garb: the other was termed Gallia Comata because the Gauls there mostly let their hair grow long, and were in this way distinguished from the others. [56] So they made these allotments, for the purpose of securing the strongest provinces themselves and giving others the impression that they were not striving for the whole. A further agreement was that they should cause assassinations of their enemies, that Lepidus after being appointed consul in Decimus's stead should keep guard over Rome and the remainder of Italy, and that the others should make an expedition against Brutus and Cassius. They also pledged themselves to this course by oath. After this, in order to let the soldiers hear and be witnesses of the terms they had made, they called them together and made known to them in advance all that it was proper and safe to tell them. Meanwhile the soldiers of Antony, of course at the latter's direction, committed to Caesar's charge the daughter of Fulvia (Antony's wife), whom she had by Clodius, — and this in spite of

Caesar's being already betrothed to another. He, however, did not refuse her; for he did not think this inter-marriage would hinder him at all in the designs which he had against Antony. Among other points for his reflection was his knowledge that his father Caesar had not failed to carry out all of his plans against Pompey, in spite of the relationship between the two.

BOOK 47

The following is contained in the Forty-seventh of Dio's Rome:

How Caesar, Antony, and Lepidus came to Rome and instituted a reign of slaughter (chapters 1-19).

About Brutus and Cassius and what they did before the battle of Philippi (chapters 20-36).

How Brutus and Cassius were defeated by Caesar and perished (chapters 37-49).

Duration of time, the remainder of the consulship of Gaius Vibius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius, together with one additional year, in which there were the following magistrates here enumerated:

M. Aemilius M.F. Lepidus cos. (II), L. Munatius L.F. Plancus. (B.C. 42 = a. u. 712.)

BOOK 47, BOISSEVAIN.

[B.C. 43 (*a. u.* 711)]

[1] After forming these compacts and taking mutual oaths they hastened to Rome under the assumption that they were all going to rule on equal terms, but each one had the intention of getting the entire power himself. Yet they had learned in advance very clearly before this, but most plainly at this time, what would be the future. In the case of Lepidus a serpent coiled about a centurion's sword and a wolf that entered his camp and his tent while he was eating dinner and knocked down the table indicated at once power and disappointment as a result of power: in that of Antony milk flowing about the ramparts and a kind of chant echoing about at night signified gladness of heart and destruction succeeding it. These portents befell them before they entered Italy. In Caesar's case at the very time after the covenant had been made an eagle settled upon his tent and killed two crows that attacked it and tried to pluck out its feathers, — a sign which granted him victory over his two rivals.

[2] So they came to Rome, first Caesar, then the others, each one separately, with all their soldiers, and immediately through the tribunes enacted such laws as pleased them. The orders they gave and force that they used thus acquired the name of law and furthermore brought them supplications; for they required to be besought earnestly when they were to pass any measures. Consequently sacrifices were voted for them as if for good fortune and the people changed their attire as if they had secured prosperity, although they were considerably terrified by the transactions and still more by omens. For the standards of the army guarding the city were covered with spiders, and weapons were seen reaching up from earth to heaven while a great din resounded from them, and in the shrines of Aesculapius bees gathered in numbers on the roof and crowds of vultures settled on the temple of the Genius Populi and on that of Concord. [3] And while these conditions still remained practically unchanged, those murders by proscription which Sulla had once caused were put into effect and the whole city was filled with corpses. Many were killed in their houses, many in the streets, and scattered about in the fora and near the temples: the heads of such were once more attached to the rostra and their trunks flung out to be devoured by the dogs and birds or cast into the river. Everything that had been done before in the days of Sulla found a counterpart at this time, except that only two white tablets were posted, one for the senators and one for the rest. The reason for this I have not been able to learn from any one else nor to find out myself. The cause which one might have imagined, that fewer were put to death, is least of all true: for many more names were listed, because there were more leaders concerned. In this respect, then, the case differed from the murders that had earlier taken place: but that the names of those prominent were not posted with the rabble, but separately, appeared very nonsensical to the men who

were to be murdered in the same way. Besides this no few other very unpleasant conditions fell to their lot, although the former régime, one would have said, had left nothing to be surpassed. ^[4] But in Sulla's time those guilty of such murderous measures had some excuse in their very hardihood: they were trying the method for the first time, and not with set intentions; hence in most cases they behaved less maliciously, since they were acting not according to definite plans but as chance dictated. And the victims, succumbing to sudden and unheard of catastrophes, found some alleviation in the unexpectedness of their experience. At this time, on the other hand, they were executing in person or beholding or at least understanding thoroughly by fresh descriptions merely deeds that had been dared before; in the intervals, expecting a recurrence of similar acts, some were inventing various new methods to employ, and others were becoming afflicted by new fears that they too should suffer. The perpetrators resorted to most unusual devices in their emulation of the outrages of yore and their consequent eagerness to add, through the resources of art, novel features to their attempts. The others reflected on all that they might suffer and hence even before their bodies were harmed their spirits were thoroughly on the rack, as if they were already undergoing the trial. ^[5] Another reason for their faring worse on this occasion than before was that previously only Sulla's own enemies and the foes of the leaders associated with him were destroyed: among his friends and the people in general no one perished at his bidding; so that except the very wealthy, — and these can never be at peace with the stronger element at such a time, — the remainder took courage. In this second series of assassinations, however, not only the men's enemies or the rich were being killed, but also their best friends and quite without looking for it. On the whole it may be said that almost nobody had incurred the enmity of those men from any private cause that should account for his being slain by them. Politics and compromises regarding posts of authority had created both their friendships and their violent hatreds. All those that had aided or assisted one of the group in any way the others held in the light of an enemy. So it came about that the same persons had become friends to some one of them, and enemies to the entire body, so that while each was privately quelling his antagonists, they destroyed the dearest friends of all in general. In the course of their joint negotiations they made a kind of account of who was on their side and who was opposed, and no one was allowed to take vengeance on one of his own enemies who was a friend of another without giving up some friend in his turn: and because of their anger over what was past and their suspicion of the future they cared nothing about the preservation of an associate in comparison with vengeance on an adversary, and so gave them up without much protest. ^[6] Thus they offered one another staunch friends for bitter enemies and implacable foes for close comrades; and sometimes they exchanged even numbers, at others several for one or fewer for more, altogether carrying on the transactions as if at a market, and overbidding one another as at an auction room. If some one

was found just equivalent to another and the two were ranked alike, the exchange was a simple one; but all whose value was raised by some excellence or esteem or relationship could be despatched only in return for several. As there had been civil wars, lasting a long time and embracing many events, not a few men during the turmoil had come into collision with their nearest relatives. Indeed, Lucius Caesar, Antony's uncle, had become his enemy, and Lepidus's brother, Lucius Paulus, hostile to him. The lives of these were saved, but many of the rest were slaughtered even in the houses of their very friends and relatives, from whom they especially expected protection and honor. And in order that no person should feel less inclined to kill any one out of fear of being deprived of the rewards (remembering that in the time of Sulla Marcus Cato, who was quaestor, had demanded of some of the murderers all they had received for their work), they proclaimed that the name of no proscribed person should be registered in the public records. On this account they slew ordinary citizens more readily and made away with the prosperous, even though they had no dislike for a single one of them. For since they stood in need of vast sums of money and had no other source from which to satisfy the desire of their soldiers, they affected a kind of common enmity against the rich. Among the other transgressions they committed in the line of this policy was to declare a mere child of age, so that they might kill him as already exercising the privileges of a man.

[7] Most of this was done by Lepidus and Antony. They had been honored by the former Caesar for a very long time and as they had been in office and holding governorships most of the period they had many enemies. It appeared as if Caesar had a part in the business merely because of his sharing the authority, for he himself was not at all anxious to kill any large number. He was not naturally cruel and had been brought up in his father's ways. Moreover, as he was young and had just entered the political arena, there was no inevitable necessity for his bitterly hating many persons, and he wished to have people's affection. This is indicated by the fact that from the time he broke off his joint rulership with his colleagues and held the power alone he did nothing of the sort. And at this time he not only refrained from destroying many but preserved a large number. Those also who betrayed their masters or friends he treated most harshly and those who helped anybody most leniently. An instance of it occurs in the case of Tanusia, a woman of note. She concealed her husband Titus Vinius, who was proscribed, at first in a chest at the house of a freedman named Philopoemen and so made it appear that he had been killed. Later she waited for a national festival, which a relative of hers was to direct, and through the influence of his sister Octavia brought it about that Caesar alone of the three entered the theatre. Then she sprang up and informed him of the deception, of which he was still ignorant, brought in the very chest and led from it her husband. Caesar, astonished, released all of them (death being the penalty also for such as concealed any one) and enrolled Philopoemen among the knights.

[8] He, then, saved the lives of as many as he could. Lepidus allowed his brother Paulus to escape to Miletus and toward others was not inexorable. But Antony killed savagely and relentlessly not only those whose names had been posted, but likewise those who had attempted to assist any of them. He had their heads in view when he happened to be eating and sated himself to the fullest extent on this most unholy and pitiable sight. Fulvia also put to death many herself both by reason of enmity and on account of their money, and some with whom her husband was not acquainted. When he saw the head of one man, he exclaimed: "I didn't know about him!" Cicero's head also being brought to them (he had been overtaken and slain while trying to flee), Antony uttered many bitter reproaches against him and then ordered it to be exposed on the rostra more prominently than the rest, in order that he might be seen in the place from which he used to be heard inveighing against him, — together with his right hand, just as it had been cut off. Before it was taken away Fulvia took it in her hands and after abusing it spitefully and spitting upon it, set it on her knees, opened the mouth, and pulled out the tongue, which she pierced with the brooches that she used for her hair, at the same time uttering many brutal jests. Yet even this pair saved some persons from whom they got more money than they could expect to obtain by their death. But in order that the places for their names on the tablets might not be empty, they inscribed others in their stead. Except that Antony did release his uncle at the earnest entreaty of his mother Julia he performed no other praiseworthy act.

[9] For these causes the murders had great variety of detail, and the rescues that fell to the lot of some were of many kinds. Numbers were ruined by their most intimate friends, and numbers were saved by their most inveterate foes. Some slew themselves and others were given freedom by the very pursuers, who approached as if to murder them. Some who betrayed masters or friends were punished and others were honored for this very reason: of those who helped others to survive some paid the penalty and others received rewards. Since there was not one man but three, who were acting in all cases each according to his own desire and for his private advantage, and since the same persons were not enemies or friends of the whole group, since, also, two of them might be anxious for some one to be saved whom the third wished to destroy, or for some one to perish whom the third wished to survive, many complicated situations resulted, according as they felt good-will or hatred toward any one. [10] I, accordingly, shall omit an accurate and detailed description of all the events, — it would be a vast undertaking and would not add much to the history, — but shall relate what I deem to be most worthy of remembrance. Here is one.

A slave had hidden his master in a cave, and then, when even so through another's information he was likely to perish, this slave changed clothes with him and wearing his master's apparel confronted the pursuers as the man himself and was slain. So they were turned aside, thinking they had despatched the desired man, but he when they had departed made his escape

to some other place.

Or a second. Another slave had likewise changed his entire accoutrement with his master, and entered a covered litter which he made the other help to carry. When they were overtaken the one in the litter was killed without being even looked at, and the master, as a baggage-carrier, was saved. Those services were rendered by those servants to their benefactors in return for some kindness previously received.

There was also a branded runaway who so far from betraying the man who had branded him very willingly preserved him. He was detected in carrying him away and was being pursued, when he killed somebody who met him by chance and gave the latter's clothes to his master. Having then placed him upon a pyre he himself took his master's clothing and ring and going to meet the pursuers pretended that he had killed the man while fleeing. Because of his spoils and the marks of the branding he was believed and both saved the person in question and was himself honored.

The names connected with the above anecdotes have not been preserved. But in the case of Hosidius Greta his son arranged a funeral for him as though already dead and preserved him in that way. Quintus Cicero, the brother of Marcus, was secretly led away by his child and saved, so far as his rescuer's responsibility went. The boy concealed his father so well that he could not be discovered and when tormented for it by all kinds of torture did not utter a syllable. His father, learning what was being done, was filled at once with admiration and pity for the boy, and therefore came voluntarily to view and surrendered himself to the slayers.

[11] This gives an idea of the greatness of the manifest achievements of virtue and piety at the time. It was Popillius Laenas who killed Marcus Cicero, in spite of the latter's having done him favors as his advocate; and in order that he might depend not wholly on hearsay but also on the sense of sight to establish himself as the murderer of the orator, he set up an image of himself wearing a crown beside his victim's head, with an inscription that gave his name and the service rendered. By this act he pleased Antony so much that he secured more than the price offered. Marcus Terentius Varro was a man who had given no offence, but as his appellation was identical with that of one of the proscribed, except for one name, he was afraid that, this might lead him to suffer such a fate as did Cinna. Therefore he issued a statement making known this fact; he was tribune at the time. For this he became the subject of much idle amusement and laughter. The uncertainty of life, however, was evidenced by the very fact that Lucius Philuscius, who had previously been proscribed by Sulla and had escaped, had his name now inscribed again on the tablet and perished, whereas Marcus Valerius Messala, condemned to death by Antony, not only continued to live in safety but was later appointed consul in place of Antony himself. Thus many survive from inextricable difficulties and no fewer are ruined through a spirit of confidence. Hence a man ought not to be alarmed to the point of hopelessness by the

calamities of the moment, nor to be elated to heedlessness by temporary exultation, but by placing his hope of the future half-way between both to make reliable calculations for either event. [12] This is the way it befell at that time: very many of those not proscribed were involved in the downfall of others on account of spite or money, and very many whose names were proclaimed not only survived but returned to their homes again, and some of them even held offices. They had a refuge, of course, with Brutus and Cassius and Sextus, and the majority directed their flight toward the last mentioned. He had been chosen formerly to command the fleet and had held sway for some time on the sea, so that he had surrounded himself with a force of his own, though he was afterward deprived of his office by Caesar. He had occupied Sicily, and then, when the order of proscription was passed against him, too, a host of assassinations took place, he aided greatly those who were in like condition. Anchoring near the coast of Italy he sent word to Rome and to the other cities offering among other things to those who saved anybody double the reward advertised for murdering the same and promising to the men themselves a reception and assistance and money and honors. [13] Therefore great numbers came to him. I have not even now recorded the precise total of those who were proscribed or slaughtered or who escaped, because many names originally inscribed on the tablets were erased and many were later inscribed in their place, and of these not a few were saved while many outside of these succumbed. It was not even allowed anybody to mourn for the victims, but several perished from this cause also. And finally, when the calamities broke through all the pretence they could assume and no one even of the most stout-hearted could any longer wear an air of indifference to them, but in all their work and conversation their countenances were overcast and they were not intending to celebrate the usual festival at the beginning of the year, they were ordered by a public notice to appear in good spirits, on pain of death if they should refuse to obey. So they were forced to rejoice over the common evils as over blessings. Yet why need I have mentioned it, when they voted to those men (the triumvirs, I mean) civic crowns and other distinctions as to benefactors and saviors of the State? They did not think of being held to blame because they were killing a few, but wished to receive additional praise for not putting more out of the way. And to the populace they once openly stated that they had emulated neither the cruelty of Marius and Sulla so as to incur hatred, nor the mildness of Caesar so as to be despised and as a result become objects of a conspiracy.

[14] Such were the conditions of the murders; but many other unusual proceedings took place in regard to the property of persons left alive. They actually announced, as if they were just and humane rulers, that they would give to the widows of the slain their dowries, to the male children a tenth, and to the female children a twentieth of the property of each one's father. This was not, however, granted save in a few cases: of the rest all the possessions without exception were ruthlessly plundered. In the first place they levied

upon all the houses in the City and those in the rest of Italy a yearly rent, which was the entire amount from dwellings which people had let, and half from such as they occupied themselves, with reference to the value of the domicile. Again, from those who had lands they took away half of the proceeds. Besides, they had the soldiers get their support free from the cities in which they were wintering, and distributed them to various rural districts, pretending that they were sent to take charge of confiscated territory or that of persons who still opposed them. For this last class they had termed likewise enemies because they had not changed their attitude before the appointed day. So that the whole country outside the towns was also pillaged. The autocrats allowed the soldiers to do this to the end that, having their pay before the work, they might devote all their energy to their commanders' interests, and promised to give them cities and lands: And with this in view they further assigned to them persons to divide the land and settle them. The mass of the soldiers was made loyal by this course: of the more prominent they tempted some with the goods of those that had been despatched by lowering the price on certain articles and granting others to them free, and others they honored with the offices and priesthoods of the victims. The commanders, to make sure that they themselves should get the finest both of lands and buildings and give their followers what they pleased, gave notice that no one else should frequent the auction room unless he wanted to buy something: whoever did so should die. And they handled bona fide purchasers in such a way that the latter discovered nothing and paid the very highest price for what they wanted, and consequently had no desire to buy again.

[15] This was the course followed in regard to possessions. As to the offices and priesthoods of such as had been put to death they distributed them not in the fashion prescribed by law but however it suited them. Caesar resigned the office of consul, giving up willingly that which he had so desired as to make war for it, and his colleague gave up his place, whereupon they appointed Publius Ventidius, though praetor, and one other; and to the former's praetorship they promoted one of the aediles. Afterward they removed all the praetors (who held office five days longer than Ventidius) and sent them to be governors of the provinces, while they installed others in their places. Some laws were abolished and others introduced instead.

And, in brief, they ordered everything else just as seemed good to them. They did not, to be sure, lay claim to titles which were offensive and had been therefore done away with, but they managed matters according to their own wish and desire, so that Caesar's sovereignty by comparison appeared all gold.

[B.C. 42 (*a. u.* 712)]

In addition to transacting that year the business mentioned, they voted a temple to Serapis and Isis. [16] When Marcus Lepidus and Lucius Plancus became consuls tablets were again exposed, not bringing death to any one any longer, but defrauding the living of their property. They were collecting funds

because they were in need of more money, due to the fact that they owed large sums to large numbers of soldiers, were expending considerable on works undertaken by the latter, and thought they should lay out far more still on wars in prospect. The fact that those taxes which had been formerly abrogated were now again put in force or established on a new basis, and the institution of joint contributions, many of which kept being levied on the land and on the servants, displeased people moderately, it can not be denied. But to have those who were in the slightest degree still prosperous, not only of the senators or knights but even among the freedmen, and men and women alike, bulletined on the tablets and another tenth of their wealth confiscated disturbed all beyond measure. For it was only nominally that a tenth of his property was exacted from each one: in reality not so much as a tenth was left. They were not ordered to contribute a stated amount according to the value of their possessions, but they had the duty of estimating their own goods and then, being accused of not having made a fair estimate, they lost the rest besides.

[17] If any still escaped this somehow, yet they were brought into straits by the assessments, and as they were terribly destitute of money they too were in a way deprived of everything. Moreover, the following device, distressing to hear but most distressing in practice, was put into operation. Whoever of them wished was allowed by abandoning his property afterward to make a requisition for one-third of it, which meant getting nothing and also having trouble. For when they were being openly and violently despoiled of two-thirds, how should they get back one-third, especially since goods were being sold for an infinitesimal price? In the first place, since many wares were being advertised for sale at once and the majority of men were without gold or silver, and the rest did not dare to buy because it would look as if they had something and they would place in jeopardy the remnant of their wealth, the prices were relaxed: in the second place, everything was sold to the soldiers far below its value. Hence no one of the private citizens saved anything worth mentioning. In addition to other drains they surrendered servants for the fleet, buying them if they had none, and the senators repaired the roads at their individual expense. Only those who wielded arms enjoyed superlative wealth. *They*, to be sure, were not satisfied with their pay, though it was in full, nor with their outside perquisites, though of vast extent, nor with the very large prizes bestowed for the murders, nor with the acquisition of lands, which was made almost without cost to them. But in addition some would ask for and receive all the property of the dying, and others still forced their way into the families of such as were old and childless. To such an extent were they filled with greed and shamelessness that one man asked from Caesar himself the property of Attia, Caesar's mother, who had died at the time and had been honored by a public burial.

[18] While these three men were behaving in this wise, they were also magnifying the former Caesar to the greatest degree. As they were all aiming at sole supremacy and were all striving for it, they vindictively pursued the

remainder of the assassins, apparently in the idea that they were preparing from afar immunity for themselves in what they were doing, and safety; and everything which tended to his honor they readily took up, in expectation of some day being themselves deemed worthy of similar distinctions: for this reason they glorified him by the decrees which had been passed, and by others which they now added to them. On the first day of the year they themselves took an oath and made others swear that they would consider binding all his acts; this action is still taken in the case of all officials who successively hold power, or again of those who lived in his era, and have not been dishonored. They also laid the foundation of a hero-shrine in the Forum, on the spot where he had been burned, and escorted a kind of image of him at the horse-races together with a second statue of Venus. In case news of a victory came from anywhere they assigned the honor of a thanksgiving to the victor by himself and to Caesar, though dead, by himself. They compelled everybody to celebrate his birthday wearing laurel and in good spirits, passing a law that all others, neglected it, were accursed before Jupiter and before him while any senators or their sons should forfeit twenty-five myriads of denarii. Now it happened that the Ludi Apollinares fell on the same day, and they therefore voted that his natal feast should be held on the previous day, because (they said) there was an oracle of the Sibyl forbidding a festival to be celebrated during that twenty-four hours to any god except Apollo. [19] Besides granting him these privileges they regarded the day on which he had been murdered (on which there was always a regular meeting of the senate) as a dies nefas. The room in which he had been murdered they closed immediately and later transformed it into a privy. They also built the Curia Julia, called after him, next to the so-named Comitium, as had been voted. Besides, they forbade any likeness of him, because he was in very truth a god, to be carried at the funerals of his relatives, which ancient custom was still being observed. And they enacted that no one who took refuge in his shrine to secure immunity should be banished or stripped of his goods, — a right given to no one of the gods even, save to such as had a place in the days of Romulus. Yet after men began to gather there the place had inviolability in name without its effects; for it was so fenced about that no one at all could any longer enter it.

In addition to those gifts to Caesar they allowed the vestal virgins to employ one lictor each, because one of them had been insulted, owing to not being recognized, while returning home from dinner toward evening. The offices in the City they assigned for a greater number of years in advance, thus at the same time giving honor through the expected offices to those fitted for them and retaining a grasp on affairs for a longer time by means of those who were to hold sway.

[20] When this had been accomplished, Lepidus remained there, as I have said, to take up the administration of the City and of the rest of Italy, and Caesar and Antony started on their campaign. Brutus and Cassius had at first, after the compact made by them with Antony and the rest, gone into the

Forum and discharged the activities of praetorship with the same diligence as before.

[B.C. 44 (*a. u.* 710)]

But when some began to be displeased at the killing of Caesar, they withdrew, pretending to be in haste to reach the governorships abroad to which they had been appointed. Cassius, who was praetor urbanus, had not yet finished his duties in connection with the Ludi Apollinares. However, though absent he accomplished that task most brilliantly through the medium of his fellow-praetor Antony, and did not himself sail away from Italy at once, but lingered with Brutus in Campania, to watch the course of events. And in their capacity as praetors they sent a certain number of letters to Rome to the people, until such time as Caesar Octavianus began to aspire to public position and to win the affections of the populace. Then, in despair of the republic and fear of him, they set sail. The Athenians gave them a splendid reception; for though they were indeed honored by nearly everybody else for what they had done, the inhabitants of this city voted them bronze images beside that of Harmodius and that of Aristogeiton, as having emulated them.

[21] Meanwhile, learning that Caesar was making progress they neglected the Cretans and Bithynians, to whom they were directing their course, for among them they saw no aid forthcoming worthy the name: but they turned to Syria and to Macedonia, which did not, to be sure, appertain to them in the least, because they were teeming with money and troops for the occasion. Cassius proceeded to the Syrian country, because its inhabitants were acquainted with him and friendly as a result of his campaign with Crassus, while Brutus united Greece and Macedonia. The inhabitants would have followed him anywhere because of the glory of his deeds and in the hope of similar achievements, and they were further influenced by the fact that he had acquired numerous soldiers, some survivors of the battle of Pharsalus, who were still at this time wandering about in that region, and others who either by reason of disease or because of want of discipline had been left behind from the contingent that took the field with Dolabella. Money came to him, too, from Trebonius in Asia. So without the least effort, perhaps because it contained no force worth mentioning, he by this means gained the country of Greece. He reached Macedonia at the time that Gaius Antonius had just arrived and Quintus Hortensius, who had governed it previously, was about to lay down his office. However, he experienced no trouble. The departing official embraced his cause at once, and Antonius was weak, being hindered by Caesar's supremacy in Rome from performing any of the duties belonging to his office. The neighboring territory of Illyricum was governed by Vatinius, who came thence to Dyrrachium and occupied it in advance. He was a political adversary of Brutus, but could not injure him at all, for his soldiers, who disliked him and furthermore despised him by reason of a disease, went over to the other side.

[B.C. 43 (*a. u.* 711)]

Brutus, taking charge of these, led an expedition against Antonius, who was in Apollonia: the latter came out to meet him, whereupon Brutus won over his soldiers and confined him within the walls, whither he fled before him. After this Antonius was by betrayal taken alive, but no harm was done to him. [22] Close upon this success the victor acquired all of Macedonia and Epirus, and then despatched a letter to the senate, stating what had been accomplished, and placing himself, the provinces, and the soldiers at its disposal. The senators, who by chance already felt suspicious of Caesar, praised him strongly and bade him govern all that region. When, then, he had confirmed his leadership by the decree, he himself felt more encouraged and he found his subjects ready to support him unreservedly. For a time he communicated with Caesar, when the latter appeared to be hostile to Antony, urging him to resist his enemy and be reconciled with him (Brutus), and he was making preparations to sail to Italy because the senate summoned him. After Caesar, however, had matters thoroughly in hand in Rome, and proceeded openly to take vengeance on his father's slayers, Brutus remained where he was, deliberating how he should successfully ward off the other's attack when it occurred: and besides managing admirably the other districts as well as Macedonia, he calmed the minds of his legions when they had been thrown into a state of discontent by Antonius. [23] For the latter, although his conqueror had not even deprived him of a praetor's perquisites, did not enjoy keeping quiet in safety and honor, but connived at a revolt among the soldiers of Brutus. Being discovered at this work before he had done any great harm, he was stripped of his praetor's insignia, and delivered to be guarded without confinement that he might not cause an uprising. Yet not even then did he remain quiet, but concocted more schemes of rebellion than ever, so that some of the soldiers came to blows with one another and others started for Apollonia after Antonius himself, in the intention of rescuing him. This, however, they were unable to do: Brutus had learned in advance from some intercepted letters what was to be done and by putting him into an enclosed chair got him out of the way on the pretence that he was moving a sick man. The soldiers, not being able to find the object of their search, in fear of Brutus seized a point of high ground commanding the city. Brutus induced them to come to an understanding, and by executing a few of the most audacious and dismissing others from his service he set matters in such a light that the men arrested and killed those sent away, on the ground that they were most responsible for the sedition, and asked for the surrender of the quaestor and the lieutenants of Antonius. [24] Brutus did not give up any of the latter, but put them aboard boats with the avowed intention of drowning them, and so conveyed them to safety. Fearing, however, that when they should hear the next news of more terrifying transactions in Rome they might change their attitude, he delivered Antonius to a certain Gaius Clodius to guard, and left him at Apollonia. Meanwhile Brutus himself took the largest and strongest part of the army and retired into upper Macedonia, whence he later sailed to

Asia, to the end that he might remove his men as far as possible from Italy and support them on the subject territory there. Among other allies whom he won over at this time was Deiotarus, although he was of a great age and had refused assistance to Cassius. While he was delaying here a plot was formed against him by Gellius Poplicola, and Mark Antony sent some men to attempt to rescue his brother. Clodius, accordingly, as he could not guard his prisoner safely, killed him, either on his own responsibility, or according to instructions from Brutus. For the story is that at first the latter made his safety of supreme importance, but later, learning that Decimus had perished, cared nothing more about it. Gellius was detected, but suffered no punishment. Brutus released him because he had always held him to be among his best friends and knew that his brother, Marcus Messala, was on very close terms with Cassius. The man had also attacked Cassius, but had suffered no evil in that case, either. The reason was that his mother Polla learned of the plot in advance, and being very fearful lest Cassius should be overtaken by his fate (for she was very fond of him) and lest her son should be detected, voluntarily informed Cassius of the plot herself beforehand, and received the preservation of her son as a reward. His easy escapes, however, did not improve him at all, and he deserted his benefactors to join Caesar and Antony. [25] As soon as Brutus learned of the attempt of Mark Antony and of the killing of his brother, he feared that some other insurrection might take place in Macedonia during his absence, and immediately hastened to Europe. On the way he took charge of the territory which had belonged to Sadalus (who died childless and left it to the Romans), and invaded the country of the Bessi, to see if he could at the same time recompense them for the trouble they were causing and surround himself with the name and reputation of imperator, which would enable him to fight more easily against Caesar and Antony. Both projects he accomplished, being chiefly aided by Rhascuporis, a certain prince. After going thence into Macedonia and making himself master of everything there, he withdrew again into Asia.

[B.C. 44 (*a. u.* 710)]

[26] Brutus besides doing this had stamped upon the coins which were being minted his own likeness and a helmet and two daggers, indicating by this and by the inscription that in company with Cassius he had liberated his country. At that same period Cassius had crossed over to Trebonius in Asia ahead of Dolabella, and after securing money from him and a number of the cavalry whom Dolabella had sent before him into Syria attached to his cause many others of the Asiatics and Cilicians. As a result he brought Tarcondimotus and the people of Tarsus into the alliance, though they were reluctant. For the Tarsians were so devoted to the former Caesar (and out of regard for him to the second also) that they had changed the name of their city to Juliopolis after him. This done, Cassius went to Syria, and without striking a blow assumed entire direction of the nations and the legions.

[B.C. 43 (*a. u.* 710)]

The situation in Syria at that time was this. Caecilius Bassus, a knight, who had made the campaign with Pompey and in the retreat had arrived at Tyre, continued to spend his time there, incognito. On 'Change. Now Sextus was governing the Syrians, for Caesar, since he was quaestor and also a relative of his, had entrusted to his care all Roman interests in that quarter on the occasion of his own march from Egypt against Pharnaces. So Bassus at first remained quiet, satisfied to be allowed to live: when, however, some similar persons had associated themselves with him and he had attracted to his enterprise various soldiers of Sextus who at various times came there to garrison the city, and likewise many alarming reports kept coming in from Africa about Caesar, he was no longer pleased with existing circumstances but raised a rebellion, his aim being either to help the followers of Scipio and Cato and the Pompeians or to clothe himself in some authority. Sextus discovered him before he had finished his preparations, but he explained that he was collecting this body as an auxiliary force for Mithridates of Pergamum against Bosporus; his story was believed, and he was released. So after this he forged an epistle, which he pretended had been sent to him by Scipio, in which he announced that Caesar had been defeated and had perished in Africa and stated that the governorship of Syria had been assigned to him. His next step was to use the forces he had in readiness for occupying Tyre and from there he approached the camp of Sextus. In the attack on the latter which followed Bassus was defeated and wounded. Consequently, after this experience, he no longer employed violent tactics, but sent messages to his opponent's soldiers, and in some way or other so prevailed over some of them that they took upon themselves the murder of Sextus.

[27] The latter out of the way the usurper gained possession of all his army except some few. The soldiers wintering in Apamea withdrew before he reached them toward Cilicia, and were pursued but were not won over. Bassus returned to Syria, where he was named commander, and he conquered Apamea so as to have it as a base for warfare. He enlisted not only the free but the slave fighting population, gathered money, and accumulated arms. While he was thus engaged one Gaius Antistius invested the position he was holding, and the two had a nearly even struggle in which neither party succeeded in gaining any great advantage. Thereupon they parted, without any definite truce, to await the bringing up of allies. The troops of Antistius were increased by such persons in the vicinity as favored Caesar and soldiers that had been sent by him from Rome, those of Bassus by Alchaudonius the Arabian. The latter was the leader who had formerly made an arrangement with Lucullus, as I mentioned, and later joined with the Parthian against Crassus. On this occasion he was summoned by both sides, but entered the space between the city and the camps and before making any answer auctioned off his services; and as Bassus offered more money he assisted him, and in the battle wrought great havoc with his arrows. The Parthians themselves, too, came at the invitation of Bassus, but on account of the winter

failed to remain with him for any considerable time, and hence did not accomplish anything of importance. This commander, then, had his own way for a time, but was later again held in check by Marcius Crispus and Lucius Staius Murcus.

[28] Things were in this condition among them when Cassius came on the scene and at once conciliated all the cities through the reputation of what he had done in his quaestorship and his other fame, and attached the legions of Bassus and of the rest without additional labor. While he was encamped in one spot with all of them a great downpour from the sky suddenly occurred, during which wild swine rushed into the camp through all the gates at once, overturning and mixing up everything there. Some, accordingly, inferred from this that his power was only temporary and that disaster was subsequently coming. Having secured possession of Syria he set out into Judea on learning that the followers of Caesar left behind in Egypt were approaching. Without effort he enlisted both them and the Jews in his undertaking. Next he sent away without harming in the least Bassus and Crispus and such others as did not care to share the campaign with him; for Staius he preserved the rank with which he had come there and besides entrusted to him the fleet.

Thus did Cassius in brief time become strong: and he sent a despatch to Caesar about reconciliation and to the senate about the situation, couched in similar language to that of Brutus. Therefore the senate confirmed his governorship of Syria and voted for the war with Dolabella. [29] The latter had been appointed to govern Syria and had started out while consul, but he proceeded only slowly through Macedonia and Thrace into the province of Asia and delayed there also. While he was still there he received news of the decree, and did not go forward into Syria but remained where he was, treating Trebonius in such a way as to make him believe most strongly that Dolabella was his friend. Trebonius had his free permission to take food for his soldiers and to live on intimate terms with him. When his dupe became in this way imbued with confidence and ceased to be on his guard, Dolabella by night suddenly seized Smyrna, where the other was, slew him, and hurled his head at Caesar's image, and thereafter occupied all of Asia. When the Romans at home heard of this they declared war against him; for as yet Caesar had neither conquered Antony nor obtained a hold upon affairs in the City. The citizens also gave notice to Dolabella's followers of a definite day before which they must leave off friendship with him, in order to avoid being regarded also in the light of enemies. And they instructed the consuls to carry on opposition to him and the entire war as soon as they should have brought their temporary business to a successful conclusion (not knowing yet that Cassius held Syria). But in order that he should not gain still greater power in the interval they gave the governors of the neighboring provinces charge of the matter. Later they learned the news about Cassius, and before anything whatever had been done by his opponents at home they passed the vote that I cited. [30] Dolabella, accordingly, after becoming in this way master of Asia

came into Cilicia while Cassius was in Palestine, took over the people of Tarsus with their consent, conquered a few of Cassius's guards who were at Aegeae, and invaded Syria.

From Antioch he was repulsed by the contingent guarding the place, but gained Laodicea without a struggle on account of the friendship which its inhabitants felt for the former Caesar. Upon this he spent some days in acquiring new strength, — the fleet among other reinforcements came to him speedily from Asia, — and crossed over into Aradus with the object of getting both money and ships from the people also. There he was intercepted with but few followers and ran into danger. He had escaped from this when he encountered Cassius marching toward him, and gave battle, which resulted in his own defeat. He was then shut up and besieged in Laodicea, where he was entirely cut off from the land, to be sure (Cassius being assisted by some Parthians among others), but retained some power through the Asiatic ships and the Egyptian ones which Cleopatra had sent him, and furthermore by means of the money which came to him from her. So he carried on marauding expeditions until Staius got together a fleet, and sailing into the harbor of Laodicea vanquished the ships that moved out to meet him, and barred Dolabella from the sea also. Then, prevented on both sides from bringing up supplies, he was led by lack of necessities to make a sortie. However, he was quickly hurled back within the fortress, and seeing that it was being betrayed he feared that he might be taken alive, and so despatched himself. His example was followed by Marcus Octavius, his lieutenant. These were deemed worthy of burial by Cassius, although they had cast out Trebonius unburied. The men who had participated in the campaign with them and survived obtained both safety and amnesty, in spite of having been regarded as enemies by the Romans at home. Nor yet did the Laodiceans suffer any harm beyond being obliged to contribute money. But for that matter no one else, though many subsequently plotted against Cassius, was chastised.

[B.C. 42 (*a. u.* 712)]

[31] While this was going on the people of Tarsus had attempted to keep from the passage through the Taurus Tillius Cimber, an assassin of Caesar who was then governing Bithynia and was hurrying forward to help Cassius. Out of fear, however, they abandoned the spot and at the time made a truce with him, because they thought him strong, but afterward they perceived the small number of his soldiers and neither took him into their city nor furnished him provisions. He constructed a kind of fort over against them and set out for Syria, believing it to be of more importance to aid Cassius than himself to destroy their city. They then made an attack upon this and got possession of it, after which they started for Adana, a place on their borders always at variance with them, giving as an excuse that it was following the cause of Cassius. The latter, when he heard of it, first, while Dolabella was still alive sent Lucius Rufus against them, but later came himself, to find that they had already capitulated to Rufus without a struggle. Upon them he inflicted no severe

penalty save to take away all their money, private and public. As a result, the people of Tarsus received praise from the triumvirate, who now held sway in Rome, and were inspired with hope of obtaining some return for their losses. Cleopatra also, on account of the detachment she had sent to Dolabella, was granted the right to have her son called King of Egypt. This son, whom she named Ptolemy, she also pretended was sprung from Caesar, and she was therefore wont to address him as Caesarion.

[32] Cassius when he had settled matters in Syria and in Cilicia came to meet Brutus in Asia. For when they learned of the union of the triumvirs and what the latter were doing against them, they came together there and made common cause more than ever. As they had a like responsibility for the war and looked forward to a like danger and did not even now recede from their position regarding the freedom of the people, and as they were eager also to overthrow their opponents, three in number and the authors of such deeds, they could plan and accomplish everything in common with much greater zest. To be brief, they resolved to enter Macedonia and to hinder the others from crossing over there, or else to cross into Italy before the others started. Since the men were said to be still settling affairs in Rome and it was thought likely that they should have their hands full with Sextus, lying in wait near by, they did not carry out their plans immediately. Instead, they went about themselves and sent others in various directions, winning over such as were not yet in accord with them, and gathering money and soldiers. [33] In this way nearly all the rest, even those who had before paid no attention to them, at once made agreements with them; but Ariobarzanes, the Rhodians, and the Lycians, though they did not oppose them, were still unwilling to form an alliance with them. These were therefore suspected by Brutus and Cassius of favoring their antagonists, since they had been well treated by the former Caesar, and fear was entertained by the two leaders lest when they themselves departed this group should cause some turmoil and lead the rest to revolt. Hence they determined to turn first in the direction of these doubtful parties, hoping that since they were far stronger in point of weapons and were willing to bestow favors ungrudgingly they might soon either persuade or force them to join. The Rhodians, who had so great an opinion of their seamanship that they anticipated Cassius by sailing to the mainland and displayed to his army the fetters they were bringing with the idea that they were going to capture many alive, were yet conquered by him, first in a naval battle near Myndus and later close to Rhodes itself. The commanding officer was Staius, who overcame their skill by the number and size of his ships. Thereupon Cassius himself crossed over to their island, where he met with no resistance, possessing, as he did, their goodwill because of the stay he had made there in the interests of his education. And he did them no hurt except to appropriate their ships and money and holy and sacred vessels, — all save the chariot of the Sun. Afterward he arrested and killed Ariobarzanes.

[34] Brutus overcame in battle the public army of the Lycians which

confronted him near the borders, and entering the citadel at the same time as the fugitives captured it at a single stroke; the majority of the cities he brought to his side, but Xanthus he shut up in a state of siege. Suddenly the inhabitants made a sortie, and themselves rushed in with them, and once inside arrows and javelins at once rendered his position very dangerous. He would, indeed, have perished utterly, had not his soldiers pushed their way through the very fire and unexpectedly attacked the assailants, who were light-armed. These they hurled back within the walls and themselves rushed in with them, and once inside cast some of the fire on several houses, terrifying those who saw what was being done, and giving those at a distance the impression that they had simply captured everything. The result was that the natives of their own accord helped set fire to the rest, and most of them slew one another. Next Brutus came to Patara and invited the people to conclude friendship; but they would not obey, for the slaves and the poorer portion of the free population, who had received in advance for their services the former freedom, the latter remission of debts, prevented any compact being made. So at first he sent them the captive Xanthians, to whom many of them were related by marriage, in the hope that through these he might bring them to terms. When they yielded none the more, in spite of his giving to each man gratuitously his own kin, he erected a kind of salesroom in a safe spot under the very wall, where he led each one of the prominent men past and auctioned him off, to see if by this means at least he could gain the Patareans. They were as little inclined as ever to make concessions, whereupon he sold a few and let the rest go. When those within saw this, they no longer were stubborn, but forthwith attached themselves to his cause, regarding him as an upright man; and they were punished only in a pecuniary way. The people of Myra took the same action when after capturing their general at the harbor he then released him. Similarly in a short time he secured control of the rest.

[35] When both had effected this they came again into Asia; and all the suspicious facts they had heard from slanderous talk which will arise under such conditions they brought up in common, one case at a time, and, after they were settled, hastened into Macedonia. They had been anticipated by Gaius Norbanus and Decidius Saxa, who had crossed over into Ionium before Staius reached there, had occupied the whole country as far as Pangaeum, and had encamped near Philippi. This city is located close beside Mount Pangaeum and close beside Symbolon. Symbolon is a name they give the place for the reason that the mountain mentioned corresponds (*symballei*) to another that rises in the interior; and it is between Neapolis and Philippi. The former was near the sea, across from Thasos, while the latter has been built within the mountains on the plain. Saxa and Norbanus happened to have occupied the shortest path across, therefore Brutus and Cassius did not even try to get through that way, but went around by a longer path, — the so-called Crenides. Here, too, they encountered a guard, but overpowered it, got inside the mountains, approached the city along the high ground, and there

encamped each one apart, — if we are to follow the story. As a matter of fact they bivouacked in one spot. In order that the soldiers might preserve better discipline and be easier to manage, the camp was made up of two separate divisions: but as all of it, including the intervening space, was surrounded by a ditch and a rampart, the entire circuit belonged to both, and from it they derived safety in common. ^[36] They were far superior in numbers to their adversaries then present and by that means got possession of Symbolon, having first ejected the inhabitants. In this way they were able to bring provisions from the sea, over a shorter stretch of country, and had only to make a descent from the plain to get them. For Norbanus and Saxa did not venture to offer them battle with their entire force, though they did send out horsemen to make sorties, wherever opportunity offered. Accomplishing nothing, however, they were rather careful to keep their camp well guarded than to expose it to danger, and sent in haste for Caesar and Antony. These leaders on learning that Cassius and Brutus were for some time busy with the Rhodians and the Lycians had thought that their adversaries would have more fighting on their hands there, and so instead of hastening had sent Saxa and Norbanus forward into Macedonia. On finding out that their representatives were caught they bestowed praise on the Lycians and Rhodians, promising to make them a present of money, and they themselves at once set out from the city. Both, however, encountered a delay of some time, — Antony near Brundisium, because blocked by Staius, and Caesar near Rhegium, having first turned aside to meet Sextus, held Sicily and was making an attempt on Italy. ^[37] When it seemed to them to be impossible to dislodge him, and the case of Cassius and Brutus appeared to be more urgent, they left a small part of their army to garrison Italy and with the major portion safely crossed the Ionian sea. Caesar fell sick and was left behind at Dyrrachium, while Antony marched for Philippi. For a time he was a source of some strength to his soldiers, but after laying an ambush for some of the opposite party that were gathering grain and failing in his attempt he was no longer of good courage himself. Caesar heard of it and feared either possible outcome, that his colleague should be defeated in a separate attack or again that he should conquer: in the former event he felt that Brutus and Cassius would attain power, and in the latter that Antony would have it all himself; therefore he made haste though still unwell. At this action the followers of Antony also took courage. And since it did not seem safe for them to refuse to encamp together, they brought the three divisions together to one spot and into one stronghold. While the opposing forces were facing each other sallies and excursions took place on both sides, as chance dictated. For some time, however, no ordered battle was joined, although Caesar and Antony were exceedingly anxious to bring on a conflict. Their forces stronger than those of their adversaries, but they were not so abundantly supplied with provisions, because their fleet was away fighting Sextus and they were therefore not masters of the sea.

[38] Hence these men for the reasons specified and because of Sextus, who held Sicily and was making an attempt on Italy, were excited by the fear that while they delayed he might capture Italy and come into Macedonia. Cassius and Brutus had no particular aversion to a battle, — they had the advantage in the number of soldiers, though the latter were deficient in strength, — but some reflection on their own condition and that of their opponents showed them that allies were being added to their own numbers every day and that they had abundant food by the help of the ships; consequently they put off action in the hope of gaining their ends without danger and loss of men. Because they were lovers of the people in no pretended sense and were contending with citizens, they consulted the interests of the latter no less than those of their own associates, and desired to afford preservation and liberty to both alike. For some time, therefore, they waited, not wishing to provoke a contest with them. The troops, however, being composed mostly of subject nations, were oppressed by the delay and despised their antagonists who, apparently out of fear, offered within the fortifications the sacrifice of purification, which regularly precedes struggles. Hence they urged a battle and spread a report that if there should be more delay, they would abandon the camp and disperse; and at this the leaders, though against their will, went to meet the foe.

[39] You might not unnaturally guess that this struggle proved tremendous and surpassed all previous civil conflicts of the Romans. This was not because these contestants excelled those of the old days in either the number or the valor of the warriors, for far larger masses and braver men than they had fought on many fields, but because on this occasion they contended for liberty and for democracy as never before. And they came to blows with one another again later just as they had previously. But the subsequent struggles they carried on to see to whom they should belong: on this occasion the one side was trying to bring them into subjection to sovereignty, the other side into a state of autonomy. Hence the people never attained again to the absolute right of free speech, in spite of being vanquished by no foreign nation (the subject population and the allied nations then present on both sides were merely a kind of complement of the citizen army): but the people at once gained the mastery over and fell into subjection to itself; it defeated itself and was defeated; and in that effort it exhausted the democratic element and strengthened the monarchical. I do not say that the people's defeat at that time was not beneficial. (What else can one say regarding those who fought on both sides than that the Romans were conquered and Caesar was victorious?) They were no longer capable of concord in the established form of government; for it is impossible for an unadulterated democracy that has grown to acquire domains of such vast size to have the faculty of moderation. After undertaking many similar conflicts repeatedly, one after another, they would certainly some day have been either enslaved or ruined.

[40] We may infer also from the portents which appeared to them on that

occasion that the struggle between them was clearly tremendous. Heaven, as it is ever accustomed to give indications before most remarkable events, foretold to them accurately both in Rome and in Macedonia all the results that would come from it. In the City the sun at one time appeared diminished and grew extremely small, and again showed itself now huge, now tripled in form, and once shone forth at night. Thunderbolts descended on many spots, and most significantly upon the altar of Jupiter Victor; flashes darted hither and thither; notes of trumpets, clashing of arms, and cries of camps were heard by night from the gardens of Caesar and of Antony, located close together beside the Tiber. Moreover a dog dragged the body of a dog to the temple of Ceres, where he dug the earth with his paws and buried it. A child was born with hands that had ten fingers, and a mule gave birth to a prodigy of two species. The front part of it resembled a horse, and the rest a mule. The chariot of Minerva while returning to the Capitol from a horse-race was dashed to pieces, and the statue of Jupiter at Albanum sent forth blood at the very time of the *Feriae* from its right shoulder and right hand. These were advance indications to them from Heaven, and the rivers also in their land gave out entirely or began to flow backward. And any chance deeds of men seemed to point to the same end. During the *Feriae* the prefect of the city celebrated the festival of *Latiaris*, which neither belonged to him nor was ordinarily observed at that time, and the plebeian aediles offered to Ceres contests in armor in place of the horse-race. This was what took place in Rome, where certain oracles also both before the events and pertaining to them were recited, tending to the downfall of the democracy. In Macedonia, to which Pangeum and the territory surrounding it are regarded as belonging, bees in swarms pervaded the camp of Cassius, and in the course of its purification some one set the garland upon his head wrong end foremost, and a boy while carrying a Victory in some procession, such as the soldiers inaugurate, fell down. But the thing which most of all portended destruction to them, so that it became plain even to their enemies, was that many vultures and many other birds, too, that devour corpses gathered only above the heads of the conspirators, gazing down upon them and squawking and screeching with terrible and bloodcurdling notes.

[41] To that party these signs brought evil, while the others, so far as we know, were visited by no omen, but saw some such, visions as the following in dreams. A Thessalian dreamed that the former Caesar had bidden him tell Caesar that the battle would occur on the second day after that one, and that he should resume some of the insignia which his predecessor wore while dictator: Caesar therefore immediately put his father's ring on his finger and wore it often afterward. That was the vision which that man saw, whereas the physician who attended Caesar thought that Minerva enjoined him to lead his patient, though still in poor health, from his tent and place him in line of battle: and by this act he was saved. In most cases safety is the lot of such as remain in the camp and of those in the fortifications, while danger

accompanies those who proceed into the midst of weapons and battles; but this was reversed in the case of Caesar. It was quite visibly the result of his leaving the rampart and mingling with the fighting men that he survived, although from sickness he stood with difficulty even without his arms.

[42] The engagement was of the following nature. No arrangement had been made as to when they should enter battle, yet as if by some compact they all armed themselves at dawn, advanced into the square intervening between them quite leisurely, as though they were competitors in games, and there were quietly marshaled. When they stood opposed advice was given partly to the entire bodies and partly to individuals of both forces by the generals and lieutenants and subalterns. They made many suggestions touching the immediate danger and many adapted to the future, words such as men would speak who were to encounter danger on the moment and were endeavoring to anticipate troubles to come. For the most part the speeches were very similar, inasmuch as on both sides alike there were Romans together with allies. Still, there was a difference. The officers of Brutus offered their men the prizes of liberty and democracy, of freedom from tyrants and freedom from masters; they pointed out to them the excellencies of equality in government, and all the unfairness of monarchy that they themselves had experienced or had heard in other cases; they called to the attention of the soldiers the separate details of each system and besought them to strive for the one, and to take care not to endure the other. The opposing officers urged their army to take vengeance on the assassins, to possess the property of their antagonists, to be filled with a desire to rule all of their race, and (the clause which inspired them most) they promised to give them five thousand denarii apiece. [43] Thereupon they first sent around their watchwords, — the followers of Brutus using “Liberty,” and the others whatever happened to be given out, — and then one trumpeter on each side sounded the first note, followed by the blare of the remainder. Those in front sounded the “at rest” and the “ready” signal on their trumpets in a kind of circular spot, and then the rest came in who were to rouse the spirit of the soldier and incite them to the onset. Then there was suddenly a great silence, and after waiting a little the leaders issued a clear command and the lines on both sides joined in a shout. After that with a yell the heavy-armed dashed their spears against their shields and hurled the former at each other, while the slingers and the archers sent their stones and missiles. Then the two bodies of cavalry trotted forward and the contingents shielded with breastplates following behind joined in hand to hand combat. [44] They did a great deal of pushing and a great deal of stabbing, looking carefully at first to see how they should wound others and not be wounded themselves; they desired both to kill their antagonists and to save themselves. Later, when their charge grew fiercer and their spirit flamed up, they rushed together without stopping to consider, and paid no more attention to their own safety, but would even sacrifice themselves in their eagerness to destroy their adversaries. Some threw away their shields and seizing hold of those arrayed

opposite them either strangled them in their helmets and struck them from the rear, or snatched away their defence in front and delivered a stroke on their breasts. Others took hold of their swords and then ran their own into the bodies of the men opposite, who had been made as good as unarmed. And some by exposing some part of their bodies to be wounded could use the rest more readily. Some clutched each other in an embrace that prevented the possibility of striking, but they perished in the intertwining of swords and bodies. Some died of one blow, others of many, and neither had any perception of their wounds, dying too soon to feel pain, nor lamented their taking off, because they did not reach the point of expressing grief. One who killed another thought in the excessive joy of the moment that he could never die. Whoever fell lost consciousness and had no knowledge of his state. [45] Both sides remained stubbornly in their places and neither side retired or pursued, but there, just as they were, they wounded and were wounded, slew and were slain, until late in the day. And if all had contested with all, as may happen under such circumstances, or if Brutus had been arrayed against Antony and Cassius against Caesar, they would have proved equally matched. As it was, Brutus forced the invalid Caesar from his path, while Antony overruled Cassius, who was by no means his equal in warfare. At this juncture, because not all were conquering the other side at once, but both parties were in turn defeated and victorious, the results were practically the same. Both had conquered and had been defeated, each had routed their adversaries and had been routed, pursuits and flights had fallen to the lot of both alike and the camps on both sides had been captured. As they were many they occupied a large expanse of plain, so that they could not see each other distinctly. In the battle each one could recognize only what was opposite him, and when the rout took place each side fled the opposite way to its own fortifications, situated at a distance from each other, without stopping to look back. Because of this fact and of the immeasurable quantity of dust that rose they were ignorant of the termination of the battle, and those who had conquered thought they had been victorious over everything, and those who were defeated deemed they had been worsted everywhere. They did not learn what had happened until the ramparts had been laid in ruins, and the victors on each side on retiring to their own head-quarters encountered each other.

[46] So far, then, as the battle was concerned, both sides both conquered thus and were defeated. At this time they did not resume the conflict, but as soon as they had retired and beheld each other and recognized what had taken place, they both withdrew, not venturing anything further. They had beaten and had proved inferior to each other. This was shown first by the fact that the entire ramparts of Caesar and Antony and everything within them had been captured. (That proved practically the truth of the dream, for if Caesar had remained in his place, he would certainly have perished with the rest.) It was shown again in the fate of Cassius. He came away safe from the battle, but stripped of his fortifications he had fled to a different spot, and suspecting that

Brutus, too, had been defeated and that several of the victors were hastening to attack him he made haste to die. He had sent a certain centurion to view the situation and report to him where Brutus was and what he was doing. This man fell in with some horsemen whom Brutus had dispatched to seek his colleague, turned back with them and proceeded leisurely, with the idea that there was hurry, because no danger presented itself. Cassius, seeing them afar off, suspected they were enemies and ordered Pindarus, a freedman, to kill him. The centurion on learning that his leader's death was due to his dilatoriness slew himself upon his body.

[47] Brutus immediately sent the body of Cassius secretly to Thasos. He shrank from burying it upon the ground, for fear the army would be filled with grief and dejection at sight of the preparations. The remainder of his friend's soldiers he took under his charge, consoled them in a speech, won their devotion by a gift of money to make up for what they had lost, and then transferred his position to their enclosure, which was more suitable. From there he started out to harass his opponents in various ways, especially by assaulting their camp at night. He had no intention of joining issue with them again in a set battle, but had great hopes of overcoming them without danger by the lapse of time. Hence he tried regularly to startle them in various ways and disturb them by night, and once by diverting the course of the river he washed away considerable of their wall. Caesar and Antony were getting short of both food and money, and consequently gave their soldiers nothing to replace what had been seized and carried off. Furthermore, the force that was sailing to them in transports from Brundisium had been destroyed by Staius. Yet they could not safely transfer their position to any other quarter nor return to Italy, and so, even as late as this, they set all their hopes upon their weapons, — hopes not merely of victory but even of preservation. They were eager to meet the danger before the naval disaster became noised abroad among their opponents and their own men. [48] As Brutus evinced an unwillingness to meet them in open fight, they somehow cast pamphlets over his palisade, challenging his soldiers either to embrace their cause (promises being attached) or to come into conflict if they had the least particle of strength. During this delay some of the Celtic force deserted from their side to Brutus, and Amyntas, the general of Deiotarus, and Rhascuporis deserted to them. The latter, as some say, immediately returned home. Brutus was afraid, when this happened, that there might be further similar rebellion and decided to join issue with them. And since there were many captives in his camp, and he neither had any way to guard them during the progress of the battle, and could not trust them to refrain from doing mischief, he despatched the majority of them, contrary to his own inclination, being a slave in this matter to necessity; but he was the more ready to do it because of the fact that his opponents had killed such of his soldiers as had been taken alive. After doing this he armed his men for battle. When the opposing ranks were arrayed, two eagles that flew above the heads of the two armies battled together and

indicated to the combatants the outcome of the war. The eagle on the side of Brutus was beaten and fled: and similarly his heavy-armed force, after a contest for the most part even, was defeated, and then when many had fallen his cavalry, though it fought nobly, gave way. Thereupon the victors pursued them, as they fled, this way and that, but neither killed nor captured any one; and then they kept watch of the separate contingents during the night and did not allow them to unite again.

[49] Brutus, who had reached in flight a steep and lofty spot, undertook to break through in some way to the camp. In this he was unsuccessful, and on learning that some of his soldiers had made terms with the victors he had no further hope, but despairing of safety and disdaining capture he himself also took refuge in death. He uttered aloud this sentence of Heracles:

”Unhappy Virtue, thou wert but a name, while I,
Deeming thy godhead real, followed thee on,
Who wert but Fortune’s slave.”

Then he called one of the bystanders to kill him. His body received burial by Antony, — all but his head, which was sent to Rome: but as the ships encountered a storm during the voyage across from Dyrrachium that was thrown into the sea. At his death the mass of his soldiers, on amnesty being proclaimed for them, immediately transferred their allegiance. Portia perished by swallowing red-hot charcoal. Most of the prominent men who had held any offices or belonged to the assassins or the proscribed, straightway killed themselves, or, like Favonius, were captured and destroyed: the remainder at this time escaped to the sea and thereafter joined Sextus.

BOOK 48

The following is contained in the Forty-eighth of Dio's Rome:

How Caesar contended with Fulvia and Lucius Antonius (chapters 1-16).

How Sextus Pompey occupied Sicily (chapters 17-23).

How the Parthians occupied the country to the edge of the Hellespont (chapters 24-26).

How Caesar and Antony reached an agreement with Sextus (chapters 27-38).

How Publius Ventidius conquered the Parthians and recovered Asia (chapters 39-42).

How Caesar began to make war upon Sextus (chapters 43-48).

About Baiae (chapters 49-54).

Duration of time five years, in which there were the following magistrates here enumerated:

L. Antonius M. F. Pietas, P. Servilius P. F. Isauricus consul (II). (B.C. 41 = a. u. 713.)

Cn. Domitius M. F. Calvinus [consul] (II), C. Asinius|| Cn. F. Pollio. (B.C. 40 = a. u. 714.)

L. Marcius L. F. Censorinus, C. Calvisius|| C. F. Sabinus. (B.C. 39 = a. u. 715.)

Appius Claudius C. F. Pulcher, C. Norbanus C. F. Flaccus. (B.C. 38 = a. u. 716.)

M. Vipsanius L. F. Agrippa, L. Caninius L. F. Gallus. (B.C. 37 = a. u. 717.)

BOOK 48, BOISSEVAIN.

[B.C. 42(*a. u.*712)]

[1] So perished Brutus and Cassius, slain by the swords with which they had despatched Caesar. The rest also who had shared in the plot against him were all except a very few destroyed, some previously, some at this time, and some subsequently. Justice and the Divine Will seemed to sweep onward and lead forward to such a fate the men who had killed their benefactor, one who had attained such eminence in both excellence and good fortune. Caesar and Antony for the moment secured an advantage over Lepidus, because he had not shared the victory with them; yet they were destined ere long to turn their arms against each other. It is a difficult matter for three men or two that are equal in rank and have come into power over such vast interests as a result of war to be of one accord. Hence, whatever they had gained for a time while in harmony for the purpose of the overthrow of their adversaries they now began to set up as prizes in their rivalry with each other. They immediately redistributed the empire, so that Spain and Numidia fell to Caesar, Gaul and Africa to Antony; they further agreed that in case Lepidus showed any vexation at this Africa should be evacuated for him. [2] This was all they could allot between them, since Sextus was still occupying Sardinia and Sicily, and other regions outside of Italy were in a state of turmoil. About the peninsula itself I need say nothing, for it has always remained a kind of choice exception in such divisions: and not even now did they talk as if they were struggling to obtain it, but to defend it. So, leaving these other regions to be common property, Antony took it upon himself to settle affairs of nations that had fought against them and to collect the money which had been offered to the soldiers in advance: Caesar was charged with curtailing the power of Lepidus, if he should make any hostile move, with conducting the war against Sextus, and with assigning to those of his campaigners who had passed the age limit the land which he had promised them; and these he forthwith dismissed. Furthermore he sent with Antony two legions of his followers, and his colleague sent word that he would give him in return an equal number of those stationed at that time in Italy. After making these compacts separately, putting them in writing, and sealing them, they exchanged the documents, to the end that if any transgression were committed, it might be proved from the very records. Thereupon Antony set out for Asia and Caesar for Italy. [3] Sickness attacked the latter violently on the journey and during the voyage, giving rise in Rome to an expectation of his death. They did not believe, however, that he was lingering so much by reason of ill health as because he was devising some harm, and consequently they expected to fall victims to every possible persecution. Yet they voted to these men many honors for their victory, such as would have been given assuredly to the others, had they conquered; in such crises it is ever the case that all trample on the loser and

honor the victor; and in particular they decided, though against their will, to celebrate thanksgivings during practically the entire year. This Caesar ordered them outright to do in gratitude for vengeance upon the assassins. At any rate during his delay all sorts of stories were current, and all sorts of behavior resulted. For example, some spread a report that he was dead, and aroused delight in many breasts: others said he was planning some evil, and filled numerous persons with fear. Therefore some hid their property and took care to protect themselves, and others considered in what way they might make their escape. Others, and the majority, not being able to apprehend anything clearly by reason of their excessive fear, prepared to meet a certain doom. The confident element was extremely small, and its numbers few. In the light of the former frequent and diverse destruction of both persons and possessions they expected that anything similar or still worse might happen, because now they had been utterly vanquished. Wherefore Caesar, in dread that they might take some rebellious step, especially since Lepidus was there, forwarded a letter to the senate urging its members to be of good cheer, and further promising that he would do everything in a mild and humane way, after the manner of his father.

[B.C. 41 (*a. u.* 713)]

[4] This was what then took place. The succeeding year Publius Servilius and Lucius Antonius nominally became consuls, but in reality it was the latter and Fulvia. She, the mother-in-law of Caesar and wife of Antony, had no respect for Lepidus because of his slothfulness, and herself managed affairs, so that neither the senate nor the people dared transact any business contrary to her pleasure. Actually, when Lucius himself was anxious to have a triumph over certain peoples dwelling in the Alps, on the ground that he had conquered them, for a time Fulvia opposed him and no one would grant it; but when her favor was courted and she permitted it, all voted for the measure: therefore it was nominally Antonius ... over the people whom he said he had vanquished (in reality he had done nothing deserving a triumph nor had any command at all in those regions), — but in truth Fulvia ... and had the procession. And she assumed a far prouder bearing over the affair than did he, because she had a truer cause; to give any one authority to hold a triumph was greater than to celebrate it by securing the privilege from another. Except that Lucius donned the triumphal apparel, mounted the chariot, and performed the other rites customary in such cases, Fulvia herself seemed to be giving the spectacle, employing him as her assistant. It took place on the first day of the year, and Lucius, just as Marius had done, exulted in the circumstance that he held it on the first day of the month that he began to be consul. Moreover he exalted himself even above his predecessor, saying that he had voluntarily laid aside the decorations of the procession and had assembled the senate in his street dress, whereas Marius had done it unwillingly. He added that the latter had received a crown from almost nobody, whereas he obtained many, and particularly from the people, tribe by tribe, as had never been the case with

any former triumphator. (It was done by the aid of Fulvia and by the money which he had secretly given some persons to spend.)

[5] It was in this year that Caesar arrived in Rome, and, after taking the usual steps to celebrate the victory, turned his attention to the administration and despatch of business. For Lepidus through fear of him and out of his general weakness of heart had not rebelled; and Lucius and Fulvia, on the supposition that they were relatives and sharers in his supremacy were quiet, — at least at first. As time went on they became at variance, the persons just mentioned because they did not get a share in the portion of lands to be assigned which belonged to Antony, and Caesar because he did not get back his troops from the other two. Hence their kinship by marriage was dissolved and they were brought to open warfare. Caesar would not endure the domineering ways of his mother-in-law, and, choosing to appear to be at odds with her rather than with Antonius, sent back her daughter, whom he declared on oath to be still a virgin. In pursuing such a course he was careless whether it should be thought that the woman had remained a virgin in his house so long a time for common-place reasons, or whether it should seem that he had planned the situation considerably in advance, as a measure of preparation for the future. After this action there was no longer any friendship between them. Lucius together with Fulvia attempted to get control of affairs, pretending to be doing this in behalf of Marcus, and would yield to Caesar on no point: therefore on account of his devotion to his brother he took the additional title of Pietas. Caesar naturally found no fault with Marcus, not wishing to alienate him while he was attending to the nations in Asia, but reproached and resisted the pair, giving out that they were behaving in all respects contrary to their brother's desire and were eager for individual supremacy.

[6] In the land allotments both placed the greatest hope of power, and consequently the beginning of their quarrel was concerned with them. Caesar for his part wished to distribute the territory to all such as had made the campaign with himself and Antony, according to the compact made with them after the victory, that by so doing he might win their good-will: the others demanded to receive the assignment that appertained to their party and settle the cities themselves, in order that they might get the power of these settlements on their side. It seemed to both to be the simplest method to grant the land of the unarmed to those who had participated in the conflict. Contrary to their expectation great disturbance resulted and the matter took the aspect of a war. For at first Caesar was for taking from the possessors and giving to the veterans all of Italy (except what some old campaigner had received as a gift or bought from the government and was now holding), together with the bands of slaves and other wealth. The persons deprived of their property were terribly enraged against him, and caused a change of policy. Fulvia and the consul now hoped to find more power in the cause of the others, the oppressed, and consequently neglected those who were to receive the fields, but turned their attention to that party which was of greater numbers and was

animated by a righteous indignation at the deprivation they were suffering. Next they took some of them individually, aided and united them, so that the men who were before afraid of Caesar now that they had got leaders became courageous and no longer gave up any of their property: they thought that Marcus, too, would approve their course. [7] Among these, therefore, Lucius and Fulvia secured a following, and still made no assault upon the adherents of Caesar. Their attitude was not that there was no need for the soldiers to receive allotments, but they maintained that the goods of their adversaries in the combat were sufficient for them; especially they pointed out lands and furniture, some still being held intact, others that had been sold, of which they declared the former ought to be given to the men outright and in the second case the price realized should be presented to them. If even this did not satisfy them, they tried to secure the affection of them all by holding out hopes in Asia. In this way it quickly came about that Caesar, who had forcibly robbed the possessors of any property and caused troubles and dangers on account of it to all alike, found himself disliked by both parties; whereas the other two, since they took nothing from anybody and showed those who were to receive the gifts a way to the fulfillment of the pledges from already existing assets and without a combat, won over each of the bodies of men. As a result of this and through the famine which was trying them greatly at this time, because the sea off Sicily was in control of Sextus, and the Ionian Gulf was in the grasp of Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, Caesar found himself in a considerable dilemma. For Domitius was one of the assassins, and, having escaped from the battle fought at Philippi, he had got together a small fleet, had made himself for a time master of the Gulf, and was doing the greatest damage to the cause of his opponents.

[8] There was not only this to trouble Caesar greatly but also the fact that in the disputes which had been inaugurated between the ex-soldiers and the senators as well as the rest of the multitude that possessed lands, — and these proved very numerous because the contestants were struggling for the greatest interests, — he could not attach himself to either side without danger. It was impossible for him to please both. The one side wished to run riot, the other to be unharmed: the one side to get the other's property, the other to hold what belonged to it. As often as he gave the preference to the interests of this party or that, according as he found it necessary, he incurred the hatred of the others: and he did not meet with so much gratitude for the favors he conferred as with anger for what he failed to yield. Those benefited took all that was given them as their due and regarded it as no kindness, and the opposite party was wrathful because robbed of their own belongings. And as a result he continued to offend either this group or the other, at one time reproached with being a friend of the people and again with being a friend of the army. He could make no headway, and further learned by actual experience that arms had no power to hold those injured friendly toward him, and that it was possible for all such as would not submit to perish by the use of weapons, but

out of the question for any one to be forced to love a person whom he will not. After this, though reluctantly, he stopped taking anything from the senators; previously he used to deem it his right to distribute everything that was theirs, asking seriously: "From what source else shall we pay the prizes of war to those who have served?" — as if any one had commanded him to wage war or to make such great promises. He also kept his hands off the valuables, — whatever costly objects women had for dowries, or others had less in value than the land individually given to the old soldiers. [9] When this was done the senate and the rest, finding nothing taken from them, became fairly resigned to his rule, but the veterans were indignant, regarding his sparingness and the honor shown to the others to be their own dishonor and loss, since they were to receive less. They killed not a few of the centurions and the other intimates of Caesar who tried to restrain them from mutiny, and came very near compassing their leader's own destruction, using every plausible excuse possible for their anger. They did not cease their irritation till the land that belonged to their relatives and the fathers and sons of those fallen in battle but was held by somebody else was granted to these three classes freely. This measure caused the soldier element to become somewhat more conciliatory, but that very thing produced vexation again among the people. The two used to come in conflict and there was continual fighting amongst them, so that many were wounded and killed on both sides alike. The one party was superior by being equipped with weapons and having experience in wars, and the other by its numbers and the ability to pelt opponents from the roofs. Owing to this a number of houses were burned down, and to those dwelling in the city rent was entirely remitted to the extent of five hundred denarii, while for those in the rest of Italy it was reduced a fourth for one year. For they used to fight in all the cities alike, wherever they fell in with each other.

[10] When this took place constantly and soldiers sent ahead by Caesar into Spain made a kind of uprising at Placentia and did not come to order until they received money from the people there, and they were furthermore hindered from crossing the Alps by Calenus and Ventidius, who held Farther Gaul, Caesar became afraid that he might meet with some disaster and began to wish to be reconciled with Fulvia and the consul. He could not accomplish anything by sending messages personally and with only his own authorization, and so went to the veterans and through them attempted to negotiate a settlement. Elated at this they took charge of those who had lost their land, and Lucius went about in every direction uniting them and detaching them from Caesar, while Fulvia occupied Praeneste, had senators and knights for her associates, and was wont to conduct all her deliberations with their help, even sending orders to whatever points required it. Why should any one be surprised at this, when she was girt with a sword, and used to pass the watchwords to the soldiers, yes, often harangued them, — an additional means of giving offence to Caesar? [11] The latter, however, had no way to overthrow them, being far inferior to them not only in troops, but in

good-will on the part of the population; for he caused many distress, whereas they filled every one with hope. He had often privately through friends proposed reconciliation to them, and when he accomplished nothing, he sent envoys from the number of the veterans to them. He expected by this stroke pretty surely to obtain his request, to adjust present difficulties, and to gain a strength equal to theirs for the future. And even though he should fail of these aims, he expected that not he but they would bear the responsibility for their quarrel. This actually took place. When he effected nothing even through the soldiers, he despatched senators, showing them the covenants made between himself and Antony, and offering the envoys as arbitrators of the differences. But his opponents in the first place made many counter-propositions, demands with which Caesar was sure not to comply, and again, in respect to everything that they did said they were doing it by the orders of Mark Antony. So that when nothing was gained in this way either, he betook himself once more to the veterans. [12] Thereupon these assembled in Rome in great numbers, with the avowed intention of making some communication to the people and the senate. But instead of troubling themselves about this errand they collected on the Capitol and commanded that the compacts which Antony and Caesar made be read to them. They ratified these agreements and voted that they should be made arbitrators of the differences existing. After recording these acts on tablets and sealing them they delivered them to the vestal virgins to keep. To Caesar, who was present, and to the other party by an embassy they gave orders to meet for adjudication at Gabii on a stated day. Caesar showed his readiness to submit to arbitration, and the others promised to put in an appearance, but out of fear or else perhaps disdain did not come. (For they were wont to make fun of the warriors, calling them among other names *senatus caligatus* on account of their use of military boots.) So they condemned Lucius and Fulvia as guilty of some injustice, and gave precedence to the cause of Caesar. After this, when the latter's adversaries had deliberated again and again, they took up the war once more and did not make ready for it in any quiet fashion. Chief among their measures was to secure money from sources, even from temples. They took away all the votive offerings that could be turned into bullion, those deposited in Rome itself as well as those in the rest of Italy that was under their control. Both money and soldiers came to them also from Gallia Togata, which had been included by this time in the domain of Italy, to the end that no one else, under the plea that it was a single district, should keep soldiers south of the Alps.

[13] Caesar, then, was making preparations, and Fulvia and Lucius were gathering hoards of supplies and assembling forces. Meanwhile both sent embassies and despatched soldiers and officers in every direction, and each managed to seize some places beforehand and was repulsed from others. The most of these transactions, and those connected with no great or important occurrence, I shall pass over, and briefly relate the points which are of chief value.

Caesar made an expedition against Nursia, among the Sabini, and routed the garrison encamped before it but was repulsed from the city by Tisienus Gallus. Accordingly, he went over into Umbria and laid siege to Sentinum, but failed to capture it. Lucius had meanwhile been sending on one excuse and another soldiers to his friends in Rome, and then coming suddenly on the scene himself conquered the cavalry force that met him, hurled the infantry back to the wall, and after that took the city, since those that had been there for some days helped the defenders within by attacking the besiegers. Lepidus, to whom had been entrusted the guarding of the place, made no resistance by reason of his inherent slothfulness, nor did Servilius the consul, who was too easy-going. On ascertaining this Caesar left Quintus Salvidienus Rufus to look after the people of Sentinum, and himself set out for Rome. Hearing of this movement Lucius withdrew in advance, having had voted to him the privilege of going out on some war. Indeed, he delivered an address in soldier's costume, which no one else had done. Thus Caesar was received into the capital without striking a blow, and when he did not capture the other by pursuit, he returned and kept a more careful watch over the city. Meantime, as soon as Caesar had left Sentinum, Gaius Furnius the guarder of the fortifications had issued forth and pursued him a long distance, and Rufus unexpectedly attacked the citizens within, captured the town, plundered, and burned it. The inhabitants of Nursia came to terms — and suffered no ill treatment; when, however, after burying those that had fallen in the battle which had taken place between themselves and Caesar, they inscribed on their tombs that they had died contending for liberty, an enormous fine was imposed upon the people, so that they abandoned their city and entire country together.

[14] While they were so engaged, Lucius on setting out from Rome after his occupancy had proceeded toward Gaul: his road was blocked, however, and so he turned aside to Perusia, an Etruscan city. There he was cut off first by the lieutenants of Caesar and later by Caesar himself, and was besieged. The investing of the place proved a long operation: the situation is naturally a strong one and had been amply stocked with provisions; and horsemen sent out by him before he was entirely hemmed in harassed his antagonists greatly while many others, moreover, from various sections vigorously defended him. Many attempts were made upon the besieged individually and there was sharp fighting close to the walls, until the followers of Lucius in spite of being generally successful were nevertheless overcome by hunger. The leader and some others obtained pardon, but most of the senators and knights were put to death. And the story goes that they did not merely suffer death in a simple form, but were led to the altar consecrated to the former Caesar and there sacrificed, — three hundred knights and many senators, among them Tiberius Cannutius who formerly during his tribuneship had assembled the populace for Caesar Octavianus. Of the people of Perusia and the rest there captured the majority lost their lives, and the city itself, except the temple of Vulcan and

statue of Juno, was entirely destroyed by fire. This piece of sculpture was preserved by some chance and was brought to Rome in accordance with a vision that Caesar saw in a dream: there it accorded those who desired to undertake the task permission to settle the city again and place the deity on her original site, — only they did not acquire more than seven and one-half stadia of the territory.

[B.C. 40 (*a. u.* 714)]

[15] When that city had been captured during the consulship of Gnaeus Calvinus and Asinius Pollio, — the former holding office the second time, — other posts in Italy partly perforce and partly voluntarily capitulated to Caesar. For this reason Fulvia with her children made her escape to her husband, and many of the other foremost men made their way some to him and some to Sextus in Sicily. Julia, the mother of the Antonii, went there at first and was received by Sextus with extreme kindness; later she was sent by him to her son Marcus, carrying propositions of friendship and with envoys whom she was to conduct to his presence. In this company which at that time turned its steps away from Italy to Antony was also Tiberius Claudius Nero. He was holding a kind of fort in Campania, and when Caesar's party got the upper hand set out with his wife Livia Drusilla and with his son Tiberius Claudius Nero. This episode illustrated remarkably the whimsicality of fate. This Livia who then fled from Caesar later on was married to him, and this Tiberius who then escaped with his parents succeeded him in the office of emperor.

[16] All this was later. At that time the inhabitants of Rome resumed the garb of peace, which they had taken off without any decree, under compulsion from the people; they gave themselves up to merrymaking, conveyed Caesar in his triumphal robe into the city and honored him with a laurel crown, so that he enjoyed this decoration as often as the celebrators of triumphs were accustomed to use it. Caesar, when Italy had been subdued and the Ionian Gulf had been cleared, — for Domitius despairing of continuing to prevail any longer by himself had sailed away to Antony, — made preparations to proceed against Sextus. When, however, he ascertained his power and the fact that he had been in communication with Antony through the latter's mother and through envoys, he feared that he might get embroiled with both at once; therefore preferring Sextus as more trustworthy or else as stronger than Antony he sent him his mother Mucia and married the sister of his father-in-law, Lucius Scribonius Libo, in the hope that by the aid of his kindness and his kinship he might make him a friend.

[B.C. 44 (*a. u.* 710)]

[17] Sextus, after he had originally left Spain according to his compact with Lepidus and not much later had been appointed admiral, was removed from his office by Caesar. For all that he held on to his fleet and had the courage to sail to Italy; but Caesar's adherents were already securing control of the country and he learned that he had been numbered among the assassins of Caesar's father.

[B.C. 43 (*a. u.* 711)]

Therefore he kept away from the mainland but sailed about among the islands, maintaining a sharp watch on what was going on and supplying himself with food without resort to crimes. As he had not taken part in the murder he expected to be restored by Caesar himself. When, however, his name was exposed on the tablet and he knew that the edict of proscription was in force against him also, he despaired of getting back through Caesar and put himself in readiness for war. He had triremes built, received the deserters, made an alliance with the pirates, and took under his protection the exiles. By these means in a short time he became powerful and was master of the sea off Italy, so that he made descents upon the harbors, cut loose the boats, and engaged in pillage. As matters went well with him and his activity supplied him with soldiers and money, he sailed to Sicily, where he seized Mylae and Tyndaris without effort but was repulsed from Messina by Pompeius Bithynicus, then governor of Sicily. Instead of retiring altogether from the place, he overran the country, prevented the importation of provisions, gained the ascendancy over those who came to the rescue, — filling some with fear of suffering a similar hardship, and damaging others by some form of ambuscade, — won over the quaestor together with the funds, and finally obtained Messina and also Bithynicus, by an agreement that the latter should enjoy equal authority with him. The governor suffered no harm, at least for the time being: the others had their arms and money taken from them. His next step was to win over Syracuse and some other cities, from which he gathered more soldiers and collected a very strong fleet. Quintus Cornificius also sent him quite a force from Africa.

[18] While he was thus growing strong, Caesar for a time took no action in the matter, both because he despised him and because the business in hand kept him occupied.

[B.C. 42 (*a. u.* 712)]

But when owing to the famine the deaths in the City became numerous and Sextus commenced to make attempts on Italy also, Caesar began to have a small fleet equipped and sent Salvidienus Rufus with a large force ahead to Rhegium. Rufus managed to repel Sextus from Italy and when the latter retired into Sicily he undertook to manufacture boats of leather, similar to those adapted to ocean sailing. He made a framework of light rods for the interior and stretched on the outside an uncured oxhide, making an affair like an oval shield. For this he got laughed at and decided that it would be dangerous for him to try to use them in crossing the strait, so he let them go and ventured to undertake the passage with the fleet that had been equipped and had arrived. He was not able, however, to accomplish his purpose, for the number and size of his ships were no match for the skill and daring of the enemy. This took place in the course of Caesar's expedition into Macedonia, and he himself was an eye-witness of the battle; the result filled him with chagrin, most of all because he had been defeated in this their first encounter.

For this reason he no longer ventured, although the major part of his fleet had been preserved, to cross over by main force: he frequently tried to effect it secretly, feeling that if he could once set foot on the island, he could certainly conquer it with his infantry; after a time, since the vigilant guard kept in every quarter prevented him from gaining anything, he ordered others to attend to the blockade of Sicily and he himself went to meet Antony at Brundisium. whence with the aid of the ships he crossed the Ionian Gulf. [19] Upon his departure Sextus occupied all of the island and put to death Bithynicus on the charge that the latter had plotted against him. He also produced a triumphal spectacle and had a naval battle of the captives in the strait close to Rhegium itself, so that his opponents could look on; in this combat he had wooden boats contend with others of leather, in the intention of making fun of Rufus. After this he built more ships and dominated the sea all round about, acquiring some renown, in which he took pride, based on the assumption that he was the son of Neptune, and that his father had once ruled the whole sea. So he fared as long as the resistance of Cassius and Brutus held out. When they had perished, Lucius Staius and others took refuge with him. He was at first glad to receive this ally and incorporated the troops that Staius led in his own force: subsequently, seeing that the new accession was an active and high-spirited man, he executed him on a charge of treachery. Then he acquired the other's fleet and the mass of slaves who kept arriving from Italy and gained tremendous strength. So many persons, in fact, deserted that the vestal virgins prayed in the name of the sacrifices that their desertions might be restrained.

[B.C. 40 (*a. u.* 714)]

[20] For these reasons and because he gave the exiles a refuge, was negotiating friendship with Antony, and plundering a great portion of Italy, Caesar felt a wish to become reconciled with him. When he failed of that he ordered Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa to wage war against him, and himself set out for Gaul. Sextus when he heard of that kept watch of Agrippa, who was busy superintending the Ludi Apollinares. This person was praetor at the time, holding a brilliant position in many ways because he was such an intimate friend of Caesar, and for two days he had been conducting the horse-race and enjoyed the so-called "Troy contest," carried on by children of the nobility, which added to his glory. While he was so engaged Sextus crossed over into Italy and remained there carrying on marauding expeditions until Agrippa arrived. Then, after leaving a garrison at certain points, he sailed back again. — Caesar had formerly tried, as has been described, to get possession of Gaul through others, but had not been able on account of Calenus and the rest who followed Antony's fortunes. But now he occupied it in person, for he found Calenus dead of a disease and acquired his army without difficulty. Meanwhile, seeing that Lepidus was vexed at being deprived of the office that belonged to him, he sent him to Africa; for he proposed, by being the sole bestower of that position, instead of allowing Antony to share in the appointment, to gain in a greater degree Lepidus's attachment.

[B.C. 44 (*a. u.* 710)]

[21] As I have remarked, the Romans had two provinces in that part of Libya. The governors, before the union of the three men, were Titus Sextius over the Numidian region, and Cornificius with Decimus Laelius over the rest; the former was friendly to Antony, the latter two to Caesar. For a time Sextius waited in the expectation that the others, who had a far larger force, would invade his domain, and prepared to withstand them there. When they delayed, he began to disdain them; and he was further elated by a cow, as they say, that uttered human speech bidding him lay hold of the prize before him, and by a dream in which a bull that had been buried in the city of Tucca seemed to urge him to dig up its head and carry it about on a spear-shaft, since by this means he should conquer. Without hesitation, then, especially when he found the bull in the spot where the dream said it was, he invaded Africa first himself.

[B.C. 43 (*a. u.* 711)]

At the beginning he occupied Adrymetum and some few other places, taken by surprise at his sudden assault. Then, while in an unguarded state because of this very success, he was ambushed by the quaestor, lost a large portion of his army, and withdrew into Numidia. His misfortune had happened to occur when he was without the protection of the bull's head, and he therefore ascribed his defeat to that fact and made preparations to take the field again. Meantime his opponents anticipated him by invading his domain. While the rest were besieging Cirta, the quaestor with the cavalry proceeded against him, overcame him in a few cavalry battles, and won over the other quaestor. After these experiences Sextius, who had secured some fresh reinforcements, risked battle again, conquered the quaestor in his turn, and shut up Laelius, who was overrunning the country, within his fortifications. He deceived Cornificius, who came to the defence of his colleague, making him believe that the latter had been captured, and after thus throwing him into a state of dejection defeated him. So Cornificius met his death in battle, and Laelius, who made a sally with the intention of taking the enemy in the rear, was also slain.

[22] When this had been accomplished, Sextius occupied Africa and governed both provinces without interference, until Caesar according to the covenant made by him with Antony and Lepidus took possession of the office and assigned Gaius Fuficius Fango to take charge of the people; then the governor voluntarily gave up the provinces. When the battle with Brutus and Cassius had been fought, Caesar and Antony redistributed the world, Caesar taking Numidia for his share of Libya, and Antony Africa. Lepidus, as I have stated, had power among the three only in name, and often was not recorded in the documents even to this extent. When, therefore, this occurred Fulvia bade Sextius resume his rule of Africa. He was at this time still in Libya, making the winter season his plea, but in reality his lingering there was due to his certain knowledge that there would be some kind of upheaval. As he could not persuade Fango to give up the country, he associated himself with the

natives, who detested their ruler; he had done evil in his office, for he was one of that mercenary force, many of whose members, as has been stated in my narrative, had been elected even into the senate. At this turn of affairs Fango retired into Numidia, where he accorded harsh treatment to the people of Cirta because they despised him on seeing his condition. There was also one Arabio who was a prince among the barbarians dwelling close at hand, who had first helped Laelius and later attached himself to Sextius: him he ejected from his kingdom, when he refused to make an alliance with him. Arabio fled to Sextius and Fango demanded his surrender. When his request was refused, he grew angry, invaded Africa and did some damage to the country: but Sextius took the field against him, and he was defeated in conflicts that were slight but numerous; consequently he retired again into Numidia. Sextius went after him and was in hopes of soon vanquishing him, especially with the aid of Arabio's horse, but he became suspicious of the latter and treacherously murdered him, after which he accomplished for the time being nothing further. For the cavalry, enraged at Arabio's death, left the Romans in the lurch and most of them took the side of Fango. [23] After these skirmishes they concluded friendship, agreeing that the cause for war between them had been removed. Later Fango watched until Sextius, trusting in the truce, was free from fear, and invaded Africa. Then they joined battle with each other, and at first both sides conquered and were beaten. The one leader prevailed through the Numidian horsemen and the other through his citizen infantry, so that they plundered each other's camps, and neither knew anything about his fellow-soldiers. When as they retired they ascertained what had happened, they came to blows again, the Numidians were routed, and Fango temporarily fled to the mountains. During the night some hartbeestes ran across the hills, and thinking that the enemy's cavalry were at hand he committed suicide. Thus Sextius gained possession of nearly everything without trouble, and subdued Zama, which held out longest, by famine. Thereafter he governed both the provinces again until such time as Lepidus was sent. Against him he made no demonstration, either because he thought the step had the approval of Antony, or because he was far inferior to him in troops.

[B.C. 40 (*a. u.* 714)]

He remained quiet, pretending that the necessity was a favor to himself. In this way Lepidus took charge of both provinces.

[B.C. 42 (*a. u.* 712)]

[24] About this same period that the above was taking place, and after the battle the scene of which was laid at Philippi, Mark Antony came to the mainland of Asia and there by visiting some points himself and sending deputies elsewhere he levied contributions upon the cities and sold the positions of authority. Meanwhile he fell in love with Cleopatra, whom he had seen in Cilicia, and no longer gave a thought to honor but was a slave of the fair Egyptian and tarried to enjoy her love. This caused him to do many

absurd things, one of which was to drag her brothers from the temple of Artemis at Ephesus and put them to death. Finally, leaving Plancus in the province of Asia and Saxa in Syria, he started for Egypt. Many disturbances resulted from this action of his: the Aradii, islanders, would not yield any obedience to the messengers sent by him to them after the money and also killed some of them, and the Parthians, who had previously been restless, now assailed the Romans more than ever. Their leaders were Labienus and Pacorus the latter the son of King Orodes, and the former a child of Titus Labienus. I will narrate how he came among the Parthians and what he did in conjunction with Pacorus. He was by chance an ally of Brutus and Cassius and had been sent to Orodes before the battle to secure some help: he was detained by him a long time (over three lines starting at line beginning “constant ill treatment”): and his presence ignored, because the king hesitated to conclude the alliance with him yet feared to refuse.

[B.C. 41 (*a. u.* 713)]

Subsequently, when news of the defeat was brought and it appeared to be the intention of the victors to spare no one who had resisted them, he remained among the barbarians, choosing to live with them rather than perish at home. This Labienus, accordingly, as soon as he perceived Antony’s relaxation, his passion, and his journeying into Egypt, persuaded the Parthian monarch to make an attempt upon the Romans. He said that their armies had been partly ruined, partly damaged, and that the remainder of the warriors were in revolt and would again be at war. Therefore he advised the king to subjugate Syria and the adjoining districts, while Caesar was detained in Italy and with Sextus, and Antony abandoned himself to love in Egypt. He promised that he would act as leader in the war, and announced that in this way he could detach many of the provinces, inasmuch as they were hostile to the Romans owing to the latter’s constant ill treatment of them.

[25] By such words Labienus persuaded Orodes to wage war and the king entrusted to him a large force and his son Pacorus, and with them invaded Phoenicia. They marched to Apamea and were repulsed from the wall, but won over the garrisons in the country without resistance. These had belonged to the troops that followed Brutus and Cassius. Antony had incorporated them in his own forces and at this time had assigned them to garrison Syria because they knew the country. So Labienus easily won over these men, since they were well acquainted with, him, all except Saxa, their temporary leader. He was a brother of the general and was quaestor, and hence he alone refused to join the Parthian invaders. Saxa the general was conquered in a set battle through the numbers and ability of the cavalry, and when later by night he made a dash from his entrenchments to get away, he was pursued. His flight was due to his fear that his associates might take up with the cause of Labienus, who labored to prevail upon them by shooting various pamphlets into the camp. Labienus took possession of these men and slew the greater part, then captured Apamea, which no longer resisted when Saxa had fled into

Antioch, since he was believed to be dead; he later captured Antioch, which the fugitive had abandoned, and at last, pursuing him in his flight into Cilicia, seized the man himself and killed him. [26] Upon his death Pacorus made himself master of Syria and subjugated all of it except Tyre. This city the Romans that survived and the natives who sided with them had occupied in advance, and neither persuasion nor force (for Pacorus had no fleet) could prevail against them. They accordingly remained secure from capture. The rest Pacorus gained and then invaded Palestine, where he removed from office Hyrcanus, to whom the affairs of the district had been entrusted by the Romans, and set up his brother Aristobulus as ruler instead because of the enmity existing between them. Meantime Labienus had occupied Cilicia and had obtained the allegiance of the cities of the mainland except Stratonicea; Plancus in fear of him had crossed over to the islands: most of these towns he took without conflict, but Mylasa and Alabanda with great peril. These cities had accepted garrisons from him, but murdered them on the occasion of a festival and revolted. For this he himself punished the people of Alabanda when he had captured it, and razed to the ground Mylasa, abandoned by the dwellers there. Stratonicea he besieged for a long time, but was unable to capture it in any way.

In satisfaction of the defections mentioned he continued to levy money and rob the temples; and he named himself emperor and Parthicus, — the latter being quite the opposite of the Roman custom, in that he took his title from those he had led against his countrymen: whereas regularly it would imply that he had conquered the Parthians instead of citizens. [28] Antony kept hearing of these operations as he did of whatever else was being done, such as matters in Italy, of which he was not in the least ignorant; but in each instance he failed to make a timely defence, for owing to passion and drunkenness he devoted no thought either to his allies or to his enemies. While he had been classed as a subordinate and was pursuing high prizes, he gave strict attention to his task: when, however, he attained power, he no longer gave painstaking care to any single matter but joined in the wanton life of Cleopatra and the rest of the Egyptians until he was entirely undone.

[B.C. 40 (*a. u.* 714)]

Rather late he was at last forced to bestir himself and sailed to Tyre with the announcement that he was going to aid it, but on seeing that the remainder of the country had been occupied before his coming, he deserted the inhabitants on the pretext that he had to wage war against Sextus. On the other hand he excused his dilatoriness with regard to the latter by bringing forward the activity of the Parthians. So on account of Sextus he gave no assistance to his allies and on account of his allies no assistance to Italy, but coasted along the mainland as far as Asia and crossed into Greece. There, after meeting his mother and wife, he made Caesar his enemy and cemented a friendship with Sextus. After this he went over to Italy and got possession of Sipontum but besieged Brundisium, which refused to come to terms with him.

[28] While he was thus engaged, Caesar, who had already arrived from Gaul, had collected his forces and had sent Publius Servilius Rullus to Brundisium, and Agrippa against Sipontum. The latter took the city by storm, but Servilius was suddenly attacked by Antony who destroyed many and won over many others. The two leaders had thus broken out into open war and proceeded to send about to the cities and to the veterans, or to any place whence they thought they could get any aid. All Italy was again thrown into turmoil and Rome especially; some were already choosing one side or the other, and others were hesitating. While the chief figures themselves and those who were to follow their fortunes were in a quiver of excitement, Fulvia died in Sicyon, — the city where she was staying. Antony was really responsible for her death through his passion for Cleopatra and the latter's lewdness. But at any rate, when this news was announced, both sides laid down their arms and effected a reconciliation, either because Fulvia had actually been the original cause of their variance or because they chose to make her death an excuse in view of the fear with which each inspired the other and the equality of their forces and hopes. The arrangement made allotted to Caesar Sardinia, Dalmatia, Spain and Gaul, and to Antony all the districts that belonged to the Romans across the Ionian Sea, both in Europe and in Asia. The provinces in Libya were held by Lepidus, and Sicily by Sextus.

[29] The government they divided anew in this way and the war against Sextus they made a common duty, although Antony through messengers had taken oaths before him against Caesar. And it was chiefly for this reason that Caesar had schooled himself to receive under a general amnesty all those who had gone over to the enemy in the war with Lucius, Antony's brother, some among them, Domitius particularly, who had been of the assassins, as well as all those whose names had been posted on the tablets or had in any way coöperated with Brutus and Cassius and later embraced the cause of Antony. So great is the irony to be found in factions and wars; for those in power decide nothing according to justice, but determine on friend and foe as their temporary needs and advantages demand. Therefore they regard the same men now as enemies, now as useful helpers, according to the occasion.

[30] When they had reached this agreement in the camp outside Brundisium, they entertained each other, Caesar in a soldierly, Roman fashion, and Antony with Asiatic and Egyptian manners. As it appeared that they had become reconciled, the soldiers who were at that time following Caesar surrounded Antony and demanded of him the money which they had promised them before the battle of Philippi. It was for this he had been sent into Asia, to collect as much as possible. And when he failed to give them anything, they would certainly have done him some harm, if Caesar had not restrained them by feeding them with new hopes. After this experience, to guard against further unruliness, they sent those soldiers who were clearly disqualified by age into the colonies, and then took up the war anew. For Sextus had come into Italy according to the agreement made between himself

and Antony, intending with the latter's help to wage war against Caesar: when he learned that they had settled their difficulties he himself went back into Sicily, but ordered Menas, a freedman of his on whom he placed great reliance, to coast about with a portion of the fleet and damage the interests of the other side. He, accordingly, inflicted injury upon considerable of Etruria and managed to capture alive Marcus Titius, the son of Titius who had been proscribed and was then with Sextus; this son had gathered ships for enterprises of his own and was blockading the province of Narbonensis. Titius underwent no punishment, being preserved for his father's sake and because his soldiers carried the name of Sextus on their shields: he did not, however, recompense his benefactor fairly, but fought him to the last ditch and finally slew him, so that his name is remembered among the most prominent of his kind. Menas besides the exploits mentioned sailed to Sardinia and had a conflict with Marcus Lurius, the governor there; and at first he was routed, but later when the other was pursuing him heedlessly he awaited the attack and contrary to expectations won a victory in turn. Thereupon his enemy abandoned the island and he occupied it. All the towns capitulated, save Caralis, which he took by siege: it was there that many fugitives from the battle had taken refuge. He released without ransom among others of the captives Helenus, a freedman of Caesar in whom his master took especial delight: he thus laid up for himself with that ruler a kindness long in advance by way of preparing a refuge for himself, if he should ever need aught at Caesar's hands.

[31] He was occupied as above described. And the people in Rome refused to remain quiet since Sardinia was in hostile hands, the coast was being pillaged, and they had been cut off from importation of grain, while famine and the great number of taxes of all sorts that were being imposed and the "contributions," in addition, that were laid upon such as possessed slaves irritated them greatly. As much as they were pleased with the reconciliation of Antony and Caesar, — for thought that harmony between these men meant peace for themselves, — they were equally or more displeased at the war the two men were carrying on against Sextus. But a short time previously they had brought the two rulers into the city mounted on horses as if at a triumph, and had bestowed upon them the triumphal robe precisely similar to that worn by persons celebrating, had made them view the festivals from their chairs of state and had hastened to espouse to Antony, when once her husband was dead, Octavia the sister of Caesar, though she was then pregnant. Now, however, they changed their behavior to a remarkable degree. At first forming in groups or gathering at some spectacle they urged Antony and Caesar to secure peace, crying out a great deal to this effect. When the men in power would not heed them, they fell at odds with them and favored Sextus. They talked frequently in his behalf, and at the horse-races honored by a loud clapping of hands the statue of Neptune carried in the procession, evincing great pleasure at it. When for some days it was not brought in, they took

stones and drove the officials from the Forum, threw down the images of Caesar and Antony, and finally, on not accomplishing anything in this way even, rushed violently upon them as if to kill them. Caesar, although his followers were wounded, rent his clothes and betook himself to supplicating them, whereas Antony presented a less yielding front. Hence, because the wrath of the populace was aroused to the highest pitch and it was feared that they would commit some violence, the two rulers were forced unwillingly to make propositions of peace to Sextus.

[32] Meantime they removed the praetors and the consuls though it was now near the close of the year, and appointed others instead, caring little that these would have but a few days to hold office. (One of those who at this time became consuls was Lucius Cornelius Balbus, of Gades, who so much surpassed the men of his generation in wealth and munificence that at his death he left a bequest of twenty-five denarii to each of the Romans.) They not only did this, but when an aedile died on the last day of the year, they chose another to fill out the closing hours. It was at this same time that the so-called Julian supply of water was piped into Rome and the festival that had been vowed for the successful completion of the war against the assassins was held by the consuls. The duties belonging to the so-called Septemviri were performed by the pontifices, since none of the former was present: this was also done on many other occasions.

[33] Besides these events which took place that year Caesar gave a public funeral to his pedagogue Sphaerus, who had been freed by him. Also he put to death Salvidienus Rufus, suspected of plotting against him. This man was of most obscure origin, and while he was a shepherd a flame had issued from his head. He had been so greatly advanced by Caesar that he was made consul without even being a member of the senate, and his brother who died before him had been laid to rest across the Tiber, a bridge being constructed for this very purpose. But nothing human is lasting, and he was finally accused in the senate by Caesar himself and executed as an enemy of his and of the entire people; thanksgivings were offered for his downfall and furthermore the care of the city was committed to the triumvirs with the customary admonition, "that it should suffer no harm."

[B.C. 41 (*a. u.* 713)]

In the year previous to this men belonging to the order of knights had slaughtered wild beasts at the horse-race which came in the course of the Ludi Apollinares, and an intercalary day was inserted, contrary to custom, in order that the market held every nine days should not fall on the first day of the following year, — something which was strictly forbidden from very early times. Naturally the day had to be subtracted again later, in order that the calendar should run according to the system devised by the former Caesar. The domain of Attalus and of Deiotarus, who had both died in Gaul, was given to a certain Castor. Also the so-called Lex Falcidia, which has the greatest force even still in regard to the succession to inheritances, was

enacted by Publius Falcidius, a tribune: its terms are that if an heir feels oppressed in any way, he may secure at least a fourth, of the property left behind by surrendering the rest.

[B.C. 39 (*a. u.* 715)]

[34] These were the events of the two years; the next season, when Lucius Marcius and Gaius Sabinus held the consulship, the acts of the triumvirs from the time they had formed a close combination received ratification at the hands of the senate, and certain further taxes were imposed by them, because the expenditures proved far greater than had been allowed for in the time of the former Caesar. For they were expending vast sums, especially upon the soldiers, and were ashamed of being the only ones to lay out money contrary to custom. Then I might mention that Caesar now for the first time shaved his beard, and held a magnificent entertainment himself besides granting all the other citizens a festival at public expense. He also kept his chin smooth afterward, like the rest; he was already beginning to conceive a passion for Livia, and for this reason divorced at once Scribonia, who had borne him a daughter. Hence, as the expenditures grew far greater than before, and the revenues were not anywhere sufficient but at this time came in in even smaller amounts by reason of the factional disputes, they introduced certain new taxes; and they enrolled in the senate as many persons as possible, not only from among the allies or soldiers, or sons of freedmen, but even slaves. At any rate one Maximus, when about to become quaestor, was recognized by his master and taken away. And he incurred no injury through having dared to stand for the office: but another who had been caught serving as a praetor, was hurled down the rocks of the Capitol, having been first freed, that there might be some legal justification for his punishment.

[35] The expedition which Antony was getting in readiness against the Parthians afforded them some excuse for the mass of prospective senators. The same plea permitted them to extend all the offices for a number of years and that of consul to eight full years, rewarding some of those who had coöperated with them, and bringing others to trial. They chose not two annual consuls, as had been the custom, but now for the first time several, and on the very day of the elections. Formerly, to be sure, some had held office after others who had neither died nor been removed for disenfranchisement or in any other way: but those persons had become officials as suited those who had been elected for the entire year, whereas now no magistrate was chosen to serve for a year, but first one, then another would be appointed for different divisions of the entire time. Also the men first to enter upon office were accustomed to hold the title of the consulship through the entire year as is now done: the rest were accorded the same title by the dwellers in the capital themselves and by the people in the rest of Italy during each period of their office (as is also now the custom), but those in outside nations knew few or none of them and therefore called them lesser consuls.

[36] This was the situation at home when the leaders first made proposals to

Sextus through companions as to how and on what terms they could effect a reconciliation; afterward the parties concerned held a conference near Misenum. The two from the capital took their stand on the land, the other on a kind of mound constructed for his safety in the sea, by which it was purposely surrounded, not far from them. There was also present the entire fleet of Sextus and the entire infantry force of the other two; and not that merely, but the one command had been drawn up on the shore and the other on the ships, both fully armed, so that this very fact made it perfectly evident to all that it was from fear of their accoutrement and from necessity, that the two rulers were making peace because of the people and Sextus because of his adherents. The compact was framed upon the following conditions, — that the deserters from among the slaves should be free and that all those driven out, save the assassins, should be restored. The latter, of course, they had to exclude, but in reality several of them were destined to return. Sextus himself, indeed, was thought to have been one of them. It was recorded, at any rate, that all the rest save those mentioned should be allowed to return under a general amnesty and with a right to a quarter of their confiscated property; that tribuneships, praetorships and priesthoods should be given to some of them immediately; that Sextus himself should be chosen consul and be appointed augur, should obtain seventeen hundred and fifty myriads of denarii from his paternal estate, and should govern Sicily, Sardinia and Achaea for five years, not receiving deserters nor acquiring more ships nor keeping any garrisons in Italy, but bending his efforts to secure peace on the sea for the peninsula, and sending a stated amount of grain to the people of the City. They limited him to this period of time because they wished it to appear that they also were holding merely a temporary and not an unending authority.

[37] After settling and drafting these compacts they deposited the documents with the priestesses, — the vestal virgins, — and then exchanged pledges and treated one another as friends. Upon this a tremendous and inextinguishable shout arose from the mainland and the ships at once. For many soldiers and many individuals who were present suddenly uttered a cry in unison because they were terribly tired of the war and vehemently desired peace. And the mountains resounded so that great panic and alarm were spread, and many died of fright at the very reverberation, while others perished by being trampled under foot and suffocated. Those who were in the small boats did not wait to reach the land itself but jumped out into the sea and the rest rushed out into the breakers. Meantime they embraced one another while swimming and threw their arms around one another's necks under water, making a diversified picture accompanied by diversified sounds. Some knew that their relatives and associates were living and seeing them present gave way to unrestrained joy. Others, thinking that those dear to them had died previously, saw them now unexpectedly and for a long time knew not what to do but were rendered speechless, distrusting their sight yet praying that it might be true; and they were not sure of them until they had called their names and had heard them

say something. They rejoiced as if the men had been brought to life again, but as they were forced to share their pleasure with a multitude they did not continue without tears. Again, some who were unaware that their loved ones had perished and thought they were alive and present sought for them and went about asking every one they met regarding them. As long as they could learn nothing they were like maniacs and were torn different ways, both hoping to find them and fearing that they were dead, — not able to despair in view of their desire nor to indulge in grief in view of their hope. On learning at last the truth they would tear their hair and rend their clothing, calling upon the lost by name as if they could hear anything and giving way to grief as if their friends were just dead and lying there somewhere. And if any of them were affected in no such way, they were at least disturbed by the experiences of the rest. They either rejoiced with somebody in joy or grieved with somebody in pain, and so, even if they were free from personal interest, yet they could not remain indifferent on account of their connection with the rest. As a result there was no possibility of their being either sated or ashamed, because they were all affected in the same way, and they spent the entire day as well as the greater part of the night in this behavior.

[38] After this the parties chiefly concerned as well as the rest received one another and inaugurated entertainments in turn, first Sextus on the ship and then Caesar and Antony on the shore. Sextus so far surpassed them in power that he would not disembark to meet them on the mainland until they had gone aboard his boat. In the course of this proceeding, however, he refused to murder them both in the small boat with only a few followers, though he might easily have done so and Menas advised it. To Antony, who had possession of his ancestral home at Carinae (the spot so named is in the city of Rome), he uttered a jest in the happiest manner, saying that he was entertaining them at Carinae, — that is, on the “keels of ships,” which is the meaning of the word in Latin. Nevertheless he did not act in any way as if he bore malice toward them, and on the following day he was feasted in turn and betrothed his daughter to Marcus Marcellus, the nephew of Caesar.

[39] This war, then, had been deferred: that of Labienus and the Parthians came to an end in the following way. Antony himself returned from Italy to Greece and delayed there a very long time, satisfying his desires and harming the cities, to the end that they should be delivered to Sextus in the weakest possible condition. He lived during this time in many ways contrary to the customs of his country. He called himself the younger Dionysus and insisted on being called so by others. When the Athenians in view of this and his other behavior betrothed Athena to him, he declared he accepted the marriage and he exacted from them a dowry of one hundred myriads. While he was occupied in this way he sent Publius Ventidius before him into Asia. The latter came upon Labienus before his presence was announced and terrified him by the suddenness of his approach and by his legions; for the Parthian leader was separated from the members of his tribe and had only soldiers from

the neighborhood. Ventidius found that he would not even risk a conflict and so pushed him back and pursued him into Syria, taking the lightest part of his fighting force with him on the expedition. He overtook him near the Taurus range and allowed him to proceed no farther, and they encamped there quietly for several days. Labienus awaited the Parthians and Ventidius the heavy-armed soldiers. [40] Both came at once during the same days and Ventidius through fear of the barbarian cavalry remained on the high ground, where he was encamped. The Parthians, because of their numbers and because they had conquered once before, despised their opponents and rode up to the hill at dawn, before joining Labienus; as no one came out to meet them, they attacked it, charging straight up the incline. When they were in that position the Romans rushed out and easily routed them, as it was down-hill. Many of the assailants were killed in conflict, but still more in turning back were confused with one another; for some had already been routed and others were coming up. The survivors took refuge not with Labienus but in Cilicia. Ventidius pursued them as far as the camp, and there, seeing Labienus, stopped. The latter marshaled his forces as if to offer him battle, but perceiving that his soldiers were dejected by reason of the flight of the barbarians he did not then venture any opposition and when night came he attempted to escape in some direction. Ventidius learned beforehand from deserters of the contemplated move and by posting ambushes killed many in the retreat and took possession of the rest, who were abandoned by Labienus. The latter by changing his dress reached safety and for some time escaped detection in Cilicia. Later he was captured by Demetrius, a freedman of the former Caesar, who had at this time been assigned to Cyprus by Antony. He learned that Labienus was in hiding and made a search for him, which resulted in the fugitive's arrest.

[41] After this Ventidius recovered Cilicia and attended himself to the administration of this district, but sent ahead Pompaedius Silo with cavalry to Amanus. This is a mountain on the border between Cilicia and Syria, and contains a pass so narrow that a wall and gates were once built across it and the place received its name from that fact. Silo, however, found himself unable to occupy it and ran in danger of being annihilated by Phranapates, lieutenant of Pacorus, who was guarding the passage. And that would have been his fate, had not Ventidius by chance come upon him when he was fighting and defended him. He attacked the barbarians, who were not looking for his arrival and were likewise fewer in number, and slew Phranapates and many others. In this way he gained Syria deserted by the Parthians, — all except the district of the Aradii, — and subsequently without effort occupied Palestine, by scaring away from it King Antigonos. Besides accomplishing this he exacted large sums of money from the rest individually, and large sums also from Antigonos and Antiochus and Malchus the Nabathæan, because they had given help to Pacorus. Ventidius himself received no reward for these achievements from the senate, since he was acting not with full

powers, but as a lieutenant: Antony, however, obtained praise and thanksgivings. As for the Aradii, they were afraid that they might have to pay the penalty for what they had ventured against Antony, and would not come to terms though they were besieged by him for a time; later they were with difficulty captured by others.

[40] About this same time an uprising took place in Parthian Illyricum, but was put down by Pollio after some conflicts. There was another on the part of the Ceretani in Spain, and they were subjugated by Calvinus after he had had some little preliminary successes and also a preliminary setback; this last was occasioned by his lieutenant, who was ambuscaded by the barbarians and deserted by his soldiers. Their leader undertook no operation against the enemy until he had punished them. Calling them together as if for some other purpose he had the rest of the army surround them; and out of two companies of a hundred he chose out every tenth man for punishment and chastised the centurion who was serving in the so-called *primus pilus* as well as many others. After doing this and gaining, like Marcus Crassus, a renown for his disciplining the army, he set out against his opponents and with no great difficulty vanquished them. He obtained a triumph in spite of the fact that Spain was assigned to Caesar; for the rulers could at will grant the honors to those who served as their lieutenants. The money customarily given by the cities for the purpose Calvinus took only from the Spanish towns, and of it he spent a part on the festival but the greater portion on the palace. It had been burned down and he built it up, adorning it splendidly at the dedication with various objects and with images, in particular, which he asked from Caesar, implying that he would send them back. Though asked for them later, he did not return them, excusing himself by a witticism. Pretending that he had not enough assistants, he said: "Send some men and take them." Caesar shrank from seizure of sacred things and hence allowed them to remain as votive offerings.

[B.C. 38 (*a. u.* 716)]

[43] This is what happened at that time. Now in the consulship of Appius Claudius and Gaius Norbanus, who were the first to have two quaestors apiece as associates, the populace revolted against the tax gatherers, who oppressed them severely, and came to blows with the men themselves, their assistants, and the soldiers that helped them to exact the money; and sixty-seven praetors one after another were appointed and held office. One who was chosen to be quaestor while still reckoned as a child then on the next day obtained the standing of a *iuvenis*: and another person who had been enrolled in the senate desired to fight in the arena. He was prevented, however, from doing this, and an act was passed prohibiting any senator from taking part in gladiatorial combats, any slave from serving as lictor, and any burning of dead bodies from being carried on within fifteen stadia of the city.

Many things of a portentous nature had come to pass even before that time (such as olive oil spouting beside the Tiber), and many, also, precisely then.

The tent of Romulus was burned as a result of some ritual which the pontifices were performing in it; a statue of Virtus, standing before some of the gates, fell upon its face; and certain persons rendered inspired by the Mother of the Gods declared that the goddess was angry with them. On this point the Sibylline books were consulted. They made the same statements and prescribed that the statue be taken down to the sea and purified with water from it. In obedience to the order the goddess went very far indeed out into the surges, where she remained an extremely long time and returned only quite late, — her action causing the Romans no little fear, so that they did not recover courage until four palm trees grew up round about her temple and in the Forum.

[44] Besides these occurrences at the time Caesar married Livia. She was the daughter of Livius Drusus, who had been among those proscribed by the tablet and had committed suicide after the defeat in Macedonia, and the wife of Nero, whom she had accompanied in his flight, as has been related. She was also in the sixth month with child from him. When Caesar accordingly hesitated and enquired of the pontifices whether it was permissible to wed her while pregnant, they answered that if the origin of the foetus were doubtful, the marriage should be put off, but if it were definitely admitted, nothing prevented an immediate consummation. Perhaps they really found this among the ordinances of the forefathers, but certainly they would have said so even had they not found it. The woman was given in marriage by her husband himself, as some father might do. And the following incident occurred at the marriage feast. One of the prattling boys, such as women frequently keep about them naked to play with, on seeing Livia reclining in one place with Caesar and Nero in another with some man, went up to her and said: "What are you doing here, mistress? For your husband," pointing him out, "is reclining over there." After these events, when the woman went to live with Caesar, she gave birth to Claudius Drusus Nero. Caesar took him and sent him to his father, making this entry in the records, that Caesar returned to its father Nero the child borne by Livia, his own wife. Nero died not long after and left Caesar himself as guardian to this boy and to Tiberius: the populace had a good deal to say about this, among other things that the prosperous have children in three months; and this saying passed into a proverb.

[45] At just about the same time that this was going on in the city Bogud the Moor sailed to Spain, acting either on instructions from Antony or on his own motion, and did much damage, receiving also considerable injury in return: meantime the people of his own land in the neighborhood of Tingi rose against him, and so he evacuated Spain but failed to win back his own domain. For the adherents of Caesar in Spain and Bocchus came to the aid of the rebels and proved too much for him. Bogud departed to join Antony, while Bocchus forthwith took possession of his kingdom, and this act was afterward confirmed by Caesar. The Tingitanians were given citizenship.

At this time and even earlier Sextus and Caesar had broken out into war;

for since they had come to an agreement not of their own free will or choice but under compulsion, they did not abide by it any time at all, so to speak, but broke the truce at once and stood opposed. They were destined to come to war under any conditions, even if they had found no excuse; their alleged grievances, however, were the following. Menas, who was at this time still in Sardinia, as if he were a kind of praetor, had incurred the suspicion of Sextus by his release of Helenus and because he had been in communication with Caesar, and he was slandered to some extent by his peers, who envied his position of power. He was therefore summoned by Sextus on the pretext that he should give an account of the grain and money of which he had charge; instead of obeying he seized and killed the men sent to him on this errand, and after negotiating with Caesar surrendered to him the island, the fleet together with the army, and himself. Caesar was glad to see him and declared that Sextus was harboring deserters contrary to the treaty, having triremes built, and keeping garrisons in Italy: and so far from giving up Menas on demand, he supported him in great honor, gave him the decoration of gold rings, and enrolled him in the order of the knights. The matter of the gold rings is as follows. Of the ancient Romans no one, — not to mention such as had once been slaves, — who had grown up as a free citizen even, was allowed to wear gold rings, save senators and knights, — as has been stated. Therefore they are given to those freedmen whom the man in power may select; although they may use gold in other ways, this is still an additional honor and distinguishes them as superior, or as capable, through having been freed, of becoming knights.

[46] Such is the matter in question. Sextus, having this as a reproach against Caesar, and the further facts that Achaea had been impoverished and the rights agreed upon were not granted either to him or to the restored exiles, sent to Italy Menecrates, another freedman of his, and had him ravage Volturnum and other parts of Campania. Caesar on learning this took the documents containing the treaty from the vestal virgins and sent for Antony and Lepidus. Lepidus did not at once obey. Antony came to Brundisium from Greece where, by chance, he still was: but before he met Caesar, who was in Etruria, he became alarmed because a wolf had entered his head-quarters and killed soldiers; so he sailed back to Greece again, making the urgency of the Parthian situation his excuse. Caesar, however much he felt that he had been abandoned by his colleague with the purpose that he should face the difficulties of the war alone, nevertheless showed no anger openly. Sextus kept repeating that Antony was not for punishing him and set himself more zealously to the task in hand. Finally he sailed against Italy, landed at different points, inflicted much injury and endured much in return. Meantime off Cyme there was a naval battle between Menecrates and Calvisius Sabinus. In this several ships of Caesar were destroyed, because he was arrayed against expert seafarers; but Menecrates out of rivalry attacked Menas and perished, making the loss of Sextus an equal one. For this reason the latter laid no claim to

victory and Caesar consoled himself over the defeat. [47] He happened at this time to be in Rhegium, and the party of Sextus feared he would cross over into Sicily; and being somewhat disheartened, too, at the death of Menecrates, they set sail from Cyme. Sabinus pursued them as far as Scyllaeum, the Italian promontory, without trouble. But, as he was rounding that point, a great wind fell upon him, hurling some of the ships against the promontory, sinking others out at sea, and scattering all the rest. Sextus on ascertaining this sent the fleet under command of Apollophanes against them. He, discovering Caesar coasting along somewhere in these parts with the intention of crossing into Sicily along with Sabinus, made a dash upon him. Caesar had the ships come to anchor, marshaled the heavy-armed soldiers upon them, and at first made a noble resistance. The ships were drawn up with prows facing outward and so offered no safe point for attack, but being shorter and higher could do more hurt to those that approached them, and the heavy-armed fighters, when they could come in conflict with the enemy, proved far superior. Apollophanes, however, transferred such as were wounded and were in difficulty from time to time to other ships assigned for the purpose, by backing water, and took on board fresh men; he also made constant charges and used missiles carrying fire, so that his adversary was at last routed, fled to the land, and came to anchor. When even then the pursuers pressed him hard, some of Caesar's ships suddenly cut their anchors and unexpectedly offered opposition. It was only this and the fact that night interrupted operations that kept Apollophanes from burning some of the ships and towing all the rest away.

[48] After this event an ill-fated wind on the following day fell upon Caesar and Sabinus as they were anchored together and made their previous reverse seem small. The fleet of Sabinus suffered the less, for Menas, being an old hand on the sea, foresaw the storm. He immediately stationed his ships out at sea, letting them ride with slack anchors some distance apart, so that the ropes should not be stretched and break; then he rowed directly against the wind, and in this way no rope was strained, and he remained constantly in the same position, recovering by the use of the oars all the distance which he lost by the impetus of the wind. The remaining commanders, because they had gone through a severe experience the day before, and as yet had no precise knowledge of nautical matters, were cast out upon the shore close by and lost many ships. The night, which had been of the greatest aid to them before, was now among the chief agencies in promoting disaster. All through it the wind blew violently, tearing the vessels from their anchors and dashing them against the rocks. That of course was the end of them, and the sailors and marines likewise perished without hope of rescue, since the darkness prevented them from seeing ahead and they could not hear a word because of the uproar and the reverberation from the mountains, especially since the wind smote them in the face. So it was that Caesar despaired of Sicily and was satisfied to guard the coast country: Sextus on the other hand was still more

elated, believing himself in very truth to be the son of Neptune, and he put on a dark blue robe besides, as some relate, casting horses as well as men alive into the straits. He plundered and harassed Italy himself, sending Apollophanes to Libya. The latter was pursued by Menas, who overtook and injured him. The islands round about Sicily went over to the side of Sextus, whereupon Caesar seized the territory of the Lipareans in advance and ejecting them from the island conveyed them to Campania, where he forced them to live in Neapolis so long as the war should continue. [49] Meantime he kept having boats made throughout almost all of Italy and collected slaves for rowers first from his friends, who were supposed to give willingly, and then from the rest, — senators and knights and well-to-do private citizens. He also assembled heavy-armed troops and gathered money from all citizens, allies, and subjects, both in Italy and abroad.

This year and the following he spent on the construction of ships and the gathering and training of rowers.

[B.C. 37 (*a. u.* 717)]

He himself oversaw and arranged these details and all other matters in Italy and in Gaul (where there was a slight uprising). To Agrippa he entrusted the equipment of the boats. He sent for this man, who was fighting against the revolted Gauls, at the time when he had been the second of the Romans to cross the Rhine for purposes of warfare, and he honored him by bestowing a triumph and bidding him to secure the building and training of the fleet. Agrippa, — he was consul with Lucius Gallus, — would not hold the triumph, deeming it disgraceful for him to exalt himself when Caesar had fared poorly, but set to work heart and soul to fit out the fleet. All along the coasts of Italy vessels were taking shape; but since no shore was found safe for them to ride at anchor, — the majority of the coast land being still in those days without harbors, — he conceived and executed a magnificent enterprise which I shall describe at some length, showing its nature and the present characteristics of the locality where it took place.

[50] At Cyme in Campania, between Misenum and Puteoli, there is a crescent-shaped spot. It is shut in by small hills, bare except in a few places, and the sea there forms a kind of triple bay. The first is outside and near the cities; the second is separated from it by a small passage; and the third, like a real harbor, is seen far back. The last named is called Avernus, and the middle bay Lucrinus: the outer one belongs to the Tyrrhenian Sea and takes its name from that water. In this roadstead within the other two, which had but narrow entrances then, Agrippa, by cutting channels close along the shore through the land separating Lucrinus from the sea on each side, produced harbors affording most safe anchorage for ships. While the men were working a certain image situated above Avernus, either of Calypso to whom this place, whither they say Odysseus also sailed, is devoted, or to some other heroine, was covered with sweat like a human body. [51] Now what this imported I cannot say; but I will go on to tell of everything else worth reporting which I

saw in that place. These mountains close to the inner bodies of water have springs full of both fire and water in considerable quantity mixed together. Neither of the two elements is anywhere to be found by itself (that is, neither pure fire or cold water alone is to be seen) but from their association the water is heated and the fire moistened. The former on its way down the foothills to the sea runs into reservoirs and the inhabitants conduct the steam from it through pipes into rooms set up high, where they use the steam for vapor baths. The higher it ascends from the earth and from the water, the dryer it becomes. Costly apparatus has been installed for turning both the fire and the vapor to practical use; and they are very well suited for employment in the conduct of daily life and also for effecting cures.

Now besides these products that mountain makes an earth, the peculiar nature of which I am going to describe. Since the fire has not the power of burning (for by its union with, the water all its blazing qualities are extinguished) but is still able to separate and melt the substances with which it comes in contact, it follows that the oily part of the earth is melted by it, whereas the hard and what I might call the bony part of it is left as it was. Hence the masses of earth necessarily become porous and when exposed to the dry air crumble into dust, but when they are placed in a swirl of water and sand grow into a solid piece; as much of them as is in the liquid hardens and petrifies. The reason for this is that the brittle element in them is disintegrated and broken up by the fire, which possesses, the same nature, but by the admixture of dampness is chilled, and so, being compressed all over, through and through, becomes indissoluble. Such is Baiae, where Agrippa as soon as he had constructed the entrances collected ships and rowers, of which he fortified the former with armor and trained the latter to row on wooden benches.

[52] Now the population of Rome was being disturbed by signs. Among the various pieces of news brought to them was one to the effect that many dolphins battled with one another and perished near Aspis, the African city. And in the vicinity of the City blood descended from heaven and was smeared all about by the birds. When at the Ludi Romani not one of the senators was entertained on the Capitol, as had been the custom, they took this, too, as a portent. Again, the incident that happened to Livia caused her pleasure, but inspired the rest with terror. A white bird carrying a sprig of fruited laurel had been thrown by an eagle into her lap. As this seemed to be a sign of no small importance, she took care of the bird and planted the laurel. The latter took root and grew, so that it amply supplied those who were afterward to celebrate triumphs; and Livia was destined to hold Caesar's power in a fold of her robe and to dominate him in everything.

[53] The rest, however, in the City had their peace of mind thoroughly shattered by this and the differences between officials. Not only the consuls and praetors but even the quaestors were arrayed against one another, and this lasted for some time. The reason was that all were anxious not so much to

hold office a longer time at home as to be counted among the ex-officials and secure the outward honors and influence that belonged to that class. They were no longer chosen for any specified time, but took just long enough to enter upon the title of the office and resign, whenever it so seemed good to those in power. Many did both on the same day. Some actually had to abandon hope of offices through poverty, and in this I am not speaking of those then supporting Sextus, who had been disenfranchised as if by some principle of right. But we have the case of a certain Marcus Oppius who through lack of means desired to resign the aedileship, — both he and his father had been among the proscribed, — and the populace would not permit it, but contributed money for his various necessities of life and the expenses of his office. And the story goes that some criminals, too, really came into the theatre in masks as if they were actors and left their money there with the rest. So this man was loved by the multitude while in life and at his death not long after was carried to the Campus Martius and there burned and buried. The senate was indignant at the utter devotion of the masses to him and took up his bones, on the plea that it was impious for them to lie in that consecrated spot; they were persuaded by the pontifices to make this declaration although they buried many other men there both before and after.

[54] At this same period Antony came into Italy again from Syria. The reason he gave was that he intended to bear his share of the war against Sextus because of Caesar's mishaps; he did not, however, stay by his colleague, but, having come to spy upon his actions rather than to accomplish anything, he gave him some ships and promised to send others, in return for which he received heavy-armed infantry and set sail himself, stating that he was going to conduct a campaign against the Parthians. Before he departed they presented to each other their mutual grievances, at first through friends and then personally. As they had no leisure for war together they became reconciled in a way, chiefly through the instrumentality of Octavia. In order that they might be bound by still more ties of relationship Caesar betrothed his daughter to Antyllis, Antony's son, and Antony betrothed to Domitius, though he had been an assassin of Caesar and had been proscribed to die, his own daughter, borne to him by Octavia. This was all mutual pretence. They had no intention of carrying out any of these unions, but were acting a part in view of the needs of the existing situation. Furthermore Antony sent Octavia herself at once from Corcyra to Italy, that she might not share his danger while he was warring against the Parthians. Besides the above negotiations at that time they removed Sextus from his priesthood as well as from the consulship to which he had been appointed, and granted themselves chief authority for another five years, since the first period had elapsed. After this Antony hastened to Syria and Caesar gave his attention to the war. Nearly everything went as he wished, but Menas, who was naturally untrustworthy and always followed the fortunes of the stronger, and was further vexed because he held no office but had been made a subordinate of Sabinus, deserted again to Sextus.

BOOK 49

The following is contained in the Forty-ninth of Dio's Rome.

How Caesar conquered Sextus and overthrew Lepidus (chapters 1-18).

How Ventidius conquered and slew Pacorus and expelled the Parthians, driving them across the Euphrates (chapters 19-21).

How Antony was defeated by the Parthians (chapters 22-33).

How Caesar subjugated the Pannonians (chapters 34-38).

How Antony by guile captured Artavasdes, the king of Armenia (chapters 39-41).

How the Portico of Paulus was consecrated (chapter 42).

How Mauritania Caesariensis became Roman property (chapters 43, 44).

Duration of time four years, in which there were the following magistrates here enumerated.

L. Gellius L. F. Poplicola, M. Cocceius Nerva. (B.C. 36 = a. u. 718.)

L. Cornificius L. F., Sextus Pompeius Sexti F. (B.C. 35 = a. u. 719.)

M. Antonius M. F. (II), L. Scribonius L. F. Libo. (B.C. 34 = a. u. 720.)

Caesar (II), L. Volcacius L. F. Tullus. (B.C. 33 = a. u. 721.)

BOOK 49, BOISSEVAIN.

[B.C. 36 (a. u. 718)]

[1] This happened in the winter when Lucius Gellius and Cocceius Nerva became consuls. Caesar, when his fleet had been made ready and spring set in, started from Baise and coasted along Italy, having great hopes of encompassing Sicily on all sides. For he was sailing thither with many ships and those of Antony were already in the strait. Also Lepidus, though reluctantly, had promised to assist him. His greatest ground of confidence lay in the height of the vessels and the thickness of the timbers. They had been built unusually stout and unusually high so as to carry the largest number of marines possible; indeed, they were surmounted by towers, in order that the conflict might be waged from a higher point, as if from a wall: they were further intended to resist the rammings of antagonists and to bend aside their beaks by making the collision more violent. With such calculations Caesar was hastening to Sicily. As he was passing the promontory of Palinurus, so-called, a great storm fell upon him. This destroyed many ships, and Menas coming upon the rest in confusion burned a number and towed away the rest. And had he not again changed sides on the promise of immunity and through some other hopes, besides betraying the whole fleet that he commanded by receiving some triremes that simulated desertion, Caesar's voyage to Sicily on this occasion also would have proved fruitless. Menas's action was due to the fact that he was not allowed by Sextus to fight against Lepidus and was under suspicion in nearly every way. Caesar was then extremely glad to receive him, but trusted him no longer. He first repaired the damaged ships, freed the slaves that served on the triremes, and assigned the spare seamen, (many of whom when their vessels were destroyed in the wreck had dived and escaped by swimming) to Antony's fleet, which was short of men. Then he came to Lipara, and leaving there Agrippa and the ships, returned to the mainland with the intention of transporting the infantry across into Sicily, when an opportunity should arise.

[2] On learning this Sextus himself lay quietly at anchor off Messina, watching for his attempt to cross, and ordered Demochares to anchor opposite Agrippa at Mylae. This pair spent most of the time in testing each other's strength according as each one would temporarily give way a little; yet they did not dare to risk an engagement with their entire armaments. They were not acquainted with each other's forces and on both sides they figured everything about their opponents as being greater and more terrible than the reality. Finally Agrippa comprehended that it was not advantageous for him to delay, — for the adherents of Sextus, occupying a friendly position, had no need to hurry, — and taking the best of his ships set out for Mylae to spy out the numbers of the enemy. As he could not see them all and no one of them manifested any inclination to come out into the open sea, he despised them,

and on his return made preparations to sail against Mylae on the following day with all his ships. Demochares came to much the same conclusion. He had the idea that the ships which had approached him were the only ones, and seeing that they sailed very slowly by reason of their size he sent for Sextus by night and made preparations to assail Lipara itself. When day broke, they were sailing against each other, expecting to meet inferior numbers. [3] As they came near together and each contrary to his expectations saw that his opponents were many more than he had thought, they were at first both alike thrown into confusion, and some even backed water. Then, fearing flight more than battle, because in the latter they hoped to prevail, but in the former they expected to be utterly destroyed, they moved toward each other and joined in conflict on the sea. The one side surpassed in the number of its ships, the other in the experience of its sailors: to the first the height of the vessels, the thickness of the catheads and the towers were a help, but charges straight ahead furthered the progress of the second, and the strength of Caesar's marines was matched by the daring of their antagonists; for the majority of them, being deserters from Italy, were quite desperate. As a result, possessing the mutual advantages and deficiencies which I have mentioned, they had equal power contributed by their evenly balanced equipment, and so their contest was close for a very long period. The followers of Sextus alarmed their opponents by the way they dashed up the waves: and they knocked holes in some ships by assailing them with a rush and bursting open the parts outside the oars, but as they were struck from the towers in the combat and brought alongside by grappling irons, they suffered no less harm than they inflicted. The Caesarians, also, when they came into close conflict and had crossed over to the hostile ships, proved superior; but as the enemy leaped out into the sea whenever the boats sank, and by their swimming well and being lightly equipped succeeded easily in climbing upon others, the attackers were at a corresponding disadvantage. Meantime the rapidity with which the ships of the one party could sail proved an offset to the solidity of those on the other side, and the heaviness of the latter counterbalanced the agility of the former. [4] Late in the day, near nightfall, Caesar's party finally conquered, but instituted no pursuit: the reason as it appears to me and may be conjectured from probability was that they could not overtake the fleeing ships and were afraid of running aground in the shallows, with which they were unacquainted, near the coast. Some say that Agrippa because he was battling for Caesar and not for himself thought it sufficient merely to rout his adversaries. For he had been in the habit of saying to his most intimate associates that the majority of those holding sovereign power wish no one to display more ability than themselves; and that they attended personally to nearly all such matters as afford them a conquest without effort, but assign the less favorable and more complicated business to others. And if they ever are forced to entrust some choice enterprise to their assistants, they are irritated and displeased at the latter's renown. They do not pray that these subordinates

may be defeated and fare badly, yet they do not choose to have them win a complete success and secure glory from it. His advice therefore was that the man who intended to survive must relieve his masters of the annoyance incident to such undertakings and still reserve for them the successful completion of the work. As for me, I know that the above is regularly true and that Agrippa paid attention to it, but I am not setting down that on that particular occasion this was the cause of his failure to pursue. For he was not able, no matter how much he might have desired it, to follow up the foe.

[5] While the naval battle was in progress, Caesar, as soon as he perceived that Sextus was gone from Messina and that the strait was destitute of guards, did not let slip this opportunity of the war but immediately embarked on Antony's vessels and crossed to Tauromenium. Yet this seizure of the opportunity was not accompanied by good fortune. No one prevented him from sailing or disembarking, and he constructed his camp, as he had done everything else, at leisure. When, however, the naval battle had ended, Sextus got back to Messina with speed, and learning of Caesar's presence he quickly filled the ships with fresh warriors and assailed him with the vessels and also with his heavy-armed men on land. Caesar did not come out to fight the latter, but sailed out against Sextus through contempt of the few opposing ships and because they had been previously defeated: then it was that he lost the majority of his fleet and barely avoided destruction himself. He could not even escape to his own men that were in Sicily but was glad to reach the mainland in safety. He was himself then in security, but was mightily disturbed at seeing his army cut off on the island. His confidence was not restored until a fish of its own accord jumped out of the sea and fell at his feet. By this incident his spirits were invigorated and he believed the soothsayers who had told him that he should make Sicily his slave.

[6] Caesar in haste sent for Agrippa to render aid to them, and meantime they were being besieged. When, provisions began to fail them and no rescuing force appeared, Cornificius their leader became afraid that if he stayed where he was he should in the course of time be compelled by hunger to yield to the besieging party; and he reflected that while he delayed there in that way none of the enemy would come into conflict with him, because he was stronger in point of heavy-armed infantry, but if he should go forward in any direction one of two things would happen, — either they would be attacked by the enemy and come off victorious, or, if their adversaries were unwilling to do this, they would retire to a place of safety, get a supply of provisions, and obtain some help from Caesar or from Agrippa. Therefore he burned all the vessels which had survived from the sea-fight and had been cast up against the ramparts, and started out himself as if to proceed to Mylae. Both cavalry and light-armed troops attacked him from a distance (not daring to come to close quarters) and proved frightfully troublesome to him. For the enemy came close, whenever there was good opportunity, and again turned back with rapidity. But his men, being heavy-armed, could not pursue them in

any way owing to the weight of their armor, and were endeavoring to protect the unarmed, who had been saved from the fleet. As a result they were continually suffering disastrously and could do no damage in return; for, in case they made a rush upon any group, they would put the foe to flight, but not being able to pursue farther they found themselves in a worse plight on their return, since by their sortie they had been isolated. They endured the greatest hardship throughout their entire journey, but chiefly in crossing the rivers. Then their adversaries hemmed them in as they were going along rapidly, in disorder, a few at a time, as usual on such occasions, and struck them in favorable spots that they saw exposed. They were shot at, moreover, whenever they encountered places that were muddy or where the current was strong, and when they happened to be stuck for a moment or were carried down stream. [7] This the enemy did for three whole days and on the last demoralized them completely, especially since Sextus with his heavy-armed contingent had been added to their attacking force. Consequently the Caesarians no longer mourned such as were perishing but counted them fortunate to escape from further torment, and in their hopelessness wished that they, too, were among those already dead, wounded were far more in number than those died, and being struck from a distance with stones and javelins and receiving no blow from near at hand their wounds were in many places, and not as a rule favorably located. These men were themselves in great distress and they caused the survivors far more trouble than did the enemy. For if they were carried they usually brought about the death of the men supporting them, and if they were left behind, they threw the whole army into dejection by their laments. The detachment would have perished utterly, had not the foe, though reluctantly, taken their hands off them. Agrippa, after winning the naval battle, had sailed back to Lipara, but when he learned that Sextus had fled to Messana and Demochares had gone off in some other direction, he crossed over to Sicily, occupied Mylae and Tyndaris, and sent food and soldiers to the other party. Sextus, thinking that Agrippa himself would come likewise, became frightened and beat a hasty retreat before his approach, even abandoning some baggage and supplies in his fortifications. The followers of Cornificius obtained from these ample support and made their way in safety to Agrippa. Caesar received them back with praises and gifts, although he had treated them after the victory of Agrippa in a very supercilious manner, thinking the latter had finished the war. Cornificius, indeed, prided himself so much upon his preservation of the soldiers, that in Rome, whenever he went out of his house to dine, he always returned home on the back of an elephant.

[8] Caesar after this entered Sicily and Sextus encamped opposite him in the vicinity of Artemisium. They did not have any great battle at once, but indulged in a few slight cavalry skirmishes. While they were stationed there in hostile array Sextus received as an accession Tisienus Gallus, and Caesar Lepidus with his forces. Lepidus had encountered the storm which I mentioned, and also Demochares, and he had lost a number of ships: he did

not come to Caesar immediately, but on account of his reverse or to the end that his colleague should face difficulties by himself or in the wish to draw Sextus away from him he had made an assault on Lilybaeum. Gallus was sent thither by Sextus and contended against him. From there both the contestants, as they accomplished nothing, went to Artemisium. Gallus proved a source of strength to Sextus, but Lepidus quarreled with Caesar; he claimed the privilege of managing everything on equal terms with Caesar as his fellow-commander, whereas he was employed by him entirely in the capacity of lieutenant: therefore he inclined to favor Sextus and secretly held communication with him. Caesar suspected this, but dared not give expression to his doubts and alienate him openly, nor could he safely conceal his thoughts: he felt it would look suspicious if he should not consult him at all and that it would be dangerous to reveal all his plans. Hence he determined to dispose of the uncertainty as quickly as possible, before there was any rebellion, though for most reasons there was no need of particular haste. He had as much food and as much money as Sextus, and therefore hoped to overthrow him without effort before a great while. Still, when he had once reached this decision, he himself led out his land force and marshaled it in front of the camp, while simultaneously Agrippa sailed close in and lay at anchor. Sextus, whose forces were far inferior to theirs, would not oppose them on either element. This lasted for several days. Finally, Pompey became afraid that he might be despised for his behavior and be deserted by his allies, hence he gave orders for the ships to weigh anchor; in these he reposed his chief trust.

[9] When the signal was raised and the trumpet gave the first call, all the boats joined battle near the land and the infantry force of both alike was marshaled at the very edge of the breakers, so that the spectacle was a most notable one. The whole sea in that vicinity was full of ships, — they were so many that they formed a long line, — and the land just back of it was occupied by the armed men, while that further removed, but adjoining, was taken up by the rest of the throng that followed each side. Wherefore, though the struggle seemed to be between the fighters on the ships alone, in reality the others too participated. For those on the ships contended more valiantly in order to exhibit their prowess to those beholding them, and the latter, in spite of being considerably separated from them, nevertheless in watching the men in action were themselves in a way concerned in the conflict. The battle was for a long time an even one, the fighting being precisely similar to that in previous encounters, and the men on shore followed it with minds equally intent. They were very hopeful of having the whole war settled by this engagement: yet they felt encouraged even should that not prove the case, the one party expecting that if they should conquer then no further labor of importance would be theirs, and that if they should prevail on this occasion they would incur no further danger of defeat. Accordingly, in order that they might keep their eyes fixed upon the action and not incommode those taking

part in it they were silent or employed but little shouting. Their cries were directed to the combatants or were addressed by way of invocation to the gods; such as got the upper hand received praise and such as gave way abuse, and besides uttering many exhortations to their warriors they shouted not a little against each other, wishing their own men to hear more easily what was said, and their opponents to catch familiar words less frequently.

[10] While the two sides were equally matched, these were the conditions among both parties alike and they even tried to show by gestures of the whole body that they could see and understand. When, however, the adherents of Sextus were routed, then in unison and with one impulse the one side raised the paean and the others a wail of lamentation. The soldiers as if they too had shared defeat at once retired to Messana. Caesar took up such of the vanquished as were cast on shore and went into the sea itself to set on fire all the vessels that ran aground in shoal water; thus there was no safety for such as continued to sail, for they would be disabled by Agrippa, nor for such as tried to land anywhere, for they were destroyed by Caesar, except for a few that made good their escape to Messana. In this hard position Demochares on the point of being taken slew himself and Apollophanes who had his ship unscathed and might have fled went over to Caesar. The same was done by others, — by Gallus and all the cavalry that followed him and subsequently by some of the infantry. [11] This most of all caused Sextus to despair of the situation, and he resolved to flee. He took his daughter and certain other persons, his money and the rest of his chief valuables, put them by night aboard of such ships as sailed best out of the number that had been preserved, and departed. No one pursued him, for his sailing had been secret and Caesar was temporarily in the midst of great disturbance.

Lepidus had attacked Messana and on being admitted to the town set fire to some of it and pillaged other portions. When Caesar on ascertaining this came up quickly and withstood him, he was alarmed and slipped out of the city, but encamped on a strong hill and made complaints about his treatment; he detailed all the slights he had received and demanded all that had been conceded to him according to their first compact and further laid claim to Sicily, on the ground that he had helped subdue it. He sent some men to Caesar with these charges and challenged him to submit to arbitration: his forces consisted of troops which he had brought in from Libya and all of those who had been left behind in Messana; for he had been the first to enter it and had suggested to them some hopes of a change in the government. [12] Caesar made no answer to it, thinking that he had justice all on his side and in his weapons, since he was stronger than his rival. He immediately set out, however, against him with some few followers, expecting to alarm him by his suddenness, — Lepidus not being of an energetic nature, — and to win over his soldiers. On account of the fewness of the men accompanying him they thought when he entered the camp that he was on a peaceful errand. But as his words were not at all to their liking, they became irritated and attacked him,

even killing some of the men: he himself quickly received aid and was saved. After this he came against them once more with his entire army, shut them within their ramparts, and besieged them. This made them afraid of capture, and without creating any general revolt, through dread of Lepidus, they individually, a few at a time or one by one, deserted him and transferred their allegiance. In this way he too was compelled on his own initiative to array himself in mourning garments and become a suppliant of Caesar. As a result Lepidus was shorn of all authority and could not even live in Italy without a guard. Of those who had been enlisted in the cause of Sextus, members of the senatorial or equestrian classes were punished, save a few, while in the case of the rank and file all free citizens were incorporated in the legions of Caesar, and those that had been slaves were given back to their masters for vengeance: in case no master could be found for any one of them, he was impaled. Of the cities some voluntarily opened their gates to the victor and received pardon, and others resisted him and were disciplined.

[13] While Caesar was thus occupied his soldiers revolted. Being so many they drew encouragement from their very numbers and when they stopped to think of their dangers and the hopes that rested on them they became insatiable in the matter of rewards, and gathering in groups they demanded whatever each one longed for. When their talk had no effect, — for Caesar since no enemy longer confronted him made light of them, — they became clamorous. Setting before him all the hardships they had endured and bringing to his notice any promise he had ever made them they uttered many threats besides, and thought to render him willy-nilly their slave. As they gained nothing this way, they demanded with much heat and deafening shouts to be relieved at least from further service, saying they were worn out. This was not because they really wished to be free from it, for most of them were in their prime, but because they had an inkling of the coming conflict between Caesar and Antony and for that reason set a high value upon themselves. And what they could not obtain by requests they expected they could secure by threatening to abandon him. Not even this, however, served their purpose. Caesar would not yield to them, even if he knew for an absolute certainty that the war was going to occur and clearly understood their wishes. He did not think it proper for a commander to do anything against his will under compulsion from the soldiers, because they would be sure, if he did, to want to get the advantage of him again in some other matter. [14] So he pretended that their request was a fair one and their desire only human and dismissed first those that had accompanied him in the campaign against Antony at Mutina, and next, since the rest were troublesome, all of them who had been ten years in the service. And in order to restrain the remainder he gave further notice that he would no longer employ any one of them, no matter how much such a person might wish it. On hearing this they uttered not another word, but began to exhibit great devotion toward him because he announced that he would give to the men that had been released, — not to all, save to the first of

them, but to the worthiest, — everything that he had promised, and would assign them land. They were also influenced by the fact that he gave to all of them five hundred denarii and to those who had been victors in the sea-fight a crown of olive besides. After this he inspired them all personally with great hopes and the centurions with the idea that he would appoint them to the senatorial bodies in their native lands. Upon his lieutenants he bestowed various gifts and upon Agrippa a golden crown adorned with beaks of ships, — a decoration given to nobody before or since. And it was later ratified by a decree that as often as any persons celebrated a triumph, wearing the laurel crown, Agrippa should always wear this trophy of the naval encounter. In this way Caesar calmed the soldiers temporarily. The money he gave them at once and the land not much later. And since what was still held by the government at the time did not suffice, he bought more in addition, especially considerable from the Campanians dwelling in Capua, since their city needed a number of settlers. To them he also gave in return the so-called Julian supply of water, one of their chief sources of pride at all times, and the Gnosian territory, from which they still gather harvests.

That took place later. At the time under discussion he administered the government in Sicily and through Statilius Taurus won both the Libyas without a struggle and sent back to Antony a number of ships equivalent to those lost. [15] Meantime conditions in Etruria which had been full of rebellion regained a state of quiet when the inhabitants heard of his victory. The people of the capital unanimously bestowed laudations upon him and images, the right to front seats and an arch surmounted by a trophy, as well as the privilege of riding into the city on horseback, of wearing the laurel crown on all occasions, and of holding a banquet with his wife and children in the precinct of the Capitoline Jupiter on the anniversary of the day that he had conquered, which was to be a perpetual day of thanksgiving. This is what they granted him directly after the victory. The persons to announce it were, first, a soldier stationed in the city, who on the very day in question had become possessed by some god and after saying and doing many unusual things finally ran up to the temple on the Capitol and laid his sword at the feet of Jupiter to signify that there would be no further use for it; after that came the rest who had been present at the action and had been sent to Rome by Caesar. When he arrived himself he assembled them according to ancestral custom outside the pomerium, gave them an account of what had been done, and renounced some of the honors voted him. He then remitted the tribute called for by the registered lists and everything else that was owing the government since before the period of the civil wars, abolished certain taxes, and refused to accept the priesthood of Lepidus, which was offered to him; for it was not lawful to take away the appointment from a man still alive. At this time they voted him many other distinctions. Some at once declared that this striking magnanimity of his at this time was due to the calumnies of Antony and of Lepidus and was intended to lay the blame of former unjust behavior upon

them alone. Others said that since he was unable in any way to collect the debts he made of the people's impotency a favor that cost him nothing. In spite of this various talk that gained currency in different quarters they now resolved that a house be presented to him from the public treasury. He had made the place on the Palatine which he had bought to erect a structure public property, and had consecrated it to Apollo, because a thunderbolt descended upon it. Hence they voted him the house and protection from any insult by deed or word. Any one who committed such an offence was to be bound by the same penalties as prevailed in the case of a tribune. For he received permission to sit upon the same benches with them.

[16] These were the gifts bestowed upon Caesar by the senate. As for him, he enrolled among the augurs above the proper number, Valerius Messala, whom he previously in the proscriptions condemned to death, made the people of Utica citizens, and gave orders that no one should wear purple clothing except senators and such as held public office. For it had been already appropriated by ordinary individuals in a few cases. In this same year there was no aedile owing to a lack of candidates, and the praetors and the tribunes performed the aediles' duties: also no praetor urbanus was appointed for the Feriae, but some of the regular praetors discharged his functions. Other matters in the city and in the rest of Italy were under the charge of one Gaius Maecenas, a knight, both then and for a long time afterward.

[17] Now Sextus after taking ship from Messina was afraid of pursuit and suspected that there might be some act of treachery on the part of his retinue. Therefore he gave notice to them that he was going to sail seaward, but when he had extinguished the light which flagships exhibit during night voyages for the purpose of having the rest follow close behind, he coasted along Italy, then went over to Corcyra and from there came to Cephallenia. Here the remainder of his vessels, which had by chance been driven from the course by a storm, joined him again. Accordingly, after calling them together, he took off his general's uniform and made an address of which the substance was that while they remained together they could render no lasting aid to one another or escape detection, but if they scattered they could more easily make good their escape; and he advised each man to look out individually and separately for his own safety. The majority were led to give ear to his arguments and they departed in different directions, while he with the remainder crossed over to Asia with the intention of going straight to Antony. When he reached Lesbos and learned that the latter had gone on a campaign against the Medes and that Caesar and Lepidus had become estranged, he decided to winter in the country. The Lesbians, indeed, out of affectionate remembrance for his father were ready to receive and detain him. He ascertained, however, that Antony had met with a mishap in Media, and reflected further that Gaius Furnius, temporarily the governor of Asia, was not friendly to him. Hence he did not remain, but hoping to succeed to Antony's leadership because a number of men had come to him from Sicily and still others had rallied

around him, some drawn by the glamour of his father's renown and some who were seeking a livelihood, he resumed the outfit of a general and continued his preparations to occupy the opposite shore. [18] Meantime Antony had got back again into friendly territory and on learning what Sextus was doing promised he would grant him amnesty and favor, if he would lay down his arms. Sextus wrote back to the effect that he would obey him, but did not do so, because he felt a contempt for the man, inspired by his recent disasters, and because he immediately set off for Egypt. Hence he held to his previous design and entered into negotiations with the Parthians. Antony ascertained this, but without turning back sent against him the fleet and Marcus Titius, who had formerly come to him from Sextus and was still with him. Sextus received information of this move in advance, and in alarm, since his preparations were not yet complete, abandoned his anchorage. He went forward then, taking the course which seemed most likely to afford escape, and reached Nicomedeia, where he was overtaken. At this he opened negotiations with Antony, placing some hope in him because of the kindness which had been shown him. When the chieftain, however, refused to enter into a truce with him without first taking possession of the ships and the rest of his force, Sextus despaired of safety by sea, put all of his heavier baggage into the ships (which he thereupon burned) and proceeded inland. Titius and Furnius pursued him, and overtaking him at Midaeium in Phrygia surrounded him and captured him alive. When Antony learned this he at first under the influence of anger sent a despatch that the captive should be put to death, but again not long after repenting ... that his life should be spared.... Now the bearer of the second letter came in before the first, and later Titius received the epistle in regard to killing him. Thinking, therefore, that it was really the second, or else knowing the truth but not caring to heed it, he followed the order of the arrival of the two, but not their manifest intention. So Sextus was executed in the consulship of Lucius Cornificius and one Sextus Pompeius.

[B.C. 35 (*a. u.* 719)]

Caesar held a horse-race in honor of the event, and set up for Antony a chariot in front of the rostra and images in the temple of Concord, giving him also authority to hold banquets there with his wife and children, this being similar to the decree that had once been passed in his own honor. He pretended to be still Antony's friend and was endeavoring to console him for the disasters inflicted by the Parthians and in that way to cure any jealousy that might be felt at his own victory and the decrees which followed it.

[B.C. 38 (*a. u.* 716)]

[19] This was what Caesar did: Antony's experience with the barbarians was as follows. Publius Ventidius heard that Pacorus was gathering an army and was invading Syria, and became afraid, since the cities had not grown quiet and the legions were still scattered in winter-quarters, and so he acted as follows to delay him and make the assembling of an army a slow process. He knew that a certain prince Channaëus, with whom he enjoyed an

acquaintance, was rather disposed to favor the Parthian cause. Ventidius, then, honored him as if he had his entire confidence and took him as an adviser in some matters where he could not himself be injured and would cause Channaeus to think he possessed his most hidden secrets. Having reached this point he affected to be afraid that the barbarians might abandon the place where they customarily crossed the Euphrates near where the city Zeugma is located, and use some other road farther down the river. The latter, he said, was in a flat district convenient for the enemy, whereas the former was hilly and suited *them* best. He persuaded the prince to believe this and through the latter deceived Pacorus. The Parthian leader took the route through the flat district, where Ventidius kept pretending he hoped he would not go, and as this was longer than the other it gave the Roman time to assemble his forces.

[20] So he met Pacorus when he had advanced to Cyrestician Syria and conquered him. For he did not prevent them from crossing the river, and when they had got across he did not at once attack them, so that they imputed sloth and weakness to the Romans and therefore marched against the Roman fortification, although on higher ground, expecting to take it without resistance. When a sally was suddenly made, the attacking party, being cavalry, was driven back without effort down the slope. At the foot they defended themselves valiantly, — the majority of them were in armor, — but were confused by the unexpectedness of the onslaught and stumbling over one another were damaged most of all by the heavy-armed men and the slingers. The latter struck them, from a distance with powerful weapons and proved a very great annoyance. The fall of Pacorus at this critical juncture injured them most of all. As soon as they saw that their leader had perished, a few steadily contended over his body, but when these were destroyed all the rest gave way. Some of them desired to escape homeward across the bridge and were not able, being cut off and killed before they could reach it, and others fled for refuge to Antiochus in Commagene. Ventidius easily reduced the rest of the places in Syria, whose attitude had depended on the outcome of the war, by sending the monarch's head about through the different cities; their doubtful allegiance had been due to their extreme love for Pacorus because of his justness and mildness, — a love which had equaled that bestowed by them upon any previous sovereign. The general himself led an expedition against Antiochus on the plea that he had not delivered up the suppliants, but really because of his money, of which he had vast stores.

[21] When he had progressed so far Antony suddenly came upon him, and so far from being pleased was actually jealous of his having gained some reputation by his own efforts. Consequently he removed him from his command and employed him on no other business either at the time or later, though he obtained thanksgivings for both achievements and a triumph for his assistant's work. The Romans of the capital voted these honors to Antony as a result of his prominence and in accordance with law, because he was commander: but they voted them also to Ventidius, since they thought that he

had paid the Parthians in full through the death of Pacorus for the disasters that Roman arms had incurred in the time of Crassus, especially since both events had befallen on the same day of the corresponding years. And it turned out that Ventidius alone celebrated the triumph, even as the victory had been his alone, for Antony met an untimely fate, and he acquired a greater reputation from this fact and the irony of fortune alike. He himself had once marched in procession with the other captives at the triumph of Pompeius Strabo, and now he was the first of the Romans to celebrate a triumph over the Parthians.

[22] This took place at a later period: at the time mentioned Antony attacked Antiochus, shut him up in Samosata and proceeded to besiege him. As he accomplished nothing and the time was spent in vain, and he suspected that the soldiers felt coldly toward him on account of his dishonoring Ventidius, he secretly opened negotiations with the foe, and made fictitious agreements with him so that he might have a fair appearing reason for withdrawal. In the end Antony got neither hostages (except two and these of little importance) nor the money which he had demanded, but he granted Antiochus the death of one Alexander, who had earlier deserted from him to the Roman side. After doing this he set out for Italy, and Gaius Sosius received from him the governorship of Syria and Cilicia. This man subdued the Aradii, who had been besieged up to this time and had been reduced to hard straits by famine and disease, and conquered Antigonus in battle after killing the Roman guards that he kept about him, and reduced him by siege when he took refuge in Jerusalem. The Jews had committed many outrages upon the Romans, — for the race is very bitter when aroused to anger, — but they suffered far more themselves. The first of them were captured fighting for the precinct of their god, and later the rest on the day even then called the day of Saturn. And so great still were their religious scruples that the men who had been first captured along with the temple obtained leave from Sosius when the day of Saturn came around again, and went up with the remaining population into the building, where they performed all the customary rites. These people Antony entrusted to one Herod to govern, and Antigonus he bound to a cross and flogged, — treatment accorded to no other king by the Romans, — and subsequently slew him.

[B.C. 37 (*a. u.* 717)]

[23] This was the course of events in the days of Claudius and Norbanus: the following year the Romans accomplished nothing worthy of note in Syria. Antony arrived in Italy and returned again to the province, consuming the entire season: and Sosius, because he would be advancing his master's interests and not his own, and furthermore dreading his jealousy and anger, spent the time in devising means not for achieving success and drawing down his enmity, but for pleasing him by remaining quiet. Parthian affairs with no outside interference underwent a severe revolution from the following cause. Orodes their king succumbed to age and grief for Pacorus combined, and

while still alive delivered the government to Phraates, the eldest of his remaining children. He in his discharge of it proved himself the most impious of men. He treacherously murdered his brothers, sons of the daughter of Antiochus, because they were his superiors in excellence and (on their mother's side) in family: when Antiochus chafed under this outrage he killed him in addition and after that destroyed the noblest men in the remaining population and kept committing many other abuses. Consequently a number of the more prominent persons abandoned him and betook themselves to various places, some going to Antony, among whom was Monaeses. This happened in the consulship of Agrippa and Gallus.

[B.C. 36 (*a. u.* 718)]

[24] During the remainder of winter, when Gallus and Nerva were holding office, Publius Canidius Crassus made a campaign against the Iberians that inhabit this portion of the world, conquered in battle their king Pharnabazus and brought them into alliance; with this king he invaded Albanis, the adjoining country, and, after overcoming the dwellers there and their king Zober, conciliated them likewise. Antony was elated at this and furthermore based great hopes upon Monaeses, who had promised him to lead his army and bring over to him most of Parthia without conflict. Hence the Roman took up the war against the Parthians in earnest and besides making various presents to Monaeses gave him three Roman cities to govern until he should finish the war, and promised him in addition the Parthian kingdom. While they were so occupied Phraates became terrified, especially because the Parthians took the flight of Monaeses very much amiss, and he opened negotiations with him, offering him anything whatever, and so persuaded him to return. When Antony found this out, he was naturally angry, but did not kill Monaeses although the latter was still in his power; for he felt sure he could not win the confidence of any other of the barbarians, in case he should do such a thing, and he wanted to try a little trick against them. He accordingly released Monaeses, apparently supposing the latter was going to bring the Parthian affairs under his control, and sent envoys with him to Phraates. Nominally he was arranging for peace on the condition of getting back the standards and the prisoners captured in the disaster of Crassus, intending to take the king off his guard while the latter was expecting a pacific settlement; but in fact he was putting everything in readiness for war. [25] And he went as far as the Euphrates, thinking it was free of guards. When, however, he found that whole region carefully guarded, he turned aside from it, but led a campaign against Artavasdes, the king of the Medes, persuaded thereto by the king of Greater Armenia, who had the same name and was an enemy of the aforementioned. Just as he was he at once advanced toward Armenia, and learning there that the Mede had gone a considerable distance from his own land in the discharge of his duties as an ally of the Parthian king, he left behind the beasts of burden and a portion of the army with Oppius Statianus, giving orders for them to follow, and himself taking the cavalry and the

strongest of the infantry hurried on in the confidence of seizing all his opponent's strongholds at one blow; he assailed Praaspa, the royal residence, heaped up mounds and made constant attacks. When the Parthian and the Medan kings ascertained this, they left him to continue his idle toil, — for the walls were strong and many were defending them, — but assailed Statianus off his guard and wearied on the march and slew the whole detachment except Polemon, king of Pontus, who was then accompanying the expedition. Him alone they took alive and released in exchange for ransom. They were able to accomplish this because the Armenian king was not present at the battle; but though he might have helped the Romans, as some say, he neither did this nor joined Antony, but retired to his own country. [26] Antony hastened at the first message sent him by Statianus to go to his assistance, but was too late. For except corpses he found no one. This outcome caused him fear, but, inasmuch as he fell in with no barbarian, he suspected that they had departed in some direction through terror, and this lent him new courage. Hence when he met them a little later he routed them, for his slingers were numerous, and as the latter could shoot farther than would the bows they inflicted severe injury upon the men in armor. However, he did not kill any remarkable number of them, because the barbarians could ride fast. So he proceeded again against Praaspa and besieged it, though he did no great damage to the enemy; for the men inside the walls repulsed him vigorously, and those outside could not easily be entrapped into a combat. Thus he lost many of his own men in searching for and bringing provisions, and many by his own discipline. At first, as long as they could get their food from somewhere in the neighborhood, they had no difficulty about either undertaking: they could attend to the siege and safely secure supplies both at once. When, however, all material at hand had been used up, and the soldiers were obliged to go to some distance, it happened to them that if few were sent anywhere, not only did they not bring anything, but they perished as well; if a number were sent, they left the wall destitute of besiegers and meantime lost many men and many engines at the hands of the barbarians, who would make a sortie against them. [27] For this reason Antony gave them all barley instead of wheat and destroyed every tenth man in some instances: indeed, the entire force which was supposed to be besieging endured the hardships of persons besieged. The men within the walls watched carefully for opportunities to make sallies; and those outside harassed fearfully the Romans that remained in position as often as they became separated, accomplishing this by making a sudden charge and wheeling about again in a narrow space: this force outside did not trouble the food trains while the latter were en route to the villages, but would fall upon them unexpectedly when scattered in the homeward march. But since Antony even under these conditions maintained his place before the city, Phraates, fearing that in the long run he might do it some harm either by himself or through securing some allied force, secretly sent some men to open negotiations with him and persuaded him by pretending that it would be very

easy to secure peace. After this, when men were sent to him by Antony, he held a conference with them seated upon a golden chair and twanging his bowstring; he first inveighed against them at length, but finally promised that he would grant peace, if they would straightway remove their camp. On hearing this Antony was both alarmed at his boastfulness and ready to believe that a truce could be secured if he himself should shift his position: hence he withdrew without destroying any of his implements of siege but behaved as if in friendly territory. [28] When he had done this and was awaiting the truce, the Medes burned the engines and scattered the mounds, while the Parthians made no proposition to him respecting peace but suddenly attacked him and inflicted very serious damage. He found out that he had been deceived and did not venture to employ any further envoys, being sure that the barbarians would not agree to any reasonable terms, and not wishing to cast the soldiers into dejection by failing to arrange a truce. Therefore he resolved, since he had once started, to hurry on into Armenia. His troops took another road, since the one by which they had come they believed to have been blocked entirely, and on the way their sufferings were unusually great. They came into unknown regions where they wandered at random, and furthermore the barbarians seized the passes in advance of their approach, digging trenches outside of some and building palisades in front of others, spoiled the water-courses everywhere, and drove away the flocks. In case they ever got a chance to march through more favorable territory, the enemy would turn them aside from such places by false announcements that they had been occupied beforehand, and caused them to take different roads along which ambuscades had been previously posted, so that many perished through such mishaps and many of hunger. [29] As a result there were some desertions, and they would all have gone over, had not the barbarians shot down before the eyes of the others any who dared to take this course. Consequently the men refrained from this, and from Fortune's hands obtained the following relief. One day when they fell into an ambush and were struck with fast-flying arrows, they suddenly made by joining shields the *testudo*, and rested their left knees on the ground. The barbarians had never seen anything of the kind before and thought that they had fallen from their wounds and needed only one finishing blow; so they threw aside their bows, leaped from their horses, and drawing their daggers came close to put an end to them. At this the Romans rose to their feet, spread out the phalanx at a word, and each one attacked the man nearest and facing him; thus they cut down great numbers since they were contending armed against an unprotected foe, men prepared against men off their guard, heavy infantry against archers, Romans against barbarians. All the survivors immediately retired and no one followed them for the future.

[30] This *testudo* and the way in which it is formed deserve a word of explanation. The baggage animals, the light-armed troops, and the cavalry are marshaled in the center of the army. Those infantrymen who use the oblong, hollow, grooved shields are drawn up around the edges, making a rectangular

figure; and, facing outward with spear-points projecting, they enclose the rest. The other infantrymen, who have flat shields, form a compact body in the center and raise their shields above themselves and above all the rest, so that nothing but shields can be seen in every part of the phalanx alike and all the men by the density of formation are under shelter from missiles. It is so marvelously strong that men can walk upon it, and when ever they get into a hollow, narrow passage, even horses and vehicles can be driven over it. Such is the method of this arrangement, and this shows why it has received the title of *testudo*, — with reference to its strength and to the excellent shelter it affords. They use it in two ways: either they approach some fort to assault it, often even enabling men to scale the very walls, or where sometimes they are surrounded by archers they all bend together, — even the horses being taught to kneel and recline, — and thereby cause the foe to think that they are exhausted; then, when the others draw near, they suddenly rise, to the latter's great alarm.

[31] The *testudo*, then, is the kind of device just described. As for Antony, he suffered no further harm from the enemy, but underwent severe hardships by reason of the cold. It was now winter, and the mountain districts of Armenia, through which, as the only route open to him, he was actually thankful to be able to proceed, are never free from snow and ice. The wounds, of which the men had many, there created especial discomfort. So many kept perishing and were continually rendered useless for fighting that he would not allow reports of each individual case, but forbade any one to bring him any such news; and although he was angry with the Armenian king for deserting them, and anxious to take vengeance on him, he nevertheless humiliated himself before the monarch and paid court to him for the purpose of obtaining provisions and money from him. Finally, as the soldiers could not hold out to march farther, in the winter time, too, and were at any rate going to have their hardships for nothing since he was minded to return to Armenia before a great while, he flattered the prince tremendously and made him many attractive promises, to get him to allow the men to winter where they were; he said that in the spring he would make another campaign against the Parthians. Money also came to him from Cleopatra, so that to each of the infantrymen was given one hundred denarii and to the rest a proportionate allowance. But inasmuch as the amount sent was not enough for them he paid the remainder from his own funds, and though the expense was his own he gave Cleopatra the credit of the favor. For he both solicited contributions from his friends and levied a great deal of money upon the allies.

[32] Following these transactions he departed for Egypt. Now the Romans at home were not ignorant of anything that had taken place in spite of the fact that his despatches did not contain the truth; for he concealed all his unpleasant experiences and some of them he described as just the opposite, making it appear that he was progressing famously: but, for all that, rumor reported the truth and Caesar and his circle investigated it carefully and

discussed it. They did not, however, make public their evidence, but instead sacrificed cattle and held festivals. Since Caesar at that time was still getting the worst of it against Sextus, the truth of the facts could not be rendered fitting or opportune. Besides his above actions Antony assigned positions of government, giving Gaul to Amyntas, though he had been only the secretary of Deiotarus, and also adding to his domain Lycaonia with portions of Pamphylia, and bestowing upon Archelaus Cappadocia after driving out Ariarathes. This Archelaus on his father's side belonged to those Archelauses who had contended against the Romans, but on his mother's side was the son of Glaphyra, an hetaera. It is quite true that for these appointments Antony, who could be very magnanimous in dealing with the possessions of other people, was somewhat less ill spoken of among the soldiers.

But in the matter of Cleopatra he incurred outspoken dislike because he had taken into his family children of hers, — the elder ones being Alexander and Cleopatra, twins at a birth, and the younger one Ptolemy, called also Philadelphus, — and because he had granted to them a great deal of Arabia, both the district of Malchus and that of the Ituraeans (for he executed Lysanias, whom he had himself made king over them, on the charge that he had favored Paccrus) and also a great deal of Phoenicia and Palestine together with parts of Crete, and Cyrene and Cyprus.

[B.C. 35 (*a. u.* 719)]

[33] These are his acts at that time: the following year, when Pompeius and Cornificius were consuls, he attempted to conduct a campaign against the Armenian prince; and as he placed no little hope in the Mede, because the latter was indignant at Phraates owing to not having received from him much of the spoils or any other honor, and was anxious to punish the Armenian king for bringing in the Romans, Antony sent Polemon to him and requested friendship and alliance. And he was so well satisfied with the business that he both made terms with the Mede and later gave Polemon Lesser Armenia as a reward for his embassy. First he summoned the Armenian to Egypt as a friend, intending to seize him there without effort and make away with him; but when the prince suspected this and did not obey, he plotted to deceive him in another fashion. He did not openly evince anger toward him, in order not to alienate him, but to the end that he might find his foe unprepared set sail from Egypt with the avowed object of making one more campaign against the Parthians. On the way Antony learned that Octavia was arriving from Rome, and went no farther, but returned; this he did in spite of having at once ordered her to go home and later accepting the gifts which she sent, some of them being soldiers which she had begged from her brother for this very purpose.

[34] As for him, he became more than ever a slave to the passion and wiles of Cleopatra. Caesar meantime, since Sextus had perished and affairs in Libya required settlement, went to Sicily as if intending to take ship thither, but after delaying there found that the winter made it too late for crossing. Now the

Salassi, Taurisci, Liburni, and Iapudes had not for a long time been behaving fairly toward the Romans, but had failed to contribute revenue and sometimes would invade and harm the neighboring districts. At this time, in view of Octavius's absence, they were openly in revolt. Consequently he turned back and began his preparations against them. Some of the men who had been dismissed when they became disorderly, and had received nothing, wished to serve again: therefore he assigned them to one camp, in order that being alone they might find it impossible to corrupt any one else and in case they should wish to show themselves rebellions might be detected at once. As this did not teach them moderation any the more, he sent out a few of the eldest of them to become colonists in Gaul, thinking that thus he would inspire the rest with hopes and win their devotion. Since even then they continued audacious, some of them paid the penalty. The rest displayed rage at this, whereupon he called them together as if for some other purpose, had the rest of the army surround them, took away their arms, and removed them from the service. In this way they learned both their own weakness and Caesar's force of mind, and so they really experienced a change of heart and after urgent supplications were allowed to enter the service anew. For Caesar, being in need of soldiers and fearing that Antony would appropriate them, said that he pardoned them, and he found them most useful for all tasks.

[35] It was later that they proved their sincerity. At this time he himself led the campaign against the Iapudes, assigning the rest of the tribes to others to subdue. Those that were on his side of the mountains, dwelling not far from the sea, he reduced with comparatively little trouble, but he overcame those on the heights and beyond them with no small hardship. They strengthened Metulum, the largest of their cities, and repulsed many assaults of the Romans, burned to the ground many engines and laid low Octavius himself as he was trying to step from a wooden tower upon the circuit of the wall. Later, when he still did not desist but kept sending for additional forces, they pretended to wish to negotiate terms and received members of garrisons into their citadel. Then by night they destroyed all of these and set fire to their houses, some killing themselves and some their wives and children in addition, so that nothing whatever remained for Caesar. For not only they but also such as were captured alive destroyed themselves voluntarily shortly afterward.

[36] When these had perished and the rest had been subdued without performing any exploit of note, he made a campaign against the Pannonians. He had no complaint to bring against them, not having been wronged by them in any way, but he wanted both to give his soldiers practice and to support them abroad: for he regarded every demonstration against a weaker party as just, when it pleased the man whom weapons made their superior. The Pannonians are settled near Dalmatia close along the Ister from Noricum to European Moesia and lead the most miserable existence of mankind. They are not well off in the matter of land or sky, they cultivate no olives or vines

except to the slightest extent, and these wretched varieties, since the greater part of their days is passed in the midst of most rigorous winter, but they drink as well as eat barley and millet. They have been considered very brave, however, during all periods of which we have cognizance. For they are very quick to anger and ready to slay, inasmuch as they possess nothing which can give them a happy life. This I know not by hearsay or reading only, but I have learned it from actual experience as their governor. For after my term as ruler in Africa and in Dalmatia, — the latter position my father also held for a time, — I was appointed to Upper Pannonia, so-called, and hence my record is founded on exact knowledge of all conditions among them. Their name is due to the fact that they cut up a kind of toga in a way peculiar to themselves into strips which they call *panni*, and then stitch these together into sleeved tunics for themselves.

They have been named so either for this or for some other reason; but certain of the Greeks who were ignorant of the truth have spoken of them as Paeones, which is an old word but does not belong there, but rather applies to Rhodope, close to the present Macedonia, as far as the sea. Wherefore I shall call the dwellers in the latter district Paeones, but the others Pannonians, just as they themselves and as the Romans do.

[37] It was against this people, then, that Caesar at that time conducted a campaign. At first he did not devastate or plunder at all, although they abandoned their villages in the plain. He hoped to make them his subjects of their free will. But when they harassed him as he advanced to Siscia, he became angry, burned their land, and took all the booty he could. When he drew near the city the natives for a moment listened to their rulers and made terms with him and gave hostages, but afterward shut their gates and accepted a state of siege. They possessed strong walls and were in general encouraged by the presence of two navigable rivers. The one named the Colops flows past the very circuit of the wall and empties into the Savus not far distant: it has now encircled the entire city, for Tiberius gave it this shape by constructing a great canal through which it rejoins its ancient course. At that time between the Colops on the one hand, which flowed on past the very walls, and the Savus on the other, which flowed at a little distance, an empty space had been left which had been buttressed with palisades and ditches. Caesar secured boats made by the allies in that vicinity, and after towing them through the Ister into the Savus, and through that stream into the Colops, he assailed the enemy with infantry and ships together, and had some naval battles on the river. For the barbarians prepared in turn some boats made of one piece of wood with which they risked a conflict; and on the river they killed besides many others Menas the freedman of Sextus, and on the land they vigorously repulsed the invader until they ascertained that some of their allies had been ambushed and destroyed. Then in dejection they yielded. When they had thus been captured the remainder of Pannonian territory was induced to capitulate.

[38] After this he left Fufius Geminus there with a small force and himself

returned to Rome. The triumph which had been voted to him he deferred, but granted Octavia and Livia images, the right of administering their own affairs without a supervisor, and freedom from fear and inviolability equally with the tribunes.

[B.C. 34 (*a. u.* 720)]

In emulation of his father he had started out to lead an expedition into Britain, and had already advanced into Gaul after the winter in which Antony for the second time and Lucius Libo were consuls, when some of the newly captured and Dalmatians with them rose in revolt. Geminus, although expelled from Siscia, recovered the Pannonians by a few battles; and Valerius Messala overthrew the Salassi and the rest who had joined them in rebellion. Against the Dalmatians first Agrippa and then Caesar also made campaigns. The most of them they subjugated after undergoing many terrible experiences themselves, such as Caesar's being wounded, barley being given to some of the soldiers instead of wheat, and others, who had deserted the standards, being decimated: with the remaining tribes Statilius Taurus carried on war.

[39] Antony meanwhile resigned his office as soon as appointed, putting Lucius Sempronius Atratinus in his place; consequently some name the latter and not the former in the enumeration of the consuls. In the course of his efforts to take vengeance on the Armenian king with least trouble to himself, he asked the hand of his daughter, pretending to want to unite her in marriage to his son Alexander; he sent on this errand one Quintus Deillius, who had once been a favorite of his, and promised to give the monarch many gifts. Finally, at the beginning of spring, he came suddenly into Nicopolis (founded by Pompey) and sent for him, stating that he wanted to deliberate on and execute with his aid some measures against the Parthians. The king suspecting the plot did not come, so he sent Deillius to have another talk with him and marched with undiminished haste toward Artaxata. In this way, after a long time, partly by persuading him through friends, and partly by scaring him through his soldiers, and writing and acting toward him in every way as thoroughly friendly, he induced him to come into his camp. Thereupon the Roman arrested him and at first keeping the prince without bonds he led him around among the garrisons with whom his treasures were deposited, to see if he could win them without a struggle. He made a pretence of having arrested him for no other purpose than to collect tribute of the Armenians that would ensure both his preservation and his sovereignty. When, however, the guardians of the gold would have nothing to do with him and the troops under arms chose Artaxes, the eldest of his children, king in his stead, Antony bound him in silver chains. It seemed disgraceful, probably, for one who had been a king to be made fast in iron bonds. [40] After this, capturing some settlements peaceably and some by force, Antony occupied all of Armenia, for Artaxes after fighting an engagement and being worsted retired to the Parthian prince. After doing this he betrothed to his son the daughter of the Median king with the intention of making him still more his friend; then he left the legions in

Armenia and went once more to Egypt, taking the great mass of booty and the Armenian with his wife and children. He sent them ahead with the other captives for a triumph held in Alexandria, and himself drove into the city upon a chariot, and among the other favors he granted to Cleopatra he brought before her the Armenian and his family in golden bonds. She was seated in the midst of the populace upon a platform plated with silver and upon a gilded chair. The barbarians would not be her suppliants nor do obeisance to her, though much coercion was brought to bear upon them and hopes were held out to persuade them, but they merely addressed her by name: this gave them a reputation for spirit, but they were subject to a great deal of ill usage on account of it.

[41] After this Antony gave an entertainment to the Alexandrians, and in the assemblage had Cleopatra and her children sit by his side: also in the course of a public address he enjoined that she be called Queen of Monarchs, and Ptolemy (whom he named Caesarion) King of Kings. He then made a different distribution by which he gave them Egypt and Cyprus. For he declared that one was the wife and the other the true son of the former Caesar and he made the plea that he was doing this as a mark of favor to the dead statesman, — his purpose being to cast reproach in this way upon Octavianus Caesar because he was only an adopted and not a real son of his. Besides making this assignment to them, he promised to give to his own children by Cleopatra the following lands, — to Ptolemy Syria and all the region west of the Euphrates as far as the Hellespont, to Cleopatra Libya about Cyrene, and to their brother Alexander Armenia and the rest of the districts across the Euphrates as far as the Indi. The latter he bestowed as if they were already his. Not only did he say this in Alexandria, but sent a despatch to Rome, in order that it might secure ratification also from the people there. Nothing of this, however, was read in public.

[B.C. 32 (*a. u.* 722)]

Domitius and Sosius were consuls by that time and being extremely devoted to him refused to accede to Caesar's urgent demands that they should publish it to all. Though they prevailed in this matter Caesar won a victory in turn by not having anything that had been written about the Armenian king made known to the public. He felt pity for the prince because he had been secretly in communication with him for the purpose of injuring Antony, and he grudged the latter his triumph. While Antony was engaged as described he dared to write to the senate that he wished to give up his office and put all affairs into the hands of that body and of the people: he was not really intending to do anything of the kind, but he desired that under the influence of the hopes he roused they might either compel Caesar, because on the spot, to give up his arms first, or begin to hate him, if he would not heed them.

[42] In addition to these events at that time the consuls celebrated the festival held in honor of Venus Genetrix. During the *Feriae*, prefects, boys and beardless youths, appointed by Caesar and sprung from knights but not

from senators, directed ceremonies. Also Aemilius Lepidus Paulus constructed at his own expense the so-called *Porticus Pauli* and dedicated it in his consulship; for he was consul a portion of that year. And Agrippa restored from his own purse the so-called Marcian water-supply, which had been cut off by the destruction of the pipes, and carried it in pipes to many parts of the city. These men, though rivals in the outlay of their private funds, still dissembled the fact and behaved sensibly: others who were holding even some most insignificant office strove to get a triumph voted to themselves, some through Antony and some through Caesar; and on this pretext they levied large sums upon foreign nations for gold crowns.

[B.C. 33 (*a. u.* 721)]

[43] The next year Agrippa agreed to be made aedile and without taking anything from the public treasury repaired all the public buildings and all the roads, cleaned out the sewers, and sailed through them underground into the Tiber. And seeing that in the hippodrome men made mistakes about the number of turns necessary, he established the system of dolphins and egg-shaped objects, so that by them the number of times the track had been circled might be clearly shown. Furthermore he distributed to all olive oil and salt, and had the baths open free of charge throughout the year for the use of both men and women. In the many festivals of all kinds which he gave (so many that the children of senators could perform the "Troy" equestrian exercise), he also paid barbers, to the end that no one should be at any expense for their services. Finally he rained upon the heads of the people in the theatre tickets that were good for money in one case, clothes in another, and something else in a third, and he also would place various other large stocks of goods in the squares and allow the people to scramble for them. Besides doing this Agrippa drove the astrologers and charlatans from the city. During these same days a decree was passed that no one belonging to the senatorial class should be tried for piracy, and so those who were under any such charge at the time were released and some were given *carte blanche* to commit crimes in future. Caesar became consul for the second time with Lucius Tullus as his colleague, but on the very first day, as Antony had done, he resigned; and with the sanction of the senate he introduced some persons from the populace to the rank of patricians. When a certain Lucius Asellius, who was praetor, on account of a long sickness wished to lay down his office, he appointed his son in his stead. And another praetor died on the last day of his term, whereupon Caesar chose another for the remaining hours. At the decease of Bocchus he gave his kingdom to no one else, but enrolled it among the Roman provinces. And since the Dalmatians had been utterly subdued, he erected from the spoils thus gained the porticoes and secured the collection of books called the Octavian, after his sister.

[44] Antony meantime had marched as far as the Araxes, presumably to conduct a campaign against the Parthians, but was satisfied to arrange terms with the Median monarch. They made a covenant to serve each other as allies,

the one against the Parthians and the other against Caesar, and to cement the compact they exchanged some soldiers; the Median prince received a portion of the newly acquired Armenia and Antony his daughter Iotape, to be united in marriage with Alexander, and the military standards taken in the battle with Statianus; after this Antony bestowed upon Polemon, as I have stated, Lesser Armenia, both made Lucius Flavius consul and removed him (as his colleague), and set out for Ionia and Greece to wage war against Caesar. The Median at first, by employing the Romans as allies, conquered the Parthians and Artaxes who came against him; but as Antony sent for his soldiers and moreover retained those of the prince, the latter was in turn defeated and captured, and so Armenia was lost together with Media.

BOOK 50

The following is contained in the Fiftieth of Dio's Rome.

How Caesar and Antony commenced hostilities against each other (chapters 1-14).

How Caesar conquered Antony at Actium (chapters 15-35).

Duration of time two years, in which there were the following magistrates here enumerated:

Cn. Domitius L.F.Cn.N. Ahenobarbus, C. Sosius C.F. T.N. (B.C. 32 = a. u. 722.)

Caesar (III), M. Valerius M.F. Messala Corvinus. (B.C. 31 = a. u. 723.)

BOOK 50, BOISSEVAIN.

[1] The Roman people had been robbed of democracy but had not become definitely a monarchy: Antony and Caesar still controlled affairs on an equal footing, had divided the management of most of them, and nominally considered that the rest belonged to them in common, though in reality they endeavored to appropriate each interest as fast as either was able to gain any advantage over the other. Sextus had now perished, the Armenian king had been captured, the parties hostile to Caesar were silent, the Parthians showed no signs of restlessness, and so after this they turned openly against each other and the people became entirely enslaved. The causes for the war, or the pretexts, were as follows. Antony charged against Caesar that he had removed Lepidus from his position, and had taken possession of his territory and the troops of both him and Sextus, which ought to have been common property. He demanded the half of these as well as the half of the soldiers that had been levied in the parts of Italy which belonged to both of them. Caesar's charge against him was that he was holding Egypt and other countries that he had not drawn by lot, had killed Sextus (whom he would willingly have spared, he said), and by deceiving and binding the Armenian king had caused much ill repute to attach to the Roman people. He, too, demanded half of the spoils, and above all reproached him with Cleopatra and the children of hers which he had seen fit to regard as his own, the gifts bestowed upon them, and particularly that he called the boy such a name as Caesarion and placed him in the family of Caesar. [2] These were their mutual charges; and to a certain extent mutual rejoinders were made, some sent by letter to each other and others given to the public, by Caesar orally, by Antony in writing. On this pretext also they kept constantly sending envoys back and forth, wishing to appear as far as possible justified in the complaints they made and to reconnoitre each other's position at the same time.

[B.C. 32 (*a. u.* 722)]

Meanwhile they were collecting money avowedly for some different purpose and were making all other preparations for war as if against other persons, until the time that Gnaeus Domitius and Gaius Sosius, both belonging to Antony's party, became consuls. Then they made no further concealment, but admitted their alienation outright. It happened in the following way.

Domitius did not openly attempt any radical measures, since he had had the experience of many calamities. Sosius, however, had never experienced such evils, and so on the very first day of the month he spoke at length in praise of Antony and inveighed forcibly against Caesar. Indeed, he would have immediately introduced measures against the latter, had not Nonius Balbus, a tribune, prevented it. Caesar had suspected what he was going to do and wished neither to permit it to come to pass nor by offering opposition to

appear to be commencing war; hence he did not enter the senate at this time nor even live in the city at all, but invented some excuse which took him out of town. He was not only influenced by the above considerations but desired to deliberate at leisure according to the reports brought to him and decide by mature reflection upon the proper course. Later he returned and convened the senate; he was surrounded by a guard of soldiers and friends who had daggers concealed, and sitting between the consuls upon his chair of state he spoke at length, and calmly, from where he sat regarding his own position, and brought many accusations against Sosius and Antony. When neither of the consuls themselves nor any one else ventured to utter a word, he bade them come together again on a specified day, giving them to understand that he would prove by certain documents that Antony was in the wrong. The consuls did not dare to reply to him and could not endure to be silent, and therefore secretly left the city before the time came for them to appear again; after that they took their way to Antony, followed by not a few of the senators who were left. Caesar on learning this declared, to prevent its appearing that he had been abandoned by them as a result of some injustice, that he had sent them out voluntarily and that he granted the rest who so wished permission to depart unarmed to Antony.

[3] This action of theirs just mentioned was counterbalanced by the arrival of others who had fled from Antony to Caesar — among them Titius and Plancus, though they were honored by Antony among the foremost and knew all his secrets. Their desertion was due to some friction between themselves and the Roman leader, or perhaps they were disgusted in the matter of Cleopatra: at any rate they left soon after the consuls had taken the final step and Caesar in the latter's absence had convened the senate and read and spoken all that he wished, upon hearing of which Antony assembled a kind of senate from the ranks of his followers, and after considerable talk on both sides of the question took up the war and renounced his connection with Octavia. Caesar was very glad to receive the pair and learned from them about Antony's condition, what he was doing, what he had in mind, what was written in his will, and the name of the man that had it; for they had taken part in sealing it. He became still more violently enraged from this cause and did not shrink from searching for the document, seizing it, and then carrying it into the senate and subsequently the assembly, and reading it. The clauses contained in it were of such a nature that his most lawless behavior brought upon him no reproach from the citizens. The writer had asseverated the fact that Caesarion was truly sprung from Caesar, had given some enormous presents to his children by the Egyptian queen, who were being reared by him, and had ordered that his body be buried in Alexandria and by her side.

[4] This made the Romans in their indignation believe that the other reports circulated were also true, — viz., that if Antony should prevail, he would bestow their city upon Cleopatra and transfer the seat of power to Egypt. And thereat they became so angry that all, not only such as disliked him or were

indifferent to the two men, censured him, but even his most intimate friends did so severely. For in consternation at what was read and eager to relieve themselves of the suspicion felt toward them by Caesar, they said the same as the rest. They deprived him of the consulship, to which he had been previously elected, and of all his remaining authority. They did not declare him an enemy in so many words, because they feared its effect on his adherents, since it would be necessary that they also be held in the position of enemies in case they should not abandon him; but by action they showed their attitude as plainly as possible. For they voted to the men arrayed on his side pardon and praise if they would abandon him, and declared war outright upon Cleopatra, put on their military cloaks as though he were close at hand, and went to the temple of Bellona where they performed through Caesar as *fetialis* all the rites preliminary to war in the customary fashion. These were stated to refer to Cleopatra, but their real bearing was on Antony. [5] She had enslaved him so absolutely that she persuaded him to act as gymnasiarch to the Alexandrians; and she was saluted by him as “queen” and “mistress,” had Roman soldiers in her body-guard, and all of these inscribed her name upon their shields. She used to frequent the market-place with him, joined him in the management of festivals, in the hearing of lawsuits, and in riding; and in the cities she was actually carried in a chair, while Antony accompanied her on foot along with the eunuchs. He also termed his head-quarters “the palace”, sometimes wore an Oriental dagger at his belt, dressed in a manner not in accordance with the customs of his native land, and let himself be seen even in public upon a gilded couch and a chair of similar appearance. He joined her in sitting for paintings and statues, he representing Osiris and Dionysus, and she Selene and Isis. This more than all made him seem to have become crazed by her through some enchantment. She so charmed and enthralled not only him but all the rest who had any influence with him that she conceived the hope of ruling the Romans, and made her greatest vow, whenever she took any oath, that of dispensing justice on the Capitol.

[6] This was the reason that they voted for war against Cleopatra, but they made no such declaration against Antony, knowing well that he would be made hostile in any case, for he was certainly not going to betray her and espouse Caesar’s cause. And they wished to have this additional reproach to heap upon him, that he had voluntarily taken up war in behalf of the Egyptian woman against his native country, though no ill treatment had been accorded him personally at home.

Now the men of fighting age were being rapidly assembled on both sides, money was being collected from all quarters, and all warlike equipment was being gathered with speed. The entire armament distinctly surpassed in size anything previous. All the following nations coöperated with one side or the other in this war. Caesar had Italy — he attached to his cause even all those who had been placed in colonies by Antony, partly by frightening them on account of their small numbers and partly by conferring benefits; among other

things that he did was to settle again as an act of his own the men who inhabited Bononia, so that they might seem to be his colonists. His allies, then, were Italy, Gaul, Spain, Illyricum, the Libyans, — both those who had long since accepted Roman sway (except those about Cyrene), and those that had belonged to Bogud and Bocchus, — Sardinia, Sicily, and the rest of the islands adjacent to the aforementioned divisions of the mainland. On Antony's side were the regions obeying Rome in continental Asia, the regions of Thrace, Greece, Macedonia, the Egyptians, the Cyrenaeans together with the surrounding country, the islanders dwelling near them, and practically all the princes and potentates who were neighbors to that part of the Roman empire then under his control, — some taking the field themselves and others being represented by troops. And so enthusiastic were the outside contingents on both sides that they confirmed by oath their alliance with each man.

[7] Such was the strength of the contestants. Antony took an oath to his own soldiers that he would fight without quarter and further promised that within two months after his victory he would give up his entire power and commit it to the senate and the people: some of them with difficulty persuaded him to do so only when six months had elapsed, so that he might be able to settle matters leisurely. And he, however far he was from seriously contemplating such an act, yet made the offer to strengthen the belief that he was certainly and without fail going to conquer. He saw that his own force was much superior in numbers and hoped to weaken that of his opponent by bribes. He sent gold in every direction, most of all into Italy, and especially to Rome; and he tempted his opponents individually, trying to win followers. As a result Caesar kept the more vigilant watch and gave money to his soldiers.

[8] Such was the vigor and the equipment of the two; and meantime all sorts of stories were circulated by men, and from the gods also there were many plain indications. An ape entered the temple of Ceres during a certain service, and tumbled about everything in the building. An owl flew first upon the temple of Concord and then upon practically all the other holiest buildings, and finally after being driven away from every other spot settled upon the temple of the Genius Populi and was not caught, and did not depart until late in the day. The chariot of Jupiter was demolished in the Roman hippodrome, and for many days a flash would rise over the sea toward Greece and dart up into the firmament. Many unfortunate accidents also were caused by storm: a trophy standing upon the Aventine fell, a statue of Victory was dislodged from the back wall of the theatre, and the wooden bridge was broken down completely. Many objects were destroyed by fire, and moreover there was a fierce volcanic discharge from Aetna which damaged cities and fields. On seeing and hearing these things the Romans remembered also about the serpent, because he too had doubtless indicated something about the situation confronting them. A little before this a great two-headed serpent, eighty-five feet long, had suddenly appeared in Etruria and after doing much damage had been killed by lightning. This had a bearing upon all of them. The chief force

engaged on both sides alike was made up of Romans, and many were destined at that juncture to perish in each army, and then all of the survivors to become the property of the victor. Antony was given omens of defeat beforehand by the children in Rome; without any one's having suggested it they formed two parties, of which one called itself the Antonians and the other the Caesarians, and they fought with each other for two days, when those that bore Antony's name were defeated. His death was portended by what happened to one of his images set up as an offering in the temple of Jupiter at Albanum; although it was stone it sent forth streams of blood.

[9] All alike were excited over these events, yet in that year nothing further took place. Caesar was busied settling matters in Italy, especially when he discovered the presence of money sent by Antony, and so could not go to the front before winter. His rival started out with the intention of carrying the war into Italy before they suspected his movements, but when he came to Corcyra and ascertained that the advance guard of ships sent to reconnoitre his position was hiding in the vicinity of the mountains of Ceraunia, he conceived the idea that Caesar himself with all his fleet had arrived; hence he would proceed no farther. Instead, he sailed back to the Peloponnesus, the season being already late autumn, and passed the winter at Patrae, distributing the soldiers in every direction to the end that they might keep guard over the various districts and secure more easily an abundance of provisions. Meanwhile volunteers from each party went over to both sides, senators as well as others, and Lucius Messius was caught as a spy by Caesar. He released the man in spite of his being one of those previously captured at Perusia, but first showed him all his power. To Antony Caesar sent a letter, bidding him either withdraw from the sea a day's journey on horseback, and grant him the free privilege of coming to him by boat on condition that they should meet within five days, or else to cross over to Italy himself on the same terms. Antony made a great deal of fun of him and said: "Who will be our arbitrator, if the compact is transgressed in any way?" And Caesar did not expect that his demands would receive compliance, but hoped to inspire his own soldiers with courage and his opponents with terror by this act.

[B.C. 31 (*a. u.* 723)]

[10] As consuls for the next year after this Caesar and Antony had been appointed at the time when they settled the offices for eight years at once; and this was the last year of the period: and as Antony had been deposed, — a fact which I stated, — Valerius Messala, who had once been proscribed by them, became consul with Caesar. About this time a madman rushed into the theatre at one of the festivals, seized the crown of the former Caesar and put it on, whereupon he was torn to pieces by the bystanders. A wolf that darted into the temple of Fortune was caught and killed, and at the hippodrome during the very contest of the horses a dog overpowered and devoured another dog. Fire also consumed a considerable portion of the hippodrome, the temple of Ceres, another shrine dedicated to Spes, besides a large number of other structures.

The freedmen were thought to have caused this. All of them who were in Italy and possessed property worth five myriads or more had been ordered to contribute an eighth of it. The result was numerous riots, murders, and firing of buildings on their part, and they were not brought to order until they were subdued by armed force. After this the freedmen who held any land in Italy grew frightened and kept quiet: they had been ordered, too, to give a quarter of their annual income, and though they were on the point of rebelling against this extortion, they were not bold enough after the demonstration mentioned to show further insubordination, but reluctantly made their contribution without disputing the matter. Therefore it was believed that the fire was due to a plot originated by the freedmen: yet this did not prevent it from being recorded among the great portents, because of the number of buildings burned.

[11] Disregarding such omens as had appeared to them they neither felt fear nor displayed less hostility but spent the winter in employing spies and annoying each other. Caesar had set sail from Brundisium and proceeded as far as Corcyra, intending to attack the ships near Actium while off their guard, but he encountered rough weather and received damage which caused him to withdraw. When spring came, Antony made no move at any point: the crews that manned the triremes were made up of all kinds of nations, and as they had been wintering at a distance from him they had secured no practice and had been diminished in numbers by disease and desertions; Agrippa also had seized Methone by storm, had killed Bogud there, was watching for merchant vessels to come to land, and was making descents from time to time on various parts of Greece, which caused Antony extreme disturbance. Caesar in turn was encouraged by this and wished to employ as soon as possible the energy of the army, which was trained to a fine point, and to carry on the war in Greece near his rival's supporters rather than in Italy near Rome. Therefore he collected all his soldiers who were of any value, and all of the men of influence, both senators and knights, at Brundisium. He wished to have the first to coöperate with him and to keep the second from being alone and acting in any revolutionary way, but chiefly he wished to show mankind that the largest and strongest element among the Romans was in accord with him. Therefore he ordered all to bring with them a stated number of servants and that, except the soldiers, they should also carry food for themselves; after this with the entire array he crossed the Ionian Gulf. [12] He was leading them not to the Peloponnesus or against Antony, but to Actium, where the greater part of his rival's fleet was at anchor, to see if he could gain possession of it, willing or unwilling, in advance. Consequently he disembarked the cavalry under the shadow of the Ceraunian mountains and sent them to the point mentioned, while he himself with his ships seized Corcyra, deserted by the garrisons within it, and came to a stop in the so-called Sweet Harbor: it is so named because it is made sweet by the river emptying into it. There he established a naval station and from there he set out to sail to Actium. No one

came out to meet him or would hold parley with him, though he urged them to do one of two things, — come to an agreement or come into battle. But the first alternative they would not accept through distrust, nor the second, through fear. He then occupied the site where Nicopolis now stands and took up a position on a high piece of ground there from which there is a view over all the outer sea near Paxa, over the inner Ambracian Gulf, and the intermediary water (on which are the harbors near Nicopolis) alike. This spot he strengthened and constructed walls from it down to Comarus, the outer harbor, so that he commanded Actium with his camp and his fleet, by land and sea. I have heard the report that he transferred triremes from the outer sea to the gulf through the fortifications, using newly flayed hides smeared with olive oil instead of hauling-engines. However, I can find no exploit recorded of these ships in the gulf and therefore I am unable to trust the tradition; for it was certainly no small task to draw triremes on hides over a long and uneven tract of land. Still, it is said to have been performed. Actium is a place sacred to Apollo and is located in front of the mouth of the narrows leading into the Ambracian Gulf opposite the harbors at Nicopolis. These narrows are of uniform breadth, though closely confined, for a long distance, and both they and all the waters outside the entrance are fit for ships to come to anchor in and lie in wait. This space the adherents of Antony had occupied in advance, had built towers on each side of the mouth, and had taken up the intervening space with ships so that they could both sail out and retreat with security. The men were bivouacked on the farther side of the narrows, along by the sanctuary, on an extensive level area quite suitable for either battle or encampment. The nature of the place made them far more subject to disease both in winter and in summer.

[13] As soon as Antony ascertained Caesar's arrival, he did not delay, but hastened to Actium with his followers. He reached there in a short time but did not at once risk an encounter, though Caesar was constantly marshaling his infantry in front of the camp, often making dashes at them with his ships and beaching their transports; for his object was to join battle with only such as were present, before Antony's entire command assembled. For this very reason the latter was unwilling to risk his all, and he had recourse for several days to trials and skirmishes until he had gathered his legions. With these, especially since Caesar no longer displayed an equal readiness to assail them, he crossed the narrows and encamped not far from him, after which he sent cavalry around the gulf and besieged him on both sides. Caesar himself remained quiet, and did not take any risks which he could avoid, but sent a detachment into Greece and Macedonia with the intention of drawing Antony off in that direction. While they were so engaged Agrippa sailed suddenly to Leucas and captured the vessels there, took Patrae by conquering Quintus Nasidius in a fight at sea, and later also reduced Corinth. Following upon these events Marcus Titius and Statilius Taurus made a sudden charge upon Antony's cavalry, which they defeated, and won over Philadelphus, king of

Paphlagonia. Meantime, also, Gnaeus Domitius, having some grievance against Cleopatra, transferred his allegiance and proved, indeed, of no service to Caesar (for he fell sick and died not long after), but still created the impression that his desertion was due to despair of the success of the party on whose side he was ranged. Many others followed his example, so that Antony was no longer equally imbued with courage but was suspicious of everybody. It was after this that he tortured and put to death Iamblichus, king of some of the Arabians, and others, and delivered Quintus Postumius, a senator, to his servants to be placed on the rack. Finally he became afraid that Quintus Deillius and Amyntas the Gaul, who happened to have been sent into Macedonia and Thrace after mercenaries, would espouse Caesar's cause, and he started to overtake them, pretending that he wished to render them assistance in case any hostile force should attack. And meantime a battle at sea occurred. [14] Lucius Tarius, with a few ships was anchored opposite Sosius, and the latter hoped to achieve a notable success by attacking him before Agrippa, to whom the whole fleet had been entrusted, should arrive. Accordingly, after waiting for a thick mist, so that Tarius should not become aware of their numbers beforehand and flee, he set sail suddenly just before dawn and immediately at the first assault routed his opponent and pursued him, but failed to capture him; for Agrippa by chance met Sosius on the way, so that he not only gained nothing from the victory but perished together with Tarcondimotus and many others.

Antony, because of his conflict and because he himself on his return had been defeated in a cavalry battle by Caesar's advance guard, no longer thought it well to encamp in two different places, but during the night left the redoubt which was near his opponents and retired to the other side of the narrows, where the larger part of his army had bivouacked. When provisions also began to fail him because he was cut off from foraging, he held a council to deliberate whether they should remain in position and hazard an encounter or transfer their post somewhere else and make the war a long one. [15] After several had given opinions the advice of Cleopatra prevailed, — that the choicest sites be given in possession of garrisons and that the rest of the force weigh anchor with them for Egypt. She held this view as a result of being disturbed by omens. Swallows had built their nests about her tent and on the flagship on which she sailed, and milk and blood together had dripped from beeswax. Their images with the forms of gods which the Athenians had placed on their Acropolis were hurled down by thunderbolts into the Theatre. This and the consequent dejection and listlessness of the army began to alarm Cleopatra and she filled Antony with fears. They did not wish, however, to sail out either secretly or openly as fugitives, for fear they should strike terror to the hearts of their allies, but rather with preparations made for a naval battle, in order that they might equally well force their way through in case there should be any resistance. Therefore they chose out first the best of the vessels, since the sailors had become fewer by death and desertion, and

burned the rest; next they secretly put all their most prized valuables aboard of them by night. When the boats were ready, Antony gathered his soldiers and spoke as follows: —

[16] “All provisions that I was required to make for the war have received due attention, fellow-soldiers, in advance. First, there is your immense throng, all the chosen flower of our dependents and allies; and to such a degree are you masters of every form of combat recognized among us that alone by yourselves you are formidable to adversaries. Then again, you yourselves can see how large and how fine a fleet we have and how many fine hoplites, cavalry, slingers, peltasts, archers, mounted archers. Most of these classes are not found at all on the other side, and so far as they are found they are much fewer and weaker than ours. The funds of the enemy are small, though obtained by forced contributions, and can not last long, while they have rendered the contributors better disposed toward us than toward the men who took them; hence the population is in no way favorable to the oppressors and is moreover on the point of open revolt. Our treasury, filled from abundant resources, has harmed no one and will aid all of us. [17] In addition to these considerations so numerous and of such great importance I am on general principles disinclined to make any bombastic statement about myself. Yet since this too is one of the factors contributing to supremacy in war and is believed among all men to be of greatest importance, — I mean that men who are to fight well must secure an excellent general — necessity itself has rendered quite indispensable some remarks about myself, their purpose being to enable you to realize still more the fact that not only are you such soldiers that you could conquer even without a good leader, but I am such a leader that I can win even with poor soldiers. I am at that age when persons attain their greatest perfection both of body and intellect and suffer deterioration neither through the rashness of youth nor the feebleness of old age, but are strongest because in a condition half-way between the two. Moreover I possess such a nature and such a training that I can with greatest ease discern what requires to be done and make it known. Experience, which causes even the ignorant and the uneducated to appear to be of some value, I have been acquiring through my whole political and whole military career. From boyhood till now I have been continually exercised in similar pursuits; I have been much ruled and done much ruling, from which I have learned on the one hand what kind of orders and of what magnitude must be issued, and on the other how far and in what way one must render obedience. I have been subject to terror, to confidence: as a result I have made it my custom neither to entertain any fear too readily nor to venture on any hazard too heedlessly. I have met with good fortune, I have met with failure: consequently I find it possible to avoid both despair and excess of pride.

[18] “I speak to you who know these facts and make you who hear them my witnesses not in the intention of uttering idle boasts about myself, — your consciousness of the truth being sufficient glory for me, — but to the end that

you may in this way bring home to yourselves how much better we are equipped than our opponents. For, while they are inferior to us in quantity both of soldiers and of money and in diversity of equipment, in no one respect are they so strikingly lacking as in the age and inexperience of their general. About him I need in general make no exact or detailed statement, but to sum up I will say this, which you all understand, that he is a veritable weakling in body and has never himself been victor in any important battle either on land or on the sea. Indeed, at Phillipi and in the same conflict I won the day, whereas he was defeated.

“To this degree do we differ from each other, and usually victories fall to the better equipped. And if they have any strength at all, you would find it to exist in their heavy-armed force on land; as for their ships, they will not so much as be able to sail out against us. You yourselves can of course see the size and stoutness of our vessels, which are such that if the enemy’s were equivalent to them in number, yet because of these advantages the foe could do no damage either by charges from the side or by charges from the front. For first the thickness of the timbers and second the very height of the ships would certainly check them, even if there were no one on board to defend them. Where will any one find a chance to assail ships which carry so many archers and slingers striking assailants, moreover, from the towers up aloft? If any one should approach, how could he fail to get sunk by the very number of the oars or how could he fail to be plunged under water when shot at by all the warriors on the decks and in the towers? ^[19] Do not think that they have any nautical ability because Agrippa won a sea-fight off Sicily: they contended not against Sextus but against his slaves, not against a like equipment with ours but against one far inferior. If, again, any one makes much of their good fortune in that combat, he is bound to take into equal consideration the defeat which Caesar himself suffered at the hands of Sextus. By this comparison he will find that conditions are not the same, but that all our advantages are more numerous and greater than theirs. And, in general, how large a part does Sicily form of the whole empire and how large a fraction of our equipment did the troops of Sextus possess, that any one should properly fear Caesar’s armament, which is precisely the same as before and has grown neither larger nor better, just on account of his good luck, instead of taking courage from the defeat that he endured? Reflecting on this fact I have not cared to risk our first engagement with the infantry, where they appear to have strength in a way, in order that no one of you should be liable to discouragement as a result of any failure in that department: instead, I have chosen to begin with the ships where we are strongest and have a vast superiority over our antagonists, to the end that after a victory with these we may despise the infantry. You know well that the whole outcome of the war depends on each side on our fleets. If we come out victorious in this engagement, we shall suffer no harm from any of the rest but cut them off on a kind of islet, — for all surrounding regions are in our possession, — and without effort subdue them, if in no other way,

by hunger.

[20] "Now I do not think that further words are necessary to tell you that we shall be struggling not for small or unimportant interests, but it will prove true that if you are zealous you will obtain the greatest rewards, but if careless will suffer the most frightful misfortunes. What would they not do to us, if they should prevail, when they killed practically all the followers of Sextus that had been of any prominence, and even destroyed many followers of Lepidus that coöperated with Caesar's party? But why should I mention this, seeing that they have removed Lepidus, who was guilty of no wrong and was further their ally, from all his powers as general and keep him under guard as if he were some captive? They have further hounded for money all the freedmen in Italy and likewise other men who possess any land to such an extent as to force some of them to take up arms, with the consequence that not a few perished. Is it possible that those who spared not their allies will spare us? Will those who seized for funds the property of their own adherents refrain from our wealth? Will they show humanity as victors who before victory have committed every conceivable outrage? Not to spend time in speaking of the concerns of other people, I will enumerate the audacity that they have displayed toward us who stand here. Who was ignorant that I was chosen a partner and colleague of Caesar and received charge of the management of public affairs equally with him, received similar honors and offices, and have been a great while now in possession of them? Yet of all of them, so far as is in his power, I have been deprived; I have become a private citizen instead of a leader, an outcast from the franchise instead of consul, and this not by the action of the people or the senate but by his own act and that of his adherents, who do not comprehend that they are preparing a sovereign for themselves first of all. For how could one speak of enactments of people and senate, when the consuls and some others fled straightway from the city, in order to escape casting any such vote? How will that man spare either you or anybody else, when he dared while I was alive, in possession of such great power, a victor over the Armenians, to seek for my will, take it by violence from those who had received it, open it, and read it publicly? And how will he manifest any humanity to others with whom he has no connection, when he has shown himself such a man toward me, — his friend, his table companion, his relative?

[21] "Now in case we are to draw any inferences from his decrees, he threatens you openly, having made the majority of you enemies outright, but against me personally no such declaration has been made, though he is at war with me and is already acting in every way like one who has not only conquered me but murdered me. Hence, when he treated me in such a way whom he pretends not yet even at this day to regard as an enemy, he will surely not keep his hands off you, with whom he clearly admits that he is at odds. What does it signify that he is threatening us all alike with arms but in his decree declares he is at war with some and not with others? It is not, by

Jupiter, with the intention of making any distinction between us, or treating one class in one way and another in another, if he prevails, but it is in order to set us at variance and in collision and thus render us weaker. He is not unaware that while we are in accord and doing everything as one body he can never in any way get the upper hand, but if we quarrel, and some choose one policy and the rest another, he may perhaps prevail. [22] It is for this reason that he assumes this kind of attitude toward us. I and the Romans that cleave to me foresee the danger, although so far as the decrees are concerned we enjoy a kind of amnesty: we comprehend his plot and neither abandon you nor look personally to our own advantage. In like manner you, too, whom he does not even himself deny that he regards as hostile, yes, most hostile, ought to bear in mind all these facts, and embracing common dangers and common hopes coöperate in every way and show enthusiasm to an equal degree in our enterprise and set over against each other carefully first what we shall suffer (as I said), if defeated, and what we shall gain, if victorious. For it is a great thing for us to escape being worsted and so enduring any form of insult or rapacity, but greatest of all to conquer and effect whatever any one of us may wish. On the other hand, it is most disgraceful for us, who are so many and so valiant, who have weapons and money and ships and horses, to choose the worse instead of the better course, and when we might afford the other party liberty to prefer to join them in slavery. Our aims are so utterly opposed that, whereas he desires to reign as sovereign over you, I wish to free you and them together, and this I have confirmed by oath. Therefore as men who are to struggle for both sides alike and to win blessings that shall be common to all, let us labor, fellow-soldiers, to prevail at the present juncture and to gain happiness for all time."

[23] After delivering a speech of this sort Antony put all his most prominent associates aboard the boats, to prevent them from concerting revolutionary measures when they got by themselves, as Deillius and some other deserters had done; he also embarked great numbers of archers, slingers, and hoplites. And since the defeat of Sextus had been largely due to the size of Caesar's ships and the number of his marines, Antony had equipped his vessels to surpass greatly those of his opponents, for he had had constructed only a few triremes, but the rest were ships with four banks and with ten banks, and represented all the remaining degrees of capacity: upon these he had built lofty towers, and he had put aboard a crowd of men who could fight from behind walls, as it were. Caesar for his part was observing their equipment and making his preparations; when he learned from Deillius and others their intention he himself assembled the army and spoke to this effect: —

[24] "Having discovered, fellow-soldiers, both from what I have learned from hearsay and from what I have tested by experience, that the most and greatest military enterprises, or, indeed, I might say human affairs in general, turn out in favor of those persons who both think and act in a more just and pious manner, I am keeping this strictly in mind myself and I advise you to

consider it. No matter how numerous and mighty the force we possess, no matter if it be such that even a man who chose the less just of two courses might expect to win with its aid, nevertheless I base my confidence far more upon the causes underlying the war than upon this factor. For that we who are Romans and lords of the greatest and best portion of the world should be despised and trodden under foot of an Egyptian woman is unworthy of our fathers who overthrew Pyrrhus, Philip, Perseus, Antiochus, who uprooted the Numantini and the Carthaginians, who cut down the Cimbri and the Ambrones; it is unworthy of ourselves who have subjugated the Gauls, have subdued the Pannonians, have advanced as far as the Ister, have crossed the Rhine, have gone over into Britain. How could all those who have had a hand in the exploits mentioned fail to grieve vehemently, if they should learn that we had succumbed to an accursed woman? Should we not be guilty of a gross deviation from right conduct, if, after surpassing all men everywhere in valor, we should then bear humbly the insults of this throng, who, O Hercules, are Alexandrians and Egyptians (what worse or what truer name could one apply to them?), who serve reptiles and other creatures as gods, who embalm their bodies to secure a reputation for immortality, who are most reckless in braggadocio but most deficient in bravery, and worst of all are slaves to a woman instead of a man? Yet these have dared to lay claim to our possessions and to acquire them through us, evidently expecting that we will give up the prosperity which we possess for them. [25] Who can help lamenting to see Roman soldiers acting as body-guards of their queen? Who can help groaning when he hears Roman knights and senators flattering her like eunuchs? Who can help weeping when he both hears and sees Antony himself, the man twice consul, often imperator, to whom was committed in common with me the superintendence of the public business, who was entrusted with so many cities, so many legions, — when he sees that this man has now abandoned all his ancestors' habits of life, has emulated all alien and barbaric customs, that he pays no honor to us or to the laws or to his fathers' gods, but worships that wench as if she were some Isis or Selene, calling her children Sun and Moon, and finally himself bearing the title of Osiris and Dionysus, in consequence of which he has bestowed entire islands and some of the continents, as though he were master of the whole earth and the whole sea? I am sure that this appears marvelous and incredible to you, fellow-soldiers: therefore you ought to be the more indignant. For if that is actually so which you do not even believe on hearing it, and if that man in his voluptuary career commits acts at which any one who learns of them must grieve, would you not properly become exceedingly enraged?

[26] "Yet at the start I was so devoted to him that I gave him a share of my leadership, married my sister to him, and granted him legions. Even after this I felt so kindly, so affectionately toward him that I was unwilling to wage war on him because of his insulting my sister, or because he neglected the children she had borne him, or because he preferred the Egyptian woman to her, or

because he bestowed upon the former's children practically all your possessions, or, in fine, for any other reason. The cause is that, first of all, I did not think it proper to assume the same attitude toward Antony as toward Cleopatra. I deemed her by the very fact of her foreign birth to be at the outset hostile to his career, but I believed that he, as a citizen, could be corrected. Later I entertained the hope that if not voluntarily at least reluctantly he might change his mind as a result of the decrees passed against her. Consequently I did not declare war upon him. He, however, has looked haughtily and disdainfully upon my efforts and will neither be released, though we would fain release him, nor be pitied though we try to pity him. He is either unreasonable or mad, — and this which I have heard I do believe, that he has been bewitched by that accursed female, — and therefore pays no heed to our kindness or humaneness, but being in slavery to that woman he undertakes in her behalf both war and needless dangers which are both against our interests and against those of his country. What else, then, is our duty except to fight him back together with Cleopatra? ^[27]Hence let no one call him a Roman but rather an Egyptian, nor Antony but rather Serapio. Let no one think that he was ever consul or imperator, but only gymnasiarch. He has himself of his own free will chosen the latter title instead of the former, and casting away all the august terms of his own land has become one of the cymbal players from Canopus. Again, let no one fear that he can give any unfavorable turn to the war. Even previously he was of no ability, as you know clearly who conquered him near Mutina. And even if once he did attain to some capacity through campaigning with us, be well assured that he has now ruined all of it by his changed manner of life. It is impossible for one who leads an existence of royal luxury and coddles himself like a woman to think any valorous thoughts or do valorous deeds, because it is quite inevitable that a person takes the impress of the practices with which he comes in contact. A proof of this is that in the one war which he has waged in all this long time and the one campaign that he has made he lost great numbers of citizens in the battles, returned in thorough disgrace from Praaspa, and parted with very many additional men in the flight. If any one of us were obliged to perform a set dance or cordax in an amusing way, such a person would surely yield the honors to him; he has practiced this: but since it is a case of arms and battle, what is there about him that any one should dread? His physical condition? He has passed his prime and become effeminate. His strength of mind? He plays the woman and has surrendered himself to unnatural lust. His piety toward our gods? He is at war both with them and his country. His faithfulness to his allies? But is any one unaware how he deceived and imprisoned the Armenian? His liberal treatment of his friends? But who has not seen the men who have miserably perished at his hands? His reputation with the soldiers? But who even of them has not condemned him? Evidence of their feeling is found in the fact that numbers daily come over to our side. For my part I think that all our citizens will do this, as on a former occasion

when he was going from Brundisium into Gaul. So long as they expected to get rich without danger, some were very glad to cleave to him. But they will not care to fight against us, their own countrymen, in behalf of what does not belong to them at all, especially when they are given the opportunity to win without hazard both preservation and prosperity by joining us.

[28] "Some one may say, however, that he has many allies and a store of wealth. Well, how we have been accustomed to conquer the dwellers on Asia the mainland is known to Scipio Asiaticus the renowned, is known to Sulla the fortunate, to Lucullus, to Pompey, to my father Caesar, and to your own selves, who vanquished the supporters of Brutus and Cassius. This being so, if you think their wealth is so much more than others', you must be all the more eager to make it your own. It is but fair that for the greatest prizes the greatest conflicts should be undergone. And I can tell you nothing else greater than that prize which lies within your grasp, — namely, to preserve the renown of your forefathers, to guard your individual pride, to take vengeance on those in revolt against us, to repulse those who insult you, to conquer and rule all mankind, to allow no woman to make herself equal to a man. Against the Taurisci and Iapudes and Dalmatians and Pannonians you yourselves now before me battled most zealously and frequently for some few walls and desert land; you subdued all of them though they are admittedly a most warlike race; and, by Jupiter, against Sextus also, for Sicily merely, and against this very Antony, for Mutina merely, you carried on a similar struggle, so that you came out victorious over both. And now will you show any less zeal against a woman whose plots concern all your possessions, and against her husband, who has distributed to her children all your property, and against their noble associates and table companions whom they themselves stigmatize as 'privy' councillors? Why should you? Because of their number? But no number of persons can conquer valour. Because of their race? But they have practiced carrying burdens rather than warfare. Because of their experience? But they know better how to row than how to fight at sea. I, for my part, am really ashamed that we are going to contend with such creatures, by vanquishing whom we shall gain no glory, whereas if we are defeated we shall be disgraced.

[29] "And surely you must not think that the size of their vessels or the thickness of the timbers of their ships is a match for our valour. What ship ever by itself either wounded or killed anybody? Will they not by their very height and staunchness be more difficult for their rowers to move and less obedient to their pilots? Of what use can they possibly be to the fighting men on board of them, when these men can employ neither frontal assault nor flank attack, manoeuvres which you know are essential in naval contests? For surely they do not intend to employ infantry tactics against us on the sea, nor on the other hand are they prepared to shut themselves up as it were in wooden walls and undergo a siege, since that would be decidedly to our advantage — I mean assaulting wooden barriers. For if their ships remain in

the same place, as if fastened there, it will be possible for us to rip them open with our beaks, it will be possible, too, to damage them with our engines from a distance, and also possible to burn them to the water's edge with incendiary missiles; and if they do venture to stir from their place, they will not overtake anyone by pursuing nor escape by fleeing, since they are so heavy that they are entirely too inert to inflict any damage, and so huge that they are exceptionally liable to suffer it.

[30] "Indeed, what need is there to spend time in speaking further of them, when we have already often made trial of them, not only off Leucas but also here just the other day, and so far from proving inferior to them, we have everywhere shown ourselves superior? Hence you should be encouraged not so much by my words as by your own deeds, and should desire to put an end forthwith to the whole war. For be well assured that if we beat them to-day we shall have no further trouble. For in general it is a natural characteristic of human nature everywhere, that whenever a man fails in his first contests he becomes disheartened with respect to what is to come; and as for us, we are so indisputably superior to them on land that we could vanquish them even if they had never suffered any injury. And they are themselves so conscious of this truth — for I am not going to conceal from you what I have heard — that they are discouraged at what has already happened and despair of saving their lives if they stay where they are, and they are therefore endeavouring to make their escape to some place or other, and are making this sally, not with the desire to give battle, but in expectation of flight. In fact, they have placed in their ships the best and most valuable of the possessions they have with them, in order to escape with them if they can. Since, then, they admit that they are weaker than we, and since they carry the prizes of victory in their ships, let us not allow them to sail anywhere else, but let us conquer them here on the spot and take all these treasures away from them."

Such were Caesar's words. [31] After this he formed a plan to let them slip by, intending to fall upon them from the rear: he himself by fast sailing expected to capture them directly, and when the leaders had plainly shown that they were attempting to run away he thought that the remainder would make no contest about surrendering. He was restrained, however, by Agrippa, who feared that they might not overtake the fugitives, who would probably use sails, and he also felt some confidence of conquering without much effort because meantime a squall of rain with large quantities of spray had driven in the face of Antony's fleet alone and had created disturbance all through it. Hence he abandoned this plan, and after putting vast numbers of infantry aboard the ships himself and placing all his associates into auxiliary boats for the purpose of sailing about quickly, giving notice of requisite action to the warriors, and reporting to him what he ought to know, he awaited the onset of the foe. They weighed anchor to the sound of the trumpet and with ships in close array drew up their line a little outside the narrows, not advancing any farther: he in turn started out as if to come to close quarters or even make

them retire. When they neither made a corresponding advance nor turned about, but remained in position and further made their array extremely dense, he became doubtful what to do. Therefore he ordered the sailors to let their oars rest in the water and waited for a time: then suddenly at a given signal led forward both the wings and bent around in the hope chiefly of surrounding the enemy, or otherwise of at least breaking their formation. Antony was afraid of this movement of his to wheel about and surround them, and hence adopted so far as he could corresponding tactics, which brought him, though reluctantly, into close combat. [32] So they attacked and began the conflict, both sides uttering many exhortations in their own ranks as to both artifice and zeal, and hearing many from the men on shore that shouted to them. The struggle was not of a similar nature on the two sides, but Caesar's followers having smaller and swifter ships went with a rush, and when they rammed were fenced about on all sides to avoid being wounded. If they sank any boat, well: if not, they would back water before a close engagement could be begun, and would either ram the same vessels suddenly again, or would let some go and turn their attention to others; and having damaged them slightly, to whatever degree the limited time would allow, they would proceed against others and then still others, in order that their assault upon any vessel might be so far as possible unexpected. Since they dreaded the defence of the enemy from a distance and likewise the battle at close quarters, they delayed neither in the approach nor in the encounter, but running up suddenly with the object of arriving before the opposing archers could work, they would inflict some wounds and cause a disturbance merely, so as to escape being held, and then retire out of range. The enemy tried to strike the approaching ships with many stones and arrows flying thick and fast, and to cast the grapnels upon the assailants. And in case they could reach them, they got the better of it, but if they missed, their boats would be pierced and they begin to sink, or else in their endeavor to avoid this calamity they would waste time and lay themselves open to attack on the part of some others. For when two or three at once fell upon the same ship, part would do all the damage they could and the rest suffer the brunt of the injuries. On the one side the pilots and the rowers endured the most annoyance and fatigue, and on the other the marines: and the one side resembled cavalry, now making a charge, now withdrawing, on account of the manoeuvres on their part in assaulting and backing water, and the other was like heavy-armed men guarding against the approach of foes and trying as much as possible to hold them. As a result they gained mutual advantages: the one party fell unobserved upon the lines of oars projecting from the ships and shattered the blades, whereas the other party with rocks and engines from above tried to sink them. There were also certain disadvantages: the one party could not injure those approaching it, and the other party, if it failed to sink some vessels by its ramming, was hemmed in and found no longer an equal contest.

[33] The battle was an even one for a long time and neither antagonist could

get the upper hand, but the outcome of it was finally like this. Cleopatra, riding at anchor behind the warriors, could not endure the long, obscure uncertainty and delay, but harassed with worry (which was due to her being a woman and an Egyptian) at the struggle which for so long continued doubtful, and at the fearful expectancy on both sides, suddenly herself started to flee and raised the signal for the remainder of her subjects. So, as they at once raised their sails and sped out to sea, while a wind of some force had by chance arisen, Antony thought they were fleeing not at the bidding of Cleopatra, but through fear because they felt themselves vanquished, and followed them. When this took place the rest of the soldiers became both discouraged and confused, and rather wishing themselves to escape likewise kept raising their sails, and the others kept throwing the towers and the furnishings into the sea in order to lighten the vessels and make good their departure. While they were occupied in this way their adversaries fell upon them, not pursuing the fugitives, because they themselves were without sails and prepared only for a naval battle, and many contended with one ship, both from afar and alongside. Then on the part of both alike the conflict became most diverse and fierce. Caesar's men damaged the lower parts of the ships all around, crushed the oars, knocked off the rudders, and climbed on the decks, where they took hold of some and pulled them down, pushed off others, and fought with still others, since they were now equal to them in numbers. Antony's soldiers pushed them back with boathooks, cut them down with axes, threw down upon them rocks and other masses of material made ready for just this purpose, repulsed those that tried to climb up, and joined issue with such as came close enough.

And one viewing the business might have compared it, likening small things to great, to walls or many thickset islands being besieged by sea. Thus the one party strove to scale the boats like some land or fortress and eagerly brought to bear everything that contributed to this result. The others tried to repel them, devising every means that is commonly used in such a case.

[34] As the fight continued equal, Caesar, at a loss what he should do, sent for fire from the camp. Previously he had wished to avoid using it, in order to gain possession of the money. Now he saw that it was impossible for him to win in any other way, and had recourse to this, as the only thing that would assist him. Thus another form of battle was brought about. The assailants would approach their victims from many directions at once, shoot blazing missiles at them, and hurl torches fastened to javelins from their hands, and with the aid of engines threw pots full of charcoal and pitch upon some boats from a distance. The defenders tried to ward these off individually and when any of them flew past and caught the timbers and at once started a great flame, as must be the case in a ship, they used first the drinking-water which they carried on board and extinguished some conflagrations: when that was gone they dipped up the sea-water. And in case they could use great quantities of it at once, they would stop the fire by main force: but they were unable to do

this everywhere, for they did not have many buckets or large ones, and in their confusion brought them up half full, so that far from doing any service they only quickened the flame. For salt water poured on a fire in small quantities makes it burn up brightly. As they found themselves getting the worst of it in this, they heaped on the blaze their thick mantles and the corpses. For a time these checked the fire and it seemed to abate; later, especially as the wind came upon it in great gusts, it shot up more brilliant than ever and was increased by the fuel. While only a part of a ship was burning, others stood by it and the men would leap into it and hew down some parts and carry away others. These detached parts some threw into the sea and others upon their opponents, in case they could do them any damage. Others were constantly going to the sound portion of the vessel and now more than ever they used the grappling irons and the long spears with the purpose of attaching some hostile ship to theirs and transferring themselves to it; or, if that was out of the question, they tried to set it on fire likewise. [35] But the hostile fleet was guarding against this very attempt and none of it came near enough; and as the fire spread to the encircling walls and descended to the flooring, the most terrible of fates confronted them. Some, and particularly the sailors, perished by the smoke before the flame approached them, while others were roasted in the midst of it as though in ovens. Others were cooked in their armor, which became red-hot. There were still others, who, before suffering such a death, or when they were half burned, threw off their armor and were wounded by the men shooting from a distance, or again were choked by leaping into the sea, or were struck by their opponents and drowned, or were mangled by sea-monsters. The only ones to obtain an endurable death, considering the sufferings round about, were such as killed one another or themselves before any calamity befell them. These did not have to submit to torture, and as corpses had the burning ships for their funeral pyre. The Caesarians, who saw this, at first so long as any of the foe were still able to defend themselves would not come near; but when the fire began to consume the ships and the men so far from being able to do any harm to an enemy could not even help themselves, they eagerly sailed up to them to see if they could in any way gain possession of the money, and they endeavored to extinguish the fire which they themselves had caused. As a result many of them also perished in the course of their plundering in the flame.

BOOK 51

The following is contained in the Fifty-first of Dio's Rome:

How Caesar after his victory at Actium transacted business requiring immediate attention (chapters 1-4).

About Antony and Cleopatra and their movements after the defeat (chapters 5-8).

How Antony, defeated in Egypt, killed himself (chapters 9-14).

How Caesar subdued Egypt (chapters 15-18).

How Caesar came to Rome and conducted a triumph (chapters 19-21).

How the Curia Julia was dedicated (chapter 22).

How Moesia was reduced (chapters 23-27).

Duration of time the remainder of the consulships of Caesar (3rd) and M. Valerius Corvinus Messala, together with two additional years, in which there were the following magistrates here enumerated:

Caesar (IV), M. Licinius M.F. Crassus. (B.C. 30 = a. u. 724.)

Caesar (V), Sextus Apuleius Sexti F. (B.C. 29 = a. u. 725.)

BOOK 51, BOISSEVAIN.

[B.C. 31 (*a. u.* 723)]

[1] Such was the naval battle which occurred between them on the second of September. I have not elsewhere used a like expression, not being in the habit of giving precise dates, but I do it here because then for the first time Caesar alone held the entire power. Consequently the enumeration of the years of his supremacy starts from precisely that day. And before it had gone he set up as an offering to Apollo of Actium a trireme, a four-banked ship, and so on up to one of ten banks, from the captive vessels; and he built a larger temple. He also instituted a quinquennial musical and gymnastic contest involving horseracing, — a “sacred” festival, as they call all which include distribution of food, — and entitled it Actia. Further, by gathering some settlers and ousting others who dwelt nearby from their homes, he founded a city on the site of the camp and named it Nicopolis. On the spot where he had had his tent he laid a foundation of square stones, and put there a shrine of Apollo open to the sky, adorning it with the captured beaks.

But this was done later. At the time he despatched one division of the ships to pursue Antony and Cleopatra; so these followed in their wake, but as it seemed impossible to overtake the fugitives they returned. With his remaining vessels he took the enemy’s ramparts, where no one opposed him because of small numbers, and then overtook and without a battle got possession of the other army which was retreating into Macedonia. Various important contingents had already made their escape, the Romans to Antony and the rest of the allies to their homes. The latter moreover evinced no further hostility to Caesar, but both they and all the peoples who had formerly belonged to Rome remained quiet, and some at once and others later made terms. Caesar now proceeded to teach the cities a lesson by levying money and taking away the remnant of authority over their citizens that they possessed in their assemblies. From all the potentates and kings, save Amyntas and Archelaus, he took all the lands that they had received from Antony. Philopator son of Tarcondimotus, Lycomedes ruler in a portion of Cappadocian Pontus, and Alexander the brother of Iamblichus he even removed from their principalities. The last named, because he had secured his appointment as a reward for accusing the conqueror, he placed in his triumphal procession and afterward killed. The kingdom of Lycomedes he gave to one Medeus, because the latter had previous to the naval engagement detached the Mysians in Asia from Antony and with them had waged war upon such as followed Antony’s fortunes. The people of Cydonea and Lampea he set free, because they had rendered him some assistance, and he helped the Lampeans found anew their city, from which they had been uprooted. As for the senators and knights and other prominent men who had been active in Antony’s cause, he imposed fines upon many of them, executed many of them, and some he spared

entirely. Among the last Sosius was a distinguished example: for though he had often fought against Caesar and now fled and hid himself, but was subsequently discovered, his life was nevertheless preserved. Likewise one Marcus Scaurus, a half-brother of Sextus on the mother's side, had been condemned to death, but was later released for the sake of his mother Mucia. Of those who underwent the extreme punishment the Aquilii Flori and Curio were the most noted. The latter met death because he was a son of the former Curio who had once been of great assistance to the former Caesar. And the Flori both perished because Octavius commanded that one of them should draw the lot to be slain. They were father and son, and when the latter, before any drawing took place, voluntarily surrendered himself to the executioner the former felt such great grief that he died also by his own hand.

[3] This, then, was the end of these persons. The mass of Antony's soldiers was included in the ranks of Caesar's legions and later he sent back to Italy the citizens over age of both forces, without giving any of them anything, and the remainder he disbanded. They had shown an ugly temper toward him in Sicily after the victory, and he feared they might create a disturbance again. Hence he hastened before the least signs of an uprising were manifested to discharge some entirely from the service under arms and to scatter the great majority of the rest. As he was even at this time suspicious of the freedmen, he remitted their one-quarter contribution which they were still owing of the money assessed upon them. And they no longer bore him any malice for deprivations they had endured, but rejoiced as if they had received as a gift what they had not been obliged to contribute. The men still left in the rank and file showed no disposition to rebel, partly because they were held in check by their commanding officers, but mostly through hopes of the wealth of Egypt. The men, however, who had helped Caesar to gain the victory and had been dismissed from the service, were irritated at having obtained no meed of valor, and not much later they began a revolutionary movement. Caesar was suspicious of them, and fearing that they might despise Maecenas, to whom at that time Rome and the remainder of Italy had been entrusted, because he was a knight, he sent Agrippa to Italy as if on some routine business. He also gave to Agrippa and to Maecenas so great authority over everything that they might read beforehand the letters which he often wrote to the senate and to various officials, and then change whatever they wished in them. Therefore they received also from him a ring, so that they should have the means of sealing the epistles. He had had the seal which he used most at that time made double, with a sphinx raised on both sides alike. Subsequently he had his own image made in *intaglio*, and sealed everything with that. Later emperors likewise employed it, except Galba. The latter gave his sanction with an ancestral device which showed a dog bending forward from the prow of a ship. The way that Octavius wrote both to these two magistrates and to the rest of his intimate friends whenever there was need of forwarding information to them secretly was to write in place of the proper letter in each word the second one

following.

[4] Octavius, with the idea that there would be no more danger from the veterans, administered affairs in Greece and took part in the Mysteries of the two goddesses. He then went over into Asia and settled matters there, all the time keeping a sharp lookout for Antony's movements. For he had not yet received any definite information regarding the course his rival had followed in his escape, and so he kept making preparations to proceed against him, if he should find out exactly. Meantime the ex-soldiers made an open demonstration, because he was so far separated from them, and he began to fear that if they got a leader they might do some damage.

[B.C. 30 (*a. u.* 724)]

Consequently he assigned to others the task of searching for Antony, and hurried to Italy himself, in the middle of the winter of the year that he was holding office for the fourth time, with Marcus Crassus. The latter, in spite of having been attached to the cause of Sextus and of Antony, was then his fellow consul without having even passed through the praetorship. Caesar came, then, to Brundisium but progressed no farther. The senate on ascertaining that his boat was Hearing Italy went there to meet him, save the tribunes and two praetors, who by decree stayed at home; and the class of knights as well as the majority of the people and still others, some represented by embassy and many as voluntary followers, came together there, so that there was no further sign of rebellion on the part of any one, so brilliant was his arrival, and so enthusiastic over him were the masses. They, too, some through fear, others through hopes, others obeying a summons, had come to Brundisium. To certain of them Caesar gave money, but to the rest who had been the constant companions of his campaigns, he assigned land also. By turning the townspeople in Italy who had sided with Antony out of their homes he was able to grant to his soldiers their cities and their farms. To most of the outcasts from the settlements he granted permission in turn to dwell in Dyrrachium, Philippi, and elsewhere. To the remainder he either distributed or promised money for their land. Though he had now acquired great sums by his victory, he was spending still more. For this reason he advertised in the public market his own possessions and those of his companions, in order that any one who desired to buy or claim any of them might do so. Nothing was sold, however, and nothing repaid. Who, pray, would have dared to undertake to do either? But he secured by this means a reasonable excuse for a delay in carrying out his offers, and later he discharged the debt out of the spoils of the Egyptians.

[5] He settled this and the rest of the urgent business, and gave to such as had received a kind of semi-amnesty the right to live in Italy, not before permitted. After this he forgave the populace left behind in Rome for not having come to him, and on the thirtieth day after his arrival set sail again for Greece. In the midst of winter he dragged his ships across the isthmus of the Peloponnesus and got back to Asia so quickly that Antony and Cleopatra

received each piece of news simultaneously, — that he had departed and that he had returned. They, on fleeing from the naval battle, had gone as far as the Peloponnesus together. From there they sent away some of their associates, — all, in fact, whom they suspected, — while many withdrew against their will, and Cleopatra hastened to Egypt, for fear that her subjects might perhaps revolt, if they heard of the disaster before her coming. In order to make her approach safe, at any rate, she crowned her prow, as a sign of conquest, with garlands, and had some songs of victory sung by flute-players. When she reached safety, she murdered many of the foremost men, who had ever been restless under her rule and were now in a state of excitement at her disaster. From their estates and from various repositories hallowed and sacred she gathered a vast store of wealth, sparing not even the most revered of consecrated treasures. She fitted out her forces and looked about for possible alliances. The Armenian king she killed and sent his head to the Median, who might be influenced by this act, she thought, to aid them. As for Antony, he sailed to Pinarius Scarpus in Libya, and to the army previously collected under him there for the protection of Egypt. This general, however, would not receive him and also slew the first men that Antony sent, besides destroying some of the soldiers under his command who showed displeasure at this act. Then Antony, too, proceeded to Alexandria, having accomplished nothing.

[6] Now among the other preparations that they made for speedy warfare they enrolled among the ephēbi their sons, Cleopatra Caesarion and Antony Antyllus, who was borne to him by Fulvia and was then with him. Their purpose was to arouse interest among the Egyptians, who would feel that they already had a man for king, and that the rest might recognize these children as their lords, in case any untoward accident should happen to the parents, and so continue the struggle. This proved the lads' undoing. For Caesar, on the ground that they were men and held a certain form of sovereignty, spared neither of them. But to return: the two were preparing to wage war in Egypt with ships and infantry, and to this end they called also upon the neighboring tribes and the kings that were friendly to them. Nor did they relax their readiness also to sail to Spain, if there should be urgent need, believing that they could alienate the inhabitants of that land by their money if nothing more, and again they thought of transferring the seat of the conflict to the Red Sea. To the end that while engaged in these plans they might escape observation for the longest possible time or deceive Caesar in some way or slay him by treachery, they despatched men who carried letters to him in regard to peace, but money for his followers. Meantime, also, unknown to Antony, Cleopatra sent to him a golden scepter and a golden crown and the royal throne, through which she signified that she delivered the government to him. He might hate Antony, if he would only take pity on her. Caesar accepted the gifts as a good omen, but made no answer to Antony. To Cleopatra he forwarded publicly threatening messages and an announcement that if she would renounce the use of arms and her sovereignty, he would

deliberate what ought to be done in her case. Secretly he sent word that, if she would kill Antony, he would grant her pardon and leave her empire unmolested.

[7] While these negotiations were going on, the Arabians, influenced by Quintus Didius, the governor of Syria, burned the ships which had been built in the Arabian Gulf for the voyage to the Red Sea, and all the peoples and the potentates refused their assistance. And it occurs to me to wonder that many others also, though they had received many gifts from Antony and Cleopatra, now left them in the lurch. The men, however, of lowest rank who were being supported for gladiatorial combats showed the utmost zeal in their behalf and contended most bravely. These were practicing in Cyzicus for the triumphal games which they were expecting to hold in honor of Caesar's overthrow, and as soon as they were made aware of what had taken place, they set out for Egypt with the intention of aiding their superiors. Many were their contests with Amyntas in Gaul, and many with the children of Tarcondimotus in Cilicia, who had been their strongest friends but now in view of the changed circumstances had gone over to the other side; and many were their struggles against Didius, who hindered them while passing through. They proved unable, after all, to make their way to Egypt. Yet even when they had been encompassed on all sides, not even then would they accept any terms of surrender, though Didius made them many promises. They sent for Antony, feeling that they could fight with him better in Syria: then, when he neither came himself nor sent them any message, they decided that he had perished, and reluctantly made terms with the condition that they should never take part in a gladiatorial show. They received from Didius Daphne, the suburb of Antioch, to dwell in, until the matter was called to Caesar's attention. Then they were tricked (somewhat later) by Messala and were sent in different directions under the pretext that they were to be enlisted in different legions and were in some convenient way destroyed.

[8] When Antony and Cleopatra heard from the envoys the commands which Caesar issued regarding them, they sent to him again. The queen promised that she would give him large amounts of money. Antony reminded him of their friendship and kinship, and also made a defence of his association with the Egyptian woman; he enumerated the occasions on which they had helped each other gain the objects of their loves, and all the wanton pranks in which they two had shared as young men. Finally he surrendered to him Publius Turullius, a senator, who had been an assassin of Caesar, but was then living with him as a friend. He actually offered to commit suicide, if in that way Cleopatra might be saved. Caesar put Turullius to death; it happened that this man had cut wood for the fleet from the forest of Asclepius in Cos, and by his punishment in the same place he was thought to have paid the penalty to the god. But to Antony Caesar did not even then answer a word. The latter consequently despatched a third embassy, sending him his son Antyllus with considerable gold coin. His rival accepted the money, but sent the boy back

empty-handed and gave him no answer. To Cleopatra, however, as the first time so the second and the third time he sent many threats and promises alike. Yet he was afraid, even so, that they might despair of in any way obtaining pardon from him and so hold out, and that they would survive by their own efforts, or set sail for Spain and Gaul, or destroy the money, the bulk of which he heard was immense. Cleopatra had gathered it all in the monument she was constructing in the palace; and she threatened to burn all of it with her, in case she should miss the smallest of her demands. Octavius sent therefore Thyrsus, a freedman of his, to speak to her kindly in every way and to tell her further that it so happened that he was in love with her. He hoped at least by this means, since she thought she had the power to arouse passion in all mankind, that he might remove Antony from the scene and keep her and her money intact. And so it proved.

[9] Before quite all this had occurred Antony learned that Cornelius Gallus had taken charge of Scarpus's army and with the men had suddenly marched upon Paxesionium and occupied it. Hence, though he wished to set out and follow the summons of the gladiators, he did not go into Syria. He proceeded against Gallus, believing that he could certainly win over his soldiers without effort; they had been with him on campaigns and were well disposed. At any rate he could subdue them by main strength, since he was leading a large force both of ships and of infantry upon them. However, he found himself unable even to hold converse with them, although he approached their wall and shouted and hallooed. For Gallus by ordering his trumpeters to sound their instruments all together gave no one a chance to hear a word. Antony further failed in a sudden assault and subsequently met a reverse with his ships. Gallus by night had chains stretched across the mouth of the harbor under water and took no open measures to guard against them but quite disdainfully allowed them to sail freely in. When, however, they were inside, he drew up the chains by means of machines and encompassing his opponent's ships on all sides, — on land, from the houses, and on the sea, — he burned some and sank others. The next event was that Caesar took Pelusium, pretendedly by storm, but really betrayed by Cleopatra. She saw that no one came to her aid and perceived that Caesar was not to be withstood; most important of all, she heard the message sent to her by Thyrsus, and believed that she was really the object of affection. Her confidence was strengthened first of all by her wish that it be true, and second by the fact that she had enslaved his father and Antony alike. As a result she expected that she should gain not only forgiveness and sovereignty over the Egyptians, but empire over the Romans as well. At once she yielded Pelusium to him. After this, when he marched against the city, she secretly prevented the Alexandrians from making a sortie, though she pretended to urge them strongly to do so.

[10] At the news about Pelusium Antony returned from Paxesionium and in front of Alexandria met Caesar, who was exhausted from travel; he joined

battle with him, therefore, with his cavalry and was victorious. From this success Antony gained courage, as also from his being able to shoot arrows into his rival's camp carrying pamphlets which promised the men fifteen hundred denarii; so he attacked also with his infantry and was defeated. Caesar himself voluntarily read the pamphlets to his soldiers, reproaching Antony the while, and led them to feel ashamed of treachery and to acquire enthusiasm in his behalf. They gained by this in zeal, both through indignation at being tempted and through their attempt to show that they would not willingly gain a reputation for baseness. Antony after his unexpected setback took refuge in his fleet and prepared to have a combat on the water, or in any case to sail to Spain. Cleopatra seeing this caused the ships to desert and she herself rushed suddenly into the mausoleum pretending that she feared Caesar and desired by some means to destroy herself before capture, but really as an invitation to Antony to enter there also. He had an inkling that he was being betrayed, but his infatuation would not allow him to believe it, and, as one might say, he pitied her more than himself. Cleopatra was fully aware of this and hoped that if he should be informed that she was dead, he would not prolong his life but meet death at once. Accordingly, she hastened into the monument with one eunuch and two female attendants and from there sent a message to him to the effect that she had passed away. When he heard it, he did not delay, but was seized with a desire to follow her in death. Then first he asked one of the bystanders to slay him, but the man drew a sword and despatched himself. Wishing to imitate his courage Antony gave himself a wound and fell upon his face, causing the bystanders to think that he was dead. An outcry was raised at his deed, and Cleopatra hearing it leaned out over the top of the monument. By a certain contrivance its doors once closed could not be opened again, but above, near the ceiling, it had not yet been completed. That was where they saw her leaning out and some began to utter shouts that reached the ears of Antony. He, learning that she survived, stood up as if he had still the power to live; but a great gush of blood from his wound made him despair of rescue and he besought those present to carry him to the monument and to hoist him by the ropes that were hanging there to elevate stone blocks. This was done and he died there on Cleopatra's bosom.

[11] She now began to feel confidence in Caesar and immediately made him aware of what had taken place, but did not feel altogether confident that she would experience no harm. Hence she kept herself within the structure, in order that if there should be no other motive for her preservation, she might at least purchase pardon and her sovereignty through fear about her money. Even then in such depths of calamity she remembered that she was queen, and chose rather to die with the name and dignities of a sovereign than to live as an ordinary person. It should be stated that she kept fire on hand to use upon her money and asps and other reptiles to use upon herself, and that she had tried the latter on human beings to see in what way they killed in each case. Caesar was anxious to make himself master of her treasures, to seize her alive,

and to take her back for his triumph. However, as he had given her a kind of pledge, he did not wish to appear to have acted personally as an impostor, since this would prevent him from treating her as a captive and to a certain extent subdued against her will. He therefore sent to her Gaius Proculeius, a knight, and Epaphroditus, a freedman, giving them directions what they must say and do. So they obtained an audience with Cleopatra and after some accusations of a mild type suddenly laid hold of her before any decision was reached. Then they put out of her way everything by which she could bring death upon herself and allowed her to spend some days where she was, since the embalming of Antony's body claimed her attention. After that they took her to the palace, but did not remove any of her accustomed retinue or attendants, to the end that she should still more hope to accomplish her wishes and do no harm to herself. When she expressed a desire to appear before Caesar and converse with him, it was granted; and to beguile her still more, he promised that he would come to her himself.

[12] She accordingly prepared a luxurious apartment and costly couch, and adorned herself further in a kind of careless fashion, — for her mourning garb mightily became her, — and seated herself upon the couch; beside her she had placed many images of his father, of all sorts, and in her bosom she had put all the letters that his father had sent her. When, after this, Caesar entered, she hastily arose, blushing, and said: "Hail, master, Heaven has given joy to you and taken it from me. But you see with your own eyes your father in the guise in which he often visited me, and you may hear how he honored me in various ways and made me queen of the Egyptians. That you may learn what were his own words about me, take and read the missives which he sent me with his own hand."

As she spoke thus, she read aloud many endearing expressions of his. And now she would lament and caress the letters and again fall before his images and do them reverence. She kept turning her eyes toward Caesar, and melodiously continued to bewail her fate. She spoke in melting tones, saying at one time, "Of what avail, Caesar, are these your letters?," and at another, "But in the man before me you also are alive for me." Then again, "Would that I had died before you!," and still again, "But if I have him, I have you!"

Some such diversity both of words and of gestures did she employ, at the same time gazing at and murmuring to him sweetly. Caesar comprehended her outbreak of passion and appeal for sympathy. Yet he did not pretend to do so, but letting his eyes rest upon the ground, he said only this: "Be of cheer, woman, and keep a good heart, for no harm shall befall you." She was distressed that he would neither look at her nor breathe a word about the kingdom or any sigh of love, and fell at his knees wailing: "Life for me, Caesar, is neither desirable nor possible. This favor I beseech of you in memory of your father, — that since Heaven gave me to Antony after him, I may also die with my lord. Would that I had perished on the very instant after Caesar's death! But since this present fate was my destiny, send me to

Antony: grudge me not burial with him, that as I die because of him, so in Hades also I may dwell with him.”

[13] Such words she uttered expecting to obtain commiseration: Caesar, however, made no answer to it. Fearing, however, that she might make away with herself he exhorted her again to be of good cheer, did not remove any of her attendants, and kept a careful watch upon her, that she might add brilliance to his triumph. Suspecting this, and regarding it as worse than innumerable deaths, she began to desire really to die and begged Caesar frequently that she might be allowed to perish in some way, and devised many plans by herself. When she could accomplish nothing, she feigned to change her mind and to repose great hope in him, as well as great hope in Livia. She said she would sail voluntarily and made ready many treasured adornments as gifts. In this way she hoped to inspire confidence that she had no designs upon herself, and so be more free from scrutiny and bring about her destruction. This also took place. The other officials and Epaphroditus, to whom she had been committed, believed that her state of mind was really as it seemed, and neglected to keep a careful watch. She, meanwhile, was making preparations to die as painlessly as possible. First she gave a sealed paper, in which she begged Caesar to order that she be buried beside Antony, to Epaphroditus himself to deliver, pretending that it contained some other matter. Having by this excuse freed herself of his presence, she set to her task. She put on her most beauteous apparel and after choosing a most becoming pose, assumed all the royal robes and appurtenances, and so died.

[14] No one knows clearly in what manner she perished, for there were found merely slight indentations on her arm. Some say that she applied an asp which had been brought in to her in a water-jar or among some flowers. Others declare that she had smeared a needle, with which she was wont to braid her hair, with some poison possessed of such properties that it would not injure the surface of the body at all, but if it touched the least drop of blood it caused death very quickly and painlessly. The supposition is, then, that previously it had been her custom to wear it in her hair, and on this occasion after first making a small scratch on her arm with some instrument, she dipped the needle in the blood. In this or some very similar way she perished with her two handmaidens. The eunuch, at the moment her body was taken up, presented himself voluntarily to the serpents, and after being bitten by them leaped into a coffin which had been prepared by him. Caesar on hearing of her demise was shocked, and both viewed her body and applied drugs to it and sent for Psylli, in the hope that she might possibly revive. These Psylli, who are male, for there is no woman born in their tribe, have the power of sucking out before a person dies all the poison of every reptile and are not harmed themselves when bitten by any such creature. They are propagated from one another and they test their offspring, the latter being thrown among serpents at once or having serpents laid upon their swaddling-clothes. In such cases the poisonous creatures do not harm the child and are benumbed by its clothing.

This is the nature of their function. But Caesar, when he could not in any way resuscitate Cleopatra, felt admiration and pity for her and was himself excessively grieved, as much as if he had been deprived of all the glory of the victory.

[15] So Antony and Cleopatra, who had been the authors of many evils to the Egyptians and to the Romans, thus fought and thus met death. They were embalmed in the same fashion and buried in the same tomb. Their spiritual qualities and the fortunes of their lives deserve a word of comment.

Antony had no superior in comprehending his duty, yet he committed many acts of folly. He was distinguished for his bravery in some cases, yet he often failed through cowardice. He was characterized equally by greatness of soul and a servile disposition of mind. He would plunder the property of others, and still relinquish his own. He pitied many without cause and chastised even a greater number unjustly.

Consequently, though he rose from weakness to great strength, and from the depths of poverty to great riches, he drew no profit from either circumstance, but whereas he had hoped to hold the Roman power alone, he actually killed himself.

Cleopatra was of insatiable passion and insatiable avarice, was ambitious for renown, and most scornfully bold. By the influence of love she won dominion over the Egyptians, and hoped to attain a similar position over the Romans, but being disappointed of this she destroyed herself also. She captivated two of the men who were the greatest Romans of her day, and because of the third she committed suicide.

Such were these two persons, and in this way did they pass from the scene. Of their children Antyllus was slain immediately, though he was betrothed to the daughter of Caesar, and had taken refuge in his father's hero-shrine which Cleopatra had built. Caesarion was fleeing to Ethiopia, but was overtaken on the road and murdered. Cleopatra was married to Juba the son of Juba. To this man, who had been brought up in Italy and had been with him on campaigns, Caesar gave the maid and her ancestral kingdom, and he granted them the lives of Alexander and Ptolemy. To his nieces, children of Antony by Octavia and reared by her, he assigned money from their father's estate. He also ordered his freedmen to give at once to Iullus, the child of Antony and Fulvia, everything which by law they were obliged to bequeath him at their death. [16] As for the rest who had until then been connected with Antony's cause, he punished some and released others, either from personal motives or to oblige his friends. And since there were found at the court many children of potentates and kings who were being supported, some as hostages and others for the display of wanton power, he sent some back to their homes, joined others in marriage with one another, and kept possession of still others. I shall omit most of these cases and mention only two. He freely restored Iotape to the Median king, who had found an asylum with him after the defeat, but refused the request of Artaxes that his brothers be sent him, because this

prince had put to death the Romans left behind in Armenia. This was the disposition he made of such captives.

The Egyptians and Alexandrians were all spared, and Caesar did not injure one of them. The truth was that he did not see fit to visit any extreme vengeance upon so great a people, who might prove very useful to the Romans in many ways. He nevertheless offered the pretext that he wished to please their god Serapis, Alexander their founder, and, third, Areus a citizen, who was a philosopher and enjoyed his society. The speech in which he proclaimed to them his pardon he spoke in Greek, so that they might understand him. After this he viewed the body of Alexander and also touched it, at which a piece of the nose, it is said, was crushed. But he would not go to see the remains of the Ptolemies, though the Alexandrians were extremely anxious to show them, for he said: "I wanted to see a king, and not corpses." For the same reason he would not enter the presence of Apis, declaring that he was "accustomed to worship gods and not cattle." [17] Soon after he made Egypt tributary and gave it in charge of Cornelius Gallus. In view of the populousness of both cities and country, and the facile, fickle character of the inhabitants, and the importance of grain supplies and revenue, so far from daring to entrust the land to any senator he would not even grant one permission to live in it, unless he made the concession to some one *nominatim*. On the other hand, he did not allow the Egyptians to be senators in Rome, but after considering individual cases on their merits he commanded the Alexandrians to conduct their government without senators; with such capacity for revolution did he credit them. And of the system then imposed upon them most details are rigorously preserved to the present day, but there are senators in Alexandria, beginning first under the emperor Severus, and they also may serve in Rome, having first been enrolled in the senate in the reign of his son Antoninus.

Thus was Egypt enslaved. All of the inhabitants who resisted were subdued after a time, as, indeed, Heaven very clearly indicated to them would occur. For it rained not only water, where previously no drop had ever fallen, but also blood. At the same time that this was falling from the clouds glimpses were caught of armor. Elsewhere there was the clashing of drums and cymbals and the notes of flutes and trumpets. A serpent of huge size was suddenly seen and gave a hiss incredibly loud. Meanwhile comet stars came frequently into view and ghosts of the dead took shape. The statues frowned: Apis bellowed a lament and shed tears. Such was the status of things in that respect.

In the palace quantities of money were found. Cleopatra had taken practically all the offerings from even the holiest shrines and so helped to swell the spoils of the Romans, while the latter on their own part incurred no defilement. Large sums were also obtained from every man under accusation. More than that, all the rest against whom no personal complaint could be brought had two-thirds of their property demanded of them. Out of this all the

soldiers got what was still owing to them, and those who were with Caesar at that time secured in addition two hundred and fifty denarii apiece for not plundering the city. All was made good to those who had previously loaned anything, and to both senators and knights who had taken part in the war great sums were given. In fine, the Roman empire was enriched and its temples adorned.

[18] After attending to the matters before mentioned Caesar founded there also on the site of the battle a city and gave to it likewise a name and dedicatory games, as in the previous instance. In regard to the canals he cleared out some of them and dug others over again, and he also settled important questions. Then he went through Syria into the province of Asia and passed the winter there attending to the business of the subject nations in detail and likewise to that of the Parthians. There had been disputes among them and a certain Tiridates had risen against Phraates; as long as Antony's opposition lasted, even after the naval battle, Caesar had not only not attached himself to either side, though they sought his alliance, but made no other answer than that he would think it over. His excuse was that he was busy with Egypt, but in reality he wanted them meantime to exhaust themselves by fighting against each other. Now that Antony was dead and of the two combatants Tiridates, defeated, had taken refuge in Syria, and Phraates, victorious, had sent envoys, he negotiated with the latter in a friendly manner: and without promising to aid Tiridates, he allowed him to live in Syria. He received a son of Phraates as a mark of friendliness, and took the youth to Rome, where he kept him as a hostage.

[19] Meanwhile, and still earlier, the Romans at home had passed many resolutions respecting the victory at sea. They granted Caesar a triumph (over Cleopatra) and granted him an arch bearing a trophy at Brundisium, and another one in the Roman Forum. Moreover, the lower part of the Julian hero-shrine was to be adorned with the beaks of the captive ships and a festival every five years to be celebrated in his honor. There should be a thanksgiving on his birthday and on the anniversary of the announcement of the victory: when he entered the city the (vestal virgin) priestesses, the senate and the people, with their wives and children, were to meet him. It is quite superfluous to mention the prayers, the images, the privileges of front seats, and everything else of the sort. At the very first they both voted him these honors, and either tore down or erased the memorials that had lent Antony distinction. They declared the day on which the latter had been born accursed and forbade the employment of the surname Marcus by any one of his kin. His death was announced during a part of the year when Cicero, the son of Cicero, was consul; and on ascertaining this some believed it had come to pass not without divine direction, since the consul's father had owed his death chiefly to Antony. Then they voted to Caesar additional crowns and many thanksgivings, and granted him among other rights authority to conduct a triumph over the Egyptians also. For neither previously nor at that time did

they mention by name Antony and the rest of the Romans who had been vanquished with him, and so imply that it was proper to hold a celebration over them. The day on which Alexandria was captured they declared fortunate and directed that for the years to come it should be taken as the starting-point of enumeration by the inhabitants of that town. Also Caesar was to hold the tribunician power for life, to have the right to defend such as called upon him for help both within the pomerium and outside to the distance of eight half-stadia (a privilege possessed by none of the tribunes), as also to judge appealed cases; and a vote of his, like the vote of Athena, was to be cast in all the courts. In the prayers in behalf of the people and the senate petitions should be offered for him alike by the priests and by the priestesses. They also ordered that at all banquets, not only public but private also, all should pour a libation to him. These were the resolutions passed at that time.

[B.C. 29 (*a. u.* 725)]

[20] When he was consul for the fifth time with Sextus Apuleius, they ratified all his acts by oath on the very first day of January. And when the letter came regarding the Parthians, they decreed that he should have a place in hymns along with the gods, that a tribe should be named “Julian” after him, that he should wear the triumphal crown during the progress of all the festivals, that the senators who had participated in his victory should take part in the procession wearing purple-bordered togas, and that the day on which he should enter the city should be glorified by sacrifices by the entire population and be held ever sacred. They further agreed that he might choose priests beyond the specified number, as many and as often as he should wish. This custom was handed down from that decision and the numbers have increased till they are boundless: hence I need go into no particulars about the multitude of such officials. Caesar accepted most of the honors (save only a few): but that all the population of the city should meet him he particularly requested might not occur. Yet he was pleased most of all and more than at all the other decrees by the fact that the senators closed the gates of Janus, implying that all their wars had ceased, — and took the “augury of health,” which had all this period been omitted for reasons I have mentioned. For there were still under arms the Treveri, who had brought the Celts to help them, the Cantabrigi, Vaccaei, and Astures. These last were subjugated by Statilius Taurus, and those first mentioned by Nonius Gallus. There were numerous other disturbances going on in the isolated districts. Since, however, nothing of importance resulted from any of them, the Romans of that time did not consider that war was in progress and I have nothing notable to record about them. Caesar meanwhile was giving his attention to various business, and granted permission that precincts dedicated to Rome and to Caesar his father, — calling him “the Julian hero,” — should be set apart in Ephesus and in Nicaea. These cities had at that time attained chief place in Asia and in Bithynia respectively. To these two divinities he ordered the Romans who dwelt near them to pay honor. He allowed the foreigners (under the name of

“Hellenes”) to establish a precinct to himself, — the Asians having theirs in Pergamum and the Bithynians theirs in Nicomedeia. This custom, beginning with him, has continued in the case of other emperors, and imperial precincts have been hallowed not only among Hellenic nations but in all the rest which yield obedience to the Romans. In the capital itself and in the rest of Italy there is no one, however, no matter how great renown he has achieved, that has dared to do this. Still, even there, after their death, honors as to gods are bestowed upon those who have ruled uprightly, and hero-shrines are built.

[21] All this took place in the winter, during which the Pergamenians also received authority to celebrate the so-called “Sacred” contest in honor of his temple. In the course of the summer Caesar crossed over to Greece and on to Italy. Among the others who offered sacrifice, as has been mentioned, when he entered the City, was the consul Valerius Potitus. Caesar was consul all the year, as the two previous, but Potitus was the successor of Sextus. It was he who publicly and in person sacrificed oxen in behalf of the senate and of the people at Caesar’s arrival, something that had never before been done in the case of any single man. After this his newly returned colleague praised and honored his lieutenants, as had been the custom. Among the many marks of favor by which Caesar distinguished Agrippa was the dark blue symbol of naval supremacy. To his soldiers also he made certain presents: to the people he distributed a hundred denarii each, first to those ranking as adults, and afterward to the children as a mark of his affection for his nephew Marcellus. Further let it be noted that he would not accept from the cities of Italy the gold to be used for the crowns. Moreover he paid everything which he himself owed to any one and, as has been said, he did not exact what the others were owing to him. All this caused the Romans to forget every unpleasantness, and they viewed his triumph with pleasure, quite as if the defeated parties had all been foreigners. So vast an amount of money circulated through all the city alike that the price of goods rose and loans which had previously been in demand at twelve per cent. were now made at one-third that rate. The celebration on the first day was in honor of the wars against the Pannonians and Dalmatians, Iapudia and adjoining territory, and a few Celts and Gauls. Graius Carrinas had subdued the Morini and some others who had risen against Roman dominion, and had repulsed the Suevi, who had crossed the Rhine to wage war. Therefore he too held a triumph, in spite of the fact that his father had been put to death by Sulla and he himself had once been prevented from holding office with the rest of his peers. Caesar also held one since the credit of this victory properly pertained to his position as imperator.

These were the celebrations on the first day. On the second came the commemoration of the naval victory at Actium; on the third that of the subjugation of Egypt. All the processions proved notable by reason of the spoils from this land, — so many had been gathered that they sufficed for all the occasions, — but this Egyptian celebration was especially costly and magnificent. Among other features a representation of Cleopatra upon the bed

of death was carried by, so that in a way she too was seen with the other captives, and with Alexander, otherwise Helios, and Cleopatra, otherwise Selene, her children, and helped to grace the triumph. Behind them all Caesar came driving and did everything according to custom except that he allowed his fellow-consul and the other magistrates, contrary to custom, to follow him with the senators who had participated in the victory. It had been usual for such dignitaries to lead and for only the senators to follow.

[22] After completing this, he dedicated the temple of Minerva, called also the Chalcidicum, and the Julian senate-house, which had been built in honor of his father. In it he set up the statue of Victory which is still in existence, probably signifying that it was from her that he had received his dominion. It belonged to the Tarentini, and had been brought from there to Rome, where it was placed in the senate-chamber and decked with the spoils of Egypt. The spoils were also employed at this time for adorning the Julian hero-shrine, when it was consecrated. Many of them were placed as offerings in it and others were dedicated to Capitoline Jupiter and Juno and Minerva, while all the votive gifts that were thought to have previously reposed there or were still reposing were now by decree taken down as defiled. Thus Cleopatra, although defeated and captured, was nevertheless glorified, because her adornments repose in our temples and she herself is seen in gold in the shrine of Venus.

At the consecration of the hero-shrine there were all sorts of contests, and the children of the nobles performed the Troy equestrian exercise. Men who were their peers also contended on chargers and pairs and three-horse teams. A certain Quintus Vitellius, a senator, fought as a gladiator. All kinds of wild beasts and kine were slain by the wholesale, among them a rhinoceros and a hippopotamus, then seen for the first time in Rome. Many have described the appearance of the hippo and it has been seen by many more. As for the rhinoceros, it is in most respects like an elephant, but has a projecting horn at the very tip of its nose and through this fact has received its name. Besides the introduction of these beasts Dacians and Suebi fought in throngs with each other. The latter are Celts, the former a species of Scythian. The Suebi, to be exact, dwell across the Rhine (though many cities elsewhere claim their name), and the Dacians on both sides of the Ister. Such of them, however, as live on this side of it and near the Triballic country are reckoned in with the district of Moesia and are called Moesi save among those who are in the very neighborhood. Such as are on the other side are called Dacians, and are either a branch of the Getae or Thracians belonging to the Dacian race that once inhabited Rhodope. Now these Dacians had before this time sent envoys to Caesar: but when they obtained none of their requests, they turned away to follow Antony. To him, however, they were of no great assistance, owing to disputes among themselves. Some were consequently captured and later set to fight the Suebi.

The whole spectacle lasted naturally a number of days. There was no

intermission in spite of a sickness of Caesar's, but it was carried on in his absence, under the direction of others. During its course the senators on one day severally held banquets in the entrance to their homes. Of what moved them to this I have no knowledge, for it has not been recorded. Such was the progress of the events of those days.

[23] While Caesar was yet in his fourth consulship Statilius Taurus had both constructed at his own expense and dedicated with armed combat a hunting-theatre of stone on the Campus Martius. On this account he was permitted by the people to choose one of the praetors year after year. During this same period Marcus Crassus was sent into Macedonia and Greece and carried on war with the Dacians and Bastarnae. It has already been stated who the former were and how they had been made hostile. The Bastarnae are properly classed as Scythians and at this time had crossed the Ister and subdued the part of Moesia opposite them, then the Triballi who live near it, and the Dardani who inhabit the Triballian country. While they were so engaged they had no trouble with the Romans. But when they crossed the Haemus and overran the portion of Thrace belonging to the Dentheleti who had a compact with Rome, then Crassus, partly to defend Sitas king of the Dentheleti, who was blind, but chiefly because of fear for Macedonia, came out to meet them. By his mere approach, he threw them into a panic and drove them from the land without a conflict. Next he pursued them, as they were retiring homeward, gained possession of the district called Segetica, and invading Moesia damaged that territory. He made an assault upon a strong fortification, also, and though his advance line met with a rebuff, — the Moesians making a sally against it, because they thought these were all of the enemy, — still, when he came to the rescue with his whole remaining army he both cut his opponents down in open fight and annihilated them by an ambushade.

[24] While he was thus engaged, the Bastarnae ceased their flight and remained near the Cedrus river to watch what would take place. When, after conquering the Moesians, the Roman general started against them, they sent envoys forbidding him to pursue them, since they had done the Romans no harm. Crassus detained them, saying he would give them their answer the following day, and besides treating them kindly he made them drunk, so that he learned all their plans. The whole Scythian race is insatiable in the use of wine and quickly succumbs to its influence. Crassus meanwhile, during the night, advanced to a wood, and after stationing scouts in front of the forest made his army stop there. Thereupon the Bastarnae, thinking the former were alone, made a charge upon them, following them up also when the men retreated into the dense forest, and many of the pursuers perished there as well as many others in the flight which followed were obstructed by their wagons, which were behind them, and owed their defeat further to their desire to save their wives and children. Their king Deldo was slain by Crassus himself. The armor stripped from the prince he would have dedicated as *spolia opima* to Jupiter Feretrius, had he been a general acting on his own authority. Such was

the course of that engagement: of the remainder some took refuge in a grove, which was set on fire all around, and others leaped into a fort, where they were annihilated. Still others perished, either by being driven into the Ister or after being scattered through the country. Some survived even yet and occupied a strong post where Crassus besieged them in vain for several days. Then with the aid of Roles, king of some of the Getae, he destroyed them. Roles when he visited Caesar was treated as a friend and ally for this assistance: the captives were distributed to the soldiers.

[25] After accomplishing this Crassus turned his attention to the Moesians; and partly by persuading some of them, partly by scaring them, and partly by the application of force he subjugated all except a very few, though with labor and danger. Temporarily, owing to the winter, he retired into friendly territory after suffering greatly from the cold, and still more at the hands of the Thracians, through whose country, as friendly, he was returning. Hence he decided to be satisfied with what he had effected. For sacrifices and a triumph had been voted not only to Caesar but to him also, though, according at least to some accounts, he did not secure the title of imperator, but Caesar alone might apply it to himself. The Bastarnae, however, angry at their disasters, on learning that he would make no further campaigns against them turned again upon the Dentheleti and Sitas, whom they regarded as having been the chief cause of their evils. Then Crassus, though reluctantly, took the field and by forced marches fell upon them unexpectedly, conquered, and thereafter imposed such terms as he pleased. Now that he had once taken up arms again he conceived a desire to recompense the Thracians, who had harassed him during his retreat from Moesia; for news was brought at this time that they were fortifying positions and were spoiling for a fight. And he did subdue them, though not without effort, by conquering in battle the Merdi and the Serdi and cutting off the hands of the captives. He overran the rest of the country except the land of the Odrysae. These he spared because they are attached to the service of Dionysus, and had come to meet him on this occasion without arms. Also he granted them the piece of land in which they magnify the god, and took it away from the Bessi, who were occupying it.

[26] While he was so occupied he received a summons from Roles, who had become embroiled with Dapyx, himself also a king of the Getae. Crassus went to help him and by hurling the horse of his opponents back upon the infantry he thoroughly terrified the latter, so that he carried the battle no further but caused a great slaughter of the fugitives of both divisions. Next he cut off Dapyx, who had taken refuge in a fort, and besieged him. During the investment some one from the walls saluted him in Greek, and upon obtaining an audience arranged to betray the place. The barbarians caught in this way turned upon one another, and Dapyx was killed, besides many others. His brother, however, Crassus took alive and not only did him no harm, but released him.

At the close of this exploit he led his army against the cave called Keiri.

The natives in great numbers had occupied this place, which is extremely large and so very strong that the tradition obtains that the Titans after the defeat administered to them by the gods took refuge there. Here the people had brought together all their flocks and their other principal valuables. Crassus after finding all its entrances, which are crooked and hard to search out, walled them up, and in this way subjugated the men by famine. Upon this success he did not keep his hands from the rest of the Getae, though they had nothing to do with Dapyx. He marched upon Genoucla, the most strongly defended fortress of the kingdom of Zuraxes, because he heard that the standards which the Bastarnae had taken from Gaius Antonius near the city of the Istriani were there. His assault was made both with the infantry and upon the Ister, — the city being near the water, — and in a short time, though with much labor in spite of the absence of Zuraxes, he took the place. The king as soon as he heard of the Roman's approach had set off with money to the Scythians to seek an alliance, and did not return in time.

This he did among the Getae. Some of the Moesians who had been subdued rose in revolt, and them he won back by the energy of others: ^[27] he himself led a campaign against the Artacii and a few other tribes who had never been captured and would not acknowledge his authority, priding themselves greatly on this point and imbuing the rest with both anger and a disposition to rebel. He brought them to terms partly by force, as they did but little, and partly by the fear which the capture of some inspired. This took a long time. I record the names, as the facts, according to the tradition which has been handed down. Anciently Moesians and Getae occupied all the land between the Haemus and the Ister. As time went on some of them changed their names to something else. Since then there have been included under the name of Moesia all the tribes which the Savus by emptying into the Ister north of Dalmatia, Macedonia and Thrace, separates from Pannonia. Two of the many nations found among them are the Triballi, once so named, and the Dardani, who have the same designation at present.

BOOK 52

The following is contained in the Fifty-second of Dio's Rome:

How Cæsar formed a plan to lay aside his sovereignty (chapters 1-40).

How he began to be called emperor (chapters 41-43).

Duration of time, the remainder of the consulship of Cæsar (5th) and Sextus Apuleius. (B.C. 29 = a. u. 725.)

BOOK 52, BOISSEVAIN

[1] My record has so far stated what the Romans both did and endured for seven hundred and twenty-five years under the monarchy, as a democracy, and beneath the rule of a few. After this they reverted to nothing more nor less than a state of monarchy again, although Cæsar had a plan to lay down his arms and entrust affairs to the senate and the populace. He held a consultation on the subject with Agrippa and Mæcenas, to whom he communicated all his secrets. Agrippa, first of the two, answered him as follows: —

[2] “Be not surprised, Cæsar, if I try to turn your mind away from monarchy, in spite of the fact that I might enjoy many advantages from it if you held the place. If it were going to prove serviceable to you, I should be thoroughly enthusiastic for it. But those who hold supreme power are not in a like position with their friends: the latter without incurring jealousy or danger reap all the benefits they please, whereas jealousies and dangers are the lot of the former. I have thought it right, as in other cases, to look forward not for my own interest but for yours and the public’s. Let us consider leisurely all the features of the system of government and turn whichever way our reflection may direct us. For it will not be asserted that we ought to choose it under any and all circumstances, even if it be not advantageous. Otherwise we shall seem to have been unable to bear good fortune and to have gone mad through our successes, or else to have been aiming at it long since, to have used our father and our devotion to him as a mere screen, to have put “the people and the senate” forward as an excuse. Our object will seem to have been not to free them from conspirators but to enslave them to ourselves. Either supposition entails censure. Who would not be indignant to see that we had spoken words of one tenor, but to ascertain that we had had something different in mind? How much more would he hate us now than if we had at the outset laid bare our desires and aimed straight at the monarchy! It has come to be generally believed that to adopt some violent course belongs somehow to the nature of man, even if it involves taking an unfair advantage. Every person who excels in any business thinks it right that he should enjoy more advantages than his inferior. If he meets with a success he ascribes it to the force of his individual temperament, and if he fails in anything he refers it to the workings of the supernatural. A man, however, who tries to gain advancement by plots and injuries is in the first place held to be crafty and crooked, malicious and vicious: (and this I know you would allow no one to say or think about you, even if you might rule the whole world by it): again, if he succeeds, he is thought to have gained an unjust advantage, and if he fails, to have met with merited misfortune. [3] This being so, any one might reproach us quite as much, even if we had nothing of the sort in mind at the beginning and were to begin to devise it only now. For to let the situation get the better of us and not restrain ourselves and not make a right use of the gifts of

Fortune is much worse than for a man to do wrong through ill-luck. The latter sort are often compelled by their very disasters and in consideration of their own need of profit to behave against their will in an irregular way: the others voluntarily abandon self-control even if to do so is contrary to their own interests. And when men neither have any love of simplicity in their souls nor are able to show moderation in regard to the blessings bestowed upon them, how could one expect that they would either rule well over others or behave themselves uprightly in trouble? Let us make our decision on the basis that we are in neither of the classes mentioned and do not desire to act in any way unreasonably, but will choose whatever course after deliberation appears to us best. I shall speak quite frankly, for I could not for my part express myself in any other way, and I am aware that you do not enjoy hearing lies mingled with flattery.

[4] "Equality before the law has a pleasant name and its results are a triumph of justice. If you take men who have received the same nature, are of kindred race to one another, have been brought up under the same institutions, have been trained in laws that are alike, and yield in common the service of their bodies and of their minds to the same State, is it not just that they should have all other things, too, in common? Is it not best that they should secure no superior honors except as a result of excellence? Equality of birth strives for equality of possessions, and if it attains it is glad, but if it misses is displeased. And human nature everywhere, because it is sprung from the gods and is to return to the gods, gazes upward and is not content to be ruled forever by the same person, nor will it endure to share in the toils, the dangers, the expenditures, and be deprived of partnership in higher matters. Or, if it is forced to submit to such conditions, it hates the power which has applied coercion and if it obtains an opportunity takes vengeance on what it hates. All men think they ought to rule, and for this reason submit to being ruled in turn. They do not wish to be defrauded, and therefore do not insist on defrauding others. They are pleased with honors bestowed by their peers, and approve the penalties inflicted by their laws. If they conduct their government on these lines, and believe that profits and the opposite shall be shared in common, they wish no harm to happen to any one of the citizens and devoutly hope that all good things may fall to the lot of all of them. If one of them himself possesses any excellence, he makes it known without hesitation, practices it enthusiastically, and exhibits it very gladly: or, if he sees it in another, he readily advances it, is eager to increase it, and honors it most brilliantly. On the other hand if any one deteriorates, everybody hates him. If one meets misfortune, everybody pities him. Each person regards the loss or shame that such cause to be a common detriment to the city.

[5] "This is the constitution of democracies. Under tyrannies exactly the opposite conditions are found. It is useless to go at length into all of the details, but the chief feature is that no one is willing to seem to know or possess anything good, because the whole ruling power generally becomes

hostile to him in such a case. Every one else takes the tyrant's behavior as a standard of life, and pursues whatever objects he may hope to gain through him by taking advantage of his neighbor while incurring no danger himself. Consequently the majority of the people have an eye only to their own interests and hate all other citizens: they esteem their neighbor's good fortune as a personal loss, and his misfortunes as a personal gain.

"Such being the state of the case, I do not see what could possibly incite you to become sole ruler. Besides the fact that that system is disagreeable to democracies, it would be far more unpleasant still to yourself. You surely see how the City and its affairs are even now in a state of turmoil. It is difficult, also, to overthrow our populace which has lived during so many years in freedom, and difficult, since so many enemies confront us round about, to reduce again to slavery the allies and the subject nations, which from of old have been democratic communities and were set free by our own selves.

[6] "To begin first with the smallest matter, it will be requisite that you procure a large supply of money from all sides. It is impossible that our present revenues should suffice for the very expenses, and particularly for the support of the soldiers. This need exists also in democracies, for it is not possible to organize any government without expense. But under such a system many give largely in addition to what is required, and do it frequently, making it a matter of rivalry and securing proper honors for their liberality. Or, if perchance there are compulsory levies upon everybody, they endure it because they can persuade themselves that it is wise and because they are contributing in their own behalf. Under sovereignties they think that the ruling power alone, to which they credit boundless wealth, should bear the expense: they are very ready to search out the ruler's sources of income, but do not make a similar careful calculation about the outgo. They are not inclined to pay out anything extra personally and of their own free will, nor will they hear of voluntary public contributions. The former course no one would choose, because he would not readily admit that he was rich, and it is not to the advantage of the ruler to have it happen. So liberal a citizen would immediately acquire a reputation for patriotism among the mass of the people, would become conceited, and cause a disturbance in politics. On the other hand, a general levy weighs heavily upon them all and chiefly because they endure the loss whereas others take the gain. In democracies those who contribute money as a general rule also serve in the army, so that in a way they get it back again. But in monarchies one set of people usually farm, manufacture, carry on maritime enterprises, engage in politics, — the principal pursuits by which fortunes are secured, — and a different set are under arms and draw pay.

"This single necessity, then, which is of such importance [7] will cause you trouble. Here is another. It is by all means essential that whoever from time to time commits a crime should pay some penalty. The majority of men are not brought to reason by suggestion or by example, but it is absolutely requisite to

punish them by disenfranchisement, by exile, and by death; and this often happens in so great an empire and in so large a multitude of men, especially during a change of government. Now if you appointed other men to judge these wrongdoers, they would acquit them speedily, particularly all whom you may be thought to hate. For judges secure a pretended authority when they act in any way contrary to the wish of the ruling power. If, again, any are convicted, they will believe they have been condemned on account of instructions for which you are responsible. However, if you sit as judge yourself, you will be compelled to chastise many of the peers, — and this is not favorable, — and you will certainly be thought to be setting some of them right in anger rather than in justice. No one believes that those who have the power to use compulsion can execute judgment with justice, but everybody thinks that out of shame they spread out a mere phantom and rough picture of government in front of the truth, in order that under the legitimate name of court they may fulfill their desire. This is what happens in monarchies. In democracies, when any one is accused of committing a private wrong, he is made defendant in a private suit before judges who are his equals: or, if he is accused for a public crime, such a man has empaneled a jury of his peers, whoever the lot shall designate. It is easier for men to bear their decisions, since they do not think that any verdict rendered is due to the power of the judge or has been wrung from him as a favor.

[8] “Then again there are many, apart from any criminals, some priding themselves on birth, others on wealth, others on something different, in general not bad men, who are by nature opposed to the conception of monarchy. If a ruler allows them to become strong, he cannot live in safety, and if he undertakes to impose a check on them, he cannot do so justly. What then shall he do with them? How shall he treat them? If you root out their families, diminish their wealth, humble their pride, you will lose the good-will of your subjects. How can it be otherwise, if no one is permitted to be born nobly or to grow rich honestly or to become strong, brave, or learned? But if you allow all the separate classes to grow strong, you will not be able to deal with them easily. If you alone were sufficient for carrying on politics and war well and opportunely, and needed no assistant for any of them, it would be a different story. As the case stands, however, it is quite essential for you to have many helpers, since they must govern so large a world: and they all ought to be both brave and prudent. Now if you hand over the legions and the offices to such men, there will be danger that both you and your government will be overthrown. It is not possible for a valuable man to be produced without good sense, and he cannot acquire any great good sense from servile practices. But again, if he becomes a man of sense, he cannot fail to desire liberty and to hate all masters. If, on the other hand, you entrust nothing to these men, but put affairs in charge of the worthless and chance comers, you will very quickly incur the anger of the first class, who think themselves distrusted, and you will very quickly fail in the greatest enterprises. What

good could an ignorant or low-born person accomplish? What enemy would not hold him in contempt? What allies would obey him? Who, even of the soldiers themselves, would not disdain to be ruled by such a man? What evils are wont to result from such a condition I do not need to describe to you, for you know them thoroughly. I feel obliged to say only this, that if such an assistant did nothing right, he would injure you far more than the enemy: if he did anything satisfactorily, his lack of education would cause him to lose his head, and he would be a terror to you.

[9] “Such a question does not arise in democracies. The more men there are who are wealthy and brave, so much the more do they vie with one another and up-build the city. The latter uses them and is glad, unless any one of them wishes to found a tyranny: him the citizens punish severely. That this is so and that democracies are far superior to monarchies the experience of Greece makes clear. As long as the people had the monarchical government, they effected nothing of importance: but when they began to live under the democratic system, they became most renowned. It is shown also by the experience of other branches of mankind. Those who are still conducting their governments under tyrannies are always in slavery and always plotting against their rulers. But those who have presidents for a year or some longer period continue to be both free and independent.

“Yet, why need we use foreign examples, when we have some of our own? We Romans, ourselves, after trying a different social organization at first, later, when we had gone through many bitter experiences, felt a desire for liberty; and having secured it we attained our present eminence, strong in no advantages save those that come from democracy, through which the senate debated, the people ratified, the force under arms showed zeal, and the commanders were fired with ambition. None of these things could be done under a tyranny. For that reason, indeed, the ancient Romans detested it so much as to impose a curse upon that form of government.

[10] “Aside from these considerations, if one is to speak about what is disadvantageous for you personally, how could you endure the management of so many interests by day and night alike? How could you hold out in your enfeebled state? How could you participate in human enjoyments? How could you be happy if deprived of them? What could cause you real pleasure? When would you be free from biting grief? It is quite inevitable that the man who holds so great an empire should reflect deeply, be subject to many fears enjoy very little pleasure, but hear and see, perform and suffer, always and everywhere, what is most disagreeable. That is why, I think, both Greeks and some barbarians would not accept government by a king when offered to them.

“Knowing this beforehand, take good counsel before you enter upon such an existence. For it is disgraceful, or rather impossible, after you have once plunged into it to rise to the upper air again. Do not be deceived by the greatness of the authority nor the abundance of possessions, nor the mass of

body-guards, nor the throng of courtiers. Men who have great power have great troubles: those who have large possessions are obliged to spend largely: the crowd of body-guards is gathered because of the crowd of conspirators: and the flatterers would be more glad to destroy than to save any one. Consequently, in view of these facts, no sensible man would desire to become supreme ruler. [11] If the fact that such rulers can enrich and preserve others and perform many other good deeds, and that, by Jupiter, they may also outrage others and injure whomsoever they please leads any one to think that tyranny is worth striving for, he is utterly mistaken. I need not tell you that to live licentiously and to do evil is base and hazardous and hated of both gods and men. You are not that sort of man, and it is not for these reasons that you would choose to be sole ruler. I have elected to speak now not of everything which one might accomplish who handled affairs badly, but of what even the very best are compelled to do and endure when they adopt the system. The other point, — that one may bestow abundant favors, — is worthy of zeal, to be sure: yet when this disposition is indulged in private capacity, it is noble, august, glorious, and safe, whereas in monarchies it is first of all not a sufficient offset to the other, more disagreeable matters, that any one should choose monarchy for this especially when one is to grant to others the benefit to be derived therefrom, and accept himself the unpleasantness involved in the rest of the conduct of the office.

[12] "In the next place, the matter is not simple, as people think. No one could render assistance enough to satisfy all who need help. Those who think they ought to receive some gift from the sovereign are practically all mankind, even though no favors can at once be seen to be due them. Every one naturally has his own approbation and wishes to enjoy some benefit from him who is able to give. But the presents which can be given them, — I mean honors and offices, and sometimes money, — can be counted quite easily as compared with so great a multitude. This being so, more hatred would fall to the monarch's lot from those who fail to get what they want than friendship from such as obtain their desires. The latter take what they regard as due to them and think there is no particular reason for being very thankful to the one who gives it, since they are getting no more than they expected. Moreover, they actually shrink from such behavior for fear they may appear in the light of persons undeserving of generous treatment. The others, who are disappointed of their hopes, are grieved for two causes. First, they feel that they are robbed of what belongs to them, for by nature all persons think that everything which they desire is their own: second, they feel as if they were finding themselves guilty of some wrong, if they show resignation at not obtaining what they expect. The man who gives such great gifts rightly of course investigates before all else each person's worth: some he honors, others he neglects. As a result, then, of his judgment, some are filled with pride and others with vexation by their own consciousness of its correctness. If any one were to wish to guard against this outcome and distribute his presents without system,

he would fail utterly. The base, being honored contrary to their deserts, would become worse; for they would decide either that they were approved as being good or, if not so, that they were courted as dangerous persons: the excellent, on attaining no higher place than they, but held merely in equal honor with the base, would be more indignant at their reduction to the latter's level than the others would rejoice to be deemed valuable. Accordingly, they would give up the practice of better principles and strive to emulate less worthy men. Thus, even as a result of the very honors, those who bestow them would reap no benefit and those who receive them would become worse than before. So that this consideration, which would please some persons most in the monarchical constitution, has been proved to be a most difficult problem for you to deal with.

[13] "Reflecting on these facts and the rest which I mentioned a little earlier, be prudent while you may, and restore to the people the arms, the provinces, the offices, and the funds. If you do it at once and voluntarily, you will be the most famous of men and the most secure. But if you wait for some force to be applied, perhaps you might suffer some disaster together with ill repute. Here is evidence. Marius, Sulla, Metellus, and Pompey at first, when they got control of affairs, refused to become princes, and by this attitude escaped harm. Cinna, however, and Strabo, the second Marius, Sertorius, and Pompey himself at a later date, through their desire for sovereignty perished miserably. It is hard for this city which has been under a democracy for so many years and rules so many human beings to be willing to be a slave to any one. You have heard that the people banished Camillus when he used white horses for his triumph: you have heard that they overthrew Scipio after condemning him for some fraudulent procedure: you remember how they behaved toward your father because they had some suspicion that he wanted monarchy. Yet there have never been any better men than these.

"Moreover, I do not advise you merely to relinquish dominion, but to accomplish beforehand all that is advantageous for the public, and by decrees and laws to settle definitely whatever business needs attention, just as Sulla did. For even if some of his ordinances were subsequently overthrown, yet the majority of them and the more important still hold their ground. Do not say that even then some will indulge in factional quarrels, or I may be tempted to say again that all the more the Romans would not submit to a single ruler. If we were to review all the calamities that might befall a nation, it would be most unreasonable for us to fear dissensions which are the outgrowth of democracy rather than the tyrannies which spring from monarchy. Regarding the terrible nature of the latter I have not even undertaken to say a word. It has been my wish not merely to inveigh against a proposition so capable of censure, but to show you this, — that it is naturally such a régime that not even the most excellent men....

[14] "They cannot easily persuade by frank argument men who possess less power, or succeed in their enterprises, because their subjects are not in accord

with them. Hence, if you have any care at all of your country, for whom you have fought so many wars, for whom you would gladly surrender your life, attune her to greater moderation and order her affairs with that in view. For the privilege of doing and saving precisely what one pleases becomes in the case of sensible people, if you examine it, a cause of prosperity to all: but in the case of the foolish, a cause of disaster. Therefore he who confers authority upon such men is holding out a sword to a child and a madman; but he who gives it to the prudent, besides performing other services, preserves the objects of his liberality themselves, though they may be unwilling. Therefore I ask you not to be deceived by regarding fine-sounding names, but to look forward to the results that spring from them, and so to put an end to the insolence of the populace, and to impose the management of public affairs upon yourself and the most excellent of the remainder of the community. Then the most prudent may deliberate, those most qualified for generals become commanders, and the strongest and most needy men serve as soldiers and draw pay. In this way, all zealously discharging the duties appertaining to their offices and paying without hesitation the debts they owe one another, they will not be aware of their inferiority and lack of certain advantages and will secure the real democracy and a safe sort of freedom. The boasted "freedom" of the mob proves to be the most bitter servitude of the best element and brings a common destruction upon both. The other, which I advocate, honors responsible men everywhere and bestows equal advantages upon all so far as they are worthy: thus it renders prosperous all alike who possess it. [15] Do not think that I am advising you to enslave the people and the senate and then play the tyrant. This plan I should never dare to suggest nor you to execute. It would, notwithstanding, be well and useful both for you and for the city that you should yourself establish all proper laws with the approval of the best men without any opposing talk or resistance on the part of the masses, that you and your counselors should arrange the details of wars according to your united wishes while all the rest straightway obey orders, that the choice of officials should be in the power of the cabinet to which you belong, and that the same men should also determine honors and penalties. Then whatever pleases you after consulting the Peers will be immediately a law, and wars against enemies may be waged with secrecy and at an opportune time; those to whom a trust is committed will be appointed because of excellence and not by lot and strife for office; the good will be honored without jealousy and the bad punished without opposition. Thus what was done would be accomplished in the best way, not referred to the public, nor talked over openly, not committed to packed committees, nor endangered by rivalry. We should reap the benefits of the blessings that belong to us with enjoyment, not entering upon dangerous wars nor impious civil disputes. These two drawbacks are found in every democracy: the more powerful, desiring first place and hiring the weaker men, turn everything continually upside down. They have been most frequent in our epoch and there is no other

way save the one I propose that will put a stop to them. The proof of my words is that we have been warring abroad and fighting among ourselves for an inconceivably long time: the cause is the multitude of men and the magnitude of the interests at stake. The men are of all sorts in respect to both race and nature and have the most diversified tempers and desires. The interests have become so vast that it is very difficult to attempt to administer them. [16] Witness to the truth of my words is borne by our past. While we were but few, we had no important quarrel with our neighbors, got along well with our government, and subjugated almost all of Italy. But ever since we spread beyond the peninsula and crossed to many foreign lands and islands, filling the whole sea and the whole earth with our name and power, nothing good has been our lot. In the first place we disputed in cliques at home and within our walls, and later we exported this plague to the camps. Therefore our city, like a great merchantman full of a crowd of every race borne without a pilot these many years through rough water, rolls and shoots hither and thither because it is without ballast. Do not, then, allow her to be longer exposed to the tempest; for you see that she is waterlogged. And do not let her split upon a reef; for her timbers are rotten and will not be able to hold out much longer. But since the gods have taken pity on this land and have set you up as her arbiter and chief; do not betray your country. Through you she has now revived a little: if you are faithful, she may live with safety for ages to come.

[17] “That I do right to urge you to be sole ruler of the people I think you have long ere this been persuaded. If so, then be ready and eager to assume the leadership of the State, or rather, do not let it slip. For we are not deliberating about taking something, but about not losing it and about running hazards in addition. Who will spare you if you commit matters to the people as they were, and to some other man, seeing that there are great numbers whom you have injured, all of whom, or nearly all, will lay claim to the sovereignty? No one of them will fail to wish to punish you for what you have done, or will care to have you survive as a rival. There is evidence of this in the case of Pompey, who, when he withdrew from his supremacy, became the victim of scorn and of plots: he found himself unable to win back his place, and so perished. Also Cæsar your father, who did this very same thing, was slain for his trouble. Marius and Sulla would certainly have endured a like fate, had they not died too soon. Indeed, some say that Sulla anticipated this very end by making away with himself. Many of the provisions of his constitution, at any rate, began to be abolished while he was still alive. You, too, must expect to find that many Lepiduses, Sertoriuses, Brutuses, Cassiuses will arise against you.

[18] “Seeing these facts and reflecting on the other interests involved, do not abandon yourself and your country, out of fear that you may seem to some to be pursuing the office of set purpose. First of all, even if any one does suspect it, the desire is not one repugnant to human nature, and the danger from it is a

noble danger. Second, is any one unaware of the necessity under which you were led to take this action? Hence, if there be any blame attached to it, one might most justly censure your father's slayers therefor. For if they had not murdered him in so unjust and pitiable a fashion, you would not have taken up arms, would not have gathered your legions, would not have made a compact with Antony and Lepidus, and would not have taken measures against those very men. That you were right and were justified in doing all this no one is unaware. If any slight errors have been committed, at least we cannot safely make any further changes. Therefore for our own sakes and for that of the city let us obey Fortune, who gives you the supremacy. Let us be very thankful to her that she has not simply filled us with civil woes, but has put the reorganization of the government in your hands. By paying due reverence to her you may show all mankind that whereas others wrought disturbance and injury, you are an upright man.

"Do not, I beg you, fear the magnitude of the empire. The greater its extent, the more are the preservative influences it possesses; also, to guard anything is a long way easier than to acquire it. Toils and dangers are needed to win over what belongs to others, but a little prudence suffices to retain what is already yours. Moreover, do not be afraid that you will not live quite safely in the midst of it and enjoy all the blessings extant among men, if you are willing to arrange all the details as I shall advise you. And do not think that I am making my appeal depart from the subject in hand, if I shall speak at some length about the project. I shall not do this merely to hear myself talk, but to the end that you may be positively assured that it is both possible and easy, for a man of sense at least, to govern well and without danger.

[19] "I maintain, therefore, first of all that you ought to pick out your friends in the senatorial body and then subject it to a sifting process, because some who are not fit have become senators on account of civil disputes: such of them as possess any excellence you ought to retain, but the rest you should erase from the roll. Do not, however, get rid of any man of worth, because of poverty, but give him the money that he needs. In the place of those who have been dropped introduce the noblest, the best, the richest men obtainable, selecting them not only from Italy but from the allies and subject nations. In this way you will not be employing many assistants and you will insure a correct attitude on the part of the chief men from all the provinces. These districts, having no renowned leader, will not be disposed to rebel, and their prominent men will entertain affection for you because they have been made sharers in your empire.

"Take precisely these same measures in the case of the knights, by enrolling in the equestrian class such as hold second place everywhere in birth, excellence, and wealth. Register as many in both classes as may please you, not troubling at all about their numbers. The more men of repute you have as your associates, the more easily will you yourself settle everything in case of need and persuade your subjects that you are treating them not as

slaves nor in any way as inferior to us, but are sharing with them besides all the other blessings that belong to us the chief magistracy also, that so they may be devoted to it as their own possession. I am so far from assuming this to be a mistaken policy that I say they ought all to be given a share in the government. Thus, having an equal allotment in it, they might be faithful allies of ours, believing that they inhabited one single city owned in common by all of us, and this *really* a city, and regarding fields and villages as their individual property. But about this and what ought to be done so as not to grant them absolutely everything, we shall reflect in greater detail at another time.

[20] "It is proper to put men on the roll of the knights at eighteen years of age; for at that period of life physical condition is at its best and suitability of temperament can be discerned. But for the senate they should wait till they are twenty-five years old. Is it not disgraceful and hazardous to entrust public business to men younger than this, when we will commit none of our private affairs to any one before, he has reached such an age? After they have served as quæstors and ædiles, or tribunes, let them be prætors, when they have attained their thirtieth birthday. These offices and that of consul are the only ones at home which I maintain you ought to recognize; and that is for the sake of remembrance of ancestral customs and in order not to seem to be changing the constitution altogether. Do you, however, yourself choose all who are to hold them and not put any of these offices longer in charge of the rabble or the populace, — for they will surely quarrel, — nor in charge of the senate, for its members will contend for the prize. Moreover, do not keep up the ancient powers of these positions, for fear history may repeat itself, but preserve the honor attached while abating the influence to such an extent as will enable you to deprive each place of none of its esteem but to forestall any desire of insubordination. This can be done if you require the incumbents to stay in town, and do not permit any of them to handle arms either during their period of office or immediately afterward, but only after the lapse of some time, as much as you think sufficient in each instance. In this way none of them will rebel, because they become to an extent by their title masters of armies, and their irritation will be assuaged by their faring as private citizens for a time. Let these magistrates conduct such of the festivals as would naturally belong to their office, and let them all individually try cases save those of homicide, during their tenure of office in Rome. Courts should also be made up of the senators and knights, but the final appeal should be to the aforesaid officials.

[21] "Let a præfectus urbi be appointed from the ranks of the prominent men and from such as have previously passed through the necessary offices. His duties should not be to govern when the consuls are somewhere out of town, but to exercise at all times a general supervision of the City's interests and to decide the cases referred to him by all the other magistrates I mentioned, both those demanding final decision and such as may be appealed, together with any that involve the death penalty; and he must have authority in all of them

that concern men both in the City (except such as I shall name) and those dwelling outside to the distance of seven hundred and fifty stades.

“Still another magistrate ought to be chosen, himself also from a similar class, to investigate and watch the matters of family, property, and morals of senators and knights, alike of men and of the children and wives belonging to them. He should also set right such behavior as properly entails no punishment, yet if neglected becomes the cause of many great evils. The more important details he must report to you. This duty ought to be assigned to some senator, and to the most distinguished one after the *præfectus urbi*, rather than to one of the knights. He would naturally receive his name from your authority as censor, (for you must certainly be the dictator of the census), so that he might be called sub-censor. — Let these two hold office for life, unless either of them deteriorates in any way or becomes sick or superannuated. By reason of the permanence of their positions they would do nothing dangerous, for one would be entirely unarmed and the other would have but a few soldiers and be acting for the most part under your eyes. By reason of their rank they would shrink from coming into collision with any one and would be afraid to do any act of violence, for they would foresee their retirement to ordinary citizenship and the supremacy of others in their stead. Let them also draw a certain salary, to compensate them for the time consumed and to increase their reputation. This is the opinion I have to give you in regard to these officials.

“Let those who have been *prætors* hold some office among the subject nations. Before they have been *prætors* I do not think they should have this privilege. Let those who have not yet been *prætors* serve for one or two terms as lieutenants to such persons as you may have designated. Then, under these conditions, let them be consuls if they continue to govern rightly, and after that let them take the greater positions of command. ^[22] The following is the way I advise you to arrange it. Divide up all of Italy which is over seven hundred and fifty stades from the city and all the rest of the territory which owns our sway, both on the continents and in the islands, — divide it up everywhere according to races and nations; and pursue the same course with as many cities as are important enough to be ruled by one man with full powers. Then establish soldiers and a governor in each one and send out one of the ex-consuls to take charge of all, and two of the ex-*prætors*. One of the latter, fresh from the City, should have the care of private business and the supplying of provisions: the other should be one of those who have had this training, who will attend to the public interests of the cities and will govern the soldiers, except in cases that concern disenfranchisement or death. These must be referred only to the ex-consul who is governor, except in regard to the centurions who are on the lists and to the foremost private individuals in every place. Do not allow any other person than yourself to punish either of these classes, so that they may never be impelled by fear of any one else to take any action against you. As for my proposition that the second of the ex-*prætors*

should be put in charge of the soldiers, it is subject to the following limitations. If only a few are in service in foreign forts or in one native post, it is well enough for this to be so. But if two citizen legions are wintering in the same province (and more than this number I should not advise you to trust to one commander), it will be necessary for the two ex-prætors to superintend them, each having charge of one besides managing the remaining political and private interests. Therefore, let the ex-consul... these matters and likewise on the cases, both those subject to appeal and those already referred which are sent up to him from his prætors. And do not be surprised that I recommend to you to divide Italy also into such sections. It is large and populous, and so is incapable of being well managed by the governors at the capital. The governor of any district ought to be always present and no duties should be laid upon our city magistrates that are impossible of fulfillment.

[23] "Let all these men to whom affairs outside the city are committed receive pay, the greater ones more, the inferior ones less, those of medium importance a medium amount. They can not in a foreign land live on their own resources nor as now stand an unlimited and uncalculated expense. Let them govern not less than three years (unless any one of them commits a crime), nor more than five. These limits are because annual and short-time appointments after teaching persons what they need to know send them back again before they can display any of their knowledge: and, on the other hand, longer and more lasting positions fill many with conceit and incline them to rebellion. Hence I think that the greater posts of authority ought not to be given to persons consecutively, without interval, for it makes no difference whether a man is governor in the same province or in several in succession, if he holds office longer than is proper. Appointees improve when a period of time is allowed to elapse and they return home and live as ordinary citizens.

"The senators, accordingly, I affirm ought to discharge these duties and in the way described. [24] Of the knights the two best should command the body-guard which protects you. To entrust it to one man is hazardous, and to several is sure to breed turmoil. Let these prefects therefore be two in number, in order that, if one of them suffers any bodily harm, you may still not lack a person to guard you: and let them be appointed from those who have been on many campaigns and have been active also in many other capacities. Let them have command both of the Pretorians and of all the remaining soldiers in Italy with such absolute power that they may put to death such of them as do wrong, except in the case of the centurions and any others who have been assigned to members of the senate holding office. These should be tried by the senatorial magistrates themselves, in order that the latter may have authority both to honor and to chastise their dependents and so be able to count on their unhesitating support. Over all the other soldiers in Italy those prefects should have dominion (aided of course by lieutenants), and further over the Cæsarians, both such as wait upon you and all the rest that are of any value. These duties will be both fitting and sufficient for them to discharge. They

should not have more labors laid upon them than they will be able to dispose of effectively, that they may not be weighed down by the press of work or find it impossible to see to everything. These men ought to hold office for life like the *præfectus urbi* and the sub-censor. Let some one else be appointed night watchman, and still another commissioner of grain and of the other market produce, both of these from the foremost knights after those mentioned and appointed to hold their posts for a definite time like the magistrates elected from the senatorial class.^[25] The disposition of the funds, also, — of both the people and the empire, I mean, whether in Rome or in the rest of Italy or outside, — should be entirely in the hands of the knights. These treasurers also, as well as all of the same class who have the management of anything, should draw pay, some more and some less, with reference to the dignity and magnitude of their employment. The reason is that it is not possible for them, since they are poorer than the senators, to spend their own means while engaged in no business in Rome. And then again, it is neither possible nor advantageous for you that the same men should be made masters of both the troops and the finances. Furthermore, it is well that all the business of the empire should be transacted through a number of agents, in order that many may receive the benefit of it and become experienced in affairs. In this way your subjects, reaping a multiform enjoyment from the public treasures, will be better disposed toward you, and you will have an abundant supply of the best men on each occasion for all necessary lines of work. One single knight with as many subordinates (drawn from the knights and from your freedmen) as the needs of the case demand, is sufficient for every separate form of business in the City and for each province outside. You need to have these assistants along with them in order that your service may contain a prize of excellence, and that you may not lack persons from whom you may learn the truth even contrary to the wishes of their superiors, in case there is anything irregular happening.

“If any one of the knights after passing through many forms of service distinguishes himself enough to become a senator, his age ought not to hinder him at all from being enrolled in the senate. Let some of those even be registered who have held the post of company leaders in citizen forces, unless it be one who has served in the rank and file; for it is both a shame and a reproach to have on the list of the senate any of these persons who have carried loaded panniers and charcoal baskets. But in the case of such as were originally centurions there is nothing to prevent the most distinguished of them from being advanced to a better class.

^[26] “With regard to the senators and the knights this is my advice to you. And, by Jupiter, I have this to say further. While they are still children they should attend schools, and when they come out of childhood into youth they should turn their minds to horses and arms and have paid public teachers in each of these two departments. In this way from very boyhood they will both learn and practice all that they must themselves do on becoming men, and so

they will prove far more serviceable to you for every work. The best ruler, who is of any value, must not only himself perform all his required tasks, but also look forward to see how the rest shall become also as excellent as possible. And this name can be yours, not if you allow them to do whatever they please and then censure those who err, but if before any mistakes occur you teach them everything which, when practiced, will render them more useful both to themselves and to you. And afford nobody any excuse whatever, either wealth or birth, or anything else that accompanies excellence, for affecting indolence or effeminacy or any other behavior that is not genuine. Many persons, fearing that on account of some such possession they may incur jealousy or danger, do much that is unworthy of themselves, expecting by such behavior to live in greater security. As a consequence they commiserate themselves, believing themselves wronged in this very particular, that they are not allowed to appear to live aright. Their ruler also suffers a loss because he is deprived of the services of good men, and suffers ill repute for the censure imposed upon them. Therefore never permit this to be done, and have no fears that any one brought up and educated as I propose will ever adopt a rebellious policy. Quite the reverse; it is only the ignorant and licentious that you need suspect. Such persons are easily influenced to behave most disgracefully and abominably in absolutely every way first toward their own selves and next toward other people. Those, however, who have been well brought up and educated are purposed not to wrong any one and least of all him who cared for their rearing and education. If any one, accordingly, shows himself wicked and ungrateful, do not entrust him with any such position as will enable him to effect any harm: if even so he rebels, let him be tried and punished. Do not be afraid that any one will blame you for this, if you carry out all my injunctions. For in taking vengeance on the wrongdoer you will be guilty of no sin any more than the physician who burns and cuts. All will pronounce the man justly treated, because after partaking of the same rearing and education as the rest he plotted against you. — This is the course of action I advise in the case of the senators and knights.

[27] “A standing army should be supported, drawn from the citizens, the subject nations, and the allies, in one case more, in another less, province by province, as the necessities of the case demand; and they ought to be always under arms and make a practice of warfare continually. They must have secured winter-quarters at the most opportune points, and serve for a definite time, so that a certain period of active life may remain for them before old age. For, separated so far as we are from the frontiers of the empire, with enemies living near us on every side, we should otherwise no longer be able to count on auxiliaries in the case of emergencies. Again, if we allow all those of military age to have arms and to practice warlike pursuits, quarrels and civil wars will always be arising among them. However, if we prevent them from doing this and then need their assistance at all in battle, we shall always have to face danger with inexperienced and untrained soldiers at our back. For

this reason I submit the proposition that most of them live without arms and away from forts; but that the hardiest and those most in need of a livelihood be registered and kept in practice. They themselves will fight better by devoting their leisure to this single business; and the rest will the more easily farm, manage ships, and attend to the other pursuits of peace, if they are not forced to be called out for service, but have others to stand as their guardians. The most active and vigorous element, that is, which is oftenest obliged to live by robbery, will be supported without harming others, and all the rest of the population will lead a life free from danger.

[28] "From what source, then, will the money come for these warriors and for the other expenses that will be found necessary? I shall make this point clear, with only the short preliminary statement that even were we under a democracy, we should in any case need money. We can not survive without soldiers, and without pay none of them will serve. Hence let us not feel downhearted in the belief that the compulsory collection of money appertains only to monarchy, and let us not turn away from the system for that reason, but conduct our deliberations with a full knowledge of the fact that in any case it is necessary for us to obtain funds, whatsoever form of government we may adopt. Consequently, I maintain that you should first of all sell the goods which are in the public treasury, — and I notice that these have become numerous on account of the wars, — except a few which are exceedingly useful and necessary to you: and you should loan all this money at some moderate rate of interest. In this way the land will be worked, being delivered to men who will cultivate it themselves, and the latter will obtain a starting-point and so grow more prosperous, while the treasury will have a sufficient and perpetual revenue. This amount should be computed together with all the rest of the revenue that can be derived from the mines and with certainty from any other source; and after that we ought to reckon on not only the military service but everything else which contributes to the successful life of a city, and further how much it will be necessary to lay out in campaigns at short notice and other critical occurrences which are wont to take place. Then, to make up the deficiency in income, we ought to levy upon absolutely all instruments which produce any profit for the men who possess them, and we should exact taxes from all whom we rule. It is both just and proper that no one of them should be exempt from taxation, — individual or people, — because they are destined to enjoy the benefit of the taxes in common with the rest. We should set over them tax-collectors in every case to manage the business, so that they may levy from all sources of revenue everything that falls due during their term of management. The following plan will render it easier for the officers to gather the taxes and will be of no little service to those who contribute them. I mean that they will bring in whatever they owe in an appointed order and little by little, instead of remaining idle a short time and then having the entire sum demanded of them in one payment.

[29] "I am not unaware that some of the incomes and taxes established will

be disliked. But I know this, too, — that if the peoples secure immunity from any further abuse and believe in reality that they will be contributing all of this for their own safety and for reaping subsidiary benefits in abundance and that most of it will be obtained by no others than men of their own district, some by governing, others by managing, others by army service, they will be very grateful to you, giving as they do a small portion of large possessions, the profits of which they enjoy without oppression. Especially will this be true if they see that you live temperately and spend nothing foolishly. Who, if he saw you very economical of your own means and very lavish of the public funds, would not willingly contribute, and deem your possession of wealth to constitute his safety and prosperity? By these means a very large amount of money would be on hand.

[30] “The rest I urge you to arrange in the following way. Adorn this city in the most expensive manner possible and add brilliance by every form of festival. It is fitting that we who rule many people should surpass all in everything, and such spectacles tend in a way to promote respect on the part of our allies and alarm on the part of enemies. The affairs of other nations you should order in this fashion. First, let the various tribes have no power in any matter nor meet in assemblies at all. They would decide nothing good and would always be creating more or less turmoil. Hence I say that even our own populace ought not to gather at court or for elections or for any other such meeting where any business is to be transacted. Next, they should not indulge in numbers of houses of great size and beyond what is necessary, and they should not expend money upon many and all kinds of contests: so they will neither be worn out by vain zeal nor become hostile through unreasonable rivalries. They ought, however, to have certain festivals and spectacles, (apart from the horse-race held among us), but not to such an extent that the treasury or private estates will be injured, or any stranger be compelled to spend anything whatever in their midst, or food for a lifetime be furnished to all who have merely won in some contest. It is unreasonable that the well-to-do should submit to compulsory expenditures outside their own countries; and for the athletes the prizes for each event are sufficient. This ruling does not apply to any one of them who might come out victor in the Olympian or Pythian games, or some contest here at Rome. Such are the only persons who ought to be fed, and then the cities will not exhaust themselves without avail nor anybody practice save those who have a chance of winning, since one can follow some other pursuit that is more advantageous both to one’s self and to one’s country. “This is my decision about these matters. — Now to the horse-races which are held without gymnastic contests, I think that no other city but ours should be allowed to hold them, so that vast sums of money may not be dissipated recklessly nor men go miserably frantic, — and most of all that the soldiers may have a plentiful supply of the best horses. This, therefore, I would forbid altogether, that those races should take place anywhere else than here. The other amusements I have determined to moderate so that all

organizations should make the enjoyment of entertainments for eye and ear inexpensive, and men thereby live more temperately and free from discontent.

“Let none of the foreigners employ their own coinage or weights or measures, but let them all use ours. And they should send no embassy to you, unless it involve a point for decision. Let them instead present to their governor whatever they please and through him forward to you all such requests of theirs as he may approve. In this way they will neither spend anything nor effect their object by crooked practices, but receive their answers at first hand without any expenditure or intrigue.

[31] “Moreover, in respect to other matters, you would seem to be ordering things in the best way if you should, in the first place, introduce before the senate the embassies which come from the enemy and from those under truce, both kings and peoples. For it is awe-inspiring and impressive to let the senate appear to be master of all situations and to exhibit many adversaries prepared for petitioners who are guilty of double dealing. Next, have all the laws enacted by the senators, and do not impose a single one upon all the people alike, except the decrees of that body. In this way the dignity of the empire would be the more confirmed and the decisions made in accordance with the laws would prove indisputable and evident to all alike. Thirdly, it would be well in case the senators who are serving in the city, their children or their wives, are ever charged with any serious crime, so that a person convicted would receive a penalty of disenfranchisement or exile or even death, that you should set the situation before the senate, without any previous condemnation, and commit to that body the entire decision at first hand regarding it. Thus those guilty of any crime would be tried before all their peers and punished without any ill-feeling against you. The rest, seeing this, would improve in character for fear of being themselves publicly apprehended. I am speaking here about those offences regarding which laws are established, and judgments are rendered according to the laws.

“As for talk that some one has abused you or spoken in an unfitting way about you, do not listen to any one who brings such an accusation nor investigate it. It is disgraceful to believe that any one has wantonly insulted you who are doing no wrong and benefiting all. Only those who rule badly will credit these reports. Because of their own conscience they surmise that the matter has been stated truthfully. It is a shame to be angry at complaints for which, if true, one had better not have been responsible, and about which, if false, one ought not to pretend to care. Many in times past by angry behavior have caused more things and worse to be said against them. This is my opinion about those accused of uttering some insult. Your personality should be too strong and too lofty to be assailed by any insolence, and you should never allow yourself to think nor lead others into thinking that any person can be indecent toward you. Thus they will think of you as of the gods, that you are sacrosanct. If any one should be accused of plotting against you (such a thing might happen), do not yourself sit as judge on a single detail of

the case nor reach any decision in advance, — for it is absurd that the same man should be made both accuser and judge, — but take him to the senate and make him plead his defence. If he be convicted, punish him, though moderating the sentence so far as is feasible, in order that belief in his guilt may be fostered. It is very difficult to make most men believe that any unarmed person will plot against him who is armed. And the only way you could gain credence would be by punishing him not in anger nor overwhelmingly, if it be possible. — This is aside from the case of one who had an army and should revolt directly against you. It is not fitting that such an one be tried, but that he be chastised as an enemy.

“In this way refer to the senate these matters and [32] most of the highly important affairs that concern the commonwealth. Public interests you must administer publicly. It is also an inbred trait of human nature for individuals to delight in marks of esteem from a superior, which seem to raise one to equality with him, and to approve everything which the superior has determined after consulting them, as if it were their own proposal, and to cherish it, as if it were their own choice. Consequently I affirm that such business ought to be brought before the senate. — In regard to most cases all those senators present ought equally to state their opinions: but when one of their number is accused, not all of them should do so, unless it be some one who is not yet a senator or is not yet in the ranks of the ex-quæstors that is being tried. And, indeed, it is absurd that one who has not yet been a tribune or an ædile should cast a vote against such as have already filled these offices, or, by Jupiter, that any one of the latter should vote against the ex-prætors or they against the ex-consuls. Let the last named have authority to render a decision in all cases, but the rest only in the cases of their peers and their subordinates.

[33] “You yourself must try in person the referred and the appealed cases which come to you from the higher officials, from the procurators, from the præfectus urbi, from the sub-censor, and the prefects, both the commissioner of grain and the night-watch. No single one of them should have such absolute powers of decision and such independence that a case can not be appealed from him. You should be the judge, therefore in these instances, and also when knights are concerned and properly enrolled centurions and the foremost private citizens, if the trial involves death or disenfranchisement. Let these be your business alone, and for the reasons mentioned let no one else on his own responsibility render a decision in them. You should always have associated with you for discussion the most honored of the senators and of the knights, and further certain others from the ranks of the ex-consuls and ex-prætors, some at one time and some at another. In this association you will become more accurately acquainted with their characters beforehand, and so be able to put them to the right kind of employment, and they by coming in contact with your habits and wishes will have them in mind on going out to govern the provinces. Do not, however, openly ask their opinions when a rather careful

consideration is required, for fear that they, being outside their accustomed sphere, may hesitate to speak freely; but let them record their views on tablets. To these you alone should have access, that they may become known to no one else, and then order the writing to be immediately erased. In this way you may best get at each man's exact opinion, when they believe that it can not be identified among all the rest.

"Moreover for the lawsuits, letters, and decrees of the cities, for the consideration of the demands of individuals and everything else which belongs to the administration of the empire you must have supporters and assistants from among the knights. Everything will move along more easily in this way, and you will neither err through want of fairness nor become exhausted by doing everything yourself. Grant every one who wishes to make any suggestion whatever to you the right of speaking freely and fearlessly. If you approve what he says, it will be of great service: and if you are not persuaded, it will do no harm. Those who obtain your favorable judgment you should both praise and honor, since by their devices you will receive glory: and those who fail of it you should never dishonor or censure. It is proper to look at their intentions, and not to find fault because their plans were unavailable. Guard against this same mistake when war is concerned. Be not enraged at any one for involuntary misfortune nor jealous of his good fortune, to the end that all may zealously and gladly run risks for you, confident that if they make a slip they will not be punished nor if successful become the objects of intrigue. There are many who through fear of jealousy on the part of those in power have chosen to meet reverses rather than to effect anything. As a result they retained their safety, but the loss fell upon their own heads. You, who are sure to reap the principal benefit from both classes alike, — the inferior and the superior, — ought never to choose to become nominally jealous of others, but really of yourself.

[34] "Whatever you wish your subjects to think and do *you* must say and do. You can better educate them in this way than if you should desire to terrify them by the severities of the laws. The former course inspires emulation, the latter fear. And any one can more easily imitate superior conduct, when he actually sees it in some life, than he can guard against low behavior which he merely hears to be prohibited by edict. Act in every way yourself with circumspection, not condoning any mistakes of your own, for be well assured that all will straightway learn everything you say and do. You will live as it were in a kind of theatre, whose audience is the whole world: and it will not be possible for you to escape detection if you commit the very smallest error. No act of yours will ever be in private, but all of them will be performed in the midst of many persons. And all the remainder of mankind somehow take the greatest delight in being officious with respect to what is done by their rulers. Hence, if they once ascertain that you are urging them to one course and following a different one yourself, they will not fear your threats, but will imitate your deeds.

“Have an eye to the lives of others, but do not carry your investigations unpleasantly close. Decide cases which are brought before you by outsiders, but do not pretend to notice conduct that receives no outspoken censure from any one, except irregularities not consonant with public interest. The latter ought to be properly rebuked, even if no one has aught to say against them. Other private failings you ought to know, in order to avoid making a mistake some day by employing an assistant unsuitable for a particular duty: do not, however, take individuals to task. Their natures impel many persons to commit various violations of the law. If you make an unsparing campaign against them, you might leave scarcely one man unpunished. But if you humanely mingle consideration with the strict command of the law, you may perhaps bring them to their senses. For the law, though necessarily severe in its punishments, can not always conquer nature. Some men, if permitted to think they are unobserved, or if moderately admonished, improve, some through shame at being discovered and others through fear of failure the next time. Whereas when they are openly denounced and throw compunction to the winds, or where they are chastised beyond measure, they overturn and trample under foot all law and order and obey slavishly the impulses of their nature. Therefore it is not easy to discipline all of them nor is it fitting to allow some of them to continue publicly their outrageous conduct.

“This is the way I advise you to treat people’s offences, except the very desperate cases: and you should honor even beyond the deserts of the deed whatever they do rightly. In this way you can best make them refrain from baser conduct by kindness and cause them to aim at what is better by liberality. Have no dread that either money or other means of rewarding those who do well will ever fail you. I think those deserving of good treatment will prove far fewer than the rewards, since you are lord of so much land and sea. And fear not that any who are benefited will commit some act of ingratitude. Nothing so captivates and conciliates any one, be he foreigner or be he foe, as freedom from wrongs and likewise kindly treatment.

[35] “This is the attitude which I urge you to assume toward others. For your own part allow no extraordinary or overweening distinction to be given you through word or deed by the senate or by anybody else. To others honor which you confer lends adornment, but to your own self nothing can be given that is greater than what you already have, and it would arouse no little suspicion of failure in straightforwardness. None of the ordinary people willingly approves of having any such distinction voted to the man in power. As he receives everything of the kind from himself, he not only obtains no praise for it but becomes a laughing-stock instead. Any additional brilliance, then, you must create for yourself by your good deeds. Never permit gold or silver images of yourself to be made; they are not only costly, but they give rise to plots and last but a brief time: you must build in the very hearts of men others out of benefits conferred, which shall be both unalloyed and undying. Again, do not ever allow a temple to be raised to yourself. Large amounts of

money are spent uselessly on such objects, which had better be laid out upon necessary improvements. Great wealth is gathered not so much by acquiring a great deal as by not spending a great deal. Nor does a temple contribute anything to any one's glory. Excellence raises many men to the level of the gods, but nobody ever yet was made a god by show of hands. Hence if you are upright and rule well, the whole earth will be your precinct, all cities your temple, all mankind your statues. In their thoughts you will ever be enshrined and surrounded by good repute. Those who administer their power in any other way are not only not magnified by sites and edifices of worship, though these be the choicest in all the cities, but erect for themselves therein mute detractors which become trophies of their baseness, memorials of their injustice. And the longer these last, the more steadfastly does the ill-repute of such sovereigns abide. [36] Therefore if you desire to become in very truth immortal, act in this way; and further, reverence the Divine Power yourself everywhere in every way, following our fathers' belief, and compel others to honor it. Those who introduce strange ideas about it you should both hate and punish, not only for the sake of the gods (because if a man despises them he will esteem naught else sacred) but because such persons by bringing in new divinities persuade many to adopt foreign principles of law. As a result conspiracies, factions, and clubs arise which are far from desirable under a monarchy. Accordingly, do not grant any atheist or charlatan the right to be at large. The art of soothsaying is a necessary one and you should by all means appoint some men to be diviners and augurs, to whom people can resort who desire to consult them on any matter; but there ought to be no workers of magic at all. Such men tell partly truth but mostly lies, and frequently inspire many of their followers to rebel. The same thing is true of many who pretend to be philosophers. Hence I urge you to be on your guard against them. Do not, because you have come in contact with such thoroughly admirable men as Areus and Athenodorus, think that all the rest who say they are philosophers are like them. Some use this profession as a screen to work untold harm to both populace and individuals.

[37] "Your spirit, then, because you have no desire for anything more than you possess, ought to be most peaceful, whereas your equipment should be most warlike, in order that no one ordinarily may either wish or try to harm you, but if he should, that he may be punished easily and instantly. For these and other reasons it is requisite for some persons to keep their ears and eyes open to everything appertaining to your position of authority, in order that you may not fail to notice anything which needs guarding against or setting right. Remember, however, that you must not trust merely to all they say, but investigate their words carefully. There are many who, some through hatred of certain persons, others out of desire for what they possess, or as a favor to some one, or because they ask money and do not receive it, oppress others under the pretext that the latter are rebellious or are guilty of harboring some design or uttering some statement against the supreme ruler. Therefore it is

not right to pay immediate or ready attention to them, but to enquire into absolutely everything. If you are slow in believing anybody, you will suffer no great harm, but if you are hasty, you may make a mistake which can not easily be repaired.

“Now it is both right and necessary for you to honor the excellent both among the freedmen and among the rest of your associates. This will afford you great renown and security. They must, however not have any extraordinary powers but all carefully moderate their conduct, that so you may not be ill spoken of through them. For everything they do, whether well or ill, will be accredited to you, and the estimate of yourself to be made by all men will depend upon what you permit these persons to do.

“Do not, then, allow the influential either to make unjust gains or to concern themselves with blackmail: and let no one be complained of for ‘having influence’, even if he is otherwise irreproachable. Defend the masses vigorously when they are wronged and do not attend too easily to accusations against them. Examine every deed on its merits, not being suspicious of every one who is prominent nor believing every one who is lower in the social scale. Those who are active and are the authors of any useful device you must honor, but the idle or such as busy themselves with petty foolishness you must hate. Thus your subjects will be inclined to the former conduct because of the benefits attached and will refrain from the latter on account of the penalties, and will become better as individuals and more serviceable for your employment in the public service.

“It is an excellent achievement also to render private disputes as few as possible and their settlement as rapid as may be. But it is best of all to cut short the impetuosity of communities, and, if under guise of some appeals to your sovereignty and safety and good fortune they undertake to use force upon anybody or to undertake exploits or expenditures that are beyond their power, not to permit it. You should abolish altogether their enmities and rivalries among themselves and not authorize them to create any empty titles or anything else which will breed differences between them. All will readily obey you both in this and in every other matter, private and public, if you never permit any one to transgress this rule. Non-enforcement of laws makes null and void even wisely framed precepts. Consequently you should not allow persons to ask for what you are not accustomed to give. Try to compel them to avoid diligently this very practice of petitioning for something prohibited. This is what I have to say on that subject.

[38] “I advise you never to make use of your authority against all the citizens at once nor to deem it in any way curtailed if you do not do absolutely everything that is within your power. But in proportion as you are able to carry out all your wishes, you must be anxious to wish only what is proper, make always a self-examination, to see whether what you are doing is right or not, what conduct will cause people to love you, and what not, in order that you may perform the one set of acts and avoid the other. Do not admit the

thought that you will sufficiently escape the reputation of acting contrary to this rule, if only you hear no one censuring you; and do not look for any one to be so mad as to reproach you openly for anything. No one would do this, not even if he should be violently wronged. Quite the reverse, — many are compelled in public to praise their oppressors, and while engaged in opposition not to manifest their wrath. The ruler must infer the disposition of people not from what they say but from the way it is natural for them to feel.

[39] “This and a similar policy is the one I wish you to pursue. I pass over many matters because it is not feasible to speak of them all at one time and within present limits. One suggestion therefore I will make to sum up both previous remarks and whatever is lacking. If you yourself by your own motion do whatever you would wish some one else who ruled you to do, you will make no mistakes and will be always successful, and consequently your life will be most pleasant and free from danger. How can all fail to regard you and to love you as father and preserver, when they see you are orderly, leading a good life, good at warfare, but a man of peace: when you are not wanton, do not defraud: when you meet them on a footing of equality, and do not yourself grow rich while demanding money from others: are not yourself given to luxury while imposing hardships upon others: are not yourself unbridled while reproving others: when, instead, your life in every way without exception is precisely like theirs? Be of good cheer, for you have in your own hands a great safeguard by never wronging another. And believe me when I tell you that you will never be the object of hatred or plots. Since this is so, you must quite inevitably lead a pleasant life. What is pleasanter, what is more conducive to prosperity, than to enjoy in a rightful way all the blessings among men and to have the power of granting them to others?

[40] “With this in mind, together with all the rest that I have told you, heed my advice and let not that fortune slip which has chosen you out of all and set you at the head of all. If you would choose the substance of monarch but fear the name of ‘kingdom’ as accursed, then refrain from taking possession of the latter and be satisfied to employ merely the title of ‘Cæsar.’ If you need any further appellations, they will give you that of *Imperator*, as they gave it to your father. They will reverence you also by still another name, so that you may obtain all the advantages of a kingdom without the disfavor that attaches to the term itself.”

[41] Mæcenās thus brought his speech to an end. Cæsar thanked them both heartily for their many ideas, the exhaustiveness of their exposition, and their frankness. He rather inclined, however, to the proposition of Mæcenās. Yet he did not immediately put into practice all of the other’s suggestions, for fear that he might meet with some setback if he wanted to reform men in multitudes. So he made some changes for the better at once and others later. He left some things also for those who should come to the head of the State afterward to do, as might be found more opportune in the progress of time. Agrippa coöperated with him in all his projects quite zealously, in spite of

having stated a contrary opinion, just as if he had been the one to propose the plan. Cæsar did this and what I have recorded earlier in the narrative in that year when he was consul for the seventh time, and added the title of *Imperator*. I do not refer to the title anciently granted some persons for victories, — this he received many times before and many times later for his deeds themselves, so that he had the name of imperator twenty-one times, — but to the other one which signifies supreme power, just as they had voted to his father Cæsar and to the children and descendants of the same.

[42] After this he entered upon a censorship with Agrippa and besides setting aright some other business he investigated the senate. Many knights and many foot-soldiers, too, who did not deserve it were in the senate as a result of the civil wars, so that the total of that body amounted to a thousand. These he wished to remove, but did not himself erase any of their names, urging them to become their own judges out of the consciousness of their family and their life. So first he persuaded fifty of them to retire voluntarily from the assemblage and then compelled one hundred and forty others to imitate their example. He disenfranchised none of them, but posted the names of the second division. In the case of the first, because they had not delayed but had straightway obeyed him, he remitted the reproach and their identity was not made public. These accordingly returned willingly to private life. He ousted Quintus Statilius, very much against the latter's will, from the tribuneship to which he had been appointed. Some others he made senators, and he counted among the ex-consuls two men of the senatorial class, — a certain Cluvius and Gaius Furnius, — because they had been appointed first, though certain others had taken possession of their offices so that they were unable to become consuls. He added to the class of patricians, the senate allowing him to do this because most of its members had perished. No element is exhausted so fast in civil wars as the nobility or is deemed to be so necessary for the continuance of ancestral customs. In addition to the above measures he forbade all persons in the senate to go outside of Italy, unless he himself should order or permit any one of them to do so. This custom is still kept up at the present day. Except that he may visit Sicily and Gallia Narbonensis no senator is allowed to go anywhere out of the country. As these regions are close at hand and the population is unarmed and peaceful, those who have any possessions there have been granted the right to take trips to them as often as they like, without asking leave. — Since also he saw that many of the senators and of the others who had been devoted to Antony still maintained an attitude of suspicion toward him, and as he was afraid they might cause some uprising, he announced that all the letters found in his rival's chest had been burned. Some of them as a matter of fact had perished, but the majority of them he took pains to preserve and did not even hesitate to use them later.

[43] Besides these acts related he also settled Carthage anew, because Lepidus had laid waste a part of it and for that reason he maintained that the

colonists' rights of settlement had been abrogated. He summoned Antiochus of Commagene to appear before him because this prince had treacherously slain an envoy despatched to Rome by his brother, who was at variance with him. Cæsar brought him before the senate, where he was condemned and the sentence of death imposed. Capreæ was also obtained from the Neapolitans, to whom it had anciently belonged, in exchange for other land. It lies not far from the mainland opposite Surrentum and is good for nothing but has a name even now on account of Tiberius's sojourn there. — These were the events of that period.

[Footnote 1: Reading [Greek: anagchastae] (BOISSEVAIN)]

[Footnote 2: The same Strabo who is mentioned in the early part of chapter 28, Book Forty-four.]

[Footnote 3: There is a gap here in the Greek text. The conclusion of Agrippa's speech is missing, as is also the earlier portion of Mæcenas's, with some brief preface thereto. In the next chapter we are full in the midst of the opposite argument, — in favor, namely, of the assumption of supreme power by Octavius Cæsar.]

[Footnote 4: Cobet prefers to read "fearlessly" (substituting [Greek: hadeos] for [Greek: aedeos]).]

[Footnote 5: Dio seems here to be imitating, in his phraseology, Thukydides (VII, 25). The proper reading is [Greek: peri herma] (two words), not [Greek: perierma] as in some of the MSS.]

[Footnote 6: Dindorf's reading (Greek: *gunaichon te ton prosaechouson autois*).]

[Footnote 7: Compare Suetonius, *Augustus*, chapter 37. In practice there were six of them, — three to nominate senators, and three to make a review of the knights.]

[Footnote 8: Here some words have evidently fallen out of the text.]

[Footnote 9: Reading [Greek: hapo] with Dindorf.]

[Footnote 10: Reading [Greek: archousi] (MSS. and BOISSEVAIN instead of [Greek: archomenois] (Xylander).]

[Footnote 11: Adopting Boissevain's reading (Greek: *diagein estai*).]

[Footnote 12: A reference particularly to the *ludi Capitolini*, founded by Domitian.]

[Footnote 13: Latin, *præfectus annonæ*.]

[Footnote 14: Latin, *præfectus vigilum*.]

BOOK 53

The following is contained in the Fifty-third of Dio's Rome:

How the temple of Apollo on the Palatine was consecrated (chapters 1, 2).

How Cæsar delivered in the senate a speech as if retiring from the sovereignty; and thereafter assigned to that body its proper provinces (chapters 3-12).

About the appointment of the governors sent to the provinces (chapters 13-15).

How Cæsar was given the title of Augustus (chapter 16).

About the names which the emperors assume (chapters 17-22).

How the Sæpta were consecrated (chapters 23, 24).

How Cæsar fought against Astures and Cantabri (chapter 25).

How Gaul began to be governed Romans (chapter 26).

How the Portico of Neptune and the Baths of Agrippa were dedicated (chapter 27).

How the Pantheon was dedicated (chapter 27).

How Augustus was released from the obligation of obeying the laws (chapter 28).

How an expedition was made into Arabia Felix (chapters 29-33).

Duration of time six years, in which there were the following magistrates here enumerated.

Cæsar (VI), M. Vipsanius L.F. Agrippa (II). (B.C. 28 = a. u. 726.)

Cæsar (VII), M. Vipsanius L.F. Agrippa (III). (B.C. 27 = a. u. 727.)

Cæsar Augustus (VIII), T. Statilius T.F. Taurus (II). (B.C. 26 = a. u. 728.)

Augustus (IX), M. Iunius M.F. Silanus. (B.C. 25 = a. u. 729.)

Augustus (X), C. Norbanus C.F.C.N. Flaccus. (B.C. 24 = a. u. 730.)

Augustus (XI), Cn. Calpurnius Cn.F.Cn.N. Piso. (B.C. 23 = a. u. 731.)

BOOK 53, BOISSEVAIN.

[B.C. 28 (*a. u.* 726)]

[1] The following year Cæsar held office for the sixth time and did everything according to the usage approved from very early times, delivering to Agrippa his colleague the bundles of rods which belonged to an incumbent of the consulship, while he himself used the others. On completing his term he had the oath administered according to ancestral custom. Whether he ever did this again I do not know. Agrippa he honored exceedingly, even going so far as to give him his niece in marriage and to provide him with a tent similar to his own whenever they went on a campaign together; and the watchword was given by both of them. At that particular time besides attending to the ordinary run of business he finished the taking of the census, in which he was called *Princeps Senatus*, as had been deemed proper under the real democracy. He further completed and dedicated the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, the precinct surrounding it, and the stores of books. And he celebrated in company with Agrippa the festival in honor of the victory won at Actium, which had been voted: in it he had the horse-race between boys and between men of the nobility. This celebration every five years, as long as it lasted, was in charge of the four priesthoods in succession, — I mean the pontifices and augurs and the so-called septemviri and quindecimviri. A gymnastic contest was also held at that time, — a wooden stadium being built in the Campus Martius, — and there was an armed combat of captives. This continued for several days without a break, in spite of Cæsar's falling sick; for even so Agrippa filled his place.

[2] Cæsar spent some of his private means upon the festivals, and when money was needed for the public treasury he borrowed it and supplied the want. For the management of this branch of the service he ordered two annual magistrates to be chosen from among the ex-prætors. To the populace he distributed a quadruple allowance of grain and made a present of money to some of the senators. For many of them had grown so poor as not to be willing to be even ædile on account of the great expenses. Moreover the courts which belonged to the ædileship were to be assigned to the prætors as had been the custom, the more important to the prætor urbanus and the others to the prætor peregrinus. Again, he himself appointed the prætor urbanus, as he often did subsequently. The pledges deposited with the public treasury before the battle of Actium he released, save any that involved house property, and burned the old acknowledgments of those who owed the State anything. Egyptian rites he did not admit within the pomerium, but paid great attention to the temples of Egyptian deities. Such as had been built by private individuals he ordered their children and descendants, if any survived, to repair, and the rest he restored himself. He did not, however, appropriate the credit for their building but allowed it to rest with those who had originally

constructed them. And since very many unlawful and unjust ordinances had been passed during the internecine strifes and in the wars, and particularly in the dual reign of Antony and Lepidus, he abolished them all by one promulgation, setting his sixth consulship as the limit of their existence. As he obtained approbation and praise for this act he desired to exhibit another instance of magnanimity, that by such a policy he might be honored the more and that his supremacy might be voluntarily confirmed by the people, which would enable him to avoid the appearance of having forced them against their will. As a consequence, after apprising those senators with whom he was most intimate of his designs, he entered the senatorial body in his seventh consulship and read the following document.

[B.C. 27 (*a. u.* 727)]

[3] “I am sure that I shall seem to some of you, Conscript Fathers, to have made an incredible choice. For what each one of my hearers would not wish to do himself, he does not like to believe when another states it as accomplished. This is chiefly because every one is jealous of every one who surpasses him and is more or less inclined to distrust anything said that is higher than his own standard. Moreover I know this, that those who make apparently untrustworthy statements not only persuade nobody but further have the appearance of cheats. And, indeed, if it were a case of announcing something that I was not intending to do immediately, I should hesitate very much about making it public, for fear of obtaining some unworthy charge against me instead of gratitude. But, as it is, when the performance will follow the promise this very day, I feel entirely confident not only of avoiding any shame for prevarication but of surpassing all mankind in good repute. [4] You all see that I am so situated that I could rule you perpetually. All the revolutionists either have been disciplined and been made to halt or have had pity shown them and so have come to their senses. My helpers have been made devoted by a recompense of benefits and steadfast by a participation in the government: therefore they do not desire any political innovations, and if anything of the sort should take place, the men to assist me are even more ready for it than the instigators of rebellion. My military is in prime condition, we have good-will, strength, money, and allies, and chiefest of all you and the people are so disposed toward me that you would be quite willing to have me at your head. However, I will lead you no longer, nor shall any one say that all the acts of my previous career have been with the object of sole rulership. I give up the entire domain, and I restore to you absolutely everything, — the arms, the laws, and the provinces, — not only all those which you committed to me but also all that I myself subsequently acquired for you. Thus by my deeds themselves you may ascertain that I did not from the outset desire any position of power, but wished in very truth to avenge my father cruelly murdered and to extricate the city from great and continuous evils. [5] I would that I had never taken charge of affairs even to the present extent. That is, I would that the city had never needed me for any such purpose, but that we of

this age had from the outset lived in peace and harmony as our fathers once did. But since an inflexible fate, as it seems, brought you to a place where there was need even of me, though I was still young, and I was put to the test, I was always ready to labor zealously at everything even beyond what was expected of my years, so long as the situation demanded my help, and I accomplished everything with good fortune, even surpassing my powers. There was not one consideration out of all that might be cited which could turn me from aiding you when you were in danger, not toil or fear or threats of foes or prayers of friends or the numbers of the confederates or the desperation of our adversaries. I gave myself to you unsparingly for all the tasks that fell to our lot, and my performances and sufferings you know. From it I myself have derived no gain except that I caused my country to survive, but you are both preserved and in your sober senses. Since, then, the gracious act of Fortune has restored to you by my hands peace without treachery and harmony without turmoil, receive back also liberty and democracy. Take possession of the arms and the subject nations, and conduct the government as has been your wont.

[6] “You should not be surprised at my attitude when you see my right conduct in other ways, my mildness and freedom from meddling, and reflect moreover that I have never accepted any extraordinary privilege, beyond what the majority might gain, though you have often voted many of them to me. Do not, again, condemn me for folly because, when it is in my power to rule over you and hold so great a sovereignty over this great world, I am unwilling. Examining the merits of the situation I deem it most just for you to manage your own affairs: examining the advantages, I regard it as most advantageous to myself to be free from trouble, from jealousy, from plots, and for you to conduct a free government with moderation and love: examining where the glory lies (for the sake of which men often choose to enter war and danger), will it not add most to my reputation to resign so great a dominion? Will it not be most glorious to leave so exalted a sovereignty and voluntarily become a plain citizen? So if any one of you doubts that any one else could show true moderation in this and bring himself to speak out, let him at all events believe me. For, though I could recite many great benefits which have been conferred upon you by me and by my father for which you would naturally love and honor us above all the rest, I could say nothing greater and I should take pride in nothing else more than this, that he would not accept the monarchy which you strove to give him, and that I, holding it, lay it aside.

[7] “What need to set side by side his separate exploits, — the conquest of Gaul, the subduing of Moesia, the subjugation of Egypt, the enslaving of Pannonia? Or again Pharnaces, Juba, Phraates, the campaign against the Britons, the crossing of the Rhine? Yet these are greater and more important deeds than all our forefathers performed in all previous time. Still, any of these accomplishments scarcely deserves a place beside my present act, nor yet, indeed, does the fact that the civil wars, the greatest and most diverse that

have occurred in the history of man, we fought to a successful finish, and that we made humane terms, overcoming all who withstood us, as enemies, and saving alive all who yielded, as friends; (so that if our city should ever again be fated to suffer from disaffection, we might pray that the quarrel should follow this same course). For that in spite of our possessing such great power and standing at the summit of excellence and good fortune so that we might govern you willing or unwilling, we should neither lose our heads nor desire sole supremacy, but that instead he should reject it when offered and I return it when given is a superhuman achievement. I speak in this way not for idle boasting, — I should not have said it at all if I were to derive any advantage whatever from it, — but in order that you may see that whereas there are many public benefits to our credit and we have in private many lofty titles, we take greatest pride in this, that what others desire to gain even by doing violence to their neighbors we surrender without any compulsion.

[8] Who could be found more magnanimous than I (not to mention again my father deceased) or whose conduct more godlike? With so many fine soldiers at my back and citizens and allies (O Jupiter and Hercules!), that love me, supreme over the entire sea within the Pillars of Hercules except a very few tribes, possessing both cities and provinces on all the continents, at a time when there is no longer any foreign enemy opposing me and there is no disturbance at home, but you all are at peace, harmonious and strong, and greatest of all are willingly obedient, — under such conditions I voluntarily, of my own motion, resign so great a dominion and alienate so vast a property. For if Horatius, Mucius, Curtius, Regulus, the Decii wished to encounter danger and death with the object of seeming to have done a great and noble deed, why should I not even more desire to do this as a result of which I shall while alive excel both them and all the rest of mankind in glory? No one of you should think that whereas the ancient Romans pursued excellence and good repute, all manliness has now become extinct in the city. Again, do not entertain a suspicion that I wish to betray you and confide you to any base fellows or expose you to mob rule, from which nothing good but all the most terrible evils always result to mankind. Upon you, upon you, the most excellent and prudent, I lay all public interests. The other course I should never have followed, had it been necessary for me to die or even to become monarch ten thousand times. This policy I adopt for my own good and for that of the city. I myself have undergone both labors and hardships and I can no longer hold out either in mind or in body. Furthermore I foresee the jealousy and hatred which rises in the breasts of some against the best men, and the plots which result from those feelings; and for that reason I choose rather to be a private citizen with glory than to be a monarch in danger. And the public business would be managed much better if carried on publicly and by many people at once than if it were dependent upon any one man.

[9] “For these reasons, then, I supplicate and beseech all of you both to commend my course and to cooperate heartily with me, reflecting upon all

that I have done for you in war and in government. You will be paying me all the thanks due for it by allowing me now at last to lead a life of quiet. Thus you will come to know that I understand not only how to rule but to be ruled, and that all commands which I have laid upon others I can endure to have laid upon me. I must surely expect to live in security and to suffer no harm from any one by either deed or word, such is the confidence (based upon the consciousness of my own rectitude) that I have in your good-will. I may of course meet with some catastrophe, as happens to many; for it is not possible for a man to please everybody, especially when he has been involved in so great wars, some foreign and some civil, and has had affairs of such magnitude entrusted to him: yet even so, I am quite ready to choose to die as a private citizen before my appointed time rather than to become immortal as a sole ruler. That very circumstance will bring me fame, — that I not only murdered no one in order to hold possession of the sovereignty but even died untimely in order to avoid becoming monarch. The man who has dared to slay me will certainly be punished by Heaven and by you, as took place in the case of my father. He was declared to be equal to a god and obtained eternal honors, whereas those who slew him perished, the evil men, in evil plight. We could not become deathless, yet by living well and by dying well we do in a sense gain this boon. Therefore I, who possess the first requisite and hope to possess the second, return to you the arms and the provinces, the revenues and the laws. I make only this final suggestion, that you be not disheartened through fear of the magnitude of affairs or the difficulty of handling them, nor neglect them in disdain, with the idea that they can be easily managed.

[10] “I have, indeed, no objection to suggesting to you in a summary way what ought to be done in each of the leading categories. And what are these suggestions? First, guard vigilantly the established laws and change none of them. What remains fixed, though it be inferior, is more advantageous than what is always subject to innovations, even though it seem to be superior. Next, whatever injunctions these laws lay upon you be careful to perform, and to refrain from whatever they forbid, and do this scrupulously not only in word but also in deed, not only in public but in private, that you may obtain not penalties but honors. The offices both of peace and of war you should entrust to those who are each time the most excellent and sensible, without jealousy of any persons, and entering into rivalry not that this man or that man may reap some advantage but that the city may be preserved and prosperous. Such men you must honor but chastise those who show any different spirit in politics. Make your private means public property of the city, and keep your hands off public money as you would off your neighbors’ goods. Keep careful watch over what belongs to you but be not eager for that upon which you can have no claim. Treat the allies and subject nations with neither insolence nor rapacity, and neither wrong nor fear the enemy. Have your arms always in hand, but do not use them against one another nor against a peaceful population. Give the soldiers a sufficient support, so that they may not on

account of want desire anything which belongs to others. Keep them together and discipline them, to prevent their doing any damage through audacity.

“But why need I make a long story by going into everything which it is your duty to do? You may easily understand from this how the remaining business must be conducted. I will close with this one remark. If you conduct the government in this way, you will enjoy prosperity yourselves and you will gratify me, who found you in the midst of wretched dishonor and have rendered you such as you are. If you prove impotent to carry out any single branch as you should, you will cause me regret and you will cast the city again into many wars and great dangers.”

[11] While Cæsar was engaged in setting his decision before them, a varied feeling took possession of the senators. A few of them knew his real intention and as a result they kept applauding him enthusiastically. Of the rest some were suspicious of what was said and others believed in it, and therefore both marveled equally, the one class at his great artifice and the other at the determination that he had reached. One side was displeased at his involved scheming and the other at his change of mind. For already there were some who detested the democratic constitution as a breeder of factional difficulties, were pleased at the change of government, and took delight in Cæsar. Consequently, though the announcement affected different persons differently, their views in regard to it were in each case the same. As for those who believed his sentiments to be genuine, any who wished it could not rejoice because of fear, nor the others lament because of hopes. And as many as disbelieved it did not venture to accuse him and confute him, some because they were afraid and others because they did not care to do so. Hence they all either were compelled or pretended to believe him. As for praising him, some did not have the courage and others were unwilling. Even in the midst of his reading there were frequent shouts and afterward many more. The senators begged that a monarchy be established, and directed all their remarks to that end until (naturally) they forced him to assume the reins of government. At once they saw to it that twice as much pay was voted to the men who were to compose his body-guard as to the rest of the soldiers, that this might incite the men to keep a careful watch of him. Then he began to show a real interest in setting up a monarchy.

[12] In this way he had his headship ratified by the senate and the people. As he wished even so to appear to be democratic in principle, he accepted all the care and superintendence of public business on the ground that it required expert attention, but said that he should not personally govern all the provinces and those that he did govern he should not keep in his charge perpetually. The weaker ones, because (as he said) they were peaceful and free from war, he gave over to the senate. But the more powerful he held in possession because they were slippery and dangerous and either had enemies in adjoining territory or on their own account were able to cause a great uprising. His pretext was that the senate should fearlessly gather the fruits of

the finest portion of the empire, while he himself had the labors and dangers: his real purpose was that by this plan the senators be unarmed and unprepared for battle, while he alone had arms and kept soldiers. Africa and Numidia, Asia and Greece with Epirus, the Dalmatian and Macedonian territories, Sicily, Crete, and Libya adjacent to Cyrene, Bithynia with the adjoining Pontus, Sardinia and Baetica, were consequently held to belong to the people and the senate. Cæsar's were — the remainder of Spain, the neighborhood of Tarraco and Lusitania, all Gauls (the Narbonensian and the Lugdunensian, the Aquitani and the Belgæ), both themselves and the aliens among them. Some of the Celtae whom we call Germani had occupied all the Belgic territory near the Rhine and caused it to be called Germania, the upper part extending to the sources of the river and the lower part reaching to the Ocean of Britain. These provinces, then, and the so-called Hollow Syria, Phoenicia and Cilicia, Cyprus and the Egyptians, fell at that time to Cæsar's share. Later he gave Cyprus and Gaul adjacent to Narbo back to the people, and he himself took Dalmatia instead. This was also done subsequently in the case of other provinces, as the progress of my narrative will show. I have enumerated these in such detail because now each one of them is ruled separately, whereas in old times and for a long period the provinces were governed two and three together. The others I have not mentioned because some of them were acquired later, and the rest, even if they had been already subdued, were not being governed by the Romans, but either were left to enjoy their own laws or had been turned over to some kingdom or other. All of them that after this came into the Roman empire were attached to the possessions of the man temporarily in power. — This, then, was the division of the provinces.

[13] Wishing to lead the Romans still further away from the idea that he looked upon himself as absolute monarch, Cæsar undertook the government of the regions given him for ten years. In the course of this time he promised to reduce them to quiet and he carried his playfulness to the point of saying that if they should be sooner pacified, he would deliver them sooner to the senate. Thereupon he first appointed the senators themselves to govern both classes of provinces except Egypt. This land alone, for the reasons mentioned, he assigned to the knight previously named. Next he ordained that the rulers of senatorial provinces should be annual magistrates, elected by lot, unless any one had the special privilege accorded to a large number of children or marriage. They were to be sent out by the assembly of the senate as a body, with no sword at their side nor wearing the military garb. The name *proconsul* was to belong not only to the two *ex-consuls* but also to the rest who had served as *prætors* or who at least held the rank of *ex-prætors*. Both classes were to employ as many *lictors* as were usual in the capital. He ordered further that they were to put on the insignia of their office immediately on leaving the *pomerium* and were to wear them continually until they should return. The heads of imperial provinces, on the other hand, were to be chosen by himself and be his agents, and they were to be named *proprætors* even if

they were from the ranks of the ex-consuls. Of these two names which had been extremely common under the democracy he gave that of prætor to the class chosen by him because from very early times war had been their care, and he called them also proprætors: the name of consul he gave to the others, because their duties were more peaceful, and called them in addition proconsuls. These particular names of prætor and consul he continued in Italy, and spoke of all officials outside as governing as their representatives. He caused the class of his own choosing to employ the title of proprætor and to hold office for as much longer than a year as should please him, wearing the military costume and having a sword with which they are empowered to punish soldiers. No one else, proconsul or proprætor or procurator, who is not empowered to kill a soldier, has been given the privilege of wearing a sword. It is permitted not only to senators but also to knights who have this function. This is the condition of the case. — All the proprætors alike employ six lictors: as many of them as do not belong to the number of ex-consuls are named from this very number. Both classes alike assume the decorations of their position of authority when they enter their appointed district and lay them aside immediately upon finishing their term.

[14] It is thus and on these conditions that governors from among the ex-prætors and ex-consuls have been customarily sent to both kinds of provinces. The emperor would send one of them on his mission whithersoever and whenever he wished. Many while acting as prætors and consuls secured the presidency of provinces, as sometimes happens at the present day. In the case of the senate he privately gave Africa and Asia to the ex-consuls and all the other districts to the ex-prætors. He publicly forbade all the senators to cast lots for anybody until five years after such a candidate had held office in the City. For a short time all persons that fulfilled these requirements, even if they were more numerous than the provinces, drew lots for them. Later, as some of them did not govern well, this I appointment, too, reverted to the emperor. Thus they also in a sense receive their position from him, and he ordains that only a number equal to the number of provinces shall draw lots, and that they shall be whatever men he pleases. Some emperors have sent men of their own choosing there also, and have allowed certain of them to hold office for more than a year: some have assigned certain provinces to knights instead of to senators.

These were the customs thus established at that time in regard to those senators that were authorized to execute the death penalty upon their subjects. Some who have not this authority are sent out to the provinces called “provinces of the senate and the people”, — namely, such quæstors as the lot may designate and men who are co-assessors with those who hold the actual authority. This would be the correct way to speak of these associates, with reference not to the ordinary name but to their duties: others call these also *presbeutai*, using the Greek term; about this title enough has been said in the foregoing narrative. Each separate official chooses his own assessors, the

ex-prætors selecting one from either their peers or their inferiors, and the ex-consuls three from among those of equal rank, subject to the approval of the emperor.

There were certain innovations made also in regard to these men, but since they soon lapsed this is sufficient to say here.

[15] This is the method followed in regard to the provinces of the people. To the others, called provinces of the emperor, which have more than one citizenlegion, lieutenants are sent chosen by the ruler himself, generally from the ex-prætors but in some instances already from the ex-quæstors or those who had held some office between the two. Those positions, then, appertain to the senators.

From among the knights the emperor himself despatches, some to the citizen posts alone but others to foreign places (according to the custom then instituted by [the same] Cæsar), the military tribunes, the prospective senators and the remainder, concerning whose difference in rank I have previously spoken in the narrative. The procurators (a name that we give to the men who collect the public revenues and spend what is ordered) he sends to all the provinces alike, his own and the people's, and some of these officers belong to the knights, others to the freedmen. By way of exception the proconsuls levy the tribute upon the people they govern. The emperor gives certain injunctions to the procurators, the proconsuls, and the proprætors, in order that they may proceed to their place of office on fixed conditions. Both this practice and the giving of salary to them and to the remaining employees of the government were made the custom at this period. In old times some by contracting for work to be paid for from the public treasury furnished themselves with everything needed for their office. It was only in the days of Cæsar that these particular persons began to receive something definite. This salary was not assigned to all of them in equal amounts, but as need demands. The procurators get their very name, a dignified one, from the amount of money given into their charge. The following laws were laid down for all alike, — that they should not make up lists for service or levy money beyond the amount appointed, unless the senate should so vote or the emperor so order: also that when their successors should arrive, they were immediately to leave the province and not to delay on their return, but to be back within three months.

[16] These matters were so ordained at that time, — or, at least, one might say so. In reality Cæsar himself was destined to hold absolute control of all of them for all time, because he commanded the soldiers and was master of the money; nominally the public funds had been separated from his own, but in fact he spent the former also as he saw fit.

When his decade had come to an end, there was voted him another five years, then five more, after that ten, and again another ten, and a like number the fifth time, so that by a succession of ten-year periods he continued monarch for life. Consequently the subsequent emperors, though no longer

appointed for a specified period but for their whole life at once, nevertheless have been wont to hold a festival every ten years as if then renewing their sovereignty once more: this is done even at the present day.

Cæsar had received many honors previously, when the matter of declining the sovereignty and that regarding the division of the provinces were under discussion. For the right to fasten the laurel in front of his royal residence and to hang the oak-leaf crown above the doors was then voted him to symbolize the fact that he was always victorious over enemies and preserved the citizens. The royal building is called Palatium, not because it was ever decreed that that should be its name, but because Cæsar dwelt on the Palatine and had his headquarters there; and his house secured some renown from the mount as a whole by reason of the former habitation of Romulus there. Hence, even if the emperor resides somewhere else, his dwelling retains the name of Palatium.

When he had really completed the details of administration, the name Augustus was finally applied to him by the senate and by the people. They wanted to call him by some name of their own, and some proposed this, while others chose that. Cæsar was exceedingly anxious to be called Romulus, but when he perceived that this caused him to be suspected of desiring the kingship, he no longer insisted on it but took the title of Augustus, signifying that he was more than human. All most precious and sacred objects are termed *augusta*. Therefore they saluted him also in Greek as *sebastós*, meaning an *august* person, from the verb *sebazesthai*.^[17] In this way all the power of the people and that of the senate reverted to Augustus, and from his time there was a genuine monarchy. Monarchy would be the truest name for it, no matter how much two and three hold the power together. This name of monarch the Romans so detested that they called their emperors neither dictators nor kings nor anything of the sort. Yet since the management of the government devolves upon them, it can not but be that they are kings. The offices that commonly enjoy some legal sanction are even now maintained, except that of censor. Still, everything is directed and carried out precisely as the emperor at the time may wish. In order that they may appear to hold this power not through force, but according to law, the rulers have taken possession, — names and all, — of every position (save the dictatorship) which under the democracy was of mighty influence among the citizens who bestowed the power. They very frequently become consuls and are always called proconsuls whenever they are outside the pomerium. The title of imperator is invariably given not only to such as win victories but to all the rest, to indicate the complete independence of their authority, instead of the name “king” or “dictator.” These particular names they have never assumed since the terms first fell out of use in the Senate, but they are confirmed in the prerogatives of these positions by the appellation of imperator. By virtue of the titles mentioned they get the right to make enrollments, to collect moneys, declare wars make peace, rule foreign and native territory alike everywhere and always, even to the extent of putting to death both knights and senators within

the pomerium, and all the other privileges once granted to the consuls and other officials with full powers. By virtue of the office of censor they investigate our lives and characters and take the census. Some they list in the equestrian and senatorial class and others they erase from the roll, as pleases them. By virtue of being consecrated in all the priesthoods and furthermore having the right to give the majority of them to others and from the fact that *one* of the high priests (if there be two or three holding office at once) is chosen from their number, they are themselves also masters of holy and sacred things. The so-called tribunician authority which the men of very greatest attainment used to hold gives them the right to stop any measure brought up by some one else, in case they do not join in approving it, and to be free from personal abuse. Moreover if they are thought to be wronged in even the slightest degree not merely by action but even by conversation they may destroy the guilty party without a trial as one polluted. They do not think it lawful to be tribune, because they belong altogether to the patrician class, but they assume all the power of the tribuneship undiminished from the period of its greatest extent; and thereby the enumeration of the years they have held the office in question goes forward on the assumption that they receive it year by year along with the others who are successively tribunes. Thus by these names they have secured these privileges in accordance with all the various usages of the democracy, in order that they may appear to possess nothing that has not been given them.

[18] They have gained also another prerogative which was given to none of the ancient Romans outright to apply to all cases, and it is through this alone that it would be possible for them to hold the above offices and any others besides. They are freed from the action of the laws, as the very words in Latin indicate. That is, they are liberated from every consideration of compulsion and are subjected to none of the written ordinances. So by virtue of these democratic names they are clothed in all the strength of the government and have all that appertains to kings except the vulgar title. “Cæsar” or “Augustus” as a mode of address confers upon them no distinct privilege of its own but shows in the one case the continuance of their family and in the other the brilliance and dignity of their position. The salutation “father” perhaps gives them a certain authority over us which fathers once had over their children. It was not used, however, for this purpose in the beginning, but for their honor, and to admonish them to love their subjects as they would their children, while the subjects were to respect them as they respect their fathers.

Such is the number and quality of the titles to which those in power are accustomed according to the and according to what has now become tradition. At present all of them are, as a rule, bestowed upon the rulers at once, except the title of censor: to the earlier emperors they were voted separately and from time to time. Some of the emperors took the censorship in accordance with ancient custom and Domitian took it for life. This is, however, no longer done

at the present day. They possess its powers and are not chosen for it and do not employ its name except in the censuses.

[19] Thus was the constitution made over at that time for the better and in a way to provide greater security. It was doubtless absolutely impossible for the people to be preserved under a democracy. Events after this, however, can not be said to be similar to those preceding this period. Formerly everything was referred to the senate and the people even if it occurred at a distance; hence all learned of it and many recorded it. Consequently the truth of happenings, no matter with how much fear and gratitude and friendship and enmity toward any one they were related, has been found at least in the works of those who wrote of them and to a certain extent also in the public records. But after this time business began to be transacted more often with concealment and secrecy. Nowadays, even if anything is made public, it is distrusted because it can not be proved. It is suspected that all speeches and acts are to meet the wishes of the men at the time in power and of their associates. As a result much that never occurs is noised abroad and much that really happens is unknown. Nearly everything is reported in a different form from what really takes place. Yet the magnitude of the empire and the number of events render accuracy in regard to them most difficult. In Rome there are many operations going on, and so in its subject territory, as well as against hostile tribes, always and every day, so to speak, clear information about which no one can easily get except those actively concerned. There are great numbers who do not hear at all of what has taken place. Hence all that follows which will require mention I shall narrate as it has been published, whether it is so in truth or is really somewhat different. In addition, however, my own opinion so far as possible will be stated in matters where I have been able to deduce something else than the common report from the many things I have read or heard or seen.

[20] Cæsar, as I have said, received the further designation of Augustus, and a sign of no little moment in regard to him occurred that very night. The Tiber overflowed and occupied all of Rome that was built in the plain country so that it was submerged. From this the soothsayers inferred that he would rise to great heights and keep the whole city subservient. While different persons were rivals to show him excessive honors, one Sextus Pacuvius, or, as others say, Apudius surpassed them all. In the open senate he consecrated himself to him after the fashion of the Spaniards and advised the rest to do the same. When Augustus hindered him he rushed out to the crowd standing near by, and (as he was tribune) compelled them and next all the rest who were wandering about through the streets and lanes to consecrate themselves; to Augustus. From this episode we are wont even now to say in appeals to the sovereign "we have consecrated ourselves to you." Pacuvius ordered all to offer sacrifice for this occurrence and before the people he once said he should make Augustus his inheritor on equal terms with his son. This was not because he possessed anything much, but because he wished to get more. And

his desire was accomplished.

[21] Augustus attended with considerable zeal to all the business of the empire to make it appear that he had received it in accordance with the wishes of all, and he also enacted many laws. (I need not go into each one of them in detail except those which have a bearing upon my history. This same course I shall follow in the case of later events, in order not to become wearisome by introducing all such matters as not even those who specialize on them most narrowly know with accuracy.) Not all of these laws were enacted on his sole responsibility: some of them he brought before the public in advance, in order that, if any featured caused displeasure, he might learn it in time and correct them. He urged that any one at all give him advice, if any one could think of anything better. He accorded them full liberty of speech and some provisions he actually did alter. Most important of all, he took as advisers for six months the consuls or the consul (when he himself also held the office), one of each of the other kinds of officials, and fifteen men chosen by lot from the remainder of the senatorial body. Through them he was accustomed to a certain extent to communicate to all the rest the provisions of his laws. Some features he brought before the entire senate. He deemed it better, however, to consider most of the laws and the greater ones in company with a few persons at leisure, and acted accordingly. Sometimes he tried cases with their assistance. The entire senate by itself sat in judgment as formerly and transacted business with occasional groups of envoys and heralds from both peoples and kings. Furthermore the people and the plebs came together for the elections, but nothing was done that would not please Cæsar. Some of those who were to hold office he himself chose out and nominated and others he put, according to ancient custom, in the power of the people and the plebs, yet taking care that no unfit persons should be appointed, nor by factious cliques nor by bribery. In this way he controlled the entire empire.

[22] I shall relate also in detail all his acts that need mentioning, together with the names of the consuls under whom they were performed. In the year previously named, seeing that the roads outside the wall had become through neglect hard to traverse, he ordered different senators to repair different ones at their own expense. He himself attended to the Flaminian Way, since he was going to lead an army out by that route. This operation was finished forthwith and images of him were accordingly erected on arches on the bridge over the Tiber and at Ariminum. The other roads were repaired later either at public expense (for none of the senators liked to spend money on it) or by Augustus, as one may wish to state. I can not distinguish their treasures in spite of the fact that Augustus coined into money some silver statues of himself made by his friends and by certain of the tribes, purposing thereby to make it appear that all the expenditures which he said he made were from his own means. Therefore I have no opinion to record as to whether a ruler at any particular time took money from the public treasury or whether he ever gave it himself. For both of these things were often done. Why should any one list such things

as either expenditures or donations, when the people and the emperor are constantly making both the one and the other in common?

These were the acts of Augustus at that time. He also set out apparently to make a campaign into Britain, but on coming to the provinces of Gaul lingered there. For the Britons seemed likely to make terms with him and Gallic affairs were still unsettled, as the civil wars had begun immediately after their subjugation. He made a census of the people and set in order their life and government.

[B.C. 26 (*a. u.* 728)]

[23] From there he came to Spain and reduced that country also to quiet. After this he became consul for the eighth time with Statilius Taurus, and Agrippa dedicated the so-called for he had not promised to repair any road. This edifice in the Campus Martius had been constructed by Lepidus by the addition of porticos all about for the tribal elections, and Agrippa adorned it with stone tablets and paintings, naming it Julian, from Augustus. The builder incurred no jealousy for it but was greatly honored both by Augustus himself and by all the rest of the people. The reason is that he gave his master the most kindly, the most distinguished, the most beneficial advice and coöperation, yet claimed not even a small share of the consequent glory. He used the honors which Cæsar gave not for personal gain or enjoyment but for the benefit of the giver himself and of the public. — On the other hand Cornelius Gallus was led to insolent behavior by honor. He talked a great deal of idle nonsense against Augustus and was guilty of many sly reprehensible actions. Throughout nearly all Egypt he set up images of himself and he inscribed upon the pyramids a list of his achievements. For this he was accused by Valerius Largus, his comrade and intimate, and was disenfranchised by Augustus, so that he was prevented from living in the emperor's provinces. After this took place others attacked him, and brought many indictments against him. The senate unanimously voted that he should be convicted in the courts, be deprived of his property, and be exiled, that his possessions be given to Augustus, and that they should sacrifice oxen. In overwhelming grief at this Gallus committed suicide before the decrees took effect. [24] The false behavior of most men was evidenced by this fact, that they now treated the man whom they once used to flatter in such a way that they forced him to die by his own hand. To Largus they showed devotion because his star was beginning to rise, — though they were sure to vote the same measures against him, if anything similar should ever occur in his case. Procleius, however, felt so toward him that on meeting him once he clapped his hand over his nose and his mouth, thereby signifying to the bystanders that it was not safe even to breathe in the man's presence. Another person, although unknown, approached him with witnesses and asked if Largus recognized him. When the one questioned said "no", he recorded his denial on a tablet, thus making it beyond the power of the rascal to inform against a person at least whom he had not previously known.

Thus we see that most men emulate the exploits of others, though they be evil, instead of guarding against their fate. So also at this time there was Marcus Egnatius Rufus, who had been an ædile: the majority of his deeds had been good, and with his own slaves and with some others that were hired he lent aid to the houses that took fire during his year of office. In return he received from the people the expenses incurred in his position and by a suspension of the law was made prætor. Elated at these marks of favor he despised Augustus so much as to record that he (Rufus) had delivered the City unimpaired and entire to his successor. All the foremost men, and Augustus himself most of all, became indignant at this. He prepared therefore to teach the upstart a lesson in the near future not to exalt his mind above the mass of men. For the time being he issued an edict to the ædiles to see to it that no building took fire and, if aught of the kind did happen, to extinguish the blaze.

[25] In this same year also Polemon, who was king of Pontus, was enrolled among the friends and allies of the Roman People; front seats for the senators were provided in all the theatres of the emperor's whole domain. Augustus, finding that the Britons would not come to terms, wished to make an expedition into their country, but was detained by the Salassi, who had revolted against him, and by the Cantabri and Astures, who had been made hostile. The former dwell close under the Alps, as has been herein stated, whereas both of the latter tribes hold the strongest region of the Pyrenees on the Spanish side and the plain which is below it. For these reasons Augustus, now in his ninth consulship with Marcus Silanus, sent Terentius Varro against the Salassi.

[B.C. 25 (*a. u.* 729)]

The latter invaded their territory at many points at once in order that they might not unite and become harder to subdue, and had a very easy time in conquering them because they attacked him only in small groups. Having forced them to capitulate he demanded a fixed sum of money, allowing it to be supposed that he would impose no other punishment. After that he sent soldiers everywhere, apparently to attend to the collection of the indemnity and arrested those of military age, whom he sold under an agreement that none of them should be liberated within twenty years. The best of their land was given to members of the Pretorians and came to include a city called Augusta Prætoria. Augustus himself waged war upon the Astures and upon the Cantabri at the same time. These refused to yield, because of confidence in their position on the heights, and would not come to close quarters owing to their inferior numbers and the fact that most of them were javelin throwers, but they caused him much trouble, whenever he made any movement, by always seizing the higher ground in advance and placing ambuscades in depressions and in wooded spots. He found himself therefore quite unable to cope with the difficulty, and having fallen ill from weariness and worry retired to Tarraco, and there remained sick. Meantime Gaius Antistius fought against them, accomplishing considerable, not because he was a better general than

Augustus, but because the barbarians felt contempt for him and thus joined battle with the Romans and were defeated. In this way he captured some points, and afterward Titus Carisius took Lancia, the principal fortress of the Astures, which had been abandoned, and won to his side many towns.

[26] At the conclusion of this war Augustus dismissed the more aged of his soldiers and gave them a city to settle in Lusitania, — the so-called Augusta Emerita. For those who were still of the military age he arranged some spectacles right among the legions, through the agency of Tiberius and Marcellus as ædiles. To Juba he gave portions of Gætulia in return for the prince's ancestral domain (for the majority of the inhabitants had been enrolled as members of the Roman polity), and also the possessions of Bocchus and Bogud. On the death of Amyntas he did not entrust the country to the children of the deceased but made it a part of the subject territory. Thus Gaul together with Lycaonia obtained a Roman governor. The regions of Pamphylia formerly assigned to Amyntas were restored to their own district. — About this same time Marcus Vinicius in making reprisals against the Celtæ, because they had arrested and destroyed Romans who had entered their country to have friendly dealings with them, himself gave the name of imperator to Augustus. For this and for the other achievements of the time a triumph was voted to Cæsar; but as he did not care to celebrate it, an arch bearing a trophy was constructed in the Alps for his glory and authority was given him to wear always on the first day of the year both the crown and the triumphal garb. After these successes in the wars Augustus closed the precinct of Janus, which had been opened because of the strife.

[27] Meanwhile Agrippa had been beautifying the city at his own expense. First, in honor of the naval victories he built over the so-called *Portico of Neptune* and lent it further brilliance by the painting of the Argonauts. Secondly, he repaired the Laconian sudatorium. He gave the name Laconian to the gymnasium because the Lacedæmonians had, in those days, a greater reputation than anybody else for stripping naked and exercising smeared with oil. Also, he completed the so-called *Pantheon*. It has this name perhaps because it received the images of many gods and among them the statues of Mars and Venus; but my own opinion is that the name is due to its round shape, like the sky. Agrippa desired to place Augustus also there and to take the designation of the structure from his title. But, as his master would not accept either honor, he placed in the temple itself a statue of the former Cæsar and in the anteroom representations of Augustus and himself. This was done not from any rivalry and ambition on Agrippa's part to make himself equal to Augustus, but from his superabundant devotion to him and his perpetual affection for the commonwealth; hence Augustus, so far from censuring him for it, honored him the more. For, being unable through sickness to superintend at that time the marriage of his daughter Julia and his nephew Marcellus, he commissioned Agrippa to hold the festival in his absence. And when the house on the Palatine hill, which had formerly been Antony's but

was later given to Agrippa and Messala, was burned down, he made a grant of money to Messala and gave Agrippa equal rights of domicile. The latter not unnaturally gained high distinction as a result of this. And one Gaius Toranius also acquired a good reputation because while tribune he brought his father, though some one's freedman, into the theatre and made him sit beside him upon the tribune's bench. Publius Servilius, too, made a name for himself because while prætor he caused to be killed at a festival three hundred bears and other Libyan wild beasts equal in number.

[B.C. 24 (*a. u.* 730)]

[28] Augustus now entered upon office for the tenth time with Gaius Norbanus, and on the first day of the month the senate took oaths, confirming his deeds. When he was announced as drawing near the city (his sickness had delayed him), he promised to give the people a hundred denarii each and issued instructions that the document concerning the money should not be bulletined until the senate also should approve. They had freed him from all compulsion of the laws to the end, as I have stated, that being really independent and possessed of full powers over both himself and the laws he should follow all of them that he wished and not follow any that he did not wish. This right was voted to him while still absent. On his arrival in Rome there were various events in honor of his preservation and return, and Marcellus was accorded the right to be a senator of the class of ex-prætors and to be a candidate for the consulship ten years earlier than was customary. Tiberius was permitted in a similar fashion to be a candidate five years before the age set for each office. The latter was at once appointed quæstor and the former ædile. As the quæstors needed to serve in the provinces were proving insufficient, all drew lots for the places who for ten years previous had been named quæstors without the duties of the office. These, then, were the occurrences in the City worthy of note that year.

[29] As soon as Augustus had departed from Spain, leaving behind Lucius Æmilius as governor of it, the Cantabri and Astures made an uprising. They sent to Æmilius before anything about it became known to him and said they wished to give the army grain and some other presents. Then, having secured a number of soldiers, who were presumably to carry the supplies, they led them to suitable places and butchered them. Their pleasure, however, did not last long. When their country had been devastated and some forts burned and, chiefest of all, the hands of every one that was caught were cut off, they were quickly subdued. While this was going on, another new campaign had its beginning and end. It was led by Ælius Gallus, governor of Egypt, against the so-called *Arabia Felix* of which Sabos was king. At first he encountered no one at all, yet did not proceed without effort. The desert, the sun, and the water (which had some peculiar nature), distressed them greatly so that the majority of the army perished. The disease proved to be dissimilar to any ordinary complaint, and fell upon the head, which it caused to wither. This killed most of them at once, but in the case of the survivors it descended to the

legs, skipping all the intervening parts of the body, and wrought injury to them. There was no remedy for it except by both drinking and rubbing on olive oil mixed with wine. This was in the power of only a few of them to do, for the country produces neither of these articles and the men had not provided a large supply of them beforehand. In the midst of this trouble the barbarians also fell upon them. For a while the enemy were defeated whenever they joined battle and lost some places: later, however, with the disease as an ally they won back their own possessions and drove the survivors of the expedition out of the country. These were the first of the Romans (and I think the only ones) who traversed so much of this part of Arabia in warfare. They had advanced as far as the so-named Athlula, a famous locality.

[B.C. 23 (*a. u.* 731)]

[30] Augustus was for the eleventh time consul with Calpurnius Piso, when he fell so sick once more as to have no hope of saving his life. He accordingly arranged everything in the idea that he was about to die, and gathering about him the officials and the other foremost senators and knights he appointed no successor, though they were expecting that Marcellus would be preferred before all for the position. After conversing briefly with them about public matters he gave Piso the list of the forces and the public revenues written in a book, and handed his ring to Agrippa. The emperor became unable to do even the very simplest things, yet a certain Antonius Musas managed to restore him to health by means of cold baths and cold drinks. For this he received a great deal of money from both Augustus and the senate, as well as the right to wear gold rings, — he was a freedman, — and secured exemption from taxes for both himself and the members of his profession, not only those then living but also those of coming generations. But he who assumed the powers of Fortune and Fate was destined soon after to be well worsted. Augustus had been saved in this manner: but Marcellus, falling sick not much later, was treated in the same way by Musas and died. Augustus gave him a public burial with the usual eulogies, placed him in the monument which was being built, and honored his memory by calling the theatre, the foundations of which had already been laid by the former Cæsar, the Theatre of Marcellus. He ordered also that a gold image of the deceased, a golden crown, and his chair of office be carried into the theatre at the *Ludi Romani* and be placed in the midst of the officials having charge of the function. This he did later.

[31] After being restored to health on this occasion he brought his will into the senate and wished to read it, by way of showing people that he had left no successor to his position. He did not, however, read it, for no one would permit that. Quite every one, however, was astonished at him in that since he loved Marcellus as son-in-law and nephew yet he failed to trust him with the monarchy but preferred Agrippa before him. His regard for Marcellus had been shown by many honors, among them his lending aid in carrying out the festival which the young man gave as *ædile*; the brilliance of this occasion is

shown by the fact that in midsummer he sheltered the Forum by curtains overhead and introduced a knight and a woman of note as dancers in the orchestra. But his final attitude seemed to show that he was not yet confident of the youth's judgment and that he either wanted the people to get back their liberty or Agrippa to receive the leadership from them. He understood well that Agrippa and the people were on the best of terms and he was unwilling to appear to be delivering the supreme power with his own hands. [32] When he recovered, therefore, and learned that Marcellus on this account was not friendly toward Agrippa, he immediately despatched the latter to Syria, so that no delay and desultory dispute might arise by their being in the same place. Agrippa forthwith started from the City but did not make his way to Syria, but, proceeding even more moderately than usual, he sent his lieutenants there and himself lingered in Lesbos.

Besides doing this Augustus appointed ten praetors, feeling that he did not require any more. This number remained constant for several years. Some of them were intended to fulfill the same duties as of yore and two of them to have charge of the administration of the finances each year. Having settled these details he resigned the consulship and went to Albanum. He himself ever since the constitution had been arranged had held office for the entire year, as had most of his colleagues, and he wished now to interrupt this custom again, in order that as many as possible might be consuls. His resignation took place outside the city to prevent his being hindered in his purpose.

For this act he received praise, as also because he chose to take his place Lucius Sestius, who had always been an enthusiastic follower of Brutus, had campaigned with the latter in all his wars, and even at this time made mention of him, had his images, and delivered eulogies. So far from disliking the friendly and faithful qualities of the man, the emperor even honored him.

The senate consequently voted that Augustus be tribune for life and that he might bring forward at each meeting of the senate any business he liked concerning any one matter, even if he should not be consul at the time, and allowed him to hold the office of proconsul once for all perpetually, so that he had neither to lay it down on entering the pomerium nor to take it up again outside. The body also granted him more power in subject territory than the several governors possessed. As a result both he and subsequent emperors gained a certain legal right to the use of the tribunican authority, in addition to their other powers. But the actual name of tribune neither Augustus nor any other emperor has held.

[33] And it seems to me that he then acquired these rights as described not from flattery but as a mark of real honor. In most ways he behaved toward the Romans as if they were free citizens. For, when Tiridates in person and envoys from Phraates arrived to settle their mutual disputes, he introduced them to the senate. After this, when the decision of the question had been entrusted to him by that body, he refused to surrender Tiridates to Phraates,

but sent back to him his son, whom Tiridates had formerly received from the other and was keeping, on condition that the captives and the military standards taken in the disasters of Crassus and of Antony be returned.

In this same year one of the inferior ædiles died and Gaius Calpurnius succeeded him, in spite of having served previously as one of the patrician ædiles. This is not mentioned as having occurred in the case of any other man. During the Feriæ there were two præfecti urbi each day, and one of them, who was not yet admitted to the standing of a youth, nevertheless held office.

Livia, however, was accused of having caused the death of Marcellus because he had been preferred before her sons. This suspicion became a matter of controversy both in that year and in the following, which proved so unhealthful that great numbers perished during its progress. And, as it usually happens that some sign occurs before such events, so on this occasion a wolf had been caught in the city, fire and storm damaged many buildings, and the Tiber, rising, washed away the wooden bridge and rendered the city submerged for three days.

[Footnote 1: Following Dindorf's reading [Greek: hyper heauton].]

[Footnote 2: A reference to Cornelius Gallus (see Book Fifty-one, chapter 17).]

[Footnote 3: The expression to which Dio here refers is doubtless the adjective *quinquefascalis*, found in inscriptional Latin. All the editions from Xylander to Dindorf gave "six lictors", erroneously, as was pointed out by Mommsen (*Romisches Staatsrecht*, 12, , note 4). Boissevain is the first editor to make the correction. (See the latter portion of chapter 17, Book Fifty-seven, which should be compared with Tacitus, Annals, II, 47, 5.)

The Greek language had a phrase [Greek: hae hexapelekus archae], corresponding to the Latin *sexfascalis*, but no adjective [Greek: pentapelekus], which would be the equivalent of *quinquefascalis*, is reported in the lexicons.]

[Footnote 4: Cp. Book Fifty-two, chapter 25.]

[Footnote 5: Translating Boissevain's conjecture, [Greek: dela chahi pempton isa], in place of a corruption in the text.]

[Footnote 6: In view of the fact that *Sex. Pacuvius Taurus* does not come on the scene (as tribune of the plebs) till B.C. 9-7, it seems more likely, as Boissevain remarks, that Apudius is the correct name of the author of this piece of flattery.]

[Footnote 7: Boissevain thinks that the passage indicated was probably in Book Twenty-two (one of the lost portions of the work). Compare Fragment LXXIV (1) in Volume VI of this translation. — Boissée suggested Book Forty-nine, Chapter 34. There, too, the correspondence is not complete.]

[Footnote 8: The modern *Aosta*.]

[Footnote 9: Possibly this prænomen is an error for *Publius*.]

[Footnote 10: Chapter 18 of this Book.]

[Footnote 11: Another writer reports his name as *Lucius Lamia*.]

[Footnote 12: The “prosperous” or fertile part of Arabia, as opposed to *Arabia Deserta* or *Petræa*.]

BOOK 54

The following is contained in the Fifty-fourth of Dio's Rome:

How road commissioners were appointed from among the ex-prætors (chapter 8).

How grain commissioners were appointed from among the ex-prætors (chapters 1 and 17).

How Noricum was reduced (chapter 20).

How Rhætia was reduced (chapter 22).

How the Maritime Alps began to yield obedience to the Romans (chapter 24).

How the theatre of Balbus was dedicated (chapter 25).

How the theatre of Marcellus was dedicated (chapter 26).

How Agrippa died and Augustus acquired the Chersonese (chapters 28, 29).

How the Augustalia was instituted (chapter 34).

Duration of time, 13 years, in which there were the following magistrates here enumerated:

M. Claudius M. F. Marcellus Æserninus, L. Arruntius L.F. (B.C. 22 = a. u. 732.)

M. Lollius M. F., Q. Æmilius M. F. Lepidus. (B.C. 21 = a. u. 733.)

M. Apuleius Sex, F., P. Silius P. F. Nerva. (B.C. 20 = a. u. 734.)

C. Sentius C. F. Saturninus, Q. Lucretius Q. F. Vispillo. (B.C. 19 = a. u. 735.)

Cn. Cornelius L. F., P. Cornelius P. F. Lentulus Marcellinus. (B.C. 18 = a. u. 736.)

C. Furnius C. F., C. Iunius C. F. Silanus. (B.C. 17 = a. u. 737.)

L. Domitius Cn. F. Cn. N. Ahenobarbus, P. Cornelius P. F. P. N. Scipio. (B.C. 16 = a. u. 738.)

M. Livius L. F. Drusus Libo, L. Calpurnius L. F. Piso Frugi. (B.C. 15 = a. u. 739.)

M. Licinius M. F. Crassus, Cn. Cornelius Cn. F. Lentulus. (B.C. 14 = a. u. 740.)

Tib. Claudius Tib. F. Nero, P. Quintilius Sex. F. Varus. (B.C. 13 = a. u. 741.)

M. Valerius M. F. Messala Barbatus, P. Sulpicius P. F. Quirinus. (B.C. 12 = a. u. 742.)

Paulus Fabius Q. F. Maximus, Q. Ælius Q. F. Tubero. (B.C. 11 = a. u. 743.)

Iullus Antonius M. F., Africanus Q. Fabius Q. F. (B.C. 10 = a. u. 744.)

BOOK 54, BOISSEVAIN.

[B.C. 22 (*a. u.* 732)]

[1] The following year, during which Marcus Marcellus and Lucius Arruntius were the consuls, the river caused another flood which submerged the City, and many objects were struck by thunderbolts, among them the statues in the Pantheon; and the spear even fell from the hand of Augustus. The pestilence raged throughout Italy so that no one tilled the land, and I think that the same was the case in foreign parts. The Romans, therefore, reduced to dire straits by disease and by famine, thought that this had happened to them for no other reason than that they did not have Augustus for consul this time also. They accordingly wished to elect him as dictator, and shutting the senate up within its halls they forced it to vote this measure by threatening to burn down the building. Next they took the twenty-four rods and accosted Augustus, begging him both to be named dictator and to become commissioner of grain, as Pompey had once been. He accepted the latter duty under compulsion and ordered two men from among those who had served as prætors five years or more previously, in every instance, to be chosen annually to attend to the distribution of grain. As for the dictatorship, however, he would not hear of it and went so far as to rend his clothing when he found himself unable to restrain them in any other way, either by reasoning or by prayer. As he already had authority and honor even beyond that of dictators he did right to guard against the jealousy and hatred which the title would arouse.

[2] His course was the same when they wished to elect him censor for life. Without entering upon the office himself he immediately designated others as censors, namely Paulus Æmilius Lepidus and Lucius Munatius Plancus, the latter a brother of that Plancus who had been proscribed and the former a person who at that time had himself been under sentence of death. These were the last private citizens to hold the appointment, as was at once made manifest by the men themselves. The platform on which they were intended to perform the ceremonies pertaining to their position fell to the ground in pieces when they had ascended it on the first day of their office. After that there were no other censors appointed together, as they had been. Even at this time Augustus in spite of their having been chosen took care of many matters which properly belonged to them. Of the Public Messes he abolished some altogether and reformed others so that greater temperance prevailed. He committed the charge of all the festivals to the prætors, commanding that an appropriation be given them from the public treasury. Moreover he forbade them to spend from their own means on these occasions more than they received from the other source, or to have armed combat under any other conditions than if the senate should vote for it, and even then there were to be not more than two such contests in each year and they should consist of not more than one hundred and twenty men. To the curule ædiles he entrusted the extinguishment of

conflagrations, for which purpose he granted them six hundred slave assistants. And since knights and women of note had thus early appeared in the orchestra, he forbade not only the children of senators, to whom the prohibition had even previously extended, but also their grandchildren, who naturally found a place in the equestrian class, to do anything of the sort again. [3] In these ordinances he let both the substance and the name of the lawgiver and emperor be seen. In other matters he was more moderate and even came to the aid of some of his friends when their conduct was subjected to official scrutiny. But a certain Marcus Primus was accused of having made war upon the Odrysae, while he was governor of Macedonia, who said at one time that he had done it with the approval of Augustus, and again with that of Marcellus. The emperor thereupon came of his own accord into the court and, when interrogated by the prætors as to whether he had instructed the man to make war, entered a denial. The advocate of Primus, Licinius Murena, in the course of some rather disrespectful remarks that he made to him enquired: "What are you doing here!" and "Who summoned you!" To this Augustus only replied: "The Public Good." For this he received praise from sensible persons and was even given the right to convene the senate as often as he pleased. Some of the others looked down upon him. Indeed, not a few voted for the acquittal of Primus and others united to form a plot against Cæsar. Fannius Cæpio was at the head of it, though others had a share. Murena also was said, whether truly or by way of calumny, to have been one of the conspirators, since he was insatiate and unsparing in his outspokenness to all alike. These men did not appear for trial in court but were convicted by default on the supposition that they intended to flee; shortly after, however, they were put to death. Murena found neither his brother Proculeius nor Mæcenas his sister's husband of any avail, though they were the recipients of distinguished honors from Augustus. And as some of the jurymen actually voted to acquit these conspirators, the emperor made a law that votes should not be cast secretly in cases by default and that the persons on trial must receive a unanimous conviction. That he authorized these provisions not in anger but as really conducive to the public good he gave overwhelming evidence. Cæpio's father liberated one of his slaves who had accompanied his son on his flight, because he had wished to defend the younger man when he met his death; but a second slave who had betrayed him the father led through the middle of the Forum with an inscription making known the reason why he should be killed, and after that crucified him: yet at all this the emperor showed no indignation. He would have allayed all the criticism of those not pleased with the course of events, had he not allowed sacrifices, as for some victory, to be both voted and offered.

[4] It was at this period that he restored both Cyprus and Gallia Narbonensis to the people as provinces no longer needing his administration of martial law.

Thus proconsuls began to be sent to these places also. He also dedicated the temple of Jupiter Tonans, concerning which event these two traditions

survive, — that at the time thunder occurred during the ritual, and that later Augustus had a dream, which I shall proceed to describe. He thought that the throng had come to do reverence to the deity, partly attracted by the novelty of his name and form and partly because he had been put in place by Augustus, but chiefest of all because they encountered him first when they ascended the Capitol; and he dreamed that Jupiter in the great temple was angry because he was now reduced to second place, and that he himself thereupon said to the offended god (as he reported the story) that he had Tonans as an advance guard. When it became day he attached a bell to the statue by way of confirming the vision. For those who guard apartment houses by night carry a bell, in order to be able to signal the inhabitants whenever they wish. — These events, then, took place at Rome.

[5] About this same period the Cantabri and the Astures broke out into war again. The action of the Astures was due to the haughtiness and cruelty of Carisius. The Cantabri, on the other hand, took the field because they learned that the other tribe was in revolt and because they despised their governor, Gaius Furnius, since he had but lately arrived and they conceived him to be unacquainted with conditions in their territory. He did not, however, show himself that sort of man in action, for both tribes were defeated and reduced to slavery by him, Carisius even receiving help from him. Not many of the Cantabri were captured. As they had no hope of freedom they did not choose to live, but some after setting the forts on fire stabbed themselves, and others let themselves be consumed with the works, while still others in the sight of all took poison. Thus the most of them and the fiercest faction perished. As for the Astures, as soon as they had been repulsed in a siege at some point and had subsequently been beaten in battle, they made no further resistance but were straightway subdued.

About this same time the Ethiopians, who dwell beyond Egypt, advanced as far as the city called Elephantine, with Candace as their leader, ravaging the whole region that they traversed. On learning that Gaius Petronius, the governor of Egypt, was approaching and somewhere near, they hastily retreated hoping to make good their escape. Overtaken on the road, however, they suffered defeat and then drew him on into their own country. There, too, he contended nobly and took among other cities Napata, the royal residence of that tribe. This town was razed to the ground and a garrison left at another post. For Petronius, not being able to advance farther on account of the sand and the heat, nor to remain conveniently on the spot with his entire army, withdrew, taking the most of it with him. At that the Ethiopians attacked the garrisons, but he again proceeded against them, rescued his own men, and compelled Candace to make terms with him.

[B.C. 21 (*a. u.* 733)]

[6] While this was going on Augustus went to Sicily in order to settle the affairs of that island and of other countries as far as Syria. While he was still there, the Roman populace fell to disputing over an election of the consuls.

This incident showed clearly that it was impossible for them to be safe under a democracy, for with the little power that they had over elections and in regard to offices, even, they began rioting. The place of one of the consuls was being kept for Augustus and in this way at the beginning of the year Marcus Lollius alone entered upon office. As the emperor would not accept the place, Quintus Lepidus and Lucius Silvanus became rival candidates and threw everything into such turmoil that Augustus was invoked by those who still retained their senses. He would not return, however, and sent them back when they came to him, rebuking them and bidding them cast their votes during the absence of both claimants. This did not promote peace any the more, but they began to quarrel and dispute again vehemently, so that it was long before Lepidus was chosen. Augustus was displeased at this, for he could not spend all his time at Rome alone, and he did not dare to leave the city without a head; seeking, therefore, for some one to set over it he judged Agrippa to be most suitable for the purpose. And as he wished to clothe him in some greater dignity than common, in order that this might help him to govern the people more easily, he summoned him, compelled him to divorce his wife (although she was Cæsar's own niece), and to marry Julia, and forthwith sent him to Rome to attend both to the wedding and to the administration of the City. This step is said to have been due partly to the advice of Mæcenas, who in conversation with him upon these very matters said: "You have made him so great that he should either become your son-in-law or be killed." — Agrippa healed the sores which he found still festering and repelled the advance of the Egyptian rites, which were returning once more to the City, forbidding any one to perform them even in the suburbs within eight half-stadia. A disturbance arose regarding the election of the præfectus urbi — the one chosen on account of the Feriæ — and he did not attempt to quell it, but they lived through that year without that official. This was what *he* accomplished.

[7] Augustus after settling various affairs in Sicily and making Syracuse together with certain other cities Roman colonies crossed over into Greece. The Lacedæmonians he honored by giving them Cythera and attending their Public Mess, because Livia, when she fled from Italy with her husband and son, passed some time there. From the Athenians, as some say, he took away Ægina and Eretria, the produce of which they were enjoying, because they had espoused the cause of Antony. Moreover he forbade them to make any one a citizen for money. It seemed to them that what happened to the statue of Athena had tended to their misfortune. Placed on the Acropolis facing the east it had turned about to the west and spat blood.

[B.C. 20 (*a. u.* 734)]

As for Augustus, after setting the Greek world in order, he sailed to Samos, passed the winter there, and in the spring when Marcus Apuleius and Publius Silius became consuls proceeded to Asia and gave his attention to matters there and in Bithynia. Though these and the foregoing provinces were regarded as belonging to the people, he did not make light of them, but

accorded them the very best of care, as if they were his own. He instituted all reforms that seemed desirable and made a present of money to some, while others he instructed to collect an amount in excess of the tribute. The people of Cyzicus he reduced to slavery because during an uprising they had flogged and put to death some Romans. And when he reached Syria he took the same action in the case of the people of Tyre and Sidon on account of their uprising.

[8] Meanwhile Phraates, fearing that he might lead an expedition against him because as yet none of the agreements had been carried out, sent back to him the standards and all the captives, save a few who in shame had destroyed themselves or by eluding detection had remained in the country. Augustus received them with the appearance of having conquered the Parthian in some war. He took great pride in the event, saying that what had been lost in former battles he had recovered without a struggle. Indeed, in honor of his success he both commanded sacrifices to be voted and performed them, besides constructing a temple of Mars Ultor on the Capitol, in imitation of Jupiter Feretrius, for the offering up of the standards. Moreover he rode into the City on a charger and was with an arch carrying a trophy. That was what was done later in commemoration of the event. At this time he was chosen commissioner of the highways round about Rome, set up the so-called golden milestone, and assigned road-builders from the ranks of the ex-prætors, with two lictors, to take care of the various streets. Julia also gave birth to a child, who received the name Gaius; and a sacrifice of kine was permitted forever upon his birthday. Now this was done, like everything else, in pursuance of a decree: privately the ædiles had a horse-race and slaughter of wild beasts on the birthday of Augustus. — These were the occurrences in the City.

[9] Augustus ordained that the subject territory should be managed according to the customs of the Romans, but permitted allied countries to be governed according to their own ancestral usage. He did not think it desirable that there should be any additions to the former or that any new regions should be acquired, but deemed it best for the people to be thoroughly satisfied with what they already possessed; and he communicated this opinion to the senate. Therefore he began no war at this time, but gave out certain sovereignties, — to Iamblichus son of Iamblichus his ancestral dominion over the Arabians, and to Tarcondimotus son of Tarcondimotus the kingdom of Cilicia which his father held, except a few coast districts. For these together with Lesser Armenia he granted to Archelaus, because the Median king, who had previously ruled them, was dead. To Herod he entrusted the tetrarchy of a certain Zenodorus and to one Mithridates, though a mere lad, Commagene, since the king of it had killed his father. And as the other Armenians had preferred charges against Artaxes and had summoned his brother Tigranes, who was in Rome, the emperor sent for Tiberius to cast the former out of his kingdom and restore the latter to it once more. Nothing was accomplished, however, worthy of the preparations he had made, for the Armenians slew Artaxes before his arrival. Still, Tiberius assumed a lofty bearing as if he had

effected something by his own ability, and all the more when sacrifices were voted in honor of the result. And he now began to have thoughts about obtaining the monarchy when, as he was approaching Philippi, an outcry was heard from the field of battle, as if coming from an army, and fire of its own accord shot up from the altars founded by Antony upon the ramparts. These things contributed to the exalted feelings of Tiberius.

Augustus returned to Samos and once more passed the winter there. As a recompense for his stay he awarded the islanders freedom, and he attended to many kinds of business. Great numbers of embassies came to him, and the Indi, who had previously opened negotiations about friendship, now made terms, sending among other gifts tigers, which were then for the first time seen by the Romans, as also, I think, by the Greeks. They likewise presented to him a boy without shoulders (like the statues of Hermes that we now see). Yet this creature in spite of his anatomy made perfect use of his feet and hands: he would stretch a bow for them, shoot missiles, and sound the trumpet, — how, I do not know; I merely record the story. One of the Indi, Zarmarus, whether he belonged to the class of sophists and was ambitious on this account or because he was old and was following some immemorial custom, or because he wished to make a display for Augustus and the Athenians (for it was there that he had obtained an audience), chose to die; he was therefore initiated into the service of the two goddesses, — although it was not the proper time, it is said, for the ritual, — through the influence of Augustus, and having become an initiate he threw himself alive into the fire.

[B.C. 19 (*a. u.* 735)]

[10] The consul that year was Gaius Sentius. When it was found necessary that a colleague be appointed to hold office with him, — for Augustus again refused to accept the post which was being saved for him, — an uprising once more broke out in Rome and assassinations occurred, so that the senators voted Sentius a guard. When he expressed himself as opposed to using it, they sent envoys to Augustus, each with two lictors. As soon as the emperor learned this and felt assured that nothing but evil would come of it, he did not adopt an attitude like his former one toward them but appointed consul from among the envoys themselves Quintus Lucretius, though this man's name had been posted among the proscribed, and he hastened to Rome himself. For this and his other actions while absent from the city many honors of all sorts were voted none of which he would accept, save the founding of a temple to Fortuna Redux, (this being the name they applied to her), and that the day on which he arrived should be numbered among the thanksgiving days and be called Augustalia. Since even then the magistrates and the rest made preparations to go out to meet him, he entered the city by night; and on the following day he gave Tiberius the rank of the ex-prætors and allowed Drusus to become a candidate for offices five years earlier than custom allowed. The quarrelsome behavior of the people during his absence did not accord at all with their conduct, influenced by fear, when he was present; he was

accordingly invited and elected to be commissioner of morals for five years, held the authority of the censors for the same length of time and that of the consuls for life, being allowed to use the twelve rods always and everywhere and to sit in the chair of office in the midst of the consuls of any year. After voting these measures they begged him to set right all these matters and to enact what laws he liked. And whatever ordinances might be composed by him they called from that very moment *leges Augustæ* and desired to take an oath that they would abide by them. He accepted their principal propositions, believing them to be necessary, but absolved them from the requirement of an oath. If they should vote for a measure that suited them, he knew well that they would observe it even if they made no agreement to that effect. Otherwise they would not pay any attention to it, even if they should take ten thousand pledges to secure it. — Augustus did this. Of the ædiles one voluntarily resigned his office by reason of poverty.

[11] Agrippa on being sent at this time, as described from Sicily to Rome, transacted whatever business was urgent and was later assigned to the Gauls. The inhabitants there were at war among themselves and were being harshly used by the Celtæ. After settling those troubles he went over to Spain. For the Cantabri, who had been captured alive in the war and had been sold, severally killed their masters, returned home, and united many for a revolt. With the aid of these accessions they occupied available sites, walled them about and concocted schemes against the Roman garrisons. It was against this tribe that Agrippa led an expedition, but he had some trouble also with the soldiers. Not a few of them were too old, exhausted by the succession of wars, and in fear of the Cantabri, whom they regarded as hard to subdue; and they consequently would not obey him. However, by admonition, exhortation, and the hopes that he held out he soon made them yield obedience: in fighting the Cantabri, on the other hand, he met with many failures. They had the advantage of experience in affairs, since they had been slaves to the Romans, and of despair of ever gaining safety again in case of capture. Agrippa lost numbers of his soldiers and degraded numerous others because they had been defeated; among other actions he prohibited a whole division called the Augustan from being so named any longer; still, after a long time he destroyed nearly all of the enemy who were of age for warfare. He deprived the rest of their arms and made them go down from the heights to the flat lands. Yet he made no communication about them to the senate and did not accept the triumph although voted in accordance with instructions from Augustus. In these matters he showed moderation, as was his wont, and when asked once by the consul for an opinion in a case concerning his brother he would not give it. At his own expense he brought in the so-called Parthenian water-supply and named it the Augustan. In this the emperor took so great delight that once when a great scarcity of wine had arisen and persons were making a terrible to-do about it, he declared that Agrippa had carefully seen to it that they should never perish of thirst.

[12]Such was the character of this man. Of the rest many both made a triumph their object and celebrated it, not for rendering these same services, but some for having arrested robbers and others for quieting cities that were in a state of turmoil. For Augustus, at first at least, bestowed these rewards lavishly upon some and honored a very great number with public burials. Those persons, then, gained splendor by these fêtes; but Agrippa was advanced by him to a position of comparative independence. Augustus saw that the public business required strict attention and feared that he might, as often happens in such cases, become the victim of plots.

[B.C. 18 (a. u. 736)]

The breastplate which he often wore beneath his dress even on entering the senate itself he expected would be of small and slight assistance to him in that case. Therefore he himself first added five years to his term as supreme ruler when the ten-year period had expired (this took place in the consulship of Publius and Gnaeus Lentulus), and then he gave Agrippa many rights almost equal to his own, together with the tribunician authority for the same length of time. He then said that so many years would suffice them. Not much later he obtained the remaining five belonging to his imperial sovereignty, so that the number of years became ten again.

[13] When he had done this he next investigated the senatorial body. The members seemed to him even now to be numerous and he saw danger in so large a throng, while he felt a hatred for not only such as were notorious for some baseness, but also those who were distinguished for their flattery. And when no one, as previously, would resign willingly nor wished alone to incur accusation, he himself selected the thirty best men (a point which he confirmed by oath) and bade them after first taking the same oath to choose and write down groups of five, outside of their relatives, on tablets. After this he subjected the groups of five to a casting of lots, with the arrangement that the one man in each who drew a lot should himself be a senator, and enroll five others on the same conditions.

There would, of course, properly be thirty of those chosen by others and by those who drew a lot. And since some of them were out of town others drew as substitutes and attended to what should have been their duties. At first this went on so for several days; but when some abuses crept in, he no longer put the documents in the charge of the quaestors nor submitted the groups of five to lot, but he himself read whatever remained and he himself chose the members that were lacking; and thus six hundred in all were appointed. [14]It had been his plan to make them three hundred as in old times, and he thought he ought to be well satisfied if he found so many of them worthy of the senate. But he finally chose a list of six hundred because of the universal displeasure; for it came out, by reason of the fact that those whose names would be cancelled would be many more than those who remained in the body, that greater fear of becoming private citizens prevailed among its members than expectation of being senators. Not even here did the matter rest, since some

unsuitable persons were still enrolled. A certain Licinius Regulus after this, indignant because his name had been erased whereas his son and several others to whom he thought himself superior had been counted in, rent his clothing in the very senate, laid bare his body, enumerated his campaigns, and showed them his scars. And Articuleius Pætus, one of the senators *in posse*, besought earnestly that he might retire from his seat in the senate in place of his father, who had been rejected. Augustus then made a new organization, getting rid of some and choosing others in their place. Since even so the names of many had been stricken out and some of them, as usually happens in such a case, charged that they had been driven out unjustly, he immediately accorded them the right to behold spectacles and join in festivals in common with the senators, wearing the same garb, and he permitted them for the future to stand for offices. Most of them came back in the course of time into the senate: some few were left in an intermediate position, regarded as belonging neither to the senate nor to the people.

[15] After this many at once and many subsequently gained the reputation, whether it was true or false, of plotting against both the emperor and Agrippa. It is not possible for one outside of such matters to have certain knowledge about them. Much of what a sovereign does by way of punishment either personally or through the senate on the ground that plots have been made against him is viewed with suspicion as probably a display of wanton power, no matter how justly he may have acted. For that reason my intention is to record in all matters of this nature simply the regular version of the story, not busying myself with aught beyond the public report, except in perfectly patent cases, nor making any ulterior suggestions as to whether any act was just or unjust or any statement true or false. Let this principle apply to everything which I shall write after this.

At the time Augustus executed a few: Lepidus he hated because his son had been detected in a against him and had been punished, as well as for other reasons; he did not, however, wish to kill him but kept insulting him now in one way, now in another. He ordered Lepidus against his will to come down from the country to the city and always took him to gatherings, in order that the man might be subjected to the greatest amount of jeering and insolence in view of the change from his former power and dignity. He did not treat him in any way as worthy his consideration, and at this time he afforded him, last of all the ex-consuls, the chance of voting. To the rest he was wont to put the question in the order that belonged to them, but of the ex-consuls he used to make one first, another second, and third and fourth and so on as he liked. This the consuls also did. Thus it was that he treated Lepidus. And when Antistius Labeo enrolled the latter among the men who were to be senators at the time the vote on this matter was taken, the emperor first declared that he had perjured himself and threatened to take vengeance. Thereupon the other replied: "Why, what harm have I done by keeping in the senate one whom you even now still permit to be high priest?" This answer quieted Augustus's

anger, for though he had often, both privately and publicly, been judged worthy of this priesthood, he did not deem it right to take it while Lepidus lived. The reply of Antistius seemed, indeed, to have been a rather happy one, as was the case once when there was talk in the senate to the effect that they ought to take turns in guarding Augustus; for he had said, not daring to speak in opposition nor willing to agree: "As for me, I snore, and so can not sleep at the door of his chamber."

[16] Among the laws that Augustus enacted was one which provided that those who to gain office bribed any person should be debarred from the said office for five years. He laid heavier penalties upon the unmarried men and women without husbands, and on the other hand offered prizes for marriage and the procreation of children. And since among the nobility there were far more males than females he allowed those who pleased, save the senators, to marry freedwomen, and ordered that the offspring of such a man should be deemed legitimate.

At this period a clamor arose in the senate regarding the disorderly conduct of the women and the young men, this being alleged as a reason for the difficulty of persuading them to contract marriage; and when they urged him to remedy this abuse also, meanwhile indulging in sarcasms because he enjoyed the favors of many women, at first he made answer that the most necessary restrictions had been laid down and that anything further could not be defined in a similar fashion. Then, when he was driven into a corner, he said: "You ought to admonish and command your wives what you wish, — just as I myself do." When they heard that, they plied him with questions all the more, wishing to learn the admonitions which he said he gave Livia. Reluctantly thereupon he made a few remarks about dress and about other adornment, about going out and modest behavior on such occasions. He cared not at all that he did not make good his words in fact. Something of the sort he had done also while censor. They brought before him a young man who had married a woman after seducing her, making the most violent accusations against him: Augustus was at a loss what to do, not daring to overlook the affair nor yet to administer any rebuke. After a very long time he heaved a deep sigh and said: "The factional disputes have borne many terrible fruits: let us try to forget them and give our attention to the future, to see that nothing of the sort occurs again."

Inasmuch, too, as certain infants were obtaining by betrothal the honors of married couples, but did not accomplish the object in view, he ordered that no betrothal should be valid where a person did not marry before two years had passed. That is, any one betrothed must be certainly ten years old in order to reap any benefit from it. Twelve full years, as I have said, is required by custom for girls to reach the marriageable age.

[17] Besides these separate enactments there was one instructing those from time to time in office each to propose one of those who had been prætors three years previously to attend to the distribution of the grain, and providing that of

that number the four who secured the lot should give out grain in turn: and the *præfectus urbi*, appointed for the *Feriæ*, was always to choose one of them. The Sibylline verses which had become indistinct through lapse of time he ordered the priests to copy out with their own hands in order that no one else should read them. He allowed the offices to be thrown open to all such as had property worth ten myriad *denarii* and were competent to hold office in accordance with the law. This was the value which he at first set upon the senatorial rank: later he raised it to twenty-five myriads. Upon some of those who lived upright lives but possessed less than ten myriads in the first case or twenty-five in the second he bestowed the amount lacking. Again, he allowed those *prætors* who so desired to spend on the festivals besides what was given them from the public treasury three times as much again, so that even if some were vexed at the minuteness of his other regulations yet by reason of this one and also because he brought back from exile one *Pylades*, a dancer, driven out on account of civil quarrels, they remembered them no longer. Hence *Pylades* is said to have rejoined very cleverly when the emperor rebuked him for having quarreled with *Bathyllus*, an artist in the same line and a relative of *Mæcenas*: "It is to your advantage, *Cæsar*, that the populace should exhaust its energy over us." — These were the occurrences of that year.

[B.C. 17 (*a. u.* 737)]

[18] In the consulship of *Gaius Furnius* and *Gaius Silanus Agrippa* again announced the birth of a son named *Lucius*, and *Augustus* immediately adopted him together with his brother *Gaius*, not waiting for them to become men but appointing them that very moment successors to his office, in order that less plots might be directed against him. The festival of Honor and of Virtus he transferred to the days which are at present theirs. Those that celebrated triumphs he commanded to erect out of the spoils some public work to commemorate their deeds. The *Sæcularia* he brought for the fifth time to a successful conclusion. The orators, he ordered, were to give their services without pay, on pain of a fine of quadruple the amount they might receive. Those whom the lot made jurymen in any season he forbade to enter any person's house during that year. And since members of the senate showed lack of interest in attending meetings of that body, he increased the penalties for such as were late without some good excuse.

[B.C. 16 (*a. u.* 7386)]

[19] Next he started for Gaul, during the consulship of *Lucius Domitius* and *Publius Scipio*, making an excuse of the wars that had arisen in that region. For since he had become disliked by many as a result of his long stay in the capital and by inflicting penalties offended many who committed some act contrary to the laws laid down, while he was compelled in sparing many others to transgress his own enactments, he decided to leave the country, somewhat after the manner of *Solon*. Some suspected that he had gone away on account of *Terentia*, the wife of *Mæcenas*, and intended, because there was much talk made about them in Rome, to join her without any gossip during

his trip abroad. So great was his passion for her that he once had her enter a contest of beauty against Livia.

Before starting he dedicated the temple of Quirinus, which he had built up anew. By this I mean he had adorned it with seventy-six columns, equal to the total number of years he had lived. This consequently caused some to say that he had chosen the number purposely and not by mere chance. After the consecration of this edifice he arranged through Tiberius and Drusus for gladiatorial combats, permission having been granted them by the senate. Then he committed to Taurus the management of the City together with the rest of Italy, — for Agrippa had been despatched again to Syria and he no longer looked with equal favor on Mæcenas because of the latter's wife, — and taking Tiberius, though he was prætor, along, he set out on his journey. Tiberius had become prætor in spite of holding the honors of an ex-prætor, and his entire office by a decree was placed in the hands of Drusus. The night following their departure the Hall of Youth burned to the ground. This was not the only portent that had occurred, for a wolf had rushed along the Sacred Way into the Forum, tearing men to pieces, and at a distance from the Forum ants were very plainly seen together in swarms; likewise a gleam all night long kept shooting from the south toward the north. Prayers were therefore offered for the safe return of Augustus. Meantime they celebrated the quinquennial festival of his sovereignty, the expense being borne by Agrippa; for the latter had been consecrated by his fellow priests to be one of the quindecimviri to whom the oversight of the event fell in regular succession.

[20] There was much other confusion, too, during that period. The Camunni and Vennones, Alpine tribes, flew to arms but were conquered and subdued by Publius Silius. The Pannonians in company with the Norici overran Istria, and after suffering damage at the hands of Silius and his lieutenants the former came to terms again and were the cause of the Norici falling into the same slavery. The uprisings in Dalmatia and in Spain were in a short time quelled. Macedonia was ravaged by the Dentheleti and the Scordisci. In Thrace somewhat earlier Marcus Lollius while aiding Rhoemetaces, the uncle and guardian of the children of Cotys, had subjugated the Bessi. Later Lucius Gallus conquered the Sarmatæ in the same dispute and drove them back across the Ister. The greatest, however, of the wars which at that time fell to the lot of the Romans, which also had something to do, probably, with Augustus's leaving the city, was against the Celtæ.

The Sugambri, Usipetes, and Tencteri had first seized in their own territory some of the Romans and had crucified them, after which they crossed the Rhine and plundered Germania and Gaul. When the Roman cavalry approached they laid an ambush and by taking to flight drew their assailants to follow them; and though they fell in unexpectedly with the Roman leader Lollius, they conquered even him. On ascertaining this Augustus hastened against them but found no warfare to carry on. For the barbarians, learning that Lollius was getting ready and that the emperor was also heading an

expedition, retired into their own territory and made peace, giving hostages.

[B.C. 15 (*a. u.* 739)]

[21] On this account Augustus had no need of arms, but the demands of various other business consumed the entire time of this year, as well as of the next, in which Marcus Libo and Calpurnius Piso were consuls. For much injury had been wrought by the Celtæ and much by a certain Licinnius. And of this, I think, the sea-monster had very plainly given them warning beforehand. This creature, twenty feet broad and three times as long and resembling a woman except for its head, had been washed up on the land from the ocean. Now Licinnius was originally a Gaul but was captured, brought among Romans, and made a slave to Cæsar, by whom he was set free, and then by Augustus he had been made procurator of Gaul. He had barbarian avarice and Roman haughtiness, and tried to overthrow every person and thing deemed superior to himself and to annihilate any power which temporarily appeared strong. It was his care to supply himself with plenty of funds for the requirements of his ministry as well as to secure a plenty for himself and for members of his family. His abuses went so far that in some cases where the population paid tribute by the month he made the months fourteen in number. He declared that this month called December was really the tenth, and for that reason it was necessary to count in also the two last months (of which he called one Undecimber and the other Duodecimber), and to contribute the money that was due for them. These quibbles brought him into danger. The Gauls secured the ear of Augustus and made a terrible protest, so that the emperor first shared their indignation and next begged them to be patient. Of some of the extortions he said he was unaware and others he affected not to believe. Some things he concealed, being ashamed of having employed such a procurator. Licinnius however, by devising another scheme was enabled to laugh to scorn absolutely all their efforts. When found that Augustus was displeased with him and that he was likely to be punished, he took the emperor into his house, and showing him many treasures of silver and gold and many other valuables piled up in heaps, he said: "I have gathered these purposely, master, for you and for the rest of the Romans, to prevent the inhabitants from getting control of so much money and therefore revolting. You see I have kept it all for you and herewith give it to you." Thus the sophist was saved, by pretending that he had sapped the strength of the barbarians to serve Augustus.

[22] Drusus and Tiberius meanwhile were concerned with the following undertakings. The Rhæti, who dwell between Noricum and Gaul, near the Tridentine Alps close to Italy, overran a good part of the adjacent territory of Gaul and carried plunder even out of Italy. Such of the Romans or their allies as used the road going through their country met with depredations. These actions of theirs were of course more or less like those of any nation which has not accepted terms of peace, but further they destroyed all the males among their captives, not only those who were apparent but also the embryo

ones in the wombs of women, the sex of which they discovered by some divination. For these reasons Augustus first sent Drusus against them: he joined battle with a detachment of theirs that met him near the Tridentine mountains, and speedily had them routed; for this exploit he received the honors belonging to prætors. Later, when the tribe had been repulsed from Italy but still harassed Gaul, the emperor despatched Tiberius in addition. Both of the leaders then invaded the Rhætian country at many points at once, — the lieutenants leading such divisions as they did not command personally, — and Tiberius even crossed the lake in boats. In this way, by encountering them separately, the Roman commanders spread alarm and had no difficulty in overcoming those who came near enough for fighting at any time, because they had only to deal with scattered forces; the remainder, who had become weaker and more despondent through such tactics, they captured. And because the land had a large population of males and seemed ripe for revolt, they deported most of those of military age, especially the strongest, leaving behind only so many as would be sufficient to inhabit the country but unable to make any uprising.

[23] This same year Vedius Pollio died, a man who in general had done nothing deserving notice, being the son of liberti, ranking as a knight, without any achievement of consequence in his record; but he had become exceedingly renowned for his wealth and his cruelty, so that he has even won a place in history. Most of the things that he did it would be wearisome to relate, but I may mention that he kept in tanks huge eels trained to eat men, and was accustomed to throw to them the slaves that he desired to put to death. Once, when he was entertaining Augustus, the cupbearer shattered a crystal goblet, and without respect to the guest he ordered that the fellow be thrown to the eels. Hereupon the boy fell on his knees supplicating Augustus who at first tried to persuade Pollio not to carry out his intentions. As his host would not yield the point the emperor said: "Bring all the rest of the drinking vessels which are of the same sort or any others of value that you may possess, for I want to use them," and when they were brought he ordered them to be broken. The master seeing this was of course vexed but could no longer be angry over one cup, considering the great number of others that were ruined, and could not punish his servant for what Augustus had done; therefore reluctantly he took no action. That was the sort of person this Pollio was, who died. He left various bequests to many different persons and to Augustus a good share of his inheritance together with Pausilypum, a place between Neapolis and Puteoli, with instructions that some public work of great beauty should be erected. Augustus razed his house to the foundation, on the pretext that it was necessary for the preparation of the other structure, but really with the purpose that he should have no monument in the city, and built a colonnade, inscribing on it the name not of Pollio but of Livia.

This he did later. At the time mentioned he founded a number of cities as colonies in Gaul and in Spain and restored to the people of Cyzicus their

freedom. To the Paphians, who had suffered from an earthquake, he gave money and allowed them, by a decree, to call their city Augusta. I have recorded this, not because Augustus himself and the senators failed to aid many other cities both before and after this, in case of similar misfortunes, — if any one should attempt to mention them all, the task of such a historian would be endless, — but my aim is to show that the senate assigned names to cities as an honor and the latter did not, as is the usual procedure now, compile for themselves (each separately) such lists of names as they might choose.

[B.C. 14 (*a. u.* 740)]

[24] The next year Marcus Crassus and Gnæus Cornelius became consuls; and the curule ædiles after resigning their office because they had entered upon it under unfavorable auguries took it back again, contrary to precedent, at another meeting of the assembly. The Portico of Paulus was burned and the fire from it reached the temple of Vesta, so that the sacred objects that this shrine contained were carried up to the Palatine by all of the vestal virgins except the eldest (who had gone blind) and were placed in the house of the priest of Jupiter. The portico was afterward rebuilt, nominally by Æmilius, who was the representative of the family that had formerly erected it, but really by Augustus and the friends of Paulus. At this time the Pannonians revolted and were again subdued, and the maritime Alps, inhabited by Ligurians called Cometæ and still free even then, were reduced to a slave district. The revolt in the Cimmerian Bosphorus was also quelled. One Seribonius, who maintained that he was a grandson of Mithridates and had received the kingdom from Augustus after the death of Asander, married the latter's wife, named Dynamis, who was the daughter of Pharnaces and a grandchild of Mithridates, and obtaining the power committed to her by her husband got control of Bosphorus. Agrippa on being informed of this sent against him Polemon, king of the Pontus near Cappadocia. He found Seribonius no longer alive, for the people of Bosphorus, learning of his ambitions, had killed him beforehand, but when these resisted Polemon out of fear that he might be allowed to reign over them, he engaged them in a set battle. The victory was his, but he was unable to reduce them to order until Agrippa came to Sinope, apparently with the intention of conducting a campaign against them. At that they laid down their arms and were delivered to Polemon. The woman Dynamis became his spouse, — of course with the sanction of Augustus. For this outcome sacrifices were made in the name of Agrippa, but he did not celebrate the triumph, though voted to him. Nay, he did not so much as write the senate anything about what had been accomplished. As a result subsequent conquerors, taking his method as a law, no longer sent any word themselves to the legislative body and did not accept the celebration of a triumph. For this reason no one else among his peers (so I am inclined to think) was permitted to do this, but they enjoyed merely the ornament of triumphal honors.

[25] Augustus finally finished ordering everything in the Gauls, the Germanias, and the Hispaniæ: upon special districts he spent a great deal, and levied a great deal upon others, and to some he gave freedom and citizenship, whereas from others he took them away.

[B.C. 13 (*a. u.* 741)]

He then left Drusus in Germania and himself returned to Rome in the consulship of Tiberius and of Quintilius Varus. It chanced that the news of his coming reached the city during those days when Cornelius Balbus after dedicating the theatre now called by his name was giving spectacles. At this he assumed great importance as if it were he that was to bring Augustus back, though because of a flooding of the Tiber there was so great a quantity of water in the theatre that no one could enter it save in a boat; and Tiberius put the vote to Balbus first, as an honor for his building the theatre. The senate convened and among other decisions resolved to place an altar in the senate-chamber itself, to commemorate the return of Augustus, and that criminals who approached him as suppliants within the pomerium should be exempt from punishment. However, he accepted neither of these honors and even escaped a reception by the people on this occasion by being brought into the city under the cover of night. This he did almost always whenever he had to go out to the suburbs or anywhere else, both on his way out and on his way back, so that nobody should annoy him. The following day he greeted the people on the Palatine, ascended the Capitol, and taking off the laurel from around his rods he placed it upon the knees of Jupiter. For that day he furnished the people with baths and barbers free of charge. After this he convened the senate and made no address himself by reason of hoarseness, but gave the book to the quaestor to read which enumerated his achievements and promulgated rules as to how many years the citizens should serve in the army and how much money they should receive at the end of their services in place of the land for which they were always wont to ask. The object was that by being enlisted on certain specified terms from the very start they should find in their treatment no excuse for revolt. The number of years was for the Pretorians twelve and for the rest sixteen; and the money to be distributed was less for some and more for others. These measures caused the soldiers neither pleasure nor anger for the time being, because they had neither obtained all they were desiring nor yet lost everything. In the remainder of the population it aroused confident hopes of not being deprived of their possessions in the future.

[26] His next action was to dedicate the theatre called after Marcellus. In the festival held on this account the patrician children as well as his grandson Gaius performed the "Troy" equestrian exercise, and six hundred Libyan wild beasts were slaughtered. Iullus, the son of Antony, who was prætor, celebrated the birthday of Augustus with horse-races and slaughterling of wild beasts, and entertained both him and the senate (following a decree of that body) upon the Capitol.

After this there was another reorganization of the senate. At first the necessary value of their property had been limited to ten myriad denarii because many of them had been deprived by the wars of their ancestral estates. As time went on and men's possessions became larger, it was advanced to twenty-five myriads, and no one was any longer found who wanted to be senator. On the contrary, some children and grandchildren of senators, of whom a part were really poor and another part had been brought low through calamities suffered by their ancestors, not only failed to lay claim to the senatorial dignity, but when already placed on the list withdrew on oath. Therefore previous to this, while Augustus was still out of the City, a decree had been passed that the so-called *viginti viri* should be appointed from the knights. Hence none of them was any longer enrolled in the senate without having secured some one of the other offices that lead to it. — These twenty men are a part of the six-and-twenty. Three of them have charge of capital cases at law. The next three attend to the coinage of the money. Four act as commissioners of the streets in the City. Ten are put over the courts that fall by lot to the *Centumviri*. The two who were entrusted with the roads outside the walls and the four who were sent to Campania had been abolished. The senate had voted during the absence of Augustus another measure besides this, namely that, since nobody could any longer be easily induced to become a candidate for the tribuneship, they might appoint by lot some who had been quæstors and were not yet forty years old. At this time the emperor made a scrutiny of the whole body of citizens. Those of them who were over thirty-five years of age he did not trouble, but those under that age who had property of the requisite value he forced to become senators, except in the case of cripples. Their bodies he viewed himself but in regard to their property he accepted sworn statements, the men themselves taking the oath (with others to corroborate their allegations) and accounting for their lack of funds as well as for their habits of life.

[27] Nor did he, while observing such strictness in ordinary public business, neglect the conduct of his own family. Indeed, he rebuked Tiberius because he had seated Gaius beside him at the thanksgiving festival which he gave in honor of the emperor's return: and he censured the people for honoring him with applause and eulogies. On the death of Lepidus he was appointed high priest and the senate consequently wished to vote him certain honors; but he declared that he would not accept them, and when the senators became urgent he rose and left the gathering. So that measure was not ratified, and he received no official residence, but because it was absolutely essential that the high priest should live on public ground he made a portion of his own dwelling public property. The house of the *rex sacrificulus*, however, he gave to the vestal virgins because it was separated merely by a wall from their apartments.

Cornelius Sisenna was blamed for the conduct of his wife and stated in the senate that he had married her with the knowledge and on the advice of the

emperor, — whereat Augustus grew exceedingly angry. He indulged in no violence of word or action but hurried out of the senate-chamber and then a little later came back again, choosing rather to do this (as he said to his friends afterward), in spite of its not being right, than to remain where he was and be compelled to do some harm.

[B.C. 12 (*a. u.* 742)]

[28] Meantime he bestowed upon Agrippa, who had come from Syria, the great honor of the tribunician authority for another five years, and sent him out to Pannonia, which was ready for war, allowing him greater powers than officials outside of Italy ordinarily possessed. Agrippa made the campaign though it already was winter: Marcus Valerius and Publius Sulpicius were the consuls. As the Pannonians became terror stricken at his approach and showed no further signs of uprising he returned, and on reaching Campania fell sick. Augustus happened to be giving, under the name of his children, contests of armed warriors at the Panathenaic festival, and when he learned of Agrippa's condition he left the country. Finding him dead, he conveyed his body to the capital and allowed it to lie in state in the Forum. He also delivered the oration over the dead man, with a curtain stretched in front of the corpse. Why he did this I know not. Yet some have said it was because he was high priest, and others because he was discharging the functions of censor. Both are mistaken. A high priest is not forbidden to behold a corpse, nor yet a censor, except when he is about to put the finishing touches to the census. Then if he sees such an object before his purification, all his work is rendered null and void. Besides this oration Augustus conducted his funeral procession in the way that his own was later conducted. He buried him in his own tomb, though the deceased had a lot of his own in the Campus Martius.

[29] Such was the end of Agrippa, who had in every way proved himself clearly the noblest of the men of his day and used the friendship of Augustus for the emperor's own greatest benefit and for that of the commonwealth. So much as he surpassed others in excellence, to such an extent did he voluntarily make himself lower than his patron. He employed all his own skill and bravery for what would prove most profitable to Augustus and expended all the honor and power received from him on benefiting others. As a result he never became in the least troublesome to Augustus nor the object of jealousy on the part of others. He helped his friend organize the monarchy like one who was really in love with the idea of supreme power and he won over the populace by his kindness, showing himself most truly a friend of the people. At his death he left them gardens and the bath-house called after his name, so that they might bathe free of charge; and he gave Augustus certain lands for this purpose. The latter not only rendered these public property, but distributed to the people also a hundred denarii apiece, with the explanation that Agrippa had ordered it. He had inherited most of the deceased's property, among the articles of which was the Hellespontine Chersonese, which had come I know not how into the possession of Agrippa. The emperor felt his

loss for a very long time and therefore caused the populace to hold him in honor. A posthumous son born to him he called Agrippa. However, he did not allow any of the citizens to omit any of the ancestral customs (although none of the more prominent men wished to present himself for the festivals) and he personally superintended the gladiatorial combats. They were often given, too, in his absence. — This demise of Agrippa was not only a private loss to his own household, but a public loss to all the Romans, as was shown by the fact that portents occurred on this occasion as great as were usually seen before the most tremendous disasters. Owls gathered in the capital and a bolt of lightning descended upon the house at Albanum, where the consuls reside during the sacrifices. The star called comet stood for several days over the City and was finally dissolved into flashes of light. Many buildings in the City were destroyed by fire, among them the tent of Romulus, which was set ablaze by crows dropping upon it burning meat from some altar. — These were the matters of interest connected with Agrippa.

[30] After this Augustus was chosen supervisor and corrector of morals for another five years, — this also he received for a limited period as he had the monarchy, — and he ordered the senators to burn incense as often as they had a sitting, and not to come to his residence: the first, that they might show reverence to the gods, and the second, that they might have no difficulty in convening. Inasmuch as very few became candidates for the tribuneship on account of its power having been abolished, he made a law that magistrates should each nominate one of the knights who possessed not less than twenty-five myriads; the people should then choose from these the number lacking, and if the men desired to be senators afterward, well and good; otherwise they should return again to the rank of knights.

The province of Asia also stood very greatly in need of some assistance on account of earthquakes, and he therefore paid into the public treasury from his own resources their annual tribute and assigned them a governor for two years chosen by lot and not arbitrarily selected.

Apuleius and Mæcenæ were at one time bitterly reviled in some court of adultery, not because they had themselves behaved wantonly but because they had actively aided the man on trial; thereupon Augustus entered the courtroom and sat in the prætor's chair: he did nothing violent, but simply forbade the accuser to insult his relatives or friends, and then rose and left the place. For this action and others the senators honored him with statues, paid for by private subscription, and by giving bachelors and spinsters the right to behold spectacles with other people and to attend banquets on his birthday. Neither of these privileges was previously permitted them.

[31] When now Agrippa, whom he loved for his excellence and not through any compulsion, had died, the emperor found that he needed an assistant in the public business, one who would far surpass the rest in both honor and power, who might manage everything opportunely and be free from envy and plots. Therefore he reluctantly chose Tiberius, for his own grandsons were at

this time still minors. He caused him also to divorce his wife, though she was a daughter of Agrippa by another marriage and had one child an infant and was soon to give birth to another; and having betrothed Julia to him he sent him out against the Pannonians. This people had for a time been quiet, fearing Agrippa, but now after his death they revolted. Tiberius subdued them, having ravaged considerable of their territory and done much injury to its inhabitants; he had as enthusiastic allies the Scordisci, who were neighbors of theirs and similarly equipped. He took away their arms and sold for export most of the male population that was of age. For these achievements the senate voted him a triumph, but Augustus did not allow him to hold it, granting him instead the triumphal honors.

[32] Drusus had this same experience. The Sugambri and their allies, owing to the absence of Augustus and the fact that the Gauls were restive under the yoke of slavery, had become hostile, and he therefore occupied the subject territory before them, sending for the foremost men on the pretext of the festival which they celebrate even now about the altar of Augustus at Lugdunum. Also he observed the Celtae crossing the Rhine and drove them back. Next he crossed over to the land of the Usipetes opposite the very island of the Batavi, and from there marched along the river to the Sugambri country, devastating vast stretches. He sailed along the Rhine to the ocean, conciliated the Frisii, and traversing the lake invaded Chaucis, where he ran in danger, as his boats were left high and dry at the ebb-tide of the ocean. He was saved at this time by the Frisii (who joined his expedition with infantry), and withdrew, for it was now winter.

[B.C. 11(*a. u.* 743)]

Coming to Rome he was made aedile in the consulship of Quintus Aelius and Paulus Fabius, though he had already praetor's honors.

[33] At the opening of the spring he set out again to the war, crossed the Rhine, and subjugated the Usipetes. He bridged the Lupia, invaded the country of the Sugambri and advanced through it into Cheruscis, as far as the Visurgis. He was able to do this because the Sugambri in anger at the Chatti, the only tribe among their neighbors that had refused to join their alliance, had made a campaign of the whole population against them. Drusus took this opportunity to traverse their country unnoticed. And he would have crossed also the Visurgis, had not provisions grown scarce and the their country, and though beaten at first vanquished them in turn and ravaged both that land and the territory of adjacent tribes which had taken part in the uprising. Immediately he reduced all of them to subjugation, gaining control of some with their consent, terrifying others into reluctant submission, and engaging in pitched battles with others. Later, when some of them rebelled, he again enslaved them. And for this thanksgivings and triumphal honors were accorded him.

[35] While these events were occurring Augustus took a census, reckoning in all the property that belonged to him, as an individual might do, and also

making a list of the senate. As he saw that many were not always present at the meetings he ordered that even less than four hundred might constitute a quorum for passing decrees. Previously that had been the minimum number for ratifying any measure. The senate and the people again contributed money to be spent on images of himself, but he would erect no such likeness, and only set up representations of the Public Health, of Concord, and of Peace. The citizens were always collecting money for statues to him, on the slightest excuse; and at last they ceased paying it privately, as before, but would come to him on the first day of the year and give, some more, some less. He, after adding as much or more again, would return it, not only to the senators but to all the rest. I have also heard the story that on one day of the year, following some oracle or dream, he would assume the guise of a beggar and would accept money from those who passed. This, whether trustworthy or not, is a prevailing tradition.

That year he gave Julia in marriage to Tiberius, and his sister Octavia dying, he caused her body to lie in state in the hero-shrine of Julius; on this occasion, too, he had a curtain over the corpse. He himself delivered there the funeral speech and Drusus, having changed his senatorial dress, had a place on the platform, for the mourning was a public affair. Her body was carried in procession by her sons-in-law: not all the honors voted to her were accepted by Augustus.

At this same time the first priest of Jupiter since ^[36] Merula was appointed; and the quaestors were ordered to pay careful heed to the decrees passed from time to time, because the tribunes and the ædiles, who had previously been entrusted with this business, transacted it through their assistants, and as a result some mistakes and confusion took place.

It was voted, moreover, that the temple of Janus Geminus, which was open, should be closed, on the assumption that wars had ceased.

[B.C. 10 (*a. u.* 744)]

It was not closed, however, for the Dacians crossing the Ister on the ice took the crops of Pannonia as booty, and the Dalmatians revolted at the imposition of taxes. Against the latter Tiberius was sent from Gaul, whither he had gone in company with Augustus, and he restored order. The nations of the Celtæ, and especially the Chatti, were partly weakened and partly subdued by Drusus; the tribe mentioned had gone to join the Sugambri, having abandoned their own country, which the Romans had given them to dwell in. The emperor delayed in Lugdunus, where he could keep a sharp watch on affairs, as it was so near the Celtæ. The victors returned to Rome with Augustus, assumed whatever dignities had been voted them by the senate, and performed such other duties as belonged to them. — These events took place in the consulship of Iullus and Fabius Maximus.

[Footnote 1: Pliny (Natural History VI, 181) calls him *Publius*.]

[Footnote 2: Readings and punctuation from Dindorf.]

[Footnote 3: Augustus returned to Rome October twelfth, and the temple in

question was consecrated December fifteenth.]

[Footnote 4: Boissevain here amends to [Greek: 'epelpisas]]

[Footnote 5: In the matter of the spelling of this name the weight of authority prefers *Licinus*. Dio's form is less correct.]

[Footnote 6: I. e., the *lacus Venetus*.]

[Footnote 7: This eminence with its villa appropriately bore the Greek title *Pausilypon* (Grief's Surcease), a compound word like our modern names *Heartsease*, *Sans Souci*, etc. It is the modern "Hill of Posilipo."]

[Footnote 8: English, *Twenty Men*; their regular title.]

[Footnote 9: Latin, *Viginti Sex Viri*.]

[Footnote 10: The words "certain honors" are supplied on the suggestion of Boissevain. Boissée and others, who surmise that the text here contains a lacuna]

[Footnote 11: I. e., at the time of the *Feriae*.]

[Footnote 12: The reading [Greek: agoranomos] is generally preferred here to [Greek: asotunmos]]

BOOK 55

The following is contained in the Fifty-fifth of Dio's Rome:

How Drusus died (chapters 1, 2).

How the Precinct of Livia was consecrated (chapter 8)

How the Campus Agrippae was consecrated (chapter 8)

How the Diribitorium was consecrated (chapter 8).

How Tiberius retired to Rome (chapter 11).

How the Forum of Augustus was consecrated (chapter 12).

How the Temple of Mars therein was consecrated (chapter 12).

How Lucius Cæsar and Gaius Cæsar died (chapters 11, 12).

How Augustus adopted Tiberius (chapter 13).

How Livia urged Augustus to rule more mercifully (chapters 14-22).

About the legions and how men were appointed to manage the military fund (chapters 23-25).

How the night-watchmen were appointed (chapter 26).

How Tiberius fought against the Dalmatians and Pannonians (chapters 28-34).

Duration of time, 17 years, in which there were the following magistrates here enumerated:

Nero Claudius Tib. F. Drusus, T. Quinctius T. F. Crispinus. (B.C. 9 = a. u. 745.)

C. Marcius L. F. Censorinus, C. Asinius C. F. Gallus. (B.C. 8 = a. u. 746.)

Tib. Claudius Tib. F. Nero (II), Cn. Calpurnius Cn. F. Piso. (B.C. 7 = a. u. 747.)

Decimus Laelius Decimi F. Balbus, C. Antistius C. F. Veter. (B.C. 6 = a. u. 748.)

Augustus (XII), L. Cornelius P. F. Sulla. (B.C. 5 = a. u. 749.)

C. Calvisius C. F. Sabinus (II), L. Passienus Rufus (B.C. 4 = a. u. 750.)

L. Cornelius L. F. Lentulus, M. Valerius M. F. Messalla [or] Messalinus. (B.C. 3 = a. u. 751.)

Augustus (XIII), M. Plautius M. F. Silvanus. (B.C. 2 = a. u. 752.)

Cossus Cornelius Cn. F. Lentulus, L. Calpurnius Cn. F. Piso (B.C. 1 = a. u. 753.)

C. Cæsar Augusti F., L. Æmilius L. F. Paulus. (A.D. 1 = a. u. 754.)

P. Vinicius [or Minucius] M. F., P. Alfenus [or Alfenius] P.F. Varus. (A.D. 2 = a. u. 755.)

L. Ælius L. F. Lamia, M. Servilius M.F. (A.D. 3 = a. u. 756.)

Sextus Ælius Q. F. Catus, C. Sentius C.F. Saturninus. (A.D. 4 = a. u. 757.)

L. Valerius Potiti F. Messala Valesus, Cn. Cornelius L. F. Cinna Magnus.
(A.D. 5 = a. u. 758.)

M. Æmilius L.F. Lepidus, L Arruntius L.F. (A.D. 6 = a. u. 759)

Aul. Licinius Aul. F. Nerva Silianus, Q. Cæcilius Q.F. Metellus Creticus.
(A.D. 7 = a. u. 760.)

M. Furius M. F. Camillus, Sex. Nonius L.F. Quintilianus. (A.D. 8 = a. u. 761.)

BOOK 55, BOISSEVAIN.

[B.C. 9 (*a. u.* 745)]

[1] The following year Drusus became consul with Titus Crispinus, and omens occurred that were not favorable to him. Many buildings were destroyed by storm and thunderbolts, among them many temples: even that of Jupiter Capitolinus and the temple annexed to it were injured. He, however, paid no attention to this and invaded the country of the Chatti, advancing as far as Suebia, conquering the territory traversed not without hardship and vanquishing the troops that assailed him not without bloodshed. From there he marched to Cheruscis and crossing the Visurgis proceeded as far as the Albis, pillaging the entire district. This Albis rises in the Vandaliscan mountains and empties in a great flood into the ocean this side of the Arctic Sea. Drusus undertook to cross it, but failing in the attempt set up trophies and withdrew. For a woman taller than mankind confronted him and said: "Whither are thou hastening, insatiable Drusus? It is not fated that thou shalt see all this region. Depart. For thee the end of labor and of life is already at hand." It is strange to think that any such voice should have come to a person's ears from the apparition, yet I can not discredit the tale, for he at once retired. And as he was returning in haste he died on the way of some disease, before he reached the Rhine. Proof of the story seems to me to lie in the fact that at the time of his death wolves prowled and yelped about the camp and two youths were seen riding through the middle of the ramparts. A kind of lamentation in a woman's voice was also heard, and there were shooting stars in the sky. These are the noteworthy points. [2] Augustus, soon learning that he was sick (for he was not far off), sent Tiberius to him with speed. The latter found him still breathing and on his death carried his body to Rome, causing the centurions and military tribunes to convey him over the first stage, — as far as the winter quarters of the army, — and from there the foremost men of each city. When the deceased was laid in state in the Forum a double funeral oration was delivered. Tiberius eulogized him there and Augustus in the Flaminian hippodrome. Since the latter had been abroad on a campaign it was impious for him to do otherwise than perform the fitting rites in honor of the exploits of Drusus at the very entrance of the pomerium. The body was carried to the Campus Martius by the knights, both those who belonged strictly to the equestrian order and those, as well, who were of senatorial family. Then, after being given to the flames, it was deposited in the monument of Augustus. He and his children received the title of Germanicus and honors in the way of both images and an arch, besides obtaining a cenotaph close to the Rhine itself.

Tiberius, while Drusus was still alive, had overcome the Dalmatians and Pannonians, who were again a little restless, had celebrated a triumph on horseback, and had banqueted the people, a part on the Capitol and a part in

many other places. At this time also Livia and Julia together entertained the women. Same festivities were being made ready for Drusus The Feriæ were to be held a second time on this account so that he might celebrate his triumph on the same occasion, but his untimely death upset the plans. As a consolation to Livia images were awarded her and she was enrolled among the mothers of three children. For upon such men or women as are not granted so many offspring by Heaven, or at least upon some of them, a law emanating formerly from the senate but now from the emperor bestows the dignities belonging to parents of three children. In this way they are not subject to the reproaches for childlessness and may receive all but a few of the prizes for fecundity. Not only men but gods enjoy the privilege, to the end that, if any one dying leaves them anything, they may take possession of it. These are the facts of the matter.

[3] Augustus ordered that the sittings of the senate should be held on specified days. Previously there had been no real system about them, and some members on that account were often late; therefore he appointed two regular monthly councils, so that those whom the law summoned should be under compulsion to attend; and in order that no other excuse for their absence should be within their power he commanded that no court or other meeting which required their attention should be held at that time. He made provision with respect to the number necessary for ratifying decrees under each separate category, to put it briefly; and he increased the fines imposed upon those who without good excuse were not present at the gatherings. Inasmuch as many such offences had generally gone unpunished owing to the large number of those who had incurred penalties, he commanded that if many should do this, they should draw lots, and every fifth one to draw a lot should be held liable to punishment. — The names of all the senators he had recorded on a white tablet and conspicuously posted. From the beginning made by him this is now annually done. *His* intention in doing it was to make it absolutely necessary for them to come together. Sometimes, by some accident, not so many might assemble as a special case demanded. This would be known, because except on such days as the emperor himself might be present the number of those in attendance was both at this time and later carefully ascertained, and with a great degree of accuracy. Under these circumstances they would deliberate and their decision would be recorded, but it was not final, was not ratified: instead, *auctoritas* was declared, in order that their *will* might be evident, — for such is the force of this word. To translate the term into Greek by a single expression is not possible. This same custom prevailed in case they ever assembled through haste in an irregular place, or on a day that was not fitting, or without a legal summons, or if because of the opposition of tribunes a decree could not be passed, but their opinion was not to be concealed. Later, ratification was granted according to ancestral precedent to the resolution in question, and the latter obtained the name of *senatus consultum*. This method, strictly observed for an extremely long

period by the men of old time, has in a already become null and void, — as also the prerogative of the prætors. For the latter were indignant that they might bring no proposition before the senate although they ranked above the tribunes in dignity and they received from Augustus the right of doing so, but in the course of time it was taken away from them again.

[4] These and other laws which he at this time enacted he inscribed on white tablets and submitted to the senate before taking any final action with regard to them; and he allowed the senators to read, each one, the articles separately, his object being that if any provision did not please them, or if they could suggest anything better, they might speak. He was very desirous of being democratic, and once, when one of the companions of his campaigns asked him to aid him in the capacity of advocate, at first he pretended to be busy and bade one of his friends serve as advocate; when, however, the petitioner grew angry and said: “but as often as you needed my assistance, I did not send somebody else to you in place of myself, but in person I encountered dangers everywhere in your behalf,” the emperor then entered the courtroom and pled his cause. He also stood by a friend of his who was defendant in a suit, having first communicated this very purpose to the senate: he saved the friend but was so far from being angry at his accuser, although the latter spoke most bluntly, that when he had to undergo a scrutiny regarding his morals the emperor acquitted him, saying that his bluntness was a necessary thing on account of the out-and-out baseness of the mass of mankind. Augustus, indeed, punished others who were reported to be conspiring against their sovereign. He had quæstors hold office in the coast districts near the City and in certain other parts of Italy; and this he did for several years. Yet at this time he was unwilling, as I have remarked, to enter the city on account of Drusus’s death.

[B.C. 8 (*a. u.* 746)]

[5] But the next year, in which Asinius Gallus and Graius Marcius were consuls, he came back and carried the laurel, contrary to custom, into the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. No festival did he celebrate over his achievements, thinking that he had lost far more in the death of Drusus than he had gained by the victories. The consuls carried out the program usual on such occasions and set some of the captives to fighting with one another. Later, when they and the rest of the officials were accused of having been appointed by means of some bribery, he did not investigate the case but pretended not even to know of it. He did not like to visit punishment on any of them or to pardon them if they were convicted. But from office seekers he demanded before the elections a deposit of money as a guarantee that they would resort to no such methods, on pain of forfeiting what they had paid in. This course all approved. — As it was not permissible for a slave to be tortured for evidence against his master, he ordered that, as often as the necessity for such a course should arise, the slave should be sold either to the State or to him, in order that being now the property of some one else than the

man on trial he might be examined. Some found fault with this, because the law was to be invalidated by the change of masters; but others declared it to be necessary, because many under the previous arrangement united to take advantage of the loophole offered and to get the offices.

[6] Augustus, after this, although, as he said, he was minded to lay aside the supreme power, since the second ten-year period had run out, resumed it again with a show of reluctance and made a campaign against the Celtæ. He himself remained behind on Roman territory, but Tiberius crossed the Rhine. The barbarians in dread of him, all except the Sugambri, made overtures for peace, but they did not obtain their request at this time, — for Augustus refused to conclude a truce with them if they lacked the Sugambri, — nor did they later. To be sure, the Sugambri, too, sent envoys, but they failed completely to accomplish anything: on the contrary, all of them, a numerous and distinguished band, met an untimely end. Augustus arrested them and placed them in various cities: they took this very much amiss and committed suicide. The tribes then were quiet for a time, but later they amply requited the Romans for the calamity. — Besides doing this Augustus granted money to the soldiers, not as to victors, though he himself had taken the name of imperator and had given it to Tiberius, but because this was the first time that they had Gaius appearing in the exercises with them. He advanced Tiberius to the position of imperator in place of Drusus, and besides exalting him with that title appointed him consul once more. According to the ancient custom he had a written notice bulletined for the public benefit before Tiberius entered upon the office, and he furthermore accorded him the solemnity of a triumph. Augustus himself did not wish to hold it, but obtained the privilege of a horse-race perpetually upon his birthday. He enlarged the pomerium and renamed the month called Sextilis, Augustus. The people generally wanted September to be so named, because he had been born in it, but he preferred the other month, in which he had first been appointed consul and had conquered in many great battles. It was in these things that he took pride.

[7] The death of Mæcenus caused him grief. He had enjoyed many kind services at his hands, for which reason he had entrusted him, though but a knight, with the care of the City for a long time, but especially was his ministry of use when the emperor's passion became nearly uncontrollable. Mæcenus was then able to banish his anger and to lead him into a gentler frame of mind. Here is an instance. Mæcenus once found his patron holding court, and seeing that would undoubtedly condemn many persons to death, he undertook to push through the bystanders and get Finding this impossible, he wrote on a tablet: "Pray desist now, executioner." Making as if it contained something different, he threw it into the lap of Augustus, and the latter imposed no death sentences but immediately rose and left. The emperor was not displeased at such hints but rather glad of them, because whatever excess of anger he felt by reason of his own nature and the press of affairs he was able to tone down with the aid of his friend's frank advice. — This also is a

very great proof of Mæcenas's excellence, that he made himself liked by Augustus, in spite of resisting his projects, and pleased all the people. Though he had tremendous influence with the emperor, so that he could bestow offices and honors upon many men, he did not lose his head but continued to the end of his life in the equestrian class. For all these reasons Augustus missed him greatly, and he was affected by the fact that his minister, though irritated about his own wife, had left him as his heir and had put all his property, save a very small amount, in his hands to give to his friends or not, as he saw fit. Such was the character of Mæcenas and such his treatment of Augustus. He was the first to construct a swimming pool of warm water in the city and the first to devise signs for letters, to facilitate speed, — a system which, through Aquila a freedman, he taught to a number.

[B.C. 7 (*a. u.* 747)]

[8] Tiberius on the first day that he began the consulship with Gnæus Piso convened the senate in the Octavium, because it was outside the pomerium. After assigning himself the duty of repairing the temple of Concord, in order that he might inscribe upon it his own name and that of Drusus, he held his triumph, and in company with his mother dedicated the so-called Precinct of Livia. He himself entertained the senate on the Capitol, and she the women privately. Not much later, as there was some disturbance in Germany, he took the field. The festival held in honor of the return of Augustus was managed by Gaius together with Piso, in his place. The Campus Agrippæ (except the portico) and the Diribitorium Augustus himself made public property. The latter was the largest house ever constructed under a single roof; now the whole top of it has been taken off because it could not be put together solidly again, and the edifice stands wide open to the sky. Agrippa had left it still in the process of building, and it was completed at this time. The portico in the plain, which Polla his sister (who had also decorated the race-courses) was making, was not yet finished. Meantime funeral combats in honor of Agrippa were given, all except Augustus wearing dark clothing and even his sons the same, and there were both duels and contests of groups; they were held in the Sæpta out of honor to Agrippa and because many of the structures surrounding the Forum had been burned. The blame for the fire was laid upon the debtor class and they were suspected of having set it with the purpose of having some of their debts remitted when they appeared to have lost considerable. They obtained nothing, however. The lanes at this time were provided with certain supervisors from among the people, whom we call road commissioners. They were allowed to use official dress and two lictors just in the places where they had jurisdiction and on certain days, and they were given charge of the body of slaves which previously had accompanied the ædiles to save buildings that were set afire, — an arrangement still continued to the present day. They, together with the tribunes and prætors, were by lot appointed to have charge of the entire city, which was divided into fourteen wards. — These were all the events of that year, for nothing worthy of

mention happened in Germany.

[B.C. 6 (*a. u.* 748)]

[9] The year following, which marked the consulship of Gaius Antistius and Lælius Balbus, Augustus was displeased to see that Gaius and Lucius, who were being brought up in the lap of sovereignty, did not carefully imitate his ways. They not only lived too luxuriously, but showed unseemly audacity. Lucius once entered the theatre by himself and became the center of attraction of the whole population; some merely let him engross their thoughts and others openly paid court to him. This treatment made him more arrogant, and among his other doings he proposed for consul Gaius, who was not yet a *iuuenis*. His father, however, expressed the earnest wish that no such complication of circumstances might arise as once occurred in his own case, — that any one younger than twenty should be consul. When the people still remained urgent he then said that a man ought to receive this office at time when he would not be liable to error himself and could resist the passions of the populace. After that he gave Gaius a priesthood, with the right of attendance in the senate and of beholding spectacles and sitting at banquets with that body. And wishing in some way to rebuke them still more severely he bestowed upon Tiberius the tribunician authority for five years, and assigned to him Armenia, which was becoming estranged since the death of Tigranes. The result was that he was soon at odds with the people and Tiberius, though without effecting anything. The people felt that they had been slighted, and Tiberius feared their anger. He was, however, soon sent to Rhodes on the pretext that he needed some education; and he took not even his entire retinue, to say nothing of others, that so his appearance and his deeds might drop out of their minds. [The trip he made as a private person except in so far as he compelled the Parians to sell him the statue of Vesta, that it might be placed in the temple of Concord. When he reached the island he neither behaved at all nor spoke in an overweening way. — This is the truest reason for his foreign journey.] There is also a story current that he did this on account of his wife Julia, because he could no longer endure her; at any rate she was left behind at Rome. [Others have said that he was angry at not having been designated Cæsar. Others still, that he was driven out by Augustus, being accused of plotting against the latter's children. But that his departure was not for the sake of education nor because he was displeased at the decrees passed became plain from many of his subsequent actions, and especially through his immediately opening his will at that time, and reading it to his mother and to Augustus. But all possible conjectures were made.]

[B.C. 5 (*a. u.* 749)]

The following year Augustus in the course of his twelfth consulship placed Gaius among the *iuuenes* and at the same time brought him before the senate, declared him *Princeps Iuventutis*, and allowed him to become cavalry commander.

[B.C. 2 (*a. u.* 752)]

And after the elapse of a year Lucius also obtained all the honors that had been granted to his brother Gaius. On an occasion when the populace had gathered and were asking that some reforms be instituted, when, indeed, they had sent for this purpose the tribunes to Augustus, Lucius came and deliberated with them about their demands; and at this all were pleased.

[10]Augustus limited the number of the populace to be supplied with grain, something previously left vague, to twenty myriads, and, as some say, he gave each one sixty denarii.. .. to Mars, and that he himself and his grandsons, as often as they pleased, and those who were passing from the classification of children and were being registered among the *iuvenes*, should invariably resort thither; that magistrates being despatched to offices abroad should make that their starting-point; that the senate should there declare their votes in regard to the granting of triumphs and the victors celebrating them should devote to this Mars their sceptre and their crown; that such victors and all others who might obtain triumphal honors should have their likenesses in bronze erected in the Forum; that in case military standards captured by the enemy were ever recovered, they should be placed in the temple; that a festival of the god should be celebrated near the *Scalæ* by the persons successively occupying the office of *præfectus alæ*; that a nail should be driven for his glory by those acting as censors; that senators have the right to undertake the work of furnishing the horses that were to compete in the equestrian contest, as well as the general care of the temple, precisely as had been provided by law in the case of Apollo and in the case of Jupiter Capitolinus.

These matters settled, Augustus dedicated that spacious hall: yet to Gaius and to Lucius he gave once and for all powers to officiate at all similar consecrations, on the strength of a kind of consular authority (founded on precedent) that they were to use. They, too, directed the horse-race on this occasion, and their brother Agrippa took part with the children of the leading families in the so-called "Troy" equestrian games. Two hundred and sixty lions were slaughtered in the hippodrome. There was a gladiatorial combat in the *Sæpta*, and a naval battle of "Persians" and "Athenians" was given on the spot, where even at the present day some relics of it are still exhibited. The above were the names applied to the parties engaged, and the Athenians, as of old, came out victorious.

In the course of the spectacle he let water into the Flaminian Hippodrome and thirty-six crocodiles were there cut in pieces. However, Augustus did not serve as consul every day continuously, but after holding office a little while he gave the title of the consulship to another.

These were the exercises in honor of Mars. To Augustus himself a sacred contest was offered in Neapolis, the Campanian city, nominally because he

had helped it rise when it was prostrated by earthquake and by fire, but in reality because the inhabitants, alone of their neighbors, were enthusiastic over Greek customs; and he also received the title of Father, with, binding force (for previously he was merely spoken of by that name and no decree had been passed). Moreover, it was now that for the first time he appointed two pretorian prefects, Quintus Ostorius Scapula and Publius Salvius Aper. This term “prefect” is the word which I, too, shall use solely to designate the commanders of any body, since it has won its way into general currency. Likewise Pylades the dancer conducted certain games, not performing any manual labor in connection with them (since he was now a man of advanced age) but employing the insignia of office and authorizing the necessary expenditures. Similarly the praetor Quintus Crispinus conducted games (though I need lay no emphasis on that point) and under his management knights and women of families not unknown to fame were brought into the orchestra. But of all this Augustus made no account; his daughter Julia, however, proved so dissolute that she held revels and drinking bouts by night in the Forum and on the very rostra. When at last he found this out, he was exceedingly enraged. He had guessed before that she did not lead a right life, but refused to believe it. For those who hold supreme power are acquainted with anything better than with their own affairs. Their own deeds do not go undetected by their associates, but they are not fully aware of the latter’s. In this instance [when he learned what was going on], he gave way to such violent rage that he could not keep the matter to himself, but communicated it to the senate. As a result she was banished to the island of Pandateria, near Campania, and her mother Scribonia voluntarily was the companion of her voyage. Of the men who enjoyed her favors Iullus Antonius, on the ground that his conduct was prompted by designs upon the monarchy, was put to death, along with others, [prominent persons]. The remainder were banished to islands. [And since there was a tribune among them he was not tried till he had completed his term of office.] Many other women, too, were accused of similar behavior, but the emperor would not permit all the suits: he set a definite time and forbade investigation of what had occurred previous to that. In the case of his daughter he would show no mercy, urging that he would rather have been Phoebe’s father than hers, but the rest he spared. Now Phoebe been a freedwoman of Julia’s and the companion of her undertakings, and had already caused her own death. For this Augustus praised her.

[B.C. 1 (*a. u.* 753)]

Gaius’ captaincy of the legions on the Ister was a peaceful period. He fought no war, not because there was none but because he cultivated ruling in quiet and safety, and the dangers were assigned to others.

The revolt of the Armenians and the Parthians’ coöperation with them kept Augustus sorrowful, and he was at a loss to know what to do. His age rendered him incapable of campaigning, Tiberius (as stated) had already withdrawn, he could not venture to send any other influential man, and Gaius

and Lucius were, as it happened, young and inexperienced in affairs. Still, under the prod of necessity, he chose Gaius, gave him the proconsular authority and a wife (an act intended to increase his dignity) and assigned advisers to him. Gaius set out and was everywhere received with marks of distinction, occupying as he did the position of the emperor's grandson, — one might almost say son, — and Tiberius went to Chios and paid him court to rid himself of suspicion. He humiliated himself and groveled at the feet not only of Gaius but of all the latter's associates. On his return to Syria, after no great successes won, he was wounded.

[When the barbarians heard of the campaign of Gaius, Phrataces sent to Augustus men to explain what had occurred and asked to get back his brothers on condition of accepting peace.]

[A.D. 1 (*a. u.* 754)]

The emperor's reply, addressed simply to "Phrataces," without the title of king, directed him to lay aside the royal name and withdraw from Armenia. The Parthian, however, instead of being cowed at this, wrote back in a generally supercilious tone, calling himself "king of kings," but the other only "Cæsar." — Tigranes did not at once send any envoys, but when Artabazus somewhat later fell sick and died he despatched a letter, not writing the name "king" in it, and asked Augustus for the kingdom. Influenced by these considerations and in fear, likewise, of war with the Parthians, the emperor accepted the gifts and bade him go with good hopes to meet Gaius in Syria.]

[10a-(*BOISSEVAIN*) ... other party from Egypt that campaigned against them they repulsed, and did not yield till a tribune from the pretorian guard was sent against them. He in progress of time checked their incursions, and for a long period no senator governed the cities in this region.]

Coincident with these troubles there was a new movement on the part of the Celtæ. Some time earlier Domitius, while still governing the regions adjacent to the Ister, had intercepted the Hermunduri (a tribe that for some unknown reason had left their native land and were wandering about in search of a different country), and he had settled them in a portion of Marcomania; next, encountering no opposition, he had crossed the Albis, cemented friendship with the barbarians on the other side, and set up an altar to Augustus to commemorate the event. Just now he had transferred his position to the Rhine, where, in pursuance of an intention to have his subordinates restore certain Cheruscan exiles, he had met with misfortune and had caused the other barbarians likewise to conceive a contempt for the Romans. This was, however, the extent of his operations during the year in question, for because of the Parthian war impending no chastisement was visited upon the rebels immediately.

Nevertheless the war with the Parthians did not materialize. Phrataces heard that Gaius was in Syria, equipped with consular powers, and was furthermore uneasy about home interests in which even previously he had failed to discern a friendly feeling; hence he hastened to effect a

reconciliation, secured on the proviso that he himself should depart from Armenia and his brothers remain over seas.

[A.D. 2(a. u. 755)]

Now the Armenians fell into conflict with the Romans the following year, in which Publius Vinicius and Publius Varus were consuls. The restraining influence of the fact that Tigranes had perished in some barbarian war and that Erato had resigned the sovereignty was nullified as soon as they were delivered to a Mede, Ariobarzanes, who had once come to the Romans in company with Tiridates. They accomplished nothing worthy of note save that a leader named Addon, who was occupying Artagira, induced Gaius to come close up to the wall, pretending that he would reveal to him some secrets of the Parthian king, and then wounded him. In the consequent siege he maintained a prolonged resistance. When he was at last overthrown, not only Augustus but Gaius, too, assumed the title of emperor, and Armenia passed into the control of Ariobarzanes. Soon after the latter died, and his son Artabazus received it as the gift of Augustus and the senate. Gaius fell ill from the wound, and though he was not in any way robust and the condition of his health had, in fact, injured his mind, he now grew still more feeble. At length he begged leave to retire to private life, and it was his wish to take up his abode somewhere in Syria. Augustus, in the depth of grief, communicated his desire to the senate, and urged him to come at any rate to Italy and then do what he pleased. So Gaius resigned at once all the duties of his office and took a coastwise trading vessel to Lycia, where, at Limyra, he breathed his last. Prior to his demise the spark of Lucius's life had also paled. (He, too, was being given practice in many places, sent now here, now there; and he was wont to read personally the letters of Gaius before the senate, so often as he was present.) His death was due to a sudden illness. In connection with both these cases, therefore, suspicion rested upon Livia, and particularly because the return of Tiberius from Rhodes to Rome occurred at this time. [11] As for him he was so extremely well versed in the art of divination by the stars, having with him Thrasyllus, who was a past master of all astrology, that he had understood accurately what was fated both for himself and for them. And the story goes that once in Rhodes he was about to push Thrasyllus from the walls, because the latter was the only one aware of all he had in mind; observing, however, that his intended victim looked gloomy, he asked him why his face was overcast. When the other replied that he suspected some danger, he was surprised and gave up his murderous designs. Thrasyllus had such a clear knowledge of all things that when he descried approaching afar off the boat which brought to Tiberius the message from his mother and Augustus to return to Rome, he told him in advance what news it would bring.

[12] The bodies of Lucius and of Gaius were brought to Rome by the military tribunes and by the chief men of each city. The targes and the golden spears which they had received from the knights on entering the class of iuvenes were set up in the senate-house.

Augustus was once called “master” by the people, but he not only forbade that any one should use this form of address to him but took very good care in every way to enforce his command.

[A.D. 3 (*a. u.* 756)]

When his third ten-year period had been accomplished, he then accepted the rulership for the fourth time, — of course under compulsion! He had become milder through age and more hesitating in regard to offending any of the senators and now wished to have no differences with any of them.

For lending for three years to such as needed it fifteen hundred myriads of denarii, without interest, he was praised and revered by all.

Once, when a fire destroyed the palace, and many persons offered him large amounts, he would take nothing except an aureus from the various peoples and a denarius from single individuals. The name *aureus*, which I give here, is a local term for a piece of money worth twenty-five denarii. Some of the Greeks also, whose books we read for acquiring a pure Attic style, give it this name. When Augustus had restored his dwelling he made all of it public property, either because of the contributions made by the people or because he was high priest and wished to live in a building both private and public.

[13] The people urged Augustus very strongly to rescind the sentence of exile passed upon his daughter, but he answered that fire would mix with water before she should be brought back. And the populace did throw a good deal of fire into the Tiber. For the time being they accomplished nothing, but later they brought such pressure to bear that she was at last moved from the island to the mainland.

And later the outbreak of war with the Celtæ found Augustus worn out in body (by reason of old age and sickness) and incapable of taking the field. Yielding, then, partly to the requirements of the situation and partly to the persuasions of Julia (who had already been restored from banishment)

he both adopted Tiberius and sent him out against the Celtæ, granting him the tribunician authority for ten years.

[A.D. 4 (*a. u.* 757)]

Yet suspecting that he might lose his head and fearing a possible insurrection he adopted for him also his nephew Germanicus, though Tiberius himself had a son. After this he took courage, and feeling that he had successors and supporters, he became desirous to organize the senate once more. So he nominated the ten senators whom he most honored and appointed three of them, selected by lot, to be scrutinizers. There were not many, however, who either imposed sentence on themselves beforehand, — permission being given them to do so, just as previously, — or were retired against their will.

This business, then, was managed by others. The emperor himself took a

census of the inhabitants of Italy possessing property valued at not less than five myriad denarii. The weaker citizens and those dwelling outside of Italy he did not compel to undergo the taking of a census, for he feared that they might be disturbed and show insubordination of some sort. And in order that he might not seem to be acting in the capacity of censor (for the reason I mentioned before) he assumed proconsular powers for the purpose of completing the census and accomplishing the purification. And inasmuch as many of the young men of the senatorial class and of the equestrian, as well, had grown poor though not at fault for it themselves, he made up to most of them the required amount of property, and in the case of some eighty increased it to thirty myriads.

[A.D. 4 (*a. u.* 757)]

Since, also, many were giving unrestricted emancipation to their slaves, he directed what age the manumitter and likewise the person to be liberated by him must have reached: moreover, what regulations people in general, and the former masters, should observe toward those made freedmen.

[14] While he was thus occupied plots were formed against him, and notably one by Gnæus Cornelius, a son of the daughter of Pompey the Great. For some time the emperor was a prey to great perplexity not wishing to kill the men, — for he saw that no greater safety would be his by their destruction, — nor yet to let them go, for fear this might attract others to conspire against him. While he was in a dilemma as to what he should do and could not be free from anxiety by day nor from terror by night, Livia one day said to him: —

“What is this, husband? Why is it you do not sleep!”

“Wife,” answered Augustus, “who could be even to the slightest degree free from care, that has so many enemies and is so constantly the object of plots of one set of men or another? Do you not see how many are attacking both me and our sovereignty? The vengeance meted out to those found guilty does not retard them: quite the contrary, as if they were pressing forward to do some noble action the rest also hasten to perish similarly.”

Livia, hearing this, said: “That you should be the object of plots is not remarkable, nor is it contrary to human nature. Having so large an empire you must do many things and naturally you cause grief to not a few people. A ruler can not please all: on the contrary, even an exceedingly upright sovereign must inevitably make foes of many persons. For those who wish to be unjust are many more than those who act justly, and their desires it is impossible to satisfy. Even among such as possess a certain excellence some yearn for many great rewards which they can not obtain and some chafe because they are inferior to others: so both of them find fault with the ruler. From this you can see that it is impossible to avoid evil, and furthermore that of all the attacks made none is upon you but all upon your position of supremacy. If you were a private citizen, no one would willingly do you any harm unless he had previously received some injury. But for the supremacy and for the good things that it contains all yearn, and those who occupy any

post of influence far more than their inferiors. It is the nature of wicked men, who have very little sense, to do so. It is implanted in their dispositions, just like anything else, and it is impossible by either persuasion or compulsion to remove such a bent from some of them. There is no law or fear stronger than natural tendencies. Reflect on this and do not take the offences of others so hard, but keep yourself and your supremacy carefully guarded, that we may hold it safely not by virtue of inflicting severe punishments but by means of strict watchfulness.”

[15] To this Augustus replied: “Wife, I too know that nothing great is ever free from envy and plots, — least of all sole power. We should be peers of the gods if we did not have troubles and cares and fears beyond all private individuals. But to me it is also a source of grief that this is inevitably so and that no cure for it can be found.”

“Yet,” said Livia, “since some men are so constituted as to want to do wrong in any event, let us guard against them. We have many soldiers who protect us, — some marshaled against foreign foes and others about your person, — and a large retinue, so that by their help we may live safely both at home and abroad.”

“I do not need,” said Augustus, interrupting, “to state that many men on many occasions have perished at the hands of their immediate associates. For in addition to other disadvantages this, too, is a most distressing thing in monarchies, that we fear not only enemies (like other people) but also our friends. Many more rulers have been plotted against by such persons than by those who had nothing to do with them. This is to be expected, since the inner circle is with the potentate day and night, exercising and eating, and he has to take food and drink that they have prepared. Moreover, against acknowledged enemies you can array these very men, but against the latter themselves there is no one else to employ as an ally. To us, therefore, the whole time through, solitude is dreadful, company dreadful: to be unguarded is terrifying, but most terrifying are the guards themselves: enemies are difficult to deal with, but still greater difficulties are presented by our friends. They must all be called friends, whether they are such or not, but even if one should find them most reliable, even so one may not trust one’s self in their company with a clear, carefree, unsuspecting heart. This, then, and the fact that it is requisite to take measures of defence against ordinary conspirators, make the situation overwhelmingly dreadful. For to be always compelled to be inflicting punishment and chastisement upon somebody is highly repugnant to men of character.”

[16] “You are right,” answered Livia, “and I have some advice to give you, — at least, if you prove willing to receive it and willing not to censure me that, woman as I am, I dare to make suggestions to you which no one else, even of your most intimate friends, would venture. And this is not through any lack of knowledge on their part, but because they are not bold enough to speak.”

“Say on,” rejoined Augustus, “and let us have it.”

“I will tell you,” continued Livia, “without hesitation, because I share your comforts and adversities, and while you are safe I myself hold dominion day by day, whereas if you come to any harm (which Heaven forbid!) I shall perish with you. Well, then, human nature persuades some to sin under any conditions, and there is no device for controlling it when it has once started toward any goal. What seems good to persons, — not to rehearse the vices of the masses, — at once induces very many of them to do wrong. [17] The boast of birth and pride of wealth, greatness of honor, audacity founded on bravery, and conceit due to authority, bring shipwreck to not a few. There is no making nobility ignoble, bravery cowardly, or prudence foolish: it is impossible. Nor, again, is it to curtail men’s abundance or to strike down ambitions where conduct has been correct: that is iniquitous. That he who is on the defensive and anticipates others’ movements should incur injury and ill repute is inevitable. Come, let us change our policy and spare some of them. To me it seems far more feasible to set things right by kindness than by harshness. Not only are those who grant pardon loved by the objects of their clemency, who strive to repay the favor, but all others both respect and reverence them and will not readily endure to see harm done to them. Sovereigns, however, who maintain an inexorable anger not only are hated by those who have aught to fear, but cause uneasiness to all the rest. As a result, men plot against them to avoid meeting an untimely fate. Do you not notice that physicians very rarely have recourse to cutting and burning, wishing to avoid aggravating a person’s disease, but in the majority of cases soothe and cure by means of fomentations and mild drugs? Do not think that because those ailments have to do with the body and these with the mind that they are essentially different. Very many experiences of the body are similar in a way to what goes on in the souls of men, no matter how bodiless the latter may be. The soul contracts under the influence of fear and expands under that of wrath. Pain humiliates men and audacity puffs them up. The correspondences then are very close and therefore both kinds of trouble need treatments which are much alike. A gentle speech uttered to a man causes all his unruliness to subside, just as a harsh one provokes to anger even an easy-going person. The granting of pardon melts the most audacious, just as punishment irritates the most mild. Acts of violence inflame all men in every instance, even though such measures may be thoroughly just, but considerate treatment mollifies them. Hence one would more readily brave great dangers through persuasion and voluntarily, than under compulsion. Such is the inherent, unalterable quality of both methods of behavior that even among brute beasts that have no mind many of the strongest and fiercest are domesticated by petting and are subdued by coaxing, whereas many of the most cowardly and weak are made unmanageable and maddened by cruelties and terrors.

[18] “I am not saying that we must spare absolutely all wrongdoers, for we must cut out of the way the daredevil and busybody, the man of evil nature

and evil devices, who gives himself up to an unyielding, persistent baseness, just as we treat parts of the body that are quite incurable. But of the rest, who err through youth or ignorance or a misunderstanding or some other chance, some purposely and others unwillingly, it is proper to admonish some with words, to bring others to their senses by threats, and to handle still others with moderation in some different way, precisely as in other [matters] ... all men impose upon some greater and upon others lesser punishments. So far as these persons are concerned you may employ moderation without danger, inflicting upon some the penalty of banishment, upon others that of loss of political rights, upon still others a money fine. You may also place some of them in country districts or in certain cities.

“In the past a few have been brought to their senses by missing what they hoped for, by failing to secure what they aimed at. A degradation in seats and factional disputes involving disgrace, as well as being injured or terrified before they could make a move, has improved not a few. Yet one well born and courageous would prefer to die rather than to have any such experience. As a result, vengeance would become not easier for the plotters but more difficult, and we should be able to live in safety, since not a word could be said against us. At present we are thought to kill many through anger, many because of a desire for their money, others through fear of their bravery, and a great many others on account of jealousy of their excellence. No one will readily believe that a person possessing so great an authority and power can seriously be the object of the plots of any unarmed individual. Some talk as above and others say that we hear a great many lies and foolishly pay heed to many of them, believing them true. They assert that those who spy into and overhear doubtful matters concoct many falsehoods, some being influenced by enmity, others by wrath, some because they can get money from their foes, others because they can get no money from the same persons, and further, that they report not only the fact of certain persons having committed suspicious actions or intending to commit them, but also how A said so-and-so, and B hearing it was silent, how one man laughed and somebody else wept.

[19] “I could cite innumerable other details of like nature which, no matter how true they were, are no business for free men to concern themselves about or report to you. If they went unnoticed, they would do you no harm, but when heard they might irritate you even against your will: and that ought by no means to happen, especially in a ruler of the people. Now many believe that from this cause large numbers unjustly perish, some without a trial and others by some unwarranted condemnation of a court. They will not admit that the evidence given or statements made under torture or any similar proof against them is genuine. This is the sort of talk, though some of it may not be just, which is reported in the case of practically all so put to death. And you ought, Augustus, to be free not only from injustice but from the appearance of it. It is sufficient for a private individual to avoid irregular conduct, but it behooves a ruler to incur not even the suspicion of it. You are the leader of

human beings, not of beasts, and the only way you can make them really friendly to you is by persuading them by every means and constantly, without a break, that you will wrong no one either voluntarily or involuntarily. A man can be forced to fear another but he has to be persuaded to love him: and he is to be persuaded by the good treatment he himself receives and the benefits he sees conferred on others. The person, however, who suspects that somebody has perished unjustly both fears that he may some day meet the same fate and is compelled to hate the one responsible for the deed. And to be hated by one's subjects is (besides containing no element of good) exceedingly unprofitable. The general mass of people feel that ordinary individuals must defend themselves against all who wrong them in any way or else be despised and consequently oppressed: but rulers, they think, ought to prosecute those who wrong the State but endure those who are thought to commit offences against them privately; rulers can not be harmed by disdain or assault, because they have many guardians to protect them.

[20] "When I hear this and turn my attention to this I feel inclined to tell you outright to put no one to death for any such reason. Places of supremacy are established for the preservation of subjects, to prevent them from being injured either by one another or by foreign tribes: such places are not, by Jupiter, for the purpose of allowing the rulers themselves to hard their subjects. It is most glorious to be able not to destroy most of the citizens but to save them all, if possible. It is right to educate them by laws and, favours and admonitions, that they may be right-minded and further to watch and guard them, so that even if they wish to do wrong they may not be able. And if there is anything ailing, we must cure and correct it in some way, in order that there may be no entire loss. To endure the offences of the multitude is a task requiring great prudence and force: if any one should simply punish all of them as they deserve, before he knew it he would have destroyed the majority of mankind. For these reasons, then, I give you my opinion to the effect that you should not inflict the death penalty for any such error, but bring the men to their senses in some other way, so that they will not again do anything dangerous. What crime could a man commit shut up on an island, or in the country, or in some city, not only destitute of a throng of servants and money, but under guard, if it be necessary? If the enemy were anywhere near here or some alien force had dominion over this sea so that one of the prisoners might escape to them and do us some harm, or if, again, there were strong cities in Italy with fortifications and weapons, so that if a man seized them he might become a menace to us, that would be a different story. But all towns in this neighborhood are unarmed and lacking any walls that would serve in war, and the enemy is removed from them by vast distances; a long stretch of sea, and a journey by land including mountains and rivers hard to cross lie between them and us.

Why, then, should one fear this man or that man, defenceless, private citizens, here in the middle of your empire and enclosed by your armed

forces? I can not see how any one could conceive such a notion or how the maddest madman could accomplish anything.

[21] "With these premises, therefore, let us give the idea a trial. The discontented will soon themselves change their ways and bring about an improvement in others. You notice that Cornelius is both of good birth and renowned. This matter has to be reasoned out in a human fashion. The sword can not effect everything for you; it would be a great blessing if it could bring some men to their senses and persuade them or even compel them to love any one with genuine affection: but, instead, it will destroy the body of one man and alienate the minds of the rest. People do not become more attached to any one because of the vengeance they see meted out to others, but they become more hostile through the influence of their own fears. That is one side of the picture. On the other hand, those who obtain pardon for any crime and repent are ashamed to wrong their benefactors again, but render them much service in return, hoping to receive much more again for it. When a man is saved by some one who has been wronged, he thinks that his rescuer, if fairly treated, will go to any lengths to aid him. Heed me, therefore, dearest, and make a change. Then all your other acts that have caused displeasure will appear to have been due to necessity. In conducting so great a city from democracy into monarchy it is impossible to make the transfer without bloodshed. But if you follow your old policy, you will be thought to have done these unpleasant things intentionally."

[22] Augustus heeded these suggestions of Livia and released all those against whom charges were pending, admonishing some of them orally; Cornelius he even appointed consul. Later he so conciliated both him and the other men that no one else again really plotted against him or had the reputation of so doing. Livia had had most to do with saving the life of Cornelius, yet she was destined to be held responsible for the death of Augustus.

[A.D. 5 (a. u. 758)]

At this time, in the consulship of Cornelius and Valerius Messala, earthquakes of ill omen occurred and the Tiber tore away the bridge so that the City was under water for seven days. There was an eclipse of the sun, and famine set in. This same year Agrippa was enrolled among the iuvenes, but obtained none of the same privileges as his brother. The senators attended the horse-races separately and the knights also separately from the remainder of the populace, as is done nowadays. And since the noblest families did not show themselves inclined to give their daughters for the service of Vesta, a law was passed that the daughters of freedmen might likewise be consecrated. Many contended for the honor, and so they drew lots in the senate in the presence of their fathers; no priestess, however, was appointed from this class.

[23] The soldiers were displeased at the small size of the prizes for the wars that had taken place at this period and no one was willing to carry arms for longer than the specified term of his service. It was therefore voted that five

thousand denarii be given to members of the pretorian guard when they had ended sixteen, and three thousand to the other soldiers when they had completed twenty years' service. Twenty-three legions were being supported at that time, or, as others say, twenty-five, of citizen soldiers. Only nineteen of them now remain. The Second (Augusta) is the one that winters in Upper Britain. Of the Third there are three divisions, — the Gallic, in Phoenicia; the Cyrenaic, in Arabia; the Augustan, in Numidia. The Fourth. (Scythian) is in Syria, the Fifth (Macedonian), in Dacia. The Sixth is divided into two parts, of which the one (Victrix) is in Lower Britain, and the other (Ferrata) is in Judæa. The soldiers of the Seventh, generally called Claudians, are in Upper Moesia. Those of the Eighth, Augustans, are in Upper Germany. Those of the Tenth are both in Upper Pannonia (Legio Gemina) and in Judæa. The Eleventh, in Lower Moesia, is the Claudian. This name two legions received from Claudius because they had not fought against him in the insurrection of Camillus. The Twelfth (Fulminata) is in Cappadocia: the Thirteenth (Gemina) in Dacia: the Fourteenth (Gemina) in Upper Pannonia: the Fifteenth (Apollinaris) in Cappadocia. The Twentieth, called both Valeria and Victrix, is also in Upper Britain. These, I believe, together with those that have the title of the Twenty second and winter in Upper Germany Augustus took in charge and kept; and this I say in spite of the fact that they are by no means called Valerians by all and do not themselves use the title any longer. These are preserved from the Augustan legions. Of the rest some have been scattered altogether and others were mixed in with different legions by Augustus himself and by the other emperors, from which circumstance they are thought to have been called Gemina.

[24] Now that I have once been brought into a discussion of the legions, I shall speak of the forces as they are at present according to the disposition made by subsequent emperors: in this way any one who desires to learn anything about them may do so easily, finding all his information written in one place. Nero organized the First legion, called the Italian, and now wintering in Lower Moesia; Galba, the First legion, called Adiutrix, in Lower Pannonia, and the Seventh (Gemina), which is in Spain; Vespasian, the Second, Adiutrix, in Lower Pannonia, and the Fourth (the Flavian) in Syria; Domitian, the First (Minervia), in Lower Germany; Trajan, the Second (the Egyptian), and the Thirtieth (Germanic), which he also named after himself. Marcus Antoninus organized the Second, which is in Noricum, and the Third, in Rhætia; these are also called Italian: Severus the Parthian legions, i. e., the First and the Third in Mesopotamia and between them the Second, the one in Italy.

This is at present the number of legions which are enrolled in the service, exclusive of the cohortes urbanæ and the pretorian guard. At that time, in the days of Augustus, those I mentioned were being supported, whether twenty-three or twenty-five altogether; and then there was some allied force, whatever the size, of infantry and cavalry and sailors. I can not state the exact figures.

The body-guards, ten thousand in all, were divided into ten portions, and the six thousand warders of the city into four portions, and there were picked foreign horsemen to whom the name Batavians is applied (from the island Batavia in the Rhine), because the Batavians are noted for superiority in horsemanship. I can not, however, state their exact number any more than that of the *evocati*. He began to reckon in the latter from the time that he called the warriors who had previously supported his father to arms again against Antony; and he retained control of them. They constitute even now a special corps and carry rods, like the centurions.

For the distribution mentioned he needed money and therefore introduced a motion into the senate to the effect that a definite permanent fund be created, in order that without troubling any private citizen they might obtain abundant support and rewards from the proposed appropriation. The means for such a fund was accordingly sought. — As no one showed a willingness to become *ædile*, some from the ranks of *ex-quæstors* and *ex-tribunes* were compelled by lot to take the office. This happened frequently at other times.

[A.D. 6 (*a. u.* 759)]

[25] After this, in the consulship of *Æmilius Lepidus* and *Lucius Arruntius*, when no source for the fund was found that suited anybody, but quite everybody felt dejected because such an attempt was being made, Augustus in the name of himself and of *Tiberius* put money into the treasury, which he called the *ærarium militare*. Some of the *ex-prætors* — such as drew the lots — he instructed to administer it for three years, employing two *lictors* apiece and such further assistance as was fitting. This was done by successive officials for a number of years. At present they are chosen by whoever is emperor and they go about without *lictors*. Augustus himself made some further contributions and promised to do this annually, and he accepted offers from kings and certain peoples. From private individuals, though a number were ready and glad to give (as they said), he would take nothing. But as all this proved very slight in comparison with the large amount spent, and there was need of some inexhaustible supply, he ordered each one of the senators to devise means by himself, to write his plan in a book, and give it to him to look over. This was not because he had no plan of his own, but because he was most anxious to persuade them to choose the one that he wished. Various men proposed various courses, but he would approve none of them: instead, he arranged for five per cent. of the inheritances and bequests which should be left by deceased persons (except in the case of very near relations or poor families); he pretended that he had found this tax suggestion in *Cæsar's* memoirs. It was a method that had been introduced once before, but had been later abolished and was now introduced anew. In this way he increased the revenues. The expenditures made by three men of consular rank, whom the lot designated, he partly made smaller and partly did away with altogether.

[26] This was not the only source of trouble to the Romans: there was also a severe famine. As a consequence, the gladiators and the slaves offered for sale

were removed to a distance of over seven hundred and fifty stadia, Augustus and others dismissed the greater part of their retinue, there was a cessation of lawsuits, and senators were permitted to leave the city and go where they pleased. In order to prevent any hindrance to decrees from this last measure it was ordered that all those framed by as many as happened to attend meetings should be binding. Moreover, ex-consuls were appointed to take charge of grain and bread supplies, so as to have a stated quantity sold to each person. Those who were recipients of public bounty had as much added to their supply gratis by Augustus as they might obtain at any time. When even that did not suffice, he forbade the citizens to hold any public festivals on his birthday.

Since also at this time many parts of the City fell a prey to fire, he formed a company of freedmen in seven divisions to render assistance on such occasions, and appointed a knight as their leader, thinking soon to disband them. He did not do this, however. Having ascertained by experience that the aid they gave was most valuable and necessary, he kept them. The night-watchmen exist to the present day, subject to special regulations, and those in the service are selected not from the freedmen only any longer but from on the rest of the classes as well. They have barracks in the city and draw pay from the public treasury.

[27] The multitude, under the burden of the famine and the tax and the losses sustained by fire, were ill at ease. They discussed openly many schemes of insurrection and by night scattered pamphlets more still: this move was said to be traceable to a certain Publius Rufus, but others were suspected of it. Rufus could not have originated or have taken an active part in it; therefore it was thought that others who aimed at a revolution were making an illicit use of his name. An investigation of the affair was resolved upon and rewards for information offered. Information accordingly came in and the city as a result was stirred up. This lasted till the scarcity of grain subsided, when gladiatorial games in honor of Drusus were given by Germanicus Cæsar and Tiberius Claudius Nero, his sons. [In the course of them an elephant vanquished a rhinoceros and a knight distinguished for his wealth fought as a gladiator.] The people were encouraged by this honor shown to the memory of Drusus and by Tiberius's dedication of the temple of the Dioscuri, upon which he inscribed not only his name but also that of Drusus. Himself he called Claudianus instead of Claudius, because of his adoption into the family of Augustus. He continued to direct operations against the enemy and visited the City constantly whenever opportunity offered; this was partly on account of various kinds of business but chiefly owing to fear that Augustus might promote somebody else during his absence. These were the events in the City that year.

In Achæa the governor died in the middle of his term and directions were given to his quæstor and to his assessor (whom, as I have said, we call legatus) that the latter should administer the government as far as the isthmus,

and the former the rest of it. Herod of Palestine, who was accused by his brothers of some wrongdoing, was banished beyond the Alps and his portion of the Palestinian domain reverted to the State. [Augustus suffered from old age and infirmity, so that he could not transact business for all that needed his aid: some cases he reviewed and tried with his counselors, sitting upon the tribunal on the Palatine; the embassies which came from the various nations and princes he put in charge of three ex-consuls, under the arrangement that any one of them individually might listen to such an embassy and return an answer, except in cases where it was necessary for himself and the senate to render a decision besides.]

[28] During this same period also many wars took place. Pirates overran many quarters, so that Sardinia had no senatorial governor for some years, but was in charge of soldiers with knights for commanders. Not a few cities rebelled, with the result that for two years the same persons held office in the same provinces of the People, and were personally appointed instead of being chosen by lot. The provinces of Cæsar were in general so arranged that men should govern in the same places for a considerable time. However, I shall not go into all these matters minutely. Many things not worthy of record happened in individual instances, and no one would be benefited by the exact details. I shall mention simply the events worth remembering, and very briefly, save those of greatest importance.

The Isaurians began marauding expeditions and kept on till they faced grim war, but were finally subdued. The Gætuli, discontented with their king, Juba, and at the same time feeling themselves slighted because not governed by the Romans, rose against him: they ravaged the neighboring territory and killed even many of the Romans who made a campaign against them. In fine, they gained so great an ascendancy that Cornelius Cossus, who reduced them, received triumphal honors and title for it. While these troubles were in progress expeditions against the Celtæ were being conducted by various leaders, and notably by Tiberius. He advanced first to the river Visurgis and subsequently as far as the Albis, but nothing of any moment was accomplished then, although not only Augustus but also Tiberius was dubbed imperator for it, and Gaius Sentius, governor of Germany, received triumphal honors. The Celtæ were so afraid of their foes that they made a truce with him not merely once but twice. And the reason that peace was again granted them, in spite of their having broken it so soon, was that the affairs of the Dalmatians and Pannonians, who had begun a rebellion on a large scale, needed vigilant attention.

[29] The Dalmatians, smarting under the levies of tribute, had for some time previous kept quiet even against their will. But, at the same time that Tiberius made his second campaign against the Celtæ, Valerius Messalinus, the governor of Dalmatia and Pannonia, was himself despatched to the front with Tiberius, taking most of his army; they, too, were ordered to send a contingent and on coming together for this purpose had a chance to see the flower of their

fighting force. After that there was no more delay, but urged on particularly by one Bato, a Dæsidatian, at first a few revolted and worsted the Romans that came against them, and this success then led others to rebel. Next, the Breuci, a Pannonian tribe, put another leader named Bato at their head and marched against Sirmium and the Romans in the town. This they did not capture: Cæcina Severus, the governor of Moesia close by, he heard of their uprising marched rapidly upon them, and joining battle with them near the river Dravus vanquished their army. Hoping to renew the struggle soon, since many of the Romans also had fallen, they turned to summon their allies, and collected as many as they could. Meanwhile the Dalmatian Bato had made a descent upon Salonæ, and being himself grievously wounded with a stone accomplished nothing, but sent some others, who wrought havoc along the whole sea-coast as far as Apollonia. There, in spite of his defeat, his representatives won a slight battle against the Romans who encountered them.

[30] Tiberius ascertaining this feared they might invade Italy and so returned from Celtica: he sent Messalinus ahead and himself followed with the rest of the army. Bato learned of their approach and though not yet well went to meet Messalinus. He proved the latter's superior in open conflict but was afterward conquered by an ambushade. Thereupon he went to Bato the Breucan, and making common cause with him in the war occupied a mountain named Alma. Here they were defeated in a slight skirmish by Rhoemetalces the Thracian, despatched in advance against them by Severus, but resisted Severus himself vigorously. Later Severus withdrew to Moesia because the Dacians and the Sauromatæ were ravaging it, and while Tiberius and Messalinus were tarrying in Siscia the Dalmatians overran their allied territory and likewise caused many to revolt. Although Tiberius approached them, they would engage in no open battle with him but kept moving from one place to another, devastating a great deal of ground. Owing to their knowledge of the country and the lightness of their equipment they could easily go wherever they pleased. When winter set in, they did much greater damage by invading Macedonia again. Rhoemetalces and his brother Rhascuporis got the better of this force in battle.

[A.D. 7 (*a. u.* 760)]

The rest did not stay in their territory while it was being ravaged (this was principally later, in the consulship of Cæcilius Metellus and Lincinius Silanus), but took refuge on the heights, from which they made descents whenever they saw a chance.

[31] When Augustus learned this he began to be suspicious of Tiberius, for he thought the latter might have overcome them soon but was delaying purposely so that he might be under arms as long as possible, with war for an excuse. The emperor therefore sent Germanicus, though he was then quæstor, and gave him soldiers not only from the free born citizens but from the freedmen, some of whom were slaves that he had taken from both men and women, in return for their value, with food for six months, and had set free.

This was not the only measure he took in view of the necessities of the war: he also postponed the review of the knights, which was wont to occur in the Forum. And he vowed to conduct the Great Games because a woman had cut some letters on her arm and had practiced some kind of divination. He knew well, to be sure, that she had not been possessed by some divine power, but had done it intentionally. Inasmuch, however, as the populace were terribly wrought up over the wars and the famine (which had now set in once more), he, too, affected to believe what was said and did anything that would lead to the encouragement of the multitude as a matter of course. In view of the stringency in the grain supply he again appointed two grain commissioners from among the ex-consuls, together with lictors. As there was need of further money for operations against the enemy and the support of night-watchmen, he introduced the tax of two per cent. on the sale of slaves, and he ordered that the money delivered from the public treasury to the prætors who gave armed combats should no longer be expended.

[32] The reason that he sent Germanicus and not Agrippa to take the field was that the latter possessed a servile nature and spent most of his time fishing, wherefore he also used to call himself Neptune. He used to give way to violent anger and slandered Julia as a stepmother, while upon Augustus he heaped abundant reproaches in the matter of his paternal inheritance. When he could not be made to moderate his conduct he was banished and his property was given to the *ærarium militare*: he himself was put ashore on Planasia, the island near Corsica. — These were the events in the City.

Germanicus reached Pannonia, where armies from various points were shortly to assemble; the Batos watched for Severus, who was approaching from Moesia, and fell upon him unexpectedly, while he was encamped near the Volcæan marshes. The pickets outside the ramparts they frightened and hurled back within it, but as the men inside stood their ground, the attacking party was defeated. After this the Romans divided, in order that many detachments might overrun the country in separate places at one time. Most of them did nothing worthy of note during this enterprise, but Germanicus conquered in battle and badly demoralized the Mæzei, a Dalmatian tribe. — These were the results of that year.

[A.D. 8 (*a. u.* 761)]

[33] In the consulship of Marcus Furius with Sextus Nonius the Dalmatians and Pannonians decided they would like to make peace because they were in distress primarily from famine and then from disease that followed it, due to their using grasses of various sorts and roots for food. They did not attempt, however to open any negotiations, being restrained by those who had no hope of preservation at the hands of the Romans. So even as they were they still resisted. And one Scenobardus, who had feigned a readiness to change sides, and had had dealings on this very business with Manius Ennius, commander of the garrison in Siscia, declaring that he was ready to desert, became afraid that he might be injured ere his project was complete, and ...

The Po, which they call the monarch of rivers that cleave the soil of Italy, known by the name Eridanus, had its waters let into a very broad excavation, on the command of the emperor Augustus. A seventh division of the channel of this river flows through the center of the state, affording at its mouth a most satisfactory harbor, and was formerly believed (my authority is Dio) to be an entirely safe anchorage for a fleet of two hundred and fifty ships. (From the Latin of Jordan.)

When the famine at last had subsided, he conducted a horse-race in the name of Germanicus, who was son of Drusus, and in the name of his brother. On this occasion an elephant fought a rhinoceros, and a knight who had once held a prominent position on account of wealth contended in single combat.

And he found himself sinking under the burden of old age and physical weakness, so that he could not transact business with all the persons that needed his services, he delivered to three ex-consuls the care of the embassies that were constantly arriving from peoples and kings; each one of these officials separately was empowered to give any such delegation a hearing and to transmit an answer to them, save in such cases as he and the senate needed to pass upon finally. Other questions continued to be investigated and decided by the emperor himself with the help of his cabinet.

[34] ... however, among the first, but among the last he declared, in order that everybody might be permitted to hold an individual opinion, and no one of them be obliged to abandon his own ideas because he felt it obligatory to agree with his sovereign; and he would often help the magistrates try cases. Also, as often as the consulting judges held different views, his vote was reckoned only as equal to that of any one else. It was at this time that Augustus allowed the senate to try the majority of cases without his being present, and he no longer frequented the assemblies of the people. Instead, he had the previous year personally appointed all who were to hold office, because there were factional outbreaks: this year and those following he merely posted a kind of bulletin and made known to the plebs and to the people what persons he favored. Yet he had so much strength for managing hostile campaigns that he journeyed to Ariminum in order that he might be able to give from close at hand all necessary advice in regard to the Dalmatians and Pannonians. Prayers were offered at his departure and sacrifices upon his return, as if he had come back from some hostile territory. This was what was done in Rome.

Meantime Bato the Breucan, who had betrayed Pinnes and received the governorship of the Breuci as reward for this, was captured by the other Bato, and perished. The Breucan had been a little suspicious of his subject tribes and went around to each of the garrisons to demand hostages: the other, learning of this habit, lay in wait for him, conquered him in battle, and shut him up within the fortifications. Later his defeated rival was given up by those in the place, and he took him and led him before the army, whereupon the man was condemned to death and sentence executed without delay. After this

event numbers of the Pannonians rose in revolt. Silvanus led a campaign in person, conquered the Breucans, and won the allegiance of some of the rest without a struggle. Bato seeing this gave up all hope of Pannonia, but stationed garrisons at the passes leading to Dalmatia and ravaged the country. Then the remainder of the Pannonians, especially as their country was suffering harm from Silvanus, made terms. Only certain nests of brigands, who in so great a disturbance could naturally do damage for a long time, held out. This practically always happens in the case of all enemies, and is especially characteristic of the tribes in question. These localities were reduced by other persons.

BOOK 56

The following is contained in the Fifty-sixth of Dio's Rome:

How Augustus addressed those having children and afterward the childless and unmarried, and what rules he laid down to apply to them (chapters 1-10).

How Quintilius Varus was defeated by the Celtæ and perished (chapters 18-24).

How the Temple of Concord was consecrated (chapter 25).

How the Portico of Livia was consecrated (chapter 27).

How Augustus passed away (chapters 29-47).

Duration of time, six years, in which there were the following magistrates here enumerated:

Q. Sulpicius Q.F. Camerinus, C. Poppæus Q.F. Sabinus. (A.D. 9 = a. u. 762.)

P. Cornelius P.F. Dolabella, C. Iunius C.F. Silanus. (A.D. 10 = a. u. 763.)

M. Æmilius Q.F. Lepidus, T. Statilius T.F. Taurus. (A.D. 11 = a. u. 764.)

Germanicus Cæsaris F. Cæsar, C. Fonteius C.F. Capito. (A.D. 12 = a. u. 765.)

L. Munatius L.F. Plancus, C. Silius C.F. Cæcina Largus. (A.D. 13 = a. u. 766.)

Sextus Pompeius Sexti F., Sex. Apuleius Sex. F. (A.D. 14 = a. u. 767.)

BOOK 56, BOISSEVAIN.

[A.D. 9 (*a. u.* 762)]

[1] Tiberius returned to Rome after the winter when Quintus Sulpicius and Gaius Sabinus were consuls. Augustus went out into the suburbs to meet him, accompanied him to the *Sæpta*, and there from a platform greeted the people. Next he performed the ceremonies proper on such an occasion and had the consuls give triumphal spectacles. And since the knights on this occasion with great vigor sought for the repeal of the law regarding the unmarried and the childless, he assembled in one place in the Forum the unmarried men of this number and in another those who were married or had children. Seeing that the latter were much fewer in number than the former he was filled with grief and addressed them to the following effect:

[2] “Though you are but few all together, in comparison with the great throng that inhabits this city, and are far behind the others, who are unwilling to fulfill their duties at all, yet for this reason I praise you the more and I am heartily grateful that you have shown yourselves obedient and are helping to replenish the fatherland. It is by lives so conducted that the Romans of later days will become a mighty multitude. We were at first a mere handful, but when We had recourse to marriage and begot children we came to surpass all mankind not only in manliness but in populousness. This we must remember and console the mortal element of our being with an endless succession of generations like torches. Thus the one gap which separates us from divine happiness may through relays of men be filled by immortality. It was for this cause most of all that that first and greatest god who fashioned us divided the race of mortals in twain, rendering one half of it male and the other female, and added love and the compulsion of their intercourse together, making their association fruitful, that by the young continually born he might in a way render mortality eternal. Even of the gods themselves some are believed to be male, the rest female: and the tradition prevails that some have begotten others and certain ones have been born of others. So, even among them, who need no such device, marriage and child-begetting have been approved as noble. [3] You have done right, then, to imitate the gods and right to emulate your fathers, that, just as they begot you, you may also bring others into the world. Just as you deem them and name them ancestors, others will regard you and address you in similar fashion. The undertakings which they nobly achieved and handed down to you with glory you will hand on to others. The possessions which they acquired and left to you will leave to others sprung from your own loins. Surely the best of all things is a woman who is temperate, domestic, a good house-keeper, a rearer of children; one to gladden you when in health, to tend you when sick; to be your partner in good fortune, to console you in misfortune; to restrain the frenzied nature of the youth and to temper the superannuated severity of the old man. Is it not a delight to

acknowledge a child bearing the nature of both, to nurture and educate it, a physical image and a spiritual image, so that in its growth you yourself live again? Is it not most blessed on departing from life to leave behind a successor to and inheritor of one's substance and family, something that is one's own, sprung from one's self? And to have only one's human part waste away, but to live through the child as successor? We need not be in the hands of aliens, as in war, nor perish utterly, as in war. These are the private advantages that accrue to those who marry and beget children: but for the State, for whose sake we ought to do many things that are even distasteful to us, how excellent and how necessary it is, if cities and peoples are to exist, if you are to rule others and others are to obey you, that there should be a multitude of men to till the earth in peace and quiet, to make voyages, practice arts, follow handicrafts, men who in war will protect what we already have with the greater zeal because of family ties and will replace those that fall by others. Therefore, men, — for you alone may properly be called men, — and fathers, — for you are worthy to hold this title like myself, — I love you and I praise you for this, I am glad of the prizes I have already offered and I will glorify you still more besides by honors and offices. Thus you may yourselves reap great benefits and leave them to your children undiminished. I shall now descend to speak to the rest, who have not done like you, and whose lot will therefore be directly the opposite: you will thus learn not only from words but by facts even more how far you excel them."

[4] After this speech he made presents to some of them at once and promised to make others: he then went over to the other throng, to whom he addressed these words:

"A strange experience has been mine, O — What shall I call you? — Men? But you do not perform the offices of men. — Citizens? But so far as you are concerned the city is perishing. — Romans? But you are undertaking to do away with this name. — Well, at any rate, whoever you are and by whatever name you delight to be called, mine has been an unexpected experience. For, though I am always doing everything to promote an increase of population among you and am now about to rebuke you, I grieve to see that you are numerous. I could rather wish that those others to whom I have just spoken were so many than to see you as many as you are; or, still better, to see you mustered with them, — or at least not to know how things stand. It is you who without pausing to reflect on the foresight of the gods or the care of your forefathers are bent upon annihilating your whole race and making it in truth mortal, upon destroying and ending the whole Roman nation. What seed of human beings would be left, if all the remainder of mankind should do the same as you? You are their leaders and may rightly bear the responsibility for universal destruction. Or, even if no others emulate you, will you not be justly hated for the very reason that you overlook what no one else would overlook, and neglect what no one else would neglect? You are introducing customs and practices, which, if imitated, would lead to the annihilation of all, and, if

hated, would end in your own punishment. We do not spare murderers because all persons do not murder, nor do we let temple-robbers go because not everybody robs temples: but anybody who is convicted of committing any forbidden act is chastised for the very reason that he alone, or as one of a small group, does such things as no one else would do. [5] Yet if one should name over the greatest offences, there is none to compare with that which is now being committed by you, and this statement holds true not only if you examine crime for crime but if you compare all of them together with this single one of yours. You have incurred blood guiltiness by not begetting those who ought to be your descendants; you are sacrilegious in putting an end to the names and honors of your ancestors; you are impious in abolishing your families, which were instituted by the gods, and destroying the greatest of offerings to them, — the human being, — and by overthrowing in this way their rites and their temples. Moreover, by causing the downfall of the government you are disobedient to the laws, and you even betray your country by rendering her barren and childless: nay more, you lay her even with the dust by making her destitute of inhabitants. A city consists of human beings, not of houses or porticos or fora empty of men. Think what rage would justly seize the great Romulus, the founder of our race, if he could reflect on the circumstances of his own birth, and then upon your attitude, — refusing to get children even by lawful marriages! How wrathful would the Romans who were his followers be when they considered that they themselves even seized foreign girls, but you are not satisfied with those of your own race. They actually had children even by their enemies: you will not beget them even of women with undisputed standing in the State. How incensed would Curtius be, who endured to die that the married men might not be sundered from their wives: how indignant Hersilia, the attendant of her daughter, who instituted for us all the rites of marriage. Our fathers fought the Sabines to obtain marriages and made peace through the intercession of their wives and children; they administered oaths and made sundry treaties for this very purpose: you are bringing all that labor to naught. Why is it? Do you desire to live forever apart from women, as the vestal virgins live apart from men? Then you should be punished like them if you break out into any act of lewdness.

[6] “I know that my words to you appear bitter and harsh. But, first of all, reflect that physicians, too, treat many patients by burning when they can not recover health in any other way. In the second place, it is not my wish or my pleasure to speak them; and hence it is that I have this further reproach to bring against you, that you have provoked me to this discourse. If you dislike what I say, do not continue the conduct for which you are inevitably reprimanded. If my speech wounds any of you, how much more do your acts wound both me and all the rest of the Romans. If you vexed in very truth, make a change, that so I may praise and reward you. You yourselves are aware that I am not irritable by nature and that I have done, subject to human

limitations, all the acts proper for a good lawgiver. Never in old times was any one permitted to neglect marriage and the rearing of children, but from the very outset, at the first establishment of the government, strict laws were passed regarding them: since then many decrees have been issued by both the senate and the people, which it would be superfluous to enumerate. I have increased the penalties for the disobedient in order that through fear of becoming liable to them you may be brought to your senses. To those that obey I have offered more numerous and greater prizes than are given for any other display of excellence, that if for no other reason at least by this one you may be persuaded to marry and beget children. Yet you, not striving for any of the recompenses nor fearing any of the penalties, have despised all these measures, have trodden them all under foot, as if you were not even inhabitants of the city. You declare you have taken upon yourselves this free and continent life, without wives and without children. You are no different from robbers or the most savage [7] beasts. It is not your delight in a solitary existence that leads you to live without wives. There is not one of you who either eats alone or sleeps alone, but you want to have opportunity for wantonness and licentiousness. Yet I have allowed you to court girls still tender and not yet of age for marriage, in order that having the name of intendant bridegrooms you may lead a domestic life. And those not in the senatorial class I have permitted to wed freedwomen, so that if any one through passion or some inclination should be disposed to such a proceeding he might go about it lawfully. I have not limited you rigidly to this, even, but at first gave you three whole years in which to make preparations, and later two. Yet not even so, by threatening or urging or postponing or entreating, have I accomplished anything. You see for yourselves how much larger a mass you constitute than the married men, when you ought by this time to have furnished us with as many more children, or rather with several times your number. How otherwise shall families continue? How can the commonwealth be preserved if we neither marry nor produce children? Surely you are not expecting some to spring up from the earth to succeed to your goods and to public affairs, as myths describe. It is neither pleasing to Heaven nor creditable that our race should cease and the name of Romans meet extinguishment in us, and the city be given up to foreigners, — Greek or even barbarians. We liberate slaves chiefly for the purpose of making out of them as many citizens as possible; we give our allies a share in the government that our numbers may increase: yet you, Romans of the original stock, including Quintii, Valerii, Iulli, are eager that your families and names at once shall perish with you.

[8] “I am thoroughly ashamed that I have been led to speak in such a fashion. Have done with your madness, then, and reflect now if not before that with many dying all the time by disease and many in the wars it is impossible for the city to maintain itself unless the multitude in it is constantly reinforced by those who are ever and anon being born. Let no one of you think that I am

ignorant of the many disagreeable and painful features that belong to marriage and child-rearing. But bear in mind that we possess nothing at all good with which some bane is not mingled, and that in our most abundant and greatest blessings there reside the most abundant and greatest woes. If you decline to accept the latter, do not strive to obtain the former. Practically all who possess any real excellence and pleasure are obliged to work before its enjoyment, to work at the time, and to work afterward. Why should I lengthen my speech by going into each one of them in detail? Therefore even if there are some unpleasant features connected with marriage and the begetting of children, set over against them the better elements: you will find them more numerous and more vital. For, in addition to all the other blessings that naturally inhere in this state of life, the prizes offered by law — an infinitesimal portion of which determines many to undergo death — might induce anybody to obey me. And is it not a disgrace that for rewards which influence others to give up their own lives you should be unwilling either to marry wives or to rear children?

[9] “Therefore, fellow-citizens (for I believe that I have now persuaded you both to hold fast to the name of citizens and to secure the additional title of men and fathers), I have administered this rebuke reluctantly but of necessity, not as your foe nor as one hating you, but rather loving you and wishing to obtain many others like you, — as one wishing you to guard lawful hearths, with houses full of descendants, that we may approach the gods together with wives and children, and associate with one another standing on an equality in whatever we possess and harvesting equally the hopes to which it gives rise. How could I call myself a good ruler over you if I should endure seeing you becoming constantly fewer? How could I any longer be rightfully named your father, if you rear no children? Therefore, if you really have a regard for me and have given me this title not out of flattery but as an honor, desire yourselves to become men and fathers. Thus you may yourselves share this title and also render me well named.”

[10] Such were his words to both groups at that time. After this he increased the rewards for those having children and by penalties made a still wider difference between the married and those without wives. He further allowed each of them a year in which persons who obeyed him might render themselves non-liaible by yielding obedience. Contrary to the Voconian Law, according to which no woman could inherit any property over two and a half myriads in value, he gave women permission to become inheritors of any amount. He also granted the vestal virgins all the benefits enjoyed by women who had children. Later the Pappian and Poppæan Law was framed by Marcus Pappius Mutilus and by Quintus Poppæus Secundus, who were then consuls for a portion of the year. It turned out that both of them had not only no children but not even wives. From this very fact the need of the law was discernible. — These were the events in Rome.

[11] Germanicus meanwhile had captured among other posts in Dalmatia also Splonum, in spite of the fact that it occupied a naturally strong position,

was well protected by walls, and had a huge number of defenders. Consequently he was unable to accomplish aught with engines or by assaults, yet he took it as a result of the following coincidence. Pusio, a Celtic horseman, discharged a stone against the wall which so shook the superstructure that it immediately fell and dragged down the man who was leaning upon it. At this the rest were terrified, and in fear left the wall to ascend the acropolis. Subsequently they surrendered both it and themselves.

The Romans under Germanicus having reached Rætinium, a city of Dalmatia, fared rather badly. Their opponents, forced back by the numbers, could not resist them and therefore placed fire in a circle about themselves and threw it into the buildings near by, devising a way to keep it surely from blazing up at once and to make it go unnoticed for a long time. The enemy after doing this retired to the heights. The Romans, unaware of their action, followed hard after them expecting to find no work at all in pillaging extensively. Thus they got inside of the circle of fire and with their minds directed upon the enemy saw nothing of it until they were encompassed by it on all sides. Then they found themselves in imminent danger, being pelted by men from above and injured by fire from without. They could neither safely stay where they were nor break their way out without danger. If they stood out of range of the missiles they were consumed by the fire, or if they jumped away from the flame they were destroyed by the hurlers of missiles. Some were caught in narrow places and perished by both at once, wounded on one side and burned on the other. The majority of those who entered the circle met their fate in this way. Some few by casting corpses into the very flame and making a passage over them as over bridges managed to escape. The fire gained such headway that not even those on the acropolis could stay there, but abandoned it in the night and hid themselves in subterranean chambers.

[12] These were the operations at that point. — Seretium, which Tiberius had once besieged but not captured, was subdued, and after this some other towns were more easily won. But since the remainder even under these conditions offered resistance and the war kept lengthening out and famine came in its train, especially in Italy, Augustus sent Tiberius again into Dalmatia. He saw that the soldiers were not for enduring further delay and were anxious to end the war in some way even if it involved danger; therefore, fearing that if they remained in one place together they might revolt, he divided them into three parts. One he assigned to Silvanus and one to Marcus Lepidus; with the remainder he marched with Germanicus against Bato. Without difficulty the two former overcame those arrayed in battle opposite them. Tiberius himself went wandering off through practically the entire country, as Bato appeared first at one point and then at another: finally, Bato took refuge in Fort Andetrium, located close to Salonæ, and Tiberius, who besieged him, found himself in sore straits. The garrison had the protection of fortifications built upon a well guarded rock, difficult of access, encircled by deep ravines through which torrents roared, and the men had all

necessary provisions, part of which they had previously stored there, while a part they were still bringing from the mountains, which were in their hands. Moreover, by ambuscades they interfered with the Roman provision trains. Hence Tiberius, though supposed to be besieging them, was himself placed in the position of a besieged force.

[13] He was in a dilemma and could not find any plan to pursue: the siege was proving fruitless and dangerous and a retreat appeared disgraceful. This led to an uproar on the part of the soldiers, who raised so great an outcry that the enemy, who were encamped in the shelter of the wall, were terrified and retreated. As a consequence, being partly angry and partly pleased, he called them together and administered some rebukes and some admonition. He displayed no rashness nor yet did he withdraw, but remained quietly on the spot until Bato, despairing of victory, sent a herald to ask terms. This act was due to the subjugation of all but a few of the other tribes and the fact that the force which Bato had was inferior to the one then opposing it. He could not persuade the rest to ask a truce and so abandoned them, nor did he again assist one of them, though he received many requests for aid. Tiberius consequently conceived a contempt for those still left in the fortress and thinking that he could conquer them without loss paid no further heed to the nature of the country but proceeded straight up the cliff. Since there was no level ground and the enemy would not come down against them, he himself took his seat on a platform in full view in order to watch the engagement (for this would cause his soldiers to contend more vigorously), and to render opportune assistance, should there be any need of it. He kept a part of the army, inasmuch as he had a great plenty of men, for this very purpose. The rest, drawn up in a dense square, at first proceeded at a walk; later they were separated by the steepness and unevenness of the mountain (which was full of gullies and at many points cut up into ravines), and some ascended more quickly, others more slowly. [14] Seeing this, the Dalmatians marshaled outside the wall, at the top of the steep, and hurled down quantities of stones upon them, throwing some from slings, and rolling down others. Others set in motion wheels, others whole wagons full of rocks, others circular chests manufactured in some way peculiar to the country and packed with stones. All these things coming down with great noise kept striking in different quarters, as if discharged from a sling, and separated the Romans from one another even more than before and crushed them. Others by discharging either missiles or spears knocked many of them down. At this juncture much rivalry developed on the part of the warriors, one side endeavoring to ascend and conquer the heights, the other to repulse them and hurl them back. There was great excitement also on the part of the rest, who watched the action from the walls, and on the part of those about Tiberius. Each side as a body and also individually encouraged its own men, trying to lend strength to such as showed zeal and chiding those that anywhere gave way. Those whose voices could be heard above the rest were invoking the gods, both parties praying for

the protection of their warriors for the time being, and one side calling for freedom for themselves in the future, and the other for peace. Under these circumstances the Romans would certainly have risked their lives in vain, having to contend against two things at once, — the nature of the country and the lines of their antagonists, — had not Tiberius by sudden reinforcements prevented them from taking to flight and disturbed the enemy from another quarter by means of other soldiers who went about and ascended the incline a considerable distance off. As a result, the enemy were routed and could not even enter the fortifications, but scattered up the mountain sides, first casting off their armor so as to be lightly equipped. Their pursuers followed them at every point, for they were exceedingly anxious to end the war and did not want them to unite again and cause trouble. So they discovered the most of them hiding in the forests and killed them like beasts, after which they took possession of the men in the fort, who capitulated. To these Tiberius assured the rights which had been agreed upon and some others.

[15] Germanicus now turned to meet his adversaries, for many deserters who were in their ranks prevented a peaceful settlement. He succeeded in enslaving a place called Arduba, but could not do it with his own force, though the latter was far greater than his opponents' army. The town had been powerfully strengthened and a river with a strong current surrounded its foundations except for a small space. But the deserters had a dispute with the inhabitants, because the latter were anxious for peace, and came to blows with them. The assailants had the coöperation of the women in the town, for these contrary to the judgment of the men desired liberty, and were ready to suffer any fate whatever sooner than slavery: there was consequently a great battle, the deserters were beaten and surrendered, and some of them made their escape. The women caught up their children, and some threw themselves into the fire, others hurled themselves down into the river. In this way that post was taken and others near it voluntarily came to an understanding with Germanicus. He, after effecting this, went back to Tiberius, and Postumius completed the subjugation of the remaining sections. [16] Upon this, Bato sent his son Sceuas to Tiberius, promising to surrender himself and all his followers if he could obtain protection. When he had received a pledge he came by night into his conqueror's camp and was on the following day led before the latter who was seated on a platform. Bato asked nothing for himself, even holding his head forward to await the stroke, but in behalf of the rest he made a long defence. Being again asked by Tiberius: "Why has it pleased you to revolt and to war against us so long a time?" he made the same answer as before: "You are responsible for this; for you send as guardians over your flocks not dogs or shepherds, but wolves."

In this way, then, the war was ended once more, after many men and much money had been consumed. The legions supported for it were very numerous, whereas the spoils taken were exceedingly meagre. [17] On this occasion also Germanicus announced the victory, in honor of which Augustus and Tiberius

were allowed to bear the name imperator and to celebrate a triumph; and they received still other honors, as well as two arches bearing trophies, in Pannonia. These, at least, were all of many distinctions voted that Augustus would accept. Germanicus received triumphal honors (which belonged likewise to the other commanders) and prætorial honors, the right of casting his vote immediately after the ex-consuls and of obtaining the consulship earlier than custom allowed. Drusus, the son of Tiberius, although he had not participated in the war, was voted permission to attend the sittings of the senate before he became a member of that body, and when he should become quæstor to cast his vote before the exprætors.

[18] Scarcely had these resolutions been passed when terrible news that arrived from Germany prevented them from holding any festivals. At that same period the following events had taken place in Celtica. The Romans had a hold on parts of it, — not the whole region, but just places that happened to have been subdued, so that the fact has not received historical notice, — and soldiers of theirs were used to wintering there and cities were being founded. The barbarians were adapting themselves to Roman ways, were taking up the custom of markets, and were holding peaceful meetings. They had not, however, forgotten their ancestral habits, their native manners, the life of independence, or the authority given by arms. Hence, while they were unlearning them gradually and imperceptibly, with careful watching, they were not disturbed by the changed conditions of existence, and they were becoming different without knowing it. Finally, Quintilius Varus received the command of Germany and in the discharge of his office strove, in administering the affairs of the people, to introduce more widespread changes among them. He treated them in general as if they were already slaves, levying money upon them as he had upon subject nations. This they were not inclined to endure, for the prominent men longed for their former ascendancy and the masses preferred their accustomed constitution to foreign domination. They did not openly revolt, since they saw there were many Roman soldiers near the Rhine and many in their own territory; but they received Varus, pretending they would execute all his commands, and took him far away from the Rhine into Cheruscis near the Visurgis. There by behaving in a most peaceful and friendly manner they led him to believe that they could be trusted to live submissively without soldiers. [19] Consequently he did not keep his legions together as was proper in an enemy's country, and many of the men he distributed to helpless communities who asked it, for the supposed purpose of guarding certain localities, or arresting robbers, or escorting provision trains. Those deepest in the conspiracy and the leaders of the plot and of the war, among others Armenius and Segimerus, were his constant companions and often entertained him. He, accordingly, became confident and expecting no harm not only refused to believe all such as suspected the truth and advised him to be on his guard, but even rebuked them on the ground that they were needlessly disturbed and slandered his friends. Then there came an

uprising, first of those dwelling at a distance from him, purposely contrived, that Varus should march against them and be easier overcome while on his journey through what he deemed a friendly country, and that he might not at once know that all were his enemies and guard himself against all of them. It turned out precisely so. They escorted him on his setting out, and begged to be excused from attendance in order to gather auxiliaries (as they said), after which they would quickly come to his assistance. So then they took charge of forces already in waiting, and after killing the different bodies of soldiers for whom they had previously asked they encountered him in the midst of forests by this time hard to traverse. There they showed themselves as enemies instead of subjects and wrought many deeds of fearful injury. [20] The mountains had an uneven surface broken by ravines, and the trees, standing close together, were extremely tall. Hence the Romans even before the enemy assaulted them were having hard work in felling, road making, and bridging places that required it. They had with them many wagons and many beasts of burden as in a time of peace. Not a few children and women and a large body of servants were following them, — another reason for their advancing in scattered groups. Meanwhile a great rain and wind came up that separated them still farther, while the ground, being slippery where there were roots and logs, made walking very difficult for them, and the top branches of trees, which kept breaking off and falling down, caused confusion. While the Romans were in such perplexity as this the barbarians suddenly encompassed them from all sides at once, coming through the thickest part of the underbrush, since they were acquainted with the paths. At first they hurled from a distance; then as no one defended himself but many were wounded, they approached closer to them. The Romans were in no order but going along helter-skelter among the wagons and the unarmed, and so, not being able to form readily in a body, and being fewer at every point than their assailants, they suffered greatly and offered no resistance at all. [21] Accordingly, they encamped on the spot, after securing a suitable place so far as that was possible on a wooded mountain, and afterward they either burned or abandoned the majority of their wagons and everything else that was not absolutely necessary for them. The next day they advanced in better order, with the aim of reaching open country; but they did not gain it without loss. From there they went forward and plunged into the woods again, defending themselves against the attacks, but endured no inconsiderable reverses in this very operation. For whereas they were marshaled in a narrow place in order that cavalry and heavy-armed men in a mass might run down their foes, they had many collisions with one another and with the trees. Dawn of the fourth day broke as they were advancing and again a violent downpour and mighty wind attacked them, which would not allow them to go forward or even to stand securely, and actually deprived them of the use of their weapons. They could not manage successfully their arrows or their javelins or, indeed, their shields (which were soaked through). The enemy, however, being for the most

part lightly equipped and with power to approach and retire freely, suffered less from the effects of the storm. *Their* numbers, moreover, increased, as numbers of those who had at first wavered joined them particularly for the sake of plunder, and so they could more easily encircle and strike down the Romans, who were already few, many having perished in the previous battles. Varus, therefore, and the most eminent of the other leaders, fearing that they might either be taken alive or be killed by their bitterest foes, — for they had been wounded, — dared do a deed which was frightful but not to be avoided: they killed themselves.

[22] When this news was spread, none of the rest, even if he had strength still left, defended himself longer. Some imitated their leader; others, throwing aside their arms, allowed who pleased to slay them. To flee was impossible, however one might wish it. Every man and horse, therefore, was cut down without resistance, and the ...

And the barbarians occupied all the strongholds save one, delay over which prevented them from either crossing the Rhine or invading Gaul. Yet they found themselves unable to reduce this particular fort because they did not understand the conduct of sieges and because the Romans employed numerous archers, who repeatedly repulsed them and from first to last destroyed a large proportion of the attacking party.

Later they learned that the Romans had posted a guard at the Rhine and that Tiberius was approaching with an imposing force of fighters. Therefore most of the barbarians retired from the fortress, and the detachment still left there withdrew some distance away, so as not to be damaged by sudden sallies of the men inside; and they kept watch of the roads, hoping to capture the garrison through scarcity of food supplies. The Romans within, so long as they had abundance of sustenance, remained where they were awaiting relief. But when no one came to their assistance and they were likewise a prey to hunger, they watched for a stormy night and issued forth — the soldiers were but fed, the unarmed many, — and

they passed the first and second guard of their adversaries, but when they reached the third they were detected; for on account of fatigue and fear, and the darkness and cold, the women and children kept calling to the men of fighting age to come back. They would all have perished or been captured, had not the barbarians been so busily occupied with seizing the plunder. This gave an opportunity for many of the most hardy to get some distance off, and the trumpeters with them by sounding the signal for a double quick march caused the enemy to think (for night was coming on and they could not be seen) that they had been sent from Asprenas. Therefore the foe ceased their pursuit, and Asprenas on learning what was taking place rendered them assistance in reality. Some of the captives were later ransomed by their relatives and returned, for this was permitted on condition that the ransoming party should be outside of Italy at the time. — But this was only afterward. [23] At the time, when Augustus heard of the disaster to Varus, he rent his clothing

(as some assert) and mourned greatly over the lost soldiers as also over the fear inspired by the Germans and the Gauls. His grief was especially keen because he expected that they would march upon Italy and upon Rome itself. There were no citizens of military age worth mentioning that were left and the allied forces that were of any value had been ruined. Nevertheless he made preparations as well as he could in view of the circumstances: and when no one of the proper age for warfare showed a willingness to be enrolled, he instituted a drawing of lots and deprived of his property every fifth man to draw of those not yet thirty-five years old and every tenth man among those who were older, besides disenfranchising them. Finally, as very many paid no heed to him even then, he put some to death. He chose by lot as many as he could of those who had already finished their service and of the freedmen, and having enrolled them sent them at once in haste with Tiberius into Germany. And as there were in Rome a number of Gauls and Celtæ, sojourning there for various purposes, and some of them serving in the pretorian guard, he feared that they might commit some act of insurrection: therefore he sent such as were in his guard off to the islands and ordered the unarmed class to leave the city.

[24] This was the way he busied himself at that time, and none of the usual business went on nor were the festivals celebrated. After this, when he heard that some of the soldiers had been saved, that the Germanies were garrisoned and the enemy did not dare to come down even to the Rhine, he ceased to be excited and stopped to consider the matter. A catastrophe so great and prostrating as this, it seemed to him, could have been due to nothing else than the wrath of some Divinity: moreover, by reason of the portents which took place both before the defeat and afterward he was greatly inclined to suspect some miraculous working. The temple of Mars in the field of the same name had been struck by lightning and many locusts that flew into the very city were devoured by swallows; the peaks of the Alps seemed to totter toward one another and to send up three fiery columns; the sky in many places appeared ablaze and at the same time numerous comet stars came to view; spears darting from the north seemed to be falling upon the Roman camp; bees formed their combs about Roman altars; a statue of Victory which was in Germany, facing hostile territory, turned about toward Italy; and once an aimless battle and conflict of the soldiers occurred about the eagles in the camp, as if the barbarians had fallen upon them.

For these reasons, then, and also because ...

[A.D. 10 (*a. u.* 763)]

Tiberius did not see fit to cross the Rhine, but kept quiet, watching to see that the barbarians should not do so. The latter, however, knowing him to be present, did not venture to cross either.

Germanicus was endeared to the populace for many causes, but particularly because he interceded for various persons, and this quite as much in the presence of Augustus himself as before other justices. Now there was a court

to try a quæstor who was charged with murder, and, as Germanicus was going to be his advocate, his accuser became alarmed lest he might consequently meet with defeat before those judges in whose presence such cases were wont to be tried, and he desired to have Augustus preside. Yet his efforts were vain, for he did not win his case.

... holding [it] after his prætorship.

[A.D. 11 (*a. u.* 764)]

[25] But in the following season the temple of Concord was dedicated by Tiberius and both his name and that of Drusus, his dead brother, were inscribed upon it. In the consulship of Marcus Æmilius with Statilius Taurus Tiberius and Germanicus acting as proconsul invaded Celtica and overran some parts of it. They did not conquer, however, in any battle (since no one came to close quarters with them), and did not reduce any tribe. For in their fear of falling victims to a new disaster they advanced not far beyond the Rhine, but after remaining there until late autumn and celebrating the birthday of Augustus, on which they held a kind of horse-race under the direction of the centurions, they returned.

At Rome Drusus Cæsar, the son of Tiberius, became quæstor, and sixteen prætors held office because that number became candidates for the position and Augustus, mindful of his condition, was unwilling to offend any of them. The same did not hold true, however, of the years immediately following, but the number remained twelve for a long period. Besides these proceedings the seers were forbidden to prophesy in private to any one, or regarding death even if there should be others with them. Yet in this matter Augustus had no personal feeling, so that by a bulletin he even published to all the conjunction of stars under which he had been born. In addition to forbidding the above he proclaimed to subject states that they should grant no honors to any one assigned to govern them either during his term of office or within sixty days after he had departed. For some governors by arranging for testimonials and eulogies from their subjects were doing much harm. Three senators, as before, transacted business with the embassies, and the knights, — a fact which might cause surprise, — were allowed to fight as gladiators. The reason was that some persisted in disregarding the disenfranchisement stated as a penalty for such conduct. And as there proved to be no use in forbidding it and the participants seemed to require a greater punishment before they would be turned aside from this course, they were given permission to do as they liked. In this way they incurred death instead of disenfranchisement, for they fought more than ever, and especially because their contests were centers of attraction, so that even Augustus became a spectator in company with the prætors who superintended games.

[A.D. 12 (*a. u.* 765)]

[26] Germanicus soon after received the office of consul, though he had not even been prætor, and held it actually throughout the whole year, not because of fitness but as a number of others held office at that time. The consul did

nothing worthy of note save that at this time, too, he acted as advocate in suits, since his colleague Gaius Capito counted as a mere figurehead. Augustus, because he was growing old, wrote a letter commending Germanicus to the senate and the latter to Tiberius: the manuscript was not read by him in person, for he was unable to make himself heard, but by Germanicus, as usual. After that he asked them, making the Celtic war his excuse, not to come to greet him at home nor to be angry if he did not continue to eat with them. For generally, as often as they had a sitting, in the Forum and sometimes in the senate-house itself, they saluted him when he entered and again when he left; and it had already happened that, when he was sitting and sometimes lying down in the Palatium, not only the senate but the knights and many of the populace greeted him. [27] All this time he continued to attend to his business as before. He allowed the knights to become candidates for the tribuneship. And learning that vituperative books concerning certain men were being written, he ordered a search for them. Those that he found in the city he had burned by the ædiles and those outside by the officials who might be in charge, and he visited punishment upon some of the composers. As there were many exiles who were either carrying on their occupations outsidess of the places to which they had been banished or living too luxuriously in the proper places, he forbade that any one who had been debarred from fire and water should stay either on the mainland or on any of the islands distant less than four hundred stadia from the mainland. Only he made an exception of Cos, Rhodes, Samos, and Lesbos, for what reason I know not. He enjoined upon them also that they should not cross the seas to any other point and should not possess more than one ship of burden having a capacity of one thousand amphoræ, and two driven by oars; that they should not employ more than twenty slaves or freedmen; that they should not hold property above twelve and a half myriads; and he threatened to take vengeance upon them for any violation as well as upon all others who should in any way assist them in violating these ordinances. These are the laws, as fully as is necessary for our history, that he laid down.

A festival extraordinary was conducted by the dancers and horse-breeders. The Feast of Mars, because the Tiber had previously occupied the hippodrome, was this time held in the forum of Augustus and honored by a kind of horse-race and by the slaughter of wild beasts. It was celebrated a second time, as custom decreed, and Germanicus on that occasion killed two hundred lions in the hippodrome. The so-called portico of Julia was built in honor of Gaius and Lucius, the Cæsars, and was at that time dedicated.

[A.D. 13 (*a. u.* 766)]

[28] When Lucius Munatius and Gaius Silius had been registered as consuls Augustus reluctantly accepted the fifth decennial presidency of the State and gave Tiberius again the tribunician authority. To Drusus, the latter's son, he granted permission to stand for the consulship a third year, still without having held the prætorship; and for himself he asked twenty annual

counselors because of his old age, which did not permit him to visit the senate any longer save rarely. Previously fifteen were attached to him for six months. It was further voted that any measure should have authority, as satisfactory to the whole senate, which should after deliberation be resolved upon by him in conjunction with Tiberius and with the consuls of the year, with the men appointed for deliberation and his grandchildren (the adopted ones, of course) and the others that he might on any occasion call upon for advice. Gaining by the decree those powers (which in reality he had in any case) he transacted most of the is necessary business, though sometimes lying down. Now as nearly all felt oppressed by the five per cent tax and a political convulsion seemed likely, he sent document to the senate bidding its members seek some other means of income. This he did not in the intention of abolishing the tax but in order that when no other appeared to them preferable they might though reluctantly ratify it without declaiming against him. He also ordered Germanicus and Drusus not to make any official statement about it, for fear that if they expressed an opinion persons would suspect that this had been done by his orders and choose that plan without further investigation. There was much discussion and some schemes were submitted to Augustus in writing. When he found by them that the senators were ready to endure any form of tax rather than that in force, he changed it to a levy upon fields and houses. And without telling how great it would be or in what way imposed, he immediately sent men in different directions to make a list of the possessions both of individuals and of towns. His object was that they should fear losses on a large scale and so be content to pay the five per cent. This actually happened, and so it was that Augustus settled the difficulty.

[29] At the spectacle of the Augustalia which occurred on his birthday a madman seated himself in the chair which was dedicated to Julius Cæsar, and taking his crown put it on. This happening disturbed everybody, for it seemed to have some bearing upon Augustus, as, indeed, proved true.

[A.D. 14 (*a. u.* 767)]

For the following year, when Sextus Apuleius and Sextus Pompeius were consuls, Augustus set out for Campania and after superintending the games at Naples soon passed away in Nola. Omens had appeared to him, not few by any means nor difficult to interpret, that pointed to this end. The sun suffered a total eclipse and most of the sky seemed to be on fire. The forms of glowing logs appeared falling from it and bloody comet stars were seen. When a senate-meeting had been announced on account of his sickness in order that they might offer prayers, the senate-house was found closed and an owl sitting upon it hooted. A thunderbolt fell upon his image standing on the Capitol and erased the first letter of the name of Cæsar. This led the seers to declare that on the hundredth day after that he should attain to some heavenly condition. They made this deduction from the fact that the letter mentioned signifies "hundred" among the Latins and all the rest of the name means "god" among the Etruscans. These signs appeared while he was still alive. Men of later

times called attention to the case of the consuls and of Servius Sulpicius Galba. The former officials were in some way related to Augustus, and Galba, who afterward came to power, was at this time on the very first day of the year enrolled among the *iuvenes*. Since he was the first of the Romans to become sovereign after the race of Augustus had passed away, it gave occasion to some to say that this coincidence had not been due to mere accident, but had been brought about by some divine counsel.

[30] So Augustus fell sick and died. Livia incurred some suspicion regarding the manner of his death, inasmuch as he had secretly sailed over to the island to meet Agrippa and thought to reconcile everything in a way satisfactory to all. She was afraid, some say, that Augustus would bring him back to make him sovereign, and so smeared with poison some figs that were still on trees from which Augustus was wont to gather fruit with his own hands. So she ate the ones that had not been smeared, and pointed out the poisoned ones to him. From this or from some other cause he became ill and sending for his associates he told them all his wishes, finally adding: "Rome was clay when I took it in hand: I leave it to you stone." In this he had reference not entirely to the appearance of its buildings, but also to the strength of the empire. By asking some applause from them as to comic actors at the close of some mime he ridiculed most tellingly the whole life of man.

Thus on the nineteenth day of August, the day on which he first became consul, he passed away, having lived seventy-five years, ten months, and twenty-six days. He had been born on the twenty-third of September. He reigned as monarch, from the time he conquered at Actium, forty-four years lacking thirteen days. [31] His death, however, was not immediately made public. Livia, fearing that as Tiberius was still in Dalmatia there might be some uprising, concealed the fact until the latter arrived. This is the statement made in the larger number of histories and the more trustworthy ones. There are some who have affirmed that Tiberius was present during the emperor's illness and received some injunctions from him. — The body of Augustus was carried from Nola by the foremost men of each city in succession. When it came near Rome the knights took it in charge and conveyed it by night into the city. On the following day there was a senate-meeting, and to it the majority came wearing the equestrian costume, but the officials the senatorial, except for the purple-bordered togas. Tiberius and Drusus his son wore dark clothing made in everyday fashion. They, too, offered incense but made no use of a flute player. Most of the members sat in their accustomed places, but the consuls below, one on the *prætors'* bench and one on the *tribunes'*. After this Tiberius was absolved for having touched the corpse, — a forbidden act, — and for having escorted it on its way, although the ...

[32]

... his will Drusus took from the virgin priestesses of Vesta, with whom it had been deposited, and carried it into the senate. Those who had sealed it viewed the impressions, and then it was read in hearing of the senate.

... one Polybius of Cæsar's household read his will, as it was not proper

for a senator to read anything of the sort. It showed that two-thirds of the inheritance had been left to Tiberius and the rest to Livia, — at least this is one report. In order that she, too, might have the benefit of his property he had asked permission of the senate to leave her so much, since it was contrary to law. These two were mentioned as inheritors. He ordered many objects and sums of money to be given to many different persons, both relatives of his and those joined by no ties of kindred, not only to senators and knights but also to kings; for the people there were a thousand myriads and for the soldiers two hundred and fifty denarii apiece to the Pretorians, half that amount to the city force, and to the remainder of the native soldiery seventy-five each. Moreover, in the case of children, of whose fathers he had been the heir while they were still small, he enjoined that everything, together with income, should be given back to them when they became men: this was, indeed his custom while in life. Whenever he inherited the estate of any one who had offspring, he never neglected to give it all to the man's children, immediately if they were already adults, and later if it were otherwise. Though he took such an attitude toward other people's children he did not restore his daughter from exile, though he deemed her worthy of gifts; and he forbade her being buried in his own tomb. — So much was learned from the will.

[33] Four books were then brought in and Drusus read them. In the first were written details pertaining to his funeral; in the second all the works which he had done, which he commanded to be inscribed aloft upon bronze columns to be set around his heroum; the third contained an account of military matters, of the revenues and of the public expenditures, the amount of money in the treasuries, and everything else of the sort having a bearing upon the administration; and the fourth had injunctions and orders for Tiberius and for the public. Among these last was a command that they should not liberate many slaves and should thus avoid filling the city with a variegated rabble. He also exhorted them not to enroll large numbers as citizens, in order that there might be a distinct difference between themselves and subject nations; to deliver the control of public business to all who had ability both to understand and to act, and never to let it depend on any one person; in this way no one would set his mind on a tyranny nor would the State go to pieces if one fell. He advised them to be satisfied with present possessions and under no conditions to wish to increase the empire to any greater dimensions. It would be hard to guard, he said, and this would lead to danger of their losing what was already theirs. This principle he had himself really always followed not only in speech but also in action. For, whereas he might have made great acquisitions of barbarian territory, he had not wished to do so. — These were his injunctions.

[34] Then came his funeral. There was a couch made of ivory and gold and adorned with robes of purple mixed with gold. In it his body was hidden, in a kind of box down below: a wax image of him in triumphal garb was displayed. This one was borne from the Palatium by the officials for the

following year, and another of gold from the senate-house, and still another upon a triumphal chariot. Behind these came the images of his ancestors and of his deceased relatives (except of Cæsar, because he had been enrolled among the heroes), and those of other Romans who had been prominent in any way, beginning with Romulus himself. An image of Pompey the Great was also seen, and all the nations he had acquired, each represented by a likeness which bore some local characteristic, were carried in procession. After these followed all the remaining objects mentioned above. When the couch had been placed in view upon the orators' platform, Drusus read something from that place: and from the other, the rostra of the Julian shrine, Tiberius delivered the following public oration over the deceased, according to a decree: —

[35] “What needed to be said privately by relatives over the divine Augustus Drusus has spoken. But since the senate has wisely deemed him worthy of some kind of public utterance, I know that the speech was fittingly entrusted to me. To whom more justly than to me, his child and successor, could be the task of praising him be confided? It is not my privilege, however, to be gladdened by the thought that my ability must prove no whit inferior to your desires in the matter and to his worth. Indeed, if I were to speak among strangers, I should be greatly alarmed lest in following my speech they should believe his deeds to be no better than I describe them. As it is, I am encouraged by the thought that my words will be directed to you who know all of them thoroughly, have experienced them all, and for that reason have deemed him worthy of these very praises. You will judge of his excellence not from what I may say but from what you yourselves know, and you will assist my discourse, making good what is deficient by your memory of events. So that in this way his eulogy will become a public one, given by all, as I, like the head of some chorus, indicate the chief points and you come in with the remainder of the refrain. I am certainly not afraid that you will hold me guilty of weakness because I am unable to meet your desires nor that you will be jealous to see his excellence going beyond your reach. Who does not understand the fact that not all mankind assembled in one place could worthily sound his praises? And you all voluntarily make way for him to triumph, not envious to think that not one of you could equal him, but rejoicing in his surpassing greatness. The greater he looms up before you, the more greatly will you feel yourselves benefited, so that envy will not be bred in you by your inferiority to him but awe from the advantages you have received at his hands.

[36] “I shall begin at the point where he also began to enter politics, that is, from his earliest manhood. This, indeed, is one of the greatest achievements of Augustus, — that when he had just emerged from boyhood and was entering upon the state of youth, he paid attention to education so long as public affairs were well managed by the famous Cæsar, the demi-god: when after the conspiracy against the latter the whole commonwealth was thrown

into confusion, he at the same time amply avenged his father and rendered a much needed aid to you, not fearing the multitude of his enemies nor dreading the greatness of the business nor hesitating through his own immaturity. Yet what deed like this can be cited of Alexander of Macedon or our Romulus, who have the reputation of having done something brilliant when very young? But these I shall pass over, lest from merely comparing them with him and bringing them up, — and that among you who are acquainted with him no less than I, — I may be thought to be diminishing the greatness of Augustus. If I am to do this sort of thing, I should be justified only if I looked at his deeds beside those of Hercules: yet even then I should fail of my effect, inasmuch as the latter killed only serpents when he was a child, a stag and a boar when he was a man, — oh, yes, and by Jupiter a lion also, though reluctantly and in obedience to a command; whereas our hero voluntarily made wars and enacted laws not among beasts but among men, carefully preserved the commonwealth, and himself gained brilliance. It was for this that you chose him prætor and appointed him consul at that age when some are unwilling even to serve in the army.

[37] “This was the beginning of political life for Augustus, and it is the beginning of my speech about him. Soon after, seeing that the largest and best portion both of the people and of the senate was in accord with him, but that Lepidus and Antony, Sextus, Brutus, and Cassius were employing rebels, he feared that the city might become involved in many wars, — civil wars, — at once, and be so torn asunder and exhausted as not to be able to revive in any fashion; and so he manipulated them very cleverly and to the greatest public good. He attached himself to the strong ones, who were menacing the very city, and with them fought the others till he made an end of them: when these were out of the way he in turn freed us from the former. He chose against his will to surrender a few to their wrath so that he might save the majority, and he chose to assume a friendly attitude toward them individually so as not to have to fight with them all at once. From this he derived no individual gain but aided us all most evidently. Why should one speak at length to enumerate his deeds in the wars both at home and abroad? Consider especially that the former ought never to have occurred at all and that the latter by the conquests gained show their advantages better than any words, moreover that they largely depended upon chance, that the successes were obtained with the aid of many citizens and many allies so that these deserve the credit equally with him, and finally that the achievements might possibly be compared with those of some others. These, accordingly, I shall put aside. You can behold and read them inscribed in letters and characters in many places. I shall speak only of the works which belong to Augustus himself, which have never been performed by any other man, and have not only caused our city to survive from many dangers of a sorts but have rendered it more prosperous and powerful. The mention of them will confer upon him a unique glory and will afford the elder among you an innocent pleasure while giving the younger

men an exact instruction in the character and constitution of the government.

[38] "This Augustus, then, whom you deemed worthy of this title for the very reasons just cited, as soon as he had freed himself from the civil wars after acting and enduring (not in a way that pleased himself) as Heaven approved, first of all preserved the lives of most of his opponents, who were survivors of the army, and thus he in no way imitated Sulla, called the Fortunate. Not to give you a list of all of them, who does not know about Sosius, about Scaurus the brother of Sextus, and particularly about Lepidus, who lived so long a time after his defeat and continued to be high priest his whole life through? Next he honored his companions in conflict with many great gifts, but did not allow them to act in any arrogant way or to be wanton. You know thoroughly among others in this category both Mæcenas and Agrippa, so that there is no need of my enumerating the names. Augustus had two qualities, too, which were never united in any one else. Some conquerors, I know, have spared their enemies and others have refused to allow their companions to give way to license. But both sorts of behavior at once, continually without any exception, were never found in the same man. Here is evidence. Sulla and Marius treated as enemies even the children of those who fought against them. Why need I cite the other less important men? Pompey and Cæsar were in general guiltless of this conduct, but permitted their friends to do not a few things that were contrary to their own principles. But this man had each of the two virtues so fused and intermingled that to his adversaries he made defeat look like victory and to his comrades he showed a happiness in excellence.

[39] "After doing this and quieting by kindness all that remained of factional disputes and imposing temperance by his benefits upon the victorious military, he might as a result of this and the weapons and the money at his command have been indisputably the sole lord of everything, as, indeed, he had been made by the very course of events. Yet he refused, and like a good physician, who takes in hand a disease-ridden body and heals it, he restored everything to you after making it well. And to what this action amounted you can best realize from the fact that our fathers spoke in praise of Pompey and Metellus, who was formerly prominent, because they voluntarily disbanded the forces with which they had been engaged in war. Now if they, who had but a small force and a merely temporary one and besides saw opponents who would not allow them to do otherwise, — if they received praise for doing this, — how could one speak fittingly of the magnanimity of Augustus? He held all your forces, however great, he was master of all your funds, vast in amount, had no one to fear or suspect: but whereas he might have ruled alone with the approval of all, he would not accept such a course, but laid the arms, the provinces, the money at your feet. Wherefore you with wise insistence and proper prudence would not have it nor allow him to retire to private life; you knew well that democracy would never accommodate itself to such tremendous interests, but that the superintendence of a single person would

most surely preserve them, and so refused what was nominally independence but really factional discord. And making choice of him, whom you had proved worthy by his very deeds, you compelled him to stand at your head for a time at least. When you had in this way tested him even more than before, you finally forced him a second, a third, a fourth, and a fifth time to remain as manager of public affairs. [40] It was only natural. Who would not choose to be safe without trouble, to be prosperous without danger, to enjoy unsparingly the blessings of government and not to be disturbed by cares for its maintenance? Who was there that could rule even his private possessions better than Augustus, to say nothing of the goods of so many human beings? He accepted the trying and hostile provinces for his own portion to guard and preserve, but restored to you all such others as were peaceful and free from danger. Though he supported such a large standing army to fight in your behalf, he let the soldiers be troublesome to none of his own countrymen but rendered them to outsiders most terrifying guardians, to the people at home unarmed and unwarlike. The senators in places of authority were not deprived of appeal to the lot, but prizes for excellence were furnished them in addition. He did not destroy the power of the ballot in their decisions and he guaranteed safety in free speech as well. Cases difficult to decide he transferred from the people to the searching justice of the courts, but preserved to the popular body the dignity of the elections and trained citizens in these to seek a means of honor, not of strife. He even cut away the ambitious greed of office seekers and put a regard for reputation in its place. His own money, which he increased by legitimate methods, he spent for public needs: for the public funds he cared as if they were his own, while he refrained from touching them, as belonging to others. He saw that all public works that were falling to decay were repaired, and deprived no one connected with their renovation of the glory attaching: many structures he built anew (some in his own name, some in that of another), or else gave others charge of erecting them. Consequently, his gaze was directed toward public utility and privately he grudged no one the fame to be derived from public service. Wantonness among his own kin he recompensed relentlessly, but the offences of others he treated with humaneness. Those who had traits of excellence he allowed to come as near as they could to his own standard, and with the conduct of such as lived otherwise he did not concern himself minutely. Among those who conspired against him he invoked justice upon only those whose lives were of no profit even to themselves. The rest he placed in such a position that for a great while they could obtain no excuse either true or false for attacking him. It is nothing surprising that he was occasionally the object of conspiracies, for even the gods do not please all alike. The excellence of good rulers is discernible not in the villainies of others but in their own good behavior.

[41] "I have spoken, Quirites, of his greatest and most striking characteristics in a rather summary way. For if one should desire to enumerate all of his great points individually, it would need many days. Furthermore, I

know that though you will have heard so few facts from me, they will lead you to remember for yourselves everything else, and it will seem almost as if I had spoken that too. In the rest that I have said about him I have not been speaking in a spirit of vainglory, nor has that been your state of mind in listening; but I intended that his many noble achievements might obtain an ever memorable glory in your souls. Who would not feel inclined to make mention of his senators? — how without giving offence he removed the scum that had come to the surface from the factions, how by this very act he exalted the remainder, magnified it by increasing the property requirement, and enriched it by grants of money; how he voted on an equality with the senators and had their help in making changes; how he communicated to them all the greatest and most important matters either in the meeting-place or else at his house, whither he called different members at different times because of his age and bodily infirmity. Who would not like to cite the condition of the rest of the Romans, before whom he set public works, money, games, festivals, amnesty, an abundance of food, safety not only from the enemy and evildoers but even from the acts of Heaven, nor such alone as befall by day, but by night as well? Or, again, the allies? — how he made their freedom free from danger and their alliance to involve no loss. Or the subject nations? — how no one of them was treated with insolence or abuse. How can one forget a man who was in private life poor, in public life rich, saving in his own case but liberal of expenditures for others? — one who even endured all toil and danger for you but would not submit to your escorting him when he went forth on any expedition or to your meeting him when he returned: one who on festivals admitted even the populace to his home, but on other days greeted even the senate only in its chambers? How could one forget the number and precision as well of his laws, which contained for the wronged an all-sufficient consolation and for the wrongdoers a not inhuman punishment? Or his rewards offered to those who married and had children? Or the prizes given to the soldiers without disadvantage to any other person? Then there is the fact of his being satisfied with our possessions once for all acquired by the will of Destiny, and his refusal to subjugate additional territory. For while imagining that we bore a wider sway we might meantime lose all we had. You recall how he always shared the joys and sorrows, the jests and earnestness of his intimate friends, and allowed absolutely all who could make any useful suggestion to feel free to speak; how he praised those who spoke the truth and hated flatterers; how he bestowed upon many large sums from his own means, and how when aught was bequeathed to him by men with children he restored it all to those children. What oblivion is dark enough to bury all this? It was for this, therefore, I say, that you naturally made him your head and a father of the people, that you decked him with many marks of esteem and numerous consulships and finally declared him a hero and published him as immortal. Hence we ought not either to mourn for him, but to give his body back now in due time to Nature, and to glorify his spirit, as that of a god, forever.”

[42] This was what Tiberius read. Directly after, the same men as before took up the couch and carried it through the triumphal gateway, according to the senate's decree. There were present and took part in carrying him out the senate and the equestrian class, the women of his family, and the pretorian guard; and nearly everybody else in the city was in attendance. When the body had been placed on the pyre in the Campus Martius, all the priests marched about it first; and then the knights, all the magistrates and others, and the heavy-armed force for garrison duty ran around it; and they cast upon it all the triumphal decorations which any of them had ever received from him for any deed of valor. Next the centurions took torches, conformably to a decree of the senate, and kindled the fire from beneath. So it was consumed, and an eagle released from it flew aloft appearing to bear his spirit into heaven. When this had been accomplished most of those present departed; but Livia remained on the spot for five days in company with the most prominent knights, and gathered his bones, which she placed in the monument.

The show of grief required by law was prolonged^[43] only for a few days by the men, but by the women, according to a decree, for a whole year. Real grief not in the hearts of many at the time, but later felt by all the citizens. Augustus had been accessible to all and was accustomed to aid many persons in the matter of money. He used to bestow honors scrupulously upon his friends and delighted exceedingly to have them speak frankly. One instance, in addition to what has been told, occurred in the case of Athenodorus. The latter was once brought into his room in a covered litter, as if it were some woman, and leaping from it sword in hand asked: "Aren't you afraid that some one may come in this way and kill you?" Instead of being angry Augustus thanked him for his suggestion.

The people consequently were wont to recall these traits of his, and how he did not get blindly enraged at those who injured him as well as how he kept faith with even such as were unworthy of it. There was a robber named Corocotta, who flourished in Spain, and the emperor was in the first place so angry at him that he offered twenty-five myriads to the man that captured him alive. Later the robber came to him of his own accord, and he not only did him no harm but made him richer by the amount of money mentioned. Hence the Romans missed him mightily for these reasons as well as because by mingling monarchy with democracy he preserved their freedom for them and secured orderliness and security, so that their lives, free from the audacities of democracy, free from the wantonness of tyrannies, were cast in a liberty of moderation and under a monarchy without terrors; they were subjects of royalty, yet not slaves, and democratic citizens without discord. ^[44] If any of them remembered his former deeds in the course of the civil wars, they laid them to the pressure of circumstances, and they thought it fair to look for his real disposition, which had given him undisputed authority. This offered, in truth, a mighty contrast. Any one who goes carefully into each of his separate actions will find this true. In regard to the mass of them I must record curtly

that he stopped all factional disputes, transformed the government in a way to give it power, and strengthened it greatly. Therefore if any deed of violence is encountered, — as is often bound to happen when the face of a situation shifts unexpectedly, — one might more justly blame the circumstances themselves than him.

Not the smallest factor in his glory was the length of his reign. The majority of those that had lived under a democracy and the more powerful had time to die. Those who were left, knowing nothing of that form of government and having been reared entirely or mostly under existing conditions, were not only not displeased with them, — they had become so familiar, — but took delight in them, for they saw that these were better and more free from terror than others of which they heard.

[45] Though the people knew this during his life they nevertheless realized it more fully after his decease. Human nature is so constituted that in good fortune it does not perceive its prosperity so fully as it misses it when evil days arrive. This was the case then in regard to Augustus. When they found his successor Tiberius not the same sort of man they longed for the previous emperor. Persons with their wits about them had some immediate evidence of the change in the constitution. The consul Pompeius, who went out to meet the men bearing the body of Augustus, received a blow in the leg and had to be carried back with the body. An owl sat over the senate-house again at the very first sitting of the senate after his death and uttered many ill-omened cries. The two men differed so from each other that some suspected that Augustus with full knowledge of Tiberius's character had purposely appointed him for successor to the end that he himself might have greater glory. This began to be rumored at a later date.

[46] At this time they declared Augustus immortal and assigned to him attendants and sacred rites, making Livia (who was already called Julia and Augusta) his priestess. Permission was granted Livia to employ a lictor during the services. And she bestowed upon a certain Numerius Atticus, a senatorial *exprætor*, twenty-five myriads because he swore that he had seen Augustus ascending into heaven after the manner described in the cases of Proclus and of Romulus. A heroûm voted by the senate and built by Livia and Tiberius was erected to the dead emperor in Rome, and others at many different points, sometimes with the consent of the nations concerned and sometimes without their consent. Also the house at Nola, where he passed away, was dedicated to him as a precinct. While the heroûm was being built in Rome, they placed a golden image of him upon a couch in the temple of Mars, and to this they paid all the honors that they were afterward to give to his statue. Other votes in regard to him were that his image should not be borne in procession at any one's funeral and the consuls should celebrate his birthday with games no less than that of Mars the tribunes, as being sacrosanct, were to manage the Augustalia. These officials conducted everything as had been the custom, wearing the triumphal costume at the horse-race; they did not, however,

ascend the chariot. Besides this Livia held a private festival in his honor for three days in the Palatium, and this is continued to the present day by whoever is emperor.

[47] This was the extent of the decrees passed in memory of Augustus nominally by the senate but really by Tiberius and Livia. Various men made various motions and they decided that Tiberius should receive written proposals from them and pick out whatever he chose. I have added the name of Livia because she took a share in the proceedings, as though she had full power.

Meantime the populace was plunged in tumult because at the Augustalia one of the dancers would not enter the theatre for the stipulated pay. They did not cease their disturbances until the tribunes convened the senate without delay and begged that body to allow them to spend something more than the legal amount. — Here ends my account of Augustus.

[Footnote 1: Undoubtedly *C. Vibius POSTUMUS* is the person meant.]

[Footnote 2: Reading [Greek: paremenoi] (Boissevain, following the MS.).]

[Footnote 3: A leaf is here missing in the codex Marcianus. Of the portion lost Zonaras supplies about one quarter.]

[Footnote 4: Another leaf of the codex Marcianus is here lacking, leaving a gap of which Zonaras and an Excerpt of de Valois supply a sixth or more.]

[Footnote 5: A conjecture of Boissevain's. The MS. has "Sardinia." (See Mnemosyne, N.S. XIII, .)]

[Footnote 6: Dio here appears to confuse the festival of Augustus's Birthday (September 23d) with that of the Augustalia proper, which was celebrated October third to twelfth. The opening of chapter 34, Book Fifty-four, might lead one to think, however, that he had accustomed himself to use the phrase "which are still celebrated" to listing the latter from the former.]

[Footnote 7: This sentence in the MS. is faulty. Oddey and Bekker supplied words for the necessary sense.]

[Footnote 8: Compare Roscher, II, column 2399.];

BOOK 57

The following is contained in the Fifty-seventh of Dio's Rome:

About Tiberius (chapter I ff.). How Cappadocia began to be governed by Romans (chapter 17). How Germanicus Cæsar died (chapter 18). How Drusus Cæsar died (chapter 22).

Duration of time, 11 years, in which there were the following magistrates here enumerated:

Drusus Cæsar Tiberi F., C. Norbanus C. F. Flaccus (A.D. 15 = a. u. 768 = Second of Tiberius, from Aug. 19th.)

T. Statilius T. F. Sisenna Taurus, L. Scribonius L. F. Libo. (A.D. 16 = a. u. 769 = Third of Tiberius.)

C. Cæcilius C. F. Nepos [or] Rufus, L. Pomponius L. F. Flaccus. (A.D. 17 = a. u. 770 = Fourth of Tiberius.)

Tib. Cæsar Augusti F. (III), Germanicus Cæsar Tib. F. (II). (A.D. 18 = a. u. 771 = Fifth of Tiberius.)

M. Iunius M. F. Silanus, C. Norbanus C. F. Flaccus or Balbus. (A.D. 19 = a. u. 772 = Sixth of Tiberius.)

M. Valerius M. F. Messala, M. Aurelius M. F. Cotta. (A.D. 20 = a. u. 773 = Seventh of Tiberius.)

Tib. Cæsar Augusti F. (IV), Drusus Iulius Tib. F. (II). (A.D. 21 = a. u. 774 = Eighth of Tiberius.)

Decimus Haterius C. F. Agrippa, C. Sulpicius Serg. F. Galba. (A.D. 22 = a. u. 775 = Ninth of Tiberius.)

C. Asinius C. F. Pollio, C. Antistius C. F. Vetus. (A.D. 23 = a. u. 776 = Tenth of Tiberius.)

Sergius Cornelius Sergi F. Cethego, L. Visellius L. F. Varro. (A.D. 24 = a. u. 777 = Eleventh of Tiberius.)

M. [or C.] Asinius [M. or] C. F. Agrippa, Cossus Cornelius Cossi F. Lentulus. (A.D. 25 = a. u. 778 = Twelfth of Tiberius.)

BOOK 57 BOISSEVAIN

[A.D. 14 (*a. u.* 767)]

[1] Tiberius was a patrician of good education, but he had a most peculiar nature. He never let what he desired appear in his talk, and about what he said he wished he usually cared nothing at all. Thus his words indicated just the opposite of his real purpose: he denied any interest in what he longed for and urged the claims of what he hated. He would exhibit anger over matters that were very far from arousing his rage and made a show of affability where he was most vexed. He would pity those whom he severely punished and retain a grudge against those whom he pardoned. Sometimes he would regard his dearest foe as his nearest friend and again he would act toward his most intimate companion as if the latter were thoroughly hostile. In general, he thought it bad policy for the independent sovereign to reveal his state of mind; this was the source, he said, of great failures, but by the opposite course even more successes, and greater, were attained. If he had merely followed this method without complications, he would have had no protection against such as had come to know him; they would have taken everything by contraries and would have deemed his saying that he did not wish something to be equivalent to his ardently desiring it, and that he was eager for something equivalent to his not being concerned about it. It happened, however, that he became angry if any one gave evidence of understanding him. Many were those he put to death for no other offence than having comprehended him. It was a dangerous matter, then, to fail to understand him — for many were ruined by approving what he said instead of what he wished, — but still more dangerous to understand him. Such persons were suspected of discovering his practice and being consequently displeased with it. Practically the only sort of man that could maintain himself, — and such a person is rarely found, — was one who did not misunderstand his nature yet did not subject it to uncomfortable exposure. Under these conditions men would not be deceived by believing him nor be hated for revealing their comprehension of his policy. For he gave plenty of trouble both to any one who opposed what he said and to any one who favored it. As he was really anxious for one thing to be done but wanted to appear to desire something different, he invariably regarded those who took either side as his opponents and therefore was hostile to the one class because of his real feelings, and to the other for the sake of appearances.

[2] It was due to this characteristic that, as emperor, he sent a dispatch straight from Nola to the legions and provinces declaring that he was emperor. This name, which was voted him along with the rest, he would not accept, and though taking the portion of Augustus he would not adopt this title of his. At a time when he was already surrounded by the body-guards he asked the senate to help him escape suffering any violence at the burial of the emperor's body.

He was afraid some men might snatch it up and burn it in the Forum, as they had that of Cæsar. When somebody thereupon as a compliment voted that he be given a guard, as if he had none, he saw through the man's flattery and answered: "The soldiers are not mine but the public's." Besides doing this he administered in fact all the business of the empire, meanwhile declaring that he wanted none of it. At first he said he should give it all up on account of his age, — fifty-six, — and his near-sightedness (although he saw extremely well in the dark, his eyes in the daylight were very weak). Later he asked for some associates and colleagues, though not to take charge of the whole domain at once, as in an oligarchy, but he divided it into three parts, one of which he should retain himself and yield the remaining two to others. One of these portions consisted of Rome and the rest of Italy, the second of the legions, the third of the subject peoples outside. Though he became very urgent, most of the senators still opposed him and begged him to govern the entire realm. But Asinius Gallus, who employed the frank speech of old days more than was good for him, replied: "Choose whichever part you wish." Tiberius rejoined: "How is it feasible for the same man both to make the division and to choose?" Gallus, perceiving into what a plight he had fallen, framed his words to flatter him, interrupting to the effect that: "I not setting before you the idea of your having a third but the impossibility of the empire's being divided." In fact, however, he did not mollify Tiberius, but after first undergoing many dire sufferings was subsequently murdered. For Gallus had married the former wife of the new ruler and claimed Drusus as his son, and consequently there had been hatred between them before this.

[3] Tiberius acted in this way at that time chiefly because it was his nature and he had determined upon that policy, but partly also because he was suspicious of the Pannonian and Germanic legions and feared Germanicus, the ruler of the Germany of that day and a favorite of theirs. He had previously made sure of the soldiers in Italy by means of the oaths established by Augustus; but as he was suspicious of the others he waited for either possible outcome, intending to save himself by retiring to private life in case the legions should revolt and prevail. For this reason he often feigned sickness and remained at home, so as not to be compelled to say or do anything definite. I have even heard that when it began to be said that Livia against the will of Augustus had kept the empire for him, he took such action that he might appear to have received it not from her (with whom he was on very bad terms), but under compulsion from the senators through surpassing them in excellence. Again I have heard that when he saw that people were cool toward him he waited and delayed in order that they in the hope of his voluntarily resigning the empire might not adopt rebellious measures until he had secured an unshakable control of the government. Still, I do not record these stories as the true causes of his delay, but rather his usual disposition and the disturbance among the soldiers. He sent some one from Nola and had Agrippa killed at once. Yet he declared this had not been done by his orders and he

threatened the perpetrator of the deed. Instead of punishing him, however, he allowed men to invent versions of the affair some to the effect that Augustus had put him out of the way just before his death, others that the centurion who was guarding him slew him on his own responsibility for some revolutionary dealings, others that Livia and not Tiberius had ordered his death.

[4] This rival, then, he had removed from the scene immediately, but there remained Germanicus, whom he feared mightily. The soldiers in Pannonia had risen as soon as they learned of the demise of Augustus. They gathered in one fort and having strengthened it they took many steps toward rebellion. Among other things they attempted to kill their leader, Junius Blæsus, and arrested and tortured his slaves. In general, what they wanted was to have the period of service extend over not more than sixteen years, and they demanded that they should receive a denarius per day and be given at once his prizes that were in the camp. In case they did not obtain their demands they threatened to make the province revolt and to march upon Rome. Indeed, they were at this time with difficulty won over by the persuasions of Blæsus to send envoys to Tiberius at Rome in regard to these matters. For they hoped during this change in the government to accomplish the utmost of their desires either by frightening the emperor into it or by giving the power to some one else. Subsequently, when Drusus came upon them with the Pretorians, they were thrown into tumult once more because no definite answer was returned them. Some of his followers they wounded and they put a guard around him in the night to prevent his escape. Noticing, however, an eclipse of the moon occurring they felt their boldness begin to waver so that they did no further harm to this detachment and despatched envoys again to Tiberius. Meantime a great storm came up, and when on this account every one had retired to his own quarters, the most audacious soldiers were destroyed, some in one manner, some in another, by Drusus and his associates in his own tent, whither he had summoned them on some unsignifying pretext. The rest were restored to good standing on condition of surrendering for punishment those responsible for the uprising. In this way this division became quiet.

[5] The warriors in Germany, however, where many had been assembled on account of the war, would not hear of moderation, since they saw that Germanicus was both a Cæsar and far superior to Tiberius, but proclaiming publicly the above facts they heaped abuse upon Tiberius and saluted Germanicus as emperor. When after much pleading he found himself unable to reduce them to order, finally he drew his sword as if to despatch himself. They cried out upon him in horror, and one of them proffering his own sword said: "Take this; this is sharper." Germanicus, seeing to what lengths the matter had gone, did not venture to kill himself, particularly as he had reason to believe that they would persist in their uprising none the less. Therefore he composed a letter purporting to have been sent from Tiberius, gave them twice the gift bequeathed them by Augustus, — pretending it was the emperor who did this, — and released those who were beyond the age of service. Most

of them belonged to the city troops which Augustus had gathered as an extra force after the disaster to Varus. As a result, they ceased for the time being their seditious behavior. Later on came senators as envoys from Tiberius, to whom the latter had secretly communicated only so much as he wished Germanicus to know. He felt quite sure that they would tell him the emperor's plans in their entirety, and accordingly did not care that either they or Germanicus should trouble themselves about anything further; the instructions delivered were supposed to comprise everything. Now when these men had arrived and the soldiers learned about the trick Germanicus had played, a suspicion sprang up that the presence of the senators meant the overthrow of their leader's measures, and this led to new turmoil. The men-at-arms almost killed some of the envoys and to the point of seizing Germanicus's wife Agrippina (daughter of Agrippa and Julia, the daughter of Augustus) and his son, both of whom had been sent by him to some place for refuge. The boy was called Gaius Caligula because, being brought up for the most part in the camp he wore the military shoes instead of those usual at the capital. At the request of Germanicus they released to him Agrippina, who was pregnant but they retained possession of Gaius. Yet on this occasion too, as they accomplished nothing, they after a time grew quiet. In fact, they experienced such a revulsion of sentiment that of their own accord they arrested the boldest of their number: and some they killed privately, the rest they brought before a gathering; and then, according to the wish of the majority, ^[6] they executed some and released others. Germanicus being still afraid that they would make another uprising invaded the enemy's country and there spent some time, giving them plenty of work and abundant food, — the fruit of others' labor.

Thus, though he might have obtained the imperial power, — for he found favor in the sight of absolutely all the Romans as well as their subjects, — he declined the honor. For this Tiberius praised him and sent many pleasing messages both to him and to Agrippina: he was not, however, pleased with his rival's progress but feared him all the more because he had won the attachment of the legions. Tiberius assumed that he did not feel as he appeared to do, from his own consciousness of saying one thing and doing another. Hence he was suspicious of Germanicus and further suspicious of his wife, who was possessed of an ambition appropriate to her lofty lineage. Yet he displayed no sign of irritation toward them, but delivered many eulogies of Germanicus in the senate and proposed sacrifices to be offered in honor of his achievements as he did in the case of Drusus. Also he bestowed upon the soldiers in Pannonia the same privileges as Germanicus had given. For the future, however, he refused to release members of the service outside of Italy until they had served the twenty years.

^[7] Now when no further news of a revolutionary nature came, but all parts of the Roman world began to yield a steady acquiescence to his leadership, he no longer practiced dissimulation regarding the acceptance of sovereign

power, and managed the empire, so long as Germanicus lived, in the way I am about to describe. He did little or nothing, that is, on his own responsibility, but brought even the smallest matters before the senate and communicated them to that body. In the Forum a platform had been erected on which he sat in public to transact business, and he always gathered about him advisers, after the manner of Augustus. Moreover, he did not take any step of consequence without making it known to the rest. He stated his own opinion openly and not only granted every one the right to oppose it freely in speech, but sometimes even endured to have some vote directly against it. Often he would cast a vote himself. Drusus did this, like the rest, now voting first and again after some others. The emperor would sometimes remain silent and sometimes give his opinion first, or after a few others, or even last; in some cases he would speak out directly, but generally (to avoid appearing to have cut short their freedom of speech), he would say: "If I were to give my views I should propose this or that." This had equal influence with the other method, only those who came after were not prevented by him from stating what appeared good to them. But frequently he would outline one plan and those who came after him would prefer something different; occasionally they even prevailed. Yet for all that he harbored anger against no one. He held court himself, as I have stated, but he also attended the magistrates' courts, both when summoned by them and without an invitation. These officials he allowed to sit in their own places: he himself took his seat on the bench located opposite them and as presiding officer made any remarks that seemed to him pertinent.

[8] In all other matters, too, he behaved in this same way. He would not allow himself to be called "master" by the freedmen, nor "imperator" except by the soldiers; the title of *Pater Patriæ* he put away from him entirely: that of *Augustus* he did not assume (for he never permitted the question to be put to vote), but endured to hear it spoken and to read it when written. Moreover, when he sent messages to any kings he would regularly include this title in his letter. In general he spoke of himself as *Cæsar*, sometimes as Germanicus (from the exploits of Germanicus), and *Princeps Senatus*, according to ancient usage. Often he used to say: "My position is that of master of the slaves, imperator of the soldiers, and first citizen among the rest." He would pray, whenever it happened that he was so engaged, that he might live and rule so long a time as should be to the advantage of the public. And he was so democratic in all circumstances alike that on his birthday he did not permit any unusual demonstrations, and he did not give people the right to swear by his Fortune nor did he prosecute any one who after swearing by it incurred the charge of perjury. In short, he would not (at first, at least) sanction in his own case the carrying out of the custom which has obtained as a matter of course on the first day of the year, down to the present, in honor of Augustus, of all rulers that came after him of whom we make any account, and of such as nowadays succeed to imperial privileges, — namely, the ratification under

oath of what they have done and of what they shall do by citizens alive during the particular year in question. Yet in the case of the measures of Augustus he both administered the oath to others and took it himself. In order to render his attitude more striking, he would let the first day of the month go by, not entering the senate nor showing himself at all in the City on that day, but spending the time in some suburb; then later he would come in and take pledges separately. This was part of the reason that he remained somewhere outside on the first days of the month, but he was also anxious to avoid disturbing any of the inhabitants, who were concerned with the new offices and the festival, and to avoid taking money from them. He did not even commend Augustus for his behavior in this respect because it brought about great dissatisfaction and a great expenditure in order to return favors. [9] Not only in this way were his actions democratic, but no precinct was set apart for him either by his own choice or in any other way, — that is to say at this time. Nor was any one allowed to set up an image of him. Without delay he expressly forbade any city or individual to do this. To this refusal he attached the phrase “unless I grant permission “; but he added: “I will not grant it.” Least of all did he assume to have been insulted or to have been impiously treated by any one. (Men were already calling such a procedure impiety, and were bringing many suits based on that ground.) He would not hear of any such indictment being brought for his own benefit, though he paid tribute to the majesty of Augustus in this matter also. At first he would not punish even such as had incurred charges for their actions in regard to his predecessor, and some against whom complaint was made of their having perjured themselves by the Fortune of Augustus he released. As time went on, however, he put a very great number to death.

[10] Not only did he magnify Augustus as above stated, but in giving the finishing touches to the buildings of which Augustus had laid the foundations (though not bringing them to completion) he inscribed the first emperor’s name; the latter’s statues and heroä, likewise, whether those that the provinces or those that individuals were erecting he partly consecrated himself and partly assigned to some member of the pontifices. This plan of inscribing the builder’s name he carried out not only in the case of the actual monuments of Augustus himself, but equally in the case of all such as needed any repair. He put in good condition all buildings that had fallen to decay (not constructing anything new at all himself, except the temple of Augustus), and appropriated none of them, but restored to all of them the same names, names of the original builders. While expending extremely little for himself he laid out very great sums for the common good, either building over or adorning practically all the public works. He assisted many cities and individuals and enriched numerous senators who were poor and on that account were no longer willing to be members of the senate. However, he did not do this promiscuously and even expunged the names of some for licentiousness and of others for poverty when they could give no adequate reason for it. Every gift that was bestowed

upon any persons was counted out directly in his presence. For since in the days of Augustus the officials who made the presentation were wont to deduct large sums for their own use, he took the greatest care that this should not happen during his reign. All the expenditures, moreover, he made from the regular sources of income. He killed no one for his money, did not confiscate (at this time) any one's property, nor collect any funds by abuses. Indeed, when Aemilius Rectus once sent him from Egypt, of which he was governor, more money than was required, he sent him a message, saying: "To shear my sheep and not to shave them to the skin is what I desire."

[11] Furthermore he was extremely easy of access and ready to grant an audience. The senators he bade greet him all at once and so avoid jostling one another. In fine, he showed himself so considerate that once, when the leaders of the Rhodians sent him some communication and failed to write at the foot of the letter this customary formula about offering their prayers for his welfare, he summoned them in haste as if he intended to do them some harm, but on their arrival instead of administering any serious rebuke had them subscribe what was lacking and then sent them away. The temporary officials he honored as he would have done in a democracy, even rising from his seat at the approach of the consuls. Whenever he entertained them at dinner he would in the first place receive them at the door when they entered, and secondly escort them on their way when they departed. In case he was at any time being carried anywhere in his litter, he would not allow even one of the knights who was prominent to accompany him, still less a senator. On the occasion of festivals or so often as anything similar was going to afford the people leisure, he would go the evening before to one of the Cæsarians who lived near the places where there was sure to be a large crowd and there pass the night. His object was to make it possible for the people to meet him with a minimum of formality and fatigue. The equestrian contests he would often watch in person from the house of some freedman. He attended the spectacles very frequently in order to do honor to those who gave them as well as to ensure the orderliness of the multitude and to seem to take an interest in their celebration. Really he did not care in the least about anything of the kind, nor did he have the reputation of being enthusiastic in these matters. In every way he was so fair and equal that when the populace once desired that a certain dancer be set free he would not approve the proposal until the man's master had been persuaded and received the value of his chattel. His intercourse with his companions was like that between private individuals: he helped them when they were sued and joined them in the ceremony of sacrifice; he visited them when they were sick, taking no guard into the room with him; over one of them who died he himself delivered the funeral oration.

[12] Moreover, he bade his mother behave in a similar manner, so far as it was proper for her to do so, partly that she might imitate him and partly to prevent her becoming overproud. She occupied a position of great prominence, far above all women of former time, so that she could at any time

receive the senate and such of the people as so wished to greet her in her house. This was also inscribed in the public records. The letters of Tiberius bore for a time her name also and were written by both with equal authority. Except that she never ventured to enter the senate or the camps or the public assemblies she undertook to manage everything like a sole ruler. In the time of Augustus she had had great influence and she declared that it was she who made Tiberius emperor. Consequently she was not satisfied to rule on equal terms with him, but wished to assert a superiority over him. In this way many measures out of the ordinary were introduced and many persons voted that she should be called Mother of her Country, many others that she should be termed Parent. Others proposed that Tiberius should receive his name from her, that just as the Greeks were called by their father's name so he should be called by his mother's. This vexed him and he neither ratified the honors voted her (save a very few) nor allowed her any further unusual freedom of action. For instance, she had once dedicated in her house an image to Augustus and in honor of the event wished to entertain the senate and the knights together with their wives, but he would not grant her permission to carry out any part of this program until the senate had voted it, and not even then to receive the men at dinner. Instead, he entertained the latter and she attended to the women. Finally, he removed her entirely from the public sphere, allowing her to direct affairs within doors; then, as she was troublesome even in this capacity, he proceeded to absent himself from the City and avoided her in every way possible. It was chiefly on her account that he removed to Capreae. — This is the tradition that obtains about Livia.

[13] Now Tiberius began to treat more harshly those accused of any crime and became at enmity with his son Drusus, who was most licentious and cruel (as is evidenced by the fact that the sharpest kind of sword was called Drusian after him); him he often censured both privately and publicly. Once he said to him outright in the Presence of many witnesses: "While I live you shall perform no act of violence or insolence, and if you venture to do any such thing, you shall be cut off from the possibility after I am dead." For during some time the emperor continued to live a very temperate life and allowed no one else to indulge in licentiousness but punished numbers for it. Yet once when the senators evinced a desire to have a penalty imposed by law upon those guilty of lewd living he would make no such ruling, explaining that it is better to correct them privately in some way or other instead of laying them open to a public punishment. Under existing conditions, he said, there was a chance of bringing some of them to moderation through fear of disgrace, and they might endeavor to escape discovery; but if the law should once be overcome by nature, no one would pay any further heed to it. Not a few men also were wearing quantities of purple clothing (though this had formerly been forbidden); of these no one was either rebuked or fined: but when a rain came up on a certain festival the emperor put on a dark woolen cloak. After this none of them dared any longer to assume any different kind

of garb.

This is the way he behaved under all conditions so long as Germanicus lived. Subsequent to that event he changed many of his ways. Perhaps he had been minded from the first as he later appeared to feel, and had been merely shamming as long as Germanicus existed because he saw that he was lying in wait for the leadership; or perhaps he was excellent by nature but drifted into vice when he was deprived of his rival. ^[14] I shall notice also separate events, — all those, at least that deserve mention, — each in its proper place.

[A.D. 15 (*a. u.* 768)]

In the consulship of Drusus his son and of Gaius Norbanus he presented to the people the bequests made by Augustus: this was after some one had approached a corpse that was being carried out through the Forum for burial and bending down had whispered something in its ear; when the spectators asked what he had said, he stated that he had commissioned the dead to tell Augustus that they had got nothing as yet. This man the emperor immediately despatched, in order (as he jokingly said) that he might carry his own message to Augustus; with the rest he settled after a little, distributing sixty-five denarii apiece. Some say this payment was made the previous year.

At this time certain knights desired to enter a championship contest in the games which Drusus had arranged for his own celebration and that of Germanicus; Tiberius did not view their combat, and when one of them was killed he forbade the other to fight as a gladiator again. Still other conflicts took place in connection with the horse-race that was in honor of Augustus's birthday; indeed, a few beasts were slain. So things went on for a number of years.

At this time, too, Crete, its governor being dead, was attached to the quaestorship and to the quaestor's assistant for the future. Since, also, many of those to whom the provinces had been allotted lingered in Rome and in the remainder of Italy for a long time, so that those who had held the office before them delayed, contrary to precedent, Tiberius commanded that they should take their departure by the first day of June. Meanwhile his grandson by Drusus died, but he neglected none of his customary duties; it was his settled conviction that a governor of men ought not to give up care of the common weal by reason of private misfortunes, and he confirmed the rest in their purpose not to jeopardize the interests of the living because of the dead.

The river Tiber now proceeded to occupy a large portion of the City, so that there was an inundation. Most people regarded this also as a prodigy, like the great earthquakes which shook down a portion of the wall, and like the frequent fall of thunderbolts, which made wine leak even from pails that were sound. The emperor, however, thinking that it was due to the great number of springs, appointed five senators, chosen by lot, to constitute a permanent board to look after the river, to the end that it should not give out in summer nor become over full in winter, but flow evenly so far as possible all the time. These were the measures of Tiberius.

As for Drusus, he performed the duties pertaining to the consulship along with his colleague as any private citizen might have done. Being left heir to someone's estate he assisted in carrying out the funeral. Yet he was so prone to anger that he inflicted blows upon a distinguished knight, and for this exploit he obtained the surname of Castor. And he showed himself such a hard drinker that one night, when he was forced to lend aid with the Pretorians to some people whose property was on fire, he commanded, at their request for water, to pour it out hot for them. He was so fond of dancers that this class raised a tumult and would not be brought to order by the laws which Tiberius had introduced to apply to them.

[A.D. 16 (*a. u.* 769)]

[15] These were the events of that period. Now when Statilius Taurus was consul with Lucius Libo, Tiberius forbade any man to wear silk clothing and likewise to use gold ornaments, except for sacred ceremonies. As some were at a loss to know whether it were forbidden them also to possess silver ornaments which had some gold inlaid, he wished to issue some decree about this too, but he refused to let the word *emblaema*, since it was a Greek term, be inserted in the original document. Yet he could find no native word that would describe such inlaid work.

This was the position he took in that matter. Now there was a centurion who wished to give some evidence before the senate in Greek, and he would not allow it. Yet he was wont to hear many suits that were argued there in that language and to investigate many himself. Besides his unusual behavior in this respect he failed to pass sentence on Lucius Scribonius Libo, a young noble suspected of revolutionary designs, so long as the latter was well; but upon his falling sick he had him brought into the senate in a covered litter (such as the wives of senators use) to be condemned to death.

A slight delay ensued and Libo committed suicide, whereupon the emperor passed judgment upon his behavior, though he was dead, gave his money to the accusers, and had sacrifices voted for his overthrow, not only for his own sake, but for the sake of Augustus and of the latter's father Julius, as had occasionally been decreed in past times.

Though he took such action in the case of this man, he administered no rebuke at all to Vibius Rufus, who used Cæsar's chair (the one on which the latter was always accustomed to sit and on which he was slain). Rufus did this regularly, besides having Cicero's wife as his consort, and prided himself on both achievements, evidently thinking that he would become an orator by means of the wife or a Cæsar by means of the chair. For this, as I have stated, he received no censure; indeed, he became consul.

Tiberius was, moreover, forever in the company of Thrasyllus and made some use of the mantic art every day, becoming himself so proficient in the study that when he was once bidden in a dream to give money to a certain person, he comprehended that a deceitful spirit had been called up before him and he put the man to death. Likewise, in the case of all the rest of the

astrologers and magicians and those who practiced divination in any other way whatever, he had the foreigners executed and banished all such citizens as still at that time after the previous decree, by which it had been forbidden to engage in any such business in the City, were accused in court of employing the art.

To such of them as obeyed immunity had been granted. In fact, all the citizens would have been acquitted even contrary to his wish, had not a certain tribune prevented it. Here one could catch a glimpse of the democratic constitution, inasmuch as the senate, approving the course of Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso, overcame Drusus and Tiberius and was itself subdued by the tribune.

[16] These affairs were settled in this way. Certain men who had been quaestors the previous year were sent out to the provinces, since those who were quaestors at the time proved too few for them. This was done again and again, as often as it was found necessary.

Many of the public documents had either perished utterly or had faded during the lapse of time. Three senators were therefore elected to copy off what was extant and to look up the rest. — Assistance was given in several conflagrations not only by Tiberius but also by Livia.

The same year a certain Clemens, who had been a slave of Agrippa and resembled him to a certain extent, pretended to be he. He went to Gaul and won the attachment of many there, and later of many in Italy. Finally he marched upon Rome with the avowed intention of recovering the dominion of his grandfather. Many of the inhabitants of the city were thrown into confusion at this, and not a few joined his cause. Tiberius, however, got him in his hands by a clever device and through the agency of certain persons who pretended to sympathize with the upstart. Then he tortured the prisoner in order to learn something about his fellow conspirators, but when the victim uttered not a word the emperor asked him: "How did you get to be Agrippa?" And he replied: "In the same way as you got to be Caesar."

[A.D. 17 (a. u. 770)]

[17] The following year Gaius Cæcilius and Lucius Flaccus received the title of consuls. And when some brought Tiberius money after the first of the month, he would not accept it and published a kind of document regarding this very point, in which he used a word that was not Latin. After thinking it over by night he sent for all those who had accurate knowledge of such matters, for he was extremely anxious to have his diction irreproachable. Thereupon a certain Ateius Capito declared: "Even if no one has previously used this expression, yet because of you we shall all enumerate it among the primitive usages," but was interrupted by one Marcellus, who said: "You, being Cæsar, can extend Roman government over men, but not over words." And the emperor did the man no harm for this, in spite of the excessive frankness of his speech.

He had a grudge, however, against Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia,

because the latter had first become his suppliant to the extent of employing him as advocate when this monarch in the time of Augustus had been accused by his people, and had subsequently slighted him on the occasion of a visit to Rhodes, but had paid court to Gaius, who also went to Asia. Therefore he summoned him on the charge of rebellious behavior and delivered him up to the votes of the senate. (The king was not only well stricken in years, but a great sufferer from gout, and was moreover believed to be demented.) As a matter of fact he had been incommoded previously by loss of mind to the extent of having a guardian placed over his domain by Augustus; but at that time he was no longer weak-witted and was merely feigning, in the hope of saving himself by this expedient if by no other. He would now have been executed, had not some one in testifying against him stated that he had once said: "When I get back home, I will show him what sort of sinews I possess." A shout of laughter went up at this, for the man was not only unable to stand, but could not even assume a sitting posture, and so Tiberius gave up his plan of putting him to death. The condition of the prince was so serious that he was carried into the senate in a covered litter. For since it was customary even for men, whenever one of them came there feeling ill, to be carried in a reclining position, Tiberius took advantage of the method on this occasion, too. (And the invalid spoke a few words, bending forward from the litter.) So it was that the life of Archelaus was temporarily saved, but he died shortly afterward in some other way. After this Cappadocia reverted to the Romans and was put in charge of a knight.

To the cities in Asia which had been damaged by the earthquake an ex-prætor was assigned with five lictors. Considerable money therefore was diverted from the revenues and considerable was given by Tiberius personally. For whereas he refrained scrupulously from the possessions of others, — so long at least as he practiced virtue at all, — and would not even accept the inheritances which were left to him by testators having relatives, he spent vast sums both upon the cities and upon private individuals. He would not hear of any honor or praise for these acts. — Embassies that came from foreign cities or nations he never dealt with alone, but caused a number of others to participate in the deliberations, and especially such as had once governed these peoples.

[18] Now Germanicus, having acquired a reputation for his campaign against the Celtae, advanced as far as the ocean, inflicted an overwhelming defeat upon the barbarians, collected and buried the bones of those who had fallen under Varus, and won back the military standards.

His wife Julia was not recalled from the banishment to which for unchastity her father Augustus had condemned her; nay, he even put her under lock and key till wretchedness and starvation caused her death.

[A.D. 17 or 18]

The senate urged upon Tiberius the request that the month of November, on the sixteenth of which he had been born, should be called Tiberius; to

which he responded: "What will you do, if there arise thirteen Cæsars?"

[A.D. 19 (*a. u.* 772)]

Later, when Marcus Junius and Lucius Norbanus came to office, a portent of some magnitude occurred on the very first day of the month, and it doubtless had a bearing on the fate of Germanicus. Norbanus the consul had always been devoted to the trumpet, and as he had practiced assiduously in this pursuit he wished on this occasion also to play the instrument just about dawn, when many persons were already near his house. This proceeding threw them all without exception into confusion, just as if the consul had imparted to them some warlike signal; and they were also disturbed by the falling of the statue of Janus. Their calm was further ruffled by an oracle, reputed to be a Sibylline utterance, which would not fit any other period of the city's history, but pointed to that very time. It declared:

"After thrice three hundred revolving years have been numbered, Civil strife shall consume the Romans, — and the Sybaritan Folly." ...

Tiberius denounced these verses as false and made an investigation of all the books containing any prophecies. Some he rejected as worthless and others he admitted as genuine.

As there had been a large influx of Jews into Rome and they were converting many of the native inhabitants to their principles he expelled the great majority of them.

At the death of Germanicus Tiberius and Livia were thoroughly pleased, but everybody else was mightily afflicted. He was a man who possessed the most striking physical beauty and likewise the noblest of spirits. Both in education and in strength he was conspicuous [and whereas he was the bravest of the brave against the enemy, he was the mildest of the mild to his friend. Though as a Cæsar he had extreme power he kept his ambitions on the same plane as weaker men. He in no wise conducted himself oppressively toward his subjects] or with jealousy toward Drusus or in any way to deserve censure toward Tiberius. [In brief, he belonged to the few men of all time who have neither sinned against the fortune allotted to them nor been destroyed by it.]

Although on several occasions he might [with the free consent not only of the soldiers but of the people and senate as well] have obtained the imperial power, he refused to do so. His death occurred in Antioch as the result of a plot formed by Piso and Plancina. Bones of men buried in the house where he dwelt and sheets of lead containing certain curses along with his name were found while he yet breathed.

[A.D. 20 (*a. u.* 773)]

Piso was brought before the senate by Tiberius himself on the charge of having murdered Germanicus, but succeeded in securing a postponement and committed suicide.

Germanicus left three sons, whom Augustus in his testament denominated Cæsars. The eldest of these, Nero, at that time had his name

placed among the number of the iuvenes.

[19] Tiberius, who had hitherto been the author of manifold meritorious works and had made but few errors, now, when he ceased to have a rival in view, changed to precisely the reverse of his previous conduct, which had included many excellent deeds. Among other ways in which his rule became cruel he pushed to the bitter end the trials for maiestas, in cases where complaint was made against any one for committing any improper act or uttering any improper speech not only against Augustus but against Tiberius personally and against his mother.

And towards those suspected of plotting against him he was inexorable.

Tiberius was stern in his chastisement of persons accused of an offence. He would remark as follows: "Nobody willingly submits to be ruled, but a man is driven into it reluctantly. Not only do subjects like to refuse obedience, but, more than that, they enjoy plotting against their rulers. And he would accept accusers indiscriminately: a slave might denounce a master or a son a father.

Indeed, by indicating to certain persons his wish for the death of certain others he brought about the destruction of the latter through the medium of the former, and there was no secrecy about these transactions.

Not only were slaves tortured to make them testify against their own masters, but freedmen and citizens as well. Such as accused or offered testimony against persons divided by lot the property of those convicted and received in addition both offices and honors. In the case of many he took care to ascertain the day and the hour that they had been born and on the basis of their character and fortune thus investigated would put them to death. If he discovered any qualities of haughtiness and aspiration to power in any one, he despatched him whether or no. Yet so much did he investigate and understand what was fated for each of the prominent men that on meeting Galba (subsequently emperor), when the latter had betrothed a wife, he remarked: "You also shall taste of the sovereignty." He spared him, as I conjecture, because this was settled as his fate; but, as he explained it himself, because Galba would reign only in old age and long after his death.

[Tiberius also found some pretexts for assassinations. The death of Germanicus led to the destruction of many others on the ground that they were pleased at it.]

The man who coöperated with him and helped him in all his undertakings with the utmost zeal was Lucius Aelius Sejanus, a son of Strabo, and formerly a favorite of Marcus Gabius Apicius, — that Apicius who so surpassed all mankind in voluptuous living that when he had once desired to learn how much he had already spent and how much he still had, on finding that two hundred and fifty myriads were left him became grief-stricken, feeling that he was destined to die of hunger, and took his own life. This Sejanus, accordingly, at one time shared his father's command of the Pretorians. After his father had been sent to Egypt, and he obtained entire control, he made the

force more compact in many ways, gathering within one fortification the cohorts, which had been separate and apart from one another like those of the night guardsmen. In this way the entire body could receive the orders speedily and they were a source of terror to all, because they were within one fortification. This was the man whom Tiberius, because of the similarity of their characters, took as his helper, elevating him to praetorial honors, which had never yet been accorded to any of his peers; and he made him his adviser and assistant in all matters. [In fine, he changed so much after the death of Germanicus that whereas previously he was highly praised, he now attracted even greater wonder.]

[A.D.21 (*a. u.* 774)]

[20] When Tiberius began to hold the consular office in company with Drusus, men immediately began to prophesy destruction for Drusus from this very circumstance. For there is not a man who was ever consul with Tiberius that did not meet a violent death, but in the first place there was Quintilius Varus, and next Gnaeus Piso, and then Germanicus himself, who perished violently and miserably. The emperor was evidently doomed to cause such ruin throughout his life: Drusus, his colleague at this time, and Sejanus, who subsequently participated in the office, also came to grief.

While Tiberius was out of town, Gaius Lutorius Priscus, a knight, who took great pride in his poetic talents and had composed a notable funeral oration over Germanicus for which he had received considerable money, was charged with having composed a poem upon Drusus also, during the latter's illness. For this he was tried in the senate, condemned and put to death. Now Tiberius was vexed, not because the man had been punished, but because the senators had inflicted death upon any one without his approval. He therefore rebuked them and ordered a decree to be issued to the effect that no person condemned by them be executed within ten days, nor the document applying to his case be made public before the same time. This was to ensure the possibility of his learning their decrees in advance even while absent and of rendering a final decision on such matters.

[A.D. 22 (*a. u.* 775)]

[21] After this, when his consulship had expired, he came to Rome and prevented the consuls from acting as advocates to certain persons by saying: "If I were consul, I should not do this."

One of the praetors was accused of having uttered some impious word or having committed some impious act against him, whereupon the man left the senate and taking off his robe of office returned, demanding as a private citizen to have the complaint lodged at once. At this the emperor showed great grief and molested him no further.

[A.D. 23 (*a. u.* 776)]

The dancers he drove out of Rome and would allow them no place in which to practice their profession, because they kept debauching the women and stirring up tumults.

He honored many men, and numbers of those who died, with statues and public funerals. A bronze statue of Sejanus was erected in the theatre during the life of the model. As a result, numerous images of this minister were made by many persons and many encomiums were spoken both in the assembly and in the senate. The consuls themselves, besides the other prominent citizens, regularly had recourse to his house just at dawn, and communicated to him both all the private requests that any of them wished to make of Tiberius and the public business which had to be taken up. In brief, henceforth nothing of the kind was considered without his knowledge.

About this time one of the largest porticos in Rome began to lean to one side and was set upright in a remarkable way by a certain architect whose name no one knows, because Tiberius, jealous of his wonderful achievement, would not permit it to be entered in the records. This architect, accordingly, however he was called after strengthening the foundations all about, so that they could not move out of position, and surrounding all the rest of the arcade with thick fleeces and cloths, ran ropes all over it and through it and by the pushing of many men and machines brought it once more into its previous position. At the time Tiberius both admired him and felt envious of him; for the former reason he honored him with a present of money and for the latter he expelled him from the city. Later, the exile approached him to make supplication during the course of which he purposely let fall a crystal goblet, which fell apart somehow or was broken, and then by passing his hands over it showed it straightway intact; for this the suppliant hoped to have obtained pardon, but instead the emperor put him to death.

[22] Drusus, son of Tiberius, perished by poison. Sejanus, puffed up by power and rank, in addition to his other overweening behavior finally turned against Drusus and once struck him a blow with his fist. As this gave the assailant reason to fear both Drusus and Tiberius, and inasmuch as he felt sure that, if he could get the young man out of the way, he could handle the elder very easily, he administered poison to the former through the agency of those in attendance upon him and of Drusus's wife, whom some name Livilla. Sejanus was her paramour. — The guilt was imputed to Tiberius because he altered none of his accustomed habits either during the illness of Drusus or at his death and would not allow others to alter theirs. But the story is not credible. This was his regular behavior, as a matter of principle, in every case alike, and furthermore he was attached to his son, the only one he had and legitimate. Those that engineered his death he punished, some at once and some later. At the time he entered the senate, delivered the appropriate eulogy over his child, and departed homeward.

Thus perished Sejanus's victim. Tiberius took his way to the senate-house, where he lamented him publicly, put Nero and Drusus (children of Germanicus) in charge of the senate, and exposed the body of Drusus upon the rostra; and Nero, being his son-in-law, pronounced an eulogy over him. This man's death proved a cause of death to many persons, who were taxed

with being pleased at his demise. Among the large number of people who lost their lives was Agrippina, together with her children, the youngest excepted. Sejanus had incensed Tiberius greatly against her, anticipating that, when she and her children were disposed of, he might have for his spouse Livia, wife of Drusus, for whom he entertained a passion, and might wield supreme power, since no successor would be found for Tiberius. The latter detested his nephew as a bastard. Many others also did he banish or destroy for different and ever different causes, for the most part fictitious.

Tiberius forbade those debarred from fire and water to make any will, — a custom still observed. Ælius Saturninus he brought before the senate for trial on the charge of having recited some improper verses about him, and the culprit having been found guilty was hurled from the Capitol. [23]I might narrate many other such occurrences, if I were to go into all in detail. But the general statement may suffice that many were slain by him for such offences. And also this, — that he investigated carefully, case by case, all the slighting remarks that any persons were accused of uttering against him and then called himself all the ill names that other men invented. Even if a person made some statement secretly and to a single companion, he would publish this too, and actually had it entered on the official records. Often he falsely added, from his own consciousness of defects, what no one had even said as really spoken, in order that it might be thought he had juster cause for his wrath. Consequently it came to pass that he himself committed against himself all those outrages for which he was wont to chastise other people on the ground of impiety; and he likewise became subject to no little ridicule. For, if persons denied having spoken certain phrases, he, by asserting and taking oath that it had been said, wronged himself with greater show of reality. For this reason some suspected that he was bereft of his senses. Yet he was not generally believed to be insane simply for this behavior. All other business he managed in a way quite beyond criticism. For instance, he appointed a guardian over a certain senator that lived licentiously, as he might have done for a child. Again, he brought Capito, procurator of Asia, before the senate, and, after charging him with using soldiers and acting in some other ways as if he had supreme command, he banished him. In those days officials administering the imperial funds were allowed to do nothing more than to levy the customary tribute, and they were compelled, in the case of disputes, to stand trial in the Forum and according to the laws, on an equal footing with private persons. — So great were the contrasts in Tiberius's conduct.

[A.D. 24 (*a. u.* 777)]

[24] When the ten years of his office had expired, he did not ask any vote for its resumption, for he had no wish to receive it piecemeal, as Augustus had done. The decennial festival, however, was held.

[A.D. 25 (*a. u.* 778)]

Cremutius Cordus was forced to lay violent hands upon himself, because he had come into collision with Sejanus. He was at the gates of old age and

had lived most irreproachably, so much so that no sufficient complaint could be found against him and he was tried for the history which he had long before composed regarding the deeds of Augustus and the latter himself had read. The ground of censure was that he had praised Cassius and Brutus and had attacked the people and the senate. Of Cæsar and Augustus he had spoken no ill, but at the same time had shown no excessive respect for them. This was the complaint against him, and this it was that caused his death as well as the burning of his works, — those found in the city at this time being destroyed by the ædiles, and those abroad by the officials of each place. Later they were published again, for his daughter Marcia in particular, as well as others, had hidden copies, and they attracted much greater attention by reason of the unhappy end of Cordus.

About this time Tiberius exhibited to the senators his pretorian cohort in the act of exercising, as if they were ignorant of his power; his purpose was to make them more afraid of him, when they saw his defenders so many and so strong.

Besides these events of the time that seem worthy to chronicle in a history, the people of Cyzicus were once more deprived of their freedom because they had imprisoned certain Romans and because they had not completed the heroïum to Augustus that they had begun to build. — And the emperor would certainly have put to death the man who sold the emperor's statue along with his house and was brought to trial for the act, had not the consul asked the ruler himself to give his vote first. Being ashamed to appear partial to himself, he cast his ballot for acquittal.

Also a senator, Lentulus, an excellent man naturally and now far advanced in old age, was accused by some one of having plotted against the emperor. Lentulus was present and burst out laughing. At this an uproar arose in the senate, which was calmed by Tiberius saying: "I am no longer worthy to live, if Lentulus, too, hates me."

[Footnote 1: Reading [Greek: epratten] (Boissevain) in place of the MS. [Greek: eplatten].]

[Footnote 2: This was the name of a celebrated gladiator of the time. (Compare Horace, Epistles, I, 18, 19.)]

[Footnote 3: This is M. Pomponius Marcellus.]

[Footnote 4: Reported elsewhere as *Clutorius* or *Cluturius Priscus*. The error may probably be referred to Dio as well as to Xiphilus, through whom this particular chapter comes. (See Dessau, *Prosop. Imp. Rom.*, I, p.425)]

[Footnote 5: The version of Zonaras says: "whom some record as Julia, others as Livia." Inscriptions give her name as either *Claudia Livia* or *Livilla*. From these two pieces of evidence Boissevain with customary acumen concludes that Dio's original words were probably: "whom some name Livilla, and others Livia."]

BOOK 58

Tiberius withdraws to Capreæ: Sabinus loses his life through the treachery of Latarius (chapter 1).

About the death of Livia (chapter 2).

Gallus is condemned to consume away by a slow death (chapter 3).

Sejanus, puffed up by excessive honors, is put to death together with his household and friends by the artifice of Tiberius (chapters 4-19).

The method of selecting magistrates and of holding comitia (chapter 20).

The lustfulness of Tiberius, his cruelty towards his own family and others, and likewise his greed (chapters 21-25).

About Artabanus, the Parthian King, and about Armenia (chapter 26).

About the death of Thrasyllus (chapter 27).

About the death of Tiberius (chapter 28).

DURATION OF TIME.

Cn. Lentulus Gætulicus, C. Calvisius Sabinus. (A.D. 26 = a. u. 779 = Thirteenth of Tiberius, from Aug. 19th.)

M. Licinius Crassus, L. Calpurnius Piso. (A.D. 27 = a. u. 780 = Fourteenth of Tiberius.)

App. Iunius Silanus, P. Silius Nerva. (A.D. 28 = a. u. 781 = Fifteenth of Tiberius.)

L. Rubellius Geminus, C. Fufius Geminus. (A.D. 29 = a. u. 782 = Sixteenth of Tiberius.)

M. Vinicius Quartinus, L. Cassius Longinus. (A.D. 30 = a. u. 783 = Seventeenth of Tiberius.)

Tiberius Aug. (V), L. Ælius Seianus. (A.D. 31 = a. u. 784 = Eighteenth of Tiberius.)

Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, Furius Camillus Scribonianus. (A.D. 32 = a. u. 785 = Nineteenth of Tiberius.)

Serv. Sulpicius Galba, L. Cornelius Sulla, (A.D. 33 = a. u. 786 = Twentieth of Tiberius.)

L. Vitellius, Paulus Fabius Persicus. (A.D. 34 = a. u. 787 = Twenty-first of Tiberius.)

C. Cestius Gallus, M. Servilius Nonianus. (A.D. 35 = a. u. 788 =

Twenty-second of Tiberius.)

Sex. Papinius, Q. Plautius. (A.D. 36 = a. u. 789 = Twenty-third of Tiberius.)

Cn. Acerronius Proculus, C. Pontius Nigrinus. (A.D. 37 = a. u. 790 = Twenty-fourth of Tiberius, to March 26th.)

BOOK 57, BOISSEVAIN.

[A.D. 26 (*a. u.* 779)]

[1] He went away about this time from Rome and never returned to the city at all, though he was ever on the point of doing so and kept sending messages to that effect.

[A.D. 27 (*a. u.* 780)]

Much calamity could be laid by the Romans at his door, since he wasted the lives of men alike for public service and for private whim, as when he decided to expel the hunting spectacles from the city. Consequently some persons attempted to carry them on in the country outside and perished in the ruins of their theatres, which had been loosely constructed of rude planks.

[A.D. 28 (*a. u.* 781)]

It was now, too, that a certain Latarius, a companion of Sabinus (one of the most prominent men at Rome) and also in favor with Sejanus, concealed senators in the ceiling of the apartment where his friend lived and led Sabinus into conversation. By throwing out some of his usual remarks he induced the other also to speak out freely all that he had in his mind. It is the practice of such as wish to play the sycophant to take the lead in some kind of abuse and to disclose some secret, intending that their victim either for listening to them or for saying something similar may find himself liable to indictment. To the sycophants, since they do it with a purpose, freedom of speech involves no danger. They are regarded as speaking so not because their words express their real sentiments but because they wish to convict others. Their victims, however, are punished for the smallest syllable out of the ordinary that they may utter. This also happened in the present case. Sabinus was put in prison that very day and subsequently perished without trial. His body was flung down the Scalæ Gemoniæ and cast into the river. The affair was made more tragic by the behavior of a dog of Sabinus that went with him to his cell, was by him at his death, and at the end was thrown into the river with him. — Such was the nature of this event.

[Sidenote: A.D. 29 (*a. u.* 782)]

[2] During this same period Livia also passed away at the age of eighty-six. Tiberius paid her no visits while she was ill and did not personally attend to her laying out. In fact, he made no arrangements at all in her honor save the public funeral and images and some other small matters of no importance. As for her being deified, he forbade that absolutely. The senate, however, did not content itself with voting merely the measures which he had ordained, but enjoined upon the women mourning for her during the entire year, although it approved the course of Tiberius in not abandoning even at this time the conduct of public business. Furthermore they voted her an arch (as had never been done in the case of any other woman), because she had preserved not a few of them, had reared many children belonging to citizens, and had helped

find husbands for numerous girls, — for all of which acts some called her Mother of her Country. She was buried in the mausoleum of Augustus.

Tiberius would not pay a single one of her bequests to anybody.

Among the many excellent utterances of hers that are related is one concerned with the occasion when some men that were naked met her and on that account fell under sentence of execution; she saved their lives by saying that to chaste women such persons were no whit different from statues. When some one asked her how and by what course of action she had obtained such an influence over Augustus, she answered that it was by being scrupulously chaste herself, doing willingly whatever pleased him, not meddling with any of his business, and particularly by pretending neither to hear of nor notice the favorites that were the objects of his passion. Such was the character of Livia. The arch voted to her, however, was not built for the reason that Tiberius promised to construct it at his own expense. For, as he disliked to annul the decree by direct command, he made it void in this way, by not allowing the work to be undertaken out of the public funds nor attending to it himself.

[A.D. 29 or 30]

Sejanus was rising to still greater heights. It was voted that his birthday should be publicly observed, and the mass of statues which the senate and the equestrian order, the tribes and the foremost citizens set up, would have passed any one's power to count. Separate envoys were sent to both these "rulers" by the senate as well as the knights and also by the people, who selected them from their own tribunes and aediles. For both of them alike they offered prayers and sacrifices and they took oaths by their Fortunes.

[A.D. 30 (a. u. 783)]

[3] Gallus, who married the wife of Tiberius and spoke his mind regarding the empire, was the next object of the emperor's attack, for which the right moment had been carefully selected. [Whether he really believed that Sejanus would be emperor or whether it was out of fear of Tiberius, he paid court to the former. It may indeed, have been a kind of plot, to make the minister irksome to Tiberius and so accomplish his ruin: but at any rate Gallus transacted the greater and more important part of his business with him and made efforts to be one of the envoys. Therefore the emperor sent a report about him to the senate, making among other statements one to the effect that this man was jealous of his friendship for Sejanus, although Gallus himself treated Syriacus as an intimate friend. He did not make this known to Gallus, entertaining him most hospitably instead.] Hence something most unusual befell him that never happened to any one else. On the very same day he was banqueted at the house of Tiberius, pledging him in the cup of friendship, and was condemned before the senate. Indeed, a prætor was sent to imprison him and lead him away for punishment. Yet Tiberius, though he had acted so, did not permit his victim to die, in spite of the latter's wish for death as soon as he learned the decree. Instead, he bade Gallus (in order to make his lot still more dismal) to be of good cheer and instructed the senate that he should be

guarded without bonds until the emperor should reach the City; his object, as I said, was to make the prisoner suffer for the longest possible time both from deprivation of his civic rights and from terror. So it turned out. He was kept under the eyes of the consuls of each year except when Tiberius held the office, in that case he was guarded by the prætors, not to prevent his escape, but to prevent his death. He had no companion or servant as associate, spoke to no one, saw no one, except when he was compelled to take food. And what he got was of such a quality and amount as neither to afford him any pleasure or strength nor yet to allow him to die. This was the worst feature of it. Tiberius did the same thing in the case of many others. For instance, he had imprisoned one of his companions, and when there was later talk about executing him, he said: "I have not yet made my peace with him." Some one else, again, he had tortured very severely, and then on ascertaining that the victim had been unjustly accused he had him killed with all speed, remarking that he had been too terribly outraged to find any satisfaction in living. Syriacus, who had neither committed nor been charged with any wrong, but was renowned for his education, was slain merely for the reason that Tiberius said he was a friend of Gallus. [Sejanus brought false accusation also against Drusus, through the medium of his wife. For, by maintaining illicit relations with practically all the wives of the distinguished men, he learned what their husbands said and did, and further made them his assistants by promises of marriage. Now when Tiberius without discussion sent Drusus to Rome, Sejanus, fearing that his position might be injured, persuaded Cassius to busy himself against him.]

After exalting Sejanus to a high pinnacle of glory and making him a member of his family by the alliance with Julia, daughter of Drusus, Tiberius later killed him.

[4] Now Sejanus was growing greater and more formidable all the time, and his progress made the senators and the rest look up to him as if he were actually emperor and esteem Tiberius lightly. When Tiberius learned this, he did not regard the matter as a trivial one, fearing, indeed, that they would hail his rival as emperor outright, and he did not neglect it. Yet he did nothing openly, for Sejanus had won the entire pretorian guard thoroughly to his own side and had gained the favor of the senators partly by benefits, partly by implanting hopes, and partly by intimidation. He had made all the attendants on Tiberius so entirely his friends that absolutely everything the emperor did was at once reported to him, whereas of what he did not a word reached Tiberius's ears. Hence the latter appeared content to follow where Sejanus led, appointed him consul, and termed him Sharer of his Cares, repeating often the phrase "My Sejanus," and publishing the same by writing it to the senate and the people. Men took this behavior as sincere and were deceived, and so set up bronze statues all about to both alike, wrote their names together in bulletins, and brought into the theatres gilded chairs for both. Finally it was voted that they should together be made consuls every four years and that a

body of citizens should go out to meet both alike whenever they entered Rome. In the end they sacrificed to the images of Sejanus as to those of Tiberius. This was the way matters stood with Sejanus. Now among the rest many famous men met an ill fate, of whom was also Gaius Fufius Geminus. Being accused of the crime of maiestas against Tiberius he took his will into the senate-chamber and read it, showing that he had left his inheritance in equal portions to his children and to his sovereign. As he was charged with weakness he went home before any vote was reached. When he learned that the quæstor had arrived to attend to his execution, he wounded himself and displaying the wound to the official exclaimed: "Report to the senate that it is thus one dies who is a man." Likewise, his wife, Mutilia Prisca, against whom some complaint was made, made her way into the senate and there stabbed herself with a dagger, which she had brought in secretly.

Next he destroyed Mutilia and her husband together with two daughters on account of her friendship for his mother.

In the days of Tiberius all who accused any persons regularly received money and large allotments both from the victims' property and from the public treasury in addition to various honors. There were cases where certain men who impudently threw others into a panic or recklessly passed the death sentence upon them obtained in the one instance statues and in the other triumphal honors. Hence several citizens who were really illustrious and conquered the right to some such distinction would not assume it out of reluctance to let any period of their lives betray even a superficial similarity to the careers of those scoundrels.

Tiberius, feigning sickness, sent Sejanus on to Rome with the assurance that he should follow. He declared that in this separation a part of his own body and soul was wrenched away from him: shedding tears he embraced and kissed him, and Sejanus naturally was thereat the more elated.

[A.D. 31 (a.u. 784)]

[5] By this time Sejanus was so imposing both in his haughtiness of mind and in his immensity of power that, to make a long matter short, he seemed to be the emperor and Tiberius a kind of island potentate because the latter spent all his days in the island called Capreæ. Then there was rivalry and jostling about the great man's doors from the fear not merely that a person might fail to be observed by his patron but that he might appear among the last: for all the words and gestures, particularly of those in front, were carefully watched. People who hold a prominent position as the result of native worth are not given at all to seeking signs of friendship from others, and in case anything of the sort is seen to be wanting on the part of these others the persons in question are not provoked, inasmuch as they have an innate consciousness that they are not being looked down upon. Any, however, that hold an artificial rank are extremely jealous of all such attentions, feeling them to be necessary to render their position complete. If they fail to obtain them then they are as irritated as if slander were being pronounced against them and as

angry as if they were the recipients of positive insult. Consequently the world is more scrupulous in the case of such persons than (one might almost say) in the case of emperors themselves. To the latter it is ascribed as a virtue to pardon any one if an error is committed; but in the self-made persons that course appears to argue an inherent weakness, whereas to attack and to exact vengeance is thought to furnish proof of great power.

One morning, the first of the month, when all were gathered at Sejanus's house, the couch placed in the small room where he received broke into infinitesimal fragments under the weight of the throng seated upon it; and, as he was leaving the house, a weasel darted through the midst of them. After he had sacrificed on the Capitol and was now coming down to the Forum, his servants that acted as body-guard turned aside along the road leading to the prison, because the crowd prevented them from escorting him, and as they descended the steps down which condemned criminals were commonly cast they slipped and fell. Subsequently he took the auspices and not one bird of good omen appeared, but crows flew and cawed about him and then flew off all together to the jail, where they alighted.

[6] These prodigies neither Sejanus nor any one else laid to heart. For, in view of the way things stood, not even if some god had plainly foretold that so great a change would take place in a short time, would any one have believed it. They swore by his Fortune as if they would never be weary, and hailed him colleague of Tiberius, making this phrase refer not to the consulship but to the supreme power. Tiberius was no longer uninformed of aught that concerned his minister. He racked his brains to see in what manner he might kill him, but, not finding any way in which he might do this openly and safely, he treated both the man himself and all the rest in a remarkable fashion, so as to gain an accurate knowledge of their feeling. He sent many despatches of all kinds regarding himself to Sejanus and to the senate incessantly, saying at one time that he was poorly and just at the point of death, and again that he was in exceedingly good health and would reach Rome directly. Now he would strongly approve Sejanus and again vehemently denounce him. Some of his companions he would honor to show his regard for him, and others he would dishonor. Thus Sejanus, filled in turn with extreme elation and extreme fear, was always in a flutter. He could not decide to be terrified and for that reason attempt a revolution, inasmuch as he was being honored, nor yet to become bold enough to attempt some desperate venture inasmuch as he was frequently abased. Moreover, all the rest of the people were getting to feel dubious, because they heard alternately and at short intervals the most contrary reports, because they could no longer justify themselves in either admiring or despising Sejanus, and because they were wondering about Tiberius, thinking first that he was going to die and then that his arrival was imminent.

[7] Sejanus was disturbed by all this, and a great deal more by the fact that from one of his statues at first a mass of smoke ascended in a burst, and then, when the head was taken off to enable investigators to see what was going on,

a huge serpent darted up. Another head at once replaced the former, and accordingly he was on the point of sacrificing to himself (for sacrificing to himself was a regular part of his program), when a rope was discovered coiled around the statue's neck. Also a figure of Fortuna, made (as is said) in the time of Tullius, an early king of Rome, — one which Sejanus at this time kept at his house and took great pride in, — he saw turn away while he was sacrificing in person ... and later others who had gone out in their company. Most men were suspicious of these circumstances, but since they did not know the mind of Tiberius and further took into consideration the latter's caprice and the unstable condition of affairs, they were divided in sentiment. Privately they kept a sharp eye on their own safety, but publicly they paid court to him, among other reasons because Tiberius had joined to [him] as priests both Sejanus and his son. Moreover, they had given him the proconsular authority and had likewise voted that word be sent to all such as were consuls from year to year to emulate him in their office. So Tiberius had honored him with the priesthoods, but he did not send for him: instead, when his minister requested that he might go to Campania, pleading as an excuse that his fiancée was ill, the emperor directed him to stay where he was, giving as a reason that he would himself arrive in Rome in almost no time.

[8] As a result, then, of this, Sejanus was again gradually alienated and his vexation was increased by the fact that Tiberius appointed Gaius priest with the imperial commendation and gave some hints to the effect that he should make the new appointee his successor in the empire. The angry favorite would have begun rebellious measures, especially as the soldiers were ready to obey him in everything, had he not perceived that the populace was hugely pleased at what was said in regard to Gaius, out of reverence for the memory of Germanicus his father. Sejanus had previously thought that these persons, too, were on his side, and now, finding them enthusiastic for Gaius, he became dejected. He felt sorry that he had not shown open revolt during his consulship. The rest were strongly influenced against him by the course of events as also by Tiberius's action in releasing soon after an enemy of Sejanus, chosen ten years before to govern Spain and just now being tried on certain charges. Because of Sejanus the emperor also granted temporary immunity from such suits to such others as were going to govern any provinces or to administer any similar public business. And in writing to the senate about the death of Nero he used simply the name Sejanus, with no phrases added as had been his custom. Moreover, he forbade offering sacrifice to any human being (because sacrifice was often offered to this man) and the introduction of any business looking to his own honor (because many honorary measures were being passed for his rival's benefit). He had forbidden this practice still earlier, but now, on account of Sejanus, he renewed his injunction. For naturally, if he allowed nothing of the sort to be done in his own case, he would not permit it in the case of another.

[9] In view of all this, the people began to look down on Sejanus more and

more, to the point of drawing aside at his approach and leaving him alone, — and that openly, without pretence of concealment. When Tiberius learned of it, his courage revived: he felt that he should have the coöperation of the people and the senate, and accordingly began an attack upon his enemy. First, in order to take him off his guard to the fullest possible extent, he spread a report that he would give him the office of tribune. Then he despatched a communication against him to the senate by the hands of Nævius Sertorius Macro, whom he had privately appointed to command the body-guards and had instructed as to precisely what must be done. The latter came by night into Rome as if on some different errand and made known his message to Memmius Regulus, then consul (his colleague sided with Sejanus), and to Græcinus Laco, commander of the night watch. At dawn Macro ascended the Palatine, where there was to be a session of the senate in the temple of Apollo. Encountering Sejanus, who had not yet gone in, he saw that he was troubled at Tiberius's having sent him no message, and encouraged him, telling him aside and in confidence that he was bringing him the tribunician authority. Sejanus, overjoyed at this, hastened to the senate-chamber. Macro sent away to the camp the Pretorians that commonly surrounded the minister and the senate, after revealing to them his right as leader to do so and declaring that he brought documents from Tiberius that bestowed gifts upon them. Around the temple he stationed the night watch in their stead, went in himself, delivered his letter to the consuls, and went out before a word was read. He then put Laco in charge of guard duty at that point, and himself hurried to the camp to prevent any uprising.

[10] Meanwhile the letter was read. It was a long one and contained no wholesale denunciations of Sejanus but first some indifferent matters, then a slight censure of his conduct, then something else, and after that some further objection to him. At the close it said that two senators that were very intimate with him must be punished and that he himself must be kept guarded. Tiberius did not give them orders outright to put him to death, not because such was not his desire, but because he feared that some disturbance might be the result of it. But since, as he said, he could not take the journey safely, he had sent for one of the consuls.

This was all that the composition disclosed. During the reading many diverse utterances and expressions of countenance were observable. First, before the people heard the letter, they were engaged in lauding the man, whom they supposed to be on the point of receiving the tribunician authority. They shouted their approval realizing in anticipation all their hopes and making a demonstration to show that they would concur in granting him honor. When, however, nothing of the sort was discovered, but they kept hearing just the reverse of what they expected, they fell into confusion and subsequently into deep dejection. Some of those seated near him even withdrew. They now no longer cared to share the same seat with the man whom previously they were anxious to claim as friend. Then prætors and

tribunes began to surround him to prevent his causing any uproar by rushing out, — which he certainly would have done, if he had been startled at the outset by any general tirade. As it was, he paid no great heed to what was read from time to time, thinking it a slight matter, a single charge, and hoping that nothing further, or at any rate nothing serious in regard to him had been made a matter of comment. So he let the time slip by and remained where he was.

Meantime Regulus called him forward, but he paid no attention, not out of contempt, — for he had already been humbled, — but because he was unaccustomed to hearing any command given him. But when the consul shouted at him a second and a third time, at the same time stretching out his arm and saying: “Sejanus, come here!” he enquired blankly: “Are you calling *me*?” So at last he stood up, and Laco, who had entered, took his stand beside him. When finally the reading of the letter was finished, all with one voice both denounced him and uttered threats, some because they had been wronged, others through fear, some to disguise their friendship for him and others out of joy at his downfall. Regulus did not give all of them, however, a chance to vote, nor did he put the question to any one regarding the man’s death, for fear there should be come opposition and a consequent disturbance; for Sejanus had numerous relatives and friends. Hence, after asking one person’s opinion and obtaining a supporting vote in favor of imprisonment, he conducted the former favorite out of the senate-chamber, and in company with the other officials and with Laco led him down to the prison.

[11] Then might one have obtained a clear and searching insight into the weakness of man, so that self-conceit would have been never again, under any conditions possible. Him whom at dawn they had escorted to the senate-halls as one superior to themselves they were now dragging to a cell as if no better than the worst. On him whom they once deemed worthy of crowns they now heaped bonds. Him whom they were wont to protect as a master they now guarded like a runaway slave, and uncovered while he wore a headdress. Him whom they had adorned with the purple-bordered toga they struck in the face. Whom they were wont to adore and sacrifice to as to a god they were now leading to execution. The crowd also assailed him, reproaching him violently for the lives he had destroyed and jeering loudly at what had been hoped of him. All of his images they hurled down, beat down, and pulled down, seeming to feel that they were maltreating the man himself, and he thus became a spectator of what he was destined to suffer. For the moment he was merely cast into prison; but not much later, — that very day, in fact, — the senate assembled in the temple of Concord not far from his cell, and seeing the attitude of the populace and that none of the Pretorians was near by it condemned him to death. On these orders he was executed and his body cast down the Scalæ Gemoniæ, where the rabble abused it for three whole days and afterward threw it into the river. His children were put to death by special decree, the girl (whom he had betrothed to the son of Claudius) having been first outraged by the public executioner on the principle that it was unlawful

for a virgin to meet death in prison. His wife Apicata was not condemned, to be sure, but on learning that her children were dead and after seeing their bodies on the Stairs she withdrew and composed a statement regarding the death of Drusus, directed against Livilla, the latter's wife, who had been the cause of a quarrel between herself and her husband, resulting in their separation. This document she forwarded to Tiberius and then committed suicide. Thus the statement came to the hands of Tiberius, and when he had obtained proof of the information he put to death Livilla and all others therein mentioned. I have, indeed, heard that he spared her out of regard for her mother Antonia, and that Antonia herself voluntarily destroyed her daughter by starving her. At any rate, that was later.

[12] At this time a great uproar ensued in the City. The populace slew any one it saw of those who had possessed great influence with Sejanus and relying on him had committed acts of insolence. The soldiers, too, in irritation because they had been suspected of friendliness toward Sejanus and because the nightwatchmen had been preferred before them in the confidence of the emperor, proceeded to burn and plunder, — and this in spite of the fact that all officials were guarding the entire city in accordance with the injunction of Tiberius.

Not even the senate was quiet, but such members of it as had paid court to Sejanus were greatly disturbed by dread of reprisals; and those who had accused or borne witness against any persons were filled with fear by the prevailing suspicion that they had destroyed their victims out of regard for the minister instead of for Tiberius. Very small indeed was the courageous element, which was unhampered by these terrors and expected that Tiberius would become milder. For as usually happens, they laid the responsibility for their previous misfortunes upon the dead man and charged the emperor with few or none of them. Of the most of this unjust treatment, they said, he had been ignorant, and he had been forced into the rest against his will. Privately this was the disposition of the various classes; publicly they voted, as if they had cast off some tyranny, not to hold any mourning over the deceased and to have a statue of Liberty erected in the Forum; also a festival was to be celebrated under the auspices of all the magistrates and priests, — as had never before occurred; and the day on which he died was to be made renowned by annual horse-races and slaughters of wild beasts, directed by those appointed to the four priesthoods and by the members of the Sodality of Augustus. This, too, had never before been done. To celebrate the ruin of the man whom they by the excess and novelty of their honors had led to destruction they voted solemnities that were not customary even for the gods. They comprehended so clearly that it was chiefly these honors which had bereft him of his senses that they at once forbade explicitly the giving of excessive marks of esteem to any one, as also the taking of oaths in the name of any one other than the emperor. Yet though they passed such votes, as if under a divine inspiration, they began shortly after to fawn upon Macro and

Laco. They gave them great sums of money and to Laco the honors of ex-quaestors, while to Macro they extended the honors of ex-prætors. Similarly they allowed them also to view spectacles in their company and to wear the toga praetextata at the ludi votivi. The men did not accept these privileges, however, for the recent example served as a deterrent. Nor would Tiberius take any honor bestowed, though many were voted him, chief among them being that he should begin from this time to be termed Father of his Country and that his birthday should be marked by ten equestrian contests and a senatorial banquet. Indeed, he gave notice anew that no one should introduce any such motion. — These were the events happening in the capital.

[13] Tiberius for a time had certainly been in great fear that Sejanus would occupy the City and sail against him, and so he had prepared boats, to the end that, if anything of the sort should come to pass, he might escape. He had commanded Macro, — or so some say, — if there should be any uprising to bring Drusus before the senate and the people and appoint him emperor.

When he learned that his enemy was dead, he rejoiced, as was natural, yet would not receive the embassy sent to congratulate him, though many members of the senate and many of the knights and of the populace had been despatched, as before. Indeed he even rebuffed the consul Regulus, who had always been devoted to his interests and had come in accordance with the emperor's own commands to see about his being conveyed in safety to the City.

[14] Thus perished Sejanus, who had attained greater power than those who obtained his office before or after him (save Plautianus). His relatives, his associates, and all the rest who had paid court to him and had moved that honors be granted him were brought to trial. The majority of them were convicted for the acts that had previously made them objects of envy; and their fellow-citizens condemned them for the measures which they themselves had previously voted. Numbers of men who had been tried on various charges and acquitted were again accused and convicted on the ground that they had been saved the first time as a favor to the deceased. Accordingly, if no other complaint could be brought against a person, the statement that he had been a friend of Sejanus served to convict him, — as if, forsooth, Tiberius himself had not been friendly with him, and caused others to become interested for his sake. Among those who laid information in this way were the men who were wont to pay court to Sejanus. Inasmuch as they knew thoroughly those who were in the same position, they had no great trouble either in finding them out or securing their conviction. So they, expecting to save themselves by doing this, and to obtain honors and money besides, accused others or else bore witness against them. But it proved that none of their hopes was realized. They found themselves liable to the same charges on which they had prosecuted others, and partly as a result of them and partly on account of the general detestation of traitors perished along with their companions. [15] Of those against whom charges were brought many were present in person to

hear their accusation and make their defence, and some employed great frankness in so doing. Still, the majority made away with themselves prior to their conviction. They did this chiefly to avoid suffering insult and outrage. (For all who had incurred any such charge, senators as well as knights, women as well as men, were crowded together into the prison. After their condemnation some underwent the penalty there and others were hurled from the Capitol by the tribunes or the consuls. The bodies of all of them were cast into the Forum and subsequently were thrown into the river.) But their object was partly that their children might inherit their property. Very few estates of such as voluntarily took themselves off before their trial were confiscated, Tiberius in this way inviting men to become their own murderers, that he might avoid the reputation of having killed them; as if it were not far more fearful to compel a man to die by his own hand than to deliver him to the executioner. [16] Most of the estates of such as failed to die in this way were confiscated, only a little or nothing at all even being given to their accusers. For he was now giving far more accurate attention to money. After this Tiberius increased to one per cent. a tax which was already one-half of one per cent. and proceeded to accept every inheritance left to him. And in fact nearly every one left him something, — even those who made away with themselves, — as they had to Sejanus while the latter lived.

Also, with that same intention which had led him not to take possession of the wealth of those who perished voluntarily, he made the senate sponsor for every official summons, to the end that he might be free from blame himself (for so he thought) and the senate pass sentence upon itself as a wrongdoer. By this means people came to be thoroughly aware, during the time that they were being destroyed through one another's agency, that their former troubles had emanated no more from Sejanus than from Tiberius. For not only were the accusers of various persons brought to trial, but those who had condemned them were in turn sentenced. So it was that Tiberius spared no one, but kept using up all the citizens one against another; no firm friendships existed any longer; but the unjust and the guiltless, the fearful and the fearless stood on the same footing as regarded the investigation made into the complaints about Sejanus. At length he saw fit to propose a kind of amnesty for the sufferers, and so he gave permission to those who wished to go into mourning for the deceased; and in addition he forbade that any one should in any way be hindered from showing this respect to the memory of any person, — for such prohibitory votes were frequently passed. Yet he did not in fact confirm this edict, but after a brief space he punished numbers on account of Sejanus and on other complaints: they were generally charged with having outraged and murdered their nearest female relatives.

[A.D. 32(a. u. 785)]

[17] Such was the state of affairs at this time, and there was not a soul that could deny that he would be glad to feast on the emperor's flesh. Now the next year, when Gnæus Domitius and Camillus Scribonianus became consuls,

a very laughable thing happened. It had now long been the custom for the members of the senate on the first of the year to take the oath not man by man, but for one (as I have stated) to take the oath for them and the rest to express their acquiescence. This time, however, they did not do so, but of their own motion, without any compulsion, they were separately and individually pledged, as though this would make them any more regardful of their oath. Previously for many years the emperor had allowed matters to go on without a single person's swearing allegiance to his acts of government: this I have mentioned. — At this time also there occurred something else still more laughable.

[18] They voted that he should select as many of their number as he liked and should employ twenty of them, — whomsoever the lot should designate, — as guards with daggers as often as he entered the senate-chamber. Of course, as the exterior of the building was watched by the soldiers and no private citizen could come inside, their resolution that a guard be given him amounted to a precaution against no one but themselves, thus indicating that they were hostile. Naturally Tiberius expressed his obligations to them and thanked them for their good intentions, but he rejected their offer as being too much out of the ordinary. He was not so simple as to give swords to the very men whom he hated and by whom he was hated. Yet, as a result of this very measure he began to grow suspicious of them, — for every act in contravention of sincerity which one undertakes for the purpose of flattery breeds suspicion, — and bidding a long adieu to their decrees he began to honor the Pretorians both by addresses and with money, in spite of his knowledge that they had been on the side of Sejanus, so that he might find them more disposed to be employed against the senators. On occasion, to be sure, he in turn commended the latter, when they voted that funds from the public treasury be bestowed on the guardsmen. He kept alternately deceiving the one party by his talk and winning over the other party by his acts in a most effective way. For instance, Junius Gallic had moved that a spectacle be provided in the meeting place of the knights for those of the body-guard who had finished their term of service: Tiberius did not merely banish him when the man was brought up on this very charge of giving an impression that he was persuading the soldiers to show good-will to the government rather than to the emperor; no, but when he found that Junius was setting sail for Lesbos he deprived him of a safe and comfortable existence there and delivered him to the custody of the magistrates, as he had once done with Gallus. And in order to assure the two classes still more fully how he felt toward both of them he not long after asked the senate that Macro and some military tribunes be deemed sufficient to conduct him to the senate-chamber. He had no need of those persons, for he had no idea of ever entering the city again, but what he wanted was to display his hatred of the senators and show the latter the friendliness of the soldiers. The senators actually granted this request. However, they attached to the decree a clause that the escort should be

searched on entering to make sure that no one had a dagger hidden beneath his arm. — This resolution was passed in the following year.

[19] At this time he spared among some others who had been intimate with Sejanus Lucius Cæsianus, a prætor, and Marcus Terentius, a knight. He overlooked the behavior of the former, who at the Floralia to ridicule Tiberius had had everything up to midnight done by baldheaded men (because the emperor himself was also baldheaded) and had furnished light to those leaving the theatre by the hands of five thousand boys with shaven pates. Tiberius was so far from becoming angry at him that he pretended not to have heard about it at all, though all baldheaded persons were from then on called Caesiani, after this man. Terentius he spared because when on trial for his friendship with Sejanus he not only did not deny it but affirmed that he had worked for him and paid court to him to the greatest possible extent for the reason that the minister was so highly honored by Tiberius himself. “Consequently,” he said, “if the emperor did rightly in having such a friend, neither have I done any wrong: and if my sovereign, who knows all things accurately, erred, what wonder is it that I shared his deception? Our duty is to cherish all whom he honors without concerning ourselves overmuch about the kind of men they are, but making one thing determine our friendship for them, — the fact that they please the emperor.” The senate for these reasons acquitted him and in addition rebuked his accusers. Tiberius concurred with them. When Piso, the præfectus urbi, died, he honored him with a public funeral, — a distinction granted also to others. In his place he chose Lucius Lamia, whom he had long ago put in charge of Syria and was keeping at Rome. He took similar action, too, in the case of many others, really caring nothing at all for them, but making an outward show of honoring them. — Meantime Vitrasius Pollio, governor of Egypt died, and he entrusted the province for a time to one Hiberus, a Cæsarian.

[A.D. 33 (*a. u.* 786)]

[20] Now of the consuls Domitius held office the whole year through, — for he was husband of Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, — but the rest adapted themselves to the whims of Tiberius. Some he elevated for a longer time and some for a shorter: some he stopped before the end of their appointed term and others he allowed to hold office beyond the limits designated. Not infrequently he would appoint a man for an entire year and then depose him, setting up another and still another in his place. Sometimes, after choosing certain substitutes for third place, he would then have others become consuls before them in the place of still others. These irregularities in the case of the consuls occurred through practically his entire reign. Of the candidates for the other offices he selected as many as he wished and sent their names to the senate, recommending some to that body, — and these were chosen, by acclamation, — but making others depend upon their own claims or the assent of the senate or the decision of the lot. After that, in order to follow out ancient precedent, such as belonged to the people and the plebs

went before one of these two bodies and were announced: this is the same practice that is followed at present, intended to produce at least an appearance of valid election. In case there was ever a deficiency of candidates or they became involved in irreconcilable strife, a smaller number was chosen. — The following year, in which Servius Galba (that later became emperor) and Lucius Cornelius held the consular title, fifteen prætors held office. This went on for many years, so that sometimes sixteen and sometimes one or two less were chosen.

[21] The next move of Tiberius was to approach the capital and sojourn in its environs; he did not, however, go within the walls, although he was but thirty stades distant, so that he bestowed in marriage the remaining daughters of Germanicus and also Julia, the daughter of Drusus. Hence the city did not make a festival of their marriages, but everything went on as usual: the senators met and decided judicial cases. For Tiberius made an important point of their assembling as often as he would have convened them, and insisted on their not arriving later or departing earlier than the time fixed. He sent to the consuls many injunctions on this head and once ordered certain statements to be read aloud by them. He behaved in the same way in regard to certain other matters (just as if he could not write directly to the senate!). To that body he sent in not only the documents given him by the informers but also the confessions under torture which Macro obtained, so that nothing was left in the hands of the senators save the vote of condemnation. About this time, however, a certain Vibullius Agrippa, a knight, swallowed poison from a ring and died in the senate-house itself, and Nerva, who could no longer endure the emperor's society, starved himself to death, his chief reason for doing so being that Tiberius had reaffirmed the laws on contracts, enacted by Cæsar, which were sure to result in great loss of confidence and upheaval; and although his chief repeatedly urged him to utter some word, he refused to answer. These events seemed to make some impression on the emperor and he modified the situation, so far as it pertained to loans, by giving two thousand five hundred myriads to the public treasury under the arrangement that this money could be lent out by the senatorial party without interest for three years to such as desired it. He further commanded that the most notorious of those who had steadily acted as accusers should be put to death on one day. And when a man who belonged to the centurions wished to lodge information against some one, he forbade that any person who had served in the army should do so, although he allowed the privilege to knights and senators.

[22] There is no denying that he received praise for his behavior in these matters, and most of all because he would not accept a number of honors that were voted to him for it. But the sensual orgies which he carried on shamelessly with the individuals of highest rank, male and female alike, caused ill to be spoken of him. For example, there was the case of his friend Sextus Marius. Imperial favor had made this man so rich and so powerful that when he was once at odds with a neighbor he invited him to dine for two

successive days. On the first he razed his guest's dwelling entirely to the ground and on the next he rebuilt it on a larger scale and in more elaborate style. The victim of his treatment declared his ignorance of the perpetrators, whereupon Marius admitted being responsible for both occurrences and added significantly: "This shows you that I have both the knowledge and the power to repel attacks and also to requite a kindness." This friend, then, who had sent his daughter, a strikingly beautiful girl, to a place of refuge to prevent her being outraged by Tiberius, was charged with having criminal relations with her and for that reason destroyed both his daughter and himself. All this covered the emperor with disgrace, and his connection with the death of Drusus and Agrippina gave him a reputation for cruelty. Men had been thinking all along that the whole of the previous action against these two was due to Sejanus, and had been hoping that now their lives would be spared; so, when they learned that they had been actually murdered, they were exceedingly grieved, partly for the reasons mentioned and partly because, so far from depositing their bones in the imperial tomb, Tiberius ordered their remains to be hidden so carefully in the earth that they might never be found. In addition to Agrippina, Munatia Plancina was slain. Previous to this time, though he hated her (not on account of Germanicus but for another reason), he yet allowed her to live to prevent Agrippina from rejoicing at her death.

[23] Besides doing this he appointed Gaius quaestor, though not of first rank, promising him, however, that he would advance him to the other office five years earlier than was customary. At the same time he requested the senate not to make the young man conceited by numerous or extraordinary honors, for fear the latter might go astray in one way or another. He had, indeed, a descendant in the person of Tiberius, but him he disregarded both on account of age (he was a mere child as yet) and on account of the prevailing suspicion that this boy was not the son of Drusus. He therefore clove to Gaius as the most eligible candidate for sole ruler, especially as he felt sure that Tiberius would live but a short time and would be murdered by that very man. There was no detail of the character of Gaius of which he was in ignorance; indeed, he once remarked to his successor, who was quarreling with Tiberius: "You will kill him, and others will kill you." The emperor knew of no one else that suited him so entirely, and at the same time he was well aware that the man would be a thorough knave; yet the story obtains that he was glad to give him the empire in order that his own crimes might find concealment in the enormity of Gaius's offences and that the largest and the noblest portion of what was left of the senate might perish after him. At all events he is said to have often uttered the ancient saying:

"When I am dead, let fire o'erwhelm the earth."

Often, also, he declared Priam fortunate, because that king involved his country and his throne in his own utter ruin. These records about him are given a semblance of reality by what took place in those days. Such a multitude of the senators and of others lost their lives that out of the officials

chosen by lot the ex-prætors held the governorship of the provinces for three years and the ex-consuls for six, owing to the lack of persons to succeed them. And what name could one properly give to the elected magistrates, whom from the first he allowed to hold office for an unusually long time?

Now among those who died at this time was also Gallus. Tiberius himself said that only then (and scarcely even so) did he become reconciled with him. Thus it was that contrary to the usual custom he inflicted upon some life as a punishment and bestowed upon others death as a kindness.

[A.D. 34 (*a. u.* 787)]

[24] The twentieth year of the emperor's reign now came in, and he himself though he sojourned in the vicinity of Albanum and Tusculum did not enter the City; the consuls, Lucius Vitellius and Fabius Persicus, celebrated the second ten-year period. The senators so termed it in preference to "twenty-year period" to signify that they were granting him the leadership of the State again, as had been done in the case of Augustus. Punishment overtook them at the same time that they were celebrating the appropriate festival. This time none of those accused was acquitted, but all were convicted, — the majority from documents contributed by Tiberius and the statements under torture obtained by Macro, the rest by what these two suspected they were planning. It was rumored that the real reason why Tiberius did not come to Rome was to avoid being disgraced while present by the sentences of condemnation. Among various persons who perished either at the hands of the executioners or by their own acts was Pomponius Labeo. He, who had once governed Moesia for eight years after his prætorship, was, with his wife, indicted for receiving bribes and voluntarily destroyed both her and himself. Mamercus AEmilius Scaurus, on the other hand, who had never governed anybody nor received bribes, was convicted because of a tragedy and fell a victim to a worse fate than any he had depicted. Atreus was the name of the composition, and in the manner of Euripides it advised some one of the subjects of that monarch to endure the folly of the ruling prince. Tiberius, when he heard of it, declared that the verse had been composed against him at this juncture and that "Atreus" was merely a pretence used on account of that monarch's bloodthirstiness. And adding quietly "I will have him play the part of Ajax," he brought pressure to bear to make him commit suicide. The above was not the accusation made against him; instead, he was charged with having kept up a *liaison* with Livilla. Many others had been punished on her account, some with good reason and some as the result of blackmail.

[25] While matters at Rome were in this condition, the subject territory was not quiet either. The very moment a certain youth who declared he was Drusus appeared in the region of Greece and Ionia, the cities both received him enthusiastically and supported his cause. He would have proceeded to Syria and taken possession of the legions, had not some one recognized him and putting an end to his success taken him to Tiberius.

[A.D. 35 (*a. u.* 788)] After this Gaius Gallus and Marcus Servilius became

consuls. Tiberius was at Antium holding fête in honor of the nuptials of Gaius. Not even for such a purpose would he enter Rome, because of the case of one Fulcinius Trio. The latter, who had been a friend of Sejanus but had stood high in the favor of Tiberius on account of his readiness at blackmail, was, when accused, delivered up for punishment; and through fear he slew himself beforehand after abusing roundly both the emperor and Macro in his testament. His children did not dare to publish it, but Tiberius, learning what had been written, ordered it to be presented before the senate. Little did he trouble himself about such matters. Sometimes he would voluntarily give to the public denunciations of his conduct that were being kept secret, as another man would eulogies. Indeed, he took all that Drusus had uttered in distress and misfortune, and this, too, he sent in to the senate. — So much, then, for the death of Trio. Poppaeus Sabinus, who had governed both the Mysias and Macedonia besides during almost all the reign of Tiberius up to this time, withdrew from life with the greatest good-will before any charge could be brought against him. He was succeeded by Regulus with equal authority. For, according to some reports, Macedonia and Achaea were both assigned to the new ruler without lots being cast for them.

[A.D. 36 (*a. u.* 789)]

[26] About the same period Artabanus the Parthian after the death of Artaxias bestowed Armenia upon his son Arsaces. When no vengeance fell upon him from Tiberius for this move, he made an attempt upon Cappadocia and treated the Parthians, too, rather haughtily. Consequently some revolted from him and went on an embassy to Tiberius, asking a king for themselves from among those serving as hostages. He sent them at once Phraates, son of Phraates, and at the death of the latter (which occurred on the way) Tiridates, who was himself also of the royal race. To insure his securing the throne as easily as possible the emperor wrote orders to Mithridates the Iberian to invade Armenia, so that Artabanus should leave home and assist his son. Things turned out as planned, but the reign of Tiridates lasted only a short time, for Artabanus got the Scythians on his side and had no great difficulty in expelling him. So much for the Parthian affairs. — Armenia fell into the hands of Mithridates, son of Mithridates the Iberian, of course, and a brother of Pharasmanes, who became king of the Iberians after him. — When Sextus Papinius became consul with Quintus Plautius, the Tiber inundated a large part of the City so that it remained under water, and a much more extensive section in the vicinity of the hippodrome and the Aventine was devastated by fire. In view of these disasters Tiberius gave two thousand five hundred myriads to those who had suffered any loss.

[A.D. 37 (*a. u.* 790)]

And if Egyptian affairs also touch Roman interests at all, it might be mentioned that that year the phoenix was seen. All these events were thought to foreshadow the death of Tiberius. Thrasyllus died at this very time and the emperor himself in the following spring, in the consulship of Gnaeus Proculus

and Pontius Nigrinus. It chanced that Macro had plotted against Domitius and numerous others and had devised complaints and tortures against them. Not all that were accused, however, were put to death, because Thrasyllus handled Tiberius very cleverly. Concerning himself he stated very accurately both the day and the hour in which he should die, but he falsely declared that the emperor would live ten more years, in order that the latter, feeling he had a moderately long time to live, might be in no hurry to kill them. The issue justified the plan. Thinking that it would be possible for him later to do whatever he liked at his leisure, he made no haste in any way and showed no anger when the senate, in consideration of the opposition to the tortures expressed by the magistrates, postponed the sentencing of the prisoners. Yet pitiable scenes were not wanting. One woman wounded herself, was carried into the senate and from there to prison, where she died. Lucius Arruntius, distinguished both for his age and for his education, destroyed himself voluntarily when Tiberius was already sick and was not thought likely to recover. The man was aware of the evil character of Gaius and desired to depart before he should taste of it, saying: "I can not in my old age become the slave of a new master like him." Still others were saved, — some who had actually been condemned but were not permitted to die before the expiration of ten days, and others because their trial was again put off when the judges learned that Tiberius was seriously ailing.

[28] He passed away at Misenum before he could learn anything of this. He had been sick for a considerable time, but expecting to live, as Thrasyllus had foretold, he neither consulted physicians nor changed his way of life; wasting away gradually as he was, in old age and subject to a sickness that was not severe, he would often all but expire and then recover strength again. These changes would cause Gaius and the rest first great pleasure, when they thought he was going to die, and then great fear, when they thought he would live. His successor, therefore, fearing that his health might actually be restored, refused his requests for anything to eat, on the ground that he would be injured, and pretending that he needed warmth wrapped many thick cloths about him. In this way he smothered him, with a certain amount of help, to be sure, from Macro. The latter, as Tiberius was already seriously ill, was paying his court to the young man, particularly as he had before this succeeded in making him fall in love with his own wife, Ennia Thrasylla. Tiberius suspecting this had once said: "You understand well when to abandon the setting, and hasten to the rising sun."

So Tiberius, who possessed the most varied virtues, the most varied vices, and followed each set in turn as if the other did not exist, passed away in this fashion on the twenty-sixth day of March. He had lived seventy-seven years, four months, nine days, of which he had spent as ruler twenty-two years, seven months and seven days. A public funeral was accorded him and a eulogy, delivered by Gaius.

[Footnote 1: Supplying here (as did Sylburgius, to fill a gap in the sense)

... [GREEK: echeleuse chahi tae boulae]....]

[Footnote 2: The consul of A.D. 30, either *C. Cassius Longinus* or his brother *L. Cassius Longinus*.]

[Footnote 3: A gap in the MS. exists, as indicated.]

[Footnote 4: A corrupt reading for which no wholly satisfactory substitute has been offered.]

[Footnote 5: The predicate of this clause has fallen out in the MS., and the restoration is on lines suggested by Bekker.]

[Footnote 6: Reading (with Mommsen) [Greek: outo] for [Greek: auto].]

[Footnote 7: Reading [Greek: aedae polu] (Stephanus, Boissevain).]

[Footnote 8: Using Boissevain's reading [Greek: adikousaes] (from Reiske) in preference to the MS. [Greek: diadikousaes].]

[Footnote 9: A small gap. The text filled and context amended by Kuiper.]

[Footnote 10: Evidently the previous reference was in a passage now lost, between Bk. 57, ch. 17, sect. 8, and Bk. 58, ch. 7, sect. 2 of the Codex Marcianus (Boissevain).]

[Footnote 11: Compare Book Fifty-seven, chapter eight.]

[Footnote 12: Cæsianus and Cæsiani are conjectures of Boissevain, the MS. being corrupt. The person meant is *L. Apronius Cæsianus* (consul A.D. 39).]

[Footnote 13: A correction of Casaubon's for "the army" (MS.), which seems senseless.]

[Footnote 14: The phrase yields no particular sense and is probably corrupt, but a correction is not easy. "To state his reasons" has been suggested; and a very slight change in the Greek produces "to eat something" another conjecture.]

[Footnote 15: Probably from the *Bellerophon* of Euripides.]

[Footnote 16: Compare Euripides, *Phoenician Maidens*, verse 393.]

[Footnote 17: Dio is in error. The date was really about ten days earlier.]

BOOK 59

The following is contained in the Fifty-ninth of Dio's Rome.

About Gaius Cæsar, called also Caligula (chapters 1-6). How the Heroïum of Augustus was sanctified (chapter 7). How the Mauritania began to be governed by Romans (chapter 25). How Gaius Cæsar died (chapters 29, 30).

Duration of time, the remainder of the consulship of Gnæus Acerronius and Pontius Nigrinus, together with three additional years, in which there were the following magistrates here enumerated.

M. Aquilius C. F. Iulianus, and P. Nonius M. F. Asprenas. (A.D. 38 = a. u. 791 = Second of Gaius.)

C. Cæsar Germanicus (II), L. Apronius L. F. Cæsianus. (A.D. 39 = a. u. 792 = Third of Gaius, from March 26th.)

C. Cæsar (III). (A.D. 40 = a. u. 793 = Fourth of Gaius.)

C. Cæsar (IV), Cn. Sentius Cn. F. Saturninus. (A.D. 41 = a. u. 794 = Fifth of Gaius, to Jan. 24th.)

This last year is not counted, because most of the events in it are recorded in the sixtieth book.

BOOK 59, BOISSEVAIN

[A.D. 37 (*a. u.* 790)]

[1] This, then, is the tradition about Tiberius. His successor was Gaius, son of Germanicus and Agrippina, who was known also, as I have stated, by the nicknames of Germanicus and Caligula. Tiberius had left the empire partly in charge of his grandson Tiberius; but Gaius had his will carried to the senate by Macro and caused it to be declared null and void by the consuls and the rest (with whom he had made previous arrangements) on the ground that the author of the document had not been of sound mind. This was evidenced by his allowing a mere boy to rule them, who had not yet the right even to enter the senate. Thus did Gaius at this time separate the lad from imperial office, and later in spite of having adopted him he slew him. Of no avail was the fact that Tiberius in his testament, still extant, had written the same words over in a number of ways, as if this would lend them some force, nor yet that all of it had been at this time read aloud by Macro before the senatorial body. For no injunction can have weight against the intentional misunderstanding or the power of one's successors. Tiberius suffered the same treatment he had accorded to his mother's wishes, save that he discharged none of the obligations imposed by her will in the case of any person, whereas all his bequests were paid to all the beneficiaries, save to his grandson. This, of course, made it perfectly plain that the whole fault found with the will had been invented on account of the lad. Gaius need not have published it, since he was not unacquainted with the contents, but inasmuch as many knew what was in it and it seemed likely that he himself on the one hand or the senate on the other would be blamed for its suppression, he chose rather to have the latter body overthrow it than to conceal the document.

[2] At the same time by paying all the bequests of the dead emperor, as if they were his own, to every one concerned he gained among the many a certain reputation for nobility of character. In company with the senate he inspected the Pretorians while they were busy with exercises and distributed to them the two hundred and fifty denarii apiece that had been bequeathed, and he added as a gift as many more. To the people he paid the one thousand one hundred and twenty-five myriads (this was the amount bequeathed to them) and in addition the sixty denarii per man which they had failed to receive on the occasion of his enrollment among the iuvenes, — this with interest amounting to fifteen denarii more. He also settled the bequests to the citizen force, to the night-watchmen, to those of the regular army outside Italy, and to any other army of native Romans in the smaller forts, — that is, the citizens proper received one hundred twenty-five denarii each, and all the rest seventy-five.

He behaved in this same way also in regard to Livia's will, executing all the provisions of it. If he had spent the rest of his money with equal propriety,

he would have been thought prudent and munificent. Sometimes, through fear of the people and the soldiers, he did so act, but it was mostly through whims. At such times he discharged not only the obligations of Tiberius but those of his great-grandmother, and debts owing to private individuals as well as to others. As it was, he lavished boundless sums upon dancers (whose recall he at once effected), upon horses, upon gladiators and everything of that sort; and so in an inconceivably short time he had exhausted the treasures, which had grown so great, and at the same time convicted himself of having done it through a sort of easy-going temper and indecision. He had found accumulated five myriad myriads, seven thousand five hundred denarii, or (according to others) eight myriad myriads, two thousand five hundred, and yet could not keep any part of it to the third year, but actually in the second season fell in need of a great deal besides.

[3] He went through the same process of deterioration, too, in almost all other respects. At first he seemed a most democratic person and would send no letters either to the people or to the senate nor assume any of the titles of sovereignty; yet he became most dictatorial, so that he took in one day all those honors which Augustus had with difficulty secured, voted one by one, during the long extent of his reign, some of which Tiberius had refused to accept at all. He postponed nothing except the title of *Father*, and that he acquired after no long time. Though he had proved himself the most libidinous of men, had seduced one woman already betrothed and had dragged others from their husbands, he afterward hated them all save one. And he would certainly have detested her, had he lived any longer. Toward his mother, his sisters, and his grandmother Antonia he conducted himself in the most dutiful manner possible. The last named he immediately saluted as Augusta and appointed her priestess of Augustus, giving her at once all the privileges pertaining to the vestal virgins. To his sisters he assigned these honors of the vestal virgins, the right to witness horse-races in the same section of seats with him, and the right to have uttered in their behalf as well the prayers which were annually offered by the magistrates and the priests for his welfare and that of the State, and the oaths of allegiance sworn to his empire. He set sail himself and with his own hands collected and brought back the bones of his mother and of his brothers that had died: wearing the purple-bordered toga and attended by some lictors, as at a triumph, he deposited these in the monument of Augustus. All measures voted against them he canceled, all who had plotted against them he chastised, and recalled such as were in exile on their account. — Now, though he had done all this, he showed himself the most impious of men in the case both of his grandmother and of his sisters. The former, because she had rebuked him for something, he forced to seek death by her own hand; and after ravishing all his sisters he shut two of them up on an island: the third had previously died. Again in the matter of Tiberius (whom he also termed “grandfather”), he asked that he might receive from the senate the same honors as Augustus; but these were

not immediately voted, for the senators could not endure to honor that tyrant, nor did they make bold to dishonor him because they were not yet clearly acquainted with the character of their young lord, and consequently postponed everything until the latter should be present: so then Gaius bestowed upon him no mark of notice other than a public funeral, after bringing the body into the City by night and having it laid out at daybreak. And though he did make a speech over it, he did not say so much in praise of Tiberius as he did to remind the people of Augustus and Germanicus, comparing himself meanwhile with them.

[4] Gaius inevitably went so by contraries in every matter that he not only emulated but even surpassed his predecessor's licentiousness and bloodthirstiness, for which he had censured him; but of the qualities he had praised in him he imitated not one. Though he had been the first to insult him, the first to abuse him, so that others thinking to please him in this way made use of rather heedless freedom of speech, he later lauded and magnified Tiberius, going to the point of punishing some for what they had said. These, as enemies of the former emperor, he hated for their injurious remarks, and he hated equally those who in way praised Tiberius, as being the latter's friends.

Though he had put an end to complaints arising from maiestas, he made these the cause of many persons' downfall. Though according to his own account he dismissed the anger that he felt toward those who had united against his father and his mother and his brothers (and burned their letters), he yet put to death great numbers of them on the basis of evidence contained in such documents. He did, to be sure, really destroy some papers, but not those which held definite incontrovertible proof; of these he made copies. Besides, though he at first forbade any one to set up his images, he went on to manufacture the statues himself. Whereas once he requested the annulment of a decree that sacrifice should be offered to his Fortune, and had this action of his inscribed on a tablet, he afterward ordered temples and sacrifices to be prepared for him as for some god. He delighted by turns in vast throngs of men and in solitude; he grew angry if requests were preferred, or if they were not preferred. He would start out on enterprises with the greatest amount of dash, and then carry them through in the most sluggish manner. He both spent money most unsparingly and showed a thoroughly sordid spirit in exacting it. He was alike irritated and pleased both at those who flattered him and at those who spoke their own minds. Many who were guilty of great crimes he neglected to punish and many who had done no wrong he ruthlessly slaughtered. Among his associates he made some the recipients of excessive adulation and others of excessive insult. Consequently, no one knew either what to say or how to act toward him, but all who met with success obtained it as the result of chance rather than of rational calculation.

[5] That was the kind of emperor into whose hands the Romans had now fallen. Hence the deeds of Tiberius, though they were felt to have been most grievous, were still as far superior to those of Gaius as the deeds of Augustus

were to those of his successor. For Tiberius always held the power in his own hands and used other people to help him carry out his wishes: Gaius, on the other hand, was ruled by charioteers and by gladiators; he was the slave of dancers and other theatrical performers. Indeed, he always kept Apelles, the most famous of the tragedians of that day, with him even in public. Thus he by himself and they by themselves did without let or hindrance all that such persons when given power would naturally dare to do. Everything that could help theatrical productions he arranged and settled on the slightest pretext in the most expensive manner, and compelled praetors and consuls to do the same, so that almost every day some performance of the kind was sure to be given. Originally he was but a spectator and listener at these and would take sides for and against various performers like one of the mob; and sometimes, if he were irritated at his opponents, he would not visit the spectacle. But as time went on he came to imitate and contend in many events, driving chariots, fighting duels, giving exhibitions of dancing, and acting in tragedy. This became his regular practice. And one night he urgently summoned the leaders of the senate as if to some important deliberation and then danced before them.

[6] Now in that year that Tiberius died and Gaius entered upon office in his stead he first began to show great deference to the senators on an occasion when knights were present at the meeting and also some of the populace. He promised to share his power with them and do whatever would please them, calling himself meanwhile their son and nursling. He was then twenty-five years old, lacking five months, four days. After this he freed those who were in prison, among whom was Quintus Pomponius, who for seven whole years after his consulship had been kept in a cell suffering abuse. Gaius did away with the complaints for maiestas, on account of which he saw that most of the prisoners were suffering, and heaped up (or so he pretended) and burned the documents pertaining to their cases that Tiberius had left behind. He also declared: "I have done this, that no matter how much I might wish to bear malice toward any one; for my mother's and my brothers' sake, I might still be unable to punish him." For this he was commended because it was expected that *he* at all events would speak the truth; by reason of his youth it was not thought possible that he could be guilty of duplicity in thought or speech. And he still further increased their hopes by ordering that the celebration of the Saturnalia extend over five days, and by taking from each of those enjoying an allowance of grain only an as instead of the denarius which they were wont to give an emperor for the manufacture of images.

It was voted that he should at once become consul by the removal of Proculus and Nigrinus, who were holding office at the time, and that he should thereafter be consul annually. However, he did not accept the offer, but instead waited until the two officials completed the six months' term for which they had been appointed, and then became consul himself, taking his uncle Claudius as a colleague. The latter, who had previously been ranked

among the knights and after the death of Tiberius had been sent as an envoy to Gaius in behalf of that order, now for the first time after living forty-six years became both consul and senator at once. The behavior of Gaius in these matters appeared satisfactory and to his actions corresponded the speech which he delivered in the senate-house on entering upon his consulship. In it he denounced Tiberius for each of the crimes of which he was commonly accused and made many announcements about his own line of conduct; and the senate, fearing that he might change, issued a decree that his statements should be read annually.

[7] Soon after, clad in the triumphal garb, he dedicated the heroism of Augustus. Boys of the noblest families, both of whose parents had to be living, together with maidens similarly circumstanced, sang the hymn, and the senators with their wives as well as the people were banqueted. Entertainments of all sorts were given. There were exhibitions involving music, and horseraces took place on two days, — twenty heats the first day and forty more the second, because the former was the emperor's birthday and the latter that of Augustus. He had a similar number of events on many other occasions, as seemed good to him. Hitherto not more than ten events had been usual, but this time he finished four hundred bears together with an equal number of beasts from Libya. The boys of noble birth performed "Troy" on horseback, and six horses drew the triumphal car on which he was borne. This was an innovation.

In the races he did not give the signals to the charioteers in person, but viewed the spectacle from a front seat with his brothers and his fellow-priests of the Augustan order. He was always greatly displeased if any one was absent from the theatre or left in the middle of the performance, and so, in order that no one might have an excuse for not attending, he postponed all lawsuits and suspended all periods of mourning. Thus, women bereft of their husbands were allowed to marry even before the appointed time, unless, indeed, they were pregnant. In order to enable people to come without formality and to save them the trouble of greeting him (for previously those who met the emperor on the streets always saluted him), he forbade any one's doing this again. Those who chose might come barefoot to the spectacles. It had been from very ancient times the custom for persons to do this who held court in the summer; the practice had been frequently followed by Augustus at the summer festivals but had been abandoned by Tiberius.

It was at this period that the senators first began sitting upon cushions instead of the bare boards, and that they were allowed to wear caps to the theatre, Thessalian fashion, to avoid distress from the sun's rays. And whenever the sun was particularly severe, they used instead of the theatre the *Diribitorium*, which was furnished with benches. — This was what Gaius did in his consulship, which he held two months and twelve days. The remainder of the six months' term he surrendered to the men previously appointed for it.

[8] It was after this that he fell sick, but instead of dying himself he managed to

cause the death of Tiberius, who had been registered among the iuvenes, had been given the title of Princeps Iuventutis, and finally had been adopted into his family. The complaint brought against the lad was that he had prayed and expected that Gaius might die. This charge proved the destruction of many others, too. The same ruler who gave to Antiochus son of Antiochus the district of Commagene, which his father had held, and likewise the coast districts of Cilicia, and had freed Agrippa (grandson of Herod, who had been imprisoned by Tiberius), and had put him in charge of his grandfather's domain, not only deprived Agrippa's brother (or else his son) of his paternal fortune but furthermore had him murdered, without making any communication about him to the senate. Later he took similar action in a number of other cases.

Now the young Tiberius perished on suspicion of having utilized the emperor's illness as an occasion for conspiracy. On the other hand, there were Publius Afranius Potitus, a plebeian, who in a burst of foolish servility had promised not only of his own free will but under oath that he would give his life to have Gaius recover, and a certain Atanius Secundus, a knight, who announced that in the event of a favorable outcome he would fight as a gladiator. These, instead of the money which they hoped to receive from him in return for offering to die in exchange for his life, were compelled to keep their promises so as not to perjure themselves. That was the cause of these men's death. Again, his father-in-law Marcus Silanus, though he had made no promise and taken no oath, nevertheless, because his virtue and his relationship made him displeasing to the emperor and subjected him to extreme insults, for this reason committed suicide. Tiberius had held him in such honor as to refuse always to try a case that was appealed from his jurisdiction and to refer all such disputes back to him again. But Gaius abused him in every way and had such a high opinion of him that he called him "the golden sheep." Now Silanus on account of his age and his reputation was accorded by all the consuls the honor of casting his vote first; and to prevent his doing so any longer Gaius had abolished the custom of having some of the ex-consuls vote first or second according to the pleasure of those who put the vote. He arranged that such persons should cast their votes on the same footing as the rest and in the same order as they had held the office. Moreover, he put aside his victim's daughter to marry Cornelia Orestilla, whom he had actually seized during the marriage festival which she was celebrating with her betrothed, Gaius Calpurnius Piso. Before two months had elapsed he banished both of them on the ground that they had carnal knowledge of each other. He allowed Piso to take with him ten slaves, and then when the latter asked for more he let him employ as many as he liked, saying: "You will have just so many soldiers."

[A.D. 38 (*a. u.* 791)]

[9] The next year Marcus Julianus and Publius Nonius, regularly appointed, became consuls. Oaths pertaining to the acts of Tiberius were not introduced

and for this reason are not used nowadays either. No one numbers Tiberius among the emperors in the list of members of his house. But in regard to Augustus and Gaius they took the oaths which had regularly been the custom and others to the effect that they would hold Gaius and his sisters in greater respect than themselves and their children, and they offered prayers for all of them alike.

On the very first day of the new year one Machaon, a slave, climbed upon the couch of Jupiter Capitolinus and after uttering from that place many dire prophecies killed a little dog which he had brought in with him and slew himself.

The following good deeds must be set down to the credit of Gaius. He published, as Augustus had done, all the accounts of public funds, which had not been made known during the time Tiberius was out of the city. He helped the soldiers extinguish a conflagration and assisted those who suffered loss by it. As the equestrian order pined from lack of men he summoned the foremost men from every office, even abroad, and enrolled them with due regard to their relatives and their wealth. Some of them he allowed to wear the senatorial costume occasionally even before they had held any office through which we enter the senate, on the strength of their hopes to secure admission to that body. Previously it would seem that only those who had been born in the senatorial order were allowed to do this. These deeds caused pleasure to all. But this action in restoring the elections to the *populus* and the *plebs*, rescinding the decisions of Tiberius about these matters, and in abolishing the one per cent. tax, and again in scattering at some gymnastic contest tickets and distributing very large gifts to such as secured them, — these actions, though they delighted the lower classes, grieved the sensible, who reflected that even if the offices fell once more into the hands of the general public, still, in case the existing funds should be exhausted and private sources of income fail, many dreadful disasters would result.

[10] The performances of his next to be enumerated elicited the censure of all without distinction. He caused very great numbers of men to fight as gladiators, forcing them to contend both separately and in groups, drawn up in a kind of military formation: he requested permission from the senate to do this, and again, — something quite contrary to the spirit of the enacted law that he might do whatsoever he pleased, — he asked leave to put to death a number of persons, among them twenty-six knights, some of whom had already devoured their living, while others had merely practiced gladiatorial combat. It was not the number of those who perished that was so bad (though it was bad enough) but his frenzied delight in their slaughter and his never satisfied gazing at the scene of blood. The same trait of cruelty led him once, when there was a shortage of condemned criminals to be given to the beasts, to order some of the mob that stood near the benches to be seized and thrown to them. And to prevent the possibility of their making an outcry or attacking him orally he had their tongues cut out first of all. One of the prominent

knights, too, he compelled to fight in single combat on the charge of insult offered to his mother Agrippina, and when the man proved victorious handed him over to the accusers and had him slain. The same person's father, though guilty of no wrong, he confined in a cage (as he had confined numerous others), and there put an end to him. — These contests he at first conducted in the Sæpta, after excavating the entire site and filling it with water, to enable him to bring in one ship. Later he transferred his operations to another place, where he tore down a large number of massive buildings and set up benches. The theatre of Taurus he held in contempt. All this behavior, expenditures and murders alike, subjected him to criticism.

He was further blamed for compelling Macro together with Ennia to cause their own death, remembering neither the latter's affection nor the former's benefits, which had gained for him among other advantages the sole possession of the empire. The fact that he had appointed Macro to govern Egypt had not the slightest influence. He even involved him in a scandal (of which the greatest share belonged to Gaius himself), by bringing against him besides all the rest a complaint that he had played the pander. Before long many others were condemned and executed, and some were executed prior to their conviction. Nominally they suffered on account of some wrong done to his parents or his brothers or the rest who had perished with those relatives as an excuse, but really on account of their property. For the treasury had been exhausted and he had no resources. Such persons were convicted by witnesses against them and by the documents which he once declared he had burned. Again, the disease which had attacked him the previous year and the death of his sister Drusilla brought about the ruin of others, since, — to omit graver cases, — whoever had entertained or had greeted any one or had bathed on the days in question incurred punishment.

[11] The nominal spouse of Drusilla was Marcus Lepidus, at once the favorite and lover of the emperor, but Gaius also treated her as a concubine. When her death occurred at this time, her husband delivered the eulogy but it was her brother who accorded her a public funeral. The Pretorians with their commander and the equestrian order by itself ran about the pyre and the boys of noble birth performed the Troy exercise about her tomb; all the honors that had been given to Livia were voted to her, and it was further decreed that she should be declared immortal, that a figure in gold representing her be set up in the senate-house, and that in the temple of Venus in the Forum there should be dedicated with equal honors a statue of her as large as that of the goddess. Moreover, a separate shrine should be built for her and twenty priests not only men but also women should do her honor. Women, as often as they gave testimony, should swear by her and on her birthday a festival equal to the Megalensia should be celebrated and the senate and the knights should hold a banquet. She straightway received the name Panthea and was declared worthy of divine honors in all the cities. A certain Livius Geminus, a senator, stated on oath, invoking destruction upon himself and his children if he spoke

falsely, that he had seen her ascending into heaven and holding converse with the gods; and he called all the other gods and Panthea herself to witness. For his declaration he received twenty-five myriads. Besides all this Gaius showed her honor in not having the festivals which were then due to take place celebrated either at their appointed time (except as mere formalities) or at any later date. All persons incurred equal censure whether they showed pleasure at anything, as being grieved, or behaved as if they were glad. They were charged with malice either in failing to mourn her (this was disrespect to her as a mortal) or in bewailing her (this was disrespect to her as a goddess). One single occurrence gives the key to all the transactions of that time. The emperor charged with impiety and put to death a man who had sold warm water. [12] Having allowed a few days to elapse he married Lollia Paulina and he compelled no less a person than her husband, Memmius Regulus, to betroth her to him so that he might not break the law in taking her without a betrothal. But almost in a trice he had driven her away, too.

Meantime he granted to Soaimus the land of the Arabian Ituræans, to Cotys Lesser Armenia and later parts of Arabia, to Rhoemetalcus the possessions of Cotys, and to Polemon son of Polemon his ancestral domain, — all these upon the vote of the senate. The ceremony took place in the Forum, where he sat upon the rostra in a chair between the consuls; some say he used silken awnings. Soon after he caught sight of a lot of mud in an alley and ordered that it be cast into the toga of Flavius Vespasian, who was ædile at the time and had charge of keeping alleys clean. This event was regarded at the moment as of no particular importance, but later, when Vespasian, who took charge of a state in confusion and turmoil, had reduced the same to order, it seemed to have been due to some divine prompting and to have signified that Gaius had entrusted the city to him unconditionally for its amelioration.

[A.D. 39 (*a. u.* 792)]

[13] He now became consul again, and though he prevented the priest of Jupiter from taking the oath in the senate (for at this time they regularly did so privately, as in the days of Tiberius), he himself both when he entered upon office and when he relinquished it took the oath like the rest upon the rostra, which had been made larger than before. Thirty days was the duration of his tenure (whereas he let his colleague Lucius Apronius hold office for six months), and his successor was Sanguinius Maximus, præfectus urbi. During this and the following period numbers of the foremost men perished in fulfillment of a sentence of condemnation (for many who had been released from prison were punished for the very reasons that had led to their imprisonment by Tiberius), and many others in gladiatorial combats. There was nothing happening but slaughter. The emperor no longer made any concessions to the populace, opposing instead absolutely everything it wished, and consequently the people, too, resisted all his desires. The talk and actions usual at such a juncture with an angry ruler on one side and a hostile folk on the other were plainly in evidence. The contest between them, however, was

not an equal one. The people could do nothing outside of discussion and showing their feelings by their demeanor, whereas Gaius dragged many of his opponents away while they were witnessing performances at the theatre and arrested many more after they had left the building. The chief causes for his rage were first that they did not show enthusiasm in attending; he made his appearance at a different hour on different occasions, sometimes not till nightfall, and they were worn out waiting for him: second, that they did not always applaud the performances that pleased him and sometimes even showed favor to objects of his dislike. Again, it vexed him mightily to have them cry out in their efforts to extol him: "Young Augustus!" He felt that he was not being congratulated upon being emperor while so young, but was being censured for holding at his age so great a domain. His regular conduct was as described. Once he said threateningly to the whole people: "How I wish you had one neck!" At another time, when he was showing some of his usual irritation, the populace in displeasure ceased to notice the spectacle, and turned against the informers, and with loud shouts demanded their surrender. Gaius, indignant, vouchsafed them no answer, but committing to others the conduct of the games withdrew into Campania. Later he returned to celebrate the birthday of Drusilla, brought into the hippodrome on a wagon her statue drawn by elephants and gave the people a free show for two days. The first day, besides the equestrian contests, he had five hundred bears slaughtered, and on the second a like number of Libyan beasts was used up. Athletes struggled in the pancratium at many different points in the city. The populace was feasted and presents were given to the senators and their wives.

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[14] At the same time that he authorized these murders, apparently because he was so very poor, he devised another kind of transaction. He took the surviving combatants and sold them at an excessive valuation to the consuls, the prætors, and the rest, meeting with acquiescence from some and compelling others, who objected strenuously, to carry out his wishes at the horse-races; and most of all he imposed upon the ones especially selected by lot for this purpose, for he had ordered that two prætors, just as it might happen, should be allotted to take charge of the gladiatorial games. He himself sat on the auctioneer's platform and kept outbidding them. Many also came from outside to bid against them, particularly because he allowed such as wished to employ a greater number of gladiators than the law permitted and because he often had recourse to them himself. So people bought them for large sums, some through need of the men, others thinking they should gratify him, and the largest number (in case they were reputed to be property-holders) out of a wish to avail themselves of this pretext for spending some of their substance and thus by becoming poorer save their lives.

Yet, in spite of this action of his, he afterward put out of the way by poison the best and most famous of these slaves. He did the same also in the case of

rival horses and charioteers, being greatly devoted to the party that wore the frog green and from this color was called the Party of the Leek. Even now the place where the chariots practiced is called Galanum. One of the horses, that he named Incitatus, he invited to dinner, offered him golden barley, and drank his health in wine from gold goblets. He took oaths by the same beast's Guardian Spirit and Presiding Fortune and promised besides that he would appoint him consul. This he would certainly have done, too, if he had lived longer.

[15] Now formerly for the purpose of providing funds it had been voted that all those persons who had wished to leave anything to Tiberius and were alive should at their death bestow the same upon Gaius. The publication of a decree was deemed necessary to prevent its seeming that he could break the laws in securing by inheritance such gifts; for he had at the time neither wife nor children. But at the time of which I am speaking he proceeded to levy for himself without any vote absolutely all the property of men who had served among the centurions and had after the triumph which his father celebrated left it to somebody other than the emperor. When not even this sufficed, he hit upon the following third means of raising money. There was a senator, Gnæus Domitius Corbulo, who had noticed that the roads during the reign of Tiberius were in bad condition and was always nagging the road commissioners about it and furthermore kept making a nuisance of himself before the senate regarding the matter. Gaius took him as a confederate and through him attacked all those, alive or dead, who had ever been road commissioners and had received money for repairing the highways. He fined both them and the men who had secured any contracts from them, on the pretence that they had spent nothing. For this help Corbulo was at the time made consul, but later, in the reign of Claudius, he was accused and his conduct investigated. Claudius made no further demands for any sums still owing and after collecting what had been paid in, partly from the treasury and partly from Corbulo, he returned it to the persons who had been fined. All that was later. At this time these unfortunates one by one and practically everybody else in the City were, as one might say, despoiled. Of those who possessed anything there was no one, — not a man nor a woman, — who got off scot free. Though he allowed some of the more elderly persons to live, yet by calling them his fathers, grandfathers, mothers, and grandmothers, he got revenue from them during their lifetime and inherited their property when they died.

[16] Up to this time he was always speaking ill of Tiberius before everybody, and so far from rebuking others who criticised him privately or publicly he enjoyed their language. But now he entered the senate-house and eulogized his predecessor at length, besides severely rebuking the senate and the people, saying that they did wrong in finding fault with him. "I may do even this," he said, "in my capacity as emperor, but you are not only unjust but also guilty of impiety to take such an attitude toward one who ruled you." Thereupon he considered separately the case of each man who had lost his life

and showed to his own satisfaction that the senators had been responsible for the death of most of them; some, he alleged, they had killed by accusation, some by damning evidence, and all by sentence of condemnation. This he proved by having some freedmen read it from those very documents which he once declared he had burned. And he told them besides: "In case Tiberius really did do wrong, you ought not to have honored him while he lived, and at any rate, by Jupiter, you ought not to repudiate what you often said and voted. But you both behaved toward him with fickleness and again after filling Sejanus with conceit and spoiling him you put him to death, and therefore I ought not either to expect any decent treatment from you." After some such remarks he represented in his speech Tiberius himself as saying to him: "All this that you have said has been good and true. Therefore have no affection nor mercy for any one of them. They all hate you: they all pray for your death. They will murder you if they can. Hence do not stop to consider what acts of yours will please them and heed none of their talk. Rather, have regard to your own pleasure and safety solely, since that has the most just claim. In this way you will suffer no harm and will enjoy all supremest pleasures. You will, moreover, be honored by them whether they so desire or not. If you follow a different course, it will be useless, and beyond an empty reputation you will gain no advantage, but become the victim of plots and perish ingloriously. No man living is ruled of his own free will, but the element which is kept in fear, whatever its size, waits upon the stronger element, whereas if it attains to courage, it always wreaks vengeance upon the other, which has now become the weaker."

At the close of this address Gaius reintroduced the complaints for maiestas, ordered his commands to be inscribed upon a bronze tablet and rushing hastily from the senate-house proceeded the same day to the suburbs of the capital. The senate and the people were filled with great fear as they thought of the denunciations against Tiberius, which they had often uttered, and of the many surprises his speech had had in store for them. Temporarily their alarm and dejection prevented them from saying a word or transacting any business. Next day they assembled again, praised Gaius unstintedly as a most sincere and pious ruler, and thanked him profusely that they had not perished like others. Accordingly, they voted annually to sacrifice cattle to the Spirit of Kindness that animated him both on the anniversary of the day he had read this matter just mentioned and on those belonging to the Palatium: on such occasions his image in gold was to be conducted to the Capitol and hymns sung in its honor by the boys of noblest birth. They granted him also the right to celebrate a lesser triumph, as though he had defeated some enemies. This was what they voted at that meeting: later they added to it extensively on almost every pretext.

[17] Gaius took no heed of the celebration mentioned; it seemed to him to be no great thing to drive a horse on land: but he had a desire to ride horseback through the sea in a way, by bridging over the water between Puteoli and

Bauli. This locality is opposite the City, twenty-six stades distant. Boats for the bridge were partly brought together and partly built new for the purpose. For the number it had proved possible to collect in a brief space of time was insufficient, although all feasible vessels had been gathered, and it was principally this fact that caused a serious famine in Italy and Rome. In joining these boats not merely a passageway was constructed but resting places and waiting rooms were built along in it, and these had running water fit for drinking. When it was ready, he put on the breastplate of Alexander (or so he said), and over it a purple silk chlamys, containing much gold and many precious stones from India. He furthermore girt on a sword, took a shield, and donned a garland of oak leaves. Next he offered sacrifice to Neptune and some other gods and to Envy (in order, he said, that no jealousy might attend him), and entered the passage from the end at Bauli, taking with him great numbers of armed horsemen and foot soldiers; and he made a fierce dash into the city as if he were after some enemies. There he rested the following day, as though seeking respite from battle, and wearing a gold-spangled tunic he returned on a chariot over the same bridge. He was drawn by race-horses that were most competent to gain victories. A long train of what was apparently spoils accompanied him, among them Darius, one of the Arsacidæ, belonging to the group of Parthians then serving as hostages. His friends and associates in beflowered robes followed him on vehicles, as did the army and the rest of the throng, which was decked out according to individual taste. Of course, in the midst of such a campaign and after so magnificent a victory he had to deliver a bit of an harangue: so he ascended a platform which had likewise been erected at about the center of the bridge. First he extolled himself as one who had undertaken a great enterprise; next he praised the soldiers as men exhausted by the dangers they had faced, adding the significant statement that they had traversed the sea on foot. For this gallantry he gave them money and afterward for the rest of the day and all through the night they enjoyed a banquet, — he on the bridge, as though some island, and they at anchor on other boats. Light in abundance shone upon them from the place itself and abundant light besides from the mountains. For since the place was crescent-shaped, fire was exhibited from all sides, as might be done in a theatre, so that no one could notice the darkness. It was his wish to make the night day, as he had made the sea land. When he had become full to excess of food and strong drink, he threw numbers of his companions off the bridge into the sea and sank many of the rest by making a circuitous attack upon them in boats that had rams. Some perished, but the majority though drunk managed to save themselves. The reason was that the sea showed itself extremely smooth and tranquil both while the bridge was being put together and while the other events were taking place. This, too, caused the emperor some elation, and he said that even Neptune was afraid of him. As for Darius and Xerxes, he made all manner of fun of them, inasmuch as he had bridged over a far vaster expanse of sea than they.

[18] The final episode in the career of that bridge, which I shall now relate, proved another source of death to many. Inasmuch as the emperor had exhausted his revenues in the construction he fell to plotting against many more persons because of their property. He presided at trials both privately and in company with the entire senate. That body also tried some cases by itself, yet it had not full powers and there were many appeals from its decisions. The decisions of the senate were merely made public, but when any men were condemned by Gaius their names were bulletined, as though he feared they might not learn their fate. These met their punishment some in prison and others by being hurled from the Capitoline. Still others killed themselves beforehand. There was no safety even for such as left the country, but many of them, too, lost their lives either on the road or while in banishment. It is not worth while to burden my readers unduly by going into the details of most of these cases, but I may stop to notice Calvisius Sabinus, one of the foremost men in the senate. He had recently come from governing Pannonia, and he and his wife Cornelia were both indicted. The charge against her was that she had visited some military posts and had watched some soldiers practicing. These two did not stand trial but despatched themselves before the time set. The same is to be recorded of Titius Rufus, against whom a complaint was lodged that he had said the senate had one thing in their minds but uttered something different. Also one Junius Priscus, a praetor, was accused on various charges, but his death was really due to the supposition that he was wealthy. Gaius, on learning that he possessed nothing worth causing his death for, made this remarkable statement: "He fooled me and perished uselessly when he might as well have lived."

[19] Among these men put on trial at this time Domitius Afer encountered danger from an unexpected source and secured his preservation in a still more remarkable way. Gaius was incensed against him (if for no other reason) because in the reign of Tiberius he had accused a woman who was related to the emperor's mother Agrippina. Later the woman had met Afer and as she saw that out of embarrassment he stood aside from her path she called to him and said (referring to the matter): "Never mind, Domitius: it wasn't you, but Agamemnon, that caused me these troubles." Just about this time Afer had set up an image of the emperor and had placed upon it an inscription showing that Gaius in his twenty-seventh year was already consul for the second time. This vexed the latter, who felt that undue notice was being given to his youth and his transgression of the law. So for this action, for which Afer had looked to be honored, he brought him before the senate and read a long speech against him. Gaius always maintained that he surpassed all living orators, and knowing that his adversary was an extremely gifted speaker he strove on this occasion to excel him. He would certainly have put Afer to death, if the latter had entered into the least competition with him. As it was, the man made no answer or defence, but pretended to be astonished and overcome by the cleverness of Gaius, and repeating the accusation point by point he praised it

as though he were some listener and not on trial. When opportunity was given him to speak, he took to supplicating and bewailing his lot; finally he threw himself on the earth and lying there prostrate he besought his accuser, apparently fearing him as an orator rather than as Cæsar. In this way the latter when he saw and heard what I have described was melted, for he thought that he had really overwhelmed Domitius by the eloquence of his address. For this reason, then, and on account of Callistus the freedman, whom he was wont to honor and whose favor Domitius had courted, he ceased his anger. And when Callistus later blamed him for having accused the man in the first place, the emperor answered: "It would not have been right for me to hide such a speech." So Domitius was saved by being convicted of no longer being a skillful speaker.

On the other hand Lucius Annæus Seneca, who was superior in wisdom to all the Romans of his day and to many other great men, came very near being ruined, though he had done no wrong and there was no suspicion of such a thing, but just because he pled a case well in the senate while his sovereign was present. Gaius ordered him to be put to death, but let him go because he believed what one of his female associates said, that Seneca had a bad case of consumption and would die before a great while.

[20] Directly he appointed Domitius consul and removed those who held the office at the time: this he did because they had not proclaimed a thanksgiving on the occasion of his birthday (the prætors had held a horse-race and had slaughtered some beasts, but that happened every year) whereas they had celebrated a festival to commemorate the victory of Augustus over Antony. In order to find an accusation against them he chose to figure as a descendant of Antony rather than of Augustus. He had beforehand told those who shared his secrets that whichever the consuls did they would certainly get into trouble, whether they offered sacrifice as a mark of joy over Antony's disaster or whether they went without sacrificing on such an occasion as the victory of Augustus. It was for these reasons, then, that he summarily dismissed these officials and broke to pieces their fasces. One of them took it so much to heart that he killed himself.

Domitius was chosen as the emperor's colleague nominally by the people but actually by Gaius himself. The latter had, to be sure, restored the elections to the populace, but they had become rather lax in the performance of their duties because for a long time now they had enjoyed none of the privileges of freemen; and as a rule no more office-seekers presented themselves than were needed to fill vacant places, or if ever there was an excessive number the outcome had been all arranged among themselves. Thus the appearance of a democracy was preserved but none of the proper results was secured; and this led Gaius himself to abolish the elections again. After this things went on precisely as in the reign of Tiberius. Sometimes fifteen prætors were chosen and again one more or less, as it might happen.

Such was the action he took regarding the elections. In general he

maintained a malignant and suspicious attitude toward quite everything that went on, as witness his banishing Carrina Secundus the orator because the latter had delivered in a gymnasium a speech against tyrants. Also, when Lucius Piso, son of Plancina and Gnaeus Piso, chanced to become governor of Africa, the emperor feared that pride might lead him to revolt, particularly since he was to have a large force made up of both citizens and foreigners. Hence the province was divided in two and the military force together with the Nomads in the immediate vicinity was assigned to a different official. That arrangement lasts to this day.

[21] Gaius had now spent practically all the money in Rome and the rest of Italy, gathered from every source from which he could in any way get it, and as no resource that was of any value or practicable could be found there, his expenses became a source of great annoyance to him. Therefore he set out for Gaul, declaring hostilities against the Celtae on the ground that they were showing some uneasiness, but in reality his purpose was to get money from that region and Spain, where wealth was also abundant. However, he did not make an outright declaration of his destination, but went first to one of the suburbs and then suddenly started on his journey, taking with him many dancers, gladiators, horses, women, and the rest of the rout. When he reached the section he had in view he did no damage to any of the enemy; — as soon as he had proceeded a short distance beyond the Rhine he turned back, and next he started apparently to conduct a campaign against Britain, but turned back from the ocean's edge, showing no little vexation at his lieutenants because they won some slight success; — among the subject peoples, however, and among the allies and the citizens he wrought the greatest imaginable havoc. In the first place he despoiled property holders on any and every excuse, and second, individuals and cities brought him "voluntarily" large gifts. He kept on murdering victims, alleging that some were rebelling and others conspiring. The general complaint against them all was that they were rich. The fact that he attended to the selling of their possessions in person enabled him to obtain far greater sums than would otherwise have been the case. Everybody was compelled to buy them, under all sorts of conditions and for much more than their value, for the reasons I have mentioned. Accordingly, he sent also for the finest and most precious heirlooms of the government and auctioned them off, selling with them the fame of the persons who had once used them. He would make some comment on each one, such as "This belonged to my father," "this to my mother," "this to my grandfather," "this to my great-grandfather," "this Egyptian piece belonged to Antony — became a prize of Augustus." Meantime he incidentally showed the necessity of selling them, so that no one dared to appear to be indigent, and he sold with each article some valuable association.

[22] In spite of all this he did not secure any surplus. He kept up his expenditures both for the objects that regularly interested him, producing some spectacles at Lugdunum, and also for the army. For the number of

soldiers he had gathered amounted to twenty myriads, or, as some say, to twenty-five myriads. Seven times was he named imperator by them (just as pleased him), though he had won no battle and slain no enemy. To be sure, he did once by a ruse seize and make prisoners a few of the latter, but it was his own people whom he wasted most, striking some of them down individually and butchering others *en masse*. Once he saw a crowd either of prisoners or some other persons and gave orders (in the cant phrase) that they should all be slain from baldhead to baldhead. Another time he was playing dice and, finding that he had no money, called for the census of the Gauls and ordered the wealthiest of them to be put to death. Then he returned to his fellow gamblers and said: "Here you are playing for a few denarii, while I have collected nearly fifteen thousand myriads." So these men perished without consideration. Indeed, one of them, Julius Sacerdos, who was fairly well off but not so extremely wealthy as naturally to become the object of attack, nevertheless fell a victim because of a similarity of names. This shows how carelessly everything went.

Others who perished I need not cite by name, simply mentioning enough to satisfy the requirements of my record. One, then, that he killed was Gastulicus Lentulus, a man of good reputation in every way, who had been governor of Germany for ten years; his death was due to the fact that the soldiers liked him. Another that he murdered was Lepidus, that lover and favorite of his, husband of Drusilla, the man who together with Gaius had maintained criminal relations with the emperor's other sisters Agrippina and Julia, the man whom he had permitted to stand for office five years earlier than the laws allowed, whom he also declared he should leave to succeed him as emperor. To celebrate the event he gave the soldiers money, as though he had worsted some hostile force, and sent three daggers to Mars the Avenger in Rome. His sisters for their connection with Lepidus he deported to the Portian islands, having first written to the senate a great deal of outrageous and brutal comment upon them. Agrippina was given the victim's bones in a jar and ordered to keep it in her bosom throughout the entire journey and bring it back to Rome again. Also, since many honors had been voted to these women on the emperor's account, the emperor forbade any distinction being awarded to any of his relatives again.

[23] He sent to the senate at the time a report of the matter as if he had escaped some great plot, for he was always pretending to be in danger and to be leading a miserable existence. The senators on being apprised of the facts passed several complimentary votes and granted him a lesser triumph; they sent envoys to announce this, some of whom were chosen by lot, but Claudius by election. That also displeased the emperor to such an extent that he again forbade anything approaching praise or honor being given to his relatives. He felt, too, that he had not been honored as he deserved, and indeed he never made any account of the honors granted him. It irritated him to have small distinctions voted, since that implied a slight, and greater distinctions irritated

him because then he was deprived of the possibility of winning still higher prizes. He did not wish it to seem that anything that brought him honors was in the senators' power, — that would make them stronger than he, — nor again that they should have the right to grant such a thing to him, as if they had power and he was inferior to them. For this reason he oftentimes found fault with various gifts, on the ground that they did not increase his splendor but rather diminished his power. Being of this mind he used to become angry at those who did him honor if in any case it seemed that they had voted him less than he deserved. So capricious was he that no one could easily suit him.

Accordingly, for the reasons mentioned he would not receive all of those ambassadors, affecting to mistrust that they were spies, but chose out a few and sent the rest back before they reached Gaul. Those that he admitted to his presence were not accorded any august reception; indeed, he would have killed Claudius, had he not entertained a contempt for him, since the latter partly by nature and partly with intention gave the impression of great stupidity. Others were again sent, more in number (for he had complained among other points of the smallness of the first embassy), and they made the announcement that many marks of distinction had been voted to him: these he received gladly, even going out to meet them, for which action he received fresh honors at their hands. This, however, was somewhat later.

At the time under discussion Gaius divorced Paulina on the pretext that she was barren, but really because he had had enough of her, and married Milonia Cæsonia. She had formerly been his mistress, but now as she was pregnant he chose to make her his wife and have her bear him a child a month later. The people of Rome were disturbed by this behavior and were still further disturbed because a number of trials were hanging over their heads as a result of the friendship they had shown for his sisters and for the men who had been murdered: even some ædiles and prætors were compelled to resign their offices and stand trial. — Meantime they also suffered from the excessive heat. This grew so extremely severe that curtains were stretched across the Forum. — Among the men exiled at this time Ofonius Tigillinus was banished on the charge of having had a *liaison* with Agrippina.

[24] All this, however, did not distress the people so much as their expectation that the cruelty and licentiousness of Gaius would go to still greater lengths. They were particularly troubled on ascertaining that King Agrippa and King Antiochus were with him, like two tyrant-trainers.

[A.D. 40 (a. u. 793)]

As a consequence, while he was consul for the third time no tribune nor prætor dared to convene the senate. For he had no colleague; though this, as some think, was not intentional, but the regular appointee died and no one else in so short a period of time as was available could be brought forward in the comitia to fill his place. Moreover, the prætors who attend to the affairs of the consuls, whenever the latter are out of town, ought to have administered all business pending. But at this period, in order not to appear to have acted for

the emperor, they performed none of their duties. The senators in a body ascended the Capitoline, offered their sacrifices, and did obeisance to the chair of Gaius located in the temple. Furthermore, according to a custom prevailing in the time of Augustus, they deposited money, making a show of giving it to the emperor himself. Their practice was similar also in the following year. At the time of the events just narrated they came together in the senate-house after these proceedings, without any person having convened them, but accomplished nothing, wasting the whole day in laudations of Gaius and prayers in his behalf. Since they had no love for him nor any wish that he should survive, they simulated both these feelings to all the greater extent, as if hoping in this way to disguise their real sentiments. On the third day devoted to prayers they came together in response to an announcement of a meeting made by all the prætors in a written notice: still, they transacted no business on this day nor again on the next until on the twelfth day word was brought that Gaius had resigned his office. Then at last the men who had been elected for subsequent service succeeded to the position and administered the business that fell to them. It was voted among other measures that the same honors should be given to the birthdays of Tiberius and of Drusilla as to that of Augustus. The actor folk also celebrated a festival, provided a spectacle, and set up and dedicated images of Gaius and Drusilla. — This was in accordance with a letter of Gaius. Whenever he wished any business brought up he communicated in writing a small portion of it to all the senators, but most of it to the consuls, and then sometimes ordered this to be read in the senate. — So much for the transactions of the senate.

[25] Meanwhile Gaius sent for Ptolemæus, the son of Juba, and on ascertaining that he was wealthy put him to death and a number of others with him. Also when he reached the ocean and was to all appearances about to conduct a campaign in Britain and had drawn up all the soldiers on the beach, he embarked on the triremes but after putting out a little from the land he sailed back again. Next he took his seat on a high platform and gave his soldiers the watchword as if for battle, while the trumpeters urged them on. All of a sudden, however, he ordered them to gather the shells. Having secured these “spoils” (you see he needed booty for the celebration of his triumph) he became immensely elated, assuming that he had enslaved the ocean itself; and he gave his soldiers many presents. The shells he took back to Rome for the purpose of exhibiting the spoils to the people there as well. The senate did not see how it could remain inactive in the face of this procedure, inasmuch as it learned he was in an exalted frame of mind, nor yet again how it could praise him. For, when anybody bestows great praise or extraordinary honors for a small success or none at all, that person becomes suspected of making a mock and jest of the affair. Still, for all that, when Gaius entered the City he came very near devoting the whole senate to destruction because it had not voted him divine honors. But he contented himself with assembling the populace, upon whom he showered from a raised

position quantities of silver and gold. Many perished in the effort to seize it; for, as some say, he had mixed small knife-blades in with the coin.

As a result of his adulteries he repeatedly received the titles of imperator and Germanicus and Britannicus no less than if he had subdued Gaul and Britain entire.

Since this was his manner of life, he was destined inevitably to be plotted against. He was on the lookout for an attack and arrested Anicius Cerealius and his son Sextus Papinius, whom he put to the torture. And inasmuch as the former would not utter a word, he persuaded Papinius (by promising him safety and immunity) to denounce certain persons (whether truly or falsely); he then straightway put to death both Cerealius and the rest before his very eyes. There was a Betilienus Bassus whom he had ordered killed, and he compelled Capito, the man's father, to be present at his son's execution, though Capito was not guilty of any crime and had received no court summons. When the father enquired if he would allow him to shut his eyes, Gaius ordered him to be slain likewise. He, finding himself in danger, pretended to have been one of the plotters and promised that he would disclose the names of all the rest; and he named the companions of Gaius and those who abetted his licentiousness and cruelty. He would have brought destruction upon many persons, had he not by laying further information against the prefects, and Callistus and Cæsonia, aroused distrust. So he was put to death, but this very act paved the way for the ruin of Gaius. For the emperor privately summoned the prefects and Callistus and said to them: "I am but one and you are three; and I am defenceless, whereas you are armed: hence, if you hate and desire to kill me, slay me at once." The general consequences were that he came to regard himself as an object of hatred, and believing that they were vexed at his behavior he harbored suspicion against them and wore a sword at his side when in the City; and to forestall any harmony of action on their part he attempted to embroil them one with another by pretending to make a confidant of each one separately and talking to him about the rest until they obtained a notion of his designs and left him a prey to the conspirators.

The same emperor ordered the senate to convene and affected to grant its members amnesty, saying that there were only a very few against whom he still retained his anger. This expression doubled the anxiety of each one of them, for everybody was thinking of himself.

[26] Another person, named Protogenes, assisted the emperor in all his projects, and carried continually on his person two books, of which he called the one "sword" and the other "dagger." This Protogenes once entered the senate as if on some indifferent business and when all, as was to be expected, saluted and greeted him, he darted a kind of sinister glance at Scribonius Proculus and said: "Do you, too, greet me, though you hate the emperor so?" On hearing this all those present surrounded their fellow senator and tore him to pieces and voted [some festivals to Gaius as also] that the emperor should

have a high platform in the senate-house to prevent any one's approaching him, besides enjoying the use of a military guard even there. [They resolved further that his statues should be guarded.

Pleased at this Gaius laid aside his anger toward them and with a buoyant spirit promised them some money. Pomponius, who was said to have plotted against him, he released, inasmuch as he had been betrayed by a friend. And, as the man's mistress when tortured would not utter a word, he did her no further harm and even gave her an honorary gift of money. Gaius was praised for this partly through fear and partly sincerely, and] as some called him hero and others god, he fairly went out of his head. Even before this he was in the habit of demanding that he be given superhuman regard and said that he had intercourse with the Moon Goddess and was crowned by Victory. He also pretended to be Jupiter and took this as a pretext for having carnal knowledge of various women, especially his sisters. Again he would often figure as [Neptune, because he had bridged so great an expanse of sea, or perhaps as] Juno and Diana and Venus. [He would impersonate Hercules, Bacchus, Apollo, and all the other divinities, not merely males but also females.] As fast as he changed the names he would assume all the rest of the attributes that belonged to them, [so that he might seem to resemble them]. Now he would be seen in feminine guise, holding a wine-cup and thyrsus, again with masculine trappings he would carry a club and lion-skin: [or perhaps a helmet and shield]. He would make up first with smooth chin and later on as a bearded man. Sometimes he wielded a trident and on other occasions he brandished the thunderbolt. He would array himself like a maiden equipped for [hunting or] war, and after a brief interval would come forth as a woman. Thus he could make changes with careful attention to details by the variety of his dress and by what he attached to or threw over it, and he was anxious to appear to be anything rather than a human being [and an emperor]. Once a certain Gaul, espying him on a, high platform transacting business in the guise of Jupiter, laughed aloud. Gaius called to him and asked: "What do I seem to you to be?" And the other answered — I shall tell his exact words — : "A big pack of foolishness." Yet the man met no dire fate, for he was a shoemaker. Persons of such rank as Gaius can bear the frankness of the common herd more easily than that of those who hold high position. — Now this was the attire he would assume whenever he pretended to be some god; and there were suitable supplications, prayers, and sacrifices offered to it. [27] Otherwise, he usually appeared in public in silk and triumphal dress. Very few were those whom he would kiss. To most of the senators even he extended his hand or foot for homage. Consequently the men who were kissed by him thanked him for it even in the senate, though all might see him kissing dancers every day. [And these divine honors paid him came not only from the many, accustomed at all times to flatter, but from those who really pretended to be something.]

Take the case of Lucius Vitellius, not of low birth nor without sense, a man who, on the contrary, had become famous by his governorship of Syria. In

addition to his other brilliant exploits as an official he spoiled a plot of Artabanus in that region. He encountered the latter, who had suffered no punishment for Armenia, already close to the Euphrates and terrified him by his sudden appearance. He then induced him to come to a conference and finally compelled him to sacrifice to the images of Augustus and Gaius. Furthermore he made a peace with him that was advantageous for the Romans and secured his children as hostages. This Vitellius, then, was summoned by Gaius to be put to death. The complaint against him was the same as the Parthians had against their king whom they expelled. Jealousy made him the object of hatred, and fear the object of plots. [For every power stronger than himself Gaius entertained hatred, and he was suspicious of whatever was successful, feeling sure that it would ultimately attack him.] But Vitellius saved his life by somehow presenting himself in such a way as to appear of less importance than his reputation would lead one to expect. He fell at the emperor's feet shedding tears of lamentation, all the time saluting him frequently as divine and paying him worship; at last he vowed that should he survive he would sacrifice to Gaius. By this behavior he so mollified the offended monarch and won his good-will that he not only managed to survive but came to be regarded as one of his lord's most intimate friends. On one occasion Gaius declared he was enjoying converse with the Moon Goddess, and when he asked Vitellius if he could see the goddess with him, the other kept his eyes fixed on the ground, as if overcome by amazement. In a half whisper he answered: "Only you gods, master, may behold one another." — So Vitellius from these beginnings, later came to surpass all others in adulation.

[28] [Gaius gave orders that in Miletus of the province of Asia a certain tract of land should be set apart for his worship. His avowed reason for choosing this city was that Diana had preempted Ephesus, Augustus Pergamum, and Tiberius Smyrna. The truth of the matter, however, was that he had conceived a desire to appropriate to his own use the large and extremely beautiful temple which the Milesians were building to Apollo. Thereupon he went to still greater lengths and built actually in Rome itself one temple of his own that was accorded him by vote of the senate, and another at his private expense on the Capitoline.] He also planned a kind of dwelling on the Capitol, in order, as he said, that he might live in the same house with Jupiter. However, he disdained taking second place in this union of households and found fault with the god for occupying the Capitol before him: accordingly, he hastened to construct another temple on the Palatine and by way of a statue for it thought he should like to change that of Olympian Jove so as to resemble himself. This he found impossible, for the boat built to bring it was shattered by thunderbolts, and loud laughter was plainly heard as often as any persons approached the pedestal to take hold of it. So after hurling threats at the obdurate image he set up a new one of himself. — The temple of the Dioscuri in the Roman Forum he cut in two and made through it an approach to the

Palatine running right between the statues, to the end (these were at all events his words) that he might have the Dioscuri for gate-keepers. Assuming the name of Dialius he attached Cæsonia his wife, Claudius, and other persons who were very wealthy to his service as priests, receiving from each one two hundred and fifty myriads for this honor. He also consecrated himself to his own service and appointed his horse a fellow-priest. Dainty and expensive birds were daily sacrificed to him; he had a contrivance by which he defied the thunder with answering peals and could send return flashes when it lightened. Likewise whenever a bolt fell, he would in turn hurl a javelin at a rock, repeating each time the words of Homer: "Either lift me or I will thee." [When thirty days after her marriage Cæsonia brought forth a little daughter, he pretended that this, too, had come about through supernatural means and gave himself airs on the fact that in so few days after becoming a husband he was a father. He gave the child the name of Drusilla, and taking her up to the Capitol placed her on the knees of Jupiter, with the implication that she was his child, and put her in charge of Minerva to be suckled.] This god, then, this Jupiter, — [he was called by the latter name so much that it even found its way into documents, — at the same time that all this took place was collecting money in most shameful and most frightful ways.] One may, to be sure, [leave out of account the wares and the taverns, the brothels and the courts, the artisans and the wage-earning slaves] and other such sources from [every single one of] which he gathered funds; but how can one escape mentioning the rooms set apart in the very palace and the wives of the foremost men as well as the children of the most aristocratic families that he shut up in these rooms and foully abused, sparing absolutely no one in his greed for such victims, meeting with no resistance from some [who wished to avoid showing any displeasure] but seizing others quite against their will? [Yet these proceedings did not displease the mob very much, but they rather delighted with him in his licentiousness and in the fact that] he also would throw himself on the heap of gold and silver collected from these persons and roll in it. [When, however, after enacting severe laws in regard to the taxes he inscribed them in exceedingly small letters on a tablet which he then hung up aloft so as to make sure that it should be read as little as possible and that many through ignorance of what was bidden or forbidden should make themselves liable to the penalties thereof, the people straightway ran together excitedly into the hippodrome and raised fierce shouts.]

Once the people had come together in the hippodrome and were objecting to his conduct, and he had them cut down by the soldiers. In this way he imposed silence upon them all.

[A.D. 41 (a. u. 794)]

[29] As he continued to show insanity in every way, a plot was formed against him by Cassius Chairea and Cornelius Sabinus, though they were holding tribuneships in his pretorian guard. A number were in the conspiracy and privy to what was being done, among whom were Callistus and the

prefect.

Practically all of his courtiers were interested, both in their own behalf and for the common good. Any who did not take part in the conspiracy still refused to reveal it, though they knew of it and were glad to see a plot formed against him.

But the men who actually killed Gaius were those mentioned. It is worth noting, besides, that Chairea was an old-fashioned sort of man and had a private cause for anger. Gaius was in the habit of nicknaming him "sissy" (though he was the hardiest of men) and whenever it came the turn of Chairea to command would give him some such watchword as "yearning" or "Venus." Again, an oracle had a short time before warned Gaius to beware of Cassius. The former, supposing that it had reference to Gaius Cassius, governor of Asia at the time, because he was a descendant of that Cassius who had slain Cæsar, had him brought as a prisoner. The person whose future conduct the divinity was really indicating to the emperor, however, was this Cassius Chairea. Likewise a certain Egyptian, Apollonius, foretold in his native land what happened to him. For this speech he was sent to Rome and was brought before the emperor the day on which the latter was destined to die; his punishment was postponed till a little later, and in this way his life was saved.

The deed was done as follows: Gaius was celebrating a festival in the palace and was attending to the production of a spectacle. In the course of this he was himself both eating and drinking and was feasting the rest of the company. Pomponius Secundus, consul at the time, was taking his fill of the food as he sat by the emperor's feet, and at the same time kept continually bending over to shower kisses upon them. Gaius himself decided that he wanted to dance and act as a tragedian. The followers of Chairea could endure it no longer. As he went out of the theatre to see the boys of most noble lineage whom he had imported from Greece and Ionia to sing the hymn composed in his honor, the conspirators wounded him, then intercepted him in a narrow passage and killed him. When he fell to the ground none of those present would keep his hands off him but they all savagely stabbed the lifeless corpse again and again. Some chewed pieces of his flesh. His wife and daughter were immediately slain.

So Gaius, who accomplished all these exploits in three years, nine months, and twenty-eight days, learned by actual experience that he was not a god.

Now he was openly spurned by those who had been accustomed to do him reverence even when absent. His blood was spilled by persons who were wont to speak and to write of him as "Jove" and "god." His statues and his images were dragged from their pedestals, for the people in particular retained a lively remembrance of the distress they had endured.

All the soldiers in the Germanic division raised an outcry and their remonstrance extended to the point of indulging in slaughter.

Those who stood by remembered the words once spoken by him to the populace: "How I wish you had but one neck!" and made it plain to him that it

was he who had but one neck, whereas they had many hands. And when the pretorian guard, filled with consternation, began running about and demanding who had slain Gaius, Valerius Asiaticus, an ex-consul, took a remarkable mode of bringing them to their senses, in that he climbed up to a conspicuous place and cried out: "I only wish I had killed him!" This alarmed them so that they stopped their outcry.

All such persons as in any way acknowledged the authority of the senate obeyed their oaths and became once more quiet. — While the overthrow of Gaius was thus being accomplished, the consuls Sentius and Secundus forthwith transferred the funds from the treasure-chambers to the Capitol. They stationed most of the senators and plenty of soldiers as guards over it to prevent any plundering being done by the populace. So these men in company with the prefects and the circle of Sabinus and Chairea deliberated as to what should be done.

[Footnote 1: Emended by Boissevain from the "four" of the MS.]

[Footnote 2: Boissevain restores the MS. "ten" in place of the "twelve" of Robert Estienne.]

[Footnote 3: Compare Suetonius, Life of Gaius, chapter 15.]

[Footnote 4: This sentence is unintelligible and doubtless the MS. is corrupt. No editor has offered a wholly satisfactory emendation, though by comparing Book Sixty, chapter 4, the sense would seem to require: "no one, in taking the oath, mentions the name of Tiberius in the number of the emperors."]

[Footnote 5: Reading (with Boissevain) [Greek: exoruxas] for [Greek: dioruxas].]

[Footnote 6: This predicate is supplied on the suggestion of Boissevain. In the MS. an evident gap of a few words exists.]

[Footnote 7: Adopting the emendation of Bücheler, [Greek: ieraes eichosin].]

[Footnote 9: Boissevain remarks that this sentence may be interpreted to mean "All persons incurred equal censure whether they showed pleasure at [decrees passed in her honor], as being grieved [at her death], or behaved as if they were glad [that she had become a goddess]," but adds that the text is open to suspicion.]

[Footnote: 10 Reading [Greek: up] (a suggestion of Boissevain's) in place of [Greek: hép] Compare Book Sixty-one, chapter 16.]

[Footnote 11: Inserting with Bekker [Greek: alla chai asebeite.]]

[Footnote 12: This expression is obscure. Fabricius thought it contained a reference to the Palatine Games, and Boissevain queries whether we should read "at the *spectacles* belonging to the Palatium."]

[Footnote 13: This is a quotation of the speech made by Achilles to the heralds whom Agamemnon despatches to the hero's hut in pursuance of the threat previously uttered that he (Agamemnon) will take Briseis, favorite of

Achilles, in lieu of Chryseis, surrendered to her father. (From Homer's Iliad, Book I, verse 335.)]

[Footnote 14: Sc. "in it"? (Boissevain)]

[Footnote 15: According to Boissevain, this is very probably a MS. error for *Jupiter Latiaris*.]

[Footnote 16: From Homer's Iliad, Book Twenty-three, verse 724.]

[Footnote 17: Reading (with Reiske) pornas for ornas]

BOOK 60

Claudius is made emperor: his faults and excellencies (chapters 1-7).

He restores their kingdoms to Antiochus, to both the Mithridates, to Agrippa, to Herod, and enlarges the size of the same (chapter 8).

The Chatti, Chauci, Mauri are overcome (chapters 8, 9).

Certain regulations: the harbor of Ostia: Lake Fucinus to empty into the Tiber (chapters 10-13).

Assassinations instituted: crimes of Messalina and the freedmen (chapters 14-18).

Britain is partially subdued (chapters 19-23).

Certain regulations: outrages of Messalina: the causes of her demise (chapters 24-31).

Agrippina is wed: she at once enacts the role of a Messalina: at length she murders Claudius (chapters 32-35).

These events occurred during the remainder of the consulship of C. Cæsar (4th) and Cn. Sentius Saturninus, together with 13 other years in which the following held the consulship.

Claudius Cæsar Aug. (II), C. Cæcina Largus. (A.D. 42 = a. u. 795 = Second of Claudius, from Jan. 24th.)

Claudius Cæsar Aug. (III), L. Vitellius (II). (A.D. 43 = a. u. 796 = Third of Claudius.)

L. Quinctius Crispinus (II), M. Statilius Taurus. (A.D. 44 = a. u. 797 = Fourth of Claudius.)

M. Vinicius (II), T. Statilius Taurus Corvinus. (A.D. 45 = a. u. 798 = Fifth of Claudius.)

Valerius Asiaticus (II), M. Iunius Silanus. (A.D. 46 = a. u. 799 = Sixth of Claudius.)

Claudius Cæsar Aug. (IV), L. Vitellius (III). (A.D. 47 = a. u. 800 = Seventh of Claudius.)

A. Vitellius, L. Vipsanius. (A.D. 48 = a. u. 801 = Eighth of Claudius.)

C. Pompeius Longinus Gallus, Q. Veranius. (A.D. 49 = a. u. 802 = Ninth of Claudius.)

C. Antistius Vetus, M. Suillius Nervilianus. (A.D. 50 = a. u. 803 = Tenth of Claudius.)

Claudius Cæsar Aug. (V), Ser. Cornelius Orfitus. (A.D. 51 = a. u. 804 = Eleventh of Claudius.)

Cornelius Sulla Faustus, L. Salvius Otho Titianus. (A.D. 52 = a. u. 805 = Twelfth of Claudius.)

Dec. Iunius Silanus Torquatus, Q. Haterius Antoninus. (A.D. 53 = a. u. 806 = Thirteenth of Claudius.)

M. Asinius Marcellus, Manius Acilius Aviola. (A.D. 54 = a. u. 807 = Fourteenth of Claudius — to October 13th.)

BOOK 60, BOISSEVAIN.

[A.D. 41 (*a. u.* 794)]

[1] When Gaius perished in the manner described, the consuls despatched guards to every quarter of the city and gathered the senate on the Capitol, where many diverse opinions were uttered. Some favored a democracy, some a monarchy; some were for choosing this man, and others that. Therefore they spent the rest of the day and the whole night without accomplishing anything. Meanwhile some soldiers who had entered the palace for the purpose of making spoil of something or other found Claudius hidden away in a dark corner. He was attending Gaius when the latter came out of the theatre, and at this time through fear of the confusion had crouched down out of the way. At first, the men thinking that he was some one else and perhaps had something worth taking dragged him out. Afterwards, on recognizing him, they hailed him as emperor and conducted him to the camp. Then in company with their comrades they delivered to him the entire power of government, inasmuch as he was of the imperial race and was regarded as suitable. In spite of his shrinking and remonstrance the more he attempted to avoid the honor and to resist the more did the soldiers in turn insist upon not accepting an emperor from others but upon their own right to establish such a sovereign over the entire world. Hence, with a show of reluctance, he yielded. The consuls for a time sent tribunes and others forbidding him to assume any such authority and to submit to the jurisdiction of the people and the senate and the laws; but, when their attendant soldiers left them in the lurch, then finally they too yielded and voted him all the remaining privileges pertaining to sole rulership.

[2] So it was that Tiberius Claudius Nero Germanicus, the son of Drusus child of Livia, obtained the imperial power without having been previously tested at all in any position of authority, save only that he had been consul. He was fifty years of age. In mental development he was by no means inferior, having been through a sufficient education to do a little history writing, but physically he was frail, and his head and hands shook a little. Hence his voice was also faltering and he did not himself read all the measures that he introduced before the senate but would give them to the quæstor to read, — though at first, at least, he was regularly present. Whatever he did read in person he generally recited sitting down. He was the first of the Romans, too, to employ a covered chair, — which has led to the present custom which prescribes that not only the emperors be carried in chairs but we ex-consuls, as well. Before this time, Augustus, Tiberius, and some others used to be carried sometimes in litters such as women even at the present day affect. These infirmities, however, were not the cause of nearly so much trouble to him as were the freedmen and women with whom he associated; for more conspicuously than any of his peers he was ruled by slaves and by women. From a child he had been reared with careful nursing and in the midst of terror

and had for that reason feigned simplicity to a greater extent than was really true this fact he himself admitted in the senate: and as he had lived for a long time with his grandmother Livia and for another long period with his mother Antonia and again with liberti, and moreover had had several amours with women, he had acquired no qualities becoming a freeman, but although ruler of all the Romans and their subjects he was himself nothing more nor less than a slave. They would take advantage of him particularly when he was inclined to drink and sexual intercourse, for in both these directions he was quite insatiable and on such occasions was exceedingly easy to master. Moreover, he was afflicted by cowardice, which frequently roused in him so great alarm that he could not calculate anything as he ought. They anticipated this failing of his, too, and it was no inconsiderable help toward getting the better of him. By frightening him half to death they would reap great benefits, and in other people they inspired so much fear that — to give an epitome of the situation — once when a number were on the same day invited to dinner by Claudius and again by his dependents, the guests neglected him on some indifferent pretext and presented themselves at the feast of his companions.

[3] Though, generally speaking, he was the sort of character described, still he performed not a few valuable services whenever he was free from the influences mentioned and was master of himself. I shall take up his acts in detail.

All honors voted to him he immediately accepted, except the title “Father,” and this he afterward took: yet he did not at once enter the senate, but delayed as late as the thirtieth day. The fact that he had seen Gaius perish as he did and now learned that some other candidates, presumably superior to himself, had been proposed for emperor by the senatorial body made him a little timid. Therefore he exercised great caution at all points and caused all men and women who approached him to be searched, for fear they might have a dagger. At banquets he made sure there were some soldiers present, — a custom which, set by him, continues to this day. That of invariable search was brought to an end by Vespasian. He put to death Chairea and some others in spite of his pleasure at the death of Gaius. In other words he looked far ahead to ensure his own safety, and was not so much grateful to the man for having by his deed enabled him to get the empire as he was displeased at the idea of any one assassinating an emperor. He acted in this matter not as an avenger of Gaius but as one who had caught a person plotting against himself. As a sequel to this murder Sabinus also died by his own hand, not choosing to survive after his comrade had been executed.

As for all other citizens who had openly shown their eagerness for a democracy or had been regarded as eligible for the supreme power. Claudius so far from bearing malice toward them gave them honors and offices. In plainer terms than any ruler that ever lived he promised them immunity, — therein imitating the example of the Athenians, as he said, — and it was no mere promise, but he afforded it in fact. He abolished complaints of maiestas

alike for things written and things done and punished no one on any such charge for either earlier or later offences. He invented no complaint for the sake of persecuting those who had wronged or insulted him when he was a private citizen; and there were many who had done this, particularly as he was deemed of no importance, and to please either Tiberius or Gaius. If, however, he found them guilty of some other crime, he would take vengeance on them also for their former abuse. [4] The taxes introduced in the reign of Gaius and whatever other measures had led to denunciation of the latter's acts were done away with by Claudius, not all at once but as opportunity offered. He also brought back such persons as Gaius had unjustly exiled, — among others the latter's sisters Agrippina and Julia, — and restored to them, their property. Of those imprisoned, — and a very great number were in this predicament, — he liberated such as were suffering for maiestas or any similar complaints, but real criminals he punished.

He investigated the cases very carefully, in order that those who had committed crimes should not be released on account of the victims of blackmail, nor yet the latter be ruined on account of the former. Nearly every day either in company with the entire senate or alone he would sit on a platform trying cases, generally in the Forum, but occasionally elsewhere. In fact, he renewed the custom of having men sit as his colleagues, which had been abandoned ever since Tiberius withdrew to the island. Very often he joined the consuls and the prætors and especially those having charge of the finances in their investigations, and some few matters he turned over entirely to the various courts. He destroyed the poisons (which were found in great variety among the effects of Gaius); and the books of Protogenes (who was put to death) together with the documents which Gaius pretended to have burned but which were actually found in the imperial archives he showed to the senators and gave them to the latter, to the very men who had written them, no less than to those against whom they had been written, to read: afterward he burned them up. Yet, when the senate manifested a desire to dishonor Gaius, he personally prevented such a measure from being voted, but on his own responsibility caused all of his predecessor's images to disappear by night. Hence the name of Gaius does not occur in the list of emperors whom we mention in oaths and prayers any more than that of Tiberius. Neither of them, however, suffered any official disgrace.

[5] Accordingly, the unjust institutions set up by Gaius and by others on his account Claudius overturned. To Drusus his father and Antonia his mother he offered horse-races on their birthdays, putting off to different days the festivals which would occur on the same dates, in order that there should not be two celebrations at once. His grandmother Livia was not only honored by equestrian contests, but was deified, and he set up a statue to her in the temple of Augustus, charging the vestal virgins with the duty of offering sacrifice in proper form. He also ordered that women should use her name in taking oaths.

Though he paid such reverence to his ancestors, he himself would accept

nothing beyond the names pertaining to his office. On the first day of August, to be sure, — his birthday, — there were equestrian contests, but not on his account: it was because the temple of Mars had been dedicated on that day, which had consequently been distinguished thereafter by annual contests.

Beside moderation in this respect he further forbade any one's worshipping him or offering him any sacrifice; he checked the many excessive acclamations accorded him; and he accepted only one image, — of silver, — and two statues, of bronze and stone, that had been voted to him at the start. All such expenditures, he declared, were useless and furthermore inflicted great loss and great annoyance upon the city. All the temples and all the rest of the public works had been filled with statues and votive offerings, so that he said he should have to make it a matter of thought what to do with them. He forbade the prætors' giving gladiatorial games and ordained that any one else who superintended them in any place whatsoever should not allow to be written or reported the statement that such games were being held for the emperor's preservation. He became so used to settling all these matters by considering the merits of each case rather than according to the dictates of custom that he adopted the same attitude toward other departments of life. For instance, when this year he betrothed one of his daughters to Lucius Junius Silanus and gave the other in marriage to Gnæus Pompeius Magnus, he did nothing out of the common to commemorate the occasion, but attended the courts in person on those days and convened the senate as usual. He ordered his sons-in-law temporarily to hold office among the viginti viri, and later to act as prefects of the city at the Feriæ. After a long interval he gave them the right to stand for the other offices five years sooner than was customary.

Gaius had despoiled this Pompeius of his title *Magnus* and came very near killing him because he was so named. Yet out of contempt for him, since he was still but a boy, he did not go to such extremes, and merely abolished the offending epithet, saying that it was not safe for any one to be called Magnus. Claudius now restored to him this title and gave him his daughter to wife.

[6] These were certainly commendable actions. In addition, when at one time in the senate the consuls came down from their seats to talk with him, he rose in turn and went to meet them. In Naples he lived entirely like a private citizen. He and his associates while there adopted the Greek manner of life invariably; at the musical entertainments he would wear cloak and military boots, and at the gymnastic exercises a purple robe and golden crown. His action, moreover, in regard to money was remarkable, for he forbade any one to bring him contributions, as had been customary in the reigns of Augustus and of Gaius, and he refused to allow any person to name him as heir if such person possessed any relatives whatever. Indeed, the funds that had been confiscated by government order during the period of Tiberius and Gaius he gave back either to the victims themselves, if they still survived, or otherwise to their children.

It had been the custom that if any slightest detail were carried out contrary

to precedent on the occasion of the games these should be given over again, as I have stated. But since such occasions were frequent, occurring a third, fourth, fifth, and sometimes tenth time, and this partly by accident but generally by intention on the part of those benefited by these happenings, he enacted a law that on only one day should the equestrian contests take place a second time; in fact, however, he usually abrogated this privilege also. The schemers henceforth easily avoided falling into irregularities, as they gained very little by so doing.

In the matter of the Jews, who had again increased so greatly that by reason of their multitude it would have been hard without raising a tumult to bar them from the City, he decided not to drive them out, but ordered them to follow that mode of life prescribed by their ancestral custom and not to assemble in numbers. — The clubs instituted by Gaius he disbanded. — Also, seeing that there was no use in forbidding the populace to do certain things unless their daily life should be reorganized, he abolished the taverns where they were wont to gather and drink and commanded that no dressed meat nor warm water should be sold. Some who disobeyed this ordinance were punished.

He restored to the various cities the statues which Gaius was in the habit of requiring them to send, restored also to the Dioscuri their temple and to Pompey the right of naming the theatre. On the stage-building of the latter he inscribed also the name of Tiberius, because that emperor had rebuilt the structure when it was burned. His own name he had chiseled there likewise (not because he had reared it but because he had dedicated it), but on no other part of the edifice. Likewise he did not wear the triumphal garb the entire time of the games, though permission was voted to him, but appeared in it merely to offer sacrifice; the rest of the festival he superintended in the purple-bordered garment.

[7] He introduced in the orchestra among others knights and women who were his peers, who had been accustomed in the reign of Gaius so to appear regularly. The reason was not that he liked their performance, but that he wanted a proof of their past behavior. Certainly none of them was again marshaled on the stage during the era of Claudius. The Pyrrhic dance, which the boys sent for by Gaius were practicing, they were allowed to perform once, were honored with citizenship for it, and were then dismissed. Others, in turn, chosen from among the retinue, then gave exhibitions. — This was what took place in theatrical circles.

In the hippodrome twelve camels and horses had one contest, and three hundred bears together with an equal number of Libyan beasts were slaughtered. Previous to this time the different classes in attendance had watched the spectacle each from its own special location, — senators, knights, and populace; thus it had come to be a regular practice, yet no definite positions had been assigned to them. [8] It was at this time that Claudius marked off the space which still belongs to the senate, and furthermore he

allowed those senators who chose to view the sights somewhere else and even in citizen's dress. After this he banqueted the senators and their wives, the knights, and likewise the tribes.

Next he restored Commagene to Antiochus, for Gaius, though he had himself given him the district, had taken it away again; and Mithridates the Iberian, whom Gaius had summoned only to imprison, he sent home again to resume his sovereignty. To another Mithridates, a lineal descendant of Mithridates the Great, he granted Bosporus, giving to Polemon some land in Cilicia in place of it. He enlarged the domain of Agrippa of Palestine (who, happening to be in Rome, had helped him become emperor), and bestowed on him consular honors. To the latter's brother Herod he gave pretorial dignities and some authority. They were allowed to enter the senate and to express their thanks to him in Greek. — Now these were the acts of Claudius himself, and they were lauded by all.

But certain other deeds were done at this time of an entirely different nature by his freedmen and by his wife, Valeria Messalina. She became enraged at her niece Julia because the latter neither paid her honor nor flattered her; and she was also jealous because the girl was extremely beautiful and had been the only one to enjoy the favor of Claudius several times. Accordingly, she had her banished by bringing against her among other complaints that of adultery (for which Annius Seneca was also exiled) and after a while she succeeded in procuring Julia's death. As for the freedmen, it was they who persuaded Claudius to accept triumphal honors for his deeds in Mauretania, though he had not been successful and had not yet attained imperial power when the end of the war came. This same year, however, Sulpicius Galba overcame the Chatti, and Publius Gabinius conquered the Cauchi beside winning fame in other ways; for instance, he recovered a military eagle, the only one left among the enemy from the catastrophe of Varus. Through the exploits of both of these men Claudius received a title of imperator that had some foundation in fact.

[A.D. 42 (*a. u.* 795)]

[9] The next year the same Moors were again subdued in fighting with him. Suetonius Paulinus, one of the ex-prætors, overran their country as far as the Atlantic. Gnæus Hosidius Geta, one of the peers, making a subsequent campaign, advanced at once against their general Salabus and conquered him two separate times. And when the latter after leaving a few soldiers near the frontier to hold back any who might pursue took refuge in the sandy part of the country, Geta ventured to follow him. First stationing a part of his army opposite the hostile detachment that was awaiting him he provided himself with as much water as was feasible, and pushed forward. When this supply gave out and no more could be found, he was caught in an exceedingly unpleasant position. The barbarians, especially since through habit they can endure thirst an exceedingly long time, and through knowledge of the country can always get *some* water, had no trouble in maintaining themselves. The

Romans, for the opposite reasons, found it impossible to advance and difficult to withdraw. While Geta was in a dilemma as to what he should do, one of the natives who was at peace with the invaders persuaded him to make use of incantations and enchantments, telling him that as a result of such procedure abundant water had frequently been granted them. No sooner had he taken this advice than so much rain burst from heaven as to allay the soldiers' thirst entirely, beside scaring the enemy, who thought the gods were assisting the Roman. Consequently they came to terms voluntarily and ended their warfare. — After these events Claudius divided the Moors who were in subjection into two districts, namely, the country about Tengis and that about Cæsarea, these cities giving their names to the whole region; and he appointed two knights as governors. At this same period certain parts of Numidia also were involved in warfare by neighboring barbarians, and when the latter had been conquered returned to a state of repose.

[10] The office of consul Claudius held in conjunction with Gaius Largus. He allowed the latter to continue consul for a whole year, but as for himself he remained a magistrate only two months at this time. He had the rest swear to the deeds of Augustus, and was himself sworn, but in regard to his own deeds he allowed no such procedure on the part of any one. On leaving the office he took the oath again, like other people. This was always his practice, every time he was consul.

About this period certain speeches of Augustus and Tiberius were being read according to decree on the first of the month, and when they had kept the senators busy till evening he ended the reading, declaring that it was sufficient for them to be engraved on tablets.

Some prætors who were entrusted with the administration of the funds having incurred charges, he did not take legal measures against them, but made the rounds of those who sold goods and let buildings, and corrected whatever he deemed to be abuses. This he did also on numerous other occasions. — There were likewise peculiarities in the appointment of the prætors, for their number was now fourteen or eighteen or somewhere between, just as it happened. — Beside this action with reference to the finances he established a board of three ex-prætors to collect debts owing the government, granting them lictors and the usual force of assistants.

[11] On the occasion of a severe famine he considered the problem of abundant provisions not only for that particular crisis, but for all succeeding time. Practically all food used by the Romans was imported, and yet the region near the mouth of the Tiber had no safe landing-places nor suitable harbors, so that their mastery of the sea was rendered useless. Save for such staples as were brought in during their season and stored in warehouses nothing from abroad could be had in the winter season; and if any one risked a voyage, he was almost sure to meet with disaster. Being cognizant of these facts Claudius undertook to build a harbor and would not be turned aside, though the architects on his enquiring how great the expense would be

replied: "You don't want to do this." So sure were they that the great disbursements necessary would cause him to rein in his ambition if he should learn beforehand the exact amount. He, however, desired a work worthy of the dignity and greatness of Rome, and he brought it to a successful conclusion. In the first place he excavated a very considerable piece of land, constructed quays on all sides of it, and let the sea into it. Next in the sea itself he heaped huge mounds on both sides of the entrance to this place, — mounds that enclosed a large body of water. Between these breakwaters he reared an island and planted on it a tower with a beacon light. — This harbor, then, still so called in local parlance, was created by him at this period. He had another project to make an outlet into the Liris from Lake Fucina, in the Marsian country, to the end that the land around it might be tilled and the river be rendered more navigable. But the expenditure was all to no purpose.

He made a number of laws, most of which I have no need to mention; but here are some of the regulations that he introduced. He had the governors who were chosen by lot set out before the first day of April; for it was their habit to delay a long time in the City. And he would not permit those chosen by election to express any thanks to him in the senate, — this had been a kind of custom with them, — but he said: "These persons ought not to thank me, as if they were so eager for office, but I them, because they cheerfully help me bear the burden of government: and if they acquit themselves well in office, I shall praise them still more." Such men as by reason of insufficient means were not able to be senators he allowed to ask permission to retire, and he admitted some of the knights to tribuneships: the rest of them, without exception, he forced to attend the senate as often as notice was sent them. He was so severe upon those who were remiss in this matter that some killed themselves.

[12] In other respects he was sociable and considerate in his dealings with them. He would visit them when sick and be a partner in their merrymakings. A certain tribune beat a slave of his in public, but Claudius did the offender himself no harm, only depriving him of his assistants, and these he restored not long afterward. Another of his slaves was sent to the Forum and severely scourged, because he had insulted a prominent man. In the senate the emperor would himself regularly rise in case the rest had been standing for a long time. On account of his ill health, as I related, he frequently remained seated and read his advice, if asked for it. He allowed Lucius Sulla to sit on the prætors' bench because this man, being unable by reason of age to hear anything from his own seat, had stood up. The day on which a year previous he had been declared emperor he did nothing unusual, except to give the Pretorians twenty-five denarii, and this he continued to do every year thereafter. Some of the prætors, however, of their own free will and not by any decree publicly celebrated that day and also the birthday of Messalina. Not all of them did this, but as many as chose. This shows what freedom they had. You may see how really moderate Claudius was in all such matters from the fact that when a son was born to him, — called at that time Claudius Tiberius Germanicus

but later also *Britannicus*, — he did not make the occasion in any way conspicuous and would not allow him to be named Augustus nor Messalina Augusta.

[13] He was constantly arranging gladiatorial games, taking a degree of pleasure in them that aroused criticism. Very few beasts were destroyed, but a great many human beings, some of whom fought with one another whereas others were devoured by animals. The emperor hated vehemently the freed slaves who in the reigns of Tiberius and Gaius had conspired against their masters, as well as those who extorted blackmail from people or had borne false witness against any persons. The majority of these he got rid of in the manner mentioned, though some of them he punished by other methods. A great many he delivered up to the vengeance of their masters. So great did the number become of those who died a public death that the statue of Augustus, erected on the scene, was turned to face in another direction, both to prevent its being thought that *he* was viewing the slaughter and to avoid having the statue always covered up. For this act Claudius was well laughed at when people reflected how he sated himself with the sights that he did not think proper for even the inanimate bronze to behold. It might be noted particularly that he used to delight greatly even at lunch time in watching those who were incidentally cut down in the middle of the spectacle. Yet a lion that had been trained to eat men and on this account greatly pleased the crowd he ordered killed on the principle that it was not fitting for Romans to gaze on such a sight. He received abundant praise, however, for appearing in the people's midst at the spectacle, for giving them all they wanted, and for his employing a herald so very little and announcing most events by notices written on boards.

[14] After he had become accustomed, then, to feast his fill on blood and slaughter, he had recourse more readily to other kinds of killings. The Cæsarians and Messalina were really responsible for this. Whenever they desired to obtain any one's death, they would terrify him, with the result that they would be allowed to do everything they chose. Often, when in a moment of sudden alarm his momentary terror had led him to order some one's death, afterward, when he recovered and came to his senses, he would search for the man and on learning what had happened would be grieved and repent. He began this series of slaughters with Gaius Appius Silanus. This man, who was of very noble family and at the time was governor of Spain, he had sent for, pretending that he wanted to see him about something, had married him to Messalina's mother, and had for some time held him in honor among his dearest and closest friends. Then he suddenly killed him. The reason was that Silanus had offended Messalina, the most abandoned and lustful of women, in refusing to lie with her, and by the slight shown the empress had alienated Narcissus, the emperor's freedman. As they had no true charge to bring against him, nor even one that would be believed, Narcissus invented a dream in which he declared he had seen Claudius murdered by the hand of Silanus.

So just before dawn, while the emperor was still in bed, he came all of a tremble to tell him the dream, and Messalina by expatiating on it made it worse. Thus Silanus perished just because of a vision.

[15] After the latter's death the Romans at once lost confidence in Claudius, and Annius Vinicianus with some others formed a plot against him. The chief conspirator had been one of those proposed at the death of Gaius for the imperial office, and it was partly fear inspired by this fact that caused him to rebel. As he possessed no considerable force, however, he sent to Furius Camillus Scribonianus, governor of Dalmatia, who had a large body of native and foreign troops. Camillus, who was inclined to the project of his own accord, was induced to revolt at the same time, particularly because he had been spoken of for emperor. When so much had been accomplished, many senators and knights joined the ranks of Annius. They did him no good, however, for the soldiers, because Camillus proffered them the name of *populus* and promised that he would restore to them their ancient freedom, suspected that they should have troubles and changes of government again and would therefore no longer obey him. Then in terror he fled from them, and coming to the island Issa he there met a voluntary death. Claudius for a time was quite cowed with fear and was ready at a demand from Camillus to withdraw from his sovereignty voluntarily. Later he recovered courage and rewarded his soldiers among other methods by having the citizen legions (the seventh and the eleventh) named the Claudian, and the Faithful, and the Pious, by the senate itself. Then he made reprisals upon those who had plotted against him and on this charge put many to death, among them a prætor, who first had to resign his office. Numbers, of whom Vinicianus was one, committed suicide, for Messalina and Narcissus and all the latter's fellow freedmen seized this opportunity to wreak their direst vengeance. They employed slaves and liberti, for instance, and informers against their own masters. These masters and others of undoubted nobility, foreigners and citizens alike, not only plebeians, but some of the knights and senators, were put to the torture in spite of the fact that Claudius at the very beginning of his reign had sworn not to torture any free citizen.

[16] Many men therefore at this time and many women incurred punishment. Some of the latter met their fate right in the prison, and when they were to die were actually led in chains upon a scaffold, like captives, and their bodies like those of others were thrown down the Scalæ Gemoniæ. Of those who were executed outside the prison only the heads were exhibited in that place. Some of the most guilty, nevertheless, either through favoritism or by the use of money saved their necks with the help of Messalina and of the Cæsarians following Narcissus. All the children of those who perished were granted immunity and some received money. Trials were held in the senate-house in the presence of Claudius, his prefects, and his freedmen. With a consul on each side he made his report to the senators while seated upon a chair of state or on a bench. Next he himself went to his accustomed seat and

chairs were set for his escort. This same program was followed also at the other most important functions.

It was at this time that a certain Galæsus, a freedman of Camillus, was brought into the senate and talked with the utmost frankness on a variety of subjects. The following remark of his is worth instancing. Narcissus had taken the floor and said to him: "What would you have done, Galæsus, if Camillus had become monarch?" He replied: "I should have stood behind him and said nothing." So he became famous for this speech, and Arria for something quite different. The latter, who was wife of Cæcina Pætus, refused to live after he had been put to death, although, being on very intimate terms with Messalina, she might have occupied a position of some honor. Moreover, when her husband showed cowardice, she strengthened his resolution. She took the sword and gave herself a wound, then handed it to him, saying: "See, Pætus, I feel no pain." — These two persons, then, were accorded praise, for by reason of the long succession of woes matters had now come to such a pass that excellence no longer meant anything else than dying nobly.

The attitude of Claudius in bringing destruction upon them and others is indicated by his forever giving to the soldiers as a watchword this verse about its being necessary "In one's first anger to ward off the foe." He kept throwing out many other hints of that sort in Greek both to them and to the senate, with the result that those who could understand any of them laughed at him. These were some of the happenings of that period. — And the tribunes at the death of one of their number themselves convened the senate for the purpose of appointing a tribune to succeed him, — this in spite of the fact that the consuls were accessible.

[A.D. 43 (*a. u.* 796)]

[17] When Claudius now became consul again, — it was the third time, — he put an end to many sacrifices and many feast days. For, as the greater part of the year was given up to them, no small damage was done to public business. Beside curtailing the number of these he retrenched in all the other ways that he could. What had been given away by Gaius without any justice or reason he demanded back from the recipients; but he gave back to the road commissioners all that his predecessor had exacted in fines on account of Corbulo. Moreover, he gave notice to magistrates chosen by lot, since they were even now slow about leaving the City, that they must commence their journey before the middle of April came. He reduced to servitude the Lycians, who rising in revolt had slain some Romans, and merged them in the prefecture of Pamphylia. During the investigation, which was conducted in the senate-house, he put a question in the Latin tongue to one of the envoys who had originally been a Lycian but had been made a Roman. As the man did not understand what was said, he took away his citizenship, saying that it was not proper for a person to be a Roman who had no knowledge of Roman speech. A great many other persons unworthy of citizenship were excluded from its privileges, whereas he granted it to some quite without restrictions,

either individuals or large bodies of men. And inasmuch as practically everywhere Romans were esteemed above foreigners, many sought the franchise by personal application to the emperor and many bought it from Messalina and the Cæsarians. For this reason, though the right was at first bartered only for great sums, it later was so cheapened by the facility with which it could be obtained that it came to be said that if a person only gave a man some broken glassware he might become a citizen.

This behavior, then, subjected the emperor to no end of jests, but he received praise for such actions as the following. Many persons were all the time becoming objects of blackmail, some because they did not use Claudius's proper title and others because they were going to leave him nothing when they died, — the blackmailers asserting that it was necessary for those who obtained citizenship from him to do both of these things. The emperor now stepped in and forbade that any one should be called to account for such negligence. — Now Messalina and his freedmen kept offering for sale and peddling out not merely the franchise, and military posts, and positions as procurator, and governmental offices, but everything in general to such an extent that all necessities grew scarce; and Claudius was forced to muster the populace on the Campus Martius and there from a platform to ordain what the prices of wares should be.

Claudius himself wearing a chlamys gave a contest of armed men at the camp. His son's birthday was observed voluntarily by the prætors with a kind of spectacle that they produced and with dinners. This was once afterward repeated, too, — at least by all of them that chose.

[18] Meanwhile Messalina was exhibiting her own licentious tendencies and was forcing the other women of her circle to show themselves equally unchaste. Many of them she caused to commit adultery in the very palace, while their husbands were present and observed what took place. Such men she loved and cherished, and crowned with honors and offices: but others, who would not submit to this humiliation, she hated and brought to destruction in every possible way. These deeds, however, though of such a character and carried on so openly, for a long while never came to the notice of Claudius. Messalina gave him some attractive housemaids for bedfellows and intercepted those who were able to afford him any information, — some by kindness and some by punishments. Thus, at this period, she succeeded in putting out of the way Catonius Justus, captain of the pretorian guard, before he could carry out his intention of telling the emperor something about these doings. And becoming jealous of Julia, daughter of Drusus son of Tiberius, and later wife of Nero Germanicus, just as she had been of the other Julia, she compassed her death. — It was about then, also, that one of the knights on the charge of having conspired against Claudius was hurled down, the Capitoline by the tribunes and the consuls.

[19] At the same time that these events were happening in the City Aulus Plautius, a senator of great renown, made a campaign against Britain. The

cause was that a certain Bericus, who had been ejected from the island during a revolution, had persuaded Claudius to send a body of troops there. This Plautius after he was made general had difficulty in leading his army beyond Gaul. The soldiers objected, on the ground that their operations were to take place outside the limits of the known world, and would not yield him obedience until the arrival of Narcissus, sent by Claudius, who mounted the tribunal of Plautius and tried to address them. This made them more irritated than ever and they would not allow the newcomer to say a word, but all suddenly shouted together the well-known phrase: "Ho! Ho! the Saturnalia!" (For at the festival of Saturn slaves celebrate the occasion by donning their masters' dress.) After this they at once followed Plautius voluntarily, but their delay had brought the expedition late in the season. Three divisions were made, in order that they might not be hindered in advancing (as might happen to a single force), and some of them in their voyage across became discouraged because they were buffeted into a backward course, whereas others acquired confidence from the fact that a flash of light starting from the east shot across to the west, the direction in which they were sailing. So they came to anchor on the shore of the island and found no one to oppose them. The Britons as a result of their inquiries had not expected that they would come and had therefore not assembled beforehand. Nor even at this time would they come into closer conflict with the invaders, but took refuge in the swamps and in the forests, hoping to exhaust their opponents in some other way, so that the latter as in the days of Julius Cæsar would sail back empty-handed. [20] Plautius accordingly had considerable trouble in searching for them. — They were not free and independent but were parceled out among various kings. — When at last he did find them, he conquered first Caratacus and next Togodumnus, children of Cynobelinus, who was dead. After the flight of those kings he attached by treaty a portion of the Bodunni, ruled by a nation of the Catuellani. Leaving a garrison there he advanced farther. On reaching a certain river, which the barbarians thought the Romans would not be able to cross without a bridge, — a conviction which led them to encamp in rather careless fashion on the opposite bank, — he sent ahead Celtæ who were accustomed to swim easily in full armor across the most turbulent streams. These fell unexpectedly upon the enemy, but instead of shooting at any of the men confined themselves to wounding the horses that drew their chariots and consequently in the confusion not even the mounted warriors could save themselves. Plautius sent across also Flavius Vespasian, who afterward obtained the imperial office, and his brother Sabinus, a lieutenant of his. So they likewise got over the river in some way and killed numbers of the foe, who were not aware of their approach. The survivors, however, did not take to flight, and on the next day joined issue with them again. The two forces were rather evenly matched until Gnæus Hosidius Geta, at the risk of being captured, managed to conquer the barbarians in such a way that he received triumphal honors without having ever been consul.

Thence the Britons retired to the river Thames at a point near where it empties into the ocean and the latter's flood-tide forms a lake. This they crossed easily because they knew where the firm ground in this locality and the easy passages were; but the Romans in following them up came to grief at this spot. However, when the Celtæ swam across again and some others had traversed a bridge a little way up stream, they assailed the barbarians from many sides at once and cut down large numbers of them. In pursuing the remainder incautiously they got into swamps from which it was not easy to make one's way out, and in this way lost many men.

[21] Shortly after Togodumnus perished, but the Britons so far from yielding stood together all the more closely to avenge his death. Because of this fact and his previous mishap Plautius became alarmed, and instead of advancing farther proceeded to guard what he had already gained and sent for Claudius. He had been notified to do this in case he met with any particularly stubborn resistance, and a large reinforcement for the army, consisting partly of elephants, had been assembled in advance.

When the message reached him, Claudius entrusted domestic affairs (including the management of the soldiers) to his colleague Vitellius, whom he had caused to become consul like himself for the entire six months' period, and started himself on the expedition. He sailed down the river to Ostia, and from there followed the coast to Massilia. Thence advancing partly by land and partly along the water courses he came to the ocean and crossed over to Britain, where he joined the legions that were waiting for him near the Thames. Taking charge of these he crossed the stream, and encountering the barbarians, who had gathered at his approach, he defeated them in a pitched battle and captured Camulodunum, the capital of Cynobelinus. Next he extended his authority over numerous tribes, in some cases by treaty, in others by force, and was frequently, contrary to precedent, saluted as imperator. The usual practice is that no single person may receive this title more than once from one and the same war. He deprived those he conquered of their arms and assigned them to the attention of Plautius, bidding him to subjugate the regions that were left. Claudius himself now hastened back to Rome, sending ahead the news of the victory by his sons-in-law, Magnus and Silanus.

[22] The senate on learning of his achievement gave him the title of Britannicus and allowed him to celebrate a triumph.

[A.D. 44 (*a. u.* 796)]

They voted also that there should be an animal festival commemorating the event and that an arch bearing a trophy should be erected in the City and a second in Gaul, because it was from that district that he had set sail in crossing over to Britain. They bestowed on his son the same honorific title as upon him, so that Claudius was known in a way as Britannicus Proper. Messalina was granted the same privilege of front seats as Livia had enjoyed and also the use of the *carpentum*. These were the honors bestowed upon the imperial family.

The memory of Gaius disgusted the senators so much that they resolved that all the bronze coinage which had his image stamped upon it should be melted down. Though this was done, yet the bronze was converted to no better use, for Messalina made statues of Mnester the dancer out of it. Inasmuch as the latter had once been on intimate terms with Gaius, she made this offering as a mark of gratitude for his consenting to a *liaison* with her. She had been madly enamored of him, and when she found herself unable in any way either by promises or by frightening him to persuade him to have intercourse with her, she had a talk with her husband and asked him that the man might be forced to obey her, pretending that she wanted his help for some different purpose. Claudius accordingly told him to do whatsoever he should be ordered by Messalina. On these terms he agreed to enjoy her, alleging that he had been commanded to do so by her husband. Messalina adopted this same method with numerous other men, and committed adultery feigning that Claudius knew what was taking place and countenanced her unchastity.

[23] Portions of Britain, then, were captured at this time in the manner described. After this, during the second consulship of Gaius Crispus and the first of Titus Statilius, Claudius came to Rome at the end of a six months' absence from the city (of which time he had spent only sixteen days in Britain) and celebrated his triumph. In this he followed the well-established precedents, even to the extent of ascending the steps of the Capitol on his knees, with his sons-in-law supporting him on each side. He granted to the senators taking part with him in the procession triumphal honors, and this not merely to the ex-consuls ... for he was accustomed to do that most lavishly on other occasions and with the slightest excuse. Upon Rufrius Pollio the prefect he bestowed an image and a seat in the senatorial body as often as he would enter that assembly with him. And to avoid having it thought that he was making any innovation, he declared that Augustus had done this in the case of a certain Valerius, a Ligurian. He also increased the dignity of Laco (formerly præfectus vigilum but now procurator of the Gauls) by this same mark of esteem and in addition by the honors belonging to ex-consuls.

Having finished this business he held the festival following the triumph and assumed for the occasion some of the consular authority. It took place in both the theatres at once. In the course of the spectacle he would frequently absent himself while others superintended it in his place. He had announced as many horse-races as could find place in a day, but they amounted to not more than ten altogether. For between the separate courses bears were slaughtered and athletes struggled. Boys sent for from Asia also executed the Pyrrhic dance. The performers in the theatre gave, with the consent of the senate, another festival likewise intended to commemorate the victory. All this was done on account of the successes in Britain, and to the end that other nations might more readily capitulate it was voted that all the agreements which Claudius or the lieutenants representing him should make with any peoples should be

binding, the same as if sanctioned by the senate and the people.

[24] Achæa and Macedonia, which ever since Tiberius became emperor had belonged to elected governors, Claudius now returned to the choice by lot. And abolishing the office of “prætor charged with the administration of funds” he put the business in the hands of quæstors as it had been of old; and these were not annual magistrates, as was the case with them previously and with the prætors subsequently, but the same two men attended to their duties for three entire years. Some of these secured a prætorship immediately afterward and others drew a salary the amount of which depended on the impression of efficiency they had created while in office.

The quæstors, then, were given charge of the treasury in place of governorships in Italy outside of the City; for he did away with all of the latter. To compensate the prætors he entrusted to their care several kinds of judicial cases which the consuls were previously accustomed to try. Those serving as soldiers, since by law they could not have wives, were granted the privileges of married men. Marcus Julius Cottius received an increase in his ancestral domain (which included the Alps named after him) and was now for the first time called king. The Rhodians were deprived of their liberty because they had impaled certain Romans. And Umbonius Silio, governor of Bætica, was summoned and ejected from the senate because he had sent so little grain to the soldiers then serving in Mauretania. At least, this was the accusation brought against him. In reality it was not so at all, but his treatment was due to his having offended some of the freedmen. So he brought together all his furniture, considerable in amount and very beautiful, in the auction room as if he were going to call for bids on all of it: but he sold only his senatorial dress. By this he showed that he had received no deadly blow and could enjoy life as a private citizen. — Beside these events of the time the weekly market was transferred to a different day because of some religious rites. That happened, too, on many other occasions.

[A.D. 45 (*a. u.* 798)]

[25] following year Marcus Vinicius for the second and Statilius Corvinus for the first time entered upon the office of consul. Claudius himself took all the customary oaths in detail, but prevented the rest from taking oath separately. Accordingly, as in earlier times, one man who was a prætor and second who was a tribune and one each of the other officials repeated the oaths for those of the same grade. This custom was followed for several years.

Now since the City was becoming filled with numbers of images, — for those who wished might without restrictions appear in public in a painting or in bronze or stone, — he had most of those already existing set somewhere else and for the future forbade that any private citizen be allowed to follow the practice, unless the senate should grant permission or except he had built or repaired some public work. Such persons and their relatives might have their likenesses set up in the places in question.

Having banished the governor of a certain province for venality the

emperor confiscated to public uses all the extra funds that the man had gathered in office. Again, to prevent these persons eluding those who wished to bring them to trial, he would give to nobody one office immediately after another. This had been the custom in earlier days also, to the end that any one without difficulty might institute a suit against them in the intervening period; indeed, those whose terms had expired and who were granted leave of absence from the City might not even take these absences in succession, since it was intended that, if officials should be guilty of any irregularity, they should not gain the further benefit of escaping investigation by either continuous office or continuous absence. The custom had, however, fallen out of use. So carefully did Claudius guard against both possibilities that he would not without some delay allow even an official who was his colleague to be chosen by lot for the governorship of a province that would naturally belong to him. Still, he allowed some of them to govern for two years and sometimes he would send elected magistrates. Persons who preferred a request to leave Italy for a time were given permission by Claudius himself without action of the senate; yet, in order to appear to be doing it under some form of law, he ordered that a decree to the effect be issued. Votes of this sort were also passed the following year. At the time under consideration he arranged the votive festival which he had promised in commemoration of his campaign. To the populace supported by public dole he gave seventy-five denarii in every case and in some cases more, so that for a few it amounted to three hundred twelve and a half. He did not, however, distribute all of it in person, but his sons-in-law also took part, because the distribution lasted several days and he was anxious to use them in holding court.

In the case of the Saturnalia he put back the fifth day which had been appointed by Gaius but was later abolished. [26] and inasmuch as the sun was to undergo an eclipse on his birthday, he feared that some disturbance might result, — for already certain other portents had occurred, — and therefore he gave notice beforehand not only that there would be an eclipse and when and for how long, but also the reasons for which this would necessarily take place. They are as follows:

The moon, which revolves lower down than the sun (or so it is believed), either directly below him or perhaps with Mercury and likewise Venus intervening, has a longitudinal movement just like him, and a higher and lower movement just like him, but furthermore a latitudinal movement such as nowhere belongs to the sun under any circumstances. When, therefore, she gets in a direct line with him over our heads and passes under his blaze, then she obscures his beams that extend toward the earth, for some to a greater, for some to a less degree, but does not conceal his presence for even the briefest moment. For since the sun has a light of his own he can never surrender it, and consequently, when the moon is not directly in people's way so as to throw a shadow over him, he always appears entire.

This, then, is what happens to the sun and it was made public by Claudius at the time mentioned. With regard to the moon, however, — for it is not irrelevant to speak of lunar phenomena also, since once I have broached this subject, — as often as she gets directly opposite the sun (and she only takes such a position with reference to him at full moon, whereas he takes it with reference to her at the season of new moon), a conical shadow falls upon the earth. This occurs whenever in her motion to and from us her revolution takes her between the sun and the earth; then she is deprived of the sun's light and appears by herself just as she really is. Such are the conditions of the case.

[A.D. 46 (a. u. 799)]

[27] At the close of that year Valerius Asiaticus for the second time and also Marcus Silanus became consuls. The latter held office for the period for which he was elected. Asiaticus, however, though elected to serve for the whole year (as was done in other cases), failed to do so and resigned voluntarily. Some others had done this, though mostly by reason of poverty. The expenses connected with the horse-races had greatly increased, for generally there was a series of twenty-four contests. But Asiaticus withdrew simply by reason of his wealth, which also proved his destruction. Inasmuch as he was extremely well-to-do and by being consul a second time had aroused the dislike and jealousy of many, he desired in a way to overthrow himself, feeling that by so doing he would be less likely to encounter danger. Still he was deceived. — Vinicius, on the other hand, suffered no harm from Claudius, for though he was an illustrious man he managed by keeping quiet and minding his own business to preserve his life; but he perished by poison administered by Messalina. She suspected that he had killed his wife Julia and was angry because he refused to have intercourse with her. He was duly accorded a public funeral and eulogies, — an honor which had been granted to many.

Asinius Gallus, half-brother of Drusus by the same mother, conspired against Claudius but instead of being put to death was banished. The reason perhaps was that he made ready no army and collected no funds in advance but was emboldened merely by his extreme folly, which led him to think that the Romans would submit to having him rule them on account of his family. But the chief cause was that he was a very small and unshapely person and was therefore held in contempt, incurring ridicule rather than danger.

[28] The people were truly loud in praise of Claudius for his moderation, and also, by Jupiter, at the fact that he showed displeasure when a certain man sought the aid of the tribunes against the person who had freed him, asking and securing thus a helper in his cause. Both the man in question and those associated with him in the proceedings were punished; and the emperor further forbade rendering assistance to persons in this way against their former masters, on pain of being deprived of the right to bring suit against others. Per contra, people were vexed at seeing him so much the slave of his wife and freedmen. This feeling was especially marked on an occasion when Claudius himself and all the rest were anxious to kill Sabinus (former

governor of the Celtæ in the reign of Gains) in a gladiatorial fight, but the latter approached Messalina and she saved him. They were also irritated at her having withdrawn Mnester from the theatre and keeping him with her. But whenever any talk about his not dancing sprang up among the people, Claudius would appear surprised and make various apologies, taking oath that he was not at his house. The populace, believing him to be really ignorant of what was going on, was grieved to think that he alone was not cognizant of what was being done in the imperial apartments, — behavior so conspicuous that news of it had already traveled to the enemy. They were unwilling, however, to reveal to him the state of affairs, partly through awe of Messalina and partly to spare Mnester. For he pleased the people as much by his skill as he did the empress by his beauty. With his abilities in dancing he combined great cleverness of repartee, so that once when the crowd with mighty enthusiasm begged him to perform a famous pantomime, he dared to come to the front of the stage and say:

”To do this, friends, I may not try;
Orestes’ bedfellow am I.”

This, then, was the relation of Claudius to these matters.

As the number of lawsuits was now beyond reckoning and persons summoned would now no longer put in an appearance because they expected to be defeated, he gave written notice that by a given day he should decide the case against them, by default, so that they would lose it even if absent. And there was no deviation from this rule.

Mithridates king of the Iberians undertook to rebel and was engaged in preparations for a war against the Romans. His mother, however, opposed him and since she could not win him over by persuasion, determined to take to flight: he then became anxious to conceal his project, and so, while himself continuing preparations, he sent his brother Cotys on an embassy to convey a friendly message to Claudius. But Cotys proved a treacherous ambassador and told the emperor all, and he was made king of Iberia in place of Mithridates.

[A.D. 47, (a. u. 800)]

[29]The following year, the eight hundredth anniversary of the founding of the city of Rome, Claudius became consul for the fourth and Lucius Vitellius for the third time. Claudius now ejected some members of the senate, the majority of whom were not sorry to be driven out but willingly stood aside on account of their poverty. Likewise he brought in a number to fill their places. Among these he summoned with haste one Surdinius Gallus, qualified to be a senator, who had emigrated to Carthage, and said to him: “I will bind you with golden fetters.” Gallus, therefore, fettered by his rank, remained at home.

Although Claudius visited dire punishment upon the freedmen of others, in case he caught them in any crime, he was very lenient with his own. One day an actor in the theatre uttered this well-worn saying:

“A knave who prospers scarce can be endured,”

whereupon the whole assemblage looked at Polybius, the emperor's freedman. He, undismayed, shouted out: "The same poet, however, says: — 'Who once were goatherds now have royal power.'" and suffered no harm for his behavior.

Information was laid that some persons were plotting against Claudius, but in the majority of instances he paid no attention, saying: "It doesn't do to adopt the same defensive tactics against a flea as against a beast of prey." Asiaticus, however, was tried before him and came very near being acquitted. He entered a general denial, declaring: "I have no knowledge of nor acquaintance with any of these persons who are testifying against me." Then the soldier who stated he had been an associate of his, being asked which one Asiaticus was, pointed out a baldheaded man that happened to be standing near him. Baldness was the only thing of which he was sure about Asiaticus. This event occasioned much laughter and Claudius was on the point of freeing him, when Vitellius to please Messalina made the statement that he had been sent for by the prisoner, who requested the privilege of deciding the manner of death to be visited upon him. Hearing this, Claudius believed that on account of a guilty conscience Asiaticus had really condemned himself and accordingly had him executed.

Among many others who were calumniated by Messalina he put to death Asiaticus and likewise Magnus, his son-in-law. Asiaticus had property, and the family of Magnus as well as his close relationship were irksome. Of course, they were nominally convicted on different charges from these.

This year a new island, not large, made its appearance by the side of the island Thera.

Claudius, monarch of the Romans, published a law to the effect that no senator might journey above seven mile-posts from the City without the monarch's express orders.

Moreover, since many persons would afford their sick slaves no care, but drove them out of their houses, a law was passed that all slaves surviving such an experience should be free.

He also prohibited anybody's driving through the City [sic] seated in a vehicle.

[30] Vespasian in Britain had been hemmed in by the barbarians and was in danger of annihilation, but his son Titus becoming alarmed about his father managed by unusual daring to break through the enclosing line; he then pursued and destroyed the fleeing enemy. Plautius for his skillful handling of the war with Britain and his successes in it both received praise from Claudius and obtained an ovation. [In the course of the armed combat of gladiators many foreign freedmen and British captives fought. The number of men receiving their finishing blow in this part of the spectacle was large, and he took pride in the fact.]

Gnaeus Domitius Corbulo as praetor in Celtica organized the forces and

damaged among other barbarians the Cauchi, as they are commonly called. While in the midst of the enemy's country he was recalled by Claudius, who on ascertaining his valor and his discipline would not allow him to climb to any greater heights. Corbulo learning this turned back, giving vent only to the following exclamation:— "How fortunate were those who became prætors in the days of old!" He implied that the latter had been permitted to exhibit their prowess without danger whereas his progress had been blocked by the emperor on account of jealousy. Yet even so he obtained a triumph. Being again entrusted with an army he trained it no less thoroughly, and as the nations were at peace he had the men dig a trench all the way across from the Rhine to the Meuse, as much as a hundred and seventy stadia long, the purpose of which was to prevent the rivers flowing back and causing inundations at the flood tide of the ocean.

[A.D. 48 (a. u. 801)]

When a grandson was borne to him by his daughter Antonia (whom, after the death of Magnus, he had given in marriage to Cornelius Faustus Sulla, brother of Messalina), he had the good sense not to allow any decree to be passed in honor of the occasion.

Messalina and her freedmen swelled with importance. There were three of the latter in particular who divided the ruling power among themselves: Callistus, who had been given charge of the records of value; Narcissus, who presided over the letters and hence wore a dagger at his belt; and Pallas, to whom the administration of funds had been entrusted.

[31] Messalina, as if it did not satisfy her to play the adulteress and harlot, — for besides her usual shameful behavior she sometimes carried on a regular brothel in the palace, serving as a prostitute herself and compelling women of highest rank to do the same, — now conceived a desire to have many husbands, that is, with the legal title. [And she would have entered upon a legal contract with all those who enjoyed her favors, had she not been detected and destroyed in her very first attempt. For a time all the Cæsarians were on good terms with her and everything they did was with one mind. But when she slandered and killed Polybius, after herself making repeated advances to him, they no longer trusted her. As a result, deserted by their good-will, she perished.] She registered Gaius Silius [son of the Silius slain by Tiberius] as her husband, celebrated the marriage in costly fashion, bestowed a royal residence upon him, and gathered in it all the most valuable of Claudius's heirlooms. Finally she declared him consul. Now all this though [even previously] heard and seen by everybody [else] continued to escape the notice of Claudius. So when he went down to Ostia to inspect the grain supply, and she was left behind in Rome on the pretext of being ill, she got up a banquet of no little renown and carried on a most licentious revel. Then Narcissus, having got Claudius alone, conveyed to him through the medium of concubines information of all that was taking place. [And by frightening him with the idea that Messalina was going to kill him also and set up Silius

as emperor in his place, he persuaded him to arrest and torture several persons.] The moment this was done the emperor hastened back in person to the city; and entering just as he was he put to death Mnester with many others and then slew Messalina [after she had retreated into the gardens of Asiaticus, which more than anything else were the cause of her ruin.]

[A.D. 48-54]

After her Claudius destroyed also his own slave for insulting one of the prominent men.

[A.D. 49 (a. u. 802)]

After a little he married his niece Agrippina, mother of Domitius, who was surnamed Nero. She had beauty and had been in the habit of consulting him constantly and being in his company alone because he was her uncle, though she was rather more free in her conduct toward him than would properly become a niece. [And for this reason he executed Silanus, feeling that he was plotting against him.] [Yet Silanus was regarded as an upright man and was honored by Claudius to the extent of receiving triumphal honors while still a boy, being betrothed to the emperor's daughter Octavia, and becoming prætor long before the age ordained. He was allowed to give the festival that fell to his lot at the expense of Claudius, and during it the latter asked some favors of him as if he were himself the mere head of some party and uttered any shouts that he saw other people wished him to utter. Yet in spite of all this Claudius had become such a slave to the women that on their account he killed both his sons-in-law.]

On the heels of this occurrence Vitellius came forward in the senate with a declaration that the good of the State required Claudius to marry. He indicated Agrippina as a suitable person in this emergency and suggested that they force him to the marriage. Then the senators rose and came to Claudius and "compelled" him to marry. They also passed a decree permitting Romans to wed their nieces, a union formerly prohibited.

[32] As soon as Agrippina had become settled in the palace, she gained complete control of Claudius; for she possessed in an unusual degree the quality of *savoir faire*. Likewise she won the devotion of all those who were at all fond of him, partly by fear and partly by benefits conferred. [At length she caused his son Britannicus to be brought up as if he were no relation of the emperor. The other child, who had betrothed the daughter of Sejanus, was dead. She made Domitius at this time son-in-law of Claudius and later actually had him adopted. She accomplished these ends partly by causing the freedmen to persuade Claudius and partly by seeing to it beforehand that the senate, the populace, and the soldiers should always concur to favor her demands. This son Agrippina] was training for the assumption of imperial office and was having educated under Seneca. She gathered for him an inconceivable amount of wealth, omitting not one of the most humble and least influential citizens in her search for money, paying court to every one

who was in the least degree well-off and murdering many for this very reason. In addition, she destroyed out of jealousy some of the foremost women and put to death Lolliia Paulina because the latter had cherished some hope of being married to Claudius. As she did not recognize the woman's head when it was brought to her, she opened with her own hand the mouth and inspected the teeth, which had certain peculiarities.

Mithridates, king of the Iberians; was defeated in a conflict with a Roman army. Despairing of his life he begged that a hearing be granted him to show cause why he should not be summarily executed or led in the procession of triumph. This right having been accorded him Claudius received him in Rome, standing on a tribunal, and addressed threatening language to him. The king throughout replied in an unabashed manner and concluded his remarks with "I was not carried to you, but made the journey: if you doubt it, release me and try to find me."

[33] She [sc. Agrippina] quickly became a second Messalina, and chiefly because she obtained from the senate among other honors the right to use the *carpentum* at festivals.

[A.D. 50 (a. u. 803)]

Subsequently Claudius applied to Agrippina the additional title of *Augusta*.

When Claudius had adopted her son Nero and had made him his son-in-law (by disowning his daughter and introducing her into another family so that he might not have the name of uniting brother and sister), a mighty portent occurred. All that day the sky seemed to be on fire.

Agrippina banished also Calpurnia, one of the most distinguished ladies in the land, or perhaps even caused her death (as one version of the story reports), because Claudius had admired and commended her beauty.

[A.D. 51 (a. u. 804)]

When Nero (for this is the name for him that has won its way into favor) was registered among the *iuvenes*, the day that he was registered the Divine Power shook the earth for long distances and by night struck terror to the hearts of all men without exception.

[32] [While Nero was growing up, Britannicus received neither honor nor care. Agrippina, indeed, either drove away or killed those who showed any zeal in his behalf. Sosibius, to whom his bringing up and education had been entrusted, she caused to be slain on the pretext that he was plotting against Nero. After that she delivered the boy to the charge of persons who suited her and did him all the harm she could. She would not let him visit his father nor appear before the people, but kept him in a kind of imprisonment, though without bonds.]

Dio, 61st Book: "Since the prefects Crispinus and Lusius Veta would not yield to her in every matter, she ousted them from office."

[A.D. 51-52]

[33] [No one attempted any kind of reprisal upon Agrippina, for, to be brief,

she had more power than Claudius himself and gave greetings in public to those who desired it. This fact was entered on the records.]

She possessed all powers, since she dominated Claudius and had made sure of the devotion of Narcissus and Pallas. (Callistus, after rising to great heights of influence, was dead.)

[A.D. 52 (a. u. 805)]

The astrologers were banished from the entire expanse of Italy, and their disciples were punished.

Carnetacus, a barbarian chieftain who was captured and brought to Rome and received his pardon at the hands of Claudius, then, after his liberation, wandered about the city; and on beholding its brilliance and its size he exclaimed: "Can you, who own these things and things like them, still yearn for our miserable tents?"

Claudius conceived a wish to have a naval battle in a certain lake; so, after building a wooden wall around it and setting up benches, he gathered an enormous multitude. Claudius and Nero were arrayed in military costume. Agrippina wore a beautiful chlamys woven with gold, and the rest of the people whatever pleased their fancy. Those who were to take part in this sea-fight were condemned criminals, and each side had fifty ships, one party being called Rhodians and the other Sicilians. First they drew close together and after uniting at one spot they addressed Claudius in this fashion: "Salve, imperator, morituri salutamus." Since this afforded them no salvation and they were still ordered to fight, they used simple smashing tactics and took very good care not to harm each other. This went on until they were cut down by outside force. [Somewhat later the Fucinian Lake caved in and Narcissus was severely criticised for it. He presided over the undertaking, and it was thought that after spending a great deal less than he had received he had then purposely contrived the collapse, in order that his villainy might go undetected.]

[A.D. 52-53]

About Narcissus there is a story of how openly, he used to make sport of Claudius. One day when the latter was holding court the Bithynians raised a great outcry against Junius Cilo, their governor, because, as they asserted, he had taken very considerable bribes. Claudius not understanding on account of their noise asked the bystanders what they were saying. Thereupon, instead of telling him the truth, Narcissus said: "They are expressing their gratitude to Junius." Claudius, believing him, rejoined: "Why, he shall have charge of them two years more!"

Agrippina often attended her husband in public, when he was transacting ordinary business, or when he was hearing ambassadors; she sat upon a separate platform. This was surely one of the most remarkable sights of the time.

On one occasion when a certain orator, Julius Gallicus, was pleading a

case, Claudius grew vexed and ordered that he be cast into the Tiber, near the banks of which he chanced to be holding court. Domitius Afer, who as an advocate had the greatest ability of his contemporaries, made a very neat joke on this. A man whom Gallicus had disappointed came to Domitius for assistance, whereupon the latter said to him: "And who told you I could swim better than he can?"

Later Claudius fell sick, and Nero entered the senate to promise a horse-race in case Claudius should regain his health. Agrippina was leaving no stone unturned to make him popular with the masses and to cause him to be regarded as the only natural successor to the imperial throne. Hence it was that she selected the equestrian contest, on which they doted especially, for Nero to promise in the event of Claudius's recovery (an outcome against which she sincerely prayed). — Again, after instigating a riot over the sale of bread she persuaded Claudius to make known to the populace by public bulletin and to write to the senate that, if he should die, Nero was fully capable of administering public interests. In consequence of this he became a power and his name was on everybody's lips, whereas in regard to Britannicus numbers did not know of his existence and all others regarded him as idiotic and epileptic; for this was the declaration that Agrippina gave out. — Well, Claudius became convalescent and Nero conducted the horse-race in a sumptuous manner; now, too, he married Octavia, a new circumstance to cause him a feeling of manly dignity.

[A.D. 53-54]

Nothing seemed to satisfy Agrippina, though all rights which Livia had possessed were bestowed upon her also and a number of additional honors had been decreed. She, wielding equal power with Claudius, desired to have his title outright; and once, when a blaze had spread over the city to a considerable distance, she accompanied him in the work of rescue.

[A.D. 54 (a. u. 807)]

[34] Claudius was irritated by Agrippina's actions, of which he now began to become aware, and sought to find his son Britannicus. The boy, however, was purposely kept out of his sight by the empress most of the time, for she was doing everything conceivable to secure the right of succession for Nero, since he was her own son by her former husband Domitius. Claudius, who displayed his affection whenever he met Britannicus, was not disposed to endure her behavior and made preparations to put an end to her power, to register his son among the *iuvenes*, and appoint him as heir to the empire.

This news alarmed Agrippina, who decided to anticipate the emperor's project by poisoning him. Since, however, by reason of the great quantity of wine he was forever drinking and his general habits of life, which all emperors adopt for their protection, he could not easily be harmed, she sent for a drug-woman named Lucusta, a recent captive renowned for the desired skill, and obtaining from her a poison whose effect was sure she put it in one

of the vegetables called mushrooms. Then she herself ate of the others in the dish but made her husband eat the one which had the poison; for it was the largest and finest of them. The victim of this plot was carried out of the banquet apparently quite overcome by strong drink, but that had happened many times before. During the night the poison took effect and he passed away, without having been able to say or hear a word. It was the thirteenth of October, and he had lived sixty-three years, two months, and thirteen days, having been emperor thirteen years, eight months and twenty days. Agrippina's rapid vengeance had been aided by the fact that before her attempt she had despatched Narcissus to Campania, feigning that he needed to take the waters there for his gout. Had he been present, she would never have done the deed, such extreme care did he take of his master. His death followed hard upon that of Claudius, and he left behind him a reputation for power unequalled by any man of that age. His property amounted to more than ten thousand myriads, and cities and kings were dependent upon him. Even when he was on the point of being slain, he managed to execute a brilliant coup. He had charge of the correspondence of Claudius and had in his possession letters containing secret information against Agrippina and others: all of these he burned before his death.

And he was slain beside the tomb of Messalina, — a coincidence manifestly intended by chance, to satisfy her vengeance.

[35] In such fashion did Claudius meet his end. It seemed that indications of this event were given in advance by the comet star, which was seen over a wide expanse of territory, by the shower of blood, by the bolt that descended upon the standards of the Pretorians, by the opening of its own accord of the temple of Jupiter Victor, by the swarming of bees in the camp, and by the fact that one representative of each political office died. The emperor received the state burial and all the other honors obtained by Augustus. Agrippina and Nero feigned sorrow for the man whom they had killed, and elevated to heaven him whom they had carried out in a state of collapse from the banquet. On this point Lucius Junius Gallic, brother of Seneca, was the author of a most witty saying. Seneca himself had composed a work that he called *Gourdification*, — a word made on the analogy of “deification”; and his brother is credited with expressing a great deal in one short sentence. For whereas the public executioners were accustomed to drag the bodies of those killed in prison to the Forum with large hooks, and thence hauled them to the river, he said that Claudius must have been raised to heaven with a hook. Nero has also left us a remark not unworthy of record. He declared mushrooms to be the food of the gods, because Claudius by means of a mushroom had become a god.

BOOK 61

Nero seizes the sovereignty (chapters 1, 2).

At the beginning he is accustomed to yield to the influence of his mother, whom Seneca and Burrus thrust aside from control of affairs (chapters 3).

Nero's exhibitions of wantonness and his extravagance : the death of Silanus (chapters 4, 5, 6).

Love for Acte : Britannicus slain : discord with Agrippina (chapters 7 , 8).

How Nero's mind began to give way (chapter 9).

About the faults and immoralities of the philosopher Seneca (chapter 10).

Sabina an object of love : Agrippina murdered (chapters 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16).

Domitia put to death : festivities : Nero sings to the accompaniment of his lyre (chapters 17, 18, 19, 20, 21).

DURATION OF TIME

M. Asinius Marcellus, Manius Acilius Aviola.

(A.D. 54 = a.u. 807 = First of Nero, from Oct. 13 th).

Nero Caesar Aug., L. Antistius Vetus.

(A.D. 55 = a.u. 808 = Second of Nero).

Q. Volusius Saturninus, P. Cornelius Scipio.

(A.D. 56 = a.u. 809 = Third of Nero).

Nero Caesar Aug. (II), L. Calpurnius Piso.

(A.D. 57 = a.u. 810 = Fourth of Nero).

Nero Caesar Aug. (III), M. Valerius Messala.

(A.D. 58 = a.u. 811 = Fifth of Nero).

C. Vipsanius Apronianus, L. Fonteius Capito.

(A.D. 59 = a.u. 812 = Sixth of Nero).

Nero Caesar Aug. (IV), Cornelius Lentulus Cossus.

(A.D. 60 = a.u. 813 = Seventh of Nero).

A.D. 54 (a.u. 807)

At the death of Claudius the leadership on most just principles belonged to Britannicus, who had been born a legitimate son of Claudius and in physical development was beyond what would have been expected of his years. Yet by law the power passed to Nero on account of his adoption. No claim, indeed, is stronger than that of arms. Every one who possesses superior force has always the appearance of both saying and doing what is more just. So Nero, having first disposed of Claudius's will and having succeeded him as master of the whole empire, put Britannicus and his sisters out of the way. Why, then, should one stop to lament the misfortunes of other victims?

The following signs of dominion had been observed in his career. At his birth just before dawn rays not cast by any beam of sunlight yet visible surrounded his form. And a certain astrologer from this and from the motion of the stars at that time and their relation to one another divined two things in regard to him, — that he would rule and that he would murder his mother. Agrippina on hearing this became for the moment so beside herself as actually to cry out: "Let him kill me, if only he shall rule." Later she was destined to repent bitterly of her prayer. Some people become so steeped in folly that if they expect to obtain some blessing mingled with evil, they at once through their anxiety for the advantage pay no heed to the detriment. When the time for the latter also comes, they are cast down and would choose not to have secured even the greatest good thing. Yet Domitius, the father of Nero, had a sufficient previous intimation of his son's coming baseness and licentiousness, not by any oracle but through the nature of his own and Agrippina's characters. And he declared: "It is impossible for any good man to be born from me and from her." As time went on, the finding of a serpent skin around Nero's neck when he was but a boy caused the seers to say: "He shall acquire great power from the aged man." Serpents are thought to slough off their old age with their old skin, and so get power.

Nero was seventeen years of age when he began to rule. He first entered the camp, and, after reading to the soldiers all that Seneca had written, he promised them as much as Claudius had been accustomed to give. Before the senate he read such a considerable document, — this, too, written by Seneca, — that it was voted the statements should be inscribed on a silver tablet and should be read every time the new consuls took up the duties of their office. Consequently those who heard him made themselves ready to enjoy a good reign according to the letter of the compilation. At first Agrippina [in company with Pallas, a vulgar and tiresome man,] managed all affairs

pertaining to the empire, and she and her son went about together, often reclining in the same litter; usually, however, she would be carried and he would follow alongside. It was she who transacted business with embassies and sent letters to peoples and governors and kings. When this had gone on for a considerable time, it aroused the displeasure of Seneca and Burrus, who were both the most sensible and the most influential of the advisers of Nero. The one was his teacher and the other was prefect of the Pretorians. They took the following occasion to stop this method of procedure. An embassy of Armenians had arrived and Agrippina wished to ascend the platform from which Nero was talking with them. The two men, seeing her approach, persuaded the young man to go down before she could reach there and meet his mother, pretending some form of greeting. After that was done they did not return again, making some excuse to prevent the foreigners from seeing the flaw in the empire. Subsequently they labored to keep any public business from being again committed to her hands.

4

When they had accomplished this, they themselves took charge of the entire empire and gave it the very best and fairest management that they could. Nero was not in general fond of affairs and was glad to live at leisure. [The reason, indeed, that he had previously distrusted his mother and now was fond of her lay in the fact that now he was free to enjoy himself, and the government was being carried on no less well. And his advisers after consultation made many changes in existing customs, abolishing some things altogether and passing a number of new laws.] They let Nero sow his wild oats with the intention of bringing about in him through the satisfaction of all his desires a changed attitude of mind, while in the meantime no great damage should be done to public interests. Surely they must have known that a young and self-willed spirit, when reared in unreprieved license and in absolute authority, so far from becoming satiated by the indulgence of its passions is ruined more and more by these very agencies. Indeed, Nero at first gave but simple dinners; his revels, his drunkenness, his amours were moderate. Afterward, as no one reproved him for them and public business was carried forward none the worse for all of it, he began to believe that what he did was right and that he could carry his practices to even greater lengths. [Consequently he began to indulge in each of these pursuits in a more open and precipitate fashion. And in case his guardians gave him any warning or his mother any rebuke, he would appear abashed while they were present and promise to reform; but as soon as they were gone, he would again become the slave of his desire and yield to those who were dragging him in the other direction, — a straight course down hill.] Next he came to despise instruction, inasmuch as he was always hearing from his associates, “Do *you* submit to this?” or “Do *you* fear these people?”, “Don’t you know that you are Caesar?”, “Have not you the authority over them rather than they over you?” He was also animated by

obstinacy, not wishing to acknowledge his mother as superior and himself as inferior, nor to admit the greater good sense of Seneca and Burrus.

5

Finally he passed the possibility of being shamed, dashed to the ground and trampled under foot all their suggestions, and began to follow in the steps of Gaius. When he had once felt a desire to emulate him, he quite outdid him, for he believed that the imperial power must manifest itself among other ways by allowing no one to surpass it even in the vilest deeds. [As he was praised for this by the crowds, and received many pleasant compliments from them, he gave himself no rest. His doings were at first confined to his home and associates, but were later on carried abroad. Thus he attached a mighty disgrace to the whole Roman race and committed many outrages upon the individuals composing it. Innumerable acts of violence and insult, of rape and murder, were committed both by the emperor himself and by those who at one time or another had influence with him. And, as certainly and inevitably follows in all such practices] , great sums of money naturally were spent, great sums unjustly procured, and great sums seized by force. For under no circumstances was Nero niggardly. Here is an illustration. He had ordered no less than two hundred and fifty myriads at one time to be given to Doryphorus, who attended to the state documents of his empire. Agrippina had it all piled in a heap, hoping by showing him the money all together to make him change his mind. Instead, he asked how much the mass before him amounted to, and when he was informed he doubled it, saying: "I was not aware that I had allowed him so little." It can clearly be seen, then, that as a result of the magnitude of his expenditures he would quickly exhaust the treasures in the royal vaults and quickly need new revenues. Hence unusual taxes were imposed and the property of the well-to-do was not left intact. Some lost their possessions to spite him and others destroyed themselves with their livelihoods. Similarly he hated and made away with some others who had no considerable wealth; for, if they possessed any excellent trait or were of a good family, he became suspicious that they disliked him.

6

Such were the general characteristics of Nero. I shall now proceed to details.

In the matter of horse-races Nero grew so enthusiastic that he adorned famous race-horses that had passed their prime with the regular street costume for men and honored them with money for their fodder. The horsebreeders and charioteers, elated at this enthusiasm of his, proceeded to abuse unjustifiably even the praetors and consuls. But Aulus Fabricius, when praetor, finding that they refused to hold contests on fair terms, dispensed with them entirely. He trained dogs to draw chariots and introduced them in place of horses. When

this was done, the wearers of the white and of the red immediately entered their chariots: but, as the Greens and the Blues would not even then participate, Nero at his own cost gave the prizes to the horses, and the regular program of the circus was carried out.

Agrippina showed readiness to attack the greatest undertakings, as is evidenced by her causing the death of Marcus Julius Silanus, to whom she sent some of the poison with which she had treacherously murdered her husband.

Silanus was governor of Asia, and was in no respect inferior to the general character of his family. It was for this, more than for anything else, she said, that she killed him, not wishing to have him preferred before Nero, by reason of the latter's manner of life. Moreover, she turned everything into trade and gathered money from the most insignificant and basest sources.

Laelianus, who was despatched to Armenia in place of Pollio, had been assigned to the command of the night watch. And he was no better than Pollio, for, while surpassing him in reputation, he was all the more insatiable in respect to gain.

A.D. 55 (a.u. 808)

7

Agrippina found a grievance in the fact that she was no longer supreme in affairs of the palace. It was chiefly because of Acte. Acte had been brought as a slave from Asia. She caught the fancy of Nero, was adopted into the family of Attalus, and was cherished much more carefully than was Nero's wife Octavia. Agrippina, indignant at this and at other matters, first attempted to rebuke him, and set herself to humiliating his associates, some by beatings and by getting rid of others. But when she accomplished nothing, she took it greatly to heart and remarked to him: "It was I who made you emperor," just as if she had the power to take away the authority from him again. She did not comprehend that every form of independent power given to any one by a private citizen immediately ceases to be the property of the giver and belongs to the one who receives it to use against his benefactor.

Britannicus Nero murdered treacherously by poison, and then, as the skin was turned livid by the action of the drug, he smeared the body with gypsum. But as it was being carried through the Forum a heavy rain falling while the gypsum was still damp washed it all away, so that the horror was exposed not only to comment but to view. [After Britannicus was dead Seneca and Burrus ceased to give careful attention to public interests and were satisfied if they might manage them conservatively and still preserve their lives. Consequently

Nero now made himself conspicuous by giving free rein to all his desires without fear of retribution. His behavior began to be absolutely insensate, as is shown, for instance, by his punishing a certain knight, Antonius, as a seller of poisons and by further burning the poisons publicly. He took great credit for this action as well as for prosecuting some persons who had tampered with wills; but other people only laughed to see him punishing his own acts in the persons of others.]

8

His secret acts of licentiousness were many, both at home and throughout the City, by night and by day. He used to frequent the taverns and wandered about everywhere like a private person. Any number of beatings and insults took place in this connection and the evil spread to the theatres, so that those who worked as dancers and who had charge of the horses paid no attention either to praetors or to consuls. They were disorderly themselves and led others to be the same, while Nero not only did not restrain them even by words, but stirred them up all the more. He delighted in their actions and used to be secretly conveyed in a litter into the theatres, where unseen by the rest he watched the proceedings. Indeed, he forbade the soldiers who had usually been in attendance at all public gatherings to appear there any longer. The reason he assigned was that they ought not to superintend anything but strictly military affairs, but his true purpose was to afford those who wished to raise a disturbance the amplest scope. He made use of the same excuse in reference to his not allowing any soldier to attend his mother, saying that no one except the emperor ought to be guarded by them. In this way he displayed his enmity toward the masses, and as for his mother he was already openly at variance with her. Everything that they said to each other, or that the imperial pair did each day, was reported outside the palace, yet it did not all reach the public and hence conjectures were made to supply missing details and different versions arose. What was conceivable as happening, in view of the baseness and lewdness of the pair, was noised abroad as having already taken place, and reports possessing some credibility were believed as true. The populace, seeing Agrippina now for the first time without Pretorians, took care not to fall in with her even by accident; and if any one did chance to meet her he would hastily get out of the way without saying a word.

9

At one spectacle men on horseback overcame bulls while riding along beside them, and the knights who served as Nero's personal guard brought down with their javelins four hundred bears and three hundred lions. On the same occasion thirty knights belonging to the military fought in the arena. The emperor sanctioned such proceedings openly. Secretly, however, he carried on nocturnal revels throughout the length and breadth of the city, insulting the

women, practicing lewdness on boys, stripping those whom he encountered, striking, wounding, murdering. He had an idea that his incognito was impenetrable, for he used all sorts of different costumes and false hair at different times: but he would be recognized by his retinue and by his deeds. No one else would have dared to commit so many and such gross outrages so recklessly.

A.D. 56 (a.u. 809)

It was becoming unsafe even for a person to stay at home, since he would break into shops and houses. It came about that a certain Julius Montanus, a senator, enraged on his wife's account, fell upon this reveler and inflicted many blows upon him, so that he had to remain several days in concealment by reason of the black eyes he had received. Montanus did not suffer for it, since Nero thought the violence had been all an accident and was for showing no anger at the occurrence, had not the other sent him a letter begging his pardon. Nero on reading the epistle remarked: "So he knew that he was striking Nero." The suicide of Montanus followed hard after.

A.D. 57 (a.u. 810)

In the course of producing a spectacle at one of the theatres, he suddenly filled the place with sea-water so that the fishes and sea-monsters swam in it, and had a naval battle between "Persians" and "Athenians." At the close of it he suddenly withdrew the water, dried the subsoil, and continued land contests, not only between two men at a time but with crowds pitted against other crowds.

A.D. 58 (a.u. 811)

10

Subsequent to this, oratorical contests took place, and as a result even of these numbers were exiled and put to death. — Seneca also was held to account, one of the charges against him being that he was intimate with Agrippina. [It had not been enough for him to debauch Julia, nor had he become better as a result of exile, but he went on to make advances to such a woman as Agrippina, with such a son.] Not only in this instance but in others he was convicted of doing precisely the opposite of what he taught in his philosophical doctrines. He brought accusations against tyranny, yet he made himself a teacher of tyrants: he denounced such of his associates as were powerful, yet he did not hold aloof from the palace himself: he had nothing good to say of flatterers, yet he had so fawned upon Messalina and Claudius's freedmen [that he had sent them from the island a book containing eulogies upon them; this latter caused him such mortification that he erased the passage.] While finding fault with the rich, he himself possessed a property of seven thousand five hundred myriads; and though he censured the extravagances of others, he kept five hundred three-legged tables of cedar wood, every one of them with identical ivory feet, and he gave banquets on them. In mentioning these details I have at least given a hint of their inevitable

adjuncts, — the licentiousness in which he indulged at the very time that he made a most brilliant marriage, and the delight that he took in boys past their prime (a practice which he also taught Nero to follow). Nevertheless, his austerity of life had earlier been so severe that he had asked his pupil neither to kiss him nor to eat at the same table with him. [For the latter request he had a good reason, namely, that Nero's absence would enable him to conduct his philosophical studies at leisure without being hindered by the young man's dinners. But as for the kiss, I can not conceive how that tradition came about. The only explanation which one could imagine, namely, his unwillingness to kiss that sort of mouth, is proved to be false by the facts concerning his favorites. For this and for his adultery some complaints were lodged against him, but at this time he was himself released without formal accusations and succeeded in begging off Pallas and Burrus. Later on he did not come out so well.]

A.D. 59 (a.u. 811)

11

There was a certain Marcus Salvius Otho, who through similarity of character and sharing in wrongdoing had become so intimate with Nero that he was not even punished for saying one day to the latter: "Then I hope you may see me Caesar." All that came of it was the response: "I sha'n't see you even consul." It was to him that the emperor gave Sabina, of patrician family, after separating her from her husband, and they both enjoyed her together. Agrippina, therefore, fearing that Nero would marry the woman (for he was now beginning to entertain a mad passion for her), ventured upon a most unholy course. As if it were not enough for her story that she had attracted her uncle Claudius into love for her by her blandishments and uncontrolled looks and kisses, she undertook to enslave Nero also in similar fashion. However, I am not sure whether this actually occurred, or whether it was invented to fit their characters: but I state here what is admitted by all, that Nero had a mistress resembling Agrippina of whom he was especially fond because of this very resemblance. And when he toyed with the girl herself or threw out hints about it to others, he would say that he was having intercourse with his mother.

A.D. 59 (a.u. 812)

12

Sabina on hearing about this began to persuade Nero to get rid of his mother in order to forestall her alleged plots against him. He was likewise incited, — so many trustworthy men have stated, — by Seneca, whether it was to obscure the complaint against his own name that the latter was anxious or to lead Nero on to a career of unholy bloodguiltiness that should bring about most speedily his destruction by gods and men. But they shrank from doing

the deed openly and were not able to put her out of the way secretly by means of poison, for she took extreme precautions against all such things. One day they saw in the theatre a ship that automatically separated in two, let out some beasts, and came together again so as to be once more seaworthy; and they at once had another one built like it. By the time the ship was finished Agrippina had been quite won over by Nero's attentions, for he exhibited devotion to her in every way to make sure that she should suspect nothing and be off her guard. He dared, however, do nothing in Rome for fear the crime should become widely known. Hence he went some distance into Campania accompanied by his mother, and took a sail on the fatal ship itself, which was adorned in the most brilliant fashion to the end that she might feel a desire to use the vessel continually.

13

When they reached Bauli, he gave for several days most costly dinners at which he showed great solicitude in entertaining his mother. If she were absent he feigned to miss her sorely, and if she were present he was lavish of caresses. He bade her ask whatever she desired and bestowed many gifts without her asking. When he had shaped the situation to this extent, then rising from dinner about midnight he embraced her, and straining her to his breast kissed her eyes and hands, exclaiming: "Mother, farewell, and happiness attend you! For you I live and because of you I rule." He then gave her in charge of Anicetus, a freedman, supposedly to convey her home on the ship that he had prepared.

But the sea would not endure the tragedy about to be enacted on it nor would it submit to assume responsibility for the deception wrought by the monstrous contrivance: therefore, though the ship parted asunder and Agrippina fell into the water, she did not perish. In spite of the fact that it was dark and she was full of strong drink and that the sailors used their oar blades on her, so much so that they killed Acerronia Polla, her fellow voyager, she nevertheless saved her life and reached home. Thereupon she affected not to realize that it was a plot and let not a word of it be known, but sent speedily to her son an account of the occurrence with the implication that it had happened by accident, and conveyed to him the good news (as she assumed it to be) that she was safe. Nero hearing this could not endure the unexpected outcome but punished the messenger as savagely as if he had come to assassinate him, and at once despatched Anicetus with the sailors to make an end of his mother. He would not entrust the killing of her to the Pretorians. When she saw them, she knew for what they had come, and leaping from her bed tore open her clothing; exposing her abdomen, and cried out: "Strike here, Anicetus, strike here, for this bore Nero!"

Thus was Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus, grandchild of Agrippa, descendant of Augustus, slain by the very son to whom she had given the sovereignty and for whose sake she had killed her uncle and others. Nero when informed that she was dead would not believe it, for the monstrousness of his bold deed plunged him in doubts; therefore he desired to behold the victim with his own eyes. So he laid bare her body, looked her all over and inspected her wounds, finally uttering a remark far more abominable even than the crime. What he said was: "I did not know I had so beautiful a mother."

To the Pretorians he gave money evidently to secure their prayers for many such occurrences, and he sent to the senate a message in which he enumerated the offences of which he knew she was guilty, stating also that she had plotted against him and on being detected had committed suicide. Yet for all this calm explanation to the governing body he was frequently subject to agitation at night, so that he would even leap suddenly from his bed. And by day terror seized him at the sound of trumpets that seemed to blare forth some horrid din of war from the spot where lay Agrippina's bones. Therefore he went elsewhere. And when in his new abode he had again the same experience, he distractedly transferred his residence to some other place.

Nero, not having a word of truth from any one and seeing that all approved what he had been doing, thought that either his actions had escaped notice or that he had conducted himself correctly. Hence he became much worse also in other respects. He came to think that all that it was in his power to do was right and gave heed to those whose speech was prompted by fear or flattery as if they told absolute truth. For a time he was subject to fears and questionings, but, after the ambassadors had made him a number of pleasing speeches, he regained courage.

15

The population of Rome, on hearing the report, though horrified were nevertheless joyful, because they thought that now he would surely come to ruin. Nearly all of the senators pretended to rejoice at what had taken place, participated in Nero's pleasure, and voted many measures of which they thought he would be glad. Publius Thrasea Paetus had also come to the senate-house and listened to the letter. When, however, the reading was done, he at once rose without making any comment and went out. Thus what he would have said he could not, and what he could have said he would not. He behaved in the same way under all other conditions. For he used to say: "If it were a matter of Nero's putting only me to death, I could easily pardon the rest who load him with flatteries. But since among those even who praise him so excessively he has gotten rid of some and will yet destroy others, why should one stoop to indecent behavior and perish like a slave, when like a

freeman one may pay the debt to nature? There shall be talk of me hereafter, but of these men not a word save for the single fact that they were killed.” Such was the kind of man Thrasea showed himself, and he would always encourage himself by saying: “Nero can kill me, but he can not harm me.”

16

When Nero after his mother’s murder reentered Rome, people paid him reverence in public, but in private so long as any one could speak frankly with safety they tore his character to very tatters. And first they hung by night a piece of hide on one of his statues to signify that he himself ought to have a hiding. Second, they threw down in the Forum a baby to which was fastened a board, saying: “I will not take you up for fear you may slay your mother.”

At Nero’s entrance into Rome they took down the statues of Agrippina. But there was one which they did not cut loose soon enough, and so they threw over it a cloth which gave it the appearance of being veiled. Thereupon somebody at once affixed to the statue the following inscription: “I am abashed and thou art unashamed.”

In many quarters at once, also, might be read the inscription:

“Nero, Orestes, Alemeon, matricides.”

Persons could actually be heard saying in so many words: “Nero put his mother out of the way.” Not a few lodged information that certain persons had spoken in this way, their object being not so much to destroy those whom they accused as to bring reproach, on Nero. Hence he would admit no suit of that kind, either not wishing that the rumor should become more widespread by such means, or out of utter contempt for what was said. However, in the midst of the sacrifices offered in memory of Agrippina according to decree, the sun suffered a total eclipse and the stars could be seen. Also, the elephants drawing the chariot of Augustus entered the hippodrome and went as far as the senators’ seats, but at that point they stopped and refused to proceed farther. And the event which one might most readily conjecture to have taken place through divine means was that a thunderbolt descended upon his dinner and consumed it all as it was being brought to him, like some tremendous harpy snatching away his food.

17

[In spite of this he killed by poison also his aunt Domitia, whom likewise he used to say he revered like a mother. He would not even wait a few days for her to die a natural death of old age, but was eager to destroy her also. His haste to do this was inspired by her possessions at Baiae and Ravenna, which included magnificent amusement pavilions that she had erected and] are in

fine condition even now. In honor of his mother he celebrated a very great and costly festival, events taking place for several days in five or six theatres at once. It was then that an elephant was led to the very top of the vault of the theatre and walked down from that point on ropes, carrying a rider. There was another exhibition at once most disgraceful and shocking. Men and women not only of equestrian but even of senatorial rank appeared in the orchestra, the hippodrome, and even the hunting-theatre, like the veriest outcasts. Some of them played the flute and danced or acted tragedies and comedies or sang to the lyre. They drove horses, killed beasts, fought as gladiators, some willingly, others with a very bad grace. Men of that day beheld the great families, — the Furii, the Horatii, the Fabii, Poreii, Valerii, and all the rest whose trophies, whose temples were to be seen, — standing down below the level of the spectators and doing some things to which no common citizen even would stoop. So they would point them out to one another and make remarks, Macedonians saying: “That is the descendant of Paulus”; Greeks, “Yonder the offspring of Mummius”; Sicilians, “Look at Claudius”; the Epirots, “Look at Appius”; Asiatics, “There’s Lucius”; Iberians, “There’s Publius”; Carthaginians, “There’s Africanus”; Romans, “There they all are”. Such was the expiation that the emperor chose to offer for his own indecency.

18

All who had sense, likewise, bewailed the multitude of expenditures. Every costliest viand that men eat, everything else, indeed, of the highest value, — horses, slaves, teams, gold, silver, raiment of varied hues, — was given away by tickets. Nero would throw tiny balls, each one appropriately inscribed, among the populace and that article represented by the token received would be presented to the person who had seized it. The sensible, I say, reflected that, when he spent so much to prevent molestation in his disgraceful course, he would not be restrained from any most outrageous proceedings through mere hope of profit.

Some portents had taken place about this time, which the seers declared imported destruction to him, and they advised him to divert the danger upon others. So he would have immediately put numbers of men out of the way, had not Seneca said to him: “No matter how many you may slay, you can not kill your successor.”

It was now that he celebrated a corresponding number of “Preservation Sacrifices,” as he called them, and dedicated the forum for the sale of dainties, called *Macellum*.

19

Somewhat later he instituted a different kind of feast (called Juvenalia, a word

that showed it belonged in some way to "youth"). The occasion was the shaving of his beard for the first time. The hairs he cast into a small golden globe and offered to Jupiter Capitolinus. To furnish amusement members of the noblest families as well as others did not fail to give exhibitions. For instance, Aelia Catella danced: he was first of all a man prominent for family and wealth and also advanced in years, — he was eighty years of age. Others who on account of old age or disease could not do anything on their own account sang as chorus. All devoted themselves to practicing as much as and by whatever way they were able. Regularly appointed "schools" were frequented by the most distinguished men, women, girls, lads, old women, old men. In case any one was unable to appear in any other fashion, he would enter the choruses. And whereas some of them out of shame had put on masks to avoid being recognized, Nero at the request of the populace had them taken off and showed these people to those by whom they had once been ruled. Now most of all it was that these amateur performers and others deemed the dead happy; for many of the foremost men this year had been slain. Some of them, charged with conspiracy against Nero, were surrounded by the soldiers and stoned to death.

20

And, as there needed to be a fitting climax to these deeds, Nero himself appeared as an actor and Gallio proclaimed him by name. There stood Caesar on the stage wearing the garb of a singing zither-player. Spoke the emperor: "My lords, of your kindness give me ear." Then did the Augustus sing to the zither a thing called "Attis or the Bacchantes," whilst many soldiers stood by and all the people that the seats would hold sat watching. Yet had he (according to the tradition) but a slight voice and an indistinct, so that he moved all present to laughter and tears at once. Beside him stood Burrus and Seneca like teachers prompting a pupil: they would wave their hands and togas at every utterance and draw others on to do the same. Indeed, Nero had ready a peculiar corps of about five thousand soldiers, called Augustans; these would begin the applause, and all the rest, however loath, were obliged to shout aloud with them, — except Thræsea. He would never stoop to such conduct. But the rest, and especially the prominent men, gathered with alacrity even when in grief and joined as if glad in all the shouts of the Augustans. One could hear them saying: "Excellent Caesar! Apollo! Augustus! One like unto the Pythian! By thine own self, O Caesar, no one can surpass thee!" After this performance he entertained the people at a feast on boats on the site of the naval battle given by Augustus: thence at midnight he sailed through a canal into the Tiber.

A.D. 60 (a.u. 813)

This, then, he did to celebrate the shaving of his chin. In behalf of his preservation and the continuance of his authority, — thus he gave notice, — he instituted quinquennial games, naming them Neronia. In honor of the event he also constructed the gymnasium at the dedication of which he made a free distribution of olive oil to the senators and knights. The crown for singing to the zither, moreover, he took without a contest, for all others were debarred on the assumption that they were unworthy of victory. [And immediately in their garb he was enrolled on the very lists of the gymnasium.] Thenceforward all other crowns for zither playing at all the contests were sent to him as the only person competent to win victories of that sort.

BOOK 62

About the disaster to the Romans in Britain, brought upon them by Boudica (chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7).

Paulinus, returning from subduing the island of Mona, conquers in battle (chapters 8, 9, 10, 11, 12).

Octavia Augusta and Burrus, likewise Plautus and Pallas, are put to death by Nero (chapters 13, 14).

Most swinish reveling at the games of Tigellinus (chapter 15).

How Nero set the city on fire (chapters 16, 17, 18).

The uprightness of Corbulo: proceedings against Vologaesius and Tiridates (chapters 19, 20).

Misfortune attends the endeavors of Paetus: Vologaesius forms a compact with Corbulo (chapters 21, 22, 23).

Seneca, Soranus, Thrasea, Sabina are put to death: Musonius and Cornutus are banished (chapters 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29).

DURATION OF TIME

Nero Aug. (IV), Cornelius Cossus Cossi F. Lentulus.
(A.D. 60 = a.u. 813 = Seventh of Nero, from Oct. 13th).

Caesonius Paetus, P. Petronius Turpilianus.
(A.D. 61 = a.u. 814 = Eighth of Nero).

P. Marius Celsus, L. Asinius Gallus.
(A.D. 62 = a.u. 815 = Ninth of Nero).

C. Memmius Regulus, L. Verginius Rufus.
(A.D. 63 = a.u. 816 = Tenth of Nero).

C. Lecanius Bassus, M. Licinius Crassus Frugi.
(A.D. 64 = a.u. 817 = Eleventh of Nero).

A. Licinius Nerva Silanus, M. Vestinus Atticus.
(A.D. 65 = a.u. 818 = Twelfth of Nero).

A.D. 61 (a.u. 814)

While this sport was going on at Rome, a terrible disaster had taken place in Britain. Two cities had been sacked, eight myriads of Romans and of their allies had perished, and the island had been lost. Moreover, all this ruin was brought upon them by a woman, a fact which in itself caused them the greatest shame. Heaven evidently gave them in advance an indication of the catastrophe. At night there was heard to issue from the senate-house foreign jargon mingled with laughter and from the theatre outcries with wailing: yet no mortal man had uttered the speeches or the groans. Houses under water came to view in the river Thames, and the ocean between the island and Gaul sometimes grew bloody at flood-tide.

The *casus belli* lay in the confiscation of the money which Claudius had given to the foremost Britons, — Decianus Catus, governor of the island, announcing that this must now be sent back. This was one reason [Lacuna] and another was that Seneca had lent them on excellent terms as regards interest a thousand myriads that they did not want, and had afterward called in this loan all at once and levied on them for it with severity. But the person who most stirred their spirits and persuaded them to fight the Romans, who was deemed worthy to stand at their head and to have the conduct of the entire war, was a British woman, Buduica, of the royal family and possessed of greater judgment than often belongs to women. It was she who gathered the army to the number of nearly twelve myriads and ascended a tribunal of marshy soil made after the Roman fashion. In person she was very tall, with a most sturdy figure and a piercing glance; her voice was harsh; a great mass of yellow hair fell below her waist and a large golden necklace clasped her throat; wound about her was a tunic of every conceivable color and over it a thick chlamys had been fastened with a brooch. This was her constant attire. She now grasped a spear to aid her in terrifying all beholders and spoke as follows: —

“You have had actual experience of the difference between freedom and slavery. Hence, though some of you previously through ignorance of which was better may have been deceived by the alluring announcements of the Romans, yet now that you have tried both you have learned how great a mistake you made by preferring a self-imposed despotism to your ancestral mode of life. You have come to recognize how far superior is the poverty of independence to wealth in servitude. What treatment have we met with that is not most outrageous, that is not most grievous, ever since these men insinuated themselves into Britain? Have we not been deprived of our most

numerous and our greatest possessions entire, while for what remains we must pay taxes? Besides pasturing and tilling all the various regions for them do we not contribute a yearly sum for our very bodies? How much better it would have been to be sold to masters once and for all than to ransom ourselves annually and possess empty names of freedom! How much better to have been slain and perish rather than go about with subservient heads! Yet what have I said? Even dying is not free from expense among them, and you know what fees we deposit on behalf of the dead. Throughout the rest of mankind death frees even those who are in slavery; only in the case of the Romans do the very dead live for their profit. Why is it that though none of us has any money, — and how or whence should we get it?, — we are stripped and despoiled like a murderer's victims? How should the Romans grow milder in process of time, when they have conducted themselves so toward us at the very start, — a period when all men show consideration for even newly captured beasts?

4

“But, to tell the truth, it is we who have made ourselves responsible for all these evils in allowing them so much as to set foot on the island in the first place instead of expelling them at once as we did their famous Julius Caesar, — yes, in not making the idea of attempting the voyage formidable to them, while they were as yet far off, as it was to Augustus and to Gaius Caligula. So great an island, or rather in one sense a continent encircled by water, do we inhabit, a veritable world of our own, and so far are we separated by the ocean from all the rest of mankind that we have been believed to dwell on a different earth and under a different sky and some of their wisest men were not previously sure of even our exact name. Yet for all this we have been scorned and trampled under foot by men who know naught else than how to secure gain. Still, let us even at this late day, if not before, fellow-citizens, friends and relatives, — for I deem you all relatives, in that you inhabit a single island and are called by one common name, — let us do our duty while the memory of freedom still abides within us, that we may leave both the name and the fact of it to our children. For if we utterly lose sight of the happy conditions amid which we were born and bred, what pray will they do, reared in bondage?

5

“This I say not to inspire you with a hatred of present circumstances, — that hatred is already apparent, — nor with a fear of the future, — that fear you already have, — but to commend you because of your own accord you choose to do just what you ought, and to thank you for cooperating so readily with me and your own selves at once. Be nowise afraid of the Romans. They are not more numerous than are we nor yet braver. And the proof is that they have protected themselves with helmets and breastplates and greaves and

furthermore have equipped their camps with palisades and walls and ditches to make sure that they shall suffer no harm by any hostile assault. Their fears impel them to choose this method rather than engage in any active work like us. We enjoy such a superabundance of bravery that we regard tents as safer than walls and our shields as affording greater protection than their whole suits of mail. As a consequence, we when victorious can capture them and when overcome by force can elude them. And should we ever choose to retreat, we can conceal ourselves in swamps and mountains so inaccessible that we can be neither found nor taken. The enemy, however, can neither pursue any one by reason of their heavy armor nor yet flee. And if they ever should slip away from us, taking refuge in certain designated spots, there, too, they are sure to be enclosed as in a trap. These are some of the respects in which they are vastly inferior to us, and others are their inability to bear up under hunger, thirst, cold, or heat, as we can; for they require shade and protection, they require kneaded bread and wine and oil, and if the supply of any of these things fails them they simply perish. For us, on the other hand, any root or grass serves as bread, any plant juice as olive oil, any water as wine, any tree as a house. Indeed, this very region is to us an acquaintance and ally, but to them unknown and hostile. As for the rivers, we swim them naked, but they even with boats can not cross easily. Let us therefore go against them trusting boldly to good fortune. Let us show them that they are hares and foxes trying to rule dogs and wolves.”

6

At these words, employing a species of divination, she let a hare escape from her bosom, and as it ran in what they considered a lucky direction, the whole multitude shouted with pleasure, and Buduica raising her hand to heaven, spoke: “I thank thee, Andraste, and call upon thee, who are a woman, being myself also a woman that rules not burden-bearing Egyptians like Nitocris, nor merchant Assyrians like Semiramis (of these things we have heard from the Romans), nor even the Romans themselves, as did Messalina first and later Agrippina; — at present their chief is Nero, in name a man, in fact a woman, as is shown by his singing, his playing the cithara, his adorning himself: — but ruling as I do men of Britain that know not how to till the soil or ply a trade yet are thoroughly versed in the arts of war and hold all things common, even children and wives; wherefore the latter possess the same valor as the males: being therefore queen of such men and such women I supplicate and pray thee for victory and salvation and liberty against men insolent, unjust, insatiable, impious, — if, indeed we ought to term those creatures men who wash in warm water, eat artificial dainties, drink unmixed wine, anoint themselves with myrrh, sleep on soft couches with boys for bedfellows (and past their prime at that), are slaves to a zither-player, yes, an inferior zither-player. Wherefore may this Domitia-Nero *woman* reign no more over you or over me: let the wench sing and play the despot over the Romans. They surely

deserve to be in slavery to such a being whose tyranny they have patiently borne already this long time. But may we, mistress, ever look to thee alone as our head.”

7

After an harangue of this general nature Buduica led her army against the Romans. The latter chanced to be without a leader for the reason that Paulinus their commander had gone on an expedition to Mona, an island near Britain. This enabled her to sack and plunder two Roman cities, and, as I said, she wrought indescribable slaughter. Persons captured by the Britons underwent every form of most frightful treatment. The conquerors committed the most atrocious and bestial outrages. For instance, they hung up naked the noblest and most distinguished women, cut off their breasts and sewed them to their mouths, to make the victims appear to be eating them. After that they impaled them on sharp skewers run perpendicularly the whole length of the body. All this they did to the accompaniment of sacrifices, banquets, and exhibitions of insolence in all of their sacred places, but chiefly in the grove of Andate, — that being the name of their personification of Victory, to whom they paid the most excessive reverence.

8

It happened that Paulinus had already brought Mona to terms; hence on learning of the disaster in Britain he at once set sail thither from Mona. He was unwilling to risk a conflict with the barbarians immediately, for he feared their numbers and their frenzy; therefore he was for postponing the battle to a more convenient season. But as he grew short of food and the barbarians did not desist from pressing him hard, he was compelled, though contrary to his plan, to enter into an engagement with them. Buduica herself, heading an army of about twenty-three myriads of men, rode on a chariot and assigned the rest to their several stations. Now Paulinus could not extend his phalanx the width of her whole line, for, even if the men had been drawn up only one deep, they would not have stretched far enough, so inferior were they in numbers: nor did he dare to join battle with one compact force, for fear he should be surrounded and cut down. Accordingly, he separated his army into three divisions in order to fight at several points at once, and he made each of the divisions so strong that it could not easily be broken through. While ordering and arranging his men he likewise exhorted them, saying:

9

“Up, fellow-soldiers! Up, men of Rome! Show these pests how much even in misfortune we surpass them. It is a shame for you now to lose ingloriously what but a short while ago you gained by your valor. Often have we ourselves

and also our fathers with far fewer numbers than we have at the present conquered far more numerous antagonists. Fear not the host of them or their rebellion: their boldness rests on nothing better than headlong rashness unaided by arms and exercise. Fear not because they have set on fire a few cities: they took these not by force nor after a battle, but one was betrayed and the other abandoned. Do you now exact from them the proper penalty for these deeds, that so they may learn by actual experience what they undertook when they wronged such men as us."

10

After speaking these words to some he came to a second group and said: "Now is the occasion, now, fellow-soldiers, for zeal, for daring. If to-day you prove yourselves brave men, you will recover what has slipped from your grasp. If you overcome this enemy, no one else will any longer withstand us. By one such battle you will both make sure of your present possessions and subdue whatever is left. All soldiers stationed anywhere else will emulate you and foes will be terror-stricken. Therefore, since it is in your own hands either to rule fearlessly all mankind, both the nations that your fathers left under your control and those which you yourselves have gained in addition, or else to be bereft of them utterly, choose rather to be free, to rule, to live in wealth, to enjoy prosperity, than through indolence to suffer the reverse of these conditions."

11

After making an address of this sort to the group in question, he came up to the third division and said also to them: "You have heard what sort of acts these wretches have committed against us, nay more, you have even seen some of them. Therefore choose either yourselves to suffer the same treatment as previous victims and furthermore to be driven entirely out of Britain, or else through victory to avenge those that perished and also to give to the rest of mankind an example of mild clemency toward the obedient, of necessary severity toward the rebellious. I entertain the highest hopes of victory for our side, counting on the following factors: first, the assistance of the gods; they usually cooperate with the party that has been wronged: second, our inherited bravery; we are Romans and have shown ourselves superior to all mankind in various instances of valor: next, our experience; we have defeated and subdued these very men that are now arrayed against us: last, our good name; it is not worthy opponents but our slaves with whom we are coming in conflict, persons who enjoyed freedom and self-government only so far as we allowed it. Yet even should the outcome prove contrary to our hope, — and I will not shrink from mentioning even this contingency, — it is better for us to fall fighting bravely than to be captured and impaled, to see our own entrails cut out, to be spitted on red hot skewers, to perish dissolved in boiling water,

when we have fallen into the power of creatures that are very beasts, savage, lawless, godless. Let us therefore either beat them or die on the spot. Britain shall be a noble memorial to us, even though all subsequent Romans should be driven from it; for in any case our bodies shall forever possess the land.”

12

At the conclusion of exhortations of this sort and others like them he raised the signal for battle. Thereupon they approached each other, the barbarians making a great outcry intermingled with menacing incantations, but the Romans silently and in order until they came within a javelin's throw of the enemy. Then, while the foe were advancing against them at a walk, the Romans started at a given word and charged them at full speed, and when the clash came easily broke through the opposing ranks; but, as they were surrounded by the great numbers, they had to be fighting everywhere at once. Their struggle took many forms. In the first place, light-armed troops might be in conflict with light-armed, heavy-armed be arrayed against heavy-armed, cavalry join issue with cavalry; and against the chariots of the barbarians the Roman archers would be contending. Again, the barbarians would assail the Romans with a rush of their chariots, knocking them helter-skelter, but, since they fought without breastplates, would be themselves repulsed by the arrows. Horseman would upset foot-soldier, and foot-soldier strike down horseman; some, forming in close order, would go to meet the chariots, and others would be scattered by them; some would come to close quarters with the archers and rout them, whereas others were content to dodge their shafts at a distance: and all these things went on not at one spot, but in the three divisions at once. They contended for a long time, both parties being animated by the same zeal and daring. Finally, though late in the day, the Romans prevailed, having slain numbers in the battle, beside the wagons, or in the wood: they also captured many alive. Still, not a few made their escape and went on to prepare to fight a second time. Meanwhile, however, Buduica fell sick and died. The Britons mourned her deeply and gave her a costly burial; but, as they themselves were this time really defeated, they scattered to their homes. — So far the history of affairs in Britain.

A.D. 62 (a.u. 815)

13

In Rome Nero had before this sent away Octavia Augusta, on account of his concubine Sabina, and subsequently he put her to death. This he did in spite of the opposition of Burrus, who tried to prevent his sending her away, and once said to him: “Well, then, give her back her dowry” (by which he meant the sovereignty). Indeed, Burrus used such unmitigated frankness that on one occasion, when he was asked by the emperor a second time for an opinion on matters regarding which he had already made clear his attitude, he answered

bluntly: "When I have once had my say about anything, don't ask me again." So Nero disposed of him by poison. He also appointed to command the Pretorians a certain Ofonius Tigillinus, who outstripped all his contemporaries in licentiousness and bloodiness. [It was he who won Nero away from them and made light of his colleague Rufus.] To him the famous sentence of Pythias is said to have been directed. She had proved the only exception when all the other attendants of Octavia had joined Sabina in attacking their mistress, despising the one because she was in misfortune and toadying to the other because her influence was strong. Pythias alone had refused though cruelly tortured to utter lies against Octavia, and finally, as Tigillinus continued to urge her, she spat in his face, saying:

"My mistress's privy parts are cleaner, Tigillinus, than your mouth."

14

The troubles of his relatives Nero turned into laughter and jest. For instance, after killing Plautus he took a look at his head when it was brought to him and remarked: "I didn't know he had such a big nose," as much as to say that he would have spared him, had he been aware of this fact beforehand. And though he spent practically his whole existence in tavern life, he forbade others to sell in taverns anything boiled save vegetables and pea-soup. He put Pallas out of the way because the latter had accumulated great wealth that could be counted by the ten thousand myriads. Likewise he was very liable to peevishness that showed in his behavior, and at such times he would not speak a word to his servants or freedmen but write on tablets whatever he wanted as well as any orders that he had to give them.

A.D. 63 (a.u. 816)

15

Indeed, when many of those who had gathered at Antium perished, Nero made that, too, an occasion for a festival.

A certain Thræsea gave his opinion to the effect that for a senator the extreme penalty should be exile.

A.D. 64 (a.u. 817)

To such lengths did Nero's self-indulgence go that he actually drove chariots in public. Again, one time after the slaughter of beasts he straightway brought water into the theatre by means of pipes and produced a sea-fight: then he let the water out again and arranged a gladiatorial combat. Last of all he flooded the place once more and gave a costly public banquet. The person who had been appointed director of the banquet was Tigillinus, and a large and complete equipment had been furnished. The arrangements made were as follows. In the center and resting on the water were placed the great wooden

wine vessels, over which boards had been fastened. Round about it had been built taverns and booths. Thus Nero and Tigillinus and their fellow-banqueters, being in the center, held their feast on purple carpets and soft mattresses, while all the other people caroused in the taverns. These also entered the brothels, where unrestrictedly they might enjoy absolutely any woman to be found there. Now the latter were some of the most beautiful and distinguished in the city, both slaves and free, some hetaerae, some virgins, some wives, — not merely, that is to say, public wenches, but both girls and women of the very noblest families. Every man was given authority to have whichever one he wished, for the women were not allowed to refuse any one. Consequently, the multitude being a regular rabble, they drank greedily and reveled in wanton conduct. So a slave debauched his mistress in the presence of his master and a gladiator ravished a girl of noble family while her father looked on. The shoving and striking and uproar that went on, first on the part of those who were going in and second on the part of those who stood around outside, was disgraceful. Many men met their death in these encounters, and of the women some were strangled and some were seized and carried off.

16

After this Nero had the wish (or rather it had always been a fixed purpose of his) to make an end of the whole city and sovereignty during his lifetime. Priam he deemed wonderfully happy in that he had seen his country perish at the same moment as his authority. Accordingly he sent in different directions men feigning to be drunk or engaged in some indifferent species of rascality and at first had one or two or more blazes quietly kindled in different quarters: people, of course, fell into the utmost confusion, not being able to find any beginning of the trouble nor to put any end to it, and meanwhile they became aware of many strange sights and sounds. For soon there was nothing to be observed but many fires as in a camp, and no other phrases fell from men's lips but "This or that is burning"; "Where?"; "How?"; "Who set it?"; "To the rescue!" An extraordinary perturbation laid hold on all wherever they might be, and they ran about as if distracted, some in one direction and some in another. Some men in the midst of assisting their neighbors would learn that their own premises were on fire. Others received the first intimation of their own possessions being aflame when informed that they were destroyed. Persons would run from their houses into the lanes with some idea of being of assistance from the outside, or again they would dash into the dwellings from the streets, appearing to think they could accomplish something inside. The shouting and screaming of children, women, men, and graybeards all together were incessant, so that one could have no consciousness nor comprehension of anything by reason of the smoke and shouting combined. On this account some might be seen standing speechless, as if dumb. All this time many who were carrying out their goods and many more who were stealing what belonged to others kept encountering one another and falling over the

merchandise. It was not possible to get anywhere, nor yet to stand still; but people pushed and were pushed back, they upset others and were themselves upset, many were suffocated, many were crushed: in fine, no evil that can possibly happen to men at such a crisis failed to befall them. They could not with ease find even any avenue of escape, and, if any one did save himself from some immediate danger, he usually fell into another one and was lost.

17

This did not all take place on one day, but lasted for several days and nights together. Many houses were destroyed through lack of some one to defend them and many were set on fire in still more places by persons who presumably came to the rescue. For the soldiers (including the night watch), having an eye upon plunder, instead of extinguishing any blaze kindled greater conflagrations. While similar scenes were being enacted at various points a sudden wind caught the fire and swept it over whatever remained. Consequently no one concerned himself any longer about goods or houses, but all the survivors, standing in a place of safety, gazed upon what seemed to be many islands and cities burning. There was no longer any grief over individual losses, for it was swallowed up in the public lamentation, as men reminded one another how once before most of their city had been similarly laid waste by the Gauls.

18

While the whole population was in this state of mind and many crazed by the disaster were leaping into the blaze itself, Nero mounted to the roof of the palace, where nearly the whole conflagration could be taken in by a sweeping glance, and having assumed the lyrist's garb he sang the Taking (as he said) of Ilium, which, to the ordinary vision, however, appeared to be the Taking of Rome.

The calamity which the city at this time experienced has no parallel before or since, except in the Gallic invasion. The whole Palatine hill, the theatre of Taurus, and nearly two-thirds of the remainder of the city were burned and countless human beings perished. The populace invoked curses upon Nero without intermission, not uttering his name but simply cursing those who had set the city on fire: and this was especially the case because they were disturbed by the memory of the oracle chanted in Tiberius's day. These were the words: —

“Thrice three hundred cycles of tireless years being ended, Civil strife shall the Romans destroy.”

And when Nero by way of encouraging them reported that these verses were

nowhere to be found, they changed and went to repeating another oracle, which they averred to be a genuine Sibylline production, namely: —

“Last of the sons of Aeneas a matricide shall govern.”

And so it proved, whether this was actually revealed beforehand by some divination or whether the populace now for the first time gave it the form of a divine saying adapted to existing circumstances. For Nero was indeed the last emperor of the Julian line descended from Aeneas.

He now began to collect vast sums from both individuals and nations, sometimes using compulsion, with the conflagration for his excuse, and sometimes obtaining it by “voluntary” offers; and the mass of the Romans had the food supply fund withdrawn.

19

While he was so engaged, he received news from Armenia and soon after a laurel wreath in honor of victory. The scattered bodies of soldiery in that region had been united by Corbulo, who trained them sedulously after a period of neglect, and then by the very report of his coming had terrified both Vologaesius, king of Parthia, and Tiridates, chief of Armenia. He resembled the primitive Romans in that besides coming of a brilliant family and besides possessing much strength of body he was still further gifted with a shrewd intelligence: and he behaved with great bravery, with great fairness, and with great good faith toward all, both friends and enemies. For these reasons Nero had despatched him to the scene of war in his own stead and had entrusted to him a larger force than to anybody else, being equally assured that the man would subdue the barbarians and would not revolt against him. And Corbulo proved neither of these assumptions false.

All other men, however, had it as a particular grievance against him that he kept faith with Nero. They were very anxious to get him as emperor in place of the actual despot, and this conduct of his seemed to them his only defect.

20

Corbulo, accordingly, had taken Artaxata without a struggle and had razed the city to the ground. This exploit finished, he marched in the direction of Tigranocerta, sparing all the districts that yielded themselves but devastating the lands of all such as resisted him. Tigranocerta submitted to him voluntarily, and he performed other brilliant and glorious deeds, as a result of which he induced the formidable Vologaesius to accept terms that accorded with the Roman reputation. [For Vologaesius, on hearing that Nero had assigned Armenia to others and that Adiabene was being ravaged by Tigranes, made preparations himself to go on a campaign into Syria against Corbulo,

but sent into Armenia Monobazus, king of Adiabene, and Monaeses, a Parthian. These two had shut up Tigranes in Tigranocerta. But since they did not succeed in harming him at all by their siege and as often as they tried conclusions with him were repulsed by both the native troops and the Romans that were in his army, and since Corbulo guarded Syria with extreme care, Vologaesius recognized the hopelessness of his attempt and disbanded his forces. Then he sent to Corbulo and obtained peace on condition that he send a new embassy to Nero, raise the siege, and withdraw his soldiers from Armenia. Nero made him no immediate nor speedy nor definite reply, but despatched Lucius Caesennius Paetus to Cappadocia to see to it that there should be no Armenian uprising.]

21

[So Vologaesius attacked Tigranocerta and drove back Paetus, who had come to its aid. When the latter fled he pursued him, beat back the garrison left by Paetus at the Taurus, and shut him up in Rhandea, near the river Arsanias. Then he was on the point of retiring without accomplishing anything; for destitute as he was of heavy-armed soldiers he could not approach close to the wall, and he had no large stock of provender, particularly as he had come at the head of a vast host without making arrangements for food supplies. Paetus, however, stood in terror of his archery, which took effect in the very camp itself, as well as of the cavalry, which kept appearing at all points. Hence he made peace proposals to his antagonist, accepted his terms, and took an oath that he would himself abandon all of Armenia and that Nero should give it to Tiridates. The Parthian was satisfied enough with this agreement, seeing that he was to obtain control of the country without a contest and would be making the Romans his debtors for a very considerable kindness. And, as he learned that Corbulo (whom Paetus several times sent for before he was surrounded) was drawing near, he dismissed the beleaguered soldiers, having first made them agree to build a bridge over the river Arsanias for him. He was not really in need of a bridge, for he had crossed on foot, but he wished to give them a practical example of the fact that he was stronger than they. Indeed, he did not retire by way of the bridge even on this occasion, but rode across on an elephant, while the rest got over as before.

22

The capitulation had scarcely been made when Corbulo with inconceivable swiftness reached the Euphrates and there waited for the retreating force. When the two armies approached each other you would have been struck with the difference between them and between their generals: one set were fairly aglow with delight at their rapidity; the others were grieved and ashamed of their compact. Vologaesius sent Monaeses to Corbulo with the demand that the newcomer should give up the fort in Mesopotamia. So they held a prolonged

conference together right at the bridge crossing the Euphrates, after first destroying the center of the structure. Corbulo having promised to leave the country if the Parthian would also abandon Armenia, both of these things were done temporarily until Nero could learn the outcome of the engagements and begin negotiations with the envoys of Vologaesius, whom the latter had sent a second time. The answer given them by the emperor was that he would bestow Armenia upon Tiridates if this aspirant would come to Rome. Paetus was deposed from his command and the soldiers that had been with him were sent somewhere else. Corbulo was again assigned to the war against the same foes. Nero had intended to accompany the expedition in person, but after falling down during the ceremony of sacrificing he would not venture to go abroad but remained where he was.]

23

[Corbulo therefore officially prepared for war upon Vologaesius and sent a centurion bidding him depart from the country. Privately, however, he suggested to the king that he send his brother to Rome, and this advice met with acceptance, since Corbulo seemed to have the stronger force. Thus it came about that they both, Corbulo and Tiridates, met at no other place than Rhandea, which suited them both. It appealed to the Parthian because there his people had cut off the Romans and had sent them away under a capitulation, a visible proof of the favor that had been done them. To the Roman it appealed because his men were going to wipe out the ill repute that had attached to them there before. For the meeting of the two was not limited merely to conversation; a lofty platform had been erected on which were set images of Nero, and in the presence of crowds of Armenians, Parthians, and Romans Tiridates approached and did them reverence; after sacrificing to them and calling them by laudatory names he took off the diadem from his head and set it upon them. Monobazus and Vologaesius also came to Corbulo and gave him hostages. In honor of this event Nero was a number of times saluted as emperor and held a triumph, contrary to precedent.] But Corbulo in spite of the large force that he had and the very considerable reputation that he enjoyed did not rebel and was never accused of rebellion. He might easily have been made emperor, since men thoroughly detested Nero but all admired him in every way. [In addition to the more striking features of his submissive behavior he voluntarily sent to Rome his son-in-law Annius, who served as his lieutenant; this was done professedly that Annius might escort Tiridates back, but in fact this relative stood in the position of a hostage to Nero. The latter was so firmly persuaded that his general would not revolt that Corbulo obtained his son-in-law as lieutenant before he had been praetor.]

[And Junius Torquatus, a descendant of Augustus, made himself liable to a most strange indictment. He had squandered his property in a rather lavish way, whether following his native bent or with the intention of not being very

rich. Nero therefore declared that, as he lacked many things, he must be covetous of the goods of others, and consequently caused a fictitious charge to be brought against him of aspiring to imperial power.]

A.D. 65 (a.u. 818)

24

Seneca, however, and Rufus the prefect and some other prominent men formed a plot against Nero. They could no longer endure his ignoble behavior, his licentiousness, and his cruelty. They desired at one and the same time to be rid of these evils and to give Nero his release from them. Indeed, Sulpicius Asper, a centurion, and Subrius Flavius, a military tribune, both belonging to the body-guards, admitted this to him point blank. Asper, when interrogated by the emperor as to the reason for his attempt, replied: "I could help you in no other way." And the response of Flavins was: "I both loved you and hated you above all men. I loved you, hoping that you would prove a good emperor: I have hated you because you do so-and-so. I can not be slave to charioteer or lyre-player." — Information was lodged and these men were punished, besides many others indirectly associated with them. Everything in the nature of a complaint that could be entertained against any one for excessive joy or grief, for words or gestures, was brought forward and was believed. Not one of these complaints, even if fictitious, could be refused credence in view of Nero's actual deeds. Hence conscienceless friends and house servants of some men flourished greatly. Persons guarded against strangers and foes, — for of these they were suspicious, — but were bound to expose themselves whether they would or no to their associates.

25

It would be no small task to record details about most of those that perished, but the fate of Seneca needs a few words by itself. It was his wish to end the life of his wife Paulina at the same time with his own, for he declared that he had taught her to despise death and that she desired to leave the world in company with him. So he opened her veins as well as his own. As he failed, however, to yield readily to death, his end was hastened by the soldiers; and his dying so speedily enabled Paulina to survive. He did not lay hands upon himself, however, until he had revised the book which he had composed and had deposited with various persons certain other valued possessions which he feared might come into Nero's hands and be destroyed. Thus was Seneca forced to part with life in spite of the fact that he had on the pretext of illness abandoned the society of the emperor and had bestowed upon him his entire property, supposedly to help defray the expense of necessary building operations. His brothers, too, perished after him.

Likewise Thrasea and Soranus, who had no superiors in family, wealth, and every excellence, met their death not because they were accused of conspiracy but because they were what they were. Against Soranus Publius Egnatius Celer, a philosopher, gave false evidence. The victim had had two associates, — Cassius Asclepiodotus of Nicaea and this Publius of Berytus. Now Asclepiodotus so far from speaking against Soranus bore witness to his noble qualities; he was at the time exiled for his pains, but later, under Galba, was restored. Publius in return for his services as blackmailer received money and honors (as did others of the same profession), but subsequently he was banished. Soranus was slain on the charge of having caused his daughter to employ a species of magic, the foundation for this story being that when he was sick his family had offered some sacrifices. Thrasea was executed for not appearing regularly at the senate-house, thus showing that he did not like the measures passed, for not listening to the emperor's singing and zither-playing, for not sacrificing to Nero's Divine Voice as did the rest, and for not giving any public exhibitions: for it was remarked that at Patavium, his native place, he had acted in a tragedy given in pursuance of some old custom at a festival held every thirty years. As he made the incision in his artery, he raised his hand, exclaiming: "To thee, Jupiter, patron of freedom, I pour this libation of blood."

27

And why should one be surprised that such complaints were fastened upon them, seeing that one man was brought to trial and slain for living near the Forum, for letting out some shops, or for receiving a few friends in them; and another because he possessed a likeness of Cassius, the murderer of Caesar?

The conduct of a woman named Epicharis also deserves mention. She had been included in the conspiracy and all its details had been trusted to her without reserve; yet she revealed none of these though often tortured in all the ways that the skill of Tigillinus could devise. And why should one enumerate the sums given to the Pretorians on the occasion of this conspiracy or the excessive honors voted to Nero and his friends? Let me say only that it led to the banishment of Rufus Musonius, the philosopher. Sabina also perished at this time through an act of Nero's. Either accidentally or intentionally he had given her a violent kick while she was pregnant.

28

The extremes of luxury indulged in by this Sabina I will indicate in the briefest possible terms. She had gilded girths put upon the mules that carried her and caused five hundred asses that had recently foaled to be milked each

day that she might bathe in their milk. She devoted great thought to making her person appear youthful and lustrously beautiful, — and with brilliant results; and this is why, not fancying her appearance in a mirror one day, she prayed that she might die before she passed her prime. Nero missed her so that [after her death, at first, on learning that there was a woman resembling her he sent for and kept this female: later] because a boy of the *liberti* class, named Sporus, resembled Sabina, he had him castrated and used him in every way like a woman; and in due time he formally married him though he [Nero] was already married to a freedman Pythagoras. He assigned the boy a regular dowry according to contract, and Romans as well as others held a public celebration of their wedding.

While Nero had Sporus the eunuch as a wife, one of his associates in Rome, who had made a specialty of philosophy, on being asked whether the marriage and cohabitation in question met with his approval replied: “You do well, Caesar, to seek the company of such wives. If only your father had had the same ambition and had dwelt with a similar consort!” — indicating that if this had been the case, Nero would not have been born, and the government would have been relieved of great evils.

This was, however, later. At the time with which we are immediately concerned many, as I stated, were put to death and many who purchased their preservation with Tigillinus with a great price were released.

29

Nero continued to commit many ridiculous acts, among which may be cited his descending at a kind of popular festival to the orchestra of the theatre, where he read some Trojan lays of his own: and in honor of these there were offered numerous sacrifices, as there were over everything else that he did. He was now making preparations to compile in verse a narration of all the achievements of the Romans: before composing any of it, however, he began to consider the proper number of books, and took as his adviser Annaeus Cornutus, who at this time was famed for his learning. This man he came very near putting to death and did deport to an island, because, while some were urging him to write four hundred books, Cornutus said that was too many and nobody would read them. And when some one objected: “Yet Chrysippus, whom you praise and imitate, has composed many more,” the savant retorted: “But they are a help to the conduct of men’s lives.” So Cornutus was punished with exile for this. And Lucanus was enjoined from writing poetry because he was securing great praise for his work.

BOOK 63

Nero, receiving Tiridates with imposing state, places a crown upon his head (chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7).

He journeys to Greece in order to become Periodonikes (chapters 8, 9, 10).

With the help of Tigillinus and Crispinilla he lays Greece waste: Helius and Polyclethus perform the same office for Rome and Italy (chapters 11, 12).

Nero's marriages and abominations with Sporus and Pythagoras (chapter 13).

His victories and proclamation: frenzy against Apollo: hatred toward the senators (chapters 14, 15).

Digging a canal through the Isthmus (chapter 16).

Demise of the Scribonii, of Corbulo, of Paris, of the Sulpicii (chapters 17, 18).

At the solicitation of Helius, Nero returning conducts an Iselasticum triumph (chapters 19, 20, 21).

Vindex's conspiracy against Nero, and his extinction (chapters 22, 23, 24).

Rufus, saluted as Caesar and Augustus, refuses the sovereignty (chapter 25).

Nero's flight and demise (chapters 26, 27, 28, 29).

DURATION OF TIME

C. Lucius Telesinus, C. Suetonius Paulinus.

(A.D. 66 = a.u. 819 = Thirteenth of Nero, from Oct. 13 th).

Fonteius Capito, Iunius Rufus.

(A.D. 67 = a.u. 820 = Fourteenth of Nero).

C. Silius Italicus, Galerius Trachalus Turpilianus.

(A.D. 68 = a.u. 821, to June 9 th).

A.D. 66 (a.u. 819)

In the consulship of Gaius Telesinus and Suetonius Paulinus one event of great glory and another of deep disgrace took place. For one thing Nero

contended among the zither-players, and after Menecrates, the teacher of this art, had celebrated a triumph for him in the hippodrome, he appeared as a charioteer. For the other, Tiridates presented himself in Rome, bringing with him not only his own children but those of Vologaesius, of Pacorus, and of Monobazus. They were the objects of interest in a quasi-triumphal procession through the whole country west from the Euphrates.

2

Tiridates himself was in the prime of life, a notable figure by reason of his youth, beauty, family, and intelligence: and his whole train of servants together with the entourage of a royal court accompanied the advance. Three thousand Parthian horsemen and besides them numerous Romans followed his train. They were received by gaily decorated cities and by peoples who shouted their compliments aloud. Provisions were furnished them free of cost, an expenditure of twenty myriads for their daily support being thus charged to the public treasury. This went on without change for the nine months occupied in their journey. The prince covered the whole distance to the confines of Italy on horseback and beside him rode his wife, wearing a golden helmet in place of a veil, so as not to defy the traditions of her country by letting her face be seen. In Italy he was conveyed in a two-horse carriage sent by Nero and met the emperor at Naples, which he reached by way of the Picentes. He refused, however, to obey the order to put down his dagger when he approached the Roman monarch, and he nailed it firmly to the scabbard. Yet he knelt upon the ground, and with arms crossed called him master and did obeisance.

3

Nero manifested his approbation of this act and entertained him in many ways, one of which was a gladiatorial show at Puteoli. The person who directed the contests was Patrobius, one of his freedmen. He managed to make it a brilliant and costly affair, as is shown by the fact that on one of the days not a person but Ethiopians, men, women, and children, appeared in the theatre. By way of showing Patrobius some proper honor Tiridates shot at beasts from his elevated seat. And, if we may trust the report, he transfixed and killed two bulls together with one arrow.

4

After this affair Nero took him up to Rome and set the diadem upon his head. The entire city had been decorated with lights and garlands, and great crowds of people were to be seen everywhere, the Forum, however, being especially full. The center was occupied by the populace, arranged according to rank, clad in white and carrying laurel branches: everywhere else were the soldiers,

arrayed in shining armor, their weapons and standards reflecting back the sunbeams. The very roof tiles of the buildings in this vicinity were completely hidden from view by the spectators who had ascended to these points of vantage. Everything was in readiness by the time night drew to a close and at daybreak Nero, wearing the triumphal garb and accompanied by the senate and the Pretorians, entered the Forum. He ascended the rostra and seated himself upon the chair of state. Next Tiridates and his suite passed through rows of heavy-armed men drawn up on each side, took their stand close to the rostra, and did obeisance to the emperor as they had done before.

5

At this a great roar went up which so alarmed Tiridates that for some moments he stood speechless, in terror of his life. Then, silence having been proclaimed, he recovered courage and quelling his pride made himself subservient to the occasion and to his need, caring little how humbly he spoke, in view of the prize he hoped to obtain. These were his words: "Master, I am the descendant of Arsaces, brother of the princes Vologaesús and Pacorus, and thy slave. And I have come to thee, my deity, to worship thee as I do Mithra. The destiny thou spinnest for me shall be mine: for thou art my Fortune and my Fate."

Nero replied to him as follows: "Well hast thou done to come hither in person, that present in my presence thou mayest enjoy my benefits. For what neither thy father left thee nor thy brothers gave and preserved for thee, this do I grant thee. King of Armenia I now declare thee, that both thou and they may understand that I have power to take away kingdoms and to bestow them." At the end of these words he bade him come up the inclined plane built for this very purpose in front of the rostra, and Tiridates having been made to sit beneath his feet he placed the diadem upon his head. At this there was no end of shouts of all sorts.

6

According to decree there also took place a celebration in the theatre. Not merely the stage but the whole interior of the theatre round about had been gilded, and all properties brought in had been adorned with gold, so that people came to refer to the very day as "golden." The curtains stretched across the sky-opening to keep off the sun were of purple and in the centre of them was an embroidered figure of Nero driving a chariot, with golden stars gleaming all about him. So much for the setting: and of course they had a costly banquet.

Afterward Nero sang publicly with zither accompaniment and drove a chariot, clad in the costume of the Greens and wearing a charioteer's helmet. This

made Tiridates disgusted with him; but for Corbulo the visitor had only praise and deemed the one thing against him to be that he would put up with such a master. Indeed, he made no concealment of his views to Nero's face, but one day said to him: "Master, you have in Corbulo a good slave." The person addressed, however, did not comprehend his speech. — In all other matters he flattered the emperor and ingratiated himself most skillfully, with the result that he received all kinds of gifts, said to have possessed in the aggregate a value of five thousand myriads, and obtained permission to rebuild Artaxata. Moreover, he took with him from Rome many artisans, some of whom he got from Nero, and some whom he persuaded by offers of high wages. Corbulo, however, would not let them all cross into Armenia, but only the ones whom Nero had given him. That caused Tiridates to admire him all the more and to despise his chief.

7

The return was made not by the same route as he followed in coming, — through Illyricum and north of the Ionian Gulf, — but instead he sailed from Brundisium to Dyrrachium. He viewed also the cities of Asia, which helped to increase his amazement at the strength and beauty of the Roman empire.

Tiridates one day viewed an exhibition of pancratium. One of the contestants fell to the ground and was being pummeled by his opponent. When the prince saw it, he exclaimed: "That's an unfair contest. It isn't fair that a man who has fallen should be beaten."

On rebuilding Artaxata Tiridates named it Neronia. But Vologaesius though often summoned refused to come to Nero, and finally, when the latter's invitations became burdensome to him, sent back a despatch to this effect: "It is far easier for you than for me to traverse so great a body of water. Therefore, if you will come to Asia, we can then arrange [where we shall be able] to meet each other." [Such was the message which the Parthian wrote at last.]

8

Nero though angry at him did not sail against him, nor yet against the Ethiopians or the Caspian Pylae, as he had intended. [He saw that the subjugation of these regions demanded time and labor and hoped that they would submit to him of their own accord:] and he sent spies to both places. But he did cross over into Greece, not at all as Flamininus or Mummius or as Agrippa and Augustus his ancestors had done, but for the purpose of chariot racing, of playing and singing, of making proclamations, and of acting in tragedies. Rome was not enough for him, nor Pompey's theatre, nor the great hippodrome, but he desired also a foreign tour, in order to become, as he said, victor in all the four contests. And a multitude not only of Augustans but of

other persons were taken with him, large enough, if it had been a hostile host, to have subdued both Parthians and all other nations. But they were the kind you would have expected Nero's soldiers to be, and the arms they carried were zithers and plectra, masks and buskins. The victories Nero won were such as befitted that sort of army, and he overcame Terpnus and Diodorus and Pammenes, instead of Philip or Perseus or Antiochus. It is probable that his purpose in forcing the Pammenes referred to, who had been in his prime in the reign of Gaius, to compete in spite of his age, was that he might overcome him and vent his dislike in abuse of his statues.

A.D. 67 (?)

9

Had he done only this, he would have been the subject of ridicule. So how could one endure to hear about, let alone seeing, an emperor, an Augustus, listed on the program among the contestants, training his voice, practicing certain songs, wearing long hair on his head but with his chin shaven, throwing his toga over his shoulder in the races, walking about with one or two attendants, eyeing his adversaries suspiciously and ever and anon throwing out a word to them in the midst of a boxing match; how he dreaded the directors of the games and the wielders of the whip and spent money on all of them secretly to avoid being shown up in his true colors and whipped; and how all that he did to make himself victor in the citharoedic contest only contributed to his defeat in the Contest of the Caesars? How find words to denounce the wickedness of this proscription in which it was not Sulla that bulletined the names of others, but Nero bulletined his own name? What victory less deserves the name than that by which one receives the olive, the laurel, the parsley, or the fir-tree garland, and loses the political crown? And why should one bewail these acts of his alone, seeing that he also by treading on the high-soled buskins lowered himself from his eminence of power, and by hiding behind the mask lost the dignity of his sovereignty to beg in the guise of a runaway slave, to be led like a blind man, to conceive, to bear children, to go mad [to drive a chariot] , as he acted out time after time the story of Oedipus, and of Thyestes, of Heracles and Alemeon, and of Orestes? The masks he wore were sometimes made to resemble the characters and sometimes had his own likeness. The women's masks were all fashioned to conform to the features of Sabina [in order that though dead she might still move in stately procession. All the situations that common actors simulate in their acting he, too, would undertake to present, by speech, by action, by being acted upon, — save only that] golden chains were used to bind him: apparently it was not thought proper for a Roman emperor to be bound in iron shackles.

All this behavior, nevertheless, the soldiers and all the rest saw, endured, and approved. They entitled him Pythian Victor, Olympian Victor, National Victor, Absolute Victor, besides all the usual expressions, and of course added to these names the honorific designations belonging to his imperial office, so that every one of them had "Caesar" and "Augustus" as a tag.

He conceived a dislike for a certain man because while he was speaking the man frowned and was not overlavish of his praises; and so he drove him away and would not let him come into his presence. He persisted in his refusal to grant him audience, and when the person asked: "Where shall I go, then?" Phoebeus, Nero's freedman, replied: "To the deuce!"

No one of the people ventured either to pity or to hate the wretched creature. One of the soldiers, to be sure, on seeing him bound, grew indignant, ran up, and set him free. Another in reply to a question: "What is the emperor doing?" had to answer: "He is in labor pains," for Nero was then acting the part of Canace. Not one of them conducted himself in a way at all worthy of a Roman. Instead, because so much money fell to their share, they offered prayers that he might give many such performances and they in this way get still more.

11

And if things had merely gone on like this, the affair, while being a source of shame and of ridicule alike, would still have been deemed free from danger. But as a fact he devastated the whole of Greece precisely as if he had been despatched to some war and without regard to the fact that he had declared the country free, also slaying great numbers [of men, women and children. At first he commanded the children and freedmen of those who were executed to leave him half their property at their death, and allowed the original victims to make wills in order to make it seem less likely that he had killed them for their money; and he invariably took all that was bequeathed to him, if not more. In case any one left to him or to Tigellinus less than they were expecting, the wills were of no avail. — Later he deprived persons of their *entire* property and banished all their children at once by one decree. Not even this satisfied him, but he destroyed not a few of the exiles.] For no one could begin to enumerate all the confiscated possessions of men allowed to live and all the votive offerings that he stole from the very temples in Rome. [The despatch-bearers hurried hither and thither with no piece of news other than "kill this man!" or that that man was dead. No private messages, only state documents, were delivered; for Nero had taken many of the foremost men to Greece under pretence of needing some assistance from them merely in order that they might perish there.

The whole population of Rome and Italy he surrendered like captives to a certain Helius, a Caesarian. The latter had been given absolutely complete authority, so that he might confiscate, banish, and put to death (even before notifying Nero) ordinary persons, knights, and senators alike.]

Thus the Roman domain was at that time a slave to two emperors at once, — Nero and Helius; and I do not feel able to say which was the worse. In most respects they behaved entirely alike, and the one point of difference was that the descendant of Augustus was emulating zither-players, whereas the freedman of Claudius was emulating Caesars. I consider the acts of Tigillinus as a part of Nero's career because he was constantly with him: but Polyclitus and Calvia Crispinilla by themselves plundered, sacked, despoiled all the places they could get at. The former was associated with Helius at Rome, and the latter with Sabina, born Sporus. Calvia had been entrusted with the care of the boy and with the oversight of the wardrobe, though a woman and of high rank; and she saw to it that all were stripped of their possessions.

13

Now Nero called Sporus Sabina not merely on account of the fact that by reason of resemblance to her he had been made a eunuch, but because the boy like the mistress had been solemnly contracted to him in Greece, with Tigillinus to give the bride away, as the law ordained. All the Greeks held a festal celebration of their marriage, uttering all the customary good wishes (as they could not well help) even to the extent of praying that legitimate children might be born to them. After that Nero took to himself two bedfellows, Pythagoras to treat as a man and Sporus as a woman. The latter, in addition to other forms of address, was termed lady, queen, and mistress.

Yet why should one wonder at this, seeing that this monarch would fasten naked boys and girls to poles, and then putting on the hide of a wild beast would approach them and satisfy his brutal lust under the appearance of devouring parts of their bodies? Such were the indecencies of Nero.

When he received the senators he wore a short flowered tunic with muslin collar, for he had already begun to transgress precedent in wearing ungirt tunics in public. It is stated also that knights belonging to the army used in his reign for the first time saddle-cloths during their public review.

14

At the Olympic games he fell from the chariot he was driving and came very near being crushed to death: yet he was crowned victor. In acknowledgment of this favor he gave to the Hellanodikai the twenty-five myriads which Galba later demanded back from them. [And to the Pythia he gave ten myriads for

giving some responses to suit him: this money Galba recovered.] Again, whether from vexation at Apollo for making some unpleasant predictions to him or because he was merely crazy, he took away from the god the territory of Cirrha and gave it to the soldiers. In fact, he abolished the oracle, slaying men and throwing them into the rock fissure from which the divine *afflatus* arose. He contended in every single city that boasted any contest, and in all cases requiring the services of a herald he employed for that purpose Cluvius Rufus, an ex-consul. Athens and the Lacedaemonians were exceptions to this rule, being the only places that he did not visit at all. He avoided the second because of the laws of Lycurgus, which stood in the way of his designs, and the former because of the story about the Furies. — The proclamation ran: “Nero Caesar wins this contest and crowns the Roman people and his world.” Possessing according to his own statement a world, he went on singing and playing, making proclamations, and acting tragedies.

15

His hatred for the senate was so fierce that he took particular pleasure in Vatinius, who kept always saying to him: “I hate you, Caesar, for being of senatorial rank.” — I have used the exact expression that he uttered. — Both the senators and all others were constantly subjected to the closest scrutiny in their entrances, their exits, their attitudes, their gestures, their outcries. The men that stuck constantly by Nero, listened attentively, made their applause distinct, were commended and honored: the rest were both degraded and punished, so that some, when they could endure it no longer (for they were frequently expected to be on the *qui vive* from early morning until evening), would feign to swoon and would be carried out of the theatres as if dead.

16

As an incidental labor connected with his sojourn in Greece he conceived a desire to dig a canal across the isthmus of the Peloponnesus, and he did begin the task. Men shrank from it, however, because, when the first workers touched the earth, blood spouted from it, groans and bellowings were heard, and many phantoms appeared. Nero himself thereupon grasped a mattock and by throwing up some of the soil fairly compelled the rest to imitate him. For this work he sent for a large number of men from other nations as well.

17

For this and other purposes he needed great sums of money; and as he was a promoter of great enterprises and a liberal giver and at the same time feared an attack from the persons of most influence while he was thus engaged, he destroyed many excellent men. Of most of these I shall omit any mention, merely saying that the stock complaint under which all of them were brought

before him was uprightness, wealth, and family: all of them either killed themselves or were slaughtered by others. I shall pause to consider only Corbulo and (of the Sulpicii Scribonii) Rufus and Proculus. These two deserve attention because they were in a way brothers and contemporaries, never doing anything separately but united in purpose and in property as they were in family: they had for a long time administered the affairs of the Germanies and had come to Greece at the summons of Nero, who affected to want something from them. A complaint of the kind which that period so prodigally afforded was lodged against them. They could obtain no hearing on the matter nor even get within sight of Nero; and as this caused them to be slighted by all persons without exception, they began to long for death and so met their end by slitting open their veins. — And I notice Corbulo, because the emperor, after giving him also a most courteous summons and invariably calling him (among other names) “father” and “benefactor,” then, as this general approached Cenchrea, commanded that he be slain before he had even entered his presence. Some explain this by saying that Nero was about to sing with zither accompaniment and could not endure the idea of being seen by Corbulo while he wore the long ungirded tunic. The condemned man, as soon as he understood the import of the order, seized a sword, and dealing himself a lusty blow exclaimed: “Your due!” Now for the first time in his career was he ready to believe that he had done ill both in sparing the zither-player and in going to him unarmed.

18

This is the substance of what took place in Greece. Does it add much to mention that Nero ordered Paris the dancer killed because he wished to learn dancing from him and was disappointed? Or that he banished Caecina Tuscus, governor of Egypt, for bathing in the tub that had been specially constructed for his coming visit to Alexandria?

In Rome about this same time Helius committed many acts of outrage. One of these was his killing of a distinguished man, Sulpicius Camerinus, together with his son; the complaint against them was that whereas they were called *Pythici* after some of their ancestors they would not abandon possession of this name, thus blaspheming Nero’s Pythian victories by the use of a similar title. — And when the Augustans offered to build a shrine to the emperor worth a thousand librae, the whole equestrian order was compelled to help defray the expense they had undertaken. — As for the doings of the senate, it would be a task to describe them all in detail. For so many sacrifices and days of thanksgiving were announced that the whole year would not hold them all.

19

Helius having for some time sent Nero repeated messages urging him to

return as quickly as possible, when he found that no attention was paid to them, went himself to Greece on the seventh day and frightened him by saying that a great conspiracy against him was on foot in Rome. This news made him embark at double quick rate. There was some hope of his perishing in a storm and many rejoiced, but to no purpose: he came safely to land. And cause for destroying some few persons was found in the very fact that they had prayed and hoped that he might perish.

A.D. 68 (a.u. 821)

20

So, when he marched into Rome, a portion of the wall was torn down and a section of the gates broken in, because some asserted that each of these ceremonies was customary upon the return of garlanded victors from the games. First entered men wearing the garlands which, had been won, and after them others with boards borne aloft on spears, upon which were inscribed the name of the set of games, the kind of contest, and a statement that "Nero Caesar first of all the Romans from the beginning of the world has conquered in it." Next came the victor himself on a triumphal car in which Augustus once had celebrated his many victories: he wore a vesture of purple sprinkled with gold and a garland of wild olive; he held in his hand the Pythian laurel. By his side in the vehicle sat Diodorus the Citharoedist. After passing in this manner through the hippodrome and through the Forum in company with the soldiers and the knights and the senate he ascended the Capitol and proceeded thence to the palace.

A.D. 68 (a.u. 821)

The city was all decked with garlands, was ablaze with lights and smoky with incense, and the whole population, — the senators themselves most of all, — kept shouting aloud: "Vah, Olympian Victor! Vah Pythian Victor! Augustus! Augustus! Hail to Nero the Hercules, hail to Nero the Apollo!! The one National Victor, the only one from the beginning of time! Augustus! Augustus! O, Divine Voice! Blessed are they that hear thee!" — Why should I employ circumlocutions instead of letting you see their very words? The actual expressions used do not disgrace my history: no, the concealment of none of them rather lends it distinction.

21

When he had finished these ceremonies, he announced a series of horse-races, and transferring to the hippodrome these crowns and all the rest that he had secured by victories in chariot racing, he put them about the Egyptian obelisk. The number of them was one thousand eight hundred and eight. After doing this he appeared as charioteer. — A certain Larcus, a Lydian, approached him with an offer of twenty-five myriads if he would play and sing for them. Nero would not take the money, disdaining to do anything for pay; and so

Tigillinus collected it, as the price of not putting Larcus to death. However, the emperor did appear on the stage with an accompanied song and he also gave a tragedy. In the equestrian contests he was seldom absent, and sometimes he would voluntarily let himself be defeated in order to make it more credible that he really won at other times.

Dio 62nd Book: "And he inflicted uncounted woes on many cities."

22

This was the kind of life Nero led, this was the way he ruled. I shall narrate also how he was put down and driven from his throne.

While Nero was still in Greece, the Jews revolted openly and he sent Vespasian against them. The inhabitants of Britain and of Gaul, likewise, oppressed by the taxes, experienced an even keener distress, which added fuel to the already kindled fire of their indignation.

— There was a Gaul named Gaius Julius Vindex [an Aquitanian] , descended from the native royal race and on his father's side entitled to rank as a Roman senator. He was strong of body, had an intelligent mind, was skilled in warfare and was full of daring for every enterprise. [He was to the greatest degree a lover of freedom and was ambitious; and he stood at the head of the Gauls.] Now this Vindex made an assembly of the Gauls, who had suffered much during the numerous forced levies of money, and were still suffering at Nero's hands. And ascending a tribunal he delivered a long and detailed speech against Nero, saying that they ought to revolt from the emperor and join him in an attack [upon him] ,— "because," said he, "he has despoiled the whole Roman world, because he has destroyed all the flower of their senate, because he debauched and likewise killed his mother, and does not preserve even the semblance of sovereignty. Murders, seizures and outrages have often been committed and by many other persons: but how may one find words to describe the remainder of his conduct as it deserves? I have seen, my friends and allies, — believe me, — I have seen that man (if he is a man, who married Sporus and was given in marriage to Pythagoras) in the arena of the theatre and in the orchestra, sometimes with the zither, the loose tunic, the cothurnus, sometimes with wooden shoes and mask. I have often heard him sing, I have heard him make proclamations, I have heard him perform tragedy. I have seen him in chains, I have seen him dragged about, pregnant, bearing children, going through all the situations of mythology, by speech, by being addressed, by being acted upon, by acting. Who, then, will call such a person Caesar and emperor and Augustus? Let no one for any consideration so abuse those sacred titles. They were held by Augustus and by Claudius. This fellow might most properly be termed Thyestes and Oedipus, Alcmeon and Orestes. These are the persons he represents on the stage and it is these titles that he has assumed rather than the others. Therefore now at length rise against him: come to the succor of yourselves and of the Romans; liberate the entire

Such words falling from the lips of Vindex met with entire approval from all. Vindex was not working to get the imperial office for himself but chose Servius Sulpicius Galba for that position: this man was distinguished for his upright behavior and knowledge of war, was governor of Spain, and had a not inconsiderable force. He was also nominated by the soldiers as emperor.

Rufus, governor of Germany, set out to make war on Vindex; but when he reached Vesontio he sat down to besiege the city, for the alleged reason that it had not received him. Vindex came against him to the aid of the city and encamped not far off. They then sent messages back and forth to each other and finally held a conference together at which no one else was present and made a mutual agreement, — against Nero, as it was thought. After this Vindex set his army in motion for the apparent purpose of occupying the town: and the soldiers of Rufus, becoming aware of their approach, and thinking the force was marching straight against them, set out without being ordered to oppose their progress. They fell upon the advancing troop while the men were off their guard and in disarray, and so cut down great numbers of them. Vindex seeing this was afflicted with so great grief that he slew himself. For he felt, besides, at odds with Heaven itself, in that he had not been able to attain his goal in an undertaking of so great magnitude, involving the overthrow of Nero and the liberation of the Romans.

This is the truth of the matter. Many afterwards inflicted wounds on his body, and so gave currency to the erroneous supposition that they had themselves killed him.

Rufus mourned deeply his demise, but refused to accept the office of emperor, although his soldiers frequently obtained it. He was an energetic man and had a large, wide-awake body of troops. His soldiers tore down and shattered the image of Nero and called their general Caesar and Augustus. When he would not heed them, one of the soldiers thereupon quickly inscribed these words on one of his standards. He erased the terms, however, and after a great deal of trouble brought the men to order and persuaded them to submit the question to the senate and the people. It is hard to say whether this was merely because he did not deem it right for the soldiers to bestow the supreme authority upon any one (for he declared this to be the prerogative of the senate and the people), or because he was entirely highminded and felt no personal desire for

the imperial power, to secure which others were willing to do everything.

[Nero was informed of the Vindex episode as he was in Naples viewing the gymnastic contest just after luncheon. He was naturally far from sorry, and leaping from his seat vied in prowess with some athlete. He did not hurry back to Rome but merely sent a letter to the senate, in which he asked them to regard leniently his non-arrival, because he had a sore throat, implying that when he did come he wanted to sing to them. And he continued to devote the same care and attention to his voice, to his songs, and to the zither tunes, not only just then but also subsequently: so he would not try a tone of his intended program. If he was at any time compelled by circumstances to make some exclamation, yet somebody, reminding him that he was to appear as citharoedist, would straightway check and control him.

It is stated that Nero having offered by proclamation two hundred and fifty myriads to the person who should kill Vindex, the latter when he heard of it remarked: "The person who kills Nero and brings his head to me may take mine in return." That was the sort of man Vindex was.

In general he still behaved in his accustomed manner and he was pleased with the news brought him because he had been expecting in any event to overcome Vindex and because he thought he had now secured a justifiable ground for money-getting and murders. He enjoyed the same degree of luxury; and upon the completion and adornment of the heroum of Sabina he gave it a brilliant dedication, taking care to have inscribed upon it: "The Women have built This to Sabina, the Goddess Venus." And the writing told the truth: for the building had been constructed with money of which a great part had been stolen from women. Also he had his numerous little jokes, of which I shall mention only one, omitting the rest.] One night he suddenly summoned in haste the foremost senators and knights, apparently to make some communication to them regarding the political situation. When they were assembled, he said: "I have discovered a way by which the water organ" — I must write exactly what he said — "will produce a greater and more harmonious volume of sound." Such were his jokes about this period. And little did he reckon that both sets of doors, those of the monument and those of the bedchamber of Augustus, opened of their own accord in one and the same night, or that at Albanum it rained so much blood that rivers of it flowed over the land, or that the sea retreated a good distance from Egypt and covered a large portion of Lycia.

But when he heard about Galba's being proclaimed emperor by the soldiers

and about the desertion of Rufus, he fell into great fear: he made preparations in person at Rome and he sent against the rebels Rubrius Gallus and some others.

On learning that Petronius, whom he had sent ahead against the rebels with the larger portion of the army, also favored the cause of Galba, Nero reposed no further hope in arms.

Being abandoned by all without exception he began forming plans to kill the senators, burn the city to the ground, and sail to Alexandria. He dropped this hint in regard to his future course: "Even though we be driven from our empire, yet this little artistic gift of ours shall support us there." To such a pitch of folly had he come as to believe that he could live for a moment as a private citizen and would be able to appear as a musician.

He was on the point of putting those measures into effect when the senate first withdrew the guard that surrounded Nero, then entered the camp, and declared Nero an enemy but chose Galba in his place as emperor.

But when he perceived that he had been deserted also by his body-guards (he happened to be asleep in some garden), he undertook to make his escape. Accordingly, he assumed shabby clothing and mounted a horse no better than his attire. Closely veiled he rode while it was yet night towards an estate of Phao, a Caesarian, in company with the owner of the place, and Epaphroditus and Sporus.

28

While he was on the way an extraordinary earthquake occurred, so that one might have thought the whole world was breaking apart and all the spirits of those murdered by him were leaping up to assail him. Being recognized, they say, in spite of his disguise by some one who met him he was saluted as emperor; consequently he turned aside from the road and hid himself in a kind of reedy place. There he waited till daylight, lying flat on the ground so as to run the least risk of being seen. Every one who passed he suspected had come for him; he started at every voice, thinking it to be that of some one searching for him: if a dog barked anywhere or a bird chirped, or a bush or twig was shaken by the breeze, he was thrown into a violent tremor. These sounds would not let him have rest, yet he dared not speak a word to any one of those that were with him for fear some one else might hear: but he wept and bewailed his fortune, considering among other things how he had once stood resplendent in the midst of so vast a retinue and was now dodging from sight in company with three freedmen. Such was the drama that Fate had now prepared for him, to the end that he should no longer represent all other matricides and beggars, but only himself at last. Now he repented of his haughty insolence, as if he could make one of his acts undone. Such was the

tragedy in which Nero found himself involved, and this verse constantly ran through his mind:

“Both spouse and father bid me pitiably die.”

After a long time, as no one was seen to be searching for him, he went over into the cave, where in his hunger he ate such bread as he had never before tasted and in his thirst drank water such as he had never drunk before. This gave him such a qualm that he said:

“So this is my famous frigid *decocta*.”

29

While he was in this plight the Roman people were going wild with delight and offering whole oxen in sacrifice. Some carried small liberty caps, and they voted to Galba the rights pertaining to the imperial office. For Nero himself they instituted a search in all directions and for some time were at a loss to know whither he could have betaken himself. When they finally learned, they sent horsemen to dispose of him. He, then, perceiving that they were drawing near, commanded his companions to kill him. As they refused to obey, he uttered a groan and said:

“I alone have neither friend nor foe.”

By this time the horsemen were close at hand, and so he killed himself, uttering that far-famed sentence:

“Jupiter, what an artist perishes in me!”

And as he lingered in his agony Epaphroditus dealt him a finishing stroke. He had lived thirty years and nine months, out of which he had ruled thirteen years and eight months. Of the descendants of Aeneas and of Augustus he was the last, as was plainly indicated by the fact that the laurels planted by Livia and the breed of white chickens perished somewhat before his death.

There was no one who might not hope to lay hands on the sovereignty in a time of so great confusion.

Rufus visited Galba and could obtain from him no important privileges, unless one reckons the fact that a man who had frequently been hailed as emperor was allowed to live. Among the rest of mankind, however, he had acquired a great name, greater than if he had accepted the sovereignty, for refusing to receive it.

Galba, now that Nero had been destroyed and the senate had voted him the imperial authority and Rufus had made advances to him, plucked up courage. However, He did not adopt the name “Caesar,” until envoys of the senate had

paid him a visit. Nor had he hitherto inscribed the name “emperor” in any document.

BOOK 64

Omens announcing Galba's sovereignty: his avarice: the insolence of freedmen, of Nymphidius, of Capito (chapters 1, 2).

His ferocious entrance into the city: punishment of the Neronians (chapter 3).

About the uprising of Vitellius against Galba (chapter 4).

L. Piso Caesar adopted by Galba: Otho usurps the sovereignty (chapter 5).

Death of Galba and Piso (chapter 6).

Otho assumes the sovereignty amid unfavorable auspices and flattery (chapters 7, 8).

Insolence of the soldiers: the Pseudo-Nero (chapter 9).

Battles between Otho and Vitellius at Cremona (chapters 10, 11).

Otho's speech to his soldiers (chapters 12, 13).

How Otho with his dagger took his own life (chapters 14, 15).

The rapacity of Valens (chapter 16).

DURATION OF TIME

C. Silius Italicus, Galerius Trachalus Turpilianus.
(A.D. 68 = a.u. 821, from the 9th of June).

Galba Caes. Aug. (II), T. Vinus.
(A.D. 69 = a.u. 822, to January 15 th).

A.D. 68 (a.u. 821)

Thus was Galba declared emperor just as Tiberius had foretold when he said to him: "You also shall have a little taste of sovereignty." The event was likewise foretold by unmistakable omens. He beheld in visions the Goddess of Fortune telling him that she had now stuck by him for a long time yet no one appeared ready to take her into his house; and if she should be barred out much longer she should take up her abode with some one else. During those very days also boats full of weapons and under the guidance of no human

being came to anchor off the coast of Spain. And a mule brought forth young, an occurrence which had been previously interpreted as destined to portend the possession of authority by him. Again, a boy that was bringing him incense in the course of a sacrifice suddenly had his hair turn gray; whereupon the seers declared that dominion over the younger generation should be given to his old age.

2

These, then, were the signs given beforehand that had a bearing on his sovereignty. Personally his conduct was in most ways moderate and he avoided giving offence since he bore in mind that he had not taken the emperor's seat but it had been given him; — indeed, he said so frequently: — unfortunately, he collected money greedily since his wants were numerous, though he spent comparatively little after all, bestowing upon some persons not even denarii but merely asses. His freedmen, however, committed a great number of wrongs, the responsibility for which was laid upon him. Ordinary individuals need only keep themselves from crime, but those who hold sovereign power must see to it that no dependent of theirs practices villany either. For it makes little difference to the ones who suffer wrong at whose hands they happen to be ill treated. Consequently, even though Galba abstained from inflicting injury, yet he was ill spoken of because he allowed these others to commit crimes, or at least was ignorant of what was taking place. Nymphidius and Capito, in particular, were allowed by him to run riot. For instance, Capito, when one day some one appealed a case from his jurisdiction, changed his seat hastily to a high chair near by and then cried out: “Now plead your case before Caesar!” He went through the form of deciding it and had the man put to death. Galba felt obliged to proceed against them for this.

3

As he drew near the City, the guards of Nero met him and asked that their organization be preserved intact. At first he was for postponing his decision and averred that he wanted to think the matter over. Since, however, they would not obey but kept up a clamor, the army submitted to them. As a consequence about seven thousand of his soldiers lost their lives and the guardsmen were decimated. This shows that even if Galba was bowed down with age and disease, yet his spirit was keen and he did not believe in an emperor's being compelled to do anything unwillingly. A further proof is that when the Pretorians asked him for the money which Nymphidius had promised them, he would not give it, but replied: “I am accustomed to levy soldiers, not to buy them.” And when the populace brought urgent pressure to bear on him to kill Tigillinus and some others who had before been wantonly insolent, he would not yield, though he would probably have disposed of them

had not their enemies made this demand. Helius, however, as well as Narcissus, Patrobius, Lucusta the poison merchant, and some others who had been active in Nero's day, he ordered to be carried in chains all over the city and afterwards to receive punishment. The slaves, likewise, who had been guilty of any act or speech detrimental to their masters were handed over to the latter for punishment.

Some disdained receiving their own slaves, wishing to be rid of rascally slaves.

Galba demanded the return of all moneys and objects of value which any persons had received from Nero. However, if anybody had been exiled by the latter on the charge of impiety towards the emperor, he restored him to citizenship; and he also transferred to the tomb of Augustus the bones of members of the imperial family who had been murdered, and he set up their images anew.

For this he was praised. On the other hand he was the victim of uproarious laughter for wearing a sword whenever he walked on the street, since he was so old and weak of sinew.

A.D. 69 (a.u. 822)

4

I shall relate also the circumstances of his death. The soldiers in Germany under control of Rufus became more and more excited because they could not obtain any favors from Galba; and, having failed to secure the object of their desire through the medium of Rufus, they sought to obtain it through somebody else. This they did. With Aulus Vitellius, governor of Lower Germany, at their head they revolted. All that they had in mind regarding him was the nobility of his birth, and they paid no attention to the fact that he had been a favorite of Tiberius and was a slave to the licentious habits of his former master; or perhaps they thought that on this very account he would suit their purpose all the better. Indeed, Vitellius himself deemed himself of so little account that he made fun of the astrologers and used their prediction as evidence against them, saying: "Certainly they know nothing who declare that I shall become emperor." Nero when he heard it also laughed, and felt such contempt for the fellow that he did not try to injure him.

5

Galba on being informed of his defection adopted Lucius Piso, a youth of good family, affable and prudent, and appointed him Caesar. At the same time Marcus Salvius Otho, angry because *he* had not been adopted by Galba, brought about once more a beginning of countless evils for the Romans. He

was always held in honor by Galba, so much so that on the day of the latter's death he was the only one of the senators to attend him at the sacrifice. And to him most of all was the catastrophe due. For when the diviner declared that Galba would be the victim of conspiracy and therefore urged him by no means to go abroad anywhere, Otho heard it, and hastening down immediately as if on some other errand was admitted within the wall by some few soldiers who were in the conspiracy with him. The next step was the winning over or rather the buying up of the rest, who were displeased at Galba, by means of many promises. From them he received the imperial office at once and later his claim was acknowledged by the others.

6

Galba on learning what was taking place thought he could bring the men into a better frame of mind and sent some emissaries to the camp for this purpose. Meanwhile a soldier holding aloft a bare blade covered with blood had approached him and said: "Be of good cheer, emperor: I have killed Otho, and no further danger awaits you." Galba, believing this, said to him: "And who ordered you to do that?" He himself started for the Capitol to offer sacrifice. As he reached the middle of the Roman Forum, horsemen and footsoldiers met him and then and there cut down in the presence of many senators and crowds of plebeians the old man, their consul, high priest, Caesar, emperor. After abusing his body in many ways they cut off his head and stuck it on a pole. — So he was struck by a javelin hurled into the very chair in which he was being carried, was wounded at the very moment he was bending forward from it, and only said: "Why, what harm have I done?" Sempronius Densus, a centurion, defended him as long as he was able, and finally, when he could accomplish nothing, let himself be slain with his sovereign. This is why I have included his name, for he richly deserves to be mentioned. Piso also was killed and numerous others, but not in aiding the emperor.

When the soldiers had done this, they cut off their heads, which they then carried to Otho (who was in the camp) and also into the senate-house; and the senators, though terror-stricken, affected to be glad.

Moreover, the senate voted him all the privileges pertaining to his office. He said that he had been forced to do as he did, had been brought within the walls against his will, and had actually risked his life after that by opposing the scheme. He regularly talked in a considerate manner and assumed a kindly expression and attitude; he threw kisses on his fingers to everybody and made many promises. But the fact did not escape men that his rule was sure to be more licentious and oppressive than Nero's. (Indeed, he had immediately applied to himself the latter's name). Galba had lived seventy-two years and twenty-three days, out of which he ruled nine months and thirteen days. Piso perished after him, making this atonement for having been appointed Caesar.

This was the end that befell Galba. But retribution was destined full soon enough to seek out Otho in his turn, as he at once learned. As he was offering his first sacrifice, the omens were seen to be unfavorable, so that he repented of what had been done and said: "What need was there of my playing on the long flutes?" This is a colloquial and proverbial expression that has reference to those who do anything out of their usual line. Later he was so disturbed in his sleep at night that he fell out of the bed and alarmed the guards who slept at the door. They rushed in and found him lying on the ground. Yet once he had entered upon the imperial office he could not put it off; and he remained in it and paid the penalty, in spite of many temperate acts intended to conciliate people. It was not particularly his nature to behave that way, but since on account of Vitellius his prospects were in a somewhat precarious state, he did not wish to alienate the bulk of the population.

8

Just at this time, to be sure, he annulled the sentences against some senators and granted various slight favors to others. By way of gaining the public approval he constantly frequented the theatres: he bestowed citizenship upon foreigners and made many other attractive announcements. Yet he did not succeed in winning the attachment of any one save a certain few, like himself. [For his restoration of the images of those under accusation and] his life and habits, his keeping Sporus as a companion and employing the rest of the Neronians, alarmed everybody.

9

They hated him most of all, however, because he had demonstrated the fact that the imperial office was for sale and had put the city in the power of the boldest spirits; likewise because he held the senate and the people in slight esteem and had impressed upon the soldiers also this idea, — that they could kill or again create a Caesar. Moreover, he had brought the soldiers into such a daring and lawless condition by his gifts and his immoderate attentions that one day they forced an entrance just as they were into the palace while a number of the senators were dining there with Otho. before departing they rushed into the banquet-room itself, killing those that strove to bar their progress. And they would have slaughtered everybody found there had not the guests jumped up and hid themselves prior to their irruption. For this behavior the men received money, it being assumed that their act was due to their liking for Otho.

About this time also a man was caught pretending to be Nero. His name was unknown to Dio. And at last he paid the penalty.

Otho, not succeeding by frequent invitations in persuading Vitellius to come and share the imperial office, eventually plunged into open war against him. And he sent soldiers whom he put in charge of several different leaders; this fact was largely responsible for his reverses.

Otho declined battle, saying that he could not see a battle fought between kindred, just as if he had become emperor in some legitimate fashion and had not killed the consuls and the Caesar and the emperor in Rome itself. There fell in the battles which took place near Cremona four myriads of men on both sides. Here, they say, various omens appeared before the battle, most noteworthy being an unusual bird, such as men had never before beheld, that was seen for a number of days.

11

After the forces of Otho had been worsted, a certain horseman brought word of the disaster to Otho. When the bystanders refused to credit his report — it chanced that there were many gathered there — and some set to calling him “renegade” and others “enemy,” he exclaimed: “Would that this news were false, Caesar: for most gladly would I have died to secure thy victory. As it is, my demise is determined, that no one may think I fled hither to secure my own safety. But do thou be assured that the enemy will ere long arrive, and debate what must be done.” Having finished these words, he despatched himself.

12

This act caused all to believe him, and they were ready to renew the conflict. Those present formed a numerous body and there were not a few others at hand from Pannonia. But the most important consideration, as usual in such cases, was that they loved Otho and were quite devoted to him, not in word but in their hearts. When, however, they besought him not to abandon either himself or them, he waited until the rest, at report of the news, had come running together, and then, after some muttered words to himself, he delivered to the soldiers a speech, from which the following is a brief excerpt:

13

“Enough, quite enough, has already been done. I hate a civil war, even though I conquer: and I love all Romans, even though they do not side with me. Let Vitellius be victor, since this has pleased the gods; and let the lives of his soldiers also be spared, since this pleases me. It is far better and more just that one should perish for all, rather than many for one, and that I should refuse on account of one single man to embroil the Roman people and cause so great a

mass of human beings to perish. I certainly should prefer to be a Mucius, a Decius, a Curtius, a Regulus, rather than a Marius, a Cinna, or a Sulla, — not to mention other names. Therefore do not force me to become one of these men I hate, nor grudge me the privilege of imitating one of those whom I commend. Do you depart to meet the conqueror and do him reverence. As for me, I shall find means to free myself, that all men may be taught by the event that you have chosen such an emperor as has not given you up to save himself but himself to save you.”

14

Of this nature were the words of Otho. Falling upon the ears of the soldiers they aroused both admiration of the man and pity for what might befall him: his troops shed tears of lamentation and mourning, calling him father and terming him dearer than children and parents. [“Upon thee our lives depend,” they said, “and for thee we will all die.”] This argument continued so for most of the day, Otho begging to be allowed to die and the soldiers refusing to permit him to carry out his wish. Finally, he reduced them to silence and said: “It can not be that I should show myself inferior to this soldier, whom you have seen kill himself for the single reason that he had borne news of defeat to his own emperor. I shall certainly follow in his footsteps, that I may cease to see or hear aught any longer. And you, if you love me in reality, let me die as I desire and do not compel me to live against my will, but take your way to the victor and gain his good graces.”

15

At the close of this speech he retired into his apartments and after sending some messages to his intimate friends and some to Vitellius in their behalf he burned all the letters which anybody had written to him containing hostile statements about Vitellius, not wanting them to serve as damaging evidence against anybody. Then he called each one of the persons that were at hand, greeted them, and gave them money. Meantime there was a disturbance made by the soldiers, so that he was obliged to go out and quiet them, and he did not come back until he had sent them to a place of safety, some here, some there. So then, when quiet had been permanently restored, taking a short sword he killed himself. The grief-stricken soldiery took up his body and buried it, and some slew themselves upon his grave. This was the end that befell Otho, after he had lived thirty-seven years lacking eleven days and had reigned ninety days, and it overshadowed the impiety and wickedness of his active career. In life the basest of men he died most nobly. He had seized the empire by the most villainous trick, but took leave of it most creditably.

A series of brawls among the soldiers immediately ensued, and a number of them were slain by one another; afterwards they reached an agreement and set out to meet the victorious party.

Valens was so eager for money and gathered it so assiduously from every source that he put to death the decurion, who had concealed him and had saved his life, on account of a thousand denarii which he thought had been purloined from his possessions.

BOOK 65

Vitellius is proclaimed emperor: feasts his eyes on gladiators and slaughters: drives astrologers from Italy (chapter 1).

Vitellius's excess in banquets, in his home, in furniture, in his almost absurd magnificence (chapters 2, 3, 4, 5).

Praiseworthy points in his character (chapters 6, 7).

Portents of ill omen: the soldiers declare Vespasian emperor (chapter 8).

Mucianus is sent by Vespasian against Vitellius: Primus of his own accord takes the lead against Vitellius (chapter 9).

Alienus, put in charge of the war by Vitellius, is the author of a desertion, but is in turn seized by his followers, who change their minds (chapter 10).

The adherents of Vitellius are conquered in battle (chapters 11, 12, 13, 14).

Catastrophe befalls the dwellers in Cremona (chapter 15).

Wavering on the part of Vitellius: the Capitol is burned in the course of a siege by Sabinus (chapters 16, 17).

Disaster to the city of Rome, taken by Vespasian's captains (chapters 18, 19).

How Vitellius was taken and perished (chapters 20, 21).

How a brother and son of Vitellius met their fate (chapter 22).

DURATION OF TIME

(Galba (II) and T. Vinius Coss).:

A.D. 69 = a.u. 822, from January 15th.

The following *Consules Suffecti* took office:

On the Calends of March — T. Virginius Rufus, Vopiscus Pompeius.

On the Calends of May — Caelius Sabinus, T. Flavins Sabinus.

On the Calends of July — T. Arrius Antoninus, P. Marius Celsus (II).

On the Calends of September — C. Fabius Valens, A. Alienus Caecinna (also Roscius Regulus, as Caecinna was condemned on the last day of October).

A.D. 69 (a.u. 822)

1

The population of Rome when it heard of the downfall of Otho naturally transferred its allegiance immediately. Otho, whom people previously praised and for whose victory they prayed, they now abused as an enemy, and Vitellius, upon whom they had been invoking curses, they praised and declared emperor. So truly there is nothing constant in human affairs. Those who flourish most and those who are lowliest alike choose unstable standards, and construct their praises and their censures, their honors and their degradations to conform to the accidents of their situation.

News of the death of Otho was brought to him [Vitellius] while in Gaul. There he was joined by his wife and child, whom he placed on a platform and saluted as Germanicus and emperor, though the boy was only six years old.

[Vitellius witnessed gladiatorial combats at Lugdunum and again at Cremona, as if the crowds of men who had perished in the battles and were even then exposed unburied to the elements did not suffice. He beheld the slain with his own eyes, for he traversed all the ground where they lay and gloated over the spectacle as if he were still in the moment of victory; and not even after that did he order them to be buried.] Upon reaching Rome and adjusting affairs to suit him, he issued a bulletin banishing the astrologers and commanding them by this particular day (mentioning a given date) to leave the whole country of Italy. They by night put up in turn another document, in which they announced that he should lose his life by the day on which he actually died. So accurate was their previous knowledge of what should come to pass.

2

Vitellius was fond of luxury and licentiousness and cared for nothing else human or divine. He had always been the kind of man that would spend his time in taverns and gaming houses, over dancers and charioteers. Incalculable were the sums he spent on such pursuits, and the consequence was that he had many creditors. Now, when he attained to so great authority, his wantonness only increased, and his expenditures went on most of the day and night alike. He was insatiate in filling himself, yet kept constantly vomiting what he ate, apparently living on the mere passage of food. Yet that was what enabled him to hold out; for his fellow banqueters fared very badly. [He was always inviting numbers of the foremost men to his table and he was frequently entertained at their houses.]

On this point one of them, Vibius Crispus, was the author of a most witty remark. Having been compelled for some days by sickness to absent himself from the convivial board, he said: "If I had not fallen ill, I should certainly have died." The entire period of his reign consisted in nothing but carousals and revels. All the most valuable food products were brought together from the ocean itself (not to go farther) from the earth and from the Mediterranean, and were prepared in so costly a fashion that even now some cakes and other dishes are named Vitellian, after him. Why should one go into the details of these affairs? It is admitted by quite everybody that during the period of his reign he expended on dinners two hundred million two thousand five hundred denarii. There came very near being a famine in all costly articles of food, yet it was imperative that they should be provided. Once he had a dish made that cost twenty-five myriads, into which he put a mixture of tongues and brains and livers of fish and certain kinds of birds. As it was impossible to make so large a vessel of pottery, it was made of silver and remained extant for some time, regarded somewhat in the light of a votive offering, until Hadrian finally set eyes on it and had it melted down.

Since I have mentioned this fact, I will also add another, namely that not even Nero's Golden House would satisfy Vitellius. He delighted in and commended the name and the life and all the practices of its former owner, yet he found fault with the structure itself, saying that it had been badly built and was scantily and meanly equipped. When he fell ill one time he looked about for a room to afford him an abode; so little did even Nero's surroundings satisfy him. His wife Galeria ridiculed the small amount of decoration found in the royal apartments. This pair, as they spent other people's money, never stopped to count the cost of anything; but those who invited them to meals found themselves in great trouble [save a few whom he compensated for it]. Yet the same persons would not regularly entertain him the entire day, but one set of men furnished breakfast, another lunch, another dinner, and still another certain viands for dessert calculated to stimulate a jaded appetite. [For all who were able were eager to entertain him.] It is said that after the elapse of a few days he spent a hundred myriads upon a dinner. [His birthday celebration lasted over two days and numbers of beasts and of men were slain.]

[The character of Vitellius, being such as I have described, did not serve to promote temperance on the part of the soldiers, but numerous instances of their wantonness and licentiousness were everywhere at hand.]

Vitellius ascended the Capitol and greeted his mother. She was a sensible

woman, and when she first heard that her son had been given the name Germanicus, she said: "My child was Vitellius and not Germanicus."

5

Vitellius, however, furnished many with material for amusement. They could not restrain their laughter when they beheld wearing a solemn face in the public processions a man whom they knew to have played the strumpet — or saw mounted on a royal steed and clad in a purple riding-habit him who wore, as they were well aware, the Blue costume and curried the race-horses — or viewed ascending the Capitol with so great a crowd of soldiers him whom previously no one could catch a glimpse of even in the Forum because of his throngs of creditors — or gazed at him receiving the adoration of all, whom once nobody liked very well even to kiss. Indeed, those who had lent him anything had laid hold of him when he started out for Germany and would scarcely release him after he had given security. Now, however, so far from laughing at him the same men mourned and hid themselves. But he sought them out, telling them he spared their lives as an equivalent of the debt he owed, and he demanded back his contracts.

6

[Though his life was of this kind he was not entirely without good deeds. For example, he retained the coinage minted under Nero and Galba and Otho, evincing no displeasure at their images; and whatever gifts had been bestowed upon any persons he held to be valid and deprived no one of any such possession. He did not collect any sums still owing of former public contributions, and he confiscated no one's property. A very few of those who sided with Otho he put to death but did not withhold even the property of these from their relatives. Upon the kinsmen of those previously executed he bestowed all the funds that were found in the public treasury. He did not obstruct the execution of the wills of such as had fought against him and had fallen in the battles. Furthermore he forbade the senators and the knights to fight as gladiators or to appear in any spectacle in the orchestra. And for these measures he was commended.]

7

He was a constant attendant of the theatres, and this won the attachment of the populace. He ate with the most influential men on free and easy terms, and this gained their favor to an even greater degree. His old companions he never failed to remember and honored them greatly, not (like some others) disdaining to appear to recognize any of them. Many persons have unexpectedly attained to great power feel hate for those who are acquainted with their former humble state. [Vitellius, when Priscus opposed him in the

senate and denounced one of the soldiers, called the tribunes to his side as if he had some need of their assistance. He did not himself do Priscus any harm and did not allow the officials to hurt him, but merely said: "Be not indignant, Conscript Fathers, that we two out of your number have had a little dispute with each other." This act seemed to have been due to a kindly disposition. The fact, however, that he wished to imitate Nero and offered sacrifices to his Manes, and that he spent so great sums on dinners, though it caused joy to some, made the sensible grieve, since they were fully aware that not all the money in the whole world would be sufficient for him.]

8

While he was behaving in this way, evil omens occurred. A comet star was seen, and the moon contrary to precedent appeared to have had two eclipses, being obscured by shadows on the fourth and on the seventh day. Also people saw two suns at once, one in the west weak and pale, and one in the east brilliant and powerful. On the Capitol many huge footprints were seen, presumably of some spirits that had descended that hill. The soldiers who had slept there the night in question said that the temple of Jupiter had opened of itself with great clangor and some of the guards were so terrified that they expired. At the same time that this happened Vespasian, engaged in warfare with the Jews, [sent his son Titus to the emperor Galba to give him a message. But when Titus returned, having learned on the way] of the rebellion of Vitellius and of Otho, he deliberated what ought to be done. [For Vespasian was in general not rashly inclined and he hesitated very much about involving himself in such troublous affairs.]

9

But people favored him greatly: his reputation won in Britain, his fame derived from the war under way, his kindheartedness and prudence, all led them to desire to have him at their head. Likewise Mucianus urged him strongly, hoping that Vespasian should get the name of emperor and that he as a result of the other's good nature should enjoy an equal share of power. Vespasian's soldiers on ascertaining all these facts surrounded his tent and hailed him as emperor. Portents and dreams pointing him out as sovereign long before had also fallen to the lot of Vespasian, and these will be recited in the story of his life. For the time being he sent Mucianus to Italy against Vitellius, while he himself, after taking a look at affairs in Syria and entrusting to others the conduct of the war against the Jews, proceeded to Egypt. There he collected money, of which of course he needed a great deal, and grain, which he desired to send in as large quantities as possible to Rome. The soldiers in Moesia, hearing how matters stood with him, would not wait for Mucianus, — they had learned that he was *en route*, — and chose as their general Antonius Primus, who had suffered sentence of exile in Nero's reign

but had been restored by Galba and was commander of the legion in Pannonia. This man held supreme authority, although not chosen by the emperor nor by the senate. So great was the soldiers' anger at Vitellius and their zest for plunder. They were doing this for no other purpose except to pillage Italy. And their intention was realized.

10

Vitellius when he heard about it remained where he was and went on with his luxurious living even to the extent of arranging gladiatorial combats. In the course of these it was proposed that Sporus portray the role of a maiden being ravished, but he would not endure the shame and committed suicide. Vitellius gave the charge of the war to Alienus and certain others. Alienus reached Cremona and occupied the town, but seeing that his own soldiers were out of training as a result of their luxurious life in Rome and impaired by lack of practice, whereas the others were physically well exercised and stout of heart, he was afraid. Subsequently, when friendly proposals came to him from Primus, he called the soldiers together and by indicating the weakness of Vitellius and the strength of Vespasian together with the character of the two men he persuaded them to revolt. Then they removed the images of Vitellius from their standards and took an oath that they would be governed by Vespasian. But, after the meeting had broken up and they had retired to their tents, they changed their minds and suddenly gathering excitedly in force with great outcry they again saluted Vitellius as emperor and imprisoned Alienus for having betrayed them, and they paid no heed to his consular office. Such are the regular practices of civil wars.

11

The great confusion which under these conditions prevailed in the camp of Vitellius was increased that night by an eclipse of the moon. It was not so much its being obscured (though even such phenomena cause fear to men in excitement) as the fact that the luminary appeared both blood-colored and black and reflected still other terrifying shades. Not for this, however, would the men change their attitude or yield: but when they encountered each other they contended most vigorously, although, as I said, the Vitellians were leaderless; for Alienus had been imprisoned at Cremona.

On the following day, when Primus through messengers tried to induce them to come to terms, the soldiers of Vitellius sent a return message to him urging that he espouse the cause of Vitellius. When, moreover, they joined battle with his soldiers they contended most vigorously. The battle was not the result of any concerted plan. Some few horsemen, as often happens when two forces are encamped opposite each other, were out foraging in front of the others and suddenly made an attack. After that reinforcements came from both armies to

each of the two parties in whatever order the troops happened to become aware of the situation, — first to one side, then to the other, now of one kind of fighting force, now of another, infantry or cavalry: and the conflict was marked by vicissitudes until all had hastened to the front. Then they got into some kind of regular formation and carried on the struggle with some order even though leaderless. Alienus, as you remember, had been imprisoned.

12

From this point on the battle between them was a well matched and evenly balanced affair, not only during the day but at night as well. For the coming of night did not separate them. They were thoroughly angry and determined, although they were acquainted with each other and talked back and forth. Hence not hunger nor fatigue nor cold nor darkness nor wounds nor deaths nor the remains of men that fell on this field before [nor the memory of the disaster nor the number of those that perished to no purpose] mitigated their fierceness. Such was the madness that possessed both sides alike [and so eager were they, incited by the very memories of the spot, which made one party resolved to conquer this time also, and the other not to be conquered this time either. So they fought as against foreigners instead of kindred, and as if all on both sides were absolutely obliged either to perish at once or thereafter to be slaves. Therefore, not even when night came on, as I stated, would they yield; but though tired out and for that reason often resting and indulging in conversation together, they nevertheless continued to struggle] . As often as the moon shone out (it was constantly being concealed by [numerous] clouds [of all shapes that kept passing in front of it]), one might see them sometimes fighting, sometimes

13

standing and leaning on their spears, sometimes sitting down. Now and then they would shout in unison on one side the name of Vespasian and on the other that of Vitellius, and again they would challenge each other with abuse and praise of the two men. At intervals one soldier would have a private chat with an opponent:— “Comrade, fellow-citizen, what are we doing? Why are we fighting? Come over to my side.” “Oh, no, you come to my side.” But what is there surprising about this, considering that when the women of the city in the course of the night brought food and drink to give to the soldiers of Vitellius, the latter after eating and drinking themselves passed the supplies on to their antagonists? One of them would call out the name of his adversary (for they practically all knew one another and were well acquainted) and would say: “Comrade, take and eat this. I give you not a sword, but bread. Take and drink: I hold toward you not a shield but a cup. For whether you kill me or I you, this will afford us a more comfortable leave-taking, and will save from feebleness and weakness the hand with which either you cut me down or

I you. These are the consecrated offerings that Vitellius and Vespasian give us while we are yet alive, that they may sacrifice us to the corpses of the past.” That would be the style of their conversation, after which they would rest a while, eat a bit, and then renew the battle. Soon they would stop again, and then once more join in conflict.

14

It went on this way the whole night through till dawn broke. At that time two men of the Vespasian party wrought a notable achievement. Their side was being severely damaged by an engine of some sort, and these two, seizing shields from among the spoils of the Vitellian faction, mingled with the opposing ranks, and made their way to the engine without its being noticed that they did not belong to that side. Thus they managed to cut the ropes of the affair, so that not another missile could be discharged from it. As the sun was rising the soldiers of the third legion, called the Gallic, that wintered in Syria but was now by chance in the party of Vespasian, suddenly according to custom saluted the Sun God. The followers of Vitellius, suspecting that Mucianus had arrived, underwent a revulsion of feeling, and panic-stricken at the shout took to flight. (Another instance of how the smallest things can produce great alarm in men who are completely tired out). They retired within the wall, from which they stretched forth their hands and made supplications. As no one listened to them, they released the consul, and, having arrayed him in his robe of office with the fasces, then sent him as an intercessor. Thus they obtained a truce, for Alienus because of his rank and the way he had been treated easily persuaded Primus to accept their submission.

15

When, however, the gates were opened and an amnesty had been declared for all, suddenly soldiers came rushing in from all directions and began plundering and setting fire to everything. This catastrophe proved to be one of the greatest recorded. The city was distinguished for the size and beauty of its buildings, and great sums of money belonging to natives and to strangers had been accumulated there. The larger portion of the harm was done by the Vitellians, since they knew exactly which were the houses of the richest men and all about the entrances on the alleys. They showed no scruples about destroying the persons in whose behalf they had fought, but dealt blows, committed murder, and acted as if it were they who had been wronged and had conquered. Thus, counting those that fell in battle, five myriads perished altogether.

16

Vitellius, on learning of the defeat, was for a time quite disturbed. Omens had

contributed to make him uneasy. He had been offering a certain sacrifice, and after it was addressing the soldiers, when a lot of vultures swooped down, scattered the sacred meats, and nearly knocked him from the platform. Accordingly, the news of the defeat troubled him still more, and he quietly sent his brother to Tarracina, a strong city, which the latter occupied. But when the generals of Vespasian approached Rome he became alarmed and took his departure. He did nothing and formed no plan, but in a state of terror was carried back and forth on the billows of chance. One moment he was for clinging to the sovereignty and he was making definite preparations for warfare: the next he was quite willing to give it up and was definitely getting ready to live as a private person. At times he wore the purple chlamys and girded on a sword: again he assumed dark colored clothing. His public addresses both in the palace and in the Forum were now of one tenor, now of another, first urging battle and next terms of peace. At times he was inclined to surrender himself for the public welfare, and later he would clasp his child in his arms, kiss him, and hold him out to the people as if to arouse their pity. Similarly he would dismiss the Pretorians and then send for them again, would leave the palace to retire to his brother's house and then return: in this way he dulled the enthusiasm of almost everybody interested in him. Seeing him dashing hither and thither so frenziedly they ceased to carry out commands with their usual diligence, and began to consider their own interests as well as his. They ridiculed him a great deal, especially when in the assemblies he proffered his sword to the consuls and to the senators present as if to show that by this act he had divested himself of the imperial office. No one of the above persons dared to take it, and the bystanders jeered.

17

In view of these conditions, when Primus at last drew near, the consuls, Gaius Quintius Atticus and Gnaeus Caecilius Simplex, together with Sabinus (a relative of Vespasian) and the other foremost men held a consultation, the result of which was that they set out for the palace in company with the soldiers that favored their cause, intending to either persuade or force Vitellius to resign his position as emperor. They encountered, however, the Celtae who were guarding him, and getting decidedly the worst of the encounter they fled to the Capitol. Arrived there they sent for Domitian, son of Vespasian, and his relatives, and put themselves in a state of defence. The following day, when their adversaries assailed them, they managed for a time to repulse them; but when the environs of the Capitol were set on fire, its defenders were beaten back by the flame. In this way the soldiers of Vitellius forced their way up, slaughtered many of the resisting party, and after plundering the whole stock of votive offerings burned down with other structures the great temple. Sabinus and Atticus they arrested and sent them to Vitellius. Domitian and the junior Sabinus had made their escape from the Capitol at the first noise of conflict and by concealing themselves in houses had succeeded in eluding

Those soldiers of Vespasian that were led by Quintus Petilius Cerialis (one of the foremost senators and a relative of Vespasian by marriage) and by Antonius Primus — for Mucianus had not yet overtaken them — were by this time close at hand, and Vitellius fell into the depths of terror. The oncoming leaders through the medium of certain messengers and by placing their letters in coffins with dead bodies, in baskets full of fruit, or the reed traps of bird-catchers, learned all that was being done in the city and formed their plans accordingly. Now, when they saw the blaze rising from the Capitol as from a beacon, they made haste. The first of the two to approach the city with his cavalry was Cerialis, [and he was defeated at the very entrance by being cut off with horsemen in a narrow spot. However, he prevented any harm being done by his opponents. For Vitellius, hoping that his proved superiority would afford him an opportunity to make terms, restrained his soldiers] . And having convened the senate he sent envoys chosen from that body together with the vestal virgins to Cerialis as envoys.

Since no one would listen to them and they came very near losing their lives, the emissaries visited Primus, who was also at last approaching; from him they secured an audience, but accomplished nothing. For at this juncture his soldiers came angrily toward him and overcame with ease the guard at the Tiber bridge. (When the latter took their stand upon it and disputed their passage, the horsemen forded the stream and fell upon them from the rear). After this various bodies of men made assaults at various points and committed some of the most atrocious deeds. All the behavior for which they censured Vitellius and his followers, behavior which they pretended was the cause of the war between them, they themselves repeated, slaying great numbers. Many of those killed were struck with pieces of tiling from the roof or cut down in alleyways while jostled about by a throng of adversaries. Thus as many as fifty thousand human beings were destroyed during those days of carnage.

So the city was being pillaged, and the men were some fighting, some fleeing, some actually plundering and murdering by themselves in order that they might be taken for the invaders and so preserve their lives. Vitellius in dread put on a ragged, dirty, little tunic and concealed himself in an obscure alcove where dogs were kept, intending to run off during the night to Tarracina and join his brother. But the soldiers found him after a short search, for he could

not long be sure of remaining hid, seeing that he had been emperor. They seized him, a mass of shavings and blood — for the dogs had done him some harm already — and stripping off his clothes they bound his hands behind his back, put a rope around his neck and dragged from the palace the Caesar who had reveled there. Down the Sacred Way they hauled the emperor who had frequently paraded past in his chair of state. Then they conducted the Augustus to the Forum, where he had often addressed the people. Some buffeted him, some plucked at his beard, all ridiculed him, all insulted him, laying especial stress in their remarks on his intemperance, since he had an expansive paunch.

21

When in shame at this treatment he kept his eyes lowered, the soldiers would prick him under the chin with their daggers, to make him look up even against his will. A certain Celt who saw this would not endure it, but taking pity on him cried: “I will help you, as well as I can alone.” Then he wounded Vitellius and killed himself. However, Vitellius did not die of the wound but was haled to the prison, as were also his statues, while many amusing and many disgraceful remarks were made about them. Finally, grieved to the heart at the way he had been treated and what he was compelled to hear, he was heard to exclaim: “Yet I was once your emperor!” At that the soldiers flew into a rage and took him to the top of the *Scalae Gemoniae*, where they struck him down. His head was cut off and carried about all over the city.

22

Subsequently his wife saw to his burial. He had lived fifty-four years [and eighty-nine days] and had reigned for a year lacking ten days. His brother had started from Tarracina to come to his assistance, but learned while *en route* that he was dead. He also encountered a detachment of men sent against him and made terms with them on condition that his life should be spared. In spite of this he was murdered not long afterward. The son of Vitellius, too, perished soon after his father, notwithstanding that Vitellius had killed no relative either of Otho or of Vespasian. After all these various events had taken place, Mucianus came up and administered necessary details in conjunction with Domitian, whom he also presented to the soldiers and had him make a speech, boy though he was. Each of the soldiers received twenty-five denarii.

BOOK 66

Vespasian is made Emperor: is also designated as such by portents (chapter 1).

The arrogance of Mucianus and Domitian (chapter 2).

Revolt of the Germans (chapter 3).

About the taking of Jerusalem by Titus (chapters 4, 5, 6, 7).

Vespasian levies money in Egypt (chapter 8).

He treats the Romans considerately: drives philosophers from the capital (chapters 9, 10, 11, 12, 13).

He gathers money by the efforts of his concubine Caenis, as well as by his own (chapter 14).

The Temple of Peace and the Colossus are erected: Berenice is dismissed: the Cynics are punished (chapter 15).

The punishment of Julius Sabinus: likewise of the conspirators, Alienus and Marcellus (chapter 16).

How Vespasian met his death (chapter 17).

The mildness of character of Titus Caesar Augustus (chapters 18, 19).

War in Britain, which is ascertained to be an island (chapter 20).

How Mount Vesuvius flamed forth: conflagration at Rome (chapters 21, 22, 23, 24).

Spectacles: death of Titus (chapters 25, 26).

DURATION OF TIME

Fl. Vespasianus Aug. (II), Titus Caesar.

(A.D. 70 = a.u. 823 = Second of Vespasian, from July 1st).

Fl. Vespasianus Aug. (III), M. Cocceius Nerva.

(A.D. 71 = a.u. 824 = Second of Vespasian).

Fl. Vespasianus Aug. (IV), Titus Caesar (II).

(A.D. 72 = a.u. 825 = Third of Vespasian).

Domitianus Caesar (II), M. Valerius Messalinus.
(A.D. 73 = a.u. 826 = Fourth of Vespasian).

Fl. Vespasianus Aug. (V), Titus Caesar (III).
(A.D. 74 = a.u. 827 = Fifth of Vespasian).

Fl. Vespasianus Aug. (VI), Titus Caesar (IV).
(A.D. 75 = a.u. 828 = Sixth of Vespasian).

Fl. Vespasianus (VII), Titus Caesar (V).
(A.D. 76 = a.u. 829 = Seventh of Vespasian).

Fl. Vespasianus (VIII), Titus Caesar (VI).
(A.D. 77 = a.u. 830 = Eighth of Vespasian).

L. Ceionius Commodus, D. Novius Priscus.
(A.D. 78 = a.u. 831 = Ninth of Vespasian).

Fl. Vespasianus (IX), Titus Caesar (VII).
(A.D. 79 = a.u. 832 = First of Titus, from June 23rd).

T. Vespasianus (VIII), Domitianus (VII).
(A.D. 80 = a.u. 833 = Second of Titus).

L. Fl. Silva Nonius Bassus, Asinius Pollio Verrucosus.
(A.D. 81 = a.u. 834 = Third of Titus, to September 13th).

A.D. 70 (a.u. 823)

1

Such was the course of events on the heels of which Vespasian was declared emperor by the senate and Titus and Domitian were given the title of Caesars. The consular office was assumed by Vespasian and Titus while the former was in Egypt and the latter in Palestine. Vespasian had seen portents and dreams that long beforehand indicated that he was destined to rule. As he was eating dinner in the country, where most of his time was spent, a cow approached him, knelt down, and put her head beneath his feet. Another time, when he was taking food, a dog threw a human hand under the table. And a conspicuous cypress tree, which had been uprooted and overthrown by a violent wind, on the next day stood upright again by its own power and continued to flourish. From a dream he learned that when Nero Caesar should lose a tooth, he should be emperor: and this matter of the tooth became a reality on the following day. Nero himself in his slumbers thought he was bringing the chariot of Jupiter to Vespasian's house. These occurrences, of course, needed interpretation. But in addition a Jew named Josephus, who had

previously been disliked by him and imprisoned, gave a laugh and said: "You may imprison me now, but a year later when you become emperor you will release me."

2

Thus had Vespasian, like some others, been born for the position. While he was as yet absent in Egypt Mucianus administered all the details of government with the help of Domitian. Mucianus feeling that he had himself given the sovereignty to Vespasian exulted greatly at these facts above all, — that he was called "brother" by him, and that he had authority to decide every question that he liked without the emperor's express approval and could issue written orders by merely adding his superior's name. For this purpose, too, he wore a finger ring that had been sent him, which was intended to impress the imperial seal upon documents requiring authorization. [Indeed, Domitian himself gave offices and procuratorships to many persons, appointing prefect after prefect and even consuls.] In fine, they behaved in every way so much like absolute rulers that Vespasian once sent the following message to Domitian: "I thank you, my child, for letting me hold office and that you have not yet dethroned me."

Now Mucianus gathered into the public treasury from every possible quarter vast sums of money, showing an entire readiness to relieve Vespasian of the censure which such a proceeding caused. He was forever declaring that money was the sinews of sovereignty; and in accordance with this belief he was constantly urging Vespasian to obtain funds from every quarter, and for his own part he continued from the outset to collect revenue, thus providing a large amount of money for the empire and acquiring a large amount himself.

3

In Germany various uprisings against the Romans took place which are not worth mentioning for my purposes, but there was one incident that must cause us surprise. A certain Julius Sabinus, one of the foremost of the Lingones, collected by his own efforts a separate force and took the name of Caesar, declaring that he was a descendant of Julius Caesar. He was defeated in several engagements, whereupon he fled to a field and plunged into a subterranean vault beneath a monument, which he first burned to the ground. His pursuers thought he had perished in the conflagration, but as a matter of fact he hid himself there with his wife for nine years and had two male children by her. The troubles in Germany were settled by Cerialis in the course of a number of battles, in one of which so great a multitude of Romans and barbarians both were slain that the river flowing near by was held back by the bodies of the fallen. Domitian stood in fear of his father because of what he did and still more because of what he intended, for his plans were on no

small scale. He happened to be spending most of his time near the Alban Mount, devoting himself to his passion for Domitia, the daughter of Corbulo. Her he took away from her husband, Lucius Lamia Aelianus, and at this time he had her for one of his mistresses, but later he actually married her.

4

Titus, who was assigned to take charge of the war with the Jews, [undertook to win them over by certain conferences and offers; as they would not yield, he proceeded to direct hostilities. The first battles he fought were rather close; finally he prevailed and took up the siege of Jerusalem. This town had three walls including that surrounding the temple. The Romans accordingly heaped up mounds against the fortifications and brought their engines to bear: then collecting in a dense force they repulsed all sallying parties and with their slings and arrows kept back all the defenders of the wall. Many persons that had been sent by some of the barbarian kings they kept prisoners. The Jews who came to the assistance of their countrymen were many of them from the immediate region and many from kindred districts, not only in this same Roman empire but from beyond the Euphrates, and they, too, kept directing missiles and stones with considerable force on account of the higher ground, some being flung from the hand and some hurled by means of engines. They likewise made night and day sallies as often as occasion offered, set fire to the engines, slew numerous combatants, and by digging out under the wall took away earth from beneath the mound. As for the rams, they lassoed some of them and broke the ends off, others they seized and pulled up with hooks, while by means of thick boards well fastened together and strengthened with iron, which they let down against the face of the wall, they turned aside the assaults of the remainder. The Romans' chief cause of discomfort was the lack of water; their supply was of poor quality and had to be brought from a distance.

The Jews found their underground passages a source of strength. They had these affairs dug from within the city out under the walls to distant points in the country, and going out through them they would attack parties in search of water and harass scattered detachments. Consequently Titus stopped them all up.]

5

In the course of these operations many on both sides were wounded and killed. Titus himself was struck on the left shoulder by a stone, and as a result of this accident the arm was always weaker. After a time the Romans managed to scale the outside circle, and, pitching their camps between the two encompassing lines of fortification, assaulted the second wall. Here, however, they found the conditions confronting them to be different. When all the

inhabitants had retired behind the second wall, its defence proved an easier matter because the circuit to be guarded was so much less. Titus, accordingly, made anew a proclamation offering them immunity. They, however, even under these circumstances held out. And the captives and deserters from the enemy so far as they could do so unobserved spoiled the Roman water supply and slew many men that they could cut off from the main force, so that Titus refused to receive any of them. Meantime some of the Romans, too, growing disheartened, as often happens in a prolonged siege, and furthermore suspecting that the city was really, even as report declared, impregnable, went over to the other side. The Jews although they were short of food treated them kindly, in order to be able to exhibit deserters to their own ranks.

6

Though a breach in the wall was effected by engines, still the capture did not immediately follow; the defenders killed great numbers that tried to crowd through the opening. Next they set fire to some of the buildings near by, expecting in this way to check the onward progress of the Romans, even should the latter make themselves masters of the entire circuit. In this way they damaged the wall and unintentionally burned down the barrier encompassing their sacred precinct. The entrance to the temple was now laid open to the Romans. The soldiers on account of their superstition would not immediately rush in, but at last, as Titus forced them, they made their way inside. Then the Jews carried on a defence much more vigorous than before, as if they had discovered a rare and unexpected privilege in falling near the temple, while fighting to save it. The populace was stationed in the outer court, the senators on the steps, and the priests in the hall of worship itself. And though they were but a handful fighting against a far superior force they were not subdued until a section of the temple was fired. Then they went to meet death willingly, some letting themselves be pierced by the swords of the Romans, some slaughtering one another, others committing suicide, and others leaping into the blaze. It looked to everybody, and most of all to them, apparently, [that so far from being ruin, it was victory and salvation and happiness to perish along with the temple] .

7

Even under these conditions many captives were taken, among them Bargiora, the commander of the enemy: he was the only one punished in the course of the triumphal celebration.

Thus was Jerusalem destroyed on the very day of Saturn, which even now the Jews reverence most. To commemorate the event it was ordered that the conquered, while still preserving their own ancestral customs should annually pay a tribute of two denarii to Capitoline Jupiter. As a reward for this success

both generals received the title of imperator, but neither had that of *Iudaicus*, although all the other privileges (including arches bearing trophies) that were proper after so great a victory were voted to them.

8

Hard upon Vespasian's entrance into Alexandria the Nile overflowed, and rose in one day a palm higher than usual; indeed, such an occurrence, it was said, had taken place only once before. Vespasian himself healed two persons who had come to him because of a vision seen in dreams. One of them, who had a weak hand, he cured by treading upon that member, and the other one, who was blind, by spitting upon his eyes. His divine power herein shown gave him great repute, yet the Alexandrians, far from enjoying his society, detested him heartily; not only in private but in public they were forever making fun of and abusing him. They had expected to receive some great reward from him because they had taken the first steps in making him emperor, but instead of securing anything they had additional contributions levied upon them. Large were the sums he gathered from them, for he omitted not a single source of revenue, no, not even the first that might offer itself, though its character were reprehensible, but he sought money from everybody alike, of secular or religious profession. As for taxes, he renewed many that had been abolished and increased those that were usual [and introduced still other new ones] . And he adopted this same course later in the rest of the subject territory, [in Italy] and in Rome itself. Hence the Alexandrians [both for the reasons mentioned and because most of the royal possessions had been sold were vexed and] threw out various derogatory remarks about him, one of them being: "You want six obols more." Vespasian, consequently, although the most affable of men, became indignant and gave orders that the six obols per man should be levied, and thought seriously about taking vengeance upon them. [The words themselves contained an insult, and of their many undignified and anapaestic rhythms there was not a single one but aroused his anger.] Titus, however, begged them off and Vespasian accordingly spared them. Yet they would not let him alone, and in some assembly they all together shouted at Titus these very words: "We forgive him. He doesn't understand being Caesar."

So they continued to be foolhardy, took their thorough fill of that license which is always working to their detriment, and abused the good nature of the emperor.

9

[Vespasian soon ceased to notice them. He sent a despatch to Rome rescinding the disfranchisement of such persons as had been condemned for so-called acts of maiestas by Nero and succeeding rulers. His action included

living and dead alike, and he moreover stopped the indictments made upon such complaints. — The astrologers he banished from Rome, yet he consulted all of them who were distinguished, and through the influence of Barbillus, a man of that profession, allowed the Ephesians to celebrate some sacred games. This was a privilege he granted to no other city.

He soon had Egypt subdued and sent from there a large supply of grain to Rome. He had left his son Titus at Jerusalem to sack the town, and awaited its capture that he might return to Rome in his son's company. But, as time dragged in the conduct of the siege, he left Titus in Palestine and took passage himself on a merchantman; he sailed in this manner as far as Lycia, and from that country partly by overland journeys and partly by seafaring he came to Brundisium.

After this he came to Rome, meeting Mucianus and other prominent men at Brundisium and Domitian at Beneventum. In consequence of the consciousness of his own designs and of what he had already done, Domitian was ill at ease, and moreover he occasionally feigned madness. He spent most of his time on the Alban estate and did many ridiculous things, one of them being to impale flies on pencils. Even though this incident be unworthy of the dignity of history, yet because it shows his character so well and particularly in view of the fact that he continued the same practice after he became emperor, I have been obliged to record it. Hence that answer was not without wit which some one made to a person who enquired what Domitian was doing. "He is living in retirement," he said, "without so much as a fly to keep him company."

10

Vespasian though he humbled this upstart's pride greeted all the rest not like an emperor but like a private person, for he remembered his previous experience.

On reaching Rome he bestowed gifts upon both soldiers and populace; he made repairs in the sacred precincts and upon those public works which showed signs of wear and tear; such as had already crumbled to decay he restored; and when they were completed he inscribed upon them not his own name but the names of the persons who had originally reared them.

He immediately began to construct the temple on the Capitoline, being himself the first to carry away some of the soil; and, as a matter of course, he urged the other most prominent men to do this same thing in order that the rest of the populace might have no excuse for shirking this service.

The property of his opponents who had fallen in one conflict or another he

delivered to their children or to other kin of theirs; furthermore, he destroyed contracts of long standing representing sums due and owing to the public treasury.

Though he invariably expended in munificent fashion all that was requisite for the public welfare and arranged the festivals on a most sumptuous scale, his own living was very far from costly, and he sanctioned no greater outlay than was absolutely necessary. Therefore even in the taverns he allowed nothing cooked to be sold except pulse. Thus he made it quite plainly evident that he was amassing riches not for his own enjoyment but for the needs of the people.

Vespasian got laughed at every time that he would say, when spending money: "I am making this outlay from my own purse."

He was neither of noble family nor rich.

The general routine of life that he followed was this. He lived but little in the palace, spending most of his time in the so-called Sallustian Gardens. There he received anybody who desired to see him, not only senators but people in general. With his intimate friends he would converse also before dawn while lying in bed; others could greet him on the streets. The doors of the royal residence were open all day long and no guard was stationed at them. He was a regular visitor in the senate, whose members he consulted in regard to all projects, and he frequently tried cases in the Forum. Whatever measures he was prevented by old age from reading aloud, as well as any communications that he sent to the senate when absent, he usually caused to be read by his sons, showing honor by this course to the legislative body. Every day he had many of the senators and others join him at table, and he himself often dined at the houses of his intimate friends.

11

In general, his forethought for public interests caused him to be regarded as a real emperor. In his ordinary existence he was sociable and lived on a footing of equality with his subjects. He joked in unconventional manner and rather liked jokes upon himself. In case any anonymous documents were posted, — as happens to every emperor, — containing statements insulting to himself, he showed no signs of disturbance but posted in turn a suitable reply.

One day Phoebus approached him to make an apology. It seemed that once, during Nero's reign, Vespasian when in the theatre in Greece had frowned at the misconduct of the emperor (of which he was a witness), whereupon Phoebus had angrily bidden him "Go!" And upon Vespasian's enquiring "Where to?" the other had responded "to the devil." Now when Phoebus

apologized for this speech the monarch did him no harm, in fact vouchsafed him no answer at all, save a curt "Go to the devil yourself!" — Again, when Vologaesius forwarded a letter to the emperor addressed as follows: "Arsaces, King of Kings, to Flavius Vespasian, Greeting," the recipient did not rebuke him but wrote a reply couched in the same terms and added none of his imperial titles.

12

Helvidius Priscus, the son-in-law of Thrasea, had been brought up in the doctrines of the Stoics and imitated Thrasea's bluntness, though there was no occasion for it. He was at this time praetor and instead of doing aught to increase the honor due to the emperor he would not cease reviling him. Therefore the tribunes once arrested him and gave him in charge of their assistants, at which procedure Vespasian was overcome by emotion and went out of the senate-house in tears, uttering this single exclamation only: "A son shall be my successor or no one at all."

A.D. 71 (a.u. 824)

After Jerusalem had been captured Titus returned to Italy and celebrated a triumph, both he and his father riding in a chariot. Domitian, now in his consulship, also took part in the festivities, mounted upon a charger. Vespasian next established in Rome teachers of both Latin and Greek learning, who drew their pay from the public treasury.

13

Before long many others who followed the so-called Stoic system made themselves prominent, among whom was Demetrius the cynic. These men, abusing the title of philosophy, kept teaching their disciples publicly many pernicious doctrines, and in this way were gradually corrupting some. Under these circumstances Mucianus, influenced more by anger than by fondness for speaking, uttered many charges against them and persuaded Vespasian to expel all such persons from the city.

Mucianus desired to be honored by all and beyond all, so that he was displeased not merely if a man insulted him but even if any one failed to extol him greatly. Hence, just as he was never tired of honoring those who assisted him to even the slightest extent, so his hatred was most cruel for all who did not so conduct themselves.

Mucianus made a great number of remarkable statements to Vespasian against the Stoics, as, for instance, that they are full of empty boasting, and if one of them lets his beard grow long, elevates his eyebrows, wears his fustian cape thrown carelessly back and goes barefoot, he straightway postulates wisdom, bravery, righteousness as his own. He gives himself great airs, even though he

may not understand (as the proverb says) either letters or swimming. They view everybody with contempt and call the man of good family a mollicoddle, the ill-born a dwarfed intellect, a handsome person licentious, an ugly person comely, the rich man an apostle of greed, and the poor man a servile groveler.]

And Vespasian did immediately expel from Rome all the philosophers except Musonius: Demetrius and Hostilianus he confined upon islands. Hostilianus would not stop, to be sure, — he happened to be conversing with somebody when he heard about the sentence of exile against him and merely inveighed all the more strongly against monarchy, — yet he straightway withdrew. Demetrius even now would not yield, and Vespasian bade it be told him: “You are working every way to have me kill you, but I am not slaughtering barking dogs.”

It became strikingly clear that Vespasian hated Helvidius Priscus not so much for personal affronts or on account of the friends that the man had abused as because he was a turbulent fellow that cultivated the favor of the rabble, was forever denouncing royalty and praising democracy. Helvidius’s behavior, moreover, was consistent with his principles; he banded various men together, as if it were the function of philosophy to insult those in power, to stir up the multitudes, to overthrow the established order of things, and to incite people to revolution. He was a son-in-law of Thrasea and affected to emulate the latter’s conduct: his failure to do so was striking. Thrasea lived in Nero’s time and disliked the tyrant. Even so, however, he never spoke or behaved toward him in any insulting way: he merely refused to share in his practices. But Helvidius had a grudge against Vespasian and would not let him alone either in private or in public. By what he did he invited death and for his meddlesome interference he was destined ultimately to pay the penalty.

14

This period saw also the demise of Vespasian’s concubine, Caenis. I have mentioned her because she was exceedingly faithful and possessed naturally a most excellent memory. For instance, her mistress Antonia, the mother of Claudius, had had her write secretly to Tiberius about Sejanus and later had ordered the message erased, that no trace of the same might be left. Thereupon she replied: “It is in vain, mistress, that you have issued this command. All of this and whatever else you dictate to me I always carry with me in my soul and it can never be erased.” This is one thing I have admired about her and a second is that Vespasian should have been so much pleased with her. This fact gave her the greatest influence, and she collected untold wealth, so that it was even thought that she obtained money by her independent efforts. She received vast sums from all sources and sold to some persons offices, to others procuratorships, the command of campaigns,

priesthoods, and to some actually imperial decisions. For Vespasian killed no one to get his money and took care to preserve large numbers of those who freely gave it. The person who secured the funds was his concubine, but it was suspected that Vespasian willingly allowed her to do as she did; and this belief was strengthened by his other acts, a few of which, for the sake of illustration, I shall relate. When certain persons voted to erect to him a statue costing twenty-five myriads, he stretched out his hand and said: "Give me the money; this will serve as its pedestal." — And to Titus, who was angry at the tax on urinating, which was appointed along with the rest, he replied, as he picked up some gold pieces that were the product of it: "See, my child, if they smell at all."

A.D. 75 (a.u. 828)

15

In the sixth year of Vespasian as magistrate and the fourth of Titus the precinct of Peace was dedicated and the so-called Colossus was set up on the Sacred Way. It is said to have been one hundred feet high, and to have had — according to one account — the figure of Nero, according to others that of Titus. Vespasian would often have beasts slain in the theatres. He did not particularly enjoy gladiatorial combats of men, although Titus during the youthful sports which were celebrated in his own land had once had a sham fight in heavy armor with Alienus. The Parthians, who fell into a war with some peoples, asked for an alliance with him, but he did not go to their aid, saying that it was not proper for him to interfere in other persons' business.

Berenice was at the height of her power and consequently came to Rome along with her brother Agrippa. The latter was accorded pretorial honors, while she dwelt in the Palace and cohabited with Titus. She expected to be married to him and behaved in all respects as if his wife. But when he perceived that the Romans were displeased at the situation he sent her away; for various reports were in circulation. At this time, too, certain sophists of the cynic school managed somehow to slip into the city: first, Diogenes entered the theatre when it was full of men and denounced them in a long, abusive speech, for which he was flogged; after him Heras, who showed no greater disposition to be obedient, gave vent to many senseless bawlings in the true cynic (dog-like) manner, — and for this behavior was beheaded.

A.D. 79 (a.u. 832)

16

About the same period that these events took place it happened that at a certain inn such a quantity of overflowed the vessels that it ran out into the street. Moreover, Sabinus the Gaul, already mentioned, the person who had

once named himself Caesar, had later taken up arms, had been defeated and had hidden himself in the monument, was discovered and brought to Rome. With him perished also his wife Peponila, who had previously saved his life. She had presented her children before Vespasian and had delivered a most pitiful speech in their behalf: "These little ones, Caesar, I both brought forth and reared in the monument, that we might be a greater number to supplicate you." She caused both him and the rest to weep; no mercy, however, was shown to the family. Meantime the emperor was also the object of a conspiracy on the part of Alienus and Marcellus, although he considered them among his best friends and bestowed honors upon them quite unstintedly. They did not succeed in killing him, though. Upon their being detected, Alienus was slain at once, in the imperial residence itself, as he rose from a meal with his intended victim. Titus issued this order to prevent his carrying his rebellion any further during the night; Alienus had already made arrangements with not a few of the soldiers. Marcellus was brought to trial before the senate and was condemned, whereupon he cut his own throat with a razor. Not even benefits, it may be remarked, can subdue those who are naturally vicious, as is shown by the plotting of these men against him who had done them so many kindnesses.

17

It was after the episode just narrated that Vespasian fell sick, not, if the truth be known, of his ordinary gout but of fever and passed away at Aquae Cutiliae, so-called, in Sabine territory. Some, who endeavor falsely to incriminate Titus (among them the emperor Hadrian) have spread a report that he was poisoned at a banquet. Portents had occurred in his career indicating his approaching end, such as the comet star which was seen for a considerable period and the opening of the monument of Augustus of its own accord. When the sick man's physician chided him for continuing his usual course of living and attending to all the duties that belonged to his office, he answered: "The emperor ought to die on his feet." To those who said anything to him about the comet he responded: "This is an omen not for me but for the Parthian king. He has flowing hair like the comet, whereas I am baldheaded." When he at length came to the belief that he was to die, he said only: "Now I shall become a god." He had lived to the age of sixty-nine years and eight months. His reign lasted ten years lacking six days. Accordingly, it results that from the death of Nero to Vespasian's becoming emperor a year and twenty-two days elapsed. I have recorded this fact to prevent a misapprehension on the part of any persons who might reckon the time with reference to the men who were in power. They, however, did not legitimately succeed one another, but each of them while his rival was alive and still ruling believed himself to be emperor from the moment that the thought first entered his head. One must not enumerate all the days of their reigns as if those days had followed one after another in orderly succession, but make a single sweeping calculation

with the exact time, as I have stated it, in mind.

18

At his death Titus succeeded to the imperial power. Titus as a ruler committed no act of murder or passion, but showed himself upright, though the victim of plots, and self-controlled, though Berenice came to Rome again. Perhaps this was because he had undergone a change. (To share a reign with somebody else is a very different thing from being one's self an independent ruler. In the former case persons are heedless of the good name of the sovereignty and enjoy greedily the authority it gives them, thus doing many things that make their position the object of envy and slander. Actual monarchs, on the other hand, knowing that everything depends on their decision, have some eye to good repute as well as to other matters. So Titus said to somebody whose society he had previously affected: "It is not the same thing to desire something from another as to decide a case yourself, nor to ask something from another as it is to give it to some one yourself.") Perhaps his satisfactory conduct was also due to his surviving so short a time compared with most rulers, for he was thus given little opportunity for wrongdoing. For he lived after this only two years, two months and twenty days in addition to his thirty-nine years, five months and twenty-five days. People compare this feature of Titus's career with the fullness of years of Augustus, and say that the latter would never have won affection if he had lived a shorter time, nor the former, if he had lived longer. Augustus, though at the outset he had shown himself rather harsh because of the wars and the political factions, was able later in the course of time to become distinguished for his kindnesses: Titus ruled with forbearance and died at the summit of his glory, whereas if he had enjoyed a longer life, it might have been proved that he owes his present fame more to good fortune than to virtue.

19

It is worth noting that Titus during his reign put no senator to death, nor was any one else slain by him all the time that he was emperor. Cases involving maiestas he would never entertain himself nor allow others to entertain, for he said: "It is impossible for me to be insulted or outraged in any way. I do naught that deserves censure and I care not for what is falsely reported. As for the emperors that are dead and gone, they will avenge themselves in case any one does them wrong, if in very truth they be heroes and possess some power." — He also made various arrangements to render men more secure and free from trouble. One of these was the posting of a notice confirming all gifts bestowed upon any person by the former emperors. This also enabled him to avoid the nuisance of having people petition him individually about the matter. — Informers he banished from the city.

In money matters he was frugal and sanctioned no unnecessary expenditure, yet he did not punish any one for opposite tendencies.

In his reign also the False Nero appeared, who was an Asiatic and called himself Terentius Maximus. He resembled Nero in form and voice: he even sang to the zither's accompaniment. He gained a few followers in Asia and in his onward progress to the Euphrates he secured a far greater number and at length sought a retreat with Artabanus, the Parthian chief, who, out of the anger that he felt toward Titus, both received the pretender and set about preparations for restoring him to Rome. (Compare John of Antioch, frag. 104 Mueller).

20

Meantime war had again broken out in Britain, and Gnaeus Julius Agricola overran the whole of the hostile region. He was the first of the Romans whom we know to discover that Britain was surrounded by water. Some soldiers had rebelled and after killing centurions and a military tribune had taken refuge in boats. In these they put out to sea and sailed around to the western portion of the country just as the billows and the wind bore them. And without knowing it they came around from the opposite side and stopped at the camps on this side again. At that Agricola sent others to try the voyage around Britain and learned from them, too, that it was an island.

As a result of these events in Britain Titus received the title of imperator for the fifteenth time. Agricola for the rest of his life lived in dishonor and even in want because he had accomplished greater things than a mere general should. Finally he was murdered on this account by Domitian, in spite of having received triumphal honors from Titus.

21

In Campania remarkable and frightful occurrences took place. A great fire was suddenly created just at the end of autumn. It was this way. The mountain Vesuvius stands over against Naples near the sea and has unquenchable springs of fire. Once it was equally high at all points and the fire rose from the center of it. This is the only portion of it that is in a blaze, for the outside parts of the mountain remain even now unkindled. Consequently, as the latter are never burned, while the interior is constantly growing brittle and being reduced to ashes, the surrounding peaks retain their original height to this day, but the whole section that is on fire, as it is consumed in the course of time, has grown hollow from continual collapse. Thus the entire mountain, if we may compare great things to small, resembles a hunting-theatre. The outlying heights of it support both trees and vines, — many of them, — but the crater is given over to fire and sends up smoke by day, flame by night. It looks as if

quantities of incense of all sorts were being burned in it. This goes on all the time, sometimes more, sometimes less. Often it throws up ashes, when there is a general settling in the interior, or again it sends up stones when the air forces them out. It echoes and bellows, too, because its vents are not all together but are narrow and hidden.

22

Such is Vesuvius, and these phenomena regularly occur there at least once a year. But all the other happenings that took place in former time, though they may have seemed great and unusual to those who on each occasion observed them, nevertheless would be reckoned as but slight in comparison with what now occurred even though they should all be rolled into one. This was what befell. Numbers of huge men quite surpassing any human stature, — such creatures as giants are depicted to be, — appeared now on the mountain, now in the country surrounding it, and again in the cities, wandering over the earth day and night and also traversing the air. After this fearful droughts and earthquakes sudden and violent occurred, so that all the level ground in that region undulated and the heights gave a great leap. Reverberations were frequent, some subterranean resembling thunder and some on the surface like bellowings. The sea joined the roar and the sky resounded with it. Then suddenly a portentous crash was heard, as if the mountains were tumbling in ruins. And first there were belched forth stones of huge size that rose to the very summits before they fell; after them came a deal of fire and smoke in inexhaustible quantities so that the whole atmosphere was obscured and the whole sun was screened from view as if in an eclipse.

23

Thus night succeeded day and darkness light. Some thought the giants were rising in revolt (for even at this time many of their forms could be discerned in the smoke and moreover a kind of sound of trumpets was heard), while others believed that the whole world was disappearing in chaos or fire. Therefore they fled, some from the houses into the streets, others from without into the house; in their confusion, indeed, they hastened from the sea to the land or from the land to the sea, deeming any place at a distance from where they were safer than what was near by. While this was going on an inconceivable amount of ashes was blown out and covered the land and the sea everywhere and filled all the air. It did harm of all sorts, as chance dictated, to men and places and cattle, and the fish and the birds it utterly destroyed. Moreover, it buried two whole cities, Herculaneum and Pompeii, while the populace was seated in the theatre. The entire amount of dust was so great that some of it reached Africa and Syria and Egypt, and it also entered Rome, where it occupied all the air over the city and cast the sun into shadow. There, too, no little fear was felt for several days, since the people did not

know and could not conjecture what had happened. They like the rest thought that everything was being turned upside down, that the sun was disappearing in the earth and the earth was bounding up to the sky. This ashes for the time being did them no great harm: later it bred among them a terrible pestilence.

A.D. 80 (a.u. 833)

24

Another fire, above ground, in the following year spread over a very large portion of Rome while Titus was absent on business connected with the catastrophe that had befallen in Campania. It consumed the temple of Serapis, the temple of Isis, the Saepta, the temple of Neptune, the Baths of Agrippa, the Pantheon, the Diribitorium, the theatre of Balbus, the stage-building of Pompey's theatre, the Octavian buildings together with their books, and the temple of Capitoline Jupiter with its surrounding temples. Hence the disaster seemed to be not of human but of divine contrivance. Any one can estimate from the list of buildings that I have given, how many more must have been destroyed. Titus, accordingly, sent two exconsuls to the Campanians to supervise the founding of settlements and bestowed upon the inhabitants money that came (besides various other sources) from those citizens that had died without heirs. As for himself, he took nothing from individual or city or king, although many kept offering and promising him large sums. In spite of this, he restored everything from funds already at hand.

25

Most of his deeds had no unusual quality to mark them, but in dedicating the hunting-theatre and the baths that bear his name he produced many remarkable spectacles. Cranes fought with one another, and four elephants, as well as other grazing animals and wild beasts, to the number of nine thousand, were slaughtered, and women (not of any prominence, however,) took part in despatching them. Of men several fought in single combat and several groups contended together in infantry and naval battles. For Titus filled the above mentioned theatre suddenly with water and introduced horses and bulls and some other tractable creatures that had been taught to behave in the liquid element precisely as upon land. He introduced also human beings on boats. These persons had a sea-fight there, impersonating two parties, Corcyreans and Corinthians: others gave the same performance outside in the grove of Gaius and Lucius, a spot which Augustus had formerly excavated for this very purpose. There, on the first day, a gladiatorial combat and slaughter of beasts took place; this was done by building a structure of planks over the lake that faced the images and placing benches round about it. On the second day there was a horse-race, and on the third a naval battle involving three thousand men. Afterwards there was also an infantry battle. The Athenians conquered the Syracusans (these were the names that were used in the naval battle),

made a landing on the islet, and having assaulted a wall constructed around the monument took it. These were the sights offered to spectators, and they lasted for a hundred days.

Titus also contributed some things that were of practical use to the people. He would throw down into the theatre from aloft little wooden balls that had a mark, one signifying something to eat, another clothing, another a silver vessel, or perhaps a gold one, or again horses, pack-animals, cattle, slaves. Those who snatched them had to carry them back to the dispensers of the bounty to secure the article of which the name was inscribed.

A.D. 81 (a.u. 834)

26

When he had finished this exhibition, he wept so bitterly on the last day that all the people saw him, and after this time he performed no other great deed; but the following year, in the consulship of Flavius and Pollio, subsequent to the dedication of the buildings mentioned, he passed away at the same Aquae that was the scene of his father's demise. The common report had it that he was done to death by his brother, for he had previously been the object of that person's plot: but some writers state that a disease carried him off. The tradition is that, while he was still breathing and had a possible chance of recovery, Domitian, to hasten his end, put him in a box packed with a quantity of snow, pretending that the disease required a chill to be administered; and, before his victim was dead, he rode off to Rome, entered the camp, and received the title and authority of emperor, having given the soldiers all that his brother had been wont to give them. Titus, as he expired, said: "I have made but one error." What this was he did not reveal, and no one else feels quite sure about it. Some have conjectured one thing and some another. The prevailing impression, according to one set of historians, is that he referred to keeping his brother's wife, Domitia. Others (whom I am for following) say what he meant was that, after finding Domitian openly plotting against him, he had not killed him, but had chosen rather himself to suffer that fate at his rival's hands and to surrender the government of Rome to a man whose nature will be portrayed in the continuation of my narrative. Titus had ruled for two years, two months, and twenty days, as has been previously stated.

BOOK 67

Domitian's cruel character: his hatred of his father and brother (chapters 1, 2).

He puts aside Domitia: falls in love with Julia: slays the Vestals (chapter 3).

The German war (chapters 4, 5).

Dacian war with Decebalus (chapters 6, 7).

Domitian's nocturnal spectacles and entertainments (chapters 8, 9).

Events of the Dacian war (chapter 10).

Antonius, governor of Germany, rebels: many are slain (chapters 11, 12, 13, 14).

How Domitian was killed through snares laid by certain men (chapters 15, 16, 17, 18).

DURATION OF TIME

L. Fl. Silva Nonius Bassus, Asinius Pollio Verrucosus Cosa.
(A.D. 81 = a.u. 834 = First of Domitian, from Sept. 13th).

Domitianus Aug. (VIII), T. Flavius Sabinus.
(A.D. 82 = a.u. 835 = Second of Domitian).

Domitianus Aug. (IX), Q. Petilius Rufus (II).
(A.D. 83 = a.u. 836 = Third of Domitian).

Domitianus Aug. (X), T. Aurelius Sabinus.
(A.D. 84 = a.u. 837 = Fourth of Domitian).

Domitianus Aug. (XI), T. Aurelius Fulvus.
(A.D. 85 = a.u. 838 = Fifth of Domitian).

Domitianus Aug. (XII), Ser. Cornelius Dolabella.
(A.D. 88 = a.u. 839 = Sixth of Domitian).

Domitianus Aug. (XIII), A. Volusius Saturninus.
(A.D. 87 = a.u. 840 = Seventh of Domitian).

Domitianus Aug. (XIV), L. Minucius Rufus.
(A.D. 88 = a.u. 841 = Eighth of Domitian).

T. Aurelius Fulvus (II), A. Sempronius Atratinus.
(A.D. 89 = a.u. 842 = Ninth of Domitian).

Domitianus Aug. (XV), M. Cocceius Nerva (II).
(A.D. 90 = a.u. 843 = Tenth of Domitian).

M. Ulpius Traianus, Manius Acilius Glabrio.
(A.D. 91 = a.u. 844 = Eleventh of Domitian).

Domitianus Aug. (XVI), Q. Volusius Saturninus.
(A.D. 92 = a.u. 845 = Twelfth of Domitian).

Sex. Pompeius Collega, Cornelius Priscus.
(A.D. 93 = a.u. 846 = Thirteenth of Domitian).

L. Nonius Asprenas, M. Arricinius Clemens.
(A.D. 94 = a.u. 847 = Fourteenth of Domitian).

Domitianus Aug. (XVII), T. Flavius Clemens.
(A.D. 95 = a.u. 848 = Fifteenth of Domitian).

Manlius Valens, Antistius Vetus.
(A.D. 96 = a.u. 849 = Sixteenth of Domitian, to Sept. 18 th).

A.D. 81 (a.u. 834)

1

Domitian was both, bold and passionate, both treacherous and given to dissembling. Hence, from these two characteristics, rashness on the one hand and craftiness on the other, he did much harm, falling upon some persons with the swiftness of a thunderbolt and damaging others by carefully prepared plots. The divinity that he chiefly revered was Minerva, so that he was wont to celebrate the Panathenaea on a magnificent scale: on this occasion he had contests of poets and chroniclers and gladiators almost every year at Albanum. This district, situated below the Alban Mount, from which it was named, he had set apart as a kind of acropolis. He had no genuine affection for any human being save a few women, but he always pretended to love the person whom at any time he was most determined to slay. He could not be relied upon even by those who did him some favor or helped him in his most revolting crimes, for whenever any persons furnished him with large sums of money or lodged information against numbers of men, he was sure to destroy these benefactors, being especially careful to do so in the case of slaves who had given information against their masters. [Accordingly, such individuals, though, they received money and honors and offices all at once from him, lived in no greater honor and security than other men. The very offences to

which they had

A.D. 82 (a.u. 835)

been urged by Domitian commonly were made pretexts for their destruction, the emperor's object being to have the actual perpetrators appear solely responsible for their wrongdoing. It was the same intention which led him once to issue a public notice to the effect that, when an emperor does not punish informers he is the cause of the existence of such a class.]

2

Though this was his behavior to all throughout the course of his reign, still he quite outdid himself in dealing dishonor and ruin to his father's and brother's friends. [To be sure, he himself posted a notice that he would ratify all the gifts made to any persons by them and by other emperors. But this was mere show.] He hated them because they did not supply all his demands, many of which were unreasonable, as also because they had been held in some honor. [Whatever had enjoyed their affection and the benefit of their influence beyond the ordinary he regarded as hostile to him.] Therefore, although he himself had a passion for a eunuch named Earinus, nevertheless, because Titus had also shown great liking for castrated persons, he carried his desire to cast reflections on his brother's character to the extent of forbidding any one thereafter in the Roman empire to be castrated. In general, he was accustomed to say that those emperors who failed to punish large numbers of men were not good, but merely fortunate. [Personally, he paid no attention to those who praised Titus for not causing a single senator's death, nor did he care that the senate frequently saw fit to pass decrees that the emperor should not be permitted to put to death any of his peers. The emperor, as he believed, was far and away superior to them and might put any one of them out of the way either on his own responsibility or with the consent of the rest; it was ridiculous to suppose that they could offer any opposition or refuse to condemn a man. Some would praise Titus, only not in Domitian's hearing; for such effrontery would be deemed as grave an offence as if they were to revile the emperor in his presence and within hearing: but [Lacuna] because he understood that they were doing this secretly [Lacuna] Then there was another thing] that resembled play-acting. Domitian pretended that he too loved his brother and mourned him. He read, with tears, the eulogies upon him [and hastened to have him enrolled among the heroes] , pretending just the opposite of what he really wished. (Indeed, he abolished the horse-race on Titus's birthday). People in general were not safe whether they sympathized with his indignation or with his joy. In one case they were sure to offend his feelings and in the other to let their lack of genuineness appear.

A.D. 83 (a.u. 836)

3

His wife, Domitia, he planned to put to death on the ground of adultery, but, having been dissuaded by Ursus, he sent her away and midway on the road murdered Paris, the dancer, because of her. And many people paid honor to that spot with flowers

A.D. 83 (a.u. 836)

and perfumes, he gave orders that they, too, should be slain. After this he took into his house, quite undisguisedly, his own niece, — Julia, that is to say. [Then on petition of the people he became reconciled, to be sure, with Domitia, but continued none the less his relations with Julia.]

He was removing many of the foremost men on many pretexts and by means of murders and banishments. [He also conveyed many to some out-of-the-way place, where he got rid of them; and not a few he caused to die in some way or other by their own acts that they might seem to have suffered death by their own wish and not through outside force.] He did not spare even the vestal virgins, but punished them on charges of their having had intercourse with men. It is further reported that since their examination was conducted in a harsh and unfeeling manner, and many of them were accused and constantly being punished, one of the pontifices, Helvius Agrippa, could not endure it, but, horror-stricken, expired there in the senate where he sat. [Domitian also took pride in the fact that he did not bury alive, as was the custom, the virgins he found guilty of debauchery, but ordered them to be killed by some different way.]

After this he set out for Gaul and plundered some of the tribes across the Rhine enjoying treaty rights, — a performance which filled him with conceit as if he had achieved some great success. Presumably on account of the victory he increased the soldiers' wages, so that whereas each had been receiving seventy-five denarii he commanded that a hundred be given them. Later he thought better of it, but instead of diminishing the amount he curtailed the number of men-at-arms. Both of these steps entailed great injury to the public weal: he had made the defenders of the State too few, while rendering their support an item of great expense.

A.D. 84 (a.u. 837)

Next he made a campaign into Germany and returned without having seen a trace of war anywhere. And what need is there of mentioning the honors bestowed upon him at this juncture for his exploit or from time to time upon the other emperors who were like him? For the object in any case was simply not to arouse the rage of those despots by letting them suspect, in consequence of the small number and insignificance of the rewards, that the people saw

through them. Yet Domitian had this worst quality of all, that he desired to be flattered, and was equally displeased with both sorts of men, those who paid court to him and those who did not. He disliked the former because their attitude seemed one of cajolery and the latter because it seemed one of contempt. Notwithstanding [he affected to take pleasure in the honorary decrees voted him by the senate. Ursus he came near killing because he was not pleased with his sovereign's exploits, and then, at the request of Julia, he appointed him consul.] Subsequently, being still more puffed up by his folly, he was elected consul for ten years in succession, and first and only censor for life of all private citizens and emperors: and he obtained the right to employ twenty-four lictors and the triumphal garb whenever he entered the senate-house. He gave October a new name, Domitianum, because he had been born in that month. Among the charioteers he instituted two more parties, calling one the Golden and the other the Purple. To the spectators he gave many objects by means of balls thrown among them; and once he gave them a banquet while they remained in their seats and at night provided for them wine that flowed out in several different places. All this caused pleasure seemingly to the populace, but was a source of ruin to the powerful. For, as he had no resources for his expenditures, he murdered numbers of men, bringing some of them before the senate and accusing others in their absence. Lastly, he put some out of the way by concocting a plot and administering to them secret drugs.

5

Many of the peoples tributary to the Romans revolted when contributions of money were forcibly extorted from them. The Nasamones are an instance in point. They massacred all the collectors of the money and so thoroughly defeated Flaccus, governor of Numidia, who attacked them, that they were able to plunder his camp. Having gorged themselves on the provisions and the wine that they found there they fell into a slumber, and Flaccus becoming aware of this fact assailed and annihilated them all and destroyed the non-combatants. Domitian experienced a thrill of delight at the news and remarked to the senate: "Well, I have put a ban on the existence of the Nasamones."

Even as early as this he was insisting upon being regarded as a god and took a huge pleasure in being called "master" and "god." These titles were used not merely orally but also in documents.

A.D. 86 (a.u. 839)

6

The greatest war that the Romans had on their hands at this time was one against the Dacians. Decebalus was now king of the latter [since Douras, to

whom the sovereignty belonged, had voluntarily withdrawn from it in favor of Decebalus, because] . He had a good comprehension of the rules of warfare and was good at putting them in practice, displayed sagacity in advancing, took the right moment for retreating, was an expert in ambushes, a professional warrior, knew how to make good use of a victory and to turn a defeat to advantage. Hence he showed himself for a long time a worthy antagonist of the Romans.

I call the people Dacians, just as they name themselves and as the Romans do; but I am not ignorant that some of the Greeks refer to them as Getae, whether that is the right term or not. I myself know Getae that live along the Ister, beyond the Haemus range.

Domitian made an expedition against them, to be sure but did not enter into real conflict. [Instead, he remained in a city of Moesia, rioting, as was his wont.] (Not only was he averse to physical labor and timorous in spirit, but also most profligate and lewd toward women and boys alike). But he sent others to officer the war and for the most part he got the worst of it.

A.D. 87(?)

Decebalus, king of the Dacians, carried on negotiations with Domitian, promising him peace. Domitian sent against him Fuscus with a large force. On learning of it Decebalus sent an embassy to him anew, sarcastically proposing to make peace with the emperor in case each of the Romans should choose to pay two asses as tribute to Decebalus each year; if they should not choose to do so, he affirmed that he should make war and afflict them with great ills.

A.D. 90 (a.u. 843)

7

Meantime he conceived a wish to take measures against the Quadi and the Marcomani because they had not assisted him against the Dacians. So he entered Pannonia to make war upon them, and the second set of envoys that they sent in regard to peace he killed.

8

The same man laid the blame for his defeat, however, upon his commanders. All the superior plans he claimed for himself, though he executed none of them, but for the inferior management he blamed others, even though it was through his orders that some accident had taken place. Those who succeeded incurred his hatred and those who failed his censure.

Domitian, being defeated by the Marcomani, took to flight and by hastily sending messages to Decebalus, king of the Dacians, induced him to make a

truce with him. The monarch's frequent previous requests had always met with refusal. Decebalus now accepted the arrangement, for he was indeed hard pressed, yet he did not wish personally to hold a conference with Domitian, but sent Diegis with other men to give him the arms and a few captives, whom he pretended were the only ones he had. When this had been accomplished, Domitian set a diadem on the head of Diegis, just as if he had in very truth conquered and could make some one king over the Dacians. To the soldiers he granted honors and money. Like a victor, again, he sent on ahead to Rome, besides many other things, envoys from Decebalus, and something which he affirmed was a letter of his, though rumor declared it had been forged. He graced the festival that followed with many articles pertaining to a triumph, though they did not belong to any booty he had taken; — quite the reverse: and besides allowing the truce he made an outlay of a great deal of money immediately and also presented to Decebalus artisans of every imaginable profession, peaceful and warlike, and promised that he would give him a great deal more. These exhibits came from the imperial furniture which he at all times treated as captive goods, because he had enslaved the empire itself.

A.D. 91 (a.u. 844)

So many rewards were voted him that almost the whole world (so far as under his dominion) was filled with his images and statues of both silver and gold. He also gave an extremely costly spectacle in regard to which we have noted nothing that was striking for historical record, save that virgins contended in the foot-race. After this, in the course of holding what seem to have been triumphal celebrations, he arranged numerous contests. First of all, in the hippodrome he had battles of infantry against infantry, and again battles of cavalry, and next he gave a naval battle in a new place. And there perished in it practically all the naval combatants and numbers of the spectators. A great rain and violent storm had suddenly come up, yet he allowed no one to leave the spectacle; indeed, though he himself changed his clothing to a thick woolen cloak, he would not permit the people to alter their attire. As a result, not a few fell sick and died. By way of consoling them for this, he provided them at public expense a dinner lasting all night. Often, too, he would conduct games at night, and sometimes he would pit dwarfs and women against each other.

So at this time he feasted the populace as described, but on another occasion he entertained the foremost men of the senate and the knights in the following fashion. He prepared a room that was pitch black on every side, ceiling, walls and floor, and had ready bare couches, all alike, resting on the uncovered ground; then he invited in his guests alone, at night, without their attendants. And first he set beside each of them a slab shaped like a gravestone, bearing a

person's name and also a small lamp, such as hangs in tombs. Next well-shaped, naked boys, likewise painted black, entered after the manner of phantoms, and, after passing around the guests in a kind of terrifying dance, took up their stations at their feet. After that, whatever is commonly dedicated in the course of offerings to departed spirits was set before them also, all black, and in dishes of a similar hue. Consequently, every single one of the guests feared and trembled and every moment felt certain that he was to be slain, especially as on the part of everybody save Domitian there was dead silence, as if they were already in the realms of the dead, and the emperor himself limited his conversation to matters pertaining to death and slaughter. Finally he dismissed them. But he had previously removed their servants, who stood at the doorway, and gave them in charge of other, unknown slaves, to convey either to carriages or litters, and by this act he filled them with far greater fear. Scarcely had each one reached home and was beginning to a certain extent to recover his spirits, when a message was brought him that some one was there from the Augustus. While they were expecting, as a result of this, that now at last they should surely perish, one person brought in the slab, which was of silver, then another something else, and another one of the dishes set before them at the dinner, which proved to be made of some costly material. Finally came that particular boy who had been each one's familiar spirit, now washed and decked out. Thus, while in terror all night long, they received their gifts.

Such was the triumph or, as the crowd said, such was the expiatory service that Domitian celebrated for those who had died in Dacia and in Rome. Even at this time, too, he killed off some of the foremost men. And he took away the property of whoever buried the body of any one of them, because the victim had died on ground belonging to the sovereign.

10

Here are some more events worth recording, that took place in the Dacian War. Julianus, assigned by the emperor to take charge of the war, made many excellent regulations, one being his command that the soldiers should inscribe their own names and those of the centurions upon their shields, in order that those of them who committed any particular good or bad action might be more readily observed by him. Encountering the enemy at Tapai, he killed a very great number of them. Among them Vezinas, who ranked next to Decebalus, since he could not get away alive, fell down purposely as if dead. In this way he escaped notice and fled during the night. Decebalus, fearing that the Romans now they had conquered would proceed against his residence, cut down the trees that were on the site and attached weapons to the trunks, to the end that his foes might think them soldiers, and so be frightened and withdraw. This actually took place.

Chariomerus, king of the Cherusci, had been driven out of his kingdom by the Chatti on account of his friendship for the Romans. At first he gathered some companions and was successful in his attempt to return. Later he was deserted by these men for having sent hostages to the Romans and so became the suppliant of Domitian. He was not accorded an alliance but received money.

11

Antonius, a certain commander of this period in Germany, revolted against Domitian: him Lucius Maximus overcame and overthrew. For his victory he does not deserve any remarkable praise; [for many others have unexpectedly won victories, and his soldiers contributed largely to his success:] but for his burning all the documents that were found in the chests of Antonius, thus esteeming his own safety as of slight importance in comparison with having no blackmail result from them, I do not see how I may celebrate his memory as it deserves. But Domitian, as he had got a pretext from that source, proceeded to a series of slaughters even without the documents, and no one could well say how many he killed. [Indeed, he condemned himself so for this act that, to prevent any remembrance of the dead surviving, he prohibited the inscribing of their names in the records. Furthermore, he did not even make any communication to the senate regarding those put out of the way, although he sent their heads as well as that of Antonius to Rome and exposed them in the Forum.] But one young man, Julius Calvaster, who had served as military tribune in the hope of getting into the senate, was saved in a most unexpected fashion. Inasmuch as it was being proved that he had frequent meetings with Antonius alone and he had no other way to free himself from the charge of conspiracy, he declared that he had met him for amorous intercourse. The fact that he was of an appearance to inspire passion lent color to his statement. In this way he was acquitted.

After just one more remark about the events of that time, I will cease. Lusianus Proculus, an aged senator, who spent most of his time in the country, had come out with Domitian from Borne under compulsion so as to avoid the appearance of deserting him when in danger and the death that might very likely be the result of such conduct. When the news came, he said: "You have conquered, emperor, as I ever prayed. Therefore, restore me to the country." Thereupon he left him without more ado and retired to his farm. And after this, although he survived for a long time, he never came near him.

During this period some had become accustomed to smear needles with poison and then to prick with them whomsoever they would. Many persons thus attacked died without even knowing the cause, and many of the murderers were informed against and punished. And this went on not only in Rome but over practically the entire civilized world.

To Ulpius Trajan and to Acilius Glabrio, who were consuls then, the same signs are said to have appeared. They foretold to Glabrio destruction, but to Trajan the imperial office. [Numerous wealthy men and women both were punished for adultery, and some of the women had been debauched by *him*. Many more were fined or executed on other charges.] A woman was tried and lost her life because she had stripped in front of an image of Domitian [and another for having had dealings with astrologers] . Among the many who perished at this time was also Mettius Pompusianus, whom Vespasian had refused to harm in any way after learning from some report that he would one day be sole ruler, but rather honored, saying: “You will certainly remember me and will certainly honor me in return.” But Domitian first exiled him to Corsica and later put him to death, one of the complaints being that he had the inhabited world painted on the walls of his bedchamber and another that he had excerpted and was wont to read the speeches of kings and other eminent men that are written in Livy. Also Maternus, a sophist, met his death because in a practice speech he had said something against tyrants. The emperor himself used to visit both those who were to accuse and those who were to give evidence for condemnation, and he would frame and compose everything that required to be said. Often, too, he would talk to the prisoners alone, keeping tight hold of their chains with his hands. In the former case he would not entrust to others what was to be said, and in the latter he feared the men even in their bonds.

In Moesia, the Lygians, who had been at war with some of the Suebi, sent envoys, asking Domitian for an alliance. They obtained one that was strong, not in numbers, but in dignity: in other words, they were granted only a hundred knights. The Suebi, indignant at this, added to their contingent the Iazygae and began to prepare well in advance to cross the Ister.

Masyus, king of the Semnones, and Ganna, a virgin (she was priestess in Celtica after Veleda), came to Domitian and having been honored by him returned.

A.D. 93 (a.u. 846)

As censor, likewise, his behavior was noteworthy. He expelled Caecilius Rufinus from the senate because he danced, and restored Claudius Pacatus, though an ex-centurion, to his master because he was proved to be a slave. What came after, to be sure, can not be described in similar terms, — his deeds, that is to say, as emperor. *Then* he killed Arulenus Rusticus for being a philosopher and for calling Thrasea sacred, and Herennius Senecio because in

his long career he had stood for no office after the quaestorship and because he had compiled the life of Helvidius Priscus. Many others also perished as a result of this same charge of philosophizing, and all remaining members of that profession were again driven from Rome. One Juventius Celsus, however, who had been conspicuous in conspiring with certain persons against Domitian and had been accused of it, saved his life in a remarkable way. When he was on the point of being condemned, he begged that he might speak a few words with the emperor in private. Having gained the opportunity he did obeisance before him and after repeatedly calling him “master,” and “god” (terms that were already being applied to him by others), he said: “I have done nothing of the sort. And if I obtain a respite, I will pry into everything and both inform against and convict many persons for you.” He was released on these conditions, but did not report any one; instead, by advancing different excuses at different times, he lived until Domitian was killed.

A.D. 95 (a.u. 848)

14

During this period the road leading from Sinuessa to Puteoli was paved with stones. And the same year Domitian slew among many others Flavius Clemens the consul, though he was a cousin and had to wife Flavia Domitilla, who was also a relative of the emperor's. The complaint brought against them both was that of atheism, under which many others who drifted into Jewish ways were condemned. Some of these were killed and the remainder were at least deprived of their property. Domitilla was merely banished to Pandateria; but Glabrio, colleague of Trajan in the consulship, after being accused on various regular stock charges, and also of fighting with wild beasts, suffered death. This ability in the arena was the chief cause of the emperor's anger against him, — an anger prompted by jealousy. In the victim's consulship Domitian had summoned him to Albanum to attend the so-called Juvenalia and had imposed on him the task of killing a large lion. Glabrio not only had escaped all injury but had despatched the creature with most accurate aim.

As a consequence of his cruelty the emperor was suspicious of all mankind and ceased now to put hopes of safety in either the freedmen or the prefects, whom he usually caused to be tried during their very term of office. Moreover, Epaphroditus, who belonged to Nero, he first drove out and then slew, censuring him for not having defended Nero; his object was by the vengeance that he took in this person's case to terrify his own freedmen long enough in advance to prevent their ever attempting a similar deed.

A.D. 96 (a.u. 849)

It did him no good, however, for he became the object of a conspiracy in the following year and perished in the consulship of Gaius Valens (who died

Those who attacked him and prepared the undertaking were Parthenius his cubicularius (though he was the recipient of such marks of imperial favor as to be allowed to wear a sword) and Sigerus, who was also a member of the excubiae, as well as Entellus, the person entrusted with the care of the state documents, and Stephanus, a freedman. The plot was not unknown to Domitia, the emperor's wife, nor to the prefect Norbanus, nor to the latter's partner in office, Petronius Secundus: at least, this is the tradition. Domitia was ever an object of the imperial hatred and consequently stood in terror of her life; the rest no longer loved their sovereign, some of them because complaints had been lodged against them and others because they were expecting them to be lodged. For my part, I have heard also the following account, — that Domitian, having become suspicious of all these persons, conceived a desire to kill them, and wrote their names on a two-leaved tablet of linden wood, and put it under his pillow on the couch where he was wont to repose; and one of the naked prattling boys, while the emperor was asleep in the daytime, filched it away and kept it without knowing what it contained. Domitia then chanced upon it and reading what was written gave information of the matter to those involved. As a result, they changed their plans somewhat and hastened the plot; yet they did not proceed to action until they had determined who was to succeed to the office. Having conversed with various persons, when they found that no one would accept it (everybody was afraid of them, thinking that they were simply testing people's loyalty) they betook themselves to Nerva. He was of most noble birth and most suitable character and had, besides, encountered danger through being slandered by astrologers [who declared that he should be sovereign.] Thus they the more easily persuaded him to be the next to receive the power. In truth, Domitian, who conducted an investigation of the days and the hours when the foremost men had been born, had consequently ere this despatched not a few even of those who entertained no hopes of gaining any power. And he would have slain Nerva, had not one of the astrologers who favored the latter declared that he would die within a few days. [Believing that this would really prove true, he did not desire to be guilty of this additional murder, inasmuch as Nerva in any event was to meet death so very soon.]

Since no occurrence of such magnitude is without previous indications, various unfavorable tokens appeared in his case, too. In a vision he himself beheld Rusticus approaching him with a sword; and he thought that Minerva, whose statue he kept in his bedchamber, had thrown away her weapons and, mounted upon a chariot drawn by black horses, was being swallowed up in an

abyss. But the feature which of all claims our wonder is connected with the name of Larginus Proculus. He had publicly foretold in Germany that the emperor should die on the day when he actually did die, and was, therefore, sent on to Rome by the governor. Brought before Domitian he declared once more that this should be so. A death sentence was postponed in order that he might be put to death after the emperor had escaped the danger. Meanwhile Domitian was slain, his life was saved, and he received a hundred thousand denarii from Nerva. Some one else had on a previous occasion told the ruler both when and how he should perish, and then being asked what manner of death he, the prophet, should meet, he answered that he would be despatched by dogs. Thereupon command was given that the fellow should be burned alive, and the fire was applied to him. But just then there was a great downpour of rain, the pyre was extinguished, and later dogs found him lying upon it with his hands bound behind him and tore him to pieces.

17

I have one more astonishing fact to record, which I shall touch on after I have given the account of Domitian's end. As soon as he rose to leave the courthouse and was ready to take his afternoon nap, as was his custom, first Parthenius took the blade out of the sword, which always lay under his pillow, so that he should not have the use of that. Next he sent in Stephanus, who was stronger than the rest. The latter smote Domitian, and though it was not an opportune blow the emperor was knocked to the ground, where he lay. Then, fearing an escape, Parthenius leaped in, or, as some believe, he sent in Maximus, a freedman. Thus both Domitian was murdered, and Stephanus perished likewise in a rush that those who had not shared in the conspiracy made upon him.

18

The matter of which I spoke, saying that it surprises me more than anything else, is this. A certain Apollonius of Tyana on the very day and at that very hour when Domitian was being murdered (this was later confirmed by other events that happened in both places) climbed a lofty stone at Ephesus (or possibly some other town) and having gathered the populace, uttered these words: "Bravo, Stephanus! Good, Stephanus! Smite the wretch! You have struck, you have wounded, you have killed him!!" This is what really took place, though there should be ten thousand doubters. Domitian had lived forty-four years, ten months, and twenty-six days. His reign had lasted fifteen years and five days. His body was stolen away and buried by his nurse, Phyllis.

BOOK 68

Most of Domitian's measures are annulled (chapter 1).

The excellencies of Nerva Augustus Caesar: his kindness to Verginius (chapter 2).

The conspiracy of Crassus: rebellion of the Pretorians: adoption of Trajan (chapter 3).

Birthplace and praise of Trajan: Nerva dies (chapter 4).

How Trajan entered upon his sovereignty (chapter 5).

He undertakes a war against Decebalus, proving himself formidable to the latter but worthy the affection of his own people (chapters 6, 7).

He conquers the Dacians and holds a triumph over them (chapters 8, 9, 10).

A second war against the Dacians (chapters 11, 12).

How Trajan saddled the Danube with a stone bridge (chapter 13).

With the disappearance from the scene of Decebalus the Dacians are reduced to the condition of a province: Arabia is taken (chapter 14).

Embassies: the Pontine marshes filled: statues to the well-deserving: the column of Trajan (chapters 15, 16).

Campaign against the Parthians on account of the expulsion of Exedares from Armenia and the introduction there of Parthomasiris (chapters 17, 18).

Parthomasiris gains access to Trajan and Armenia is taken away from him (chapters 19, 20).

How Abgarus the Osroenian obtained pardon from Trajan (chapter 21).

About the envoys of Mannus and Manisarus sent to Trajan (chapter 22).

Trajan is named Optimus, and, after the capture of Nisibis and Batnae, Parthicus (chapter 23).

About the huge earthquake at Antioch (chapters 24, 25).

After the bridging of the Tigris he reduces Adiabene, Mesopotamia, and Ctesiphon (chapters 26, 27, 28).

He loses and regains several districts: he bestows a king upon the Parthians (chapters 29, 30).

He besieges the Atreni without result (chapter 31).

The Jews in Cyrene, Egypt, and Cyprus rebel, and are crushed, chiefly through the activity of Lusius (chapter 32).

The Parthians cast out the king imposed upon them: Trajan dies (chapter 33).

DURATION OF TIME

C. Manlius Valens, C. Antistius Vetus.
(A.D. 96 = a.u. 849 = First of Nerva, from Sept. 18 th).

Nerva Caes. Aug. (III), L. Verginius Rufus (III).
(A.D. 97 = a.u. 850 = Second of Nerva).

Nerva Caes. Aug. (IV), Nerva Traianus Caes. (II).
(A.D. 98 = a.u. 851 = Third of Nerva, to January 27 th).

C. Sosius Senecio (II), A. Cornelius Palma.
(A.D. 99 = a.u. 852 = Second of Trajan).

Nerva Traianus Aug. (III), Sex. Iul. Frontinus (III).
(A.D. 100 = a.u. 853 = Third of Trajan).

Nerva Traianus Aug. (IV), Sex. Articuleius Paetus.
(A.D. 101 = a.u. 854 = Fourth of Trajan).

C. Sosius Senecio (III), L. Licinius Sura (II).
(A.D. 102 = a.u. 855 = Fifth of Trajan).

Nerva Traianus Aug. (V), Q. Messius Maximus (II).
(A.D. 103 = a.u. 856 = Sixth of Trajan).

Suburanus (II), P. Neratius Marcellus.
(A.D. 104 = a.u. 857 = Seventh of Trajan).

Ti. Iulius Candidus (II), A. Iulius Quadratus (II).
(A.D. 105 = a.u. 858 = Eighth of Trajan).

L. Ceionius Commodus Verus, L. Cerealis.
(A.D. 106 = a.u. 859 = Ninth of Trajan).

C. Sosius Senecio (IV), L. Licinius Sura (III).
(A.D. 107 = a.u. 860 = Tenth of Trajan).

Ap. Trebonius Gallus, M. Atilius Bradua.
(A.D. 108 = a.u. 861 = Eleventh of Trajan).

A. Cornelius Palma (II), C. Calvisius Tullus (II).
(A.D. 109 = a.u. 862 = Twelfth of Trajan).

Clodius Priscinus, Solenus Orfitus.
(A.D. 110 = a.u. 863 = Thirteenth of Trajan).

C. Calpurnius Piso, M. Vettius Bolanus.
(A.D. 111 = a.u. 864 = Fourteenth of Trajan).

Nerva Traianus Aug. (VI), C. Iulius Africanus.
(A.D. 112 = a.u. 865=Fifteenth of Trajan).

L. Celsus (II), Clodius Crispinus.
(A.D. 113 = a.u. 866=Sixteenth of Trajan).

Q. Ninnius Hasta, P. Manilius Vopiscus.
(A.D. 114 = a.u. 867=Seventeenth of Trajan).

L. Vipsanius Messala, M. Peto Virgilianus.
(A.D. 115 = a.u. 868=Eighteenth of Trajan).

L. Aelius Lamia, Aelianus Vetus.
(A.D. 116 = a.u. 869=Nineteenth of Trajan).

Quinctius Niger, C. Vipsanius Apronianus.
(A.D. 117 = a.u. 870=Twentieth of Trajan, to Aug. 11 th).

A.D. 96 (a.u. 849)

After Domitian, the Romans appointed Nerva Cocceius emperor. The hatred felt for Domitian caused his images, many of which were of silver and many of gold to be melted down; and from this source large amounts of money were obtained. The arches, too, of which more had been erected to the late emperor than previously to any one man, were torn down. Nerva also released such as were on trial for maiestas and restored the exiles. All the slaves and freedmen that had conspired against their masters he put to death, and allowed that class of persons to lodge no complaint whatever against their masters. Others were not permitted to accuse anybody for maiestas or for “Jewish living.” Many who had been sycophants were condemned to death, among whom was Seras [Lacuna] the philosopher. Now, as a quite extraordinary disturbance arose from the fact that everybody was accusing everybody else, Fronto, the consul,

is said to have remarked that it was bad to have an emperor under whom no one could do anything, but worse to have one under whom any one could do everything. Nerva, on hearing this, prohibited the future recurrence of such scenes. But Nerva, as a result of old age and sickness (which was always making him vomit his food), was rather weak.

2

He also forbade gold statues being made in his honor. He paid back to such as under Domitian had been causelessly deprived of their property all that was still found in the imperial treasury. To the very poor Romans he granted allotments of land worth in the aggregate fifteen hundred myriads, and put certain senators in charge of their purchase and distribution. When he ran short of funds he sold many robes and plate, both silver and gold, besides furniture, both his own and what belonged to the imperial residence, many fields and houses, — in fact, everything save what was quite necessary. He did not, however, haggle over the prices of them, and in this very point benefited many persons. He abolished many sacrifices, many horse-races, and some other spectacles, in an attempt to reduce expenses as far as possible. In the senate he took oath that he would not cause the death of any of the senators and he kept his pledge in spite of plots. And he did nothing without the advice of prominent men. Among his various laws were those prohibiting any one from being made a eunuch and from marrying one's niece. When consul he did not hesitate to take as his colleague Verginius Rufus, though the latter had been frequently saluted as emperor.

A.D. 97 (a.u. 850)

Upon his monument was inscribed when he died: "Having conquered Vindex he ascribed the credit of victory not to himself but to his country."

3

Nerva ruled so well that he once remarked: "I have done nothing that could prevent me from laying down the imperial office and returning to private life in safety." When Crassus Calpurnius, a grandson of the famous Crassi, formed a plot with some others against him, he made them sit beside him at a spectacle — they were still ignorant of the fact that they had been informed upon — and gave them some swords, nominally to look at and see if they were sharp (as was often done), but really by way of showing that he did not care if he died that moment where he was.

Aelianus Casperius, who was governor under him as he had been under Domitian, and had become one of the Pretorians, incited the soldiers to mutiny against him; his plan was to have them demand some persons for execution. Nerva resisted them stoutly, even to the point of baring his collar-bone and offering them his throat: but he accomplished nothing and those

whom Aelianus wished were put out of the way. Wherefore Nerva, subjected to such profound humiliation because of his old age, ascended the Capitol and cried aloud: "To the good fortune of the Roman people and senate and myself I adopt Marcus Ulpius Nerva Trajan."

Subsequently in the senate he designated him Caesar and sent a message to him, written with his own hand (Trajan was governor of Germany):

"The Danaans by thy weapons shall requite my tears."

4

Thus did Trajan become Caesar and afterwards emperor, although there were relatives of Nerva. But the man did not esteem family relationship above the safety of the State, nor was he less inclined to adopt Trajan because the latter was a Spaniard instead of an Italian or Italiot, or because no foreigner had previously held the Roman sovereignty. It was a person's virtue and not his country that he thought needed examination.

A.D. 98 (a.u. 851)

Soon after this act he passed away, having ruled during the period of one year, four months and nine days. His life prior to that time had comprised sixty-five years, ten months, and ten days.

5

Trajan, before he became emperor, had had a dream of the following nature. He thought that an old man in purple robe and vesture, moreover adorned with a crown, as the senate is represented in pictures, impressed a seal upon him with a finger ring, first on the left side of his throat and then on the right. When he had been made emperor, he sent a despatch to the senate written with his own hand, which stated, among other things, that he would not slay nor dishonor any man of worth. This he confirmed by oaths not merely at that time but also later.

He sent for Aelianus and the Pretorians who had mutinied against Nerva, pretending that he was going to employ them in some way, and relieved the world of their presence.

A.D. 99 (a.u. 852)

When he had entered Rome he did much toward the administration of state affairs and to please the excellent. To the former business he gave unusual attention, making many grants even to Italian cities for the support of their children, and to good citizens he did continual favors. Plotina, his wife, on first going into the palace turned around so as to face the Scalae and the populace, and said: "My wish is to issue hence the same sort of person as I am

now when I enter.” And she so conducted herself during the entire sovereignty as to incur no censure.

[The ambassadors who came from the kings were given seats by Trajan in the senatorial row at spectacles.]

A.D. 100 (a.u. 853)

6

After spending some time in Rome he instituted a campaign against the Dacians; for he made their deeds the object of thought and was irritated at the amount of money they were annually getting. He likewise saw that their power and their pride were increasing. Decebalus, learning of his advance, was frightened, since he well knew that formerly he had conquered not the Romans but Domitian, whereas now he would be fighting against both Romans and Trajan as emperor.

And Trajan had a great reputation for justice, for bravery, and for simple living. He was strong in body (being in his forty-second year when he began to rule) [so that in every enterprise he toiled almost as much as the rest;] and his intellectual powers were at their highest, so that he had neither the recklessness of youth nor the sluggishness of old age. He did not envy nor kill any one, but honored and exalted all without exception that were men of worth, and hence he neither feared nor hated one of them. To slanders he paid very little heed and was no slave of anger. He refrained equally from the money of others and from unjust murders.

7

He expended vast sums on wars and vast sums on works of peace; and while making very many most necessary repairs on roads and harbors and public buildings, he drained no one's blood for these undertakings. His nature was so noble and magnanimous that even upon the hippodrome he merely inscribed the statement that he had made it suitable for the Roman people when it had crumbled away in spots, and had rendered it larger and more beautiful. For these deeds he was better satisfied to be loved than honored. His meetings with the people were marked by affability and his intercourse with the senate by dignity. He was loved by all and dreaded by none save the enemy. He joined people in hunting and banquets, and in work and plans and jokes. Often he would make a fourth in somebody's litter, and sometimes he would enter persons' houses even without a guard and make himself at home. He lacked education in the exact sense, — book-learning, at least, — but he both understood and carried out its spirit, and there was no quality of his that was not *excellent*. I know well enough that he was given to wine and boys, but if

he had ever committed or endured any base or wicked deed as a result of this, he would have incurred censure. As the case stood, he drank all the wine he wanted, yet remained sober, and his pursuit of pederasty harmed no one. And even if he did delight in war, still he was satisfied with success in it, — with overthrowing a most hostile element and bettering his own side. Nor did the usual thing under such circumstances, — conceit and arrogance on the part of the soldiers, — ever manifest itself during his reign; with such a firm hand did he rule them. For these reasons Decebalus was somewhat justified in fearing him.

8

When Trajan, in the course of his campaign against the Dacians had come near Tapai, where the barbarians were encamping, a large mushroom was brought to him, on which it said in Latin characters that the Buri and other allies advised Trajan to turn back and make peace. At Trajan's first encounter with the foe he visited many of the wounded on his own side and killed many of the enemy. And when the bandages gave out, he is said not to have spared even his own clothing, but to have cut it up into strips. In honor of the soldiers that had died in battle he ordered an altar erected and the performance of funeral rites annually.

9

[Decebalus had sent envoys also before the defeat, and no longer the long-haired men, as before, but the chief among the cap-wearers. These threw down their arms and casting themselves upon the earth begged Trajan that if possible Decebalus himself be allowed to meet and confer with him, promising that he would do everything that might be commanded; or, if not, that at least some one should be despatched to agree upon terms with him. Those sent were Sura and Claudius Livianus, the prefect; but nothing was accomplished, for Decebalus did not dare even to come near them. He sent representatives also on this occasion.

Trajan had now seized some fortified mountains and on them found the arms and the captured engines, as well as the standard which had been taken in the time Fuscus.

A.D. 101 (a.u. 854)

Undertaking to ascend the heights themselves, he secured one crest after another amid dangers and approached the capital of the Dacians. Lusius, attacking in another quarter, slaughtered numbers and captured still more alive. Then Decebalus sent envoys.

Decebalus, for this reason, and particularly because Maximus at the same time

had possession of his sister and a strong position, was ready to agree without exception to every demand made. It was not that he intended to abide by his agreement, but he wanted to secure a respite from his temporary reverses.] So, though against his will, he made a compact to surrender his arms, engines, and manufacturers of engines, to give back the deserters, to demolish his forts, to withdraw from captured territory, and furthermore to consider the same persons enemies and friends as the Romans did [besides neither giving shelter to any of the deserters, nor employing any soldiers from the Roman empire, for he had acquired the largest and best part of his force by persuading them to come from that quarter] . When he came into Trajan's presence, he fell upon the earth and did obeisance [and cast away his arms. He also sent envoys to the senate to secure these terms, in order that he might have the further ratification of the peace by that body. At the conclusion of this compact the emperor left a camp in Sarmizegethusa, and, having placed garrisons at intervals through the remainder of the territory, returned to Italy.]

A.D. 103 (a.u. 856)

10

The envoys from Decebalus were introduced in the senate. They laid down their arms, clasped their hands in the posture of captives, and spoke some words of supplication; thus they obtained peace and received back their arms. Trajan celebrated a triumph and was given the title of Dacicus; in the theatre he had contests of gladiators, in whom he delighted, and he brought back dancers once more to the theatre, being in love with one of them, Pylades. However, he did not pay less attention to general administration, as might have been expected of a warlike personage, nor did he hold court the less: on the contrary, he conducted trials now in the forum of Augustus, now in the porch named the Porch of Livia, and often elsewhere on a platform.

And since Decebalus was reported to him to be acting in many ways contrary to the treaty, since he was gathering arms, receiving such as deserted, repairing the forts, sending ambassadors to the neighbors, and injuring those who had previously differed with him, since also he was devastating some land of the Iazygae (which Trajan later would not give back to them when they asked for it), therefore, the senate voted that he was again an enemy. And Trajan again conducted the war against him, commanding in person and not represented by others.

A.D. 104 (a.u. 857)

11

[As numerous Dacians kept transferring their allegiance to Trajan, and for

certain other reasons, Decebalus again requested peace. But since he could not be persuaded to surrender both his arms and himself, he proceeded openly to collect troops and called the surrounding nations to his aid, saying that if they deserted him they themselves would come into danger and that it was safer and easier by fighting on his side to preserve their freedom, before suffering any harm, than if they should allow his people to be destroyed and then later be subjugated when bereft of allies.] And Decebalus in the open field came off poorly, but by craft and deceit he almost compassed the death of Trajan. He sent into Moesia some deserters to see whether they could make away with him, inasmuch as the emperor was generally accessible, and now, on account of the needs of warfare, admitted to conference absolutely every one who desired it. But this plan they were unable to carry out, since one of them was arrested on suspicion and, under torture, revealed the entire plot.

12

Longinus was the commandant of the Roman camp who had made himself a terror to the Dacian leader in warfare. The latter, therefore, sent him an invitation and persuaded him to meet him, on the pretext that he would perform whatever should be enjoined. He then arrested him and questioned him publicly about Trajan's plans. As the Roman would not yield at all, he took him about with him under guard, though not in bonds. And [Decebalus sending an envoy to Trajan, asked that he might get back the territory as far as the Ister and receive indemnity for all the money he had spent on the war,] in recompense for restoring Longinus to him. An ambiguous answer was returned, of a kind that would not make Decebalus think that the emperor regarded Longinus as of either great value or small, the object being to prevent his being destroyed on the one hand, or being preserved on excessive terms, on the other. So Decebalus delayed, still considering what he should do.

Meanwhile Longinus, having [through his freedman] secured a poison [-he had promised Decebalus that he would reconcile Trajan to the proposition, in order that the Dacian should be as far as possible from suspecting what was to happen, and so not keep an especially careful watch over him. Also, to enable his servant to attain safety, he wrote a letter containing a supplication, and gave it to the freedman to carry to Trajan. Then, when he had gone, at night he took the poison,] drank it and died. [After this event Decebalus asked Trajan to give him back his freedman, promising to give him in return the body of Longinus and ten captives. He sent at once the centurion who had been captured with the dead general, assuming that this man would arrange the matter for him; and it was from the centurion that the whole story of Longinus was learned. However, Trajan neither sent him back, nor surrendered the freedman, deeming his safety more valuable for establishing the dignity of the empire than the of Longinus.]

Now, Trajan constructed over the Ister a stone bridge, for which I cannot sufficiently admire him. His other works are most brilliant, but this surpasses them. There are twenty square pieces of stone, the height of which is one hundred and fifty feet above the foundations and the breadth sixty, and these, standing at a distance of one hundred and seventy feet from one to another, are connected by arches. How then could one fail to be astonished at the expenditure made upon them? Or the manner in which each of them was placed in a river so deep, in water so full of eddies, on ground so slimy? It was impossible, you note, to divert the course of the river in any direction. I have spoken of the breadth of the river; but the stream is not uniformly so limited, since it covers in some places twice and elsewhere thrice as much ground, but the narrowest point, and the one in that region most adapted to bridge-building, has just those dimensions. Yet the very fact that the river here shrinks from a great flood to such a narrow channel and is here confined, though it again expands into a greater flood, makes it all the more violent and deep; and this feature must be considered in estimating the difficulty of preparing a bridge. This achievement, then, shows the greatness of Trajan's designs, though the bridge is of no particular use to us. Merely the piers are standing, affording no means of crossing, as if they were erected for the sole purpose of demonstrating that there is nothing which human energy can not accomplish. Trajan's reason for constructing the bridge was his fear that, some time when the Ister was frozen, war might be made on the Romans across the water, and his desire to enjoy the easy access to them that this work would permit. Hadrian, on the contrary, was afraid that the barbarians might overpower the guard at the bridge and cross into Moesia, and so he removed the surface work.

A.D. 105 (a.u. 858)

Trajan, having crossed the Ister on this bridge, conducted the war with prudence, rather than with haste, and eventually, after a hard struggle, vanquished the Dacians. In the course of these encounters he personally performed many deeds of good generalship and bravery, and his soldiers ran many risks and displayed great prowess on his behalf. It was here that a certain horseman, dangerously wounded, was carried from the battle on the supposition that he could be healed; but, when he found that he could not recover, he rushed from his quarters (since his hurt had not incapacitated him) and stationing himself in the line again he perished, after having displayed great valor.

A.D. 106 (a.u. 859)

Decebalus, when his capital and all his territory had been occupied and he

was himself in danger of being captured, committed suicide, and his head was brought to Rome.

In this way Dacia became subject to Rome and Trajan founded cities there. The treasures of Decebalus were also discovered, though hidden beneath the Sargetia river, which ran past his palace. He had made some captives divert the course of the river and had then excavated its bed. There he had placed a large amount of silver and of gold and other objects of great value, that could endure some moisture, had heaped stones over them and piled on earth. After that he had let the river flow over them. The same captives were compelled to deposit his robes and other similar objects in neighboring caves; and when he had effected this, he made away with them to prevent their talking. But Bicilis, a comrade of his, who knew what had been done, was seized and gave this information. — About this same time, Palma, who was governor of Syria, subdued the portion of Arabia, near Petra, and made it subservient to the Romans.

A.D. 107 (a.u. 860)

15

Upon Trajan's return to Rome the greatest imaginable number of embassies came to him from the barbarians, even the Indi being represented. And he gave spectacles on one hundred and twenty-three days. At these affairs thousands, yes, possibly tens of thousands of animals, both wild and tame, were slaughtered, and fully ten thousand gladiators fought in combat.

About the same period he made the Pontine marshes traversable by means of a stone foundation, and built roads alongside, which he furnished with most magnificent bridges. — All the obsolete money he had melted down.

[He had sworn not to commit bloodshed and he confirmed his promise by his actions in spite of plots. He was by nature not at all given to duplicity or guile or harshness. He loved and greeted and honored the good, and the rest he neglected. His age made him still more inclined to mildness.] When Licinius Sura died, he bestowed upon him a public funeral and a statue. This man had attained such a degree of wealth and pride that he built a gymnasium for the Romans. So great was the friendship and confidence [which Sura showed toward Trajan and Trajan toward him that although the man was often slandered, — as naturally happens in the case of all those who possess any influence with the emperors, — Trajan never felt a moment's suspicion or hatred. On the contrary, when those who envied him became insistent, Trajan] went [uninvited to his house] to dinner. And having dismissed his whole body-guard he first called Sura's physician and had him anoint his eyes and then his barber shave his chin. Anciently the emperors themselves as well as

all other people used to do this. It was Hadrian who first set the fashion of wearing a beard. When he had done this, he next took a bath and had dinner. So the next day he said to his friends who were always in the habit of making statements detrimental to Sura: "If Sura had wanted to kill me, he would have killed me yesterday."

16

Now he did a great thing in running this risk in the case of a man who had been calumniated, but a still greater thing in believing that he would never be harmed by him.

So it was that the confidence of his mind was strengthened by his own knowledge of his dealings with Sura instead of being influenced by the fancies of others.

Indeed, when he first handed to him who was to be prefect of the Pretorians the sword which the latter required to wear by his side, he bared the blade, holding it up said: "Take this sword, to the end that if I rule well, you may use it for me, but if ill, against me."

He also set up images of Sosia and Palma and Celsus, — so greatly did he esteem them above others. Those, however, who conspired against him (among whom was Crassus) he brought before the senate and caused to be punished.

A.D. 114 (a.u. 867)

Again he gathered collections of books. And he set up in the Forum an enormous column, to serve at once as a sepulchral monument to himself and as a reminder of his work in the Forum. The whole region there was hilly and he dug it down for a distance equaling the height of the column, thus making the Forum level.

17

Next he made a campaign against the Armenians and Parthians on the pretext that the Armenian king had obtained his diadem not at his hands but from the Parthian king. His real reason, however, was a desire to win fame. [On his campaign against the Parthians, when he had reached Athens, an embassy from Osrhoes met him asking for peace and proffering gifts. This king had learned of his advance and was terrified because Trajan was wont to make good his threats by deeds. Therefore he humbled his pride and sent a supplication that war be not made against him: he asked Armenia for Parthomasiris, who was likewise a son of Pacorus, and requested that the diadem be sent to him. He had put a stop, he said, to the reign of Exedares, who was beneficial neither to the Romans nor to the Parthians.]

The emperor neither received the gifts, nor sent any answer or command, save that friendship is determined by deeds and not by words; and that accordingly when he should reach Syria he would do what was proper.

And being of this mind he proceeded through Asia, Syria, and adjoining provinces to Seleucia. Upon his coming to Antioch, Abgarus the Osrhoenian did not appear in person, but sent gifts and a friendly communication. For, as he dreaded both him and the Parthians, he was trying to play a double game and for that reason would not come to confer with him.]

[Lusius Quietus was a Moor, himself a leader of the Moors, and had belonged to a troop in the cavalry. Condemned for base conduct he was temporarily relieved of his command and dishonored. But later, when the Dacian war came on and the army stood in need of the Moorish alliance, he came to it of his own accord and gave great exhibitions of prowess. For this he was honored, and in the second war performed far greater and more numerous exploits. Finally, he advanced so far in bravery and good fortune during this war which we are considering that he was enrolled among the ex-praetors, became consul, and governed Palestine. To this chiefly was due the jealousy and hatred felt for him, and his destruction.]

18

Now when Trajan had invaded the hostile territory, the satraps and kings of that region approached him with gifts. One of these gifts was a horse taught to do obeisance. It would kneel with its front legs and place its head beneath the feet of whoever stood near.

19

Parthomasiris behaved in rather violent fashion. In his first letter to Trajan he had signed himself as king, but when no answer came to his epistle, he wrote again, omitting this title, and asked that Marcus Junius, the governor of Cappadocia, be sent to him, implying that he wanted to prefer some request through him. Trajan, accordingly, sent him the son of Junius, and himself went ahead to Arsamosata, of which he took possession without a struggle. Then he came to Satala and rewarded with gifts Anchialus, the king of the Heniochi and Machelones. At Elegeia in Armenia he awaited Parthomasiris. He was seated upon a platform in the trenches. The prince greeted him, took off his diadem from his head, and laid it at his feet. Then he stood there in silence, expecting to receive it back. At this the soldiers shouted aloud, and hailed Trajan imperator as if on account of some victory. (They termed it an uncrowned, bloodless victory to see the king, a descendant of Arsaces, a son of Pacorus, and a nephew of Osrhoes, standing beside Trajan without a diadem, like a captive). The shout terrified the prince, who thought that it

heralded insult and destruction for him. He turned about as if to flee, but, seeing that he was hemmed in on all sides, begged as a favor not to be obliged to speak before the crowd. Accordingly, he was escorted into the tent, where he had none of his wishes granted.

20

So out he rushed in a rage, and from there out of the camp, but Trajan sent for him, and again ascending the platform bade him speak in the hearing of all everything that he desired. This was to prevent any person from spreading a false report through ignorance of what had been said in private conference. On hearing this exhortation Parthomasiris no longer kept silence, but with great frankness made many statements, some of them being to the effect that he had not been defeated or captured, but had come there voluntarily, believing that he should not be wronged and should receive back the kingdom, as Tiridates had received it from Nero. Trajan made appropriate replies to all his remarks and said that he should abandon Armenia to no one. It belonged to the Romans and should have a Roman governor. He would, however, allow Parthomasiris to depart to any place he pleased. So he sent the prince away together with his Parthian companions and gave them an escort of cavalry to ensure their meeting no one and adopting no rebellious tactics. All the Armenians who had come with him he commanded to remain where they were, on the ground that they were already his subjects.

21

[Leaving garrisons at opportune points Trajan came to Edessa, and there for the first time he set eyes upon Abgarus. Previously this person had sent envoys and gifts to the prince frequently, but he himself for different reasons at different times failed to put in an appearance. The same was true also of Mannus, the phylarch of adjoining Arabia, and Sporaces, phylarch of Anthemusia. On this occasion, however, he was persuaded partly by his son Arvandes, who was beautiful and in the prime of youth and therefore on good terms with Trajan, and partly by the fear of the latter's presence near by; consequently he met him on the road, made his apologies, and obtained pardon. He had a powerful intercessor in the boy. Accordingly, he became a friend of Trajan's and entertained him with a banquet. At the dinner in question he presented his boy in some kind of barbaric dance.]

22

[When Trajan came into Mesopotamia, Mannus sent a herald to him, and Manisarus despatched envoys in regard to peace, because, he said, Osrhoes was making a campaign against him, and he was ready to withdraw from Armenia and Mesopotamia so far as captured. Thereupon the emperor replied

that he would not believe him until he should come to him and confirm his offers by deeds, as he was promising. He was also suspicious of Mannus, especially because the latter had sent an auxiliary force to Mebarsapes, king of Adiabene, and then had lost it all at the hands of the Romans. Therefore Mannus never waited for the Romans to draw near but took his course to Adiabene to find shelter with the other two princes. Thus were Singara and some other points occupied by Lusius, without a battle.]

23

When he had captured the whole country of Armenia and had won over also many of the kings, some of whom, since they submitted, he treated as his friends, and others, though disobedient, he subdued without resort to arms, the senate voted to him many honors of various descriptions, and they bestowed upon him the title of Optimus, i.e., Excellent. — He was always accustomed to trudge on foot with his entire army and he had the ordering and arrangement of the troops throughout the entire expedition, leading them sometimes in one order and sometimes in another; and he forded as many rivers as they did. Sometimes he even had his scouts circulate false reports, in order that the soldiers might at the same time practice military manoeuvres and be so impervious to alarm as to be ready for anything. After he had captured Nisibis and Batnae he was given the title of Parthicus. But he took greater pride in the name of Optimus than in all the rest, inasmuch as it belonged rather to his character than to his arms.

A.D. 115 (a.u. 868)

24

While he was staying in Antioch, a dreadful earthquake occurred. Many cities were damaged, but Antioch was most of all unfortunate. Since Trajan was wintering there and many soldiers and many private persons had flocked thither from all directions for lawsuits, embassies, business, or sightseeing, there was no nation nor people that went unscathed. Thus in Antioch the whole world under Roman sway suffered disaster.

There were many thunderstorms to start with and portentous winds, but no one could have expected that so many evils would result from them. First came, on a sudden, a great bellowing roar, and there followed it a tremendous shock. The whole earth was up-heaved and buildings leaped into the air. Those that were lifted up collapsed and were smashed to pieces,

A.D. 115 (a.u. 868)

while others were beaten this way and that as if by the surges and were turned about. The wrecks were strewn a long distance over the countryside. The

crash of grinding and breaking timbers, tiles, and stones together became most frightful, and an inconceivable mass of dust arose, so that no one could see any person nor say or hear anything. Many persons were hurt even outside the houses, being picked up and tossed violently about, and then with a momentum as in a fall from a cliff dashed to the earth. Some were maimed, others killed. Not a few trees leaped into the air, roots and all.

The number of those found in the houses who perished was beyond discovery. Multitudes were destroyed by the very force of the collapse and crowds were suffocated in the debris. Those who lay with a part of their bodies buried under the stones or timbers suffered fearful agony, being able neither to live nor to find an immediate death.

25

Nevertheless many even of these were saved, as was natural in such overwhelming numbers of people. And those outside did not all get off safe and sound. Numbers lost their legs or their shoulders and some [Lacuna] their [Lacuna] heads. Others vomited blood. One of these was Pedo the consul, and he died at once. In brief, there was no form of violent experience that those people did not undergo at that time. And as Heaven continued the earthquake for several days and nights, the people were dismayed and helpless, some crushed and perishing under the weight of the buildings pressing upon them, and others dying of hunger in case it chanced that by the inclination of the timbers they were left alive in a clear space, it might be in a kind of arch-shaped colonnade. When at last the trouble had subsided, some one who ventured to mount the ruins caught sight of a live woman. She was not alone but had also an infant, and had endured by feeding both herself and her child with her milk. They dug her out and resuscitated her together with her offspring, and after that they searched the other heaps but were no longer able to find in them any living creature save a child sucking at the breasts of its mother, who was dead. As they drew out the corpses they no longer felt any pleasure at their own escape.

So great were the disasters that had overwhelmed Antioch at this time. Trajan made his way out through a window of the room where he was. Some being of more than human stature had approached him and led him forth, so that he survived with only a few small bruises. As the shocks extended over a number of days, he lived out of doors in the hippodrome. Casium itself, too, was so shaken that its peaks seemed to bend and break and to be falling upon the city. Other hills settled, and quantities of water not previously in existence came to light, while quantities more escaped by flowing away.

Trajan about spring time proceeded into the enemy's country. Now since the region near the Tigris is barren of timbers fit for shipbuilding, he brought the boats which had been constructed in the forests surrounding Nisibis on wagons to the river. The vessels had been arranged in such a way that they could be taken apart and put together. He had very hard work in bridging the stream opposite Mount Carduenum, for the opposing barbarians tried to hinder him. Trajan, however, had a great abundance of both ships and soldiers, and so some boats were fastened together with great speed while others lay motionless in front of them, carrying heavy infantry and archers. Still others kept making dashes this way and that, as if they intended to cross. As a result of these tactics and from their very astonishment at seeing so many ships at once appear *en masse* from a land devoid of trees the barbarians gave way and the Romans crossed over. They won possession of the whole of Adiabene. (This is a portion of Assyria in the vicinity of Ninus; and Arbela and Gaugamela, close to which Alexander conquered Darius, are also in this same territory. The country has also been called Atyria in the language of the barbarians, the double S being changed to T).

[Adenystrae was a strong post to which one Sentius, a centurion, had been sent as an envoy to Mebarsapes. He was imprisoned by the latter in that place, and later, at the approach of the Romans, he made an arrangement with some of his fellow-prisoners, and with their aid escaped from his shackles, killed the commander of the garrison, and opened the gates to his countrymen.] Hereupon they advanced as far as Babylon itself, being quite free from molestation, since the Parthian power had been ruined by civil conflicts and was still at this time involved in dissensions.

27

Cassius Dio Cocceianus in writings concerning the Latins has written that this city [i.e. Babylon] comprised a circuit of four hundred stades. (Compare also Tzetzes, *Exegesis of Homer's Iliad*, , 15 ff).

Here, moreover, Trajan saw the asphalt out of which the walls of Babylon had been built. When mixed with baked bricks or smooth stones this material affords so great strength as to render them stronger than rock or any kind of iron. He also looked at the opening from which issues a deadly vapor that destroys any creature living upon the earth and any winged thing that so much as inhales a breath of it. If it extended far above ground or had several vents, the place would not be inhabitable; but, as it is, this gas circles round within itself and remains stationary. Hence creatures that fly high enough above it and such as remain to one side are safe. I saw another opening like it at Hierapolis in Asia, and tested it by means of birds; I bent over it myself and myself gazed down upon the vapor. It is enclosed in a sort of a cistern and a theatre had been built over it. It destroys all living things save human beings

that have been emasculated. The reason for that I can not comprehend. I relate what I have seen as I have seen it and what I have heard as I have heard it.

A.D. 116 (a.u. 869)

28

Trajan had planned to conduct the Euphrates through a channel into the Tigris, in order that boats might be floated down by this route, affording him an opportunity to make a bridge. But on learning that it had a much higher elevation than the Tigris, he did not do it, fearing that the water might rush pell-mell down hill and render the Euphrates unnavigable. So he conveyed the boats across by means of hauling engines at the point where the space between the rivers is the least — the whole stream of the Euphrates empties into a swamp and from there somehow joins the Tigris — then crossed the Tigris and entered Ctesiphon. Having taken possession of this town he was saluted as emperor and established his right to the title of Parthicus. Various honors were voted him by the senate, among others the privilege of celebrating as many triumphs as he might desire.

After his capture of Ctesiphon he felt a wish to sail down into the Red Sea. This is a part of the ocean and has been so named from some person formerly ruler there. Mesene, the island in the Tigris of which Athambelus was king, he acquired without difficulty. [And it remained loyal to Trajan, although ordered to pay tribute.] But through a storm, and the violence of the Tigris, and the backward flow from the ocean, he fell into danger. The inhabitants of the so-called palisade of Spasinus [they were subject to the dominion of Athambelus] received him kindly.

29

Thence he came to the ocean itself, and when he had learned its nature and seen a boat sailing to India, he said: "I should certainly have crossed over to the Indi, if I were still young." He gave much thought to the Indi, and was curious about their affairs. Alexander he counted a happy man and at the same time declared that he himself had advanced farther. This was the tenor of the despatch that he forwarded to the senate, although he was unable to preserve even what territory had been subdued. On its receipt he obtained among other honors the privilege of celebrating a triumph for as many nations as he pleased. For, on account of the number of those peoples regarding which communications in writing were being constantly forwarded to them, they were unable to understand them or even to name some of them correctly. So the citizens of the capital prepared a trophy-bearing arch, besides many other decorations in his own forum, and were getting themselves in readiness to meet him some distance out when he should return. But he was destined never

to reach Rome again nor to accomplish anything deserving comparison with his previous exploits, and furthermore to lose even those earlier acquisitions. For, during the time that he was sailing down the ocean and returning from there again, all his conquests were thrown into tumult and revolted. And the garrisons placed among the various peoples were in some cases driven out and in others killed.

30

Trajan ascertained this in Babylon. He had taken the side-trip there on the basis of reports, unmerited by aught that he saw (which were merely mounds and stones and ruins), and for the sake of Alexander, to whose spirit he offered sacrifice in the room where he had died. When, therefore, he ascertained it, he sent Lusius and Maximus against the rebels. The latter perished after a defeat in the field; but Lusius was generally successful, recovering Nisibis, besieging Edessa, plundering and burning. Seleucia was also captured by Erucius Clarus and Julius Alexander, lieutenants, and was burned. Trajan, in fear that the Parthians, too, might begin some revolt, decided to give them a king of their own. And when he came to Ctesiphon he called together in a great plain all the Romans and likewise all the Parthians that were there at the time. He mounted a lofty platform, and, after describing in lofty language what he had accomplished, he appointed Parthamaspates king of the Parthians and set the diadem upon his head.

LXXV, 9, 6

When Volgaesus, the son of Sanatruces, confronted in battle array the followers of Severus and before coming to an actual test of strength asked and secured an armistice, Trajan sent envoys to him and granted him a portion of Armenia in return for peace.

31

Next he came into Arabia and commenced operations against the people of Hatra, since they, too, had revolted. This city is neither large nor prosperous. The surrounding country is mostly desert and holds no water (save a small amount, poor in quality), nor timber, nor herb. It is protected by these very features, which make a siege in any form impossible, and by the Sun, to whom it is, in a way, consecrated. It was neither at this time taken by Trajan nor later by Severus, although they knocked down some parts of its wall. Trajan sent the cavalry ahead against the wall but failed in his attempt, and the attacking force was hurled back into the camp. As he was riding by, he barely missed being wounded himself, in spite of the fact that he had laid aside his imperial attire to avoid being recognized. Seeing the majestic gray head and his august countenance they suspected him to be the man he was, shot at him, and killed a cavalryman in his escort. There were peals of thunder and rainbow tints glimmered indistinctly. Flashes of lightning and spray-like

storms, hail and thunderbolts fell upon the Romans as often as they made assaults. And whenever they ate a meal, flies settled on the food and drink causing universal discomfort. Thus Trajan left the place and not long after began to fail in health.

32

Meanwhile the Jews in the region of Cyrene had put one Andreas at their head and were destroying both the Romans and the Greeks. They would cook their flesh, make belts for themselves of their entrails, anoint themselves with their blood, and wear their skins for clothing. Many they sawed in two, from the head downwards. Others they would give to wild beasts and force still others to fight as gladiators. In all, consequently, two hundred and twenty thousand perished. In Egypt, also, they performed many similar deeds, and in Cyprus under the leadership of Artemio. There, likewise, two hundred and forty thousand perished. For this reason no Jew may set foot in that land, but even if one of them is driven upon the island by force of the wind, he is put to death. Various persons took part in subduing these Jews, one being Lusius, who was sent by Trajan.

A.D. 117 (a.u. 870)

33

Now Trajan was preparing to make a new expedition into Mesopotamia. Finding himself, however, held fast by the clutches of the disease, he started to sail to Italy himself and left behind Publius Aelius Hadrian with the army in Syria. So the Romans, who had conquered Armenia, most of Mesopotamia, and the Parthians, had labored in vain and had vainly undergone danger. The Parthians disdained Parthaspates and began to have kings according to their original custom. Trajan suspected that his falling sick was due to the administration of poison. Some declare it was because his blood, which annually descended into the lower part of his body, was kept from flowing. He had also become paralyzed, so that part of his body was disabled, and his general diathesis was dropsical. And on coming to Selinus in Cilicia, which we also call Traianoupolis, he suddenly expired after a reign of nineteen years, six months, and fifteen days.

BOOK 69

Hadrian without being adopted succeeds, through the favor of Plotina (chapters 1, 2).

About the assassinations authorized by Hadrian: about his varied learning and jealousies (chapters 3, 4).

His virtues, particularly affability and generosity: old arrears of debt forgiven (chapters 5, 6, 7, 8).

Travels: discipline of the army reformed: interest in hunting (chapters 9, 10).

How he honored Antinous with various marks of remembrance (chapter 11).

Uprising of Jews on account of the founding of Capitolina: Bithynia recovered (chapters 12, 13, 14).

The Albanians are held in check: Pharasmanes the Iberian is honored (chapter 15).

The Temple of Jupiter Olympius and the Panellenium are consecrated (chapter 16).

Growing ill, he adopts Commodus, slays Servianus: the distinguished services of Turbo, Fronto, Similis (chapters 17, 18, 19).

On the death of Commodus he adopts Antoninus, the latter adopting at the same time Marcus and Verus (chapters 20, 21).

How Hadrian departed this life (chapters 22, 23).

DURATION OF TIME

Quinctius Niger, Vipsanius Apronianus.

(A.D. 117 = a.u. 870 = First of Hadrian, from Aug. 11 th).

Hadrianus Aug. (II), Claudius Fuseus Salinator.

(A.D. 118 = a.u. 871 = Second of Hadrian).

Hadrianus Aug. (III), Q. Iunius Rusticus.

(A.D. 119 = a.u. 872 = Third of Hadrian).

L. Catilius Severus, T. Aurelius Fulvus.

(A.D. 120 = a.u. 873 = Fourth of Hadrian).

L. Annius Verus, Aur. Augurinus.
(A.D. 121 = a.u. 874 = Fifth of Hadrian).

Acilius Aviola, Corellius Pansa.
(A.D. 122 = a.u. 875 = Sixth of Hadrian).

Q. Arrius Paetinus, C. Ventidius Apronianus.
(A.D. 123 = a.u. 876 = Seventh of Hadrian).

Manius Acilius Glabrio, C. Bellicius Torquatus.
(A.D. 124 = a.u. 877 = Eighth of Hadrian).

P. Corn. Scipio Asiaticus (II), Q. Vettius Aquilinus.
(A.D. 125 = a.u. 878 = Ninth of Hadrian).

Annius Verus (III), L. Varius Ambibulus.
(A.D. 126 = a.u. 879 = Tenth of Hadrian).

Gallicianus, Caelius Titianus.
(A.D. 127 = a.u. 880 = Eleventh of Hadrian).

L. Nonius Asprenas Torquatus (II), M. Annius Libo.
(A.D. 128 = a.u. 881 = Twelfth of Hadrian).

Iuventius Celsus (II), Marcellus.
(A.D. 129 = a.u. 882 = Thirteenth of Hadrian).

Q. Fabius Catullinus, M. Flavius Aper.
(A.D. 130 = a.u. 883 = Fourteenth of Hadrian).

Ser. Octav. Laenas Pontianus, M. Antonius Rufinus.
(A.D. 131 = a.u. 884 = Fifteenth of Hadrian).

Augurinus, Severianus (or, according to others, Sergianus).
(A.D. 132 = a.u. 885 = Sixteenth of Hadrian).

Hiberus, Iunius Silanus Sisenna.
(A.D. 133 = a.u. 886 = Seventeenth of Hadrian).

Servianus (III), Vibius Varus.
(A.D. 134 = a.u. 887 = Eighteenth of Hadrian).

Pontianus, Atilianus.
(A.D. 135 = a.u. 888 = Nineteenth of Hadrian).

L. Ceionius Commodus Verus, Sex. Vetulenus Civica Pompeianus.
(A.D. 136 = a.u. 889 = Twentieth of Hadrian).

L. Aelius Verus Caesar, P. Caelius Balbinus Vibullius.
(A.D. 137 = a.u. 890 = Twenty-first of Hadrian).

Camerinus, Niger.

(A.D. 138 = a.u. 891 = Twenty-second of Hadrian, to July 10th).

A.D. 117 (a.u. 870)

1

Hadrian had not been adopted by Trajan. He was merely a fellow-citizen of the latter, had enjoyed Trajan's services as guardian, was of near kin to him, and had married his niece. In fine, he was a companion of his, sharing his daily life, and had been assigned to Syria for the Parthian War. However, he had received no distinguishing mark of favor from Trajan and had not been one of the first to be appointed consul. His position as Caesar and emperor was due to the fact that, when Trajan died without an heir, Attianus, a fellow-citizen and former guardian, together with Plotina, who was in love with him, secured him the appointment, — their efforts being facilitated by his proximity and his having a large force under his command. My father Apronianus, who was governor of Cilicia, had ascertained accurately the whole story about him. He used to relate the different incidents, and said in particular that the death of Trajan was concealed for several days to the end that the adoption might be announced. This was shown also by his letters to the senate, the signature upon which was not his, but Plotina's. She had not done this in any previous instance.

2

At the time that he was declared emperor, Hadrian was in Antioch, the metropolis of Syria, of which he was governor. In a dream just before that day he seemed to see fire descend from heaven in the midst of clear sky and wholly fair weather and fall first upon the left of his throat and then upon the right also, though it neither frightened nor injured him. And Hadrian wrote to the senate, asking that his sovereignty be confirmed also by that body, and forbidding any measure to be voted (as was so often done) either then or thereafter that contained any special honor for him, unless he should first himself approve it.

The bones of Trajan were deposited in his column, and the so-called Parthian games continued for a number of years. At a later date even this observance, like many others, was abolished.

Hadrian's rule was in general most humane. [In a letter he expresses himself with the greatest degree of consideration for others and swears that he will

neither do anything contrary to the public advantage nor put to death any senator, calling down destruction upon himself, if he shall transgress these principles in any way. But] Still he was spoken against on account of some murders of excellent men that he had sanctioned in the beginning of his reign and near the end of his life. And for this reason he came near not being enrolled among the heroes. Those murdered at the beginning were Palma and Celsus, Nigrinus and Lusius, the first two for the alleged reason that they had conspired against him during a hunt, and the others on certain other complaints, because they had great influence, or were in a strong position as regards wealth and fame. Hadrian felt so keenly the talk that was made about them that he defended himself and declared upon oath that he had not ordered their deaths. Those that perished at the end of the reign were Servianus and his grandson Fuscus.

Hadrian was a pleasant man to meet and his presence shed a kind of grace.

3

As for Hadrian's family, he was a son of [a man of senatorial rank, an ex-praetor] Hadrianus, [for thus he was named] . In regard to his disposition, he was fond of literature in both languages and has left behind all kinds of prose pieces as well as compositions in verse. His ambition was insatiable, and as a result he practiced all conceivable pursuits, even the most trivial. He modeled and painted and declared that there was nothing in peace or in war, in imperial or in private life, of which he was not cognizant. [And this, of course, did people no harm; but his jealousy of those who excelled in any branch was terrible and] ruined many besides utterly destroying quite a few. [For,] since he desired to surpass everybody in everything, [he hated those who attained eminence in any direction.] This feeling it was which led him to undertake the overthrow of two sophists, Favorinus the Gaul and Dionysius the Milesian, [by various methods, chiefly] by stirring up their antagonists [who were of little or no worth at all] . Dionysius is said to have remarked at this time to Avidius Heliodorus, who managed his correspondence: "Caesar can give you money and honor, but he can't make you an orator." Favorinus was about to bring a case before the emperor in regard to exemption from taxes, a privilege which he desired to secure in his native city. Suspecting, however, that he should be unsuccessful and be insulted in addition he entered the courtroom, to be sure, but made no other statement save: "My teacher stood this night in a dream by my side and bade me do service for my country, since I have been born in it."

4

Now Hadrian spared these men, although he was displeased with them, for he could find no satisfactory pretext to use against them that might compass their

destruction. But he first banished and later actually put to death Apollodorus the architect, who had planned the various creations of Trajan in Rome, — the forum, the odeum, and the gymnasium. The excuse given was that he had been guilty of some misdemeanor, but the true reason was that, when Trajan was consulting him on some point about the works, he had said to Hadrian, who broke in with some remark: “Be off and draw gourds. You don’t understand any of these matters.” It happened that Hadrian at the time was pluming himself upon some such drawing. When he became emperor, therefore, he remembered the slight and would not endure the man’s freedom of speech. He sent him his own plan of the temple of Venus and Roma by way of showing him that a great work could be accomplished without his aid, and he asked Apollodorus whether the structure was a good one. The latter in his reply said about the temple that it ought to have been made to tower aloft in the air and have been scooped out beneath. Then, as a result of being higher, it would have stood out more conspicuously on the Sacred Way, and might have received

A.D. 117 (a.u. 870)

within its expanse the engines, so that they could be built unobserved and could be brought into the theatre without any one’s being aware of it beforehand. In regard to the statues, he said that they had been made too tall for the height adopted in the principal room. “If the goddesses,” he said, “wish to get up and go out, they will be unable to do so.” When he wrote this so bluntly to Hadrian, the latter was both vexed and exceedingly pained because he had fallen into a mistake that could not be set right. He restrained neither his anger nor his grief, but murdered the man. [By nature] the emperor was such a person [that he was jealous not only of the living, but also of the dead. For instance,] he abolished Homer and introduced in his stead Antimachus, whose name many persons had not previously known.

5

These acts were charged against him as offences, and so were also his great exactness, his superfluous labors, and his divided interests. But he healed the wounds made and recovered favor by his general care, his foresight, his grandeur and his skill. Again, he did not stir up any war and ended those already in progress. He deprived no one of money unjustly, and upon many peoples and private citizens and senators and knights he bestowed large sums. He did not wait to be asked, but was certain to act each time according to each man’s needs. The military he trained with great precision, so that its strength rendered it neither disobedient nor insolent. Allied and subject cities he aided most munificently. He had seen many that no other emperor had even set eyes upon, and he assisted practically all of them, giving to some water, to others harbors, or food, or public works, or money, and to still others various honors.

As a leader of the Roman people he was distinguished for force rather than for flattery. Once, at a gladiatorial contest, when the crowd was urging its petition strongly, he not only would not grant its wish, but further ordered this command of Domitian's to be proclaimed: "Be silent." The words were not uttered, though. The herald raised his hand and by that very gesture quieted the people as he had been accustomed to do. (They are never silenced by proclamation). Then, when they had become quiet, he said: "This is what he wishes." Hadrian was not in the least angry with the herald; on the contrary, he honored him for not publishing the rudeness of the order. He could endure such things and was not displeased if he was aided in any unexpected way and by chance comers. It must be admitted that once, when a woman passed him on some road and preferred a request, he at first said to her: "I haven't time." Afterwards, when she cried out loudly, saying: "Don't be emperor, then", he turned about and granted her a hearing.

7

He transacted through the senate all serious and most urgent business and he held court with the assistance of prominent men now in the palace or again in the Forum, the Pantheon, and in many other places, always on a platform, so that what was done was open to public inspection. Sometimes he would join the consuls when *they* were trying cases, and he showed them honor at the horse-races. When he returned home he was accustomed to be carried in a litter, in order not to trouble any one to accompany him. On days neither sacred nor public he remained at home, and admitted no one even long enough to greet him, unless it were some urgent matter; this was to relieve the courtiers of needless annoyance. Both in Rome and abroad he always kept the noblest men about him; and he used to join them at banquets, which led to his being often carried in their litters as one of a party of four. As frequently as possible he went hunting, and he breakfasted without wine; in fact, most of his food was served without any accompanying beverage; and often in the midst of a meal he would turn his attention to a case at law: later he would drive in the company of all the foremost and best men, and their eating together was the occasion for all kind of discussions. When his friends were very ill, he would go to see them, and he used to attend their festivals, besides evincing pleasure at visiting their country seats and houses. As might have been expected, then, he set up in his forum images for many who were dead and many still alive. No one of his associates, moreover, displayed insolence nor sold ought that he should pronounce or perform, as the Caesarians and other attendants in the suite of emperors have made it their custom to do.

8

This is a kind of preface, of a summary nature, I have been giving in regard to his character. I shall also touch upon all the details that require mention.

The Alexandrians had been rioting and nothing would make them stop until they received a letter from Hadrian rebuking them. So true it is that an emperor's word has more power than force of arms.

A.D. 118 (a.u. 871)

On coming to Rome he canceled debts owing to the imperial treasury and to the public treasury of the Romans, setting a limit of sixteen years, from which and as far back as which this provision was to be observed. On his own birthday he gave a spectacle to the people free of charge, and slaughtered numbers of wild beasts, — one hundred lions and a like number of lionesses biting the dust on this one occasion. Gifts, likewise, he brought about by means of balls both in the theatres and in the hippodrome, one lot for the men and one lot for the women. Indeed, he had also commanded them to battle separately.

9

This, then, was what happened that year. Euphrates the philosopher also died a death of his own choosing; and Hadrian assented to his drinking hemlock in consideration of his extreme age and sickness. Hadrian went from one province to another, visiting the districts and cities and observing all the garrisons and fortifications. Some of these he removed to more desirable locations, some he abolished, and he founded some new ones. He personally oversaw and investigated absolutely everything, not merely the usual appurtenances of camps, — I mean weapons and engines and ditches and enclosures and palisades, — but also the private affairs of each one, and the lives, the dwellings and the characters both of the men serving in the organization, and of the commanders themselves. Many cases of too delicate living and equipment he harmonized with military needs and reformed in various ways. He exercised the men in every variety of battle, honoring some and reproving others. He taught all of them what they ought to do. And to make sure that they should obtain benefit from observing *him*, he led everywhere a severe existence and walked or rode horseback on all occasions. Never at this period did he enter either a chariot or a four-wheeled vehicle. He covered his head neither in heat nor in cold, but alike in Celtic snows and under scorching Egyptian suns he went about with it bare.

A.D. 119 (a.u. 872)

In fine, so thoroughly by action and exhortations did he train and discipline the whole military force throughout the whole empire that even now the methods then introduced by him are the soldiers' law of campaigning. This best explains why he lived for the most part at peace with foreign nations. As they saw what support he had and were victims of no injustice, but instead received money, they made no uprising. So excellently had his soldiery been trained, that the cavalry of the so-called Batavians swam the Ister with their heavy armor on. Seeing this the barbarians stood in terror of the Romans, and

turning their attention to their own affairs they employed Hadrian as an arbitrator of their differences.

10

He also constructed theatres and held games as he traveled about from city to city, dispensing, however, with the imperial paraphernalia. This he never used outside of Rome. His own country, though he did her great honor and bestowed many proud possessions on her, he nevertheless did not set eyes upon.

He is said to have been enthusiastic over hunting. Indeed, he broke his collarbone in this pursuit and came near losing a leg. And to a city that he founded in Mysia he gave the name of Adrianotherae.

A.D. 121 (a.u. 874)

However, he did not, while so occupied, leave undone any of the duties pertaining to his office. Of his enthusiasm for hunting his horse Borysthenes, which was his favorite steed for the chase, gives us an indication. When the animal died, he prepared a tomb for him, set up a slab, and placed an inscription upon it. Hence it is scarcely surprising that when Plotina died, the woman through whom he had secured the imperial office, and who was passionately in love with him, he honored her to the extent of wearing mourning garments for nine days, building a temple to her, and composing several hymns to her memory.

When Plotina was dead, Hadrian praised her and said: "Though she asked much of me, she was never refused aught." By this he surely meant to say: "Her requests were of such a character that they neither burdened me nor afforded me any justification for saying no."

He was so skillful in hunting that once he brought down a huge boar with a single blow.

11

On reaching Greece he became a spectator at the Mysteries.

A.D. 122 (a.u. 875)

After this he passed through Judaea into Egypt and offered sacrifice to Pompey, about whom, he is said to have uttered this verse:

Strange lack of tomb for one with shrines o'erwhelmed!

And he restored his monument, which had fallen to ruin. In Egypt also he restored the so-called City of Antinous. Antinous was from Bithynium, a city of Bithynia which we also call Claudioupolis; he had been a favorite of the

emperor and had died in Egypt, either by falling into the Nile, as Hadrian writes, or, as is more probably the truth, by being offered in sacrifice. For Hadrian, as I have stated, was in general a great dabbler in superstitions and employed divinations and incantations of all kinds. Accordingly, he honored Antinous either because of his love for him or because he had voluntarily submitted to death (it being necessary that a life be surrendered voluntarily for the accomplishment of the ends he had in view), by building a city on the spot where he had suffered this fate and naming it after him: and he further set up likenesses, or rather sacred statues of him, practically all over the world. Finally, he declared that he had seen a star which he assumed to belong to Antinous, and gladly lent an ear to the fictitious tales woven by his associates to the effect that the star had really come into being from the spirit of Antinous and had then appeared for the first time.

A.D. 133 (a.u. 886)

On this account he became the object of some ridicule [as also because the death of his sister Paulina he had not immediately paid her any honor[Lacuna]]

A.D. 133 (a.u. 886)

12

In Jerusalem he founded a city in place of the one razed to the ground, naming it Aelia Capitolina, and on the site of the temple of the god he raised a new temple to Jupiter. This brought on a war that was not slight nor of brief duration, for the Jews deemed it intolerable that foreign races should be settled in their city and foreign religious rites be planted there. While Hadrian was close by in Egypt and again in Syria, they remained quiet, save in so far as they purposely made the weapons they were called upon to furnish of poorer quality, to the end that the Romans might reject them and they have the use of them. But when he went farther away, they openly revolted. To be sure, they did not dare try conclusions with the Romans in the open field, but they occupied advantageous positions in the country and strengthened them with mines and walls, in order that they might have places of refuge whenever they should be hard pressed, and meet together unobserved under ground; and in these subterranean passages they sunk shafts from above to let in air and light.

13

At first the Romans made no account of them. Soon, however, all Judaea had been up-heaved, and the Jews all over the world were showing signs of disturbance, were gathering together, and giving evidence of great hostility to the Romans, partly by secret and partly by open acts; many other outside nations, too, were joining them through eagerness for gain, and the whole earth, almost, was becoming convulsed over the matter. Then, indeed, did

Hadrian send against them his best generals, of who Julius Severus was the first to be despatched, from Britain, of which he was governor, against the Jews. He did not venture to attack his opponents at any one point, seeing their numbers and their desperation, but by taking them in separate groups by means of the number of his soldiers and his under-officers and by depriving them of food and shutting them up he was able, rather slowly, to be sure, but with comparatively little danger, to crush and exhaust and exterminate them. Very few of them survived.

14

Fifty of their most important garrisons and nine hundred and eighty-five of their most renowned towns were blotted out. Fifty-eight myriads of men were slaughtered in the course of the invasions and battles, and the number of those that perished by famine and disease and fire was past all investigating. Thus nearly the whole of Judaea was made desolate, an event of which the people had had indications even before the war. The tomb of Solomon, which these men regarded as one of their sacred objects, fell to pieces of itself and collapsed and many wolves and hyenas rushed howling into their cities.

Many Romans, moreover, perished in the war. Wherefore Hadrian in writing to the senate did not employ the opening phrase commonly affected by the emperors: "If you and your children are in health, it shall be well: I and the armies are in health."

A.D. 134(?)

Severus he sent into Bithynia, which needed no force of arms but a governor and presiding officer who was just and prudent and had a reputation. All these qualifications Severus possessed. And he managed and administered both their private and their public affairs in such a way that we are still, even to-day wont to remember him. [Pamphylia in place of Bithynia was given into the jurisdiction of the senate and the lot.]

15

This, then, was the ending that the war with the Jews took. A second war was started among the Alani (they are Massagetae) by Pharasmanes. On Albanis and Media he inflicted severe injury and then laid hold on Armenia and Cappadocia, after which, as the Alani were on the one hand persuaded by gifts from Vologaesius and on the other stood in dread of Flavius Arrianus, the governor of Cappadocia, he stopped. [Envoys were sent from Vologaesius and from the Iazygae; the former made some charges against Pharasmanes and the latter wanted to confirm the peace. [?] introduced them to the senate and was empowered by that body to return appropriate answers; and accordingly he prepared and read to them his responses.]

Hadrian completed the Olympieum in Athens, in which his own statue also stands, and consecrated there a serpent, which was brought from India. He also presided at the Dionysia, the greatest office within the gift of the people, and arrayed in the local costume carried it through brilliantly. He allowed the Greeks, too, to build his sepulchre (called the Panellenium), and instituted a series of games to be connected with it; and he granted to the Athenians large sums of money, annual corn distribution, and the whole of Cephallenia. — Among various laws that he enacted was one to the effect that no senator, either personally or through the medium of another, should have any tax farmed out to him.

A.D. 135 (a.u. 888)

After he had come to Rome, the crowd at a spectacle shouted their request for the emancipation of a certain charioteer: but he replied by means of a writing on a board: “It is not right for you either to ask me to free another’s slave or to force his master to do so.”

He now began to be sick, having suffered even before this from blood gushing from his nostrils: this flow now grew very much more copious, so that he despaired of his life. Consequently, he appointed as Caesar for the Romans Lucius Commodus, although this man frequently vomited blood.

A.D. 136 (a.u. 889)

Servianus and his grandson Fuscus, the former a nonagenarian and the latter eighteen years of age, were put to death on the ground that they were displeased at this action. Servianus before being executed asked for fire, and as he offered incense he exclaimed: “That I am guilty of no wrong, ye; O Gods, are well aware: and as for Hadrian I pray only this, that he may desire to die and not be able.” And, indeed, Hadrian did come to his end only after often praying that he might expire and often feeling a desire to kill himself. There is in existence also a letter of his which lays stress on this very matter, showing what a dreadful thing it is for a man to desire to die and not be able. This Servianus had been by Hadrian deemed capable of filling the imperial office. He had once at a banquet told his friends to name for him ten men who were competent to be sole rulers, and then after a moment’s pause, had added: “I want to know *nine*: I have one already, Servianus.”

Other excellent men, also, had come to light during that period, of whom the most distinguished were Turbo and Similis, who, indeed, were honored with statues.

Turbo was a man of great qualities as a general, who had become prefect (or commander of the Pretorians). He committed no act of luxury or haughtiness, but lived like one of the multitude: the entire day he spent in proximity to the palace and often he would go there even shortly before midnight, when some of the others were beginning to sleep. A characteristic anecdote is that which brings in the name of Cornelius Fronto, at this time reputed to be the foremost Roman advocate in lawsuits. One evening very late he was returning home from dinner and ascertained from a man whose counsel he had promised to be that Turbo was holding court. Accordingly, just as he was, in his dress for dinner, he went into his courtroom and greeted him not with the morning salutation, *I wish you joy*, but with that belonging to the evening, *I trust your health continues good*.

Turbo was never seen at home in the daytime even when he was sick; and to Hadrian, who advised him to remain quiet, he replied: "The prefect ought to die on his feet."

19

Similis, who was of greater age and more advanced rank, in character was second to none of the great men, I think. Very slight things may serve us as evidence. When he was centurion, Trajan had summoned him to enter his presence before the prefects, whereupon he said: "It is a shame for you, Caesar, to be talking with a centurion, while the prefects stand outside." And he took unwillingly at that time the command of the Pretorians, and after taking it resigned it. Having with difficulty secured his release he spent the rest of his life, seven years, quietly in the country, and upon his tomb he had this inscription placed: "Similis lies here, who existed so-and-so many years, but lived for seven."

Julius (?) Fabius (?), not being able to endure his son's effeminacy, desired to throw himself into the river.

A.D. 138 (a.u. 891)

20

Hadrian became consumptive as a result of the great loss of blood, and that led to dropsy. And as it happened that Lucius Commodus was suddenly removed from the scene by the outgushing of a large quantity of blood all at once, he convened at his house the foremost and most renowned of the senators; and lying on a couch he spoke to them as follows: "I, my friends, was not permitted by nature to secure offspring, but you have made it possible by legal enactment. There is this difference between the two ways, — that a begotten son turns out to be whatever sort of person Heaven pleases, whereas

one that is adopted a man takes to himself because he chooses just that sort of being. Thus in process of nature a maimed and

A.D. 138 (a.u. 891)

senseless creature is often given to a parent, but by process of voluntary decision one of sound body and sound mind is certain to be selected. For this cause I formerly chose out Lucius from among all, a person of such attainments as I could never have prayed to find in a child. But since the Heavenly Power has taken him from among us, I have found an emperor in his place whom I now give you, one who is noble, mild, tractable, prudent, neither young enough to do anything reckless nor old enough to neglect ought, — one brought up according to the laws, who has held possession of authority according to his country's traditions, so that he is not ignorant of any matters pertaining to his office, but can handle them all effectively. I refer to Aurelius Antoninus here. Although I know him to be the most retiring of men and to be far from desiring any such thing, still I do not think that he will deliberately disregard either me or you but will accept the office even against his will."

21

So it was that Antoninus became emperor. Since he was destitute of male children, Hadrian adopted for him Commodus's son Commodus and, moreover, besides the latter, Marcus Annius Verus; for he wished to appoint those who were afterwards to be emperors for as long a time ahead as possible. (This Marcus Annius, earlier named Catilius, was a grandson of Annius Verus who had thrice been consul and prefect of the city). And though Hadrian urged Antoninus to adopt them both, he preferred Verus on account of his kinship and his age and because he already exhibited an extremely strong cast of mind. This led him to apply to the young man the name Verissimus, with a play upon the meaning of the Latin word.

22

By certain charms and species of magic Hadrian was relieved of the water, but shortly was full of it again. Since, therefore, he was constantly growing worse and might be said to be slowly perishing day by day, he began to long for death. Often he would ask for poison and a sword, but no one would give them to him. As no one would obey him, although he promised money and immunity, he sent for Mastor, an Iazygian barbarian that had become a captive, whom he had employed in hunts on account of his strength and daring. Then, partly by threatening him and partly by making promises, he compelled the man to undertake the duty of killing him. He drew a colored line around a spot beneath the nipple that had been shown him by Hermogenes the physician, in order that he might there be struck a finishing blow and perish painlessly. But even this plan did not succeed, for Mastor became afraid of the project and in terror withdrew. The emperor lamented

bitterly the plight in which the disease had placed him and bitterly his powerlessness, in that he was not able to make away with himself, though he might still, even when so near death, destroy anybody else. Finally he abandoned his careful regimen and through using unsuitable foods and drinks met his death, saying and shouting aloud the popular saying: "Many physicians have ruined a king."

23

He had lived sixty-two years, five months and nineteen days, and had been emperor twenty years and eleven months. He was buried near the river itself, close to the Aelian bridge; that was where he had prepared his tomb, for the one belonging to Augustus was full and no other body was deposited there.

This emperor was hated [by the people, in spite of his excellent reign] on account of the early and the late murders, since they had been unjustly and impiously brought about. Yet he had so little of a bloodthirsty disposition that even in the case of some who took pains to thwart him he deemed it sufficient to write to their native lands the bare statement that they did not please him. And if any man who had children was absolutely obliged to receive punishment, still, in proportion to the number of his children he would also lighten the penalty imposed. [Notwithstanding, the senate persisted for a long time in its refusal to vote him divine honors, and in its strictures upon some of those who had committed excesses during his reign and had been honored therefor, when they ought to have been chastised.]

After Hadrian's death there was erected to him a huge equestrian statue representing him with a four-horse team. It was so large that the bulkiest man could walk through the eye of each horse, yet because of the extreme height of the monument persons passing along on the ground below are wont to think that the horses themselves as well as Hadrian are very small.

BOOK 70

Antoninus Pius, succeeding by adoption, effects the deification of Hadrian (chapter 1).

The cognomen Pius is bestowed upon Antoninus by the senate (chapter 2).

He showed little hostility toward the Christians: was careful in trifles: met a quiet death in old age (chapter 3).

Earthquake that damaged Bithynia, the Hellespontine region, and especially Cyzicus (chapter 4).

He is compared with Numa: his gentleness and kindliness (chapter 5).

He was intent upon justice, not upon enlarging the empire: hence the barbarians brought their quarrels to him to settle (chapters 6, 7).

DURATION OF TIME

Camerinus, Niger.

(A.D. 138 = a.u. 891 = First of Antoninus, from July 10 th).

Antoninus Pius Aug. (II), Bruttius Praesens.

(A.D. 139 = a.u. 892 = Second of Antoninus).

Antoninus Pius Aug. (III), Aurelius Caesar (II).

(A.D. 140 = a.u. 893 = Third of Antoninus).

M. Peducaeus Sylloga Priscinus, T. Hoenius Severus.

(A.D. 141 = a.u. 894 = Fourth of Antoninus).

L. Cuspius Rufinus, L. Statius Quadratus.

(A.D. 142 = a.u. 895 = Fifth of Antoninus).

C. Bellicius Torquatus, Tib. Claudius Atticus Herodes.

(A.D. 143 = a.u. 896 = Sixth of Antoninus).

Avitus, Maximus.

(A.D. 144 = a.u. 897 = Seventh of Antoninus).

Antoninus Pius Aug. (IV), M. Aurelius Caesar (II).

(A.D. 145 = a.u. 898 = Eighth of Antoninus).

Sex. Erucius Clarus (II), Cn. Claudius Severus.

(A.D. 146 = a.u. 899 = Ninth of Antoninus).

Largus, Messalinus.
(A.D. 147 = a.u. 900 = Tenth of Antoninus).

L. Torquatus (III), C. Iulianus Vetus.
(A.D. 148 = a.u. 901 = Eleventh of Antoninus).

Sergius Scipio Orfitus, Q. Nonius Priscus.
(A.D. 149 = a.u. 902 = Twelfth of Antoninus).

Gallicanus, Vetus.
(A.D. 150 = a.u. 903 = Thirteenth of Antoninus).

Quintilius Condianus, Quintilius Maximus.
(A.D. 151 = a.u. 904 = Fourteenth of Antoninus).

M. Acilius Glabrio, M. Valerius Homullus.
(A.D. 152 = a.u. 905 = Fifteenth of Antoninus).

C. Bruttius Praesens, A. Iunius Rufinus.
(A.D. 153 = a.u. 906 = Sixteenth of Antoninus).

L. Ael. Aurelius Commodus, T. Sextius Lateranus.
(A.D. 154 = a.u. 907 = Seventeenth of Antoninus).

C. Iulius Severus, M. Rufinius Sabinianus.
(A.D. 155 = a.u. 908 = Eighteenth of Antoninus).

M. Ceionius Silvanus, C. Serius Augurinus.
(A.D. 158 = a.u. 909 = Nineteenth of Antoninus).

Barbaras, Regulus.
(A.D. 157 = a.u. 910 = Twentieth of Antoninus).

Tertullus, Sacerdos.
(A.D. 158 = a.u. 911 = Twenty-first of Antoninus).

Plautius Quintilius, Statius Priscus.
(A.D. 159 = a.u. 912 = Twenty-second of Antoninus).

T. Clodius Vibius Varus, App. Annii Atilius Bradua.
(A.D. 160 = a.u. 913 = Twenty-third of Antoninus).

M. Ael. Aurelius Verus Caesar (III), I. Ael. Aurelius Commodus (II).
(A.D. 161 = a.u. 914 = Twenty-fourth of Antoninus, to March 7 th).

I. From Dio:
A.D. 138 (a.u. 891)

It should be noted that information about Antoninus Pius is not found in the copies of Dio, probably because the books have met with some accident, so that the history of his reign is almost wholly unknown, save that when Lucius Commodus, whom Hadrian had adopted, died before Hadrian, Antoninus was also adopted by him and became emperor, and that when the senate demurred to giving heroic honors to Hadrian after his demise on account of certain murders of eminent men, Antoninus addressed many words to them with tears and laments, and finally said: "I will not govern you either, if he has become base and inimical and a national foe in your eyes. For you will of course be annulling all his acts, of which my adoption was one." On hearing this the senate both through respect for the man and through a certain fear of the soldiers bestowed the honors upon Hadrian.

2

Only this in regard to Antoninus is preserved in Dio. Yes, one thing more — that the senate gave him the titles both of Augustus and of Pius for some such reason as the following. When in the beginning of his imperial reign many men were accused and some of them had been interceded for by name, he nevertheless punished no one, saying: "I must not begin my career of supervision with such deeds."

LXIX, 15, 3

[When Pharasmanes the Iberian came to Rome with his wife, he increased his domain, allowed him to offer sacrifice on the Capitoline, set up a statue of him on horseback in the temple of Bellona, and viewed an exercise in arms of the chieftain, his son, and the other prominent Iberians.]

A.D. 139 (a.u. 892)

We do not find preserved, either, the first part of the account of Marcus Verus, who ruled after Antoninus and all that the latter himself did in the case of Lucius, son of Commodus, whom Marcus made his son-in-law, and all that Lucius accomplished when sent by his father to the war against Vologaesius. I shall speak briefly about these matters, gathering my material from other books, and then I shall go back to the continuation of Dio's narrative.

II. From Xiphilinus:

3

A.D. 153 (a.u. 906)

Antoninus is admitted by all to have been noble and good, not oppressive to the Christians nor severe to any of his other subjects; instead, he showed the Christians great respect and added to the honor in which Hadrian had been

wont to hold them. For Eusebius, son of Pamphilus, cites in his Church History some letters of Hadrian in which the latter is shown to threaten terrible vengeance upon those who harm in any way or accuse the Christians, and to swear by Hercules that they shall receive punishment.

Antoninus is said also to have been of an enquiring turn of mind and not to have held aloof from careful investigation of even small and commonplace matters; for this those disposed to scoff called him Cumminsplitter.

A.D. 161 (a.u. 914)

Quadratus states that he died at an advanced age, and that the happiest death befell him, like unto gentlest slumber.

A.D. 177(?)

4

In the days of Antoninus also a most frightful earthquake is said to have occurred in the region of Bithynia and the Hellespont. Various cities were severely damaged or fell without a building left standing, and in particular Cyzicus; and the temple there that was the greatest and most beautiful of all temples was thrown down. Its columns were four cubits in thickness and fifty cubits in height, each of a single block of stone; and each of the other features of the edifice was more to be wondered at than to be praised. Somewhere in the interior of the country the peak of a mountain rose upwards and surges of the sea are said to have gushed out, while the spray from pure, transparent sea-water was driven to a great distance over the land. — So much is the account of Antoninus at present extant. He reigned twenty-four years.

III. Of Dio [or rather of Eutropius, or John of Antioch] . Taken from the Writings of Suidas.

5

This prince Antoninus was an excellent man and deserves to be compared especially with Numa on account of the similarity of his reign to that king's, just as Trajan was seen to resemble Romulus. The private life that Antoninus lived was thoroughly excellent and honorable, and in his position as ruler he seemed to be even more excellent and more prudent. To no one was he harsh or oppressive, but he was gracious and gentle toward all.

6

In warfare he sought glory rather from an impulse of duty than from one of gain, and was determined to preserve the borders of the empire intact rather than to extend them to greater distances. In the matter of men he appointed to the administration of public affairs, so far as possible, those who were

particularly scrupulous about right conduct, and he rewarded good officials with the honors that were in his power to grant, whereas he banished the worthless (though without any harshness) from the conduct of public affairs.

7

He was admired not alone by those of his own race, but even by foreigners, as was shown by some of the neighboring barbarians laying down their arms and permitting the prince to decide their quarrels by his vote. And whereas he had in the course of his life as a private citizen amassed a vast amount of money, when he entered upon office he expended his own abundance upon gifts for the soldiers and for his friends. To the public treasury he left a great deal of property of all kinds.

BOOK 71

The emperor Marcus takes Verus as an associate: he gives him charge of the Parthian war (chapters 1, 2).

Wars with the Iazyges, Marcomani, and Germans (chapters 3 and 5).

About the war in Egypt with the Bucoli (chapter 4).

Marcus's tirelessness in hearing cases at law (chapter 6).

The Iazyges conquered (chapter 7).

The Quadi are vanquished by rain sent from Heaven in answer to Roman prayers (chapters 8 and 10).

About the Thunderbolt Legion from Melitene (chapter 9).

How envoys came to the emperor from a number of barbarians, — the Quadi, Astingi, Iazyges, Marcomani, Naristi (chapters 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21).

Revolt of Cassius and of Syria (chapters 22, 23, 24, 25, 26).

How Cassius was killed, together with his son (chapter 27).

Kindness of Marcus toward the adherents of Cassius: death of Faustina and honors accorded her (chapters 28, 29, 30, 31).

The return of Marcus and his generosity (chapter 32).

With his son Commodus he subjugates the Scythians: he himself meets death (chapter 33).

Eulogy of Marcus (chapters 34, 35).

DURATION OF TIME

M. Ael. Aurel. Verus Caes. (III), L. Ael. Aurel. Commodus (II).
(A.D. 161 = a.u. 914 = First of Marcus, from March 7 th).

Iunius Rusticus, Vettius Aquilinus.
(A.D. 162 = a.u. 915 = Second of Marcus).

I. Aelianus, Pastor.
(A.D. 163 = a.u. 916 = Third of Marcus).

M. Pompeius Macrinus, P. Iuventius Celsus.
(A.D. 164 = a.u. 917 = Fourth of Marcus).

L. Arrius Pudens, M. Gavius Orfitus.
(A.D. 165 = a.u. 918 = Fifth of Marcus).

Q. Servilius Pudens, L. Fufidius Pollio.
(A.D. 166 = a.u. 919 = Sixth of Marcus).

L. Aurelius Verus Aug. (III), Quadratus.
(A.D. 167 = a.u. 920 = Seventh of Marcus).

T. Iunius Montanus, L. Vettius Paulus.
(A.D. 168 = a.u. 921 = Eighth of Marcus).

Q. Sosius Priscus, P. Caelius Apollinaris.
(A.D. 169 = a.u. 922 = Ninth of Marcus).

M. Cornelius Cethegus, C. Erucius Clarus.
(A.D. 170 = a.u. 923 = Tenth of Marcus).

L. Septimius Severus (II), L. Alfidius Herennianus.
(A.D. 171 = a.u. 924 = Eleventh of Marcus).

Maximus, Orfitus.
(A.D. 172 = a.u. 925 = Twelfth of Marcus).

M. Aurelius Severus (II), T. Claudius Pompeianus.
(A.D. 173 = a.u. 926 = Thirteenth of Marcus).

Gallus, Flaccus.
(A.D. 174 = a.u. 927 = Fourteenth of Marcus).

Piso, Iulianus.
(A.D. 175 = a.u. 928 = Fifteenth of Marcus).

Pollio (II), Aper (II).
(A.D. 176 = a.u. 929 = Sixteenth of Marcus).

L. Aurel. Commodus Aug., Quintilius.
(A.D. 177 = a.u. 930 = Seventeenth of Marcus).

Rufus, Orfitus. (A.D. 178 = a.u. 931 = Eighteenth of Marcus).

Commodus Aug. (II), T. Annius Aurel. Verus (II).
(A.D. 179 = a.u. 932 = Nineteenth of Marcus).

L. Fulvius Bruttius Praesens (II), Sextus Quintilius Condianus.
(A.D. 180 = a.u. 933 = Twentieth of Marcus, to March 17 th).

A.D. 161 (a.u. 914)

1

Marcus Antoninus, the philosopher, upon obtaining the sovereignty at the death of Antoninus, who adopted him, had immediately taken to share the authority with him the son of Lucius Commodus, Lucius Verus. He was personally weak in body and he devoted the greater part of his time to letters. It is told that even when he was emperor he showed no shame (or hesitation) at going to a teacher for instruction, but became a pupil of Sextus, the Boeotian philosopher, and did not hesitate to go to hear the lectures of Hermogenes on rhetoric. He was most inclined to the Stoic school.

Lucius, on the other hand, was strong and rather young, and better suited for military enterprises. Therefore, Marcus made him his son-in-law by marrying him to his daughter Lucilla, and sent him to the Parthian war.

2

For Vologaesius had begun war by assailing on all sides the Roman camp under Severianus, situated in Elegeia, a place in Armenia; and he had shot down and destroyed the whole force, leaders and all. He was now proceeding with numbers that inspired terror against the cities of Syria.

A.D. 162 (a.u. 915)

Lucius, accordingly, on coming to Antioch collected a great many soldiers, and with the best commanders under his supervision took up a position in the city, spending his time in ordering all arrangements and in gathering the contingent for the war. He entrusted the armies themselves to Cassius. The latter made a noble stand against the attack

A.D. 165 (a.u. 918)

of Vologaesius, and finally the chieftain was deserted by his allies and began to retire; then Cassius pursued him as far as Seleucia and destroyed it and razed to the ground the palace of Vologaesius at Ctesiphon. In the course of his return he lost a great many soldiers through famine and disease, yet he started off to Syria with the men that were left. Lucius attained glory by these exploits and felt a just pride in them, yet his extreme good fortune did him no good.

A.D. 169 (a.u. 922)

For he is said to have subsequently plotted against his father-in-law Marcus and to have perished by poison before he could accomplish anything.

Fragments of Dio from Suidas (thought by de Valois to belong to Book LXXI).

[Martius Verus sends out Thucydides to conduct Sohaemus into Armenia; and he, in spite of lack of arms, applied himself sturdily to this distant task with the inherent good sense that he showed in all business falling to his lot. Marcus had the gift not only of overpowering his antagonists or anticipating them by swiftness or outwitting them by deceit (on which qualities generals most rely), but also of persuading them by trustworthy promises and conciliating them by generous gifts and luring them on by tempting hopes. He was suave in all that he did or said, and soothed the vexed and angry feelings of each adversary while greatly raising his hopes. He knew well the right time for flattery and presents and entertainment at table. And since in addition to these talents he showed persistency in endeavor and activity together with speed against his foes, he made it plain to the barbarians that his friendship was better worth gaining than his enmity. So when he arrived at the New city, which a garrison of Romans placed there by Priscus was occupying, and found them attempting mutiny, he took care, both by word and by deed, to bring them to a better temper, and he made the city the foremost of Armenia.]

[* * *Bridging*. — By the Romans the streams and rivers are bridged with the greatest ease, since the soldiers are always practicing at it, and it is carried on like any other warlike exercise on the Ister and the Rhine and the Euphrates.

The manner of doing it (which I think not everybody knows) is as follows. The boats, by means of which the river is bridged, are flat. They are anchored up stream a little above the spot where the bridge is to be constructed. When the signal is given, they first let one ship drift down stream close to the bank that they are holding. When it has come opposite the spot to be bridged, they throw into the water a basket filled with stones and fastened with a cord, which serves as an anchor. Made fast in this way the ship is joined to the bank by planks and bridgework, which the vessel carries in large quantities, and immediately a floor is laid to the farther edge. Then they release another ship at a little distance from this one and another one after that until they run the bridge to the opposite bank. The boat which is near the hostile side carries also towers upon it and a gate and archers and catapults.

As many weapons were hurled at the men engaged in bridging, Cassius ordered weapons and catapults to be discharged. And when the front rank of the barbarians fell, the rest gave way.]

A.D. 172 (a.u. 925)

Cassius, however, was bidden by Marcus to have the superintendence of all Asia. The emperor himself fought for a long time, in fact almost his whole life, one might say, with the barbarians in the Ister region, the Iazyges and the Marcomani, first one and then the other, and he used Pannonia as his starting point.

The Langobardi and the Obii to the number of six thousand crossed the Ister, but the cavalry under Vindex marched out and the infantry commanded by Candidus got the start of them, so that an utter rout of the barbarians was instituted. The barbarians, thrown into consternation by such an outcome of their very first undertaking, despatched as envoys to the headquarters of Iallius Bassus (administrator of Pannonia) Bellomarius, king of the Marcomani, and ten more, for they selected one man per nation. The envoys took oaths to cement the peace and departed homewards.

Many of the Celtae, too, across the Rhine, advanced to the confines of Italy and inflicted much serious harm upon the Romans. They, in turn, were followed up by Marcus, who opposed to them the lieutenants Pompeianus and Pertinax. Pertinax, who later became emperor, greatly distinguished himself. Among the corpses of the barbarians were found also the bodies of women in armor.

A.D. 168(?)

Yet, when a most violent struggle and brilliant victory had taken place, the emperor nevertheless refused the petition of the soldiers for money, making this statement: "Whatever excess they obtain above the customary amount will be wrung from the blood of their parents and their kinsmen. For respecting the fate of the empire Heaven alone can decide." — And he ruled them so temperately and firmly that even in the course of so many and great wars he was impelled neither by flattery nor by fear to do aught that was unfitting.

A.D. 171 (a.u. 924)

When in one battle the Marcomani were successful and killed Marcus Vindex, the prefect, he erected three statues in his memory.

A.D. 172 (a.u. 925)

After conquering them Marcus received the title of Germanicus. We give the name "Germans" to those who dwell in the northern regions.

The so-called Bucoli began a disturbance in Egypt, and under the leadership of Isidorus, a priest, caused the rest of the Egyptians to revolt. They had first, arrayed in women's garments, deceived the Roman centurion, making him think that they were Bucoli women and wanted to give him gold pieces in exchange for their husbands, and then striking him down when he approached

them. His companion they sacrificed, and after taking a common oath over his entrails they devoured them. Isidorus surpassed in bribery all his contemporaries. Next, having conquered the Romans in Egypt in regular battle they came very near capturing Alexandria, and would have done so, had not Cassius been sent against them from Syria as directing general. He succeeded in spoiling the concord that existed among them and sundering them one from another, for on account of their numbers and desperation he had not ventured to attack them united. So when they fell into factional disputes he easily subdued them.

5

Now it was in Marcus's war against the Germans (if mention ought to be made of these matters), that a captive lad on being asked some questions by him rejoined: "I can not answer you because of the cold. So if you want to find out anything, command that a coat be given me, if you have one." — And a soldier one night, who was doing guard duty on the Ister, hearing a shout of his fellow-soldiers in captivity on the other side, at once swam the stream just as he was, released them, and brought them back.

One prefect of Marcus's was Bassaeus Rufus, a good man on the whole, but uneducated and boorish, having been brought up in poverty in his early youth. [Wherefore he had been disinclined to go on the campaign, and what Marcus said was incomprehensible to him.] Once some one had interrupted him in the midst of trimming a vine that wound about a tree, and when he did not come down at the first bidding, the person rebuked him, and said: "Come down there, prefect." This he said thinking to humiliate him for his previous haughtiness; yet later Fortune gave him this title to wear.

6

The emperor, as often as he had leisure from war, held court and used to order that a most liberal supply of water be measured out for the speakers. He made inquiries and answers of greater length, so that exact justice was ensured by every possible expedient. When thus engaged he would often hold court to try the same case for eleven or even twelve days and sometimes

A.D. 172 (a.u. 926)

at night. He was industrious and applied himself diligently to all the duties of his office; and there was nothing which he said or wrote or did that he regarded a minor matter, but sometimes he would consume whole days on the finest point, putting into practice his belief that the emperor should do nothing hurriedly. For he thought that if he should slight even the smallest detail, it would bring him reproach that would overshadow all his other achievements. Yet he was so frail in body that at first he could not endure the cold, but when the soldiers had already come together in obedience to orders he would retire

before speaking a word to them; and he took but very little food always, and that at night. It was never his custom to eat during the daytime unless it were some of the drug called theriac. This drug he took not so much because he feared anything as because his stomach and chest were in bad condition. And it is related that this practice enabled him to endure the disease as well as other hardships.

A.D. 172(?) 173(?)

7

The Iazyges were conquered by the Romans on land at this time and subsequently on the river. By this I mean not that any naval battle took place, but that the Romans followed them as they fled over the frozen Ister and fought there as on dry land. The Iazyges, perceiving that they were being pursued, awaited the foe's onset, expecting easily to overcome them, since their opponents were not accustomed to ice. Accordingly, some of the barbarians dashed straight at them, while others rode around to attack the flanks, for their horses were trained to run safely even over a surface of this kind. The Romans, seeing this, were not alarmed, but made a close formation, placing themselves so as to face all of them at once. The majority laid down their shields and resting one foot upon them, so that they might slip less, received the enemy's assault. Some seized bridles, others shields and spear-shafts, and drew them towards them. Then, becoming involved in close conflict, they knocked down both men and horses, for on account of their momentum the enemy could not help slipping. The Romans also slipped down: but in case one of them fell on his back he dragged his adversary down on top of him and then by winding his legs about him as in a wrestling match would get him underneath; and if one fell on his face, he made his opponent fall before he did, also on his face. The barbarians, being unused to a contest of this sort, and having lighter equipment, were unable to resist, so that but few escaped out of a large force.

A.D. 174 (a.u. 927)

8

So Marcus made the Marcomani and Iazyges subservient by a series of great struggles and dangers. A great war against the so-called Quadi also fell to his lot and it was his good fortune to win an unexpected victory, or rather it was given him from Heaven. At a time when the Romans had run into danger in the battle the Heavenly Power most unexpectedly saved them. The Quadi had surrounded them at an opportune spot and the Romans were fighting valiantly with their shields locked together: and the barbarians ceased fighting, expecting to capture their enemies easily by heat and thirst. So they posted guards all about and hemmed them in to prevent their getting water anywhere, for the barbarians were far superior in numbers. The Romans fell into dire

distress from their fatigue and wounds and the sun's heat and their thirst, and for these reasons could neither fight nor march in any direction but were standing and being scorched in line of battle and at their several posts, when suddenly numbers of clouds rushed together and a great rain, certainly of divine origin, came pouring down. Indeed, there is a story that Arnouphis, an Egyptian wizard, who was a companion of Marcus, invoked by means of enchantments various deities and in particular Mercury, god of the air, and by this means attracted the rain.

9

This is what Dio says about it, but he seems to be telling an untruth, whether voluntarily or involuntarily; I am more inclined to think it is voluntarily. It surely must be so, for he was not ignorant of the fact that one company of the soldiers had the special name of "The Thunderbolt" (he mentions it in the list along with the rest), and this was due to no other cause (nor is any other reported) save that event which gave rise to the title in this very war, — an event which enabled the Romans to survive on this occasion and brought destruction upon the barbarians. It was not Arnouphis, the wizard, for Marcus is not accounted to have taken pleasure in the company of wizards and charms. But what I have reference to is as follows: Marcus had a company (and the Roman name for company is "legion") of soldiers from Melitene. They were all worshipers of Christ. Now it is stated that in that battle, when Marcus was in a quandary over having been surrounded and feared the loss of his whole army, the prefect approached him and said that those called Christians can accomplish anything whatever by their prayers, and that among them there chanced to be a whole company of this sect. Marcus, on hearing this, made an appeal to them to pray to their God. And when they had prayed, the God immediately gave ear, hurling a thunderbolt upon the enemy and encouraging the Romans with rain. Marcus was astounded at what happened and honored the Christians by an official decree, while the legion he named "The Thunderbolt." It is said also that there is a letter of Marcus extant on this matter. But the Greeks, though they know that the company was called "Thunderbolt" and bear witness to the fact themselves, make no statement whatever about the reason for the appellation.

10

Dio goes on to say that when the rain poured down at first all bent their faces upwards and received it in their mouths. Then some held their shields and their helmets as pails, and they themselves took fullmouthed draughts of it and gave their horses to drink. The barbarians making a charge upon them, they drank and fought at the same time; and some who were wounded gulped down together the water and the blood that flowed into their helmets. The most of them had given so much attention to drinking that they would have

suffered some great damage from the enemy's onset had not a violent hail and numbers of thunderbolts fallen upon the latter's ranks. In the same spot one might see water and fire descending from Heaven at the same time: the one side was being drenched and drinking, the other was being burned with fire and dying. The fire did not touch the Romans, but if it fell anywhere among them it was straightway extinguished. On the other hand, the shower did the barbarians no good, but like oil served rather to feed the flames that fed on them, and they searched for water while in the midst of rain. Some wounded themselves in the attempt to put out the fire with blood, and others ran over to the side of the Romans, convinced that they alone had the saving water. Marcus finally took pity on them. He was for the seventh time saluted as emperor by the soldiers. And although he was not wont to accept any such honor before the senate voted it, nevertheless this time he took it under the assumption that it was bestowed from Heaven, and he sent a despatch to that effect to the senate. — Moreover Faustina was named "Mother of the Legions."

11

[Marcus [Antoninus] remained in Pannonia in order to transact business with the embassies of the barbarians. Many came to him also at this time. Some promised an alliance: they were led by Battarius, a child twelve years old, and they received money and succeeded in restraining Tarbus, a neighboring potentate, who had come into Dacia, was demanding money, and threatening to make war if he should not get it. Others, like the Quadi, were asking for peace, and they obtained it, the emperor's purpose being to have them detached from the Marcomani. Another reason was that they gave horses and cattle, surrendered all the deserters and the captives at first to the number of thirteen thousand, though later they promised to restore the remainder as well. However, the right of free intercourse even at markets was not granted them, the intention being to prevent the Iazyges and the Marcomani, whom they had sworn not to receive nor let pass through their country, from either mingling with them or presenting themselves also in the guise of Quadi, — a plan which would enable them to reconnoitre the Roman position and to purchase provisions. Besides these who came to Marcus, many others despatched envoys, some by tribes and some by nations, offering to surrender themselves. Some of them were sent on campaigns to other parts of the world, and the captives and deserters who were fit for it were similarly treated. Others received land, in Dacia or in Pannonia or in Moesia and Germany or in Italy itself. A few of them who settled at Ravenna made an uprising and even dared to take possession of the city: and for this reason he did not again bring any barbarian into Italy, but made even those who had previously come there find homes outside.]

Detachments of both Astingi and Lacringi had come to lend assistance to

[The Astingi, whose leaders were Raus and Raptus, came into Dacia to settle, in the hope of receiving both money and land in return for terms of alliance. As they did not obtain this, they put their wives and children in the keeping of Clemens, with the apparent intention of acquiring the land of the Costobocci by force of arms; and upon conquering them they injured Dacia no less. The Lacingi, fearing that Clemens out of dread might lead these newcomers into the land which they were inhabiting, attacked them off their guard and won a decisive victory. As a result, the Astingi committed no further deeds displaying hostility to the Romans, but by making urgent supplication to Marcus received money from him and asked that land might be given them if they should harm in some way his temporary enemies. Now these performed some of their promises. The Cotini made similar propositions, but upon getting control of Tarrutenius Paternus, secretary of the emperor's Latin letters, under the pretext of requiring his aid for a campaign against the Marcomani, they not only failed to take this course but did him frightful injury and thereby ensured their own destruction later.]

[Envoys were also sent to Marcus by the Iazyges, requesting peace, but they did not obtain any. For Marcus, knowing their race to be untrustworthy, and, furthermore, because he had been deceived by the Quadi, wished to annihilate them absolutely. The Quadi had not only made alliances at this time with the Iazyges, but previously, too, were wont to receive in their own land Marcomanian fugitives who might be hard pressed, while that tribe was at war with the Romans. Nor did they do aught else that they had agreed, for they did not restore all the captives, but only a few, and these were such as they could not sell nor use for any work as helpers. And whenever they did give back any of those in good condition, they would keep their relatives at home in order that the men given up might desert again to join their friends. They also expelled their king, Furtius, and on their own responsibility made Ariogaesus king instead. Consequently the emperor did not confirm him, since he had not been legally installed, nor renew the treaty of peace, though they promised to return fifty thousand captives if he would.]

[Against Ariogaesus Marcus was so bitter that he issued a proclamation to the effect that any one who would bring him alive should receive a thousand gold pieces, and any one who killed him and exhibited his head, five hundred. Yet in other cases this emperor was always accustomed to treat even his most

stubborn foes humanely; for instance, he did not kill, but merely sent to Britain Tiridates, a satrap who roused a tumult in Armenia and the person who slew the king of the Heniochi and then held the sword in Verus's face, when the latter rebuked him for it. This, then, shows the extent of his irritation against Ariogaesus at the time. However, when the man was later captured he did him no harm, but sent him away to Alexandria.]

A.D. 174(?) 175(?)

When Pertinax in consideration of his brave exploits obtained the consulship, there were nevertheless some who showed displeasure at the fact that he was of obscure family, and quoted the line from tragedy:

“Such things the wretched war brings in its train.”

They did not know that he should yet be sovereign.

A.D. 176(?)

15

[At the request of the Marcomani, as expressed by their envoys and in view of the fact that they had followed all the injunctions laid upon them, even if sullenly and hesitatingly, he released to them one half of the adjoining territory, so that they could settle for a distance of about thirty-eight stades from the Ister, and established the places and the days for their meeting together (these had not been previously determined), and he exchanged hostages with them.]

A.D. 175 (a.u. 928)

16

[The Iazyges, also, when they had experienced reverses, came to an agreement, Zanticus himself appearing as suppliant before Antoninus. Previously they had imprisoned Banadaspus, their second king, for making proposals to him. Now, however, all the foremost men came in company with Zanticus and made the same compact as that accepted by the Quadi and the Marcomani, except in so far as they were required to dwell twice as far away from the Ister as those tribes. It was his wish to root them out utterly. That they were still strong at this time and could have done the Romans great harm is evident from the fact that they gave back one hundred thousand captives out of a body in which many had been sold, many were dead, and many had run away and been recaptured. They supplied Antoninus at once with a cavalry force of eight thousand allies, fifty-five hundred of whom he sent to Britain.]

17

[The revolt of Cassius and Syria forced Marcus Antoninus, even contrary to his wishes, to come to terms with the Iazyges. He was so upset at the news

that he did not even communicate to the senate the basis of the reconciliation made with them, as he was wont to do in all other cases.]

18

[The Iazyges sent an embassy and asked to be released from some of the agreements they had made, and a certain leniency was shown them, to prevent their being entirely alienated. Yet neither they nor the Buri were willing to join the Roman alliance until they received pledges from Marcus that he would without fail prosecute the war to the uttermost. They were afraid that he might make a treaty with the Quadi, as before, and leave enemies dwelling at their doors.]

19

[Marcus gave audience to such persons as came in the capacity of envoys from outside nations, but all were not received on the same footing. This varied according as the individual states were worthy to receive citizenship, or freedom from taxes, or perpetual or temporary exemption from tribute, or to enjoy permanent support. And when the Iazyges proved themselves most useful to him, he released them from many of the restrictions imposed upon them, — indeed, from all, save from the arrangements made in regard to their gatherings and mutual intercourse, and the provisions that they should *not* use boats of their own and *should* keep away from the islands in the Ister. And he permitted them to go through Dacia and have dealings with the Rhoxolani as often as the governor of Dacia would give them permission.]

20

[The Quadi and the Marcomani sent envoys to Marcus, saying that the two myriads of soldiers that were in the forts would not allow] them to pasture or till the soil or do anything else with freedom, but kept receiving many deserters from them and captives of theirs; yet the soldiers themselves were enduring no great hardships, inasmuch as they had bath-houses and all necessary provisions in abundance. The Quadi, consequently, would not endure the watch kept on them from fortifications and undertook to withdraw *en masse* to the territory of the Semnones. But Antoninus learned beforehand of their intention and by barring the roads thither prevented them. This showed that he desired not to acquire their territory, but to punish the members of the tribe.]

21

[And the Naristi, having encountered hardships, deserted to the number of three thousand at once and received land in our territory.]

Upon the rebellion of Cassius in Syria, Marcus, in great alarm, summoned his son Commodus from Rome, since he was now able to enter the ranks of the iuvenes. Now Cassius, who was a Syrian from Cyrrhus, had shown himself an excellent man and the sort of person one would desire to have as emperor: only he was a son of one Heliodorus, who had been delighted to secure the governorship of Egypt as a result of his oratorical skill. But in this uprising he made a terrible mistake, and it was all due to his having been deceived by Faustina. The latter, who was a daughter of Antoninus Pius, seeing that her husband had fallen ill, and expecting that he might die at any moment, was afraid that the imperial office might revert to some outsider and she be left in private life; for Commodus was both young and rather callow, besides. So she secretly induced Cassius to make preparations to the end that if anything should happen to Antoninus he might take both her and the sovereignty.

Now while he was in this frame of mind, a message came that Marcus was dead (in such circumstances reports always make matters worse than they really are) and immediately, without waiting to confirm the rumor, he laid claim to the empire on the ground that it had been bestowed upon him by the soldiers at this time quartered in Pannonia. And in spite of the fact that before long he learned the truth, nevertheless, since he had once made a move, he would not change his attitude but speedily won over the whole district bounded by the Taurus, and was making preparations to maintain his ascendancy by war. Marcus, on being informed of his uprising by Verus, the governor of Cappadocia, for a time concealed it; but, as the soldiers were being mightily disturbed by the reports and were doing a deal of talking, he called them together and read an address of the following nature:

“Fellow-soldiers, I have not come before you to express indignation, nor yet in a spirit of lamentation. Why rage against Fate, that is all-powerful? But perchance it is needful to bewail the lot of those who are undeservedly unfortunate, a lot which is now mine. Is it not afflicting for us to meet war after war? Is it not absurd to be involved in civil conflict? Are not both these conditions surpassed in affliction and in absurdity by the proof before us that there is naught to be trusted among mankind, since I have been plotted against by my dearest friend and have been thrust into a conflict against my will, though I have committed no crime nor even error? What virtue, what friendship shall henceforth be deemed secure after this experience of mine? Has not faith, has not hope perished? If the danger were mine alone, I should give the matter no heed, — I was not born to be immortal, — but since there

has been a public secession (or rather obsession) and war is fastening its clutches upon all of us alike, I should desire, were it possible, to invite Cassius here and argue the case with him in your presence or in the presence of the senate; and I would gladly, without a contest, withdraw from my office in his favor, if this seemed to be for the public advantage. For it is on behalf of the public that I continue to toil and undergo dangers and have spent so much time yonder outside of Italy, during mature manhood and now in old age and weakness, though I can not take food without pain nor get sleep free from anxiety.

25

“But since Cassius would never be willing to agree to this (for how could he trust me after having shown himself so untrustworthy towards me?), you, at least, fellow-soldiers, ought to be of good cheer. Cilicians, Syrians, Jews and Egyptians have never proved your superiors nor shall so prove, even if they assemble in numbers ten times your own, whereas they are now by the same proportion inferior. Nor yet would Cassius himself now appear worthy of any particular consideration, however much he may seem to possess the qualities of generalship, however many successes he may seem to have gained. An eagle is not formidable at the head of an army of daws, nor a lion commanding fawns; and it was not Cassius, but you, that brought to an end the Arabian or the famous Parthian War. Again, even though he is renowned as a result of his achievements against the Parthians, yet you have Verus, who has won more victories than he and has acquired more territory in a not less, but more distinguished manner. — But probably he has already changed his mind, on hearing that I am alive, for surely he has done this on no other assumption than that I was dead. And if he resists still further, yet when he learns that we are approaching, he will surely hesitate both out of fear of you and out of respect for me.

26

“There is only one thing I fear, fellow-soldiers (you shall be told the whole truth), and that is that he may either kill himself because ashamed to come into our presence, or some one else upon learning that I shall come and am setting out against him may do it. Then should I be deprived of a great prize both of war and of victory, and of a magnitude such as no human being ever yet obtained. What is this? Why, to forgive a man that has done you an injury, to remain a friend to one who has transgressed friendship, to continue faithful to one who has broken faith. Perhaps this seems strange to you, but you ought not to disbelieve it. For all goodness has not yet perished from among mankind, but there is still in us a remnant of the ancient virtue. And if any one does disbelieve it, that renders the more ardent my desire that men may see accomplished what no one would believe could come to pass. That would be

one profit I could derive from present ills, if I could settle the affair well and show to all mankind that there is a right way to handle even civil wars.”

27

This is what Marcus both said to the soldiers and wrote to the senate, in no place abusing Cassius, save he constantly termed him ungrateful. Nor, indeed, did Cassius ever utter or write anything of a nature insulting to Marcus.

Marcus at the time he was preparing for the war against Cassius would accept no barbarian alliance although he found a concourse of foreign nations offering their services; for he said that the barbarians ought not to know about troubles arising between Romans.

While Marcus was making preparations for the civil war, many victories over various barbarians were reported at one and the same time with the death of Cassius. The latter while walking had encountered Antonius, a centurion, who gave him a sudden wound in the neck, though the blow was not entirely effective. And Antonius, borne away by the impetus of his horse, left the deed incomplete, so that his victim nearly escaped; but meantime the decurion had finished what was left to do. They cut off his head and set out to meet the emperor.

Marcus Antoninus [was so much grieved at the destruction of Cassius that he would not even endure to see the severed head, but before the murderers drew near gave orders that it should be buried.]

Thus was this pretender slain after a dream of sovereignty lasting three months and six days, and his son was murdered somewhere else. And Marcus upon reaching the provinces that had joined in Cassius's uprising treated them all very kindly and put no one, either obscure or prominent, to death.

28

[The same man would not slay nor imprison nor did he put under any guard any one of the senators associated with Cassius. He did not so much as bring them before his own court, but merely sent them before the senate, nominally under some other complaint, and appointed them a fixed day on which to have their case heard. Of the rest he brought to justice a very few, who had not only cooperated with Cassius to the extent of some overt action but were personally guilty of some crime. A proof of this is that he did not murder nor deprive of his property Flavius Calvisius, the governor of Egypt, but merely confined him on an island. The records made about his case Marcus caused to be burned, in order that no reproach might attach to him from them. Furthermore he released all his relatives.]

A.D. 176 (a.u. 929)

About this same time Faustina died, either of the gout from which she had suffered or from less natural causes and to avoid being convicted of her compact with Cassius. — Moreover, Marcus destroyed the documents [found in the chests of Pudens], not even reading them, in order that he might not learn even a name of any of the conspirators who had written something against him and that he might not [therefore] be reluctantly forced to hate any one. Another account is that Verus, who was sent ahead into Syria, of which he had secured the governorship, found them among the effects of Cassius and put them out of the way, saying that this course would most probably be agreeable to the emperor, but even if he should be angry, it would be better that he [Verus] himself should perish than many others. Marcus was so averse to slaughter that he saw to it that the gladiators in Rome contended without danger, like athletes; for he never permitted any of them to have any sharp iron, but they fought with blunt weapons, rounded off at the ends. [And so far was he from countenancing any slaughter that though at the request of the populace he ordered to be brought in a lion trained to eat men, he would not look at the beast nor emancipate its teacher, in spite of the long-continued and urgent demands of the people. Instead, he commanded proclamation to be made that the man had done nothing to deserve freedom.]

30

In his great grief over the death of Faustina he wrote to the senate that no one of those who had cooperated with Cassius was dead, as if in this fact alone he could find some consolation for Faustina's loss. "May it never happen," he continued, "that any one of you is slain during my lifetime either by my vote or by your own." Finally he said: "If I do not obtain this request, I shall hasten on to death." So pure and excellent and godfearing did he show himself throughout his career. [Nothing could force him to do anything inconsistent with his character, neither the wickedness of daring attempts nor the expectation of similar events to follow as the result of pardon. To such an extent did he refrain from inventing any imaginary conspiracy and concocting any tragedy that had not taken place, that he released even those who most openly rose against him and took arms against him and against his son, whether they were generals or heads of tribes or kings, and he put none of them to death either by his own action or by that of the senate or by any other arrangement whatever. Wherefore I actually believe that if he had captured Cassius himself alive, he would certainly have saved him from injury.] For he conferred benefits upon many who had been murderers, — so far as lay in their power, — of himself and his son.

A law was at this time passed that no one should be governor in the province from which he had originally come, because the revolt of Cassius had occurred during his administration of Syria, which included his native district. It was voted by the senate that silver images of Marcus and Faustina should be set up in the temple of Venus and Roma, and that an altar should be erected whereon all the maidens married in the city and their bridegrooms should offer sacrifice; also that a golden image of Faustina should be carried in a chair to the theatre on each occasion that the emperor should be a spectator, and that it should be placed in the seat well forward, where she herself was wont to take her place when alive, and that the women of chief influence should all sit round about it.

32

Marcus went to Athens, where after being initiated into the mysteries he bestowed honors upon the Athenians and gave teachers to all men in Athens, for every species of knowledge, these teachers to receive an annual salary. On his return to Rome he made an address to the people; and while he was saying, among other things, that he had been absent many years, they cried out: "Eight!" and indicated this also with their hands, in order that they might receive an equal number of gold pieces for a banquet. He smiled and himself uttered the word "Eight." After that he distributed to them two hundred denarii apiece, more than they had ever received before. — In addition to doing this, he forgave all persons all their debts to the imperial and to the public treasury for a space of forty-six years, outside of the sixteen granted by Hadrian. And all the documents relating to these debts he ordered burned in the Forum.

A.D. 177 (a.u. 930)

— He gave money to many cities, one of them being Smyrna, that had suffered terribly by an earthquake; he also assigned the duty of building up this place to an ex-praetor of senatorial rank. Therefore I am surprised at the censures even now passed upon him to the effect that he was not a man of large calibre. For, whereas in ordinary matters he was really quite frugal, he never demurred at a single necessary expenditure (though, as I have said, 105] he hurt no one by levies), and he necessarily laid out very large sums beyond the ordinary requirements.

33

The Scythian imbroglio, which needed his attention, caused him to give his son a wife, Crispina, sooner than he actually wished. The Quintilii could not end the war, although there were two of them and they possessed prudence, courage, and considerable experience. Consequently the rulers themselves were forced to take the field.

A.D. 178 (a.u. 931)

Marcus also asked the senate for money from the public treasury, not because it had not been placed in the sovereign's authority, but because Marcus was wont to declare that this and everything else belonged to the senate and the people. "We," said he (speaking to the senate), "are so far from having anything of our own that we even live in a house of yours." He set out, therefore, after these remarks, and after hurling the bloody spear, that lay in the temple of Bellona, into hostile territory. (I heard this from men who accompanied him).

A.D. 179

Paternus was given a large detachment and sent to the scene of fighting. The barbarians held out the entire day, but were all cut down by the Romans. And Marcus was for the tenth time saluted as imperator.

A.D. 180 (a.u. 933)

Had he lived longer, he would have subdued the whole region: as it was, he passed away on the seventeenth of March, not from the effects of the sickness that he had at the time, but by the connivance of his physicians, as I have heard on good evidence, who wanted to do a favor to Commodus.

34

When at the point of death he commended his son to the protection of the soldiers (for he did not wish his death to appear to be his fault); and to the military tribunes, who asked him for the watchword, he said: "Go to the rising sun: I am already setting." After he was dead he obtained many marks of honor and was set up in gold within the senate-house itself.

So this was the manner of Marcus's demise, [who besides all other virtues was so godfearing that even on the dies nefasti he sacrificed at home; and he ruled better than any that had ever been in power. To be sure, he could not display many feats of physical prowess; yet in his own person he made a very strong body out of a very weak one.] Most of his life he passed in the service of beneficence, and therefore he erected on the Capitol a temple to that goddess and called her by a most peculiar name, which had never before been current. He himself refrained from all offences, [and committed no faults voluntarily:] but the offences of others, particularly those of his wife, he endured, and neither investigated them nor punished them. In case any person did anything good, he would praise him and use him for the service in which he excelled, but about others he did not trouble himself, [saying: "It is impossible for one to create such men as one wishes to have, but it is proper to employ those in existence for that in which each of them may be useful to the commonwealth."]

35

That all his actions were prompted not by pretence but by real virtue is

strikingly clear. He lived fifty-eight years, ten months, and twenty-two days, and of this time he had spent considerable as assistant to the previous Antoninus and had himself been emperor nineteen years and eleven days, yet from first to last he remained the same and changed not a particle. So truly was he a good man, without any pretence about him. He was vastly helped by his education being an expert in rhetoric and in philosophical argument. In the one he had Cornelius Fronto and Claudius Herodes for teachers, and in the other, Junius Rusticus and Apollonius of Nicomedeia, both of whom followed Zeno's school. As a result, great numbers pretended to engage in philosophy, in order that they might be enriched by the emperor.

After all, however, he owed his great attainments chiefly to his natural disposition; for even before he enjoyed the society of those men he was unflinchingly set upon virtue. While still a boy he delighted all his relations, who were numerous and influential and wealthy, and was loved by all of them. This, most of all, led Hadrian to adopt him into his family, and Marcus, for his part, did not grow haughty [but, though young and a Caesar he dutifully played the part of servant to Antoninus through all the latter's reign and ungrudgingly did honor to the other men of eminence. Before going to see his father he used to greet the most worthy men in the house near the Tiber where he lived, and in the very apartment where he slept; and all this time, instead of wearing the attire allowed by his rank, he went dressed as a private citizen. He visited many who were sick and invariably met his teachers at the proper time. Dark garments were what he wore on going out when not in his father's company, and he never used the attendant for himself alone. Upon being appointed leader of the knights he entered the Forum with the rest, although he was Caesar. This shows how excellent was his own natural disposition, though it was aided to the greatest degree by education.] He was always steeped in Greek and Latin rhetorical and philosophical learning [though he had reached man's estate and had hopes of becoming emperor] .

36

Before he was made Caesar he had a dream in which he seemed to have shoulders and hands of ivory and to use them in all respects as he did his real limbs.

As a result of his great labors and studies he was extremely frail in body, yet from the very start he enjoyed such good health that he used to fight in armor and on a hunt struck down wild boars while on horseback. [And not only in his early youth but even later he wrote most of his letters to his intimate friends with his own hand.] However, he did not meet the good fortune that he deserved, for he was not strong [in body] and was involved in the greatest variety of troubles throughout practically the whole period that he was ruler. But I am sure I admire him all the more for this very reason, that amid

unusual and extraordinary happenings he both himself survived and preserved the empire. One thing in particular contributed to his lack of happiness, — the fact that after rearing and educating his son in the best possible way he was monstrously disappointed in him. This matter must now form the subject of our discourse, for our history now descends from a kingdom of gold to one of iron and rust, as affairs did for the Romans of that day.

BOOK 73

About Commodus Augustus (chapter 1).

How Commodus made terms of peace with the Marcomani, the Quadi, and the Buri (chapters 2, 3).

Intrigues of Pompeianus against Commodus (chapter 4).

About the killing of the Quintilii (chapters 5, 6, 7).

About the war in Britain, and the captain, Ulpius Marcellus (chapter 8).

How Perennis, pretorian prefect, was slain (chapters 9, 10)

Statue erected to Victorinus (chapter 11).

Crimes and death of Cleander, a Caesarian (chapters 12, 13)

Fresh assassinations occur (chapter 14).

Commodus's titles (chapter 15).

About the spectacles presented by Commodus, and his insolent behavior (chapters 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21).

Commodus is killed as the result of a conspiracy (chapter 22).

Dio begins to lay the foundations of his history (chapter 23).

Portents indicating the death of Commodus (chapter 24).

DURATION OF TIME

L. Fulvius Bruttius Praesens (II), Sextus Quintilius Condianus.
(A.D. 180 = a.u. 933 = First of Commodus, from March 17 th).

Commodus Aug. (III), Antistius Burrus.
(A.D. 181 = a.u. 934 = Second of Commodus).

C. Petronius Mamertinus, Cornelius Rufus.
(A.D. 182 = a.u. 935 = Third of Commodus).

Commodus Aug. (IV), Aufidius Victorinus (II).
(A.D. 183 = a.u. 936 = Fourth of Commodus).

L. Eggius Marullus, Cn. Papirius Aelianus.
(A.D. 184 = a.u. 937 = Fifth of Commodus).

Maternus, Bradua.
(A.D. 185 = a.u. 938 = Sixth of Commodus).

Commodus Aug. (V), Acilius Glabrio (II).
(A.D. 186 = a.u. 939 = Seventh of Commodus).

Crispinus, Aelianus.
(A.D. 187 = a.u. 940 = Eighth of Commodus).

C. Allius Fuscianus (II), Duillius Silanus (II).
(A.D. 188 = a.u. 941 = Ninth of Commodus).

Iunius Silanus, Servilius Silanus.
(A.D. 189 = a.u. 942 = Tenth of Commodus).

Commodus Aug. (VI), M. Petronius Septimianus.
(A.D. 190 = a.u. 943 = Eleventh of Commodus).

Apronianus, Bradua.
(A.D. 191 = a.u. 944 = Twelfth of Commodus).

Commodus Aug. (VII), P. Helvius Pertinax (II).
(A.D. 192 = a.u. 945 = Thirteenth of Commodus, to Dec. 31 st).

A.D. 180 (a.u. 933)

1

This [Commodus] was not naturally wicked, but was originally as free from taint as any man ever was. His great simplicity, however, and likewise his cowardice made him a slave of his companions and it was through them that he first, out of ignorance, missed the better life and then was attracted into licentiousness and bloodthirsty habits, which soon became second nature. [And this, I think, Marcus clearly perceived beforehand.] He was nineteen years old when his father died, leaving him many guardians, among whom were numbered the best men of the senate. But to their suggestions and counsels Commodus bade farewell, and, after making a truce with the barbarians, he hastened to Rome.

2

[For the Marcomani by reason of the number of their people that were perishing and the damage constantly being done to their farms no longer had

either food or men in any numbers. Thus they sent only two of their foremost representatives and two others that were of inferior rank as envoys in regard to peace. And whereas he might easily have put an end to their resistance, he so detested exertion and was so eager for the comforts of city life that he made terms with them. Besides the conditions which his father had settled upon with them new ones were now imposed requiring them to restore to him the deserters and the captives that they took after this time and to contribute annually a stipulated amount of grain, — a demand from which he subsequently released them. He obtained some weapons from them and also soldiers, thirteen thousand from the Quadi and a smaller number from the Marcomani. In return for this contingent he relieved them of the requirement of an annual levy. However, he issued further orders that they should not assemble often nor in many parts of the country, but once each month, in one place, in the presence of a Roman centurion; and again, that they should not make war upon the Iazyges, the Buri, or the Vandili. On these terms a reconciliation was effected and all the garrisons in their country beyond the detached border territory were abandoned [Lacuna]]

A.D. 181(?)

3

[Commodus also granted peace to an embassy from the Buri. Previously he would not have it, though often asked, because they were strong and because it was not peace they wanted, but the securing of a respite for further preparations. Now, however, since they were exhausted, he made terms with them and accepted hostages. From the Buri he received back many captives and from the others fifteen thousand, and he compelled the others to take oath that they would never dwell in nor use as pasture forty stadia of their territory, nearest to Dacia. The same (?) Sabinianus also reduced twelve thousand of the neighboring Dacians who had been driven out of their own country and were on the point of aiding the rest. He promised these that some land in our Dacia should be given them.]

4

Frequent plots were formed by various persons against Commodus [for he did many reprehensible deeds] and he murdered great numbers both of men and of women, some openly and some by secret poison, — in a word, practically all those who had attained eminence during his father's lifetime and his own. Exceptions were Pompeianus and Pertinax and Victorinus: these for some reason unknown to me he did not kill. **THIS AND WHAT FOLLOWS I STATE NOT ON THE AUTHORITY OF ANOTHER'S TRADITION, BUT FROM MY OWN OBSERVATION.** On coming to Rome he had a conference with the senate, at which he talked a great deal of nonsense, one thing that he said in praise of himself being that he had once on horseback

saved the life of his father, who had fallen into a deep mire. Of such a nature were his lofty pratings.

A.D. 182 (a.u. 935)

As he was entering the hunting theatre, Claudius Pompeianus laid a snare for him. He held up a sword in the narrow passage which served as an entrance and said: "See, this is what the senate has sent you."

This man had taken as his spouse the daughter of Lucilla, but had intimate relations both with the daughter herself and with the girl's mother; in this way he had become friendly with Commodus, so that he was his companion at banquets and in the diversions of youth. Lucilla, who was neither more respectable nor more continent than her brother Commodus, detested the girl's husband, Pompeianus. It was for this reason that she persuaded the aforementioned to undertake the attack upon Commodus, and she not only caused his destruction, but was herself detected and put out of the way. Commodus killed also Crispina, because he was angry with her for some act of adultery. Previous to their execution both women had been banished to the island of Capreae.

5

There was a certain Marcia, mistress of Quadratus (one of the men murdered at this time) and Eclectus, his cubicularius: the latter became also the cubicularius of Commodus, and the former, first, the emperor's mistress and later the wife of Eclectus; and she beheld them also perish by violence. The tradition is that she very much favored the Christians and did them many kindnesses, as she was enabled to do through possessing all influence with Commodus.

Commodus killed also Julianus [Salvius, and Tarrutenius Paternus, who was numbered among the exconsuls, and others with them; he furthermore put to death some woman of the nobility. Yet Julianus after the death of Marcus could at once have done anything at all that he pleased against him, since he possessed great renown, was in charge of a large army, and enjoyed the devotion of his soldiers: and he refused to make any rebellious move, both because of his own uprightness and because of the good will that he bore to Marcus, though dead. And Paternus, if he had plotted against Commodus, as he was accused of doing, could easily have murdered him while he himself still commanded the Pretorians; but he had not done it.] The emperor murdered likewise Condianus and Maximus Quintilius; for they had a great reputation on account of education and military ability and fraternal harmony and wealth. Their notable talents led to the suspicion that, even if they were not planning any hostile movement, still they were not pleased with the state of affairs. Thus, even as they had lived together, so they died together, and

one child as well. They had exhibited the most striking example ever seen of affection for each other, and at no time had they been divided, even in their political offices. They had grown prosperous and exceedingly wealthy and were wont to govern together and to assist each other in trying cases at law.

6

Sextus Condianus, son of Maximus, who surpassed the generality of men in character and education, when he heard that sentence of death had been passed upon him, too, drank hare's blood (he was at that time located in Syria); and after this he mounted a horse and purposely fell from it. Then, as he vomited the blood (which was supposed to be his own), he was taken up in the expectation of his immediate demise and conveyed into a dwelling. The man himself now disappeared from view, but a ram's body was placed in a coffin, in his place and burned. Thereafter, by constantly changing his appearance and clothing, he wandered about, now here, now there. And when this story was reported (for it is impossible to conceal for a long time so weighty a matter), there was hue and cry after him in every place, bar none. Many were punished in his stead on account of their resemblance, and many, too, who were alleged to have shared his confidences or to have received and hidden him. Several, moreover, who had perhaps never even seen him, were deprived of their property. But no one knows whether he was really killed (though a great number of heads purporting to be his were carried to Rome) or whether he made good his escape.

Some other person, after the death of Commodus, dared to assert that *he* was Sextus and to undertake the recovery of his wealth and dignities. And he played the part well while many persons asked him numbers of questions: when, however, Pertinax enquired of him something about Grecian affairs, with which the real Sextus had been well acquainted, he suffered the greatest embarrassment, not being able even to understand what was said. [So it was that nature had made him like Condianus in form and practice like him in other ways, but he did not share in his education.]

7

This matter came to my own ears, and another thing that I saw I shall now describe. There is in the city of Mallus, in Cilicia, an oracle of Amphilochus, that gives responses by means of dreams. It had given warning also to Sextus, in a way that he indicated by a drawing. The picture that he put on a board represented a boy strangling two serpents and a lion pursuing a fawn. I was with my father, then governor of Cilicia, and could not comprehend what they meant until I learned that Sextus's brothers had been, as it were, strangled by Commodus (who later emulated Hercules), just as Hercules, when an infant, is related to have strangled the serpents sent against him by Juno: similarly, the

Quintilii were hanged; I learned also that Sextus was a fugitive and was being pursued by a more powerful adversary.

I should render my narrative unduly irksome, were I to set down carefully every single man put to death by this ruler, — all that he despatched because of false information, because of unjustified suspicions, because of notable wealth, because of distinguished family, because of unusual education, or for any other excellence.

[Commodus displayed in Rome itself many marks of wealth and very many more, even, of love for the beautiful. Indeed, he performed one or two acts of public benefit. Manilius, a kinsman of Cassius, who had been secretary of his Latin letters and had possessed the greatest influence with him, was caught after a flight, but the emperor would not listen to a word of his, though he promised to lay a great deal of information, and burned all the conspirator's documents without reading them.]

A.D. 184 (a.u. 937)

8

He had also some wars with the barbarians beyond Dacia, in which Albinus and Niger, who later fought the emperor Severus, won fame, but the greatest conflict was the one in Britain. When the tribes in the island, passing beyond the wall that separated them from the Roman legions, proceeded to commit many outrages and cut down a general, together with the soldiers that he had, Commodus was seized with fear and sent Marcellus Ulpus against them. This man, who was temperate and frugal and always followed strict military rules in regard to food and all other details when he was at war, became in course of time haughty and arrogant. He was conspicuously incorruptible in the matter of bribes, but was not of a pleasant or kindly nature. He showed himself more wakeful than any other general, and, as he desired his associates also to be alert, he wrote orders on twelve tablets (such as are made out of linden wood) [almost] every evening, and bade a man carry them to various persons at various hours, that they, believing the general to be always awake, might not themselves take their fill of sleep. Nature had made him able in the first place to go without sleep and he had developed this faculty a great deal more by abstinence from food. [Of scarcely anything did he eat his fill and] in order to avoid satisfying his hunger even with bread he sent to Rome for the loaves: [this was not because he could not eat what was prepared in that region, but] it was done with the purpose that the age of the article might prevent him eating ever so little more than what was absolutely necessary. [His gums, which were sore, were easily made to bleed by the dryness of the bread. And he made it his practice to affect sleeplessness even more than was the case, that he might have a reputation for being always awake.] This was

the kind of man Marcellus was, who inflicted great damage upon the barbarians in Britain. Later he narrowly escaped being destroyed by Commodus on account of his peculiar excellence, but was, nevertheless, released.

A.D. 185 (a.u. 938)

9

Perennis, commander of the Pretorians after Paternus, met destruction on account of a rebellion of the soldiers. For, since Commodus had devoted himself to chariot-racing and licentiousness and paid scarcely any attention to matters pertaining to the empire, Perennis was compelled to manage not only military affairs, but everything else, and to preside over the government. The soldiers, accordingly, when anything did not go to suit them, laid the blame upon Perennis and cherished anger against him.

The soldiers in Britain chose Priscus, a lieutenant, emperor. But he deprecated their action, saying "I am as little suited for emperor as you are for soldiers."

The lieutenants in Britain had been rebuked for their turbulence (indeed, they had not become quiet until Pertinax put a stop to their discord), and now they chose of their number fifteen hundred javelin-slingers, whom they sent into Italy. They had approached Rome without meeting any hindrance, when Commodus met them and enquired: "Why is this, fellow-soldiers? What does your presence signify?" Their answer was: "We are here because Perennis is plotting against you, and intends to make his son emperor." Commodus believed them, especially since Cleander dwelt at length upon the point. (The latter was often prevented by Perennis from doing all that he desired, and consequently entertained a bitter hatred for him). Therefore he delivered the prefect to the soldiers of whom he was commander, and did not venture to despise fifteen hundred men, though he had many times that number of Pretorians. So Perennis was abused and struck down, and his wife and sister and two sons were also killed.

10

Thus was he slain though he deserved a far different fate both on his own account and for the interest of the entire Roman domain. Only, it may be remarked that his fondness for office had been the chief cause of the ruin of his colleague Paternus. Privately he was never remotely concerned about either fame or wealth, but lived a most incorruptible and temperate life, and for Commodus he preserved his empire in entire safety. [For the emperor wholly followed his amusements and gave himself over to chariot-driving and cared not a whit for any political interests; nor, indeed, had he given his mind to the matter ever so zealously, could he have accomplished aught by reason

of his luxurious living and inexperience.]

And the Caesarians, having got rid of this man, with Cleander at their head entered upon every form of outrage, selling all privileges, doing violence, plunging into licentiousness.

Commodus during most of his life was given to idleness and horses and battles of beasts and of men. Aside from his performances at home he despatched many beasts in public and many men on many occasions. With his own hands and without assistance he gave the finishing stroke to five hippopotami at one time and to two elephants on separate days. Moreover, he killed rhinoceroses and a camelopard. This is what I have to say in general with reference to his whole career.

11

To Victorinus, prefect of the city, a statue was granted. [He died not as the victim of a plot. At one time what might be called a loud rumor and many reports were circulating in regard to his destruction] and, though Commodus frequently wished to get him out of the way, he still kept putting it off and shrinking from the deed until the man grew very bold, and one day approaching Perennis said: "I hear that you wish to kill me. Why then do you delay? Why do you put it off, when you might do it this very day?" [But not even this caused him to suffer any harm at the hands of any one else; it was a self-sought death that he suffered, and the fact seems strange, inasmuch as he had been honored among the foremost men by Marcus and in mental excellence and forensic eloquence stood second to none of his contemporaries. Indeed, by mentioning two incidents in his history I shall reveal his whole character.]

Once, when he was governor of Germany, he at first attempted by private persuasion indoors to induce his lieutenant not to accept bribes. As the latter would not listen to him, he mounted the tribunal and [after bidding the herald proclaim him] took oath that he had never received bribes and never would receive any. Next he bade his under-officer also take oath; and when this person refused to perjure himself, he ordered him to be dismissed from office. [And later as commandant of Africa he had an associate of similar character to the man just mentioned. He did not, to be sure, treat him in the same way, but put him aboard a boat and sent him back to Rome.] This is the kind of man Victorinus was.

12

As for Cleander, who after Perennis possessed greatest influence, he had been sold along with his fellow-slaves and had been brought to Rome along with

them for the purpose of carrying burdens. As time went on he attained such prominence that he slept before the chamber of Commodus, married the emperor's concubine Damostratia, and put to death Saoterus of Nicomedeia (who had held the position before him) besides many others. Yet this victim had possessed very great influence, so that the Nicomedians obtained from the senate the right of holding a series of games and of building a temple to Commodus. At any rate, Cleander, raised to greatness by the power of Fortune, granted and sold senatorships, praetorships, procuratorships, leaderships, — in a word everything. Some by expending all that they possessed had finally become senators. It came to be said of Julius Solon (an exceedingly obscure man) that he had been deprived of his property and banished to the senate.

A.D. 189 (a.u. 942)

Not only did Cleander do this, but he appointed twenty-five consuls for one year, — something which never occurred before or after. One of those consuls was Severus, who later became emperor. The man obtained money, therefore, from every quarter and amassed more wealth than had ever yet belonged to those nominated cubicularii. A great deal of it he gave to Commodus and his concubines and a great deal of it he spent on houses, baths, and other works useful to individuals and to cities.

13

This Cleander, who had soared to so exalted a height, himself fell suddenly and perished in dishonor. It was not the soldiers that killed him, as they had Perennis, but the populace. There occurred a real and pressing famine, which was increased to the utmost severity by Papirius Dionysius, the grain commissioner, in order that Cleander, whose thefts would seem as much responsible for it as any cause, might both incur hatred and suffer destruction at the hands of the Romans. So it fell out. There was a horse-race on, and as the horses were about to contend for the seventh time a crowd of children ran into the race course, at their head a tall and sturdy maiden. As a result of what subsequently happened she was deemed by people to have been a divinity. The children shouted many wild words of complaint, which the people took up again and began to bawl anything that came into their heads. Finally, the throng jumped down and started to find Commodus (who was then in the Quintilian suburb), invoking many blessings on his head but many curses upon Cleander. The latter sent some soldiers against them, who wounded and killed a few, but encouraged by their numbers and the strength of the Pretorians they became still more urgent. They drew near to Commodus before information reached him from any source of what was going on. Then the famous Marcia, wife of Quadratus, brought him the news. And Commodus was so terrified, — he was always the veriest coward, — that he at once ordered Cleander to be slain and also his child, who was in Commodus's hands to be reared. The child was dashed to the earth and

perished, and the Romans, taking the body of Cleander, dragged it away and abused it and carried his head all about the city on a pole. They also wounded some other men who had possessed great power during his ascendancy.

14

Commodus, taking a respite from his lusts and sports, developed a taste for blood and proceeded to compass the death of distinguished men. Among these was Julianus the prefect, whom he used to embrace and caress in public and saluted as "father." Another was Julius Alexander, who was executed for having brought down a lion by a lucky cast of his javelin while on horseback. This victim, on becoming aware of the presence of his assassins, murdered them by night and likewise put out of the way all his own enemies at Emesa, his native town. After doing this he mounted a horse and started toward the barbarians; and he would have escaped, had he not carried a favorite along with him. He was himself a most excellent horseman, but he would not think of abandoning the lad, who was tired out, and so when he was being overtaken he killed both the boy and himself. Dionysius, too, the grain commissioner, met his death by the orders of Commodus.

Moreover, a pestilence, as great as any I know, took place, for it should be noted that two thousand persons several times died in Rome on a single day. Many more, not merely in the capital but throughout almost the entire empire, perished by the hands of scoundrels, who smeared some deadly drugs on tiny needles, and, for pay, infected men with the poison by means of these instruments. The same thing had happened before in the reign of Domitian. But the death of these unfortunates was not regarded as of any importance.

A.D. 190 (a.u. 943)

15

Still, the effect of Commodus upon the Romans was worse than that of all pestilences and all villanies. One feature was that whatever honors they were wont to vote to his father out of pure regard they were compelled by fear and by strict injunction to assign also to the son. He gave orders that Rome itself be called *Commodiana*, the legions "*Commodian*," and the day on which this measure was voted "*Commodiana*." Upon himself he bestowed, in addition to very many other titles, that of *Hercules*. Rome he termed "*the Immortal*," "*the Fortunate*," "*the Universal Colony of the Earth*" (for he wished it to seem a settlement of his own). In his honor a gold statue was erected of a thousand pounds' weight, together with a bull and a cow. Finally, all the months were likewise called after him, so that they were enumerated as follows: *Amazonian*, *Invincible*, *Fortunate*, *Pious*, *Lucius*, *Aelius*, *Aurelius*, *Commodus*, *August*, *Herculean*, *Roman*, *Transcendent*. For he had assumed

these different names at different times. “Amazonian” and “Transcendent,” however, he applied exclusively to himself, to indicate that in absolutely every respect he unapproachably surpassed all mankind. So extravagantly did the wretch rave. And to the senate he would send a despatch couched in these terms: “Caesar Imperator, Lucius Aelius Aurelius Commodus, Augustus, Pius, Beatus, Sarmaticus, Germanicus, Maximus, Britannicus, Peacemaker of the World, Invincible, Roman Hercules, High Priest, Holder of Tribunician Authority for the eighteenth term, Imperator for the eighth time, Consul for the seventh time, Father of the Fatherland, to consuls, praetors, tribunes and the Commodian Fortunate Senate, Greeting.” Great numbers of statues were erected displaying him in the garb of Hercules. And it was voted that his age should be called the “Golden Age” and that entries to correspond with this should in every case be made in the records.

16

Now this Golden One, this Hercules, this God (such was another designation of his) one day in the afternoon rode suddenly from the suburbs with haste into Rome and conducted thirty horse-races in two hours. These proceedings had much to do with his running short of money. He was also fond of bestowing gifts and frequently presented the populace with one hundred and forty denarii apiece. But most of his expenditures were for the objects that I have mentioned. [So it was that neither his general income nor what was provided by Cleander (though incalculable in amount) sufficed him, and he was compelled to bring charges against both women and men, — charges not serious enough for capital punishment but prolific in threats and terror.] Some of these persons he murdered, to others he sold preservation in return for their property [and got something from them by constraint under the pretence that it was a voluntary offering] . And finally on his birthday he ordered us, our wives, and our children each to contribute two aurei [a year as] a kind of first-fruits, and the senators in all the other cities five denarii per head. [Of this, too, he saved not the smallest part, but spent it all disgracefully on beasts and gladiators.]

A.D. 192 (a.u. 945)

17

In public he nowhere drove chariots except sometimes on a moonless night. He became very desirous to play the character also in public, but, being ashamed to be seen doing this, he kept it up constantly at home, wearing the Green uniform. Beasts, moreover, in large numbers were slaughtered at his house and many also in public. Again, he would contend as gladiator: (at home he killed a man in this way, and, in pretending to shave others, instead of taking off the hairs he sliced off one man’s nose, another’s ears, and some other feature of a third;) but in public his contests were minus the steel and

human blood. Before entering the theatre he would put on a cleaved tunic of silk, white interwoven with gold, and we greeted him standing there in this attire. When he actually went in he donned a pure purple dress sprinkled with gold, assuming also a similar chlamys of Greek pattern and a crown made of Indic gems and gold, and carried such a herald's staff as Mercury does. The lion skin and club were carried before him along the streets, and at the theatres were invariably placed on a gilded chair, whether he was present or absent. He himself would enter the theatre in the garb of Mercury, and casting off everything else begin his performance in simple tunic and unshod.

18

On the first day he individually killed a hundred bears by shooting down at them from the top of the elevated circle. The whole theatre had been divided up by some diameters built in, which supported a circular roof and intersected each other, the object being that the beasts, divided into four herds, might be more easily speared at short range from any point. In the midst of the struggle he grew weary, and taking from a woman some sweet wine cooled in a club-shaped cup drank it down at a gulp. At this both the populace and we on the instant all shouted this phrase, common at drinking bouts: "Long life to you!"

Let no one think that I sully the dignity of history in noting down such happenings. In general I should have preferred not to mention it, but since it was one of the emperor's acts and I was myself present, taking part in everything seen and heard and spoken, I have judged it proper to suppress none of the details, but to hand them down to the attention of those who shall live hereafter, just as I should do in the case of anything else especially great and important. And, indeed, all the remaining events that took place in my lifetime I shall polish and elaborate more than earlier occurrences for the reason that my evidence is that of a contemporary and I know no one else who has my ability at reducing notable things to writing that has studied them so exhaustively as I.

19

It was on the first day, then, that this took place. On the others he frequently went down from the raised section to the bottom of the circle and slaughtered all the tame animals that he approached, some of them also being led to him or brought before him in nets. He also killed a tiger, a hippopotamus, and an elephant. After accomplishing this, he retired, but at the conclusion of breakfast fought again as a gladiator. The form of fighting which he practiced and the armor which he used was that pertaining to the so-called *secutor*: in his right hand he held the shield and in his left the wooden sword. He prided himself very greatly upon being left-handed. His antagonist would be some professional athlete, or, perhaps, gladiator, with a cane; this was sometimes a

man that the emperor himself challenged and sometimes one that the people chose. In this and other matters he acted the same way as the other gladiators, except that they go in for a very small sum, whereas Commodus had twenty-five myriads from the gladiatorial fund given him each day. There stood beside him during the contest Aemilius Laetus, the prefect, and Eclectus, his cubicularius. He went through a skirmish, and, of course, conquered, and then, just as he was, he kissed them with his helmet on. After this the rest did some fighting. — The first day he personally paired all the combatants, either down below, where he wore all the attire of Mercury, including a gilded wand, or else from his place on the elevated platform; and we took his proceeding as an omen. Later he ascended his customary seat and from that point viewed the remainder of the spectacle with us. Nothing more was done that resembled child's play, but great numbers of men were killed. At one place somebody delayed about slaying and he fastened the various opponents together and bade them all fight at once. At that the men so bound struggled one against another and some killed those who did not belong to their group, since the numbers and the limited space had brought them into proximity.

20

That spectacle as here described lasted fourteen days. While the contests were going on we senators invariably attended, along with the knights, save that Claudius Pompeianus the elder never appeared, but sent his sons, remaining away himself. He chose rather to be put to death for this than to behold the child of Marcus as emperor conducting himself so. — Besides all the rest that we did, we shouted whatever we were bidden and this sentence continuously: "Thou art lord, and thou art foremost, of all most fortunate: thou dost conquer, thou shalt conquer; from everlasting, Amazonian, thou dost conquer!"

Of the rest of the people many did not even enter the theatre and some managed to steal out quietly, for they were partly ashamed of what was being done and partly afraid. A story was current that he would like to shoot a few of them as Hercules had the Stymphalian birds. This story was believed, too, because once he had gathered all the men in the city who by disease or some other calamity had lost their feet, had fastened some dragon's extremities about their knees, and after giving them sponges to throw instead of stones had killed them with blows of a club, on the pretence that they were giants.

21

This fear was shared by all, both us and the rest. Here is another way in which he menaced us senators, — an act which he certainly expected would be the death of us. He had killed an ostrich, and cutting off its head he came toward where we were sitting. In his left hand he held the spoils and in the right stretched aloft his bloody sword. He spoke not a word, but with a grin wagged

his head to and fro, intimating that he would subject us to this same treatment. And many on the spot would have perished by the sword for laughing at him (for it was laughter and not grief that overcame us), had I not myself chewed a laurel leaf, which I got from my garland, and brought the rest who were sitting near me to munch similar sprigs, so that in the constant motion of our jaws we might conceal the fact that we were laughing. After this occurrence he raised our spirits, since before fighting again as a gladiator he bade us enter the theatre in the equestrian garb and with woolen cloaks. (This was something we never do when going into the theatre unless some emperor has passed away). And on the last day his helmet was carried out by the gates through which the dead are taken out. That made us all without exception think that he was surely about to meet his end in some way.

22

And he did die (or rather was despatched) before a great while. Laetus and Eclectus, displeased at the way he acted, and moreover filled with fear at the threats he uttered against them when he was checked in any of his whims, formed a plot against him. Commodus was anxious to slay both the consuls (Erucius Clarus and Sosius Falco) and on the first of the month to issue as consul and secutor at once from the place where the gladiators are kept. He had the first cell in their quarters, as if he were one of them. Let no one be incredulous about this, for he even cut off the head of the Colossus and put one of his own there instead; and then, having given it a club and placed a bronze lion at its feet so as to make it look like Hercules, he inscribed, besides the titles that belonged to him, also this sentence: "First of secutors to engage; the only left-handed fighter that has conquered twelve times" — I think it is—"a thousand."

[Lacuna] was written by Lucius Commodus Hercules, and upon it was inscribed the well known couplet, viz.: "Hercules I, Jove's son, Lord of Fair Fame, Not Lucius, howsoe'er constrained thereto."

For these reasons Laetus and Eclectus, making Marcia their confidante, attacked him. At night on the last of the year, when people were busy with merry-making, they had Marcia administer poison to him in cooked beef. The wine he had consumed and his always immoderate use of the baths kept him from succumbing at once, and instead he vomited; this caused him to suspect the attempt and he uttered some threats. Then they sent Narcissus, an athlete, to him and had this man strangle him in the midst of a bath. This was the end that Commodus met after ruling twelve years, nine months, and fourteen days. He had lived thirty-one years and four months, and with him the imperial house of the true Aurelii ceased.

After this there occurred most violent wars and factional disturbances. The compilation of facts in this work of mine has been due to the following chance. I had written and published a book about the dreams and signs which caused Severus to expect the imperial power; and he, happening to look at a copy that was sent him by me, wrote me a long and complimentary acknowledgment. This letter I received about nightfall and soon after went to sleep. And in my slumbers Heaven commanded me that a history be written. So it came about that I wrote the narrative with which I am at this moment concerned. And because it pleased Severus himself and other people very much, I then conceived a desire to compile a record of all other matters of Roman interest. Therefore I decided no longer to leave that treatise as a separate composition, but to incorporate it in this present history, in order that in one undertaking I might write positively everything from the beginning as far as Fortune sees fit to permit. I have obtained this goddess, it appears, as the guide of the conduct of my life, and therefore I am dependent on her entirely: she gives me strength for my historical research when I am respectful and subdued before her, and wins me back to work by means of dreams when I am discouraged and give up the task: she grants me delightful hopes in regard to the future, that time will allow this history to survive and never let its brightness be dimmed. To gather an account of everything done by the Romans from the beginning until the death of Severus has taken me ten years, and to arrange it in literary form twelve years more. The rest will be written as opportunity offers.

24

Prior to the death of Commodus there were the following signs. Many ill-boding eagles wandered about the Capitol uttering cries that portended naught of peace, and an owl hooted there.

A.D. 191 (a.u. 944)

A fire, starting by night in some dwelling, laid hold of the temple of Peace and spread to the stores of Egyptian and Arabian wares: then, leaping to a great height, it entered the palace and burned a very large portion of it, so that the documents belonging to the empire almost all perished. This as much as anything made it clear that the injury would not stop in the City but extend over the entire civilized world. The conflagration could not be extinguished by human hands, although great numbers of civilians and great numbers of soldiers were carrying water and Commodus himself came from the suburbs to cheer them on. Only after it had destroyed everything on which it had fastened did it spend its force and reach a limit.

BOOK 74

Pertinax, through the agency of Eclectus and Laetus, is created emperor by the soldiers and by the senate (chapter 1).

Commodus is declared an enemy and is made a subject for jest (chapter 2).

Kindness of Pertinax toward Pompeianus, Glabrio, and the senators (chapter 3).

Omens portending supreme power for him (chapter 4).

Pertinax reforms pernicious practices: he sells Commodus's apparatus of licentiousness (chapter 5, 6).

His moderation with regard to his own family (chapter 7).

At the instigation of Laetus Falco the consul is slated for emperor (chapter 8).

Death of Pertinax Augustus (chapter 9, 10).

Flavius Sulpicianus and Julianus strive in outbidding each other for the sovereignty (chapter 11).

Julianus is made emperor contrary to the wishes of the senate and the Roman people (chapters 12, 13).

About the three leaders, Severus, Niger, Albinus (chapter 14).

Severus forms an alliance with Albinus and proceeds against Julianus (chapter 15).

Julianus, in the midst of laughable preparations, is killed by order of the senate (chapters 16, 17).

DURATION OF TIME,

five months

(from the Calends of January to the Calends of June), in which the following were consuls:

1. Quintus Sosius Falco, C. Erucius Clarus.
2. Flavius Sulpicianus, Fabius Cilo Septiminus
(from the Calends of March).

3. Silius Messala (from the Calends of May).

(A.D. 193 = a.u. 946).

A.D. 193 (a.u. 946)

1

Pertinax was one of those men to whom no exception can be taken, but he ruled only for an exceedingly brief space of time and was then put out of the way by the soldiers. While the fate of Commodus was still a secret the party of Eclectus and Laetus came to him and acknowledged what had been done. On account of his excellence and reputation they were glad to select him. He, after seeing them and hearing their story, sent his most trustworthy comrade to view the body of Commodus. When the man confirmed the report of the act, he was then conveyed secretly into the camp and caused the soldiers consternation; but through the presence of the adherents of Laetus and by means of promises to give them three thousand denarii per man, he won them over. They would certainly have remained content, had he not phrased the conclusion of his speech somewhat as follows: "There are many unpleasant features, fellow-soldiers, in the present situation, but the rest with your help shall be set right again." On hearing this they took occasion to suspect that all the irregular privileges granted them by Commodus would be abolished. Though irritated, they nevertheless remained quiet, concealing their anger.

On leaving the fortifications he came to the senate-house while it was still night, and after greeting us (so far as a man might approach him in the midst of such a jostling throng) he said in an impromptu way: "I have been named emperor by the soldiers; however, I don't desire the office and am going to resign it this very day because of my age and health and the unpleasant condition of affairs." This was no sooner said than we gave the selection our genuine approbation and chose him in very truth; for he was noble in spirit and strong in body, except that he walked a little lame.

2

In this way was Pertinax declared emperor and Commodus an enemy, while both senate and people denounced the latter long and savagely. They desired to hale away his body and tear it limb from limb, as they did his images; but, when Pertinax told them that the corpse had already been interred, they spared his remains but glutted their rage on his representations, calling him all sorts of names. But "Commodus" or "emperor" were two that no one applied to him. In stead, they termed him "wretch" and "tyrant," adding in jest titles like "the gladiator," "the charioteer," "the left-handed," "the ruptured man." To

the senators, who had been excited most by fear of Commodus, the crowd called out: "Huzza, huzza, you are saved, you have conquered!" All the shouts that they had been accustomed to raise with a kind of rhythmic swing to pay court to Commodus in the theatres they now chanted metamorphosed into the most ridiculous nonsense. Since they had got rid of one ruler, and as yet had nothing to fear from his successor, they made the most of their freedom in the intervening time and secured a reputation for frankness by their fearlessness. They were not satisfied merely to be relieved of further terror, but desired to show their courage by wanton insolence.

[Public opinion regarding Pertinax was so different from that in the case of Commodus that those who heard what had happened, suspecting that this story had been spread by Commodus to test them, in several instances (governors of provinces being particularly involved) imprisoned the men who brought the news. It was not that they did not wish it to be true, but they were more afraid of seeming to have helped destroy Commodus than of not attaching themselves to Pertinax. For under the latter one who even committed an error of this kind might still breathe freely, but under the former not even a faultless person could feel safe.]

3

Pertinax was a Ligurian from Alba Pompeia; his father was not of noble birth and he himself had just enough literary training for ordinary needs. Under these conditions he had become an associate of Claudius Pompeianus, through whose influence he had become a commander in the cavalry, and had reached such a height that he now came to be emperor over his former friend. And I at that time, during the reign of Pertinax, saw Pompeianus for the first and last occasion. He was wont to live mostly in the country on account of Commodus [and very seldom came down to the city] , making his age and a disease of the eyes his excuse [and he had never before, when I was present, entered the senate] . Moreover, after Pertinax he was always ill. [During his reign he saw and was well and advised.] Pertinax honored him mightily in every way and in the senate made him take the seat beside him. [The same privilege he accorded also to Acilius Glabrio. This man, too, at that period both heard and saw. It was to these, then, that he granted such surpassing honor.] Toward us also he behaved in a very sociable way. He was easy of access, listened readily to any one's request, and cordially answered as he thought right. Again, he gave us banquets marked by moderation. Whenever he failed to invite us, he would send to various persons various foods, even the least costly. For this the wealthy and vainglorious made great sport of him, but the rest of us, who valued excellence above debauchery, approved his course.

While he was still in Britain, after that great revolt which he quelled, and was being accorded praise on all sides, a horse named Pertinax won a race at Rome. It belonged to the Greens and was picked as a winner by Commodus. So, when its partisans raised a great shout, proclaiming "It is Pertinax," the others, their opponents, in disgust at Commodus likewise prayed (speaking with reference to the man, not the horse): "Would that it might be so!" Later, when this same horse by reason of age had given up racing and was in the country, it was sent for by Commodus, who brought it into the hippodrome, gilded its hoofs, and adorned its back with a gilded skin. And people suddenly seeing it cried out again: "It is Pertinax!" The very expression was itself ominous, since it occurred at the last horse-race that year, and immediately after it the sovereignty passed to Pertinax. A similar import was attached to the club, for Commodus when about to fight on the final day had given it to Pertinax.

5

It was in this way that Pertinax came into power. He obtained all the proper titles and a new one for wishing to be democratic. That is, he was named *Princeps Senatus*, according to ancient custom. He at once reduced to order everything that was previously irregular and lacking in discipline. He showed in his capacity of emperor kindness and uprightness, unimpeachable management, and a most careful consideration for the public welfare. Pertinax did everything, in fact, that a good emperor should do, and he removed the stigma of disgrace from the memories of those who had been unjustly put to death; moreover, he took oath that he would never sanction such a penalty. Immediately some recalled their relatives and some their friends with tears and joy at once; formerly not even these exhibitions of emotion were allowed. After this they exhumed the bodies, some of which were found entire and some in fragments, according as decay and time had caused each of them to fare, and they gave them decent treatment and deposited them in their ancestral tombs.

At this time the treasury was suffering from such lack of funds that only twenty-five myriad denarii could be found. Pertinax therefore had difficulty in raising money from the images and the arms, the horses and the trappings, and the favorites of Commodus, but gave to the Pretorians all that he had promised and to the people one hundred denarii apiece. All the articles that Commodus had gathered by way of luxury and for armed combats and for chariot driving were exposed in the auction-room, the principal object sought being their sale, though there was a further intention to show what were the late emperor's deeds and practices and to ascertain who would purchase such articles.

Laetus consistently spoke well of Pertinax and abused Commodus [relating all the latter's evil deeds] .

He summoned some barbarians that had received a large sum of gold coin from Commodus in return for preservation of peace (the party was already on the road) and demanded its return, saying: "Tell your people that Pertinax is ruler." The foreigners knew his name very well as a result of the reverses they had suffered when he made a campaign against them with Marcus. — Let me tell you another similar act of his intended to cast reflections upon Commodus. He found that some filthy clowns and buffoons, disgusting in appearance, with still more disgusting names and habits, had been made extremely wealthy by Commodus on account of their wantonness and licentiousness; accordingly, he made public their titles and the amounts they had acquired. The former caused laughter and the latter wrath and grief, for there were some of them that possessed just the sums for which the emperor had slain numbers of senators. However, Laetus did not remain permanently loyal to Pertinax, or perhaps we might even say not for a moment. Since he did not get what he wanted, he proceeded to incite the soldiers against him (as will be related).

7

Pertinax appointed as prefect of the city his father-in-law, Flavius Sulpicianus, a man who in any case deserved the position. Yet he was unwilling to make his wife Augusta or his son Caesar, though we voted him permission. He rejected emphatically each proposition, whether because he had not yet firmly rooted his own power, or because he did not choose to let his unchaste consort sully the name of Augusta. As for his son, who was still a child, he did not care to have him spoiled by the dignity and the hope implied in the name before he should be educated. Indeed, he would not even bring him up in the palace, but on the very first day of his sovereignty he put aside everything that had belonged to him previously and divided it between his children — he had also a daughter — and gave orders that they should live at their grandfather's house; there he visited them occasionally in the capacity of father and not of emperor.

8

Now, since the soldiers were no longer allowed to plunder nor the Caesarians to indulge their licentiousness, they hated him bitterly. The Caesarians attempted no revolt, because they were unarmed, but the Pretorian soldiers and Laetus formed a plot against him. In the first place they selected Falco the consul for emperor, because he was prominent for both wealth and family, and purposed to bring him to the camp while Pertinax was at the coast investigating the corn supply. The latter, learning of the plan, returned in haste

to the City, and coming before the senate said: "You should not be ignorant, Conscript Fathers, that though I found but twenty-five myriad denarii, I have distributed as much to the soldiers as did Marcus and Lucius, to whom were left sixty-seven thousand five hundred myriads. It is the surprising Caesarians who have been responsible for this deficiency of funds." Pertinax told a lie when he said that he had bestowed upon the soldiers an equal amount with Lucius and Marcus; for the one had given them about five thousand and the other about three thousand denarii apiece. The soldiers and the Caesarians, who were present in the senate in great numbers, became mightily indignant and muttered dangerously. But as we were about to condemn Falco [and were already declaring him an enemy] Pertinax rose and cried out: "Heaven forbid that any senator, while I am ruler, be put to death even for a just cause!" [And in this way Falco's life was saved, and thenceforth he lived in the country, preserving a cautious and respectful demeanor.]

9

But Laetus, using Falco as a starting point, destroyed many of the soldiers on the pretence that the emperor ordered it. The rest, when they became aware of it, were afraid that they should perish, too, and raised a tumult. Two hundred bolder than their mates invaded the palace with drawn swords. Pertinax had no warning of their approach until they had got upstairs. Then his wife rushed in and informed him what had happened. On learning this he behaved in a way which one may call noble or senseless or however one pleases. For, whereas he might probably have killed his assailants (since he had the night-guard and the cavalry by to protect him and there were also many other people in the palace at the time), or might at any rate have concealed himself and made his escape to some place or other, and might have closed the doors of the palace and the other intervening doors, he, nevertheless, adopted neither alternative. Instead, hoping to awe them by his presence and thus gain a hearing and persuade them to their duty, he confronted the approaching band, which was already indoors. No one of their fellow soldiers had barred the way, and the porters and other Caesarians so far from making any door fast had opened absolutely all the entrances. The soldiers, seeing him, at first were

10

abashed, save one, and rested their eyes on the floor and began thrusting their swords back into their scabbards. But the one exception leaped forward, exclaiming: "This sword the soldiers have sent you," and forthwith made a dash at him, striking him a blow. Then his comrades did not restrain themselves and felled their emperor together with Eclectus. The latter alone had not deserted him and defended him as far as he was able, even to the extent of wounding several. Wherefore I, who still earlier believed that he had shown himself a man of worth, now thoroughly admired him. The soldiers cut

off the head of Pertinax and stuck it on a spear, glorying in the deed. Thus did Pertinax, who undertook to restore everything in a brief interval, meet his end. He did not comprehend, though a well trained man of affairs, that it is impossible with safety to reform everything at once, but that the constitution of a government requires, if anything does, both time and wisdom. He had lived sixty-seven years lacking four months and three days. He had reigned eighty-seven days.

11

When the fate of Pertinax was reported, some ran to their homes and some to those of the soldiers, and paid heed to their own safety. It happened that Sulpicianus had been despatched by Pertinax to the camp to set in order matters there, and he consequently stayed there and took action looking to the appointment of an emperor. But there was a certain Didius Julianus [of senatorial rank but eccentric character] , an insatiate money-getter and reckless spender, always anxious for a change in the government, who on account of the last named proclivity had been driven out by Commodus to his own city, Mediolanum. He, accordingly, on hearing of the death of Pertinax, hastily made his way to the camp, and standing near the gates of the fort made offers to the soldiers in regard to the Roman throne. Then ensued a most disgraceful affair and one unworthy of Rome. For just as is done in some market and auction-room, both the city and her whole empire were bid off. The sellers were the people who had killed their emperor, and the would-be buyers were Sulpicianus and Julianus, who vied to outbid each other, one from within, the other from without. By their increases they speedily reached the sum of five thousand denarii per man. Some of the guard kept reporting and saying to Julianus: "Sulpicianus is willing to give so much; now what will you add?" And again to Sulpicianus: "Julianus offers so much; how much more do you make it?" Sulpicianus would have won the day, since he was inside and was prefect of the city and was the first to say five thousand, had not Julianus raised his bid, and no longer by small degrees but by twelve hundred and fifty denarii at once, which he offered with a great shout, indicating the amount likewise on his fingers. Captivated by the difference and at the same time through fear that Sulpicianus might avenge Pertinax (an idea that Julianus put into their heads) they received the highest bidder inside and designated him emperor.

12

So toward evening the new ruler turned his steps with speed toward the Forum and senate-house. He was escorted by a vast number of Pretorians with numerous standards as if prepared for action, his object being to scare both us and the populace and thereby secure our allegiance. The soldiers called him "Commodus," and exalted him in various other ways. As the news was

brought to us each individually, and we ascertained the truth, we were possessed with fear of Julianus and the soldiers, especially all of us who had [Lacuna] any favors for Pertinax. [Lacuna] I was one of them, for I had been honored by Pertinax in various ways, owing to him my appointment as praetor, and when acting as advocate for others at trials I had frequently proved Julianus in the wrong on many points. Nevertheless, we put in an appearance, and partly for this very reason, since it did not seem to us to be safe to hide at home, for fear that act in itself might arouse suspicion. So when bath and dinner were both over, we pushed our way through the soldiers, entered the senate-house, and heard the potentate deliver a characteristic speech, in the course of which he said: "I see that you need a ruler, and I myself am better fitted than any one else to direct you. And I should mention all the advantages I can offer, if you did not know them perfectly and had not already had experience with me. Consequently, I felt no need of being attended by many soldiers, but have come to you alone, that you may ratify what has been given me by them." "I am here alone" is what he said, when he had surrounded the entire exterior of the senate-house with heavily armed men and had a number of soldiers in the senate-house itself. Moreover, he mentioned our being aware what kind of person he was, and made us both hate and fear him.

13

In this way he got his imperial power confirmed also by decrees of the senate and returned to the palace. Finding the dinner that had been prepared for Pertinax he made great fun of it, and sending out to every place from which by any means whatever something expensive could be procured at that time of day he satisfied his hunger (the corpse was still lying in the building) and then proceeded to amuse himself by dicing. Among his companions was Pylades the dancer. The next day we went up to visit him, feigning in looks and behavior much that we did not feel, so as not to let our grief be detected. The populace, however, openly frowned upon the affair, spoke its mind as much at it pleased, and was ready to do what it could. Finally, when he came to the senate-house and was about to sacrifice to Janus before the entrance, all bawled out as if by preconcerted arrangement, terming him empire-plunderer and parricide. He affected not to be angry and promised them some money, whereupon they grew indignant at the implication that they could be bribed and all cried out together: "We don't want it, we won't take it!" The surrounding buildings echoed back the shout in a way to make one shudder. When Julianus had heard their response, he could endure it no longer, but ordered that those who stood nearest should be slain. That excited the populace a great deal more, and it did not cease expressing its longing for Pertinax or its abuse of Julianus, its invocations of the gods or its curses upon the soldiers. Though many were wounded and killed in many parts of the city, they continued to resist and finally seized weapons and made a rush into the

hippodrome. There they spent the night and the ensuing day without food or drink, calling upon the remainder of the soldiery (especially Pescennius Niger and his followers in Syria) with prayers for assistance. Later, feeling the effects of their outcries and fasting and loss of sleep, they separated and kept quiet, awaiting the hoped for deliverance from abroad.

“I do not assist the populace: for it has not called upon me.”

14

Julianus after seizing the power in this way managed affairs in a servile fashion, paying court to the senate as well as to men of any influence. Sometimes he made offers, again he bestowed gifts, and he laughed and sported with anybody and everybody. He was constantly going to the theatre and kept getting up banquets: in fine, he left nothing undone to win our favor. However, he was not trusted; his servility was so abject that it made him an object of suspicion. Everything out of the common, even if it seems to be a kindness to somebody, is regarded by men of sense as a trap.

The senate had at one time voted him a golden statue and he refused to accept it, saying: “Give me a bronze one so that it may last; for I perceive that the gold and silver statues of the emperors that ruled before me have been torn down, whereas the bronze ones remain.” In this he was not right: since 'tis excellence that safeguards the memory of potentates. And the bronze statue that was bestowed upon him was torn down after he was overthrown.

This was what went on in Rome. Now I shall speak about what happened outside and the various revolutions. There were three men at this time who were commanding each three legions of citizens and many foreigners besides, and they all asserted their claims, — Severus, Niger, and Albinus. The last-named governed Britain, Severus Pannonia, and Niger Syria. These were the three persons darkly indicated by the three stars that suddenly came to view surrounding the sun, when Julianus in our presence was offering the Sacrifices of Entrance in front of the senate-house. These heavenly bodies were so very brilliant that the soldiers kept continually looking at them and pointing them out to one another, declaring moreover that some dreadful fate would befall the usurper. As for us, however much we hoped and prayed that it might so prove, yet the fear of the moment would not permit us to gaze at them, save by occasional glances. Such are the facts that I know about the matter.

15

Of the three leaders that I have mentioned Severus [was] the shrewdest [in being able to foresee the future with accuracy, to manage present affairs successfully, to ascertain everything concealed as well as if it had been laid bare and to work out every complicated situation with the greatest ease.] He understood in advance that after deposing Julianus the three would fall to

blows with one another and offer combat for the possession of the empire, and therefore determined to win over the rival who was nearest him. So he sent a letter by one of his trusted managers to Albinus, creating him Caesar. Of Niger, who was proud of having been invoked by the people, he had no hopes. Albinus on the supposition that he was going to share the empire with Severus remained where he was: Severus made all strategic points in Europe, save Byzantium, his own and hastened toward Rome. He did not venture outside a protecting circle of weapons, having selected his six hundred most valiant men in whose midst he passed his time day and night; these did not once put off their breastplates until they reached Rome.

[This Fulvius (?) too, who when governor of Africa had been tried and condemned by Pertinax for rascality, avarice, and licentiousness, was later elevated to the highest position by the same man, now become emperor, as a favor to Severus.]

16

Julianus on learning the condition of affairs had the senate make Severus an enemy and proceeded to prepare against him. [In the suburbs he constructed a rampart, wherein he set gates, that he might take up a position there outside and fight from that base.] The City during these days became nothing more nor less than a camp, pitched, as it were, in hostile territory. There was great turmoil from the various bodies of those bivouacked and exercising, — men, horses, elephants. The mass of the population stood in great fear of the armed men [because the latter hated them.] Occasionally laughter would overcome us. The Pretorians did nothing that was expected of their name and reputation, for they had learned to live delicately. The men summoned from the fleet that lay at anchor in Misenum did not even know how to exercise. The elephants found the towers oppressive and so would not even carry their drivers any longer [but threw them off also] . What caused us most amusement was his strengthening the palace with latticed gates and strong doors. For, as it seemed likely that the soldiers would never have slain Pertinax so easily if the building had been securely fastened, Julianus harbored the belief that in case of defeat he would be able to shut himself up there and survive.

Moreover, he put to death both Laetus and Marcia, so that all the conspirators against Commodus had now perished. Later Severus gave Narcissus also to the beasts, making the proclamation (verbatim): “This is the man that strangled Commodus.” The emperor likewise killed many boys for purposes of enchantments, thinking that he could avert some future calamities, if he should ascertain them in advance. And he kept sending man after man to find Severus and assassinate him. [Vespronius Candidus, a man of very distinguished rank but still more remarkable for his sullenness and boorishness, came near meeting his end at the hands of the soldiers.]

The avenger had now reached Italy and without striking a blow took possession of Ravenna. The men whom his opponent kept sending to him to either persuade him to turn back or else block his approaches were won over. The Pretorians, in whom Julianus reposed most confidence, were becoming worn out by constant toil and were getting terribly alarmed at the report of Severus's proximity. At this juncture Julianus called us together and bade us vote for Severus to be his colleague in office.

The soldiers were led to believe by communications from Severus that, if they would surrender the assassins of Pertinax and themselves offer no hostile demonstration, they should receive no harm; therefore they arrested the men who had killed Pertinax and announced this very fact to Silius Messala, the consul. The latter assembled us in the Athenaeum, so called from the fact that it was a seat of educational activity, and informed us of the news from the soldiers. We then sentenced Julianus to death, named Severus emperor, and bestowed heroic honors upon Pertinax. So it was that Julianus came to be slain as he was reclining in the palace itself; he had only time to say: "Why, what harm have I done? Whom have I killed?" He had lived sixty years, four months, and the same number of days, out of which he had reigned sixty-six days.

Dio, 74th Book: "Men of intelligence should neither begin a war nor seek to evade it when it is thrust upon them. They should rather grant pardon to him who voluntarily conducts himself properly, in spite Of any previous transgression, [Lacuna]

BOOK 75

Severus takes vengeance on the Pretorians who were the assassins of Pertinax and enters the city (chapters 1, 2).

Prodigies which portended the sovereignty to Severus (chapter 3).

Funeral procession which he superintended, in honor of Pertinax (chapters 4, 5).

War of Severus Augustus against Pescennius Niger (chapters 6, 7, 8, 9).

The storming of Byzantium (chapters 10, 11, 12, 13, 14).

DURATION OF TIME

Q. Sosius Falco, C. Erucius Clarus.

(A.D. 193 = a.u. 946 = First of Severus, from the Calends of June).

I. Septimius Severus Aug. (II), D. Clodius Septimius Albinus Caes.

(A.D. 194 = a.u. 947 = Second of Severus).

Scapula Tertullus, Tineius Clemens.

(A.D. 195 = a.u. 948 = Third of Severus).

C. Domitius Dexter (II), L. Valerius Messala Priscus.

(A.D. 196 = a.u. 949 = Fourth of Severus).

1

Severus upon becoming emperor in the manner described punished with death the | Pretorians | who had contrived the fate of Pertinax. Before reaching Rome he summoned those remaining [Pretorians] , surrounded them in a plain while they still did not know what was going to happen to them, and having reproached them long and bitterly for their transgression against their emperor he relieved them of their arms, took away their horses, and expelled them from Rome. The majority reluctantly proceeded to throw away their arms and let their horses go, and scattered uninjured, in their tunics. One man, as his horse refused to leave him, but kept following him and neighing, slew both the beast and himself. To the spectators it seemed that the horse also was glad to die.

When he had attended to this matter Severus entered Rome; he went as far as the gates on horseback and in cavalry costume, but from that point on changed to citizen's garb and walked. The entire army, both, infantry and cavalry, in

full armor accompanied him. The spectacle proved the most brilliant of all that I have witnessed, for the whole city had been decked with wreaths of blossoms and laurel and besides being adorned with richly colored stuffs blazed with lights and burning incense. The population, clad in white and jubilant, gave utterance to many hopeful expressions. The soldiers were present, conspicuous by their arms, as if participating in some festival procession, and we, too, were walking about in our best attire. The crowd chafed in their eagerness to see him and to hear him say something, as if his voice had been somehow changed by his good fortune, and some of them held one another up aloft to get a look at him from a higher position.

2

Having entered in this style he began to make us rash promises, such as the good emperors of old had given, to the effect that he would not put any senator to death. He not only took oath concerning this matter, but what was of greater import he also ordered it ratified by public decree, and passed an ordinance that both the emperor and the person who helped him in any such deed should be considered an enemy, — themselves and also their children. Yet he was himself the first to break the law and instead of keeping it caused the death of many persons. Even Julius Solon himself, who framed this decree according to imperial mandate, was a little later murdered. The emperor did many things that were not to our liking. [He was blamed for making the city turbulent by the multitude of soldiers and he oppressed the commonwealth by excessive expenditure of funds: he was blamed most of all for placing his hope of safety in the strength of his army and not in the good-will of his companions.] But some found fault with him especially because, whereas it had been the custom for the body-guard to be drawn from Italy, Spain, Macedonia and Noricum only, — a plan which furnished men more distinguished in appearance and of simpler habits, — he had abolished this method, [He ruled that any vacancies should be filled from all the legions alike; this he did with the idea that he should find them as a result more conversant with military practices and should be setting up warfare as a kind of prize for the excellent. As a matter of fact he incidentally ruined all the most reliable men of military age in Italy, who turned their attention to robbery and gladiatorial fighting in place of the service that had previously claimed it.] and filled the city with a throng of motley soldiers, most savage in appearance, most terrifying in their talk, and most uncultured to associate with.

3

The signs which led him to expect the sovereignty were these. When he had been registered in the senate-house, it seemed to him in a vision that a she-wolf suckled him, as was the case with Romulus. On the occasion of his

marrying Julia, Faustina, the wife of Marcus, prepared their bedchamber in the temple of Venus opposite the palace; and once, when he was asleep, water gushed from his hand as from a spring; and when he was governor of Lugdunum, the whole Roman domain approached and greeted him, — all this in dreams, I mean. At another time he was taken by some one to a point affording a wide view; and as he gazed from it over all the earth and all the sea he laid his fingers on them as one might on some instrument capable of all harmonies, and they answered to his touch. Again, he thought that in the Roman Forum a horse threw Pertinax, who was already mounted, but readily took him on its back. These things he had already learned from dreams, but in his waking hours he had, while a youth, ignorantly seated himself upon the imperial chair. This accident, taken with the rest, indicated rulership to him in advance.

4

Upon attaining that condition he erected a heroum to Pertinax and commanded that his name should be repeated in the course of all prayers and of all oaths. A gold image of him was ordered brought into the hippodrome on a car drawn by elephants and three gilded thrones for him conveyed into the remaining theatres. His funeral, in spite of the time elapsed since his death, took place as follows:

In the Forum Romanum a wooden platform was constructed hard by the stone one, upon which was set a building without walls but encompassed by columns, with elaborate ivory and gold decoration. In it a couch of similar material was placed, surrounded by heads of land and sea creatures, and adorned with purple coverlets interwoven with gold. Upon it had been laid a kind of wax image of Pertinax, arrayed in triumphal attire. A well-formed boy was scaring the flies away from it with peacock feathers, as though it were really a person sleeping. While it was lying there in state, Severus, we senators, and our wives approached, clad in mourning garb. The ladies sat in the porticos, and we under the open sky. After this there came forward, first, statues of all the famous ancient Romans, then choruses of boys and men, intoning a kind of mournful hymn to Pertinax. Next were all the subject nations, represented by bronze images, attired in native garb. And the guilds in the City itself, — those of the lictors and the scribes and the heralds, and all others of the sort, — followed on. Then came images of other men who were famous for some deed or invention or brilliant trait. Behind them were the cavalry and infantry in armor, the race-horses, and all the funeral offerings that the emperor and we and our wives, together with distinguished knights and peoples and the collegia of the city, had sent. They were accompanied by an altar, entirely gilded, the beauty of which was enhanced by ivory and Indic jewels.

When these had gone by, Severus mounted the Platform of the Beaks and read a eulogy of Pertinax. We shouted our approval many times in the midst of his discourse, partly praising and partly bewailing Pertinax, but our cries were loudest when he had ceased. Finally, as the couch was about to be moved, we all together uttered our lamentations and all shed tears. Those who carried the bier from the platform were the high priests and the officials who were completing their term of office, as well as any that had been appointed for the ensuing year. These gave it to certain knights to carry. The rank and file of us went ahead of the bier, some beating our breasts and others playing on the flute some dirge-like air; the emperor followed behind all, and in this order we arrived at the Campus Martius. Here there had been built a pyre, tower-shaped and triple pointed, adorned with ivory and gold together with certain statues. On its very summit was lodged a gilded chariot that Pertinax had been wont to drive. Into this the funeral offerings were cast and the bier was placed in it, and next Severus and the relatives of Pertinax kissed the image. Our monarch ascended a tribunal, while we the senate, except officials, took our places on the benches, that with safety and convenience alike we might view what went on. The magistrates and the equestrian order, arrayed in a manner becoming their station, besides the cavalry of the army and the infantry, passed in and out performing intricate evolutions, both traditional and newly invented. Then at length the consuls applied fire to the mound, which being done an eagle flew up from it. In this way was immortality secured for Pertinax [who (although bodies of men engaged in warfare usually turn out savage and those given to peace cowardly) excelled equally in both departments, being an enemy to dread, yet shrewd in the arts of peace. His boldness, wherein bravery appears, he displayed towards foreigners and rebels, but his clemency, wherewith is mingled justice, towards friends and the orderly elements of society. When advanced to preside over the destinies of the world, he was never ensnared by the increase of greatness so as to show himself in some things more subservient and in others more haughty than was fitting. He underwent no change from the beginning to the very end, but was august without sullenness, gentle without humiliating lowliness, prudent, yet did no injury, just without inquisitorial qualities, a close administrator without stinginess, highminded, but devoid of boasts.] Now Severus made a campaign against Niger. The latter was an Italian, one of the knights, remarkable for nothing either very good or very bad, so that one could either greatly praise or greatly censure him. [Wherefore he had been assigned to Syria by Commodus.] He had as a lieutenant, together with others, Aemilianus, who [by remaining neutral and watching the course of events] was thought to surpass all the senators of that day in understanding and in experience of affairs; for he had been tested in many provinces. [These conditions and the fact that he was a relative of Albinus had made him conceited.] [Niger was

not in general a well-balanced man and though he had very great abilities still fell into error. But at this time he was more than usually elated, so that he showed how much he liked those who called him "the new Alexander"; and when one man asked, "Who gave you permission to do this?" he pointed to his sword and rejoined, "This did." When the

6

war broke out Niger had gone to Byzantium and from that point conducted a campaign against Perinthus. He was disturbed, however, by unfavorable omens that came to his notice. An eagle perched upon a military shrine and remained there till captured, in spite of attempts to scare it away. Bees made wax around the military standards and about his images most of all. For these reasons he retired to Byzantium.]

A.D. 194 (a.u. 947)

Now Aemilianus while engaged in conflict with some of the generals of Severus near Cyzicus was defeated by them and slain. After this, between the narrows of Nicaea and Cius, they had a great war of various forms. Some battled in close formation on the plains; others occupied the hill-crests and hurled stones and javelins at their opponents from the higher ground; still others got into boats and discharged their bows at the enemy from the lake. At first the adherents of Severus, under the direction of Candidus, were victorious; for they found their advantage in the higher ground from which they fought. But the moment Niger himself appeared a pursuit in turn was instituted by Niger's men and victory was on their side. Then Candidus caught hold of the standard bearers and turned them to face the enemy, upbraiding the soldiers for their flight; at this his followers were ashamed, turned back, and once more conquered those opposed to them. Indeed, they would have destroyed them utterly, had not the city been near and the night a dark one.

7

The next event was a tremendous battle at Issus, near the so-called Gates. In this contest Valerianus and Anullinus commanded the army of Severus, whereas Niger was with his own ranks and marshaled them for war. This pass, the Cilician "Gates", is so named on account of its narrowness. On the one side rise precipitous mountains, and on the other sheer cliffs descend to the sea. So Niger had here made a camp on a strong hill, and he put in front heavy-armed soldiers, next the javelin slingers and stone throwers, and behind all the archers. His purpose was that the foremost might thrust back such as assailed them in hand-to-hand conflict, while the others from a distance might be able to bring their force into play over the heads of the others. The detachment on the left and that on the right were defended by the sea-crags and by the forest, which had no issue. This is the way in which he arranged

his army, and he stationed the beasts of burden close to it, in order that none of them should be able to flee in case they should wish it. Anullinus after making all this out placed in advance the heavier part of his force and behind it his entire light-armed contingent, to the end that the latter, though discharging their weapons from a distance might still retard the progress of the enemy, while the solidity of the advance guard rendered the upward passage safe for them. The cavalry he sent with Valerianus, bidding him, so far as he could, go around the forest and unexpectedly fall upon the troops of Niger from the rear. When they came to close quarters, the soldiers of Sevens placed some of their shields in front of them and held some above their heads, making a testudo, and in this formation they approached the enemy. So the battle was a drawn one for a long while, but eventually Niger's men got decidedly the advantage both by their numbers and by the topography of the country. They would have been entirely victorious, had not clouds gathered out of a clear sky and a wind arisen from a perfect calm, while there were crashes of thunder and sharp flashes of lightning and a violent rain beat in their faces. This did not trouble Severus's troops because it was behind them, but threw Niger's men into great confusion since it came right against them. Most important of all, the opportune character of this occurrence infused courage in the one side, which believed it was aided by Heaven, and fear in the other, which felt that the supernatural was warring against them; thus it made the former strong even beyond its own strength and terrified the latter in spite of real power. Just as they were fleeing Valerianus came in sight. Seeing him, they turned about, and after that, as Anullinus beat them back, retreated once more. Then they wandered about, running this way and that way, to see where they could break through.

8

It turned out that this was the greatest slaughter to take place during the war in question. Two myriads of Niger's followers perished utterly. The fact was indicated also by the priest's vision. While Severus was in Pannonia, the priest of Jupiter saw in a vision a black man force his way into the emperor's camps and meet his death by superior numbers. And by turning the name of Niger into Greek people recognized that he was the one meant by the "black" person mentioned. Directly Antioch had been captured (not long after) Niger fled from it, making the Euphrates his objective point, for he intended to seek refuge among the barbarians. His pursuers, however, overtook him; he was taken and had his head struck off. This head Severus sent to Byzantium and caused to be reared on a cross, that the sight of it might incline the Byzantines to his cause. The next move of Severus was to mete out justice to those who had belonged to Niger's party. [Of the cities and individuals he chastised some and rewarded others. He executed no Roman senator, but deprived most of them of their property and confined them on islands. He was merciless in his search for money. Among other measures he exacted four times the

amount that any individuals or peoples had given to Niger, whether they had done so voluntarily or under compulsion. He himself doubtless perceived the injustice of it,] but as he required great sums, he paid no attention to the common talk.

9

Cassius Clemens, a senator, while on trial before Severus himself, did not hide the truth but spoke with such frankness as the following report will show:

“I,” he said, “was acquainted with neither you nor Niger, but as I found myself in his part of the world, I accepted the situation heartily, not with the idea of being hostile to you but with the purpose of deposing Julianus. I have, then, committed no wrong in this, since I labored originally for the same ends as you, nor should I be censured for failing to desert the master whom I had once secured by the will of Heaven and for not transferring my allegiance to you. You would not yourself have liked to have your intimate circle and fellow judges here betray your cause and go over to him. Examine therefore not our bodies nor our names but the events themselves. For in every point in which you condemn us you will be passing sentence upon yourself and your associates. However secure you may be from conviction in any suit or by any court finding, still, in the report of men, of which an eternal memory shall survive, you will be represented as making against yourself the same charges as have led to punishment in the case of others.” — Severus admired this man for his frankness and allowed him to keep half his property.

[Many who had never even seen Niger and had not cooperated with him were victims of abuse on the charge that they had been members of his party.]

A.D. 195 (a.u. 948)

10

The Byzantines performed many remarkable deeds both during the life and after the death of Niger. This city is favorably located with reference both to the continents and to the sea that lies between them, and is strongly intrenched by the nature of its position as well as by that of the Bosphorus. The town sits on high ground extending into the sea. The latter, rushing down from the Pontus with the speed of a mountain torrent assails the headland and in part is diverted to the right, forming there the bay and harbors. But the greater part of the water passes on with great energy past the city itself toward the Propontis. Moreover, the place had walls that were very strong. Their face was constructed of thick squared stones, fastened together by bronze plates, and the inner side of it had been strengthened with mounds and buildings so that the whole seemed to be one thick wall and the top of it formed a circuit

betraying no flaws and easy to guard. Many large towers occupied an exposed position outside it, with windows set close together on every side so that those assaulting the fortification in a circle would be cut off between them. Being built at a short distance from the wall and not in a regular line, but one here and another there over a rather crooked route, they were sure to command both sides of any attacking party. Of the entire circuit the part on the land side reached a great height so as to repel any who came that way: the portion next to the sea was lower. There, the rocks on which it had been reared and the dangerous character of the Bosphorus were effective allies. The harbors within the wall had both been closed with chains and their breakwaters carried towers projecting far out on each side, making approach impossible for the enemy. And, in fine, the Bosphorus was of the greatest aid to the citizens. It was quite inevitable that once any person became entangled in its current he should willy-nilly be cast up on the land. This was a feature quite satisfactory to friends, but impossible for foes to deal with.

11

It was thus that Byzantium had been fortified. The engines, besides, the whole length of the wall, were of the most varied description. In one place they threw rocks and wooden beams upon parties approaching and in another they discharged stones and missiles and spears against such as stood at a distance. Hence over a considerable extent of territory no one could draw near them without danger. Still others had hooks, which they would let down suddenly and shortly after draw up boats and machines. Priscus, a fellow-citizen of mine, had designed most of them, and this fact both caused him to incur the death penalty and saved his life. For Severus, on learning his proficiency, prevented his being executed. Subsequently he employed him on various missions, among others at the siege of Hatra, and his contrivances were the only ones not burned by the barbarians. He also furnished the Byzantines with five hundred boats, mostly of one bank, but some of two banks, and equipped with beaks. A few of them were provided with rudders at both ends, stern and prow, and had a double quota of pilots and sailors in order that they might both attack and retire without turning around and damage their opponents while sailing back as well as while sailing forward.

12

Many, therefore, were the exploits and sufferings of the Byzantines, since for the entire space of three years they were besieged by the armaments of practically the whole world. A few of their experiences will be mentioned that seem almost marvelous. They captured, by making an opportune attack, some boats that sailed by and captured also some of the triremes that were in their opponents' roadstead. This they did by having divers cut their anchors under water, after which they drove nails into the ship's bottom and with cords

attached thereto and running from friendly territory they would draw the vessel towards them. Hence one might see the ships approaching shore by themselves, with no oarsman nor wind to urge them forward. There were cases in which merchants purposely allowed themselves to be captured by the Byzantines, though pretending unwillingness, and after selling their wares for a huge price made their escape by sea.

A.D. 196 (a.u. 949)

When all the supplies in the town had been exhausted and the people had been set fairly in a strait with regard to both their situation and the expectations that might be founded upon it, at first, although beset by great difficulties (because they were cut off from all outside resources), they nevertheless continued to resist; and to make ships they used lumber taken from the houses and braided ropes of the hair of their women. Whenever any troops assaulted the wall, they would hurl upon them stones from the theatres, bronze horses, and whole statues of bronze. When even their normal food supply began to fail them, they proceeded to soak and eat hides. Then these, too, were used up, and the majority, having waited for rough water and a squall so that no one might man a ship to oppose them, sailed out with the determination either to perish or to secure provender. They assailed the countryside without warning and plundered every quarter indiscriminately. Those left behind committed a monstrous deed; for when they grew very faint, they turned against and devoured one another.

13

This was the condition of the men in the city. The rest, when they had laden their boats with more than the latter could bear, set sail after waiting this time also for a great storm. They did not succeed, however, in making any use of it. The Romans, noticing

A.D. 196 (a.u. 949)

that their vessels were overheavy and depressed almost to the water's edge, put out against them. They assailed the company, which was scattered about as wind and flood chose to dispose them, and really engaged in nothing like a naval contest but crushed the enemy's boats mercilessly, striking many with their boat-hooks, ripping up many with their beaks, and actually capsizing some by their mere onset. The victims were unable to do anything, however much they might have wished it: and when they attempted to flee in any direction either they would be sunk by force of the wind, which encountered them with the utmost violence, or else they would be overtaken by the enemy and destroyed. The inhabitants of Byzantium, as they watched this, for a time called unceasingly upon the gods and kept uttering now one shout and now another at the various events, according as each one was affected by the spectacle or the disaster enacted before his eyes. But when they saw their friends perishing all together, the united throng sent up a chorus of groans and wailings, and thereafter they mourned for the rest of the day and the whole

night. The entire number of wrecks proved so great that some drifted upon the islands and the Asiatic coast, and the defeat became known by these relics before it was reported. The next day the Byzantines had the horror increased even above what it had been. For, when the surf had subsided, the whole sea in the vicinity of Byzantium was covered with corpses and wrecks with blood, and many of the remains were cast up on shore, with the result that the catastrophe, now seen in its details, appeared even worse than when in process of consummation.

14

The Byzantines straightway, though against their will, surrendered their city. The Romans executed all the soldiers and magistrates except the pugilist who had greatly aided the Byzantines and injured the Romans. He perished also, for in order to make the soldiers angry enough to destroy him he immediately hit one with his fist and with a leap gave another a violent kick.

Severus was so pleased at the capture of Byzantium that to his soldiers in Mesopotamia (where he was at this time) he said unreservedly: "We have taken Byzantium, too!" He deprived the city of its independence and of its civil rank, and made it tributary, confiscating the property of the citizens. He granted the town and its territory to the Perinthians, and the latter, treating it after the manner of a village, committed innumerable outrages. So far he seemed in a way to be justified in what he did. His demolition of the walls of the city grieved the inhabitants no more than did the loss of that reputation which the appearance of the walls had caused them to enjoy; and incidentally he had abolished a strong Roman outpost and base of operations against the barbarians from the Pontus and Asia. I was one that viewed the walls after they had fallen, and a person would have judged that they had been taken by some other people than the Romans. I had also seen them standing and had heard them "speak." There were seven towers extending from the Thracian gates to the sea. If a man approached any of these but the first, it was silent; but if he shouted a few words at that one or threw a stone at it, it not only echoed and spoke itself but caused the second to do the same thing. In this way the sound passed through them all alike, and they did not interrupt one another, but all in their proper turn, one receiving the impulse from the one before it, took up the echo and the voice and sent it on.

BOOK 76

Severus's war against the Osrhoeni, Adiabeni, and Arabians (chapters 1,2, 3).

Severus's war against Albinus Caesar (chapters 4, 5).

How Albinus was vanquished by Severus and perished (chapters 6, 7).

The arrogance of Severus after his victory (chapters 7, 8).

Severus's Parthian expedition (chapter 9).

How he besieged the Atreni, but found his endeavors fruitless (chapters 10, 11, 12).

How he started for Egypt: and about the source of the Nile (chapter 13).

About the power and tyrannous conduct of Plautianus (chapters 14, 15, 16).

DURATION OF TIME

Scapula Tertullus, Tineius Clemens,

(A.D. 195 = a.u. 948 = Third of Severus, from the Calends of June).

C. Domitius Dexter (II), L. Valerius Messala Priscus.

(A.D. 196 = a.u. 949 = Fourth of Severus).

Ap. Claudius Lateranus, Rufinus.

(A.D. 197 = a.u. 950 = Fifth of Severus).

Ti. Saturninus, C. Gallus.

(A.D. 198 = a.u. 951 = Sixth of Severus).

P. Cornelius Anullinus, M. Aufidius Fronto.

(A.D. 199 = a.u. 952 = Seventh of Severus).

Ti. Claudius Severus, C. Aufidius Victorinus.

(A.D. 200 = a.u. 953 = Eighth of Severus).

L. Annius Fabianus, M. Nonius Mucianus.

(A.D. 201 = a.u. 954 = Ninth of Severus).

L. Septimius Severus Aug. (III), M. Aurel. Antoninus Aug.

(A.D. 202 = a.u. 955 = Tenth of Severus).

A.D. 195 (a.u. 948)

Of such a nature were the walls of Byzantium. During the progress of this siege Severus out of a desire for fame had made a campaign against the barbarians, — the Osrhoeni, the Adiabeni, and the Arabians. [The Osrhoeni and Adiabeni having revolted were besieging Nisibis: defeated by Severus they sent an embassy to him after the death of Niger, not to beg his clemency as wrongdoers but to demand reciprocal favors, pretending to have brought about the outcome for his benefit. It was for his sake, they said, that they had destroyed the soldiers who belonged to Niger's party. Indeed, they sent a few gifts to him and promised to restore the captives and whatever spoils were left. However, they were not willing either to abandon the walled towns they had captured or to accept the imposition of tributes, but they desired those in existence to be lifted from the country. It was this that led to the war just mentioned.]

2

When he had crossed the Euphrates and invaded hostile territory, where the country was destitute of water and at this summer season had become especially parched, he came dangerously near losing great numbers of soldiers. Wearied as they were by their tramping and the hot sun, clouds of dust that they encountered harrassed them greatly, so that they could no longer walk nor yet speak, but only utter the word "Water, water!" When [moisture] appeared, on account of [its] strangeness it attracted no more attention than if it had not been found, till Severus called for a cup, and having filled it with water drank it down in full view of all. Upon this some others likewise drank and were invigorated. Soon after Severus entered Nisibis and himself waited there, but despatched Lateranus and Candidus and Laetus severally among the aforementioned barbarians. These upon attaining their goals proceeded to lay waste the land of the barbarians and to capture their cities. While Severus was greatly priding himself upon this achievement and feeling that he surpassed all mankind in both understanding and bravery, a most unexpected event took place. One Claudius, a robber, who overran Judaea and Syria and was sought for in consequence with great hue and cry, came to him one day with horsemen, like some military tribune, and saluted and kissed him. The visitor was not discovered at the time nor was he later arrested. [And the Arabians, because none of their neighbors was willing to aid them, sent an embassy a second time to Severus making quite reasonable propositions. Still, they did not obtain what they wanted, inasmuch as they had not come in person.]

A.D. 196 (a.u. 949)

The Scythians, too, were in fighting humor, when at this juncture during a deliberation of theirs thunder and lightning-flashes with rain suddenly broke over them, and thunderbolts began to fall, killing their three foremost men. This caused them to hesitate.

Severus again made three divisions of his army, and giving one to Laetus, one to Anullinus, and one to Probus, sent them out against ARCHE [Lacuna] ; and they, invading it in three divisions, subdued it not without trouble. Severus bestowed some dignity upon Nisibis and entrusted the city to the care of a knight. He declared he had won a mighty territory and had rendered it a bulwark of Syria. It is shown, on the contrary, by the facts themselves that the place is responsible for our constant wars as well as for great expenditures. It yields very little and uses up vast sums. And having extended our borders to include men who are neighbors of the Medes and Parthians rather than of ourselves, we are always, one might say, fighting over those peoples.

4

Before Severus had had time to recover breath from his conflicts with the barbarians he found a civil war on his hands with Albinus, his Caesar. Severus after getting Niger out of the way was still not giving him the rank of Caesar and had ordered other details in that quarter as he pleased; and Albinus aspired to the preeminence of emperor. While the whole world was moved by this state of affairs we senators kept quiet, at least so many of us as inclining openly neither to one man nor the other yet shared their dangers and hopes. But the populace could not restrain itself and showed its grief in the most violent fashion. It was at the last horse-race before the Saturnalia, and a countless throng of people flocked to it. I too was present at the spectacle because the consul was a friend of mine and I heard distinctly everything that was said, — a fact which renders me able to write a little about it.

It came about in this way. There had gathered (as I said) more people than could be computed and they had watched the chariots contesting in six divisions (which had been the way also in Oleander's time), applauding no one in any manner, as was the custom. When these races had ceased and the charioteers were about to begin another event, then they suddenly enjoined silence upon one another and all clapped their hands simultaneously, shouting, besides, and entreating good fortune for the public welfare. They first said this, and afterward, applying the terms "Queen" and "Immortal" to Rome, they roared: "How long are we to suffer such experiences?" and "Until when must we be at war?" And after making a few other remarks of this kind they finally cried out: "That's all there is to it!" and turned their attention to the equestrian contest. In all of this they were surely inspired by some divine afflation. For not otherwise could so many myriads of men have started to utter the same shouts at the same time like some carefully trained chorus or

have spoken the words without mistake just as if they had practiced them.

This manifestation caused us still greater disturbance as did also the fact that so great a fire was of a sudden seen by night in the air toward the north that some thought that the whole city and others that the sky itself was burning. But the most remarkable fact I have to chronicle is that in clear weather a fine silvery rain descended upon the forum of Augustus, I did not see it in the air, but noticed it after it had fallen, and with it I silverplated some small bronze coins. These retained the same appearance for three days: on the fourth all the substance rubbed upon them had disappeared.

5

A certain Numerianus, who taught children their letters, started from Rome for Galatia with I know not what object, and by pretending to be a Roman senator sent by Severus to gather an army he collected at first just a small force by means of which he destroyed a few of Albinus's cavalry, whereupon he unblushingly made some further promises in behalf of Severus. Severus heard of this and thinking that he was really one of the senators sent him a message of praise and bade him acquire still greater power. The man did acquire greater power and gave many remarkable exhibitions of ability besides obtaining seventeen hundred and fifty myriads of denarii, which he forwarded to Severus. After the latter's victory Numerianus came to him, making no concealment, and did not ask to become in very truth a senator. Indeed, though he might have been exalted by great honors and wealth, he did not choose to accept them, but passed the remainder of his life in some country place, receiving from the emperor some small allowance for his daily subsistence.

A.D. 197 (a.u. 950)

6

The struggle between Severus and Albinus near Lugdunum is now to be described. At the outset there were a hundred and fifty thousand soldiers on each side. Both leaders took part in the war, since it was a race for life and death, though Severus had previously not been present at any important battle. Albinus excelled in rank and in education, but his adversary was superior in warfare and was a skillful commander. It happened that in a former battle Albinus had conquered Lupus, one of the generals of Severus, and had destroyed many of the soldiers attending him. The present conflict took many shapes and turns. The left wing of Albinus was beaten and sought refuge behind the rampart, whereupon Severus's soldiers in their pursuit burst into the enclosure with them, slaughtered their opponents and plundered their tents. Meantime the soldiers of Albinus arrayed on the right wing, who had trenches hidden in front of them and pits in the earth covered over only on the

surface, approached as far as these snares and hurled javelins from a distance. They did not go very far but turned back as if frightened, with the purpose of drawing their foes into pursuit. This actually took place. Severus's men, nettled by their brief charge and despising them for their retreat after so short an advance, rushed upon them without a thought that the whole intervening space could not be easily traversed. When they reached the trenches they were involved in a fearful catastrophe. The men in the front ranks as soon as the surface covering broke through fell into the excavations and those immediately behind stumbled over them, slipped, and likewise fell. The rest crowded back in terror, their retreat being so sudden that they themselves lost their footing, upset those in the rear, and pushed them into a deep ravine. Of course there was a terrible slaughter of these soldiers as well as of those who had fallen into the trenches, horses and men perishing in one wild mass. In the midst of this tumult the warriors between the ravine and the trenches were annihilated by showers of stones and arrows.

Severus seeing this came to their assistance with the Pretorians, but this step proved of so little benefit that he came near causing the ruin of the Pretorians and himself ran some risk through the loss of a horse. When he saw all his men in flight, he tore off his riding cloak and drawing his sword rushed among the fugitives, hoping either that they would be ashamed and turn back or that he might himself perish with them. Some did stop when they saw him in such an attitude, and turned back. Brought in this way face to face with the men close behind them they cut down not a few of them, thinking them to be followers of Albinus, and routed all their pursuers. At this moment the cavalry under Laetus came up from the side and decided the rest of the issue for them. Laetus, so long as the struggle was close, remained inactive, hoping that both parties would be destroyed and that whatever soldiers were left on both sides would give him supreme authority. When, however, he saw Severus's party getting the upper hand, he contributed to the result. So it was that Severus conquered.

7

Roman power had suffered a severe blow, since the numbers that fell on each side were beyond reckoning. Many even of the victors deplored the disaster, for the entire plain was seen to be covered with the bodies of men and horses. Some of them lay there exhausted by many wounds, others thoroughly mangled, and still others unwounded but buried under heaps. Weapons had been tossed about and blood flowed in streams, even swelling the rivers. Albinus took refuge in a house located near the Rhone, but when he saw all its environs guarded, he slew himself. I am not telling what Severus wrote about it, but what actually took place. The emperor after inspecting his body and feasting his eyes upon it to the full while he let his tongue indulge in appropriate utterances, ordered it, — all but the head, — to be cast out, and

that he sent to Rome to be exposed on a cross. As he showed clearly by this action that he was very far from being an excellent ruler, he alarmed even more than before the populace and us by the commands which he issued. Now that he had vanquished all forces under arms he poured out upon the unarmed all the wrath he had nourished against them during the previous period. He terrified us most of all by declaring himself the son of Marcus and brother of Commodus; and to Commodus, whom but recently he was wont to abuse, he gave heroic honors.

8

While reading before the senate a speech in which he praised the severity and cruelty of Sulla and Marius and Augustus as rather the safer course, and deprecated the clemency of Pompey and Caesar because it had proved their ruin, he introduced a defence of Commodus, and inveighed against the senate for dishonoring him unjustly though the majority of their own body lived even worse lives. "For if", said he, "this is abominable, that he with his own hands should have killed beasts, yet at Ostia yesterday or the day before one of your number, an old man that had been consul, indulged publicly in play with a prostitute who imitated a leopard. 'He fought as a gladiator,' do you say? By Jupiter, does none of you fight as gladiator? If not, how is it and for what purpose that some persons have bought his shields and the famous golden helmets?" At the conclusion of this reading he released thirty-five prisoners charged with having taken Albinus's side and behaved toward them as if they had incurred no charge at all. They were among the foremost members of the senate. He condemned to death twenty-nine men, as one of whom was reckoned Sulpicianus, the father-in-law of Pertinax.

All pretended to sympathize with Severus but were confuted as often as a sudden piece of news arrived, not being able to conceal the sentiments hidden in their hearts. When off their guard they started at reports which happened to assail their ears without warning. In such ways, as well as through facial expression and habits of behavior, the feelings of every one of them became manifest. Some also by an excess of affectation only betrayed their attitude the more.

LXXIV, 9, 5

Severus endeavored in the case of those who were receiving vengeance at his hands [Lacuna] to employ Erucius Clarus as informer against them, that he might both put the man in an unpleasant position and be thought to have more fully justified conviction in view of his witness's family and reputation. He promised Clarus to grant him safety and immunity. But when the latter chose rather to die than to make any such revelations, he turned to Julianus and persuaded him to play the part. For this willingness he released him in so far as not to kill nor disenfranchise him; but he carefully verified all his statements by tortures and regarded as of no value his existing reputation.

[In Britain at this period, because the Caledonians did not abide by their promises but made preparations to aid the Maeatians, and because Severus at the time was attending to the war abroad, Lupus was compelled to purchase peace for the Maeatians at a high figure, and recovered some few captives.]

A.D. 198 (a.u. 951)

9

The next thing Severus did was to make a campaign against the Parthians. While he was busied with civil wars, they had been free from molestation and had thus been able by an expedition in full force to capture Mesopotamia. They also came very near reducing Nisbis, and would have done so, had not Laetus, who was besieged there, preserved the place. Though previously noted for other political and private and public excellences, in peace as well as in wars, he derived even greater glory from this exploit. Severus on reaching the aforesaid Nisibis encountered an enormous boar. With its charge it killed a horseman who, trusting to his own strength, attempted to run it down, and it was with difficulty stopped and killed by many soldiers, — thirty being the number required to stop it; the beast was then conveyed to Severus.

The Parthians did not wait for him but retired homeward. (Their leader was Vologaesius, whose brother was accompanying Severus). Hence Severus equipped boats on the Euphrates and reached him partly by marching, partly by sailing. The newly constructed vessels were exceedingly manageable and well appointed, for the forest along the Euphrates and those regions in general afforded the emperor an abundant supply of timber. Thus he soon had seized Seleucia and Babylon, both of which had been abandoned. Subsequently he captured Ctesiphon and permitted his soldiers to plunder the whole town, causing a great slaughter of men and taking nearly ten myriads alive. However, he did not pursue Vologaesius nor yet occupy Ctesiphon, but as if the sole purpose of his campaign had been to plunder it, he thereupon departed. This action was due partly to lack of acquaintance with the country and partly to dearth of provisions. His return was made by a different route, because the wood and fodder found on the previous route had been exhausted. Some of his soldiers made their retreat by land along the Tigris, following the stream toward its source, and some on boats.

A.D. 199(?)

10

Next, Severus crossed Mesopotamia and made an attempt on Hatra, which was not far off, but accomplished nothing. In fact, even the engines were burned, many soldiers perished, and vast numbers were wounded. Therefore

Severus retired from the place and shifted his quarters. While he was at war, he also put to death two distinguished men. The first was Julius Crispus, a tribune of the Pretorians. The cause of his execution was that indignant at the damage done by the war he had casually uttered a verse of the poet Maro, in which one of the soldiers fighting on the side of Turnus against Aeneas bewails his lot and says: "To enable Turnus to marry Lavinia we are meanwhile perishing, without heed being paid to us." Severus made Valerius, the soldier who had accused him, tribune in his place. The other whom he killed was Laetus, and the reason was that Laetus was proud and was beloved by the soldiers. They often said they would not march, unless Laetus would lead them. The responsibility for this murder, for which he had no clear reason save jealousy, he fastened upon the soldiers, making it appear that they had ventured upon the act contrary to his will.

A.D. 200(?)

11

After laying in a large store of food and preparing many engines he in person again led an attack upon Hatra. He deemed it a disgrace, now that other points had been subdued, that this one alone, occupying a central position, should continue to resist. And he lost a large amount of money and all his engines except those of Priscus, as I stated earlier, besides many soldiers. Numbers were annihilated in foraging expeditions, as the barbarian cavalry (I mean that of the Arabians) kept everywhere assailing them with precision and violence. The archery of the Atreni, too, was effective over a very long range. Some missiles they hurled from engines, striking many of Severus's men-at-arms, for they discharged two missiles in one and the same shot and there were also many hands and many arrows to inflict injury. They did their assailants the utmost damage, however, when the latter approached the wall, and in an even greater degree after they had broken down a little of it. Then they threw at them among other things the bituminous naphtha of which I wrote above and set fire to the engines and all the soldiers that were struck with it. Severus observed proceedings from a lofty tribunal.

12

A portion of the outer circuit had fallen in one place and all the soldiers were eager to force their way inside the remainder, when Severus checked them from doing so by giving orders that the signal for retreat be sounded clearly on all sides. The fame of the place was great, since it contained enormous offerings to the Sun God and vast stores of valuables; and he expected that the Arabians would voluntarily come to terms in order to avoid being forcibly captured and enslaved. When, after letting one day elapse, no one made any formal proposition to him, he commanded the soldiers again to assault the wall, though it had been built up in the night. The Europeans who had the

power to accomplish something were so angry that not one of them would any longer obey him, and some others, Syrians, compelled to go to the assault in their stead, were miserably destroyed. Thus Heaven, that rescued the city, caused Severus to recall the soldiers that could have entered it, and in turn when he later wished to take it caused the soldiers to prevent him from doing so. The situation placed Severus in such a dilemma that when some one of his followers promised him that, if he would give him only five hundred and fifty of the Europeans, he would get possession of the city without any risk to the rest, the emperor said within hearing of all: "And where can I get so many soldiers?" (referring to the disobedience of the soldiers).

A.D. 200 (a.u. 953)

13

Having prosecuted the siege for twenty days he next came to Palestine and sacrificed to the spirit of Pompey: and into [upper] Egypt [he sailed along the Nile and viewed the whole country, with some small exceptions. For instance, he was unable to pass the frontier of Ethiopia on account of pestilence.] And he made a search of everything, including what was very carefully hidden, for he was the sort of man to leave nothing, human or divine, uninvestigated. Following this tendency he drew from practically all their hiding places all the books that he could find containing anything secret, and he closed the monument of Alexander, to the end that no one should either behold his body any more or read what was written in these books.

This was what he did. For myself, there is no need that I should write in general about Egypt, but what I know about the Nile through verifying statements from many sources I am bound to mention. It clearly rises in Mount Atlas. This lies in Macennitis, close to the Western ocean itself, and towers far above all mountains, wherefore the poets have called it "Pillar of the Sky." No one ever ascended its summits nor saw its topmost peaks. Hence it is always covered with snow, which in summer time sends down great quantities of water. The whole country about its base is in general marshy, but at this season becomes even more so, with the result that it swells the size of the Nile at harvest time. This is the river's source, as is evidenced by the crocodiles and other beasts that are born alike on both sides of it. Let no one be surprised that we have made pronouncements unknown to the ancient Greeks. The Macennitae live near lower Mauretania and many of the people who go on campaigns there also visit Atlas. It is thus that the matter stands.

14

Plautianus, who enjoyed the special favor of Severus and had the authority of prefect, besides possessing the fullest and greatest influence on earth, had put to death many men of renown and his own peers [Lacuna] [After killing

Aemilius Saturninus he took away all the most important prerogatives belonging to the minor officers of the Pretorians, his subordinates, in order that none of them might be so elated by his position of eminence as to lie in wait for the captaincy of the body-guards. Already it was his wish to be not simply the only but a perpetual prefect.] He wanted everything, asked everything from everybody, and got everything. He left no province and no city unplundered, but sacked and gathered everything from all sides. All sent a great deal more to him than they did to Severus. Finally he sent centurions and stole tiger-striped horses sacred to the Sun God from the island in the Red Sea. This mere statement, I think, must instantly make plain all his officiousness and greediness. Yet, on second thought, I will add one thing more. At home he castrated one hundred nobly born Roman citizens, though none of us knew of it until after he was dead. From this fact one may comprehend the extent alike of his lawlessness and of his authority. He castrated not merely boys or youths, but grown men, some of whom had wives; his object was that Plautilla his daughter (whom Antoninus afterward married) should be waited upon entirely by eunuchs [and also have them to give her instruction in music and other branches of art. So we beheld the same persons eunuchs and men, fathers and impotent, gelded and bearded. In view of this one might not improperly declare that Plautianus had power beyond all men, over even the emperors themselves. For one thing, his portrait statues were not only far more numerous but also larger than theirs, and this not simply in outside cities but in Rome itself, and they were at this time reared not merely by individuals but by no less a body than the senate itself. All the soldiers and the senators took oaths by his Fortune and all publicly offered prayer for his preservation.

15

The person principally responsible for this state of affairs was Severus himself. He yielded to Plautianus in all matters to such a degree that the latter occupied the position of emperor and he himself that of prefect. In short, the man knew absolutely everything that Severus said and did, but not a person was acquainted with any of Plautianus's secrets. The emperor made advances to his daughter on behalf of his own son, passing by many other maidens of high rank. He appointed him consul and virtually showed an anxiety to have him for successor in the imperial office. Indeed, once he did say in a letter: "I love the man so much that I pray to die before he does."]

[Lacuna] so that [Lacuna] some one actually dared to write to him as to a fourth Caesar. Though many decrees in his honor were passed by the senate he accepted only a few of them, saying to the senators: "It is through your hearts that you show your love for me, not through your decrees."

At temporary stopping-places he endured seeing him located in superior quarters and enjoying better and more abundant food than he. Hence in

Nicaea (my native country) when he once wanted a hammer-fish, large specimens of which are found in the lake, he sent to Plautianus to get it. So if he thought at all of doing ought to diminish this minister's leadership, yet the opposite party, which contained far greater and more brilliant members, saw to it that any such plan was frustrated. On one occasion Severus went to visit him, when he had fallen sick at Tyana, and the soldiers attached to Plautianus would not allow the visitor's escort to enter with him. Moreover, the person who arranged cases to be pled before Severus was once ordered by the latter in a moment of leisure to bring forward some case or other, whereupon the fellow refused, saying: "I can not do this, unless Plautianus bid me." So greatly did Plautianus have the mastery in every way over the emperor that he [frequently treated] Julia Augusta [in an outrageous way, — for he detested her cordially, — and] was always abusing [her violently] to Severus, and conducted investigations against her as well as tortures of noble women. For this reason she began to study philosophy and passed her days in the company of learned men. — As for Plautianus, he proved himself the most licentious of men, for he would go to banquets and vomit meantime, inasmuch as the mass of foods and wine that he swallowed made it impossible for him to digest anything. And whereas he made use of lads and girls in perfectly notorious fashion, he would not permit his own wife to see or be seen by any person whomsoever, not even by Severus or Julia [to say nothing of others] .

16

At this period there took place also a gymnastic contest, at which so great a multitude assembled under compulsion that we wondered how the race-course could hold them all. And in this contest Alamanni women fought most ferociously, with the result that jokes were made about other ladies, who were very distinguished. Therefore, from this time on every woman, no matter what her origin, was prohibited from fighting in the arena.

On one occasion a good many images of Plautianus were made (what happened is worth relating) and Severus, being displeased at their number, melted down some of them. As a consequence a rumor penetrated the cities to the effect that the prefect had been overthrown and had perished. So some of them demolished his images, — an act for which they were afterward punished. Among these was the governor of Sardinia, Raciis Constans, a very famous man, whom I have mentioned, however, for a particular reason. The orator who accused Constans had made this statement in addition to others: "Sooner may the sky collapse than Plautianus suffer any harm at the hands of Severus, and with greater cause might any one believe even that report, were any story of the sort circulated." Now, though the orator made this declaration, and though moreover Severus himself volubly affirmed it to us, who were helping him try the case, and stated "it is impossible for Plautianus to come to any harm at my hands," still, this very Plautianus did not live the

year out, but was slain and all his images destroyed. — Previous to this a vast sea-monster had come ashore in the harbor named for Augustus, and had been captured. A representation of him, taken into the hunting-theatre, admitted fifty bears in its interior. Again, for many days a comet star had been seen in Rome and was said to portend nothing favorable.

BOOK 77

Festivities on account of Severus's decennial, the marriage of Antoninus and victories (chapter 1).

Death of Plautianus (chapters 2, 3, 4).

The friends and children of Plautianus are persecuted by Severus (chapters 5, 6, 7, 8, 9).

About Bulla Felix, a noble brigand (chapter 10).

Severus's campaign in Britain: an account of the Britons (chapters 11, 12).

After traversing the whole of Britain Severus makes peace (chapter 13).

How Antoninus desired to slay his father (chapter 14).

Death of Severus Augustus and a summary view of his life (chapters 15, 16, 17).

DURATION OF TIME

L. Septimius Severus Aug. (III), M. Aur. Antoninus Aug.
(A.D. 202 = a.u. 955 = Tenth of Severus, from the Calends of June).

P. Septimius Geta, Fulvius Plautianus (II).
(A.D. 203 = a.u. 956 = Eleventh of Severus).

L. Fabius Septimius Cilo (II), L. Flavius Libo.
(A.D. 204 = a.u. 957 = Twelfth of Severus).

M. Aur. Antoninus Aug. (II), P. Septimius Geta Caesar.
(A.D. 205 = a.u. 958 = Thirteenth of Severus).

Nummius Albinus, Fulv. Aemilianus.
(A.D. 206 = a.u. 959 = Fourteenth of Severus).

Aper, Maximus.
(A.D. 207 = a.u. 960 = Fifteenth of Severus).

M. Aur. Antoninus Aug. (III), P. Septim. Geta Caesar (II).
(A.D. 208 = a.u. 961 = Sixteenth of Severus).

Civica Pompeianus, Lollianus Avitus.
(A.D. 209 = a.u. 962 = Seventeenth of Severus).

M. Acilius Faustinus, Triarius Rufinus.
(A.D. 210 = a.u. 963 = Eighteenth of Severus).

Q. Epid. Ruf. Lollianus Gentianus, Pomponius Bassus.
(A.D. 211 = a.u. 964 = Nineteenth of Severus, to Feb. 4 th).

A.D. 202 (a.u. 955)

1

Severus to celebrate the first decade of his reign presented to the entire populace accustomed to receive dole and to the soldiers of the pretorian guard gold pieces equal in number to the years of his sovereignty. He took the greatest delight in this achievement, and, as a matter of fact, no one had ever before given so much to whole masses of people. Upon this gift five hundred myriads of denarii were expended. Another event was the marriage between Antoninus, son of Severus, and Plautilla, the daughter of Plautianus. The latter gave as much for his daughter's dowry as would have sufficed for fifty women of royal rank. We saw the gifts as they were being carried through the Forum into the palace. We were banqueted, likewise, in the meantime, partly in royal and partly in barbarian fashion on whatever is regularly eaten cooked or raw, and we received other animal food also alive. At this time, too, there occurred all sorts of spectacles in honor of Severus's return, the completion of his first decade, and his victories. At these spectacles sixty wild boars of Plautianus upon a given signal began a combat with one another, and there were slain (besides many other beasts) an elephant and a crocotta. The last named animal is of Indian origin, and was then for the first time, so far as I am aware, introduced into Rome. It has the skin of lion and tiger mingled and the appearance of those animals, as also of the wolf and fox, curiously blended. The entire cage in the theatre had been so constructed as to resemble a boat in form, so that it would both receive and discharge four hundred beasts at once, and then, as it suddenly fell apart, there came rushing up bears, lionesses, panthers, lions, ostriches, wild asses, bison (this is a kind of cattle of foreign species and appearance), — the result being that altogether seven hundred wild and tame beasts at once were seen running about and were slaughtered. For, to correspond with the duration of the festival, seven days, the number of animals was also seven times one hundred.

2

On Mount Vesuvius a great gush of fire burst out and there were bellowsings mighty enough to be heard in Capua, where I live whenever I am in Italy. This place I have selected for various reasons, chief of which is its quiet, that enables me to get leisure from city affairs and to write on this compilation. As a result of the Vesuvian phenomena it was believed that there would be a

change in the political status of Plautianus. In very truth Plautianus had grown great and more than great, so that even the populace at the hippodrome exclaimed: "Why do you tremble? Why are you pale? You possess more than the three." They did not say this to his face, of course, but differently. And by "three" they indicated Severus and his sons, Antoninus and Geta. Plautianus's pallor and his trembling were in fact due to the life that he lived, the hopes that he hoped, and the fears that he feared. Still, for a time most of this eluded Severus's individual notice, or else he knew it but pretended the opposite. When, however, his brother Geta on his deathbed revealed to him the whole attitude of Plautianus, — for Geta hated the prefect and now no longer feared him, — the emperor set up a bronze statue of his brother in the Forum and no longer held his minister in equal honor; indeed, the latter was stripped of most of his power. Hence

A.D. 203 (a.u. 956)

Plautianus became violently enraged, and whereas he had formerly hated Antoninus for slighting his daughter, he was now especially indignant, feeling that his son-in-law was responsible for his present disgrace, and began to behave more harshly toward him.

3

For these reasons Antoninus became both disgusted with his wife (who was a most shameless creature), and offended at her father himself, because the latter kept meddling in all his undertakings and rebuking him for everything that he did. Conceiving a desire to be rid of the man in some way or other he accordingly had Euodus, his nurse, persuade a certain centurion, Saturninus, and two others of similar rank to bring him word that Plautianus had ordered some ten centurions, to whose number they also belonged, to kill both Severus and Antoninus; and they read a certain writing which they pretended to have received bearing upon this very matter. This was done as a surprise at the observances held in the palace in honor of the heroes, at a time when the spectacle had ceased and dinner was about to be served. That fact was largely instrumental in showing the story to be a fabrication. Plautianus would never have dared to impose such a bidding upon ten centurions at once, certainly not in Rome, certainly not in the palace, nor on that day, nor at that hour; much less would he have written it. Nevertheless, Severus believed the information trustworthy because he had the night before seen in a dream Albinus alive and plotting against him.

4

In haste, therefore, he summoned Plautianus, as if upon some other business. The latter hurried so (or rather, Heaven so indicated to him approaching disaster) that the mules that were carrying him fell in the palace yard. And when he sought to enter, the porters in charge of the bolts admitted him alone

inside and would permit no one to enter with him, just as he himself had done in the case of Severus at Tyana. He grew a little suspicious at this and became terrified; as he had, however, no pretext for withdrawing, he went in. Severus conversed with him very mildly: "Why have you seen fit to do this! For what reason have you wished to kill us?" He gave him opportunity to speak and prepared to listen to his defence.

In the midst of the accused's denial and surprise at what was said, Antoninus rushed up, took away his sword, and struck him with his fist. He was ready to put an end to Plautianus with his own hand after the latter said: "You wanted to get the start of me in any killing!" Being prevented, however, by his father, Antoninus ordered one of his attendants to slay Plautianus. Somebody plucked out a few hairs from his chin and carried them to Julia and Plautilla (who were together) before they had heard a word of the affair, and said: "Behold your Plautianus!" This speech aroused grief in one and joy in the other.

Thus the man who had possessed the greatest influence of all my contemporaries, so that everybody both feared and trembled before him more than before the very emperors, the man who had hung poised upon greater hopes than they, was slain by his son-in-law and thrown from the top of the palace into some street. Later, at the order of Severus, he was taken up and buried.

5

Severus next called a meeting of the senate in the senate-house. He uttered no accusation against Plautianus, but himself deplored the weakness of human nature, which was not able to endure excessive honors, and blamed himself that he had so honored and loved the man. Those, however, who had informed him of the victim's plot he bade tell us everything; but first he expelled from the senate-chamber some whose presence was not necessary, and by revealing nothing to them intimated that he did not altogether trust them.

Many were brought into danger by the Plautianus episode and some actually lost their lives. But Coeranus was accustomed to declare (what most people are given to pretending with reference to the fortunate) that he was his associate. As often as these friends of the prefect were wont to be called in before the others desiring to greet the great man, it was his custom to accompany them as far as the bars. So he did not share his secrets, but remained in the space midway, giving Plautianus the impression that he was outside and those outside the idea that he was within. This caused him to be the object of greater suspicion, — a feeling which was strengthened by the fact that Plautianus once in a dream saw fishes issue from the Tiber and fall at his feet, whereupon he declared that Coeranus should rule the land and water.

This man, after being confined to an island for seven years, was later recalled, was the first Egyptian to be enrolled in the senate, and became consul, like Pompey, without holding any previous office. Caecilius Agricola, however, numbered among the deceased's foremost flatterers and second to no man on earth in rascality and licentiousness, was sentenced to death. He went home, and after drinking his fill of chilled wine, shattered the cup which had cost him five myriads, and cutting his veins fell dead upon the fragments.

6

As for Saturninus and Euodus, they were honored at the time but were later executed by Antoninus. While we were engaged in voting eulogies to Euodus, Severus restrained us by saying: "It is disgraceful that in one of your decrees there should be inscribed such a statement respecting a man that is a Caesarian." It was not the only instance of such an attitude, but he also refused to allow all the other imperial freedmen either to be insolent or to swagger; for this he was commended. The senate once, while chanting his praises, uttered without reserve no less a sentiment than this: "All do all things well since you rule well!"

Plautilla and Plautius, the children of Plautianus, were temporarily allowed to live, being banished to Lipara; but in the reign of Antoninus they were destroyed, though they had been existing in great fear and wretchedness and though their life was not even blessed by a goodly store of necessities.

7

The sons of Severus, Antoninus and Greta, felt as if they had got rid of a pedagogue in Plautianus, and their conduct was from this time on irresponsible. They outraged women and abused boys, they embezzled moneys and made friends of the gladiators and charioteers, emulating each other in the similarity of their deeds and full of strife in their respective rivalries. If one attached himself to any cause, the other would be sure to choose the opposite side. Finally, they were pitted against each other in some kind of exercise with teams of ponies and drove with such fierce opposition that Antoninus fell out of the two-wheeled car and broke his leg. [During his son's sickness that followed this accident Severus neglected not one of his duties, but held court and managed all affairs pertaining to his office. For this he was praised. But he was blamed for murdering Plautianus Quintillus. He executed also many of the senators, some of whom had been accused before him, and made their defence and had been convicted. But Quintillus,] a man of noblest birth, for a long term of years counted among the foremost members of the senate, standing at the gates of old age, one who lived in the country, interfered in no one's business and did naught amiss, nevertheless became the prey of sycophants and was put out of the way. As he was near

death he called for his funeral garments, which he had long since kept in readiness. On seeing that they had fallen to pieces through lapse of time, he said: "Why did we delay this!" And as he perfumed the place with burning incense, he remarked: "I offer the same prayer as Servianus offered over Hadrian." — Besides his death there were also gladiatorial contests, in which among other features ten tigers were slaughtered at once.

8

After this came the *dénouement* of the Apronianus affair, — a startling story even in the hearing. He incurred censure because his nurse is said to have seen once in a vision that he should enjoy sovereignty, and because he was believed to employ some magic to this end. He was condemned while absent in his governorship of Asia. When the evidence taken in his case was read to us, there was found written there this statement, — that one person in charge of the investigation had enquired who had told the dream and who had heard it, and that the man interrogated had said among other things: "I saw a certain baldheaded senator taking a peep there." On hearing this we all became terror-stricken, for neither had the man spoken nor Severus written any one's name. In their state of panic even those who had never visited the house of Apronianus, and not only the baldheaded but those whose foreheads were indifferently bare grew afraid. No one felt easy save those who had unusually thick hair. We all looked around at such men, and a whisper ran about: "It's so-and-so. No, it's so-and-so." I will not conceal how I was then affected, however absurd it may be. I felt with my hand to see whether I had any hair on my head; and a number of others behaved in the very same way. We were very careful to direct our gaze upon baldish persons as if we could thereby divert our own danger upon them. This we did until it was further read that the particular baldhead in question wore a purple toga. When this statement came out, we turned our eyes upon Baebius Marcellinus. He had been aedile at the time and was extremely bald. So he stood up and coming forward said: "He will certainly be able to point me out, if he has seen me." We commended this speech, the informer was brought in while the senator stood by, and for a long time was silent, looking about for the man to point out. Finally, following the direction of an almost imperceptible nod that somebody gave, he said that this was he.

9

Thus was Marcellinus convicted of a baldhead's peeping, and bewailing his fate he was conducted out of the senate-house. When he had passed through the Forum, he refused to advance farther, but right where he was took leave of his children, four in number, and uttered this most affecting speech: "There is only one thing that I am sorry for, children; it is that I must leave you behind alive." Then he had his head cut off before Severus learned even that he had

been condemned.

Just vengeance, however, befell Pollenius Sebennus, who had preferred the charge that caused his death. He was delivered by Sabinus to the Norici, for whom he had shown scant consideration during his governorship of them, and went through a most disgraceful experience. We saw him stretched on the ground, pleading piteously, and had he not obtained mercy, thanks to his uncle Auspex, he would have perished pitifully. This Auspex was the cleverest imaginable man for jokes and chit-chat, for despising all mankind, gratifying his friends, and making reprisals upon his enemy. Many bitter and witty epigrams of his spoken to various people are reported, and many to Severus himself. Here is one of the latter. When the emperor was enrolled in the family of Marcus, Auspex said: "I congratulate you, Caesar, upon having found a father." This implied that up to this time his obscure origin had made him as good as fatherless.

A.D. 206-7(?)

10

It was at this period that one Bulla, an Italian, established a robber band of about six hundred men and for two years continued to plunder Italy under the very noses of the emperors and of so great bodies of soldiers. Pursuit was instituted by numerous persons, and Severus emulously followed his trail, but the fellow was never really seen when seen, never found when found, never apprehended when caught. This was due to his great bribes and his cleverness. He got wind of everybody that was setting out from Rome and everybody that was putting into port at Brundisium, learning who and how many they were, and what and how much they had with them. His general method was to take a part of what they had and then let them go at once. Artisans, however, he detained for a time and after making use of their skill dismissed them with something extra as a present. Once two of his robbers had been captured and were to be given to beasts, whereupon the chief paid a visit to the keeper of the prison, pretending that he was the governor of his native place (?) and needed some such men, and in this way he secured and saved them. Again, he approached the centurion who was charged with abolishing brigandage and in disguise accused his own self; he further promised, if the centurion would accompany him, to deliver the robber to him. So, pretending that he was leading him to Felix (this was another name of the chief), he brought him to a hill-encompassed spot, suitable for ambushade, and easily seized him. Later he assumed the garb of a magistrate, ascended the tribunal, and having called the centurion caused his head to be shaved, and said: "Take this message to your masters: 'Feed your slaves, if you want to make an end of brigandage.'" Bulla had, indeed, a very great number of Caesarians, some who had been poorly paid and some who had gone absolutely without pay.

Severus, informed of these events one at a time, was moved to anger to think that while having other men win victory in warfare in Britain, he himself in Italy had proved no match for a robber. At last he despatched a tribune from his body-guard with many horsemen and threatened him with terrible punishments if he should not bring the culprit alive. Then this commander ascertained that the chief was maintaining relations of intimacy with the wife of another, and through the agency of her husband persuaded her on promise of immunity to cooperate with them. As a result the elusive leader was arrested while asleep in a cave. Papinianus the prefect asked him: "For what reason did you become a robber?" The other rejoined: "For what reason are you a prefect?" And thereafter by solemn proclamation he was given to beasts. His robber band broke up, for the entire strength of the six hundred lay in him.

A.D. 208 (a.u. 961)

11

Severus, seeing that his children were departing from their accustomed modes of life and that his legions were becoming enervated by idleness, set out on a campaign against Britain, though he knew that he should not return. He knew this chiefly from the stars under which he had been born, for he had them painted upon the ceilings of the two halls in the palace where he was wont to hold court. Thus they were visible to all, save the portion which "regarded-the-hour" when he first saw the light (i.e., his horo-scope). This he had not engraved in the same way in both the rooms. — He knew it also by the report of the seers. And a thunderbolt struck a statue of his standing near the gates through which he intended to march out and looking off along the road leading to his destination, and it had erased three letters from his name. For this reason, as the seers indicated, he did not come back again but departed from life two years after this. He took with him very great sums of money.

12

There are two principal races of the Britons, — the Caledonians and the Maeatians. The titles of the rest have all been reduced to these two. The Maeatians live near the cross wall which cuts the island in two, and the Caledonians are behind them. Both inhabit wild and waterless mountains, desolate and swampy plains, holding no walls, nor cities, nor tilled fields, but living by pasturage and hunting and a few fruit trees. The fish, which are inexhaustible and past computing for multitude, they do not taste. They dwell coatless and shoeless in tents, possess their women in common, and rear all the offspring as a community. Their form of government is mostly democratic and they are very fond of plundering.

Consequently they choose their boldest spirits as leaders. They go into battle on chariots with small, swift horses. There are also infantry, very quick at running and very firm in standing their ground. Their weapons are shield and short spear, with a bronze apple attached to the end of the ground-spike, so that when the instrument is shaken it may clash and inspire the enemy with terror. They also have daggers. They can endure hunger and cold and any kind of wretchedness. They plunge into the swamps and exist there for many days with only their heads above water, and in the forests they support themselves upon bark and roots and in all cases they have ready a kind of food of which a piece the size of a bean when eaten prevents them from being either hungry or thirsty. Of such a nature is the island of Britain, and such are the inhabitants that the enemy's country has. For it is an island, and the fact (as I have stated) was clearly proved at this time. The length of it is seven thousand one hundred and thirty-two stades. Its greatest breadth is two thousand three hundred and ten, and its least is three hundred.

13

Of all this we hold a little less than a half. So Severus, desiring to subjugate the whole of it, invaded Caledonia. While traversing the territory he had untold trouble in cutting down the forests, reducing the levels of heights, filling up the swamps, and bridging the rivers. He fought no battle and beheld no adversary in battle array. The enemy purposely put sheep and cattle in front of them for the soldiers to seize, in order that the latter might be deceived for a longer time and wear themselves out. The Romans received great damage from the streams and were made objects of attack when they were scattered. Afterward, being unable to walk, they were slain by their own friends to avoid capture, so that nearly as many as fifty thousand died.

But the emperor did not desist till he had approached the extremity of the island. Here he observed very accurately to how slight a degree the sun declined below the horizon and the length of days and nights both summer and winter. Thus having been conveyed through practically the whole of the hostile region, — for he was really conveyed in a covered chair most of the way on account of his weakness, — he returned to

A.D. 210 (a.u. 963)

friendly territory, first forcing the Britons to come to terms on condition that he should abandon a good part of their territory.

14

Antoninus also disturbed him and involved him in vain worry by his intemperate life, by his evident intention to murder his brother if the chance should present itself, and finally by plotting against his own father. Once he

leaped suddenly out of his quarters, shouting and bawling and feigning to have been wronged by Castor. This man was the best of the Caesarians attending upon Severus, had been trusted with his opinions, and had been assigned the duties of chamberlain. Certain soldiers with whom previous arrangements had been made hereupon gathered and joined the outcry; but they were checked in short order, as Severus himself appeared on the scene and punished the more unruly among them.

On another occasion both were riding to meet the Caledonians for the purpose of receiving them and holding a conference about a truce, and Antoninus undertook to kill his father outright with his own hand. They were going along on their horses, for Severus, although his feet were rather shrunkened by an ailment, nevertheless was on horseback himself and the rest of the army was following: the enemy's force, too, was likewise a spectator. At this juncture, in the midst of the silence and order, Antoninus reined up his horse and drew his sword, apparently intending to strike his father in the back. Seeing this, the other horsemen in the detachment raised a cry of alarm, which scared the son, so that he did nothing further. Severus turned at their shout and saw the sword; however, he uttered not a syllable but ascended the tribunal, finished what he had to do, and returned to the general's tent. Then he called his son and Papinianus and Castor, ordered a sword to be placed within easy reach, and upbraided the youth for having dared to do such a thing at all and especially for having been on the point of committing so great a crime in the presence of all the allies and the enemy. Finally he said: "Now if you desire to slay me and have done, put an end to me here. You are strong: I am an old man and prostrate. If you have no objection to this, but shrink from becoming my actual murderer, there stands by your side Papinianus the prefect, whom you may order to put me out of the way. He will certainly do anything that you command, since you are emperor." Though he spoke in this fashion, he still did the plotter no harm, in spite of the fact that he had often blamed Marcus for not ending the life of Commodus and that he had himself often threatened his son with this treatment. Such words, however, were invariably spoken in a fit of anger: on this occasion he allowed his love of offspring to get the better of his love of country; yet in doing so he simply betrayed his other child, for he well knew what would happen.

15

Upon another revolt of the inhabitants of the island he summoned the soldiers and bade them invade the rebels' country, killing whomsoever they should encounter. He added these verses:

"Let none escape utter destruction At our hands. Yea, whatso is found in the womb of the mother, Child unborn though it be, let it not escape utter destruction!"

When this had been done and the Caledonians as well as the Maeatians revolted, he proceeded with preparations to make war upon them in person. While he was thus engaged his sickness carried him off on the fourth of February.

A.D. 211 (a.u. 964)

Antoninus, it is said, contributed something to the result. Before he closed his eyes he is reputed to have spoken these words to his children (I shall use the exact phraseology without embellishment): "Be harmonious, enrich the soldiers, scorn everybody else." After this his body arrayed in military garb was placed upon a pyre, and as a mark of honor the soldiers and his children ran about it. Those present who had any military gifts threw them upon it and the sons applied the fire. Later his bones were put in a jar of purple stone, conveyed to Rome, and deposited in the tomb of the Antonines. It is said that Severus sent for the jar a little before his death and after feeling it over remarked: "Thou shalt hold a man that the world could not hold."

16

He was slow-moulded but strong, though he eventually grew very weak from gout: mentally he was very keen and very firm. He wished for more education than he got and for this reason he was sagacious rather than a good talker. Toward friends not forgetful, to enemies most oppressive, he was capable of everything that he desired to accomplish but careless of everything said about him. Hence he gathered money from every source (save that he killed no one to get it) [and met all necessary expenditures quite ungrudgingly. He restored very many of the ancient buildings and inscribed upon them his own name to signify that he had repaired them so as to be new structures, and from his private funds. Also he spent a great deal uselessly upon renovating and repairing other places] , erecting, for instance, to Bacchus and Hercules a temple of huge size. Yet, though his expenses were enormous, he left behind not merely a few myriad denarii, easily reckoned, but a great many. Again, he rebuked such persons as were not chaste, even going to the extent of enacting certain laws in regard to adultery, with the result that there were any number of prosecutions for that offence. When consul I once found three thousand entered on the docket. But inasmuch as very few persons appeared to conduct their cases, he too ceased to trouble his head about it. Apropos of this, a quite witty remark is reported of the wife of Argentocoxus, a Caledonian, to Julia Augusta, when the latter after the treaty was joking her about the free intercourse of her sex in Britain with men. Thereupon the foreigner asserted: "We fulfill the necessities of nature in a much better way than you Roman women. We have dealings openly with the best men, whereas you let yourselves be debauched in secret by the vilest." This is what the British woman said.

The following is the style of life that Severus led in time of peace. He was sure to be doing something before dawn, while it was still night, and after this he would go to walk, telling and hearing of the interests of the empire. Then he held court, and separately (unless there were some great festival); and indeed, he did this very well. Those on trial were allowed plenty of water and he granted us, his coadjutors, full liberty to speak. — He continued to preside till noonday. After that he went riding as much as he could. Next he took some kind of exercise and a bath. He then consumed a not meagre lunch, either by himself or with his children. Next, as a rule, he enjoyed a nap. Later he rose, attended to his remaining duties of administration, and while walking about occupied himself with discussions of both Greek and Latin lore. Then, toward evening, he would bathe again and dine with his attendants. Very seldom did he have any outsider to dinner and only on days when it was quite unavoidable did he arrange expensive banquets. — He lived sixty-five years, nine months, and twenty-five days, for he was born on the eleventh of April. Of this he had ruled seventeen years, eight months and three days. In fine, he showed himself so active that even expiring he gasped: “Come, give it to us, if we have anything to do!”

BOOK 77

Antoninus begins his reign by having various persons assassinated, among them his brother Geta (chapters 1-3).

Cruelty of Antoninus toward Papinianus, Cilo, and others (chapters 4-6).

Antoninus as emulator of Alexander of Macedon (chapters 7, 8).

His levies and extravagance (chapters 9-11).

His treachery toward Abgarus of Osroene, toward the Armenian king, the Parthian king, and the Germans (chapters 12, 13).

The Cenni conquer Antoninus in battle (chapter 14).

He strives to drive out his disease of mind by consulting spirits and oracles (chapter 15).

Slaughter of vestals, insults to the senate, demise of others contrary to his mother's wishes (chapters 16-18).

Antoninus's Parthian war (chapters 19-21).

Massacres of Alexandrians caused by Antoninus (chapters 22-24).

DURATION OF TIME.

Q. Epidius Rufus Lollianus Gentianus, Pomponius Bassus (A.D. 211 = a. u. 964 = First of Antoninus, from Feb. 4th).

C. Iulius Asper (II), C. Iulius Asper. (A.D. 212 = a.u. 965 = Second of Antoninus.)

Antoninus Aug. (IV), D. Coelius Balbinus (II). (A.D. 213 = a.u. 966 = Third of Antoninus.)

Silius Messala, Sabinus. (A.D. 214 = a.u. 967 = Fourth of Antoninus.)

Lætus (II), Cerealis. (A.D. 215 = a.u. 968 = Fifth of Antoninus.)

C. Attius Sabinus (II), Cornelius Annullinus. (A.D. 216 = a.u. 969 = Sixth of Antoninus.)

BOOK 78, BOISSEVAIN.

[Sidenote: A.D. 211 (*a.u.* 964)] [Sidenote: — 1 —] After this Antoninus secured the entire power. Nominally he ruled with his brother, but in reality alone and at once. With the enemy he came to terms, withdrew from their country, and abandoned the forts. But his own people he either dismissed (as Papinianus the prefect) or else killed (as Euodius, his nurse, Castor, and his wife Plautilla, and the latter's brother Plautius). In Rome itself he also executed a man who was renowned for no other reason than his profession, which made him very conspicuous. This was Euprepes, the charioteer; he killed him when the man dared to show enthusiasm for a cause that the emperor opposed. So Euprepes died in old age after having been crowned in an endless number of horse-races. He had won seven hundred and eighty-two of them, — a record equaled by none other.

Antoninus had first had the desire to murder his brother while his father was still alive, but had been unable to do so at that time because of Severus, or later, on the road, because of the legions. The men felt very kindly toward the younger son, especially because in appearance he was the very image of his father. But when Antoninus arrived in Rome, he got rid of this rival also. The two pretended to love and commend each other, but their actions proved quite the reverse to be true, and anybody could see that some catastrophe would result from their relations. This fact was recognized even prior to their reaching Rome. When it had been voted by the senate to sacrifice in behalf of their harmony both to the other gods and to Harmony herself, the assistants made ready a victim to be sacrificed to Harmony and the consul arrived to do the slaughtering; yet he could not find them, nor could the assistants find the consul. They spent nearly the whole night looking for each other, so that the sacrifice could not be performed on that occasion. The next day two wolves climbed the Capitol, but were chased away from that region: one of them was next encountered somewhere in the Forum, and the other was later slain outside the pomerium. This is the story about those two animals.

[Sidenote: — 2 —] It was Antoninus's wish to murder his brother at the Saturnalia, but he was not able to carry out his intention. The danger had already grown too evident to be concealed. As a consequence, there were many violent meetings between the two, — both feeling that they were being plotted against, — and many precautionary measures were taken on both sides. As many soldiers and athletes, abroad and at home, day and night, were guarding Geta, Antoninus persuaded his mother to send for him and his brother and have them come along to her house with a view to being reconciled. Geta without distrust went in with him. When they were well inside, some centurions suborned by Antoninus rushed in a body. Geta on seeing them had run to his mother, and as he hung upon her neck and clung to her bosom and breasts he was cut down, bewailing his fate and crying out:

“Mother that bore me, mother that bore me, help! I am slain!!”

[Sidenote: A.D. 212 (*a.u.* 965)] Tricked in this way, she beheld her son perishing by most unholy violence in her very lap, and, as it were, received his death into her womb whence she had borne him. She was all covered with blood, so that she made no account of the wound she had received in her hand. She might neither mourn nor weep for her son, although, untimely he had met so miserable an end (he was only twenty-two years and nine months old): on the contrary, she was compelled to rejoice and laugh as though enjoying some great piece of luck. All her words, gestures, and changes of color were watched with the utmost narrowness. She alone, Augusta, wife of the emperor, mother of emperors, was not permitted to shed tears even in private over so great a calamity.

[Sidenote: — 3 —] Antoninus, although it was evening, took possession of the legions after bawling all the way along the road that he had been the object of a plot and was in danger. On entering the fortifications, he exclaimed: “Rejoice, fellow-soldiers, for now I have a chance to benefit you!” Before they heard the whole story he had stopped their mouths with so many and so great promises that they could neither think nor speak anything decent. “I am one of you,” he said, “it is on your account alone that I care to live, that so I may afford you much happiness. All the treasures are yours.” Indeed, he said this also: “I pray if possible to live with you, but if not, at any rate to die with you. I do not fear death in any form, and it is my desire to end my days in warfare. There should a man die, or nowhere!”

To the senate on the following day he made various remarks and after rising from his seat he went towards the door and said: “Listen to a great announcement from me. That the whole world may be glad, let all the exiles, who have been condemned on any complaint whatever in any way whatever, be restored to full rights.” Thus did he empty the islands of exiles and grant pardon to the worst condemned criminals, but before long he had the isles full again.

[Sidenote: — 4 —] The Cæsarians and the soldiers that had been with Geta were suddenly put to death to the number of twenty thousand, men and women alike, wherever in the palace any of them happened to be. Antoninus slew also various distinguished men, among them Papinianus.

While the Pretorians accused Papianus (*sic*) and Patruinus [Footnote: This is Valerius Patruinus.] for certain actions, Antoninus allowed the complainants to kill them, and added the following remark: “I hold sway for your advantage and not for my own; therefore, I defer to you both as accusers and as judges.”

He rebuked the murderer of Papinianus for using an axe instead of a sword to give the finishing stroke.

He had also desired to deprive of life Cilo, his nurse and benefactor, who had served as prefect of the city during his father’s reign, whom he had also often called father. The soldiers sent against him plundered his silver plate, his

robes, his money, and everything else that belonged to him. Cilo himself they conducted along the Sacred Way, making the palace their destination, where they prepared to give him his quietus. He had low slippers [Footnote: Reading [Greek: blahytast] in the place of the MS. [Greek: chlhapast]. This emendation is favored by Cobet (Mnemosyne, N.S., X,) and Naber (Mnemosyne, N.S., XVI, .)] on his feet, since he had chanced to be in the bath when apprehended, and wore an abbreviated tunic. The men rent his clothing open and disfigured his face, so that the people and the soldiers stationed in the city made clamorous objections. Therefore Antoninus, out of respect and fear for them, met the party, and, shielding Cilo with his cavalry cloak, — he was wearing military garb, — cried out: “Insult not my father! Strike not my nurse!” The tribune charged with slaying him and the soldiers in his contingent lost their lives, nominally for making plots but really for not having killed their victim.

[Sidenote: — 5 —] [But Antoninus was so anxious to appear to love Cilo that he declared: “Those who have plotted against him have plotted against me.” Commended for this by the bystanders, he proceeded: “Call me neither Hercules nor the name of any other god;” not that he was unwilling to be termed a god, but because he wished to do nothing worthy of a god. He was naturally capricious in all matters, and would bestow great honors upon people and then suddenly disgrace them, quite without reason. He would save those who least deserved it and punish those whom one would never have expected.

Julianus Asper was a man by no means contemptible, on account of his education and good sense as well. He exalted him, together with his sons, and after Asper had walked the streets surrounded by I don’t know how many fasces he without warning insulted him outrageously and dismissed him to his native place [Footnote: I.e., Tusculum.] with abuse and in mighty trepidation. Lætus, too, he would have disgraced or even killed, had this man not been extremely sick. So the emperor before the soldiers called his sickness “wicked,” because it did not allow him to display wickedness in one more case.

Again he made way with Thræsea Priscus, a person second to none in family or intelligence.

Many others also, previously friends of his, he put to death.]

[Sidenote: — 6 —]

“Nay, I could not recite nor give the names all over”

[Footnote: From Homer’s Iliad, II, verse 488.] of the distinguished men whom he killed without any right. Dio, because the slain were very well known in those days, even makes a list of them. For me it suffices to say that he crushed the life out of everybody he chose, without exception,

“whether the man was guilty or whether he was not “;

[Footnote: From Homer’s Iliad, XV, verse 137.] and that he simply mutilated Rome, by rendering it bereft of excellent men. [Antoninus was

allied to three races. And he possessed not a single one of their good points, but included in himself all their vices. The lightness, the cowardice, and recklessness of Gaul were his, the roughness and cruelty of Africa, the abominations of Syria (whence he was on his mother's side).] Veering from slaughter to sports, he pursued his murderous course no less in the latter. Of course one would pay no attention to an elephant, rhinoceros, tiger, and hippotigris being killed in the theatre, but he took equal pleasure in having gladiators shed the greatest amount of one another's blood. One of them, Bato, he forced to fight three successive men on the same day, and then, when Bato met death at the hands of the last, he honored him with a conspicuous burial.

[Sidenote: — 7 —] He had Alexander on the brain to such an extent that he used certain weapons and cups which purported to have belonged to the great conqueror, and furthermore he set up many representations of him both among the legions and in Rome itself. He organized a phalanx, sixteen thousand men, of Macedonians alone, named it "Alexander's phalanx," and equipped it with the arms which warriors had used in his day. These were: a helmet of raw oxhide, a three-ply linen breastplate, a bronze shield, long pike, short spear, high boots, sword. Not even this, however, satisfied him, but he called his hero "The Eastern Augustus." Once he wrote to the senate that Alexander had come on earth again in, the body of the Augustus, [Footnote: Antoninus meant himself.] so that when he had finished his own brief existence he might enjoy a larger life in the emperor's person. The so-called Aristotelian philosophers he hated bitterly, wishing even to burn their books, and he abolished the common messes they had in Alexandria and all the other privileges they enjoyed: his grievance, as stated, was the tradition that Aristotle had been an accomplice in the death of Alexander.

This was the way he behaved in those matters. And, by Jupiter, he took around with him numbers of elephants, that in this respect, too, he might seem to be imitating Alexander, or rather, perhaps, Dionysus.

[Sidenote: — 8 —] On Alexander's account he was fond of all the Macedonians. Once after praising a Macedonian tribune because the latter had shown agility in jumping upon his horse, he enquired of him first: "From what country are you?" Then, learning that he was a Macedonian, he pursued: "What is your name?" Having thereupon heard that it was Antigonus, he further questioned: "How was your father called?" When the father's name was found to be Philip, he declared: "I have all my desire." He straightway bestowed upon him the whole series of exalted military honors and before a great while appointed him one of the senators with the rank of an ex-prætor.

There was another man who had no connection with Macedonia, but had committed many dreadful crimes, and for this reason was tried before him in an appealed case. His name proved to be Alexander, and when the orator accusing him said repeatedly "the bloodthirsty Alexander, the god-detested Alexander," the emperor became angry, as if he were personally slandered,

and spoke out: "If Alexander doesn't suit you, you may regard yourself as dismissed."

[Sidenote: — 9 —] Now this great Alexandrophile, Antoninus, [kept many men about him, alleging reasons after reasons, all fictitious, and wars upon wars. He had also this most frightful characteristic, that he was fond of spending money not only upon the soldiers but for all other projects with one sole end in view, — to] strip, despoil and grind down all mankind, and the senators by no means least. [In the first place, there were gold crowns that he kept demanding, on the constant pretext that he had conquered some enemy or other (I am not speaking about the actual manufacture of the crowns, — for what does that amount to? — but the great sums of money constantly being given under that name by the cities, for the "crowning" (as it is called) of their emperors). Then there was the provisions which we were all the time levying in great abundance from all quarters, sometimes seizing them without compensation and sometimes spending a little something on them: all this supply he presented or else peddled to the soldiers. And the gifts, which he demanded from wealthy individuals and from states. And the taxes, both the new ones which he published and the ten per cent. tax that he instituted in place of the twenty per cent. to apply to the emancipation of slaves, to bequests left to any one, and to all gifts; for he abolished in such cases the right of succession and exemption from taxes which had been accorded to those closely related to persons deceased. This accounts for his giving the title of Romans to all the men in his empire. Nominally it was to honor them, but his real purpose was to get an increased income by such means, since foreigners did not have to pay most of those taxes. But aside from all these] we were also compelled to build at our own expense all sorts of dwellings for him whenever he took a trip from Rome, and costly lodgings in the middle of even the very shortest journeys. Yet not only did he never live in them but he had no idea of so much as looking at a single one. Moreover, without receiving any appropriation from him we constructed hunting-theatres and race-courses at every point where he wintered or expected to winter. They were all torn down without delay and apparently the sole purpose of their being called into existence was to impoverish us.

[Sidenote: — 10 —] The emperor himself kept spending the money upon the soldiers (as we said) and upon beasts and horses. He was forever killing great collections of wild beasts, of horses, and also of domestic animals, forcing us to contribute the majority of them, though now and then he bought a few. One day he slew a hundred boars at once with his own hands. He raced also in chariots, and then he would wear the Blue costume. In all undertakings he was exceedingly hot-headed and exceedingly fickle, and besides this he possessed the rascality of his mother and of the Syrians, to which race she belonged. He would put up some kind of freedman or other wealthy person as director of games merely that in this occupation, too, the man might spend money. From below he would make gestures of subservience to the audience

with his whip and would beg for gold pieces like one of the lowliest citizens. He said that he used the same methods of chariot-driving as the Sun god, and he took pride in the fact. Accordingly, during the whole extent of his reign the whole earth, so far as it yielded obedience to him, was plundered. Hence the Romans once at a horse-race uttered this among other cries: "We are destroying the living in order to bury the dead." The emperor would often say: "No man need have money but me, and I want it to bestow it on the soldiers." Once when Julia chided him for his great outlays upon them and said: "No longer is any resource, either just or unjust, left to us," he replied, exhibiting his sword: "Cheer up, mother: for, as long as we have this, money is not going to fail us."

[Sidenote: — 11 —] To those who flattered him, however, he distributed possessions and money.

Julius Paulus [Footnote: Undoubtedly a mistake for the *Julius Paulinus* subsequently mentioned.] was a man of consular rank, who was a great chatterer and joker and would not refrain from aiming his shafts of wit at the very emperors: therefore Severus had him taken into custody, though without constraints. When he still continued, even under guard, to make the sovereigns the objects of his jests, Severus sent for him and swore that he would cut off his head. But the man replied: "Yes, you can cut it off, but as long as I have it, neither you nor I can restrain it," and so Severus laughed and released him.

He granted to Julius Paulinus twenty-five myriads because the man, who was a jester, had been led, though involuntarily, to make a joke upon him. Paulinus had said that he actually resembled a man getting angry, for somehow he was always assuming a fierce expression. [Footnote: None of the editors, any more than the casual reader, has been able to find anything of a sidesplitting nature in this joke. The trouble is, of course, that the utterance sounds like a plain statement of fact. Caracalla's natural disposition was harsh and irritable. Some have changed the word "man" to "Pan (in anger)", but without gaining very much. I offer for what it is worth the suggestion that a well-known truth, especially in the case of personal characteristics, may sound very amusing when pronounced in a quizzical or semi-ironical fashion by a person possessing sufficient *vis comica*. Thus we may conceive Paulinus, a professional jester, on meeting Antoninus to have blurted out in a tone of mock surprise: "Why, anybody would really think you are angry. You look so cross all the time!" There would then be a point in the jest, but the point would lie not in the words but in the voice and features of the speaker. Apart from this explanation of the possible humor of the remark an excerpt of Peter Patricius (Exc. Vat. 143) gives us to understand that it would be taken as a compliment by Antoninus from the mouth of a person to whom he was accustomed to accord some liberties, since Antoninus made a point of maintaining at all times this character of harshness and abruptness.] — Antoninus made no account of anything excellent: he never learned anything

of the kind, as he himself admitted. So it was that he showed a contempt for us, who possessed something approaching education. Severus, to be sure, had trained him in all pursuits, bar none, that tended to inculcate virtue, whether physical or mental, so that even after he became emperor he went to teachers and studied philosophy most of the day. He also took oil rubbings without water and rode horseback to a distance of seven hundred and fifty stades. Moreover, he practiced swimming even in rough water. In consequence of this, Antoninus was, as you might say, strong, but he paid no heed to culture, since he had never even heard the name of it. Still, his language was not bad, nor did he lack judgment, but he showed in almost everything a keen appreciation and talked very readily. For through his authority and recklessness and his habit of saying right out without reflection anything at all that occurred to him, and not being ashamed to air his thoughts, he often stumbled upon some felicitous expression. [But the same Antoninus made many mistakes through his headstrong opinions. It was not enough for him to know everything: he wanted to be the only one who knew anything. It was not enough for him to have all power: he would be the only one with any power. Hence it was that he employed no counselor and was jealous of such men as knew something worth while. He never loved a single person and he hated all those who excelled in anything; and most did he hate those whom he affected most to love. Many of these he destroyed in some way or other. Of course he had many men murdered openly, but others he would send to provinces not suited to them, fatal to their physical condition, having an unwholesome climate; thus, while pretending to honor them excessively, he quietly got rid of them, exposing such as he did not like to excessive heat or cold. Hence, though he spared some in so far as not to put them to death, yet he subjected them to such hardships that the stain [Footnote: This is very likely an incorrect translation of an incorrect reading. The various editors of Dio have a few substitutes to propose, but as all the interpretations seem to me extremely lumbering I have turned the MS. [Greek] *chêlidoysthai* (taken as a passive) in a way that may be not quite beyond the bounds of possibility. The noun [Greek] *chêlhist* like the English “stain,” often passes from its original sense of “blemish” to that of the consequent “disgrace.”] of murder still rested on him.

The above describes him in general terms.

[Sidenote: A.D. 213(?)] [Sidenote: — 12 —] Now we shall state what sort of person he showed himself in war. [Abgarus, king of the Osrhoeni, when he had once got control of the kindred tribes, inflicted the most outrageous treatment upon his superiors. Nominally he was compelling them to change to Roman customs, but in fact he was making the most of his authority over them in an unjustifiable way.] He tricked the king of the Osrhoeni, Abgarus, inducing him to visit him as a friend, and then arrested and imprisoned him. This left Osrhoene without a ruler and he subdued it.

The king of the Armenians had a dispute with his own children and

Antoninus summoned him in a friendly letter with the avowed purpose of making peace between them: he treated these princes in the same fashion as he had Abgarus. The Armenians, however, instead of yielding to him had recourse to arms and not one of them thereafter would trust him in the slightest particular. Thus he was brought by experience to understand how great the penalty is for an emperor's practicing deceit toward friends. [The same ruler assumed the utmost credit for the fact that at the death of Vologæsus, king of the Parthians, his children proceeded to fight about the sovereignty; what was purely accidental he pretended had come about through his own connivance. He ever took vehement delight in the actions and dissensions of the brothers and generally in the mutual slaughter of foreign potentates.] He did not hesitate, either, to write to the senate regarding the rulers of the Parthians (who were brothers and at variance) that the brothers' quarrel would work great harm to the Parthian state. Just as if barbarian governments could be destroyed by such procedure and yet the Roman state had been preserved! Just as if it had not been, on the contrary, almost utterly overthrown! It was not merely that the great sums of blood money given under such conditions to the soldiers for his brother's murder served to demoralize mankind: in addition, vast numbers of citizens had information laid against them, — not only those who had sent the brother letters or had brought him presents [Footnote: Reading [Greek: dôrophorhêsantest] (Reimar) for the MS. [Greek: doruphoraesantes].] when he was still Cæsar or again after he had become emperor, but all the rest who had never had any dealings with him. If anybody even so much as wrote the name of Geta, or spoke it, that was the end of him then and there. Hence the poets no longer used it even in comedies. [Footnote: Geta was a common name for slaves in Latin comedy. It came into Rome through Greek channels and was originally merely the national adjective applied to a tribe of northern barbarians.] The property, too, of all those in whose wills the name was found written was confiscated.

[Many of his acts were committed with a view to getting money. And he exhibited his hatred for his dead brother by abolishing the honor paid to his birthday, by getting angry at the stones which had supported his images, and by melting up the coinage that displayed his features. Not even this sufficed him, but more than ever from this time he began his practice of unholy rites and often forced others to share his pollution by making a kind of annual offering to his brother's Manes.]

[Sidenote: A.D. 213 (*a.u.* 966)] [Sidenote: — 13 —] Though holding such views and behaving in such a way with regard to the latter's murder he took delight in the dissension of the barbarian brothers, on the ground that the Parthians would suffer some great injury as a result of it.

[The Celtic nations, however, afforded him neither pleasure nor any pretence of cleverness or courage but proved him to be nothing more nor less than a cheat, a simpleton, and an arrant coward. Antoninus made a campaign

among the Alamanni and wherever he saw a spot suitable for habitation he would order: "There let a fort be erected: there let a city be built." To those spots he applied names relating to himself, yet the local designations did not get changed; for some of the people were unaware of the new appellations and others thought he was joking. Consequently he came to entertain a contempt for them and would not keep his hands off this tribe even; but, whereas he had been saying that he had come as an ally, he accorded them treatment to be expected of a most implacable foe. He called a meeting of their men of military age under promise that they were to receive pay, and then at a given signal, — his raising aloft his own shield, — he had them surrounded and cut down; he also sent cavalry around and arrested all others not present.

Antoninus commended in the senate by means of a letter Pandion, a fellow who had previously been an understudy of charioteers but in the war against the Alamanni drove his chariot for him and in this capacity was his comrade and fellow soldier. And he asserted that he had been saved by this man from a portentous danger and was not ashamed to evince greater gratitude to him than to the soldiers, whom in their turn he regarded as our superiors. [Footnote: There is a gap of a word or two here (Dindorf text), filled by reading [Greek: hêlen hechôn] (with BOISSEVAIN.)]

Some of the most distinguished men whom Antoninus slew he ordered to be cast out unburied.

He made a search for the tomb of Sulla and repaired it, and reared a cenotaph to Mesomedes, who had written a compilation of citharoedic modes. He honored the latter because he was himself learning to sing to the zither and the former because he was emulating his cruelty.]

Still, in cases of necessity and urgent campaigns, he was simple and frugal, toiling with painstaking care in menial offices as much as the rest. He trudged beside the soldiers and ran beside them, not taking a bath nor changing his clothing, but helping them in every labor and choosing absolutely the same food as they had. Often he would send to distinguished champions on the enemy's side and challenge them to single combat. The details of generalship in which he certainly ought to have been most versed he managed least well, as if he thought that victory lay in the performance of those services mentioned and not in this science of commanding.

[Sidenote: — 14 —] He conducted war also against a certain Celtic tribe of Cenni. These warriors are said to have assailed the Romans with the utmost fierceness, using their mouths to pull from their flesh the missiles with which the Osrhoeni wounded them, that they might give their hands no respite in slaughtering the foe. Nevertheless even they, after selling the name of defeat at a high figure, made an agreement with him to go into Germany on condition of being spared. Their women [and those of the Alamanni] all who were captured [would not, in truth, await a servile doom, but] when Antoninus asked them whether they desired to be sold or slain, chose the latter alternative. Afterward, as they were offered for sale, they all killed themselves

and some of their children as well. [Many also of the people dwelling close to the ocean itself, near the mouth of the Albis, sent envoys to him and asked his friendship, when their real concern was to get money. For after he had done as they desired, they would frequently attack him, threatening to begin a war; and with all such he came to terms. Even though his offer was contrary to their principles, yet when they saw the gold pieces they were captivated. To them he gave true gold pieces, but the silver and gold money with which he provided the Romans was alloyed.] He manufactured the one of lead with a silver plating and the other of bronze with a gold plating.

[Sidenote: — 15 —] [The same ruler published some of his devices directly, pretending that they were excellent and worthy of commendation, however base their actual character. Other intentions he rather unwillingly made known through the very precautions which he took to conceal them, as, for example, in the case of the money. He plundered the whole land and the whole sea and left nothing whatever unharmed. The chants of the enemy made Antoninus frenzied and beside himself, hearing which some of the Alamanni asserted that they had used charms to put him out of his mind.] He was sick in body, partly with ordinary and partly with private diseases, and was sick also in mind, suffering from distressing visions; and often he thought he was being pursued by his father and his brother, armed with swords. Therefore he called up spirits to find some remedy against them, among others the spirit of his father and of Commodus. But not one would speak a word to him except Commodus. [Geta, so they say, attended Severus, though unsummoned. Yet not even he offered any suggestion to relieve the emperor, but on the contrary terrified him the more.] This is what he said:

“Draw nearer judgment, which the gods demand of thee [Footnote: Emended (by Fabricius and Reiske) from a corruption in the MS.] for Severus,”

then something else, and finally —

“having in secret places a disease hard to heal.”

[For letting these facts become public many suffered unseemly outrage. But to Antoninus not one of the gods gave any response pertaining to the healing of either his body or his mind, although he showered attention upon all the most distinguished shrines. This showed in the clearest light that they regarded not his offerings, nor his sacrifices, but only his purposes and his deeds. He got no aid from Apollo Grannus [Footnote: Grannus was really a Celtic god, merely identified with Apollo. He was honored most in Germany and Dacia (also known in Rhætia, Noricum), and, inasmuch as many inscriptions bearing his name have been found near the Danube, it may probably be conjectured that he had a temple of some importance in that vicinity. For further details see Pauly, II, ; Roscher, I, col. 1738.] nor Asclepius nor Serapis, in spite of his many supplications and his unwearying persistence. Even when abroad he sent to them prayers and sacrifices and votive offerings and many runners traveled to them daily, carrying things of

the sort. He also went himself, hoping to prevail by appearing in person, and he performed all the usual practices of devotees, but he obtained nothing that would contribute to health.

[Sidenote: — 16 —] While declaring that he was the most scrupulous of all mankind, he ran to an excess of blood-guiltiness,] killing four of the vestal virgins, one of whom — so far as he was able — he had forcibly outraged. For latterly all his sexual power had disappeared, as a result of which it was reported that he satisfied his vileness in a different way; and associated with him were others of similar inclinations, who not only admitted that they were given to such practices but maintained that they did so for the sake of their ruler's welfare.

A young knight carried a coin with his image into a brothel and people informed against him.[Footnote: Conjecture, on the basis of Reiske and Bekker.] For this he was at the time imprisoned to await execution, but later was released, as the emperor died before he did.] This maiden of whom I speak was named Clodia Læta. She, crying out loudly, "Antoninus himself knows that I am a virgin, [he himself knows that I am pure,]" was buried alive. [Three others shared her sentence. Two of them, Aurelia Severa and Pomponia Rufina, met a similar death, but Cannutia Crescentina threw herself from the top of the house.

And in the case of adulterers he did the same. For though he showed himself the most adulterous of men (so far, at least, as he was physically able) he both detested others who bore the same charge and killed them contrary to established laws. — Though displeased at all good men, he affected to honor some few of them after their death. —

Antoninus censured and rebuked them all because they asked nothing of him. And he said, in the presence of all: "It is evident from the fact that you ask nothing of me that you lack confidence in me. And if you lack confidence, you are suspicious of me; and if you are suspicious of me, you fear me; and if you fear me, you hate me." He made this an excuse for severe measures.

Antoninus being about to cause Cornificia to take leave of earth bade her (as a token of honor) choose what death she wished to die. She, after many lamentations, inspired by the memory of her father, Marcus, her grandfather, Antoninus, and her brother, Commodus, ended with this speech: "Pining, unhappy soul of mine, shut in a vile body, make forth, be free, show them that you are Marcus's daughter, whether they will or no!" Then she laid aside all the adornment in which she was arrayed, and having composed her limbs in seemingly fashion severed her veins and died.

[Sidenote: A.D. 214 (*a.u.* 967)] Next, Antoninus arrived in Thrace, paying no further heed to Dacia. Having crossed the Hellespont, not without danger, he did honor to Achilles with sacrifices and races, in armor, about the tomb, in which he as well as the soldiers participated. For this he gave them money, assuring them that they had won a great success and had in very truth captured that famous Ilium of old, and he set up a bronze statue of Achilles himself.]

Antoninus by arriving at Pergamum, while there was some dispute about it, [Footnote: The sense of these words is not clear. Boissevain conjectures that there may have been some who doubted whether an emperor so diseased would ever live to reach Mysia.] seemed to bring to fulfillment the following verse, according to some oracle:

“O’er the Telephian land shall prowl the Ausonian beast.”

He took a lasting delight and pride in the fact that he was called “beast,” and his victims fell in heaps. The man who had composed the verse used to laugh and say that he was in very truth himself the verse-maker (thereby indicating that no one may die contrary to the will of fate, but that the common saying is true, which declares that liars and deceivers are never believed, even if they tell the truth).

[Sidenote: — 17 —] He held court but little or not at all. Most of his leisure he devoted to meddlesomeness as much as anything. People from all quarters brought him word of all the most insignificant occurrences. For this reason he gave orders that the soldiers who kept their eyes and ears wide open for these details should be liable to punishment by no one save himself. This enactment, too, produced no good result, but we had a new set of tyrants in them. But the thing that was especially unseemly and most unworthy, both of the senate and of the Roman people, — we had a eunuch to domineer over us. He was a native of Spain, by name Sempronius Rufus, and his occupation that of a sorcerer and juggler (for which he had been confined on an island by Severus). This fellow was destined to pay the penalty for his conduct, as were also the rest who laid information against others. As for Antoninus, he would send word that he should hold court or transact any other public business directly after dawn; but he kept putting us off till noon and often till evening, and would not even admit us to the ante-chamber, so that we had to stand about outside somewhere. Usually at a late hour he decided that he would not even exchange greetings with us that day. Meanwhile he was largely engaged in gratifying his inquisitiveness, as I said, or was driving chariots, killing beasts, fighting as a gladiator, drinking, enjoying the consequent big head, mixing great bowls (beside their other food) for the soldiers that kept guard over him within, and sending round cups of wine (this last before our very face and eyes). At the conclusion of all this, once in a while he would hold court.

[Sidenote: A.D. 214-215] [Sidenote: — 18 —] That was his behavior while in winter-quarters at Nicomedeia. He also trained the Macedonian phalanx. He constructed two very large engines for the Armenian and for the Parthian war, so that he could take them to pieces and carry them over on boats into Syria. For the rest, he was staining himself with more blood and transgressing laws and using up money. Neither in these matters nor in any others did he heed his mother, who gave him much excellent advice. This in spite of the fact that he entrusted to her the management of the books and letters both, save the very important ones, and that he inscribed her name with

many praises in his letters to the senate, mentioning it in the same connection as his own and that of his armies, i.e., with a statement that she was *safe*. Need it be mentioned that she greeted publicly all the foremost men, just as her son did? But she continued more and more her study of philosophy with these persons. He kept declaring that he needed nothing beyond necessities, and gave himself airs over the fact that he could get along with the cheapest kind of living. Yet there was nothing on earth or in the sea or in the air that we did not keep furnishing him privately and publicly. [Of these articles he used extremely few for the benefit of the friends with him (for he no longer cared to dine with us), but the most of them he consumed with his freedmen. Such was his delight in magicians and jugglers that he commended and honored Apollonius [Footnote: The famous Apollonius of Tyana.] of Cappadocia, who had flourished in Domitian's reign and was a thoroughgoing juggler and magician; and he erected a heroum to his memory.

[Sidenote: A.D. 215 (*a.u.* 968)] [Sidenote: — 19 —] The pretext for his campaign against the Parthians was that Vologæsus had not acceded to his request for the extradition of Tiridates and a certain Antiochus with him. Antiochus was a Cilician and pretended at first to be a philosopher of the cynic school. In this way he was of very great assistance to the soldiers in warfare. He strengthened them against the despair caused by the excessive cold, for he threw himself into the snow and rolled in it; and as a result he obtained money and honors from Severus himself and from Antoninus. Elated at this, he attached himself to Tiridates and in his company deserted to the Parthian prince.

[Sidenote: — 20 —] [Antoninus surely maligned himself in asserting that he had overcome by slyness the audacity, rapacity and faithlessness of the Celtæ, against which arms were of no avail. The same man commended Fabricius Luscinus because he had refused to let Pyrrhus be treacherously murdered by his friend. — He took pride in having put enmity between the Vandili and Marcomani, who were friends, and in having executed Gaiobomarus, the accused king of the Quadi. And since one of the latter's associates, under accusation at the same time with him, hanged himself before execution, Antoninus delivered his corpse to the barbarians to be wounded, that the man might be regarded as having been killed in pursuance of a sentence instead of dying voluntarily (which was deemed a creditable act among them).

He killed Cæcilius Æmilianus, governor of Bætica, on suspicion that he had asked an oracular reply from Hercules at Gades.]

[Sidenote: — 19 —] Before leaving Nicomedeia the emperor held a gladiatorial contest there in honor of his birthday, for not even on that day did he refrain from slaughter. Here it is said that a combatant, being defeated, begged for his life, whereupon Antoninus said: "Go and ask your adversary. I am not empowered to spare you."

[Sidenote: A.D. 216 (*a.u.* 969)] And so the wretch, who would probably

have been allowed by his antagonist to go, if the above words had not been spoken, lost his life. The victor did not dare release him for fear of appearing more humane than the emperor.

[Sidenote: — 20 —] For all that, while so engaged and steeped in the luxury of Antioch even to the point of keeping his chin wholly bare, he gave utterance to laments, as if he were in the midst of great toils and dangers. And he reproved the senate, saying for one thing that they were slothful, did not understand readily, and did not give their votes separately. Finally he wrote: "I know that my behavior doesn't please you. But the reason for my having arms and soldiers alike is to enable me to disregard anything that is said about me."

[Sidenote: — 21 —] When the Parthian monarch in fear surrendered both Tiridates and Antiochus, he disbanded the expedition at once. But he despatched Theocritus with an army into Armenian territory and suffered defeat amounting to a severe reverse at the hands of the inhabitants. Theocritus was of servile origin and had been brought up in the orchestra; [he was the man who had taught Antoninus dancing and had been a favorite of Saoterus, and through the influence thus acquired he had been introduced to the theatre at Rome. But, as he was disliked there, he was driven out of Rome and went to Lugdunum, where he delighted the people, who were rather provincial. And, from a slave and dancer, he came to be an army leader and prefect.] He advanced to such power in the household of Antoninus that both the prefects were as nothing compared to him. Likewise Epagathus, himself also a Cæsarian, had equal influence with him and committed equal transgressions. Thus Theocritus, who kept traveling back and forth in the interest of securing provisions and selling them at retail, proved the death of many persons because of his authority and for other reasons. One victim was Titianus Flavius. The latter, while procurator in Alexandria, offended him in some way, whereupon Theocritus, leaping from his seat, drew his sword. At that Titianus remarked: "This, too, you have done like a dancer." Hence the other in a rage ordered him to be killed.

[Sidenote: — 22 —] Now Antoninus, in spite of his declaration that he cherished an overwhelming love for Alexander, all but destroyed utterly the whole population of Alexander's city. Hearing that he was spoken against and ridiculed by them for various reasons, and not least of all for murdering his brother, he set out for Alexandria, concealing his wrath and pretending to long to see them. But when he reached the suburbs whither the leading citizens had come with certain mystic and sacred symbols, he greeted them as if he intended to entertain them at a banquet and then put them to death. After this he arrayed his whole force in armor and marched into the city; he had sent previous notice to all the people there to remain at home and had occupied all the streets and in addition all the roofs in advance. And, to pass over the details of the calamities that then befell the wretched city, he slaughtered so many individuals that he dared not even speak about the number of them, but

wrote the senate that it was of no interest how many of them or who had died, for they all deserved to suffer this fate. Of the property, part was plundered and part destroyed.

[Sidenote: — 23 —] With the people perished also many foreigners, and not a few who had accompanied Antoninus were destroyed for want of identification. As the city was large and persons were being murdered all over it by night and by day, it was impossible to distinguish anybody, no matter how much one might wish it. They simply expired as chance directed and their bodies were straightway cast into deep trenches to keep the rest from being aware of the extent of the disaster. — That was the fate of the natives. The foreigners were all driven out except the merchants, and even they had all their wares plundered. Also some shrines were despoiled. In the midst of most of these atrocities Antoninus was present and looked on and personally took a hand, but sometimes he issued orders to others from the temple of Serapis. He lived in this god's precinct even during the nights and days that witnessed the shedding of Egyptian blood. [And he sent word to the senate that he was observing purity during the days when he was in reality sacrificing there domestic beasts and human beings at the same time to the god.] Yet why should I have spoken of this, when he actually dared to devote to the god the sword with which he had killed his brother?

Next he abolished the spectacles and the public messes of the Alexandrians and ordered Alexandria to be broken up [Footnote: The reading is [Greek: dioikisthaenai].] into villages, with a wall fully garrisoned bisecting the city, that the inhabitants might no longer visit one another with security. Such was the treatment accorded unhappy Alexandria by the *Ausonian Beast*, as the tag of the oracle about him called him; and he said he liked the title and was glad to be distinguished by the honorific appellation of "Beast." Never mind how many persons he murdered on the pretext that they had fulfilled the oracle.

[Sidenote: — 24 —] [The same man gave prizes to the soldiers for their campaign, allowing those stationed in the pretorian guard to get some six thousand two hundred and fifty [Footnote: The common reading is "twelve hundred and fifty," but since it seems incredible that the Pretorians should have obtained less, instead of more, than the ordinary soldiers, Lange with much reason proposed the change carried out above, — a change which requires the insertion (or restitution) of but one Greek numeral-letter that might easily have been overlooked by some copyist.] and the rest five thousand [lacuna]

[That model of temperance (as he was wont to put it), the rebuker of licentiousness in others, at the consummation of a most vile and at the same time most dangerous outrage, appeared, in truth, to be indignant; but by not giving that indignation sufficient free play and further by allowing the youths to do what no one had ever yet dared to propose, he greatly corrupted the latter, who had imitated the habits of women of the demi-monde and of professional male buffoons.]

[On the occasion of the Cullenian[Footnote: Nobody knows what the Cullenian games were; Valois guesses that they may have been an Alexandrian festival. The text of this whole chapter is in a very ragged condition, and should not be held too strictly accountable in the matter of sense or cohesion.] spectacle severe censure was passed, not only upon those who there carried on their accustomed pursuits, but also upon the spectators.]

BOOK 78

Antoninus's treacherous campaign against Artabanus, the Parthian (chapters 1-3).

Antoninus's death (chapters 4-6). Foreshadowings of his death, and the abuse heaped upon him dead (chapters 7-10).

About Macrinus Augustus, and his excellencies and faults (chapters 11-15).

His letters and commands to the senate, and other official acts (chapters 16-22).

Death of Julia Augusta (chapters 23, 24).

Inauspicious signs: peace arranged with Artabanus after submitting to a defeat (chapters 25-27).

Uprising of the soldiers: Pseudantoninus is proclaimed as emperor by the soldiers (chapters 28-31).

How Macrinus, conquered in battle, took to flight and was cut down after the capture of his son (chapters 32-41).

DURATION OF TIME.

C. Attius Sabinus (II), Cornelius Annullinus (A.D. 216 = a.u. 969 = Sixth of Antoninus.)

C. Bruttius Præsens, T. Messius Extricatus (II). (A.D. 217 = a.u. 970 = Seventh of Antoninus, from Feb. 4th to April 8 th.)

M. Opellius Macrinus Aug., Q.M. Coclatinus Adventus. (A.D. 218 = a.u. 971. The first year of Macrinus ends April 11 th and his second year is abruptly terminated June 8 th.)

BOOK 79, BOISSEVAIN.

[Sidenote: A.D. 216 (*a.u.* 969)] [Sidenote: — 1 —] The next thing was a campaign against the Parthians and the pretext that was used was that Artabanus had refused to view favorably his wooing and give him his daughter in marriage. (But he knew well enough that, while pretending to want to marry her, he in fact was anxious to detach the Parthian kingdom.) So he damaged a large section of the country around Media by means of a sudden incursion, sacked many citadels, won over Arbela, dug open the royal tombs of the Parthians, and flung the bones about. The Parthians would not engage him at close quarters, and therefore I have had nothing of especial interest to record concerning the doings of that expedition except, perhaps, one anecdote. Two soldiers who had seized a skin of wine came to him, each claiming the booty as entirely his own. Being bidden by him to divide the wine equally they drew their swords and cut the wine skin in two, apparently expecting each to get a half with the wine in it. They so dreaded their emperor that they troubled him even with such details and showed such scrupulousness as to lose both wineskin and wine.

Now the barbarians took refuge in the mountains and across the Tigris in order to perfect their preparations. But Antoninus suppressed this fact and, assuming that he had utterly vanquished a foe whom he had not even seen, he displayed becoming pride; and, as he himself wrote, he was particularly gratified because a lion ran down from the mountains and fought on his side.

[Sidenote: — 2 —] Not only in other ways did he live unnaturally and transgress laws, but in his very campaigns [[lacuna] but truth; [Footnote: Here begins the parchment codex, Vaticanus 1288. See Volume I, page 8.] for I have run across the book written by him about it. He understood so well how he stood with all the senators that, in spite of many protests, their slaves and freedmen and intimate friends were arrested by him and were asked under torture whether “so-and-so loves me” or “so-and-so hates me.” For the charts of the stars under which any of his foremost courtiers had been born gave evidence, he said, as to who was friendly to him and who was hostile. And on this basis he honored many persons and destroyed many others.

[Sidenote: A.D. 217 (*a.u.* 970)] [Sidenote: — 3 —] When the Parthians and the Medes, greatly enraged at the treatment they had received, equipped a large body of troops, he fell into an ecstasy of terror. He was very bold in threats and very reckless in daring, but very cowardly in following a slow course involving danger, and very weak in hard labor. He could no longer bear either great heat or armor, and consequently wore sleeved tunics made in such a shape as more or less to resemble breastplates. Thus having the appearance of armor without its weight he could be safe from plots and also arouse admiration. He often used these garments when not in battle. He wore also a cavalry cloak, now all purple, now purple with white threads, and again

of white with purple threads, and also red. In Syria and in Mesopotamia he used Celtic clothing and shoes. He furthermore invented a costume of his own by cutting out cloth and stitching it up, barbaric fashion, into a kind of cloak. He himself wore it very constantly, so that it led to his being called Caracalla, [Footnote: A word of Celtic origin, signifying a long, ulster-like tunic plus a hood. This was a Gallic dress.] and he prescribed it by preference as the dress for the soldiers. The barbarians saw what sort of person he was and also heard that his men were enervated through their previous luxury; for, to give an instance of their behavior, the Romans passed the winter in houses, making use of everything belonging to their entertainers as if it were their own. [They further perceived that their opponents had become so physically worn and so dejected in spirit by their toils and by the hardships which they were now undergoing that they no longer heeded the presents which they kept receiving from their commander.] Elated, therefore, to think that they should find them rather helpers than foes, they made ready to attack. [Footnote: The last five words are a conjecture of Bekker's.]

[Sidenote: — 4 —] Antoninus made preparations in his turn, but it did not fall to his lot to enter upon the war: he was struck down in the midst of his soldiers, whom he most honored and in whom he reposed vast confidence. A seer in Africa had declared (in such a way that it became noised abroad) that both Macrinus the prefect and his son Diadumenianus [Footnote: His full name was M. Opellius Diadumenianus.] must reign. Macrinus, sent to Rome, had revealed this to Flavius Maternianus, who at the time commanded the soldiers in the city, and he had at once sent word to Antoninus. It happened that this letter was diverted to Antioch and came to [his mother] Julia, since she had been given orders to read over everything that arrived and thus prevent a mass of unimportant letters being sent to him while in a hostile country. Another letter written by Ulpian Julianus, who then had charge of appraisements, went by other carriers straight to Macrinus and informed him of the state of the case. It was in this way that the letter to the emperor suffered a delay and the despatch to his rival came to the attention of the latter in good season. Now Macrinus, becoming afraid that he might be put to death by Antoninus on account of all this, especially since a certain Egyptian Serapio had told the prince to his face that Macrinus should succeed him, did not find it well to delay. — Serapio had first been thrown to a lion for his pains, but when he merely held out his hand, as is reported, and the animal did not touch him, he was slain. He might have escaped even this fate (or so he declared) by calling upon certain spirits, if he had lived one day longer.

[Sidenote: — 5 —] Macrinus came to no harm but hastened his preparations, having a presentiment that otherwise he should perish, especially since Antoninus had suddenly, one day before [Footnote: "One day before" is a conjecture of Bekker's. (The birthday of Antoninus seems to have been on the sixth of April.)] his birthday, removed those of Macrinus's companions that were in the latter's company, alleging one reason in one case

and another in another with the general pretext of doing them honor. Not but [lacuna] expecting that it was fated for him to get it he had also made a name which owed its origin to this fact. Accordingly, he suborned two tribunes stationed in the pretorian guard, Nemesianus and Apollinarius, brothers belonging to the Aurelian gens, and Julius Martialis, who was enrolled among the evocati and had a private grudge against Antoninus for not giving him the post of centurion on request. Thus he made his plot, and it was carried out as follows. On the eighth of April, when the emperor had set out from Edessa to Carrhæ and had dismounted from his horse to go and ease himself, Martialis approached as if he wanted to say something to him and struck him smartly with a small knife. The assassin at once fled and would have escaped detection, had he thrown away the sword. The weapon led to his being recognized by one of the Scythians on the staff of Antoninus, and he was brought down with a javelin. As for Martialis [lacuna] the military tribunes pretending to come to the rescue slew [lacuna]

[This Scythian attended him, not merely to be an ally of his, but as keeping guard over him to a certain extent. [Sidenote: — 6 —] For he maintained Scythians and Celtæ about him, free and slaves alike, whom he had taken away from children and wives and had equipped with arms; and he affected to place more dependence upon them than upon the soldiers. To illustrate, he kept honoring them with posts as centurions, and he called them “lions.” Moreover, he would often converse with emissaries sent from the very provinces, and in the presence of no one else but the interpreters would urge them, in case any catastrophe befell him, to invade Italy and march upon Rome, assuring them that it was very easy to capture. And to prevent any inkling of his talk spreading to our ears he would immediately put to death the interpreters. For all that, we did ascertain it later from the barbarians themselves: and the matter of the poisons we learned from Macrinus.] It seemed that he partly sent for and partly bought quantities of all kinds of poisons from the inhabitants of Upper Asia, spending altogether seven hundred and fifty myriads upon them, in order that he might secretly kill in different ways great numbers of men, — in fine, whomsoever he would. They were subsequently discovered in the royal apartments and were all consumed by fire. [At this time the soldiers, both for this reason and, beyond other considerations, because they were vexed at having the barbarians preferred to themselves, were not altogether so enthusiastic over their leader as of yore and did not aid him when he became the victim of a plot.] Such was the end that he met after a life of twenty-nine years [and four days (for he had been born on the fourth of April)], and after a reign of six years, two months, and two days.

[Sidenote: — 7 —] There are many things at this point, too, in the story that occur to excite my surprise. When he was about to start from Antioch on his last journey, his father confronted him in a vision, girt with a sword and saying: “As you killed your brother, so will I smite you unto death;” and the

soothsayers told him to beware of that day, using so direct a form of speech as this: "The gates of the victim's liver are shut." After this he went out through some door, paying no heed to the fact that the lion, which he was wont to call "Rapier," and had for a table companion and bedfellow, knocked him down as he went out, and, moreover, tore some of his clothing. He kept many other lions besides and always had some of them around him, but this one he would often caress even publicly. It was thus that these events occurred.

And a little before his death, as I have heard, a great fire suddenly fastened upon the entire interior of the temple of Serapis in Alexandria, and did no other harm whatever save only to destroy that sword with which he had slain his brother. [Later, when it stopped, many stars shone out.] In Rome, too, [a spirit wearing the likeness of a man led an ass up the Capitol and later up the Palatine, seeking, as he said, its master and stating that Antoninus was dead and Jupiter reigned. Arrested for his behavior, he was sent by Maternianus to Antoninus, and he declared: "I depart, as you bid, but I shall face not this emperor but another." Afterwards on coming to Capua he vanished.

[Sidenote: — 8 —] This took place while the prince was still alive.] At the horse-race [held in memory of Severus's reign] the statue of Mars, while being carried in procession, fell down. This perhaps would not arouse such great wonder, but listen to the greatest marvel of all. The Green faction had been defeated, whereupon, catching sight of a jackdaw, which was screeching very loud on the tip of a javelin, they all gazed at him and all of a sudden, as if by previous arrangement, cried out: "Hail Martialis, Martialis hail, long it is since we beheld thee!" It was not that the jackdaw was ever so called, but through him they were greeting, apparently under some divine inspiration, Martialis, the assassin of Antoninus. To some, indeed, Antoninus seemed to have foretold his own end, inasmuch as in the last letter that he sent to the senate he had said: "Cease praying that I may reign a hundred years." The petition mentioned had always been uttered from the beginning of his sovereignty and this was the first and only time that he found fault with it. Thus, while his words were simply meant to chide them for offering a prayer impossible of accomplishment, he was really indicating that he should no longer rule for any length of time. And when certain persons had once called attention to this fact, it also came to my mind that when he was giving us a banquet in Nicomedeia at the Saturnalia and had talked a good deal, as was usual at a symposium, then on our rising to go he had addressed me and said: "With great acumen and truth, Dio, has Euripides remarked that

'''Neath divers forms the spirit world is lurking,
Much passing hope the gods are ever working.
Oft disappointment strikes down sure ambition:
The unthought chance God brings to full fruition.
This story leaves things in just that condition.'''

[Footnote: Lines that occur at the end of several of Euripides's dramas.]

At the time this quotation seemed to have been mere nonsense, but when not long after he perished the fact that this was the last speech he uttered to me was thought to infuse into it a certain truly oracular significance with regard to what was to befall him. Similar importance was attached to the utterance of Jupiter called Belus, [Footnote: The same as Baal.] a god revered in Apamea [Footnote: This is the Apamea on the Orontes, built by Seleucus Nicator.] of Syria. He, years before, when Severus was still a private citizen, had spoken to him these verses:

”Touching eyes and head, like Zeus, whose delight is in thunder,
Like unto Ares in waist, and in chest resembling Poseidon.”

[Footnote: From Homer’s Iliad, II, verses 478-9.]

And later, after his accession as emperor, the god had made this response to an enquiry: “Thy house shall perish utterly in blood.” [Footnote: Adapted from Euripides, Phoenician Maidens, verse 20.]

[Sidenote: — 9 —] [Accordingly the body of Antoninus was then burned, and his bones, brought secretly by night into Rome, were deposited in the mausoleum of the Antonines. All the senators and private individuals, men and women, without exception entertained so violent a hatred of him that all their words and actions relating to him were such as would befit the downfall of a most implacable foe. He was not officially disgraced, because the soldiers did not get from Macrinus the state of peace which they had hoped to secure by a change. Deprived of the profits which they were wont to receive from Antoninus, they began to long for him again. Indeed, their wishes subsequently prevailed to the extent of having him enrolled among the heroes: of course this was voted by the senate.]

[Sidenote: A.D. 217, *a.u.* 970] In general, abundant ill was consistently spoken of him by everybody. They would no longer term him Antoninus, but [some called him Bassianus, [Footnote: He was originally Septimius Bassianus, named after his maternal grandfather.] his old name, others] Caracalla, as I have mentioned, [Footnote: In chapter 3.] [others] also Tarautas, from the appellation of a gladiator who was [in appearance] very small and very ugly and [in spirit very audacious and] very bloodthirsty.

[Sidenote: — 10 —] Now his affairs, however one may name him, were in this state. As for me, even before he came to the throne, it was foretold me in a way by his father that I should write this account. Just after his death methought I saw in a great plain the whole power of Rome arrayed in arms, and it seemed as if Severus were sitting [on a knoll there and] on a lofty tribunal conversing with them. And, seeing me standing by to hear what was said, he spoke out: “Come hither, Dio, to this spot; approach nearer, that you may both ascertain accurately and write a history of all that is said and done.” — Such was the life and the overthrow of Tarautas. [After him there perished also those who had shared in the plot against him, some at once and others before a great while. His intimate companions and the Cæsarians likewise

perished. He had been, as it were, coupled with a spirit of murder that operated equally against enemies and against friends.]

[Sidenote: — 11 —] Macrinus, by race a Moor from Cæsarea, came from most obscure parents [so that with considerable justice he was likened to the ass that was led to the Palatine by the apparition]. For one thing his left ear had been bored, according to the custom [generally] in vogue among the Moors. His affability was even more striking. As to duties, his comprehension of them was not so accurate as his performance of them was faithful. [Thus it was, thanks to the advocacy of a friend's cause, that he became known to Plautianus, and at first he took the position of manager of the latter's property; subsequently he ran a risk of perishing together with his employer, but was unexpectedly saved by the intercession of Cilo and was given charge of the vehicles of Severus that passed back and forth along the Flaminian Way.] From Antoninus [after securing some titles of a short-lived procuratorship] he obtained an appointment as prefect and administered the affairs of this responsible position excellently and with entire justice, [so far as he was free to act independently. This, then, was his general character and these the steps of his advancement. Even during the life of Tarautas he was led, in the way that I have described, to harbor in his mind the hope of empire;] and at his death [he did not, to be sure, either that day or the two following days occupy the office, in order to avoid the imputation of having killed him with such intentions: but for that space of time the Roman state remained completely bereft of a ruler possessing authority, though without the people's knowing it. He communicated with the soldiers in every direction, — that is to say, the ones who were in Mesopotamia on account of the war but instead of being in one body were scattered all about; and he won their allegiance through the agency of his [Footnote: Reading [Greek: ohi] (Dindorf) instead of [Greek: hos].] friends], among his various offers being a suggestion that they might secure a respite from the war, which was an especial cause of dissatisfaction to them: and so on the fourth day [the anniversary of Severus's birthday] he was chosen emperor by them [after making a show of resistance].

[Sidenote: — 12 —] [He delivered an address full of good points and held out hopes of many advantages to the rest of mankind as well. Those who had been doomed to some life punishment for an act of impiety, of the kind that is so named with reference to attitude toward emperors, were absolved from their sentence; and complaints of that nature which were pending were dismissed. He rescinded the measures enacted by Caracalla relating to inheritances and emancipations and, by asseverating that it was a sacrilege to kill a senator, he succeeded in his appeal for the pardon of Aurelianus, whose surrender was demanded by the soldiers because he had proved most obnoxious to them in many previous campaigns. Not for long, however, was it in his power to behave as an honest man [lacuna] and Aurelianus [lacuna] soldiers [lacuna] this man [lacuna] by him [lacuna] absolute power [lacuna] wrath [lacuna] and two hundred and fifty denarii [lacuna] there had been

public notice of giving more [lacuna] fearing that [lacuna] Aurelianus, the only one then present not only of ex-consuls but of those who were senators at all [lacuna] by aid of money [lacuna] upon him [lacuna] glad to divert the blame for Caracalla's death [lacuna] and about the [lacuna] them [lacuna] the [lacuna] the [lacuna] great masses both of furniture and of property of the emperors. But as not even this on account of the soldiers sufficed for the [lacuna] of senators [lacuna] kill [lacuna] no one, but putting some under guard [lacuna] of the knights and the freedmen and the Cæsarians and [lacuna] causing those who erred in even the slightest respect to be punished, so that to all [lacuna] of them [lacuna] the procuratorships and the excessive expenditures and the majority of the burdens recently laid upon them by Tarautas [lacuna] of the games [lacuna] multitude [lacuna], gathering the presents which had unnecessarily been bestowed upon any persons, and he forbade any silver image of him being made over five pounds in weight, or any golden image of over three. Greatest of all, the hire of those serving in the pretorian guard [lacuna] to that appointed [lacuna] by Severus [lacuna]

[Sidenote: — 13 —] Though in truth he was praised by some for this (and not without reason), still he incurred (on the part of the sensible) a censure that quite counterbalanced it. The adverse sentiment in question was due to the fact that he enrolled certain persons in the ranks of ex-consuls and immediately assigned them to governorships of provinces. Yet he refused the following year to have the reputation of being consul twice because he had the honors of ex-consul: this was a practice begun during the reign of Severus and followed also by the latter's son. This procedure, however, both in his own case and in that of Adventus was lawful enough, but he showed great folly in sending Marcius Agrippa first into Pannonia and later into Dacia to govern. The previous officials of the districts mentioned, — Sabinus and Castinus, — he summoned at once to his side, pretending that he wanted their company, but really because he feared their surpassing spirit and their friendship for Caracalla. It was in this way that he came to despatch Agrippa to Dacia and Deccius Triccianus [Footnote: *Ælius Deccius Triccianus.*] to Pannonia. The former had been a slave acting as master of wardrobe for some woman and for this cause [Footnote: It is hard to see why, unless in the age of Severus slaves were forbidden to have charge of women's attire.] had been tried by Severus, although at the time he was attached to the fiscus; he had then been driven out to an island for betraying some interest, was subsequently restored, together with the rest, by Tarautas, had taken charge of his decisions and letters, and finally had been degraded to the position of senator, with ex-consular rank, because he had admitted overgrown lads into the army. Triccianus served in the rank and file of the Pannonian contingent, had once been porter to the governor of that country, and was at this time commanding the Alban legion.

[Sidenote: — 14 —] These were some of the grounds that led many persons to find fault with him. Another was his elevation of Adventus. Adventus had drawn pay as one of the spies and detectives, had left his

position there and served among the letter-carriers, had later been appointed cubicularius, and still later was advanced to a position as procurator. Now although old age prevented him from seeing, lack of education from reading, and want of experience from being able to accomplish anything, the emperor made him senator, fellow-consul, and prefect of the city. This upstart had dared to say to the soldiers after the death of Caracalla: "The sovereignty properly belongs to me, since I am elder than Macrinus: but inasmuch as I am extremely old, I make way for him." His behavior was regarded as nonsensical, as was also that of Macrinus, in granting the greatest dignity of the senate to such a man, who could not when consul carry on a plain conversation with anybody in the senate, and consequently on the day of elections pretended to be sick. Hence, before long Macrinus assigned the direction of the city to Marius Maximus in his stead. It looked as if he had made him præfectus urbi with the sole purpose of polluting the senate-house. And this pollution took place not only in virtue of the fact that he had served in the mercenary force and had performed the duties belonging to executioners, scouts, and centurions, but in that he had secured control of the city prior to fulfilling the demands of the consulship. In other words, he became city prefect before senator. Macrinus connived at his promotion with the definite intention of blinding the public in regard to his own record, which would have shown that he had seized the imperial office while yet a knight.

[Sidenote: — 15 —] Besides these not unmerited censures that some passed upon him, he also attracted adverse criticism for designating as prefects Ulpius Julianus and Julianus Nestor, who possessed no particular excellence and had not been tested in many undertakings, but had become quite notorious for rascality in Caracalla's reign; for, being at the head of the late prince's messengers [Footnote: Mommsen thinks that by this expression Dio probably means the position of *princeps peregrinorum*.] they had been of great assistance to him in his unholy meddling. However, only a few citizens took account of these details, which did not tend wholly to encourage them. The majority of individuals, in view of their having recently got rid of Tarautas, which was more than they could have hoped, and comparing the new ruler in the few indications afforded with the old, and in view of all the other considerations and expectations, did not deem it fitting to condemn him so soon. And for this reason they mourned him exceedingly when he was killed, though they would certainly have felt hatred for him had he lived longer.]

For he began to live rather more luxuriously and he took official notice of those who reproved him. His putting Maternianus and Datus out of the way was not reasonable, — for what wrong had they done in being attentive to their emperor? — but it was not unlike human nature, since he had been involved in great danger. But he made a mistake in venting his wrath upon the rest, who were suspected of disliking his low birth and his unexpected attempt upon the sovereign power. He ought to have done precisely the opposite;

realizing what he had been at the outset and what his position then was, he should not have been supercilious, but should have behaved moderately, cultivated the genius of his household, and encouraged men by good deeds and a display of excellence unchanged by circumstances.

[Sidenote: — 16 —] These things [lacuna] in regard to him [lacuna] have been said by me [lacuna] in detail [lacuna] of any [lacuna] just as [lacuna] nominally throughout his entire reign [lacuna] of all [lacuna] of it [lacuna] that he said in conversation with the soldiers [lacuna] it was proved [lacuna] and he dared to utter not a few laudations of himself and to send still more of them in letters, saying among other things: "I have been quite sure that you also would agree with the legions, since I enjoy the consciousness of having conferred many benefits upon the commonwealth." He subscribed himself in the letter as Cæsar and emperor and Severus, adding to the name of Macrinus the titles of Pious, and Fortunate, and Augustus, and Proconsul, of course without awaiting any vote on our part. He sent the letter without being ignorant that he was, on his own responsibility, assuming so many and great designations nor [lacuna] name [lacuna] of Pretorians as formerly some [lacuna] not but what [lacuna] so wrote [lacuna] in the beginning [lacuna] war chiefly [lacuna] of barbarians [lacuna] near [lacuna] in the letter he used simply the same terms as the emperors before Caracalla, and this he did the whole year through [lacuna] memoranda found among the soldiers. Thus [lacuna] of things accustomed to be said with a view to flattery and not inspired by truthfulness they became so suspicious as to ask that they be made public, and he sent them to us, and the quæstor read them aloud, as he did other similar documents in their turn. And a certain prætor, as the senate was then in session and none of the quæstors was present, also read an epistle once composed by Macrinus himself.

[Sidenote: — 17 —] The first letter having been read, appropriate measures were passed with reference to both Macrinus and his son. He was designated Patrician, and Princeps Iuventutis, and Cæsar. He accepted everything save the horse-race voted in honor of the beginning of his reign; from this he begged to be excused, saying that the event had been sufficiently honored by the spectacle on the birthday of Severus. Of Tarautas he made no mention at this time, in the way of either honor or dishonor, save only that he called him Emperor. He ventured to term him neither Hero nor Foe, and, as I conjecture, it was because the deeds of his predecessor and the hatred of much of mankind made him shrink from the former epithet, and the thought of the soldiers restrained him from the latter. Some suspected that it was because he wanted the disgracing to be the act of the senate and the people rather than his own, especially since he was in the midst of the legions. He did say that Tarautas by his wrongdoing had been chiefly responsible for the war and had terribly burdened the public treasury by increasing the money given to the barbarians, inasmuch as it was of equal amount with the pay of the soldiers under arms. No one dared, however, to give utterance publicly to any such

statement against him and vote that he was an enemy, for fear of immediate annihilation at the hands of the soldiers in the City. Still, they abused him in their own fashion and heaped insults upon him as much as they could, going over the list of his bloody deeds, with the name of each victim, and ranging him alongside all the evil tyrants that had ever held sway over them.

[Sidenote: — 18 —] At the same time the public demanded that the horse-race given on his birthday be abolished, that absolutely all the statues, both gold and silver, erected [Footnote: Supplying, with Reiske, [Greek: hidruthentas].] in his honor be melted down, and that those who had served with him in any capacity as informers be made known and punished with the utmost speed. For great numbers, not only slaves and freedmen and soldiers and Cæsarians, but likewise knights and senators and numerous very distinguished women, were believed to have given secret hints during his reign and to have blackmailed various persons. And although they did not attach to Antoninus the name of Enemy, they did keep vociferating that Martialis (on account of the similarity of his name to that of Mars, as they pretended,) ought to be honored with enconiums and with statues for worship. They also showed for the moment no indication of annoyance at Macrinus], the reason being that they were so overwhelmed by joy on account of the death of Tarautas as not to have leisure to think anything about his humble origin, and they were glad to accept him as emperor. They were less concerned about whose slaves they should be next than about whose yoke they had shaken off, and were impressed with the idea that any chance comer who might present himself would be preferable to their former master. [All the unusual expenditures were rehearsed that had been made, not only by the Roman Treasury but privately for any persons and on the part of any foreign nations as a result of the former sovereign's direction: and thus the overthrow of those charged with carrying out the enactments made by him and the hope that in the future nothing similar would be done inclined people to be satisfied with the existing arrangement.

[Sidenote: — 19 —] However, they soon learned that Aurelianus was dead and that Diadumenianus, son of Macrinus, had been appointed Cæsar. This last was nominally the act of the soldiers, through whose ranks he passed when summoned from Antioch to meet his father, but really it was accomplished by Macrinus. People further learned that their ruler had assumed the name of Antoninus. (He had done this to win the favor of the soldiers, partly to avoid seeming to dishonor his predecessor's memory entirely, especially in view of the fact that he had secretly thrown down some of the statues offered to him in Rome by Alexander and set on pedestals by Antoninus himself: and again he wanted to get an excuse for promising them seven hundred and fifty denarii more.) So persons began to think differently and reflected that previously they had held him in no esteem. Taking account, furthermore, of all the additional ignoble manifestations on his part that they suspected and thought likely, they began to be ashamed and did not [lacuna]

Caracalla any more than [lacuna] things pertaining to him differently [lacuna] by deprecating the [lacuna] of Severus [lacuna] of Antoninus [lacuna] they displayed [lacuna] and hero and what befitted his reign, not to be sure [lacuna] and wholly the judgments of all men in Rome [lacuna] underwent a change [lacuna] senate [lacuna] to him [lacuna] me [lacuna] however, when all were questioned man by man regarding his honors, both others answered ambiguously and [lacuna] Saturninus [lacuna] in a way attributing [lacuna] prætors [lacuna] that it was not permissible for him to put any vote about anything, in order that they might avoid the consul's jealousy. This procedure was contrary to precedent, for it was not lawful that there should take place in the senate-chamber an inquiry into any matter, except at the command of the emperor.

[Sidenote: — 20 —] The crowd, because they could obscure their identity at the contest and by their numbers, gained the greater boldness, raised a loud cry at the horse-race on the birthday of Diadumenianus, which fell on the fourteenth of September: they uttered many lamentations, asserting that they alone of all mankind were destitute of a leader, destitute of a king; and they invoked the name of Jupiter, declaring that he alone should be their leader and uttering aloud these words: "As a master thou wert angry, as a father take pity on us." Nor would they pay any heed at first to either the equestrian or the senatorial order [lacuna] and commending the emperor and the Cæsar to the extent of [lacuna] in Greek saying: "Ah, what a glorious day is to-day! What noble kings!" and desiring that the others also should share their opinion. But they stretched out their arms toward the sky and exclaimed: "[lacuna]. this is the Roman Augustus: having him we have all!" So true it is that among mankind respect is a distinct characteristic of the better element and contempt a characteristic of the worse. For these two now regarded Macrinus and Diadumenianus as henceforth absolutely non-existent and trampled upon their claims as though they were already dead. This was one great reason why his soldiers despised him, and paid no heed to what was done to win their favor. Another still more important cause lay in the frequent and extraordinary insolence shown toward him by the Pergamenians, who were deprived of what they had formerly received from Tarautas; and for this conduct he imposed upon them public sentence of loss of citizenship. [Sidenote: — 21 —] The attitude of the soldiers is straightway to be described. At this time Macrinus neither sent to the senate, as they were demanding, nor published otherwise any document of the informers, saying either truly or falsely (to avoid a great disturbance) that none such had been found in the royal residence. For Tarautas had either destroyed the majority of those containing any accusation or had returned them to the senders themselves, as I have stated, [Footnote: The passage to which Dio refers is lost.] to the end that no proof of his baseness should be left. But he did reveal the names of three senators whom, from what he had himself discovered, he deemed to be especially deserving of hatred. These were Manilius and Julius, and moreover

Sulpicius Arrhenianus, who had blackmailed, among others, Bassus, the son of Pomponius, whose lieutenant he had been when Bassus was governor of Moesia. These men were banished to islands, as the emperor expressly forbade their being put to death. “We would avoid,” — he wrote — these were his very words,— “ourselves appearing to do the things for which we censure them.” — And Lucius Priscillianus [whose name was presented by the senate itself,] was as much renowned for his insulting behavior as he was for his killing of wild beasts. [He fought them at Tusculum every now and then, and contended with so many each time that he bore the scars of their bites.] Once he, unassisted, joined battle with a bear and panther, a lioness and lion at once, but far more numerous were the men, both knights and senators, whom he destroyed as a result of his slanders. [For both of these achievements] he was greatly honored by Caracalla [was enrolled among the ex-prætors and became (contrary to precedent) governor of Achæa. He incurred the violent hatred of the senate, was summoned for trial] and was confined upon an island. These men, then, came to their end as described.

[Sidenote: — 22 —] And Flaccus was entrusted also with the dispensation of food stuffs, — an office which Manilius had formerly held, — for he had secured [Footnote: Reading [Greek: eilaephos] (Reimar).] it (with the added ratification of Macrinus) as a reward of his information against him; and he was subsequently made superintendent of the distribution of dole which took place at the games given by the major prætors, save those celebrated in honor of Flora [lacuna] moreover the iuridici possessing authority in Italy had to stop rendering decisions outside the traditional limits set by Marcus. [Footnote: The text of the early part of this chapter may be characterized as “jagged.” The sentences lack clearness and the relation of the individual words is not always certain. The reader may be interested to see a translation of Hirschfeld’s interpretation of the section, taken from his book entitled *Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der Roemischen Verwaltungsgeschichte* (p-120).

a [Flaccus] — It is here a question of a high senatorial office, which can only be the *præfectura alimentorum*.

b [The iuridici] — Perhaps the person entrusted with the execution of this ruling was C. Octavius Sabinus, who had the title of *electus ad corrigendum statum Italiæ*.

c [The orphans] — Probably during the latter portion of Caracalla’s reign, as also under Commodus, the funds for food had been available either not at all or at irregular intervals, and therefore the restitution of district prefects was determined upon.

From these Food Prefects for a particular district those officials must be distinguished who bear the general title of *præfectus alimentorum* without any local limitation, and show a marked difference from the rest in that they are invariably of consular rank, whereas the position of district prefect, like that of curator of roads, was usually held by a candidate that had only passed the

prætorship. The inscriptions of these *consular* prefects begin not earlier than the end of the reign of Marcus Aurelius, perhaps not till Commodus, and extend to the time of Macrinus, while during this whole time (a period, that is, of about forty years) all trace of the district prefects vanishes. Under these circumstances the conclusion seems to me inevitable that towards the end of the second century (probably from the first years of Marcus Aurelius on) the district prefecture was abolished and the administration was centralized in Rome under a consular *præfectus alimentorum*, whose authority extended over the whole of Italy.

Now very probably it was the introduction under Marcus Aurelius of the *iuridici* which occasioned this change, even if not immediately, and that these duties of distribution, as well as other administrative functions, were placed in their hands; one thing that would seem to recommend this view particularly is that their position in general tended to make them official examiners of the affairs of the *municipia*. When, in addition, we have evidence that Macrinus in the year 217 reduced the authority of the *iuridici* to the limits originally imposed by Marcus Aurelius and that further the same emperor instituted certain rulings for the amelioration of food distribution; when, moreover, we consider in connection with this the coincidence of the disappearance of the *consular food prefects* for Italy on the one hand and the reappearance of the *pretorial district prefects* on the other, it will not appear overbold to suppose that Macrinus, in the course of the reform affecting the *iuridici*, also detached from them the right to supervise foods, restored it to the curators of roads (as in the original arrangement) and abolished the central bureau in Rome.] — A certain Domitius Florus had formerly had charge of the senate records and ought to have been next appointed ædile, but before entering upon office had been deprived of all hope on account of Plautianus; he now had recourse to sedulous office-seeking, recovered his lost standing and was appointed tribune. Anicius Faustus was sent into Asia to govern in place of Asper. The latter had at first obtained very great honor from Macrinus, who thought he could settle affairs in Asia: afterwards, when he was already *en route* and was approaching the province (Macrinus had not accorded a favorable reception to the petition forwarded to Caracalla and delivered to him, in which the inhabitants begged that Asper be not sent them as proconsul), the emperor offered him a terrible affront in rejecting him. It was reported to the prince that Asper had made some improper remarks, and moreover he affected to think that old age and disease constituted a second reason for relieving him of his duties, and therefore he delivered Asia into the keeping of Faustus, a man who had been overlooked in the order of allotment by Severus. As the time for him to govern turned out to be short, Macrinus bade him hold the office for the following year in place of Aufidius Fronto. To the latter he would entrust neither Africa (which he had drawn by lot), because the Africans begged that he be not allowed to come, nor yet Asia, though he had first transferred him thither. As a fitting recognition, however, Macrinus proposed that twenty-five

myriads be given him to stay at home. Fronto, however, would not accept that, saying that he wanted not money but a position of authority, and accordingly later he received the province from Sardanapalus.

Besides these events aid was extended to the orphans, whose hopes of support were small, from the [lacuna] age of childhood to military years. [Footnote: See note 2 c, page 58.]

[Sidenote: — 23 —] Now Julia, the mother of Tarautas, chanced to be in Antioch, and at the first information of her son's death she was so affected that she struck herself violently and undertook to starve herself to death. The presence of this very same man, whom she hated alive, became the object of her longings now that he had ceased to exist; yet not because she desired him to live, but because she was furious at having to return to private life; and this led her to abuse Macrinus also long and bitterly. Subsequently, as no change was made in her royal suite or in the guard of Pretorians attending her, and the new emperor sent her a kind message (not having yet heard what she had said), she took courage, laid aside her longing for death, and, without writing him any response, held some negotiations with the soldiers she had about her, especially [lacuna] and as they were angry with Macrinus [lacuna] as they had a pleasanter remembrance of her son, how she might attain the imperial position, rendering herself the peer of Semiramis and Nitocris, since she came in a way from the same regions as they; [Footnote: Boissevain's conjecture for the succeeding sentences (valuable, of course, only as the guess of an expert) is the following:

But when nobody would cooperate with her and letters came from Macrinus making certain announcements at which, in view of her circumstances, she felt herself depressed in spirits, she renounced her ambitions out of fear that she might be deprived of the title of Augusta and be forced to depart to her native land, and al [lacuna] drea [lacuna] wom [lacuna] ad [lacuna] eake [lacuna] and mos [lacuna] any one behol [lacuna] she decided to do just the reverse and submit lest she be forced eventually to return to Rome and be there compelled by Macrinus to remain at home for the future for appearing to be opposed to his policy. Afterwards, however, she was intending to take measures that would enable her to get away by ship, if possibility still offered, when he ordered her, etc.] as [lacuna] coöperated [lacuna] and letters [lacuna] of Macrinus [lacuna] some for which [lacuna] judgment [lacuna] fearing that she might be deprived of the title of Augusta and to [lacuna] native country be forced to return [lacuna] to fear [lacuna] go to Rome [lacuna] Macrinus [lacuna] seeming to do the opposite [lacuna] how [lacuna] might depart and he ordered her to depart from Antioch with all speed and go whithersoever she would. [And when she heard what was said in Rome about her son] she no longer cared to live. The cancer in her breast, which, for a very long time had remained stationary in its progress, had been made angry and inflamed by the blow which she struck her chest on hearing of her son's death; this helped to undermine her constitution and she made

sure of her demise by voluntary starvation.

[Sidenote: — 24 —] [And so this queen, sprung from a family of common people and raised to a high station, who had lived during her husband's reign in great unhappiness on account of Plautianus, who had beheld her younger son butchered in her own lap and had borne ill-will to her elder son while he lived, finally receiving such tidings of his assassination, withdrew from power while in the full flush of life and thereafter did herself to death. Hence a person reviewing her career could not deem infallibly happy all those who attain great authority; indeed, in no case unless some true and undefiled pleasure in life belongs to them, and unswerving, permanent good fortune. — This, then, was the fate of Julia. Her body was taken to Rome and placed in the tomb of Gaius and Lucius. Later, however, both her bones and those of Geta were transferred by her sister Mæsa to the precinct of Antoninus.

[Sidenote: — 25 —] Nor was Macrinus destined to survive for long, — a fact of which he doubtless had previous indications. A mule bore a mule in Rome and a sow had a little pig with four ears and two tongues and eight feet. A great earthquake occurred, blood flowed from a pipe, and bees formed honeycombs in the Forum Boarium. The hunting-theatre was smitten with thunderbolts on the very day of the Vulcanalia [Footnote: August twenty-third.] and such a blaze ensued that all its upper circumference and the whole circuit of construction and the ground-level were burned and thereupon the rest of it caught fire and fell in ruins. No human aid availed against the conflagration, though every possible stream of water was directed upon the blaze, nor could the downpour from the sky, which came in great amount and violence, accomplish anything. The force of both kinds of water was exhausted by the power of the thunderbolts, and to a certain extent, at least, the building only received additional injury; [Footnote: Reading [Greek: prosesineto](Bekker).] wherefore the gladiatorial spectacle was held in the stadium for many years.

This naturally seemed to foreshow what was to be. There were other fires besides and imperial possessions were burned especially often during his reign, — a thing which in itself has always been regarded as of ill omen; but the fact that it seemed to have overthrown the horse-race of Vulcan had a direct bearing upon the emperor. This accordingly gave rise to a feeling that something out of the ordinary was in process of consummation, and the idea was strengthened by the behavior on that same day of the Tiber, which rose until it invaded the Forum and the roads leading to it with such impetus as to sweep away even human beings. And a woman, as I have heard, grim and gigantic, was seen by some persons and declared that these disasters were insignificant as compared with what was destined to befall them.

[Sidenote: — 26 —] And so it proved, for the evil did not confine itself to the City alone, but took possession of the whole world under its dominion, with whose inhabitants the theatre was customarily filled. The Romans, defeated, gave up their war against the barbarians and likewise received great

detriment from the greed and factional differences of the soldiers. The progress of both these evils I am now to describe.] Macrinus, seeing that Artabanus was exceedingly angry at the way he had been treated and had invaded Mesopotamia with a large force, at first of his own accord sent him the captives and used friendly language, urging him to accept peace and laying the blame for the past upon Tarautas. But the other would not entertain his proposition and furthermore bade him build up the forts and demolished cities, abandon Mesopotamia entirely and offer satisfaction in general, but particularly for the damage to the royal tombs. [For, trusting in the large force that he had gathered and despising Macrinus as an unworthy emperor, he gave reign to his wrath and expected that even without the Roman's consent he could accomplish whatever he wished.] Macrinus had no opportunity to think it over, but, meeting the enemy already on the way to Nisibis, was defeated in a battle begun by the soldiers about water, while encamped opposite each other. And he came very near losing the rampart itself, but some armor-bearers and baggage-carriers happened along and saved it. In their confidence, they had started out ahead and made a rush upon the barbarians; and the unexpectedness of their sally was of advantage to them, making them appear to be armed soldiers and not mere helpers. But the [lacuna] both was not present then and [lacuna] the night [lacuna] the camps [lacuna] and the Romans followed on. The enemy, perceiving the noise that they made in going out, suspected [lacuna] flight, but seeing them at a glance [lacuna] the Romans barbarians [lacuna] forced by their [lacuna] and the flight of Macrinus, they became dejected and were conquered. And as a result [lacuna] from Mesopotamia especially [lacuna] they overran Syria [lacuna] he abandoned.

[Sidenote: A.D. 218 (*a.u.* 971)] This took place at the season under consideration: but in the autumn and winter, during which Macrinus and Adventus became consuls, they no longer came to blows with each other but kept up an interchange of envoys and heralds until they had reached an agreement.

[Sidenote: — 27 —] For Macrinus, through native cowardice (being a Moor he was tremendously timorous) and by reason of the soldiers' lack of discipline, did not dare to begin a war. On the contrary] he expended for the sake of peace enormous amounts, in the shape of both gifts and money, to Artabanus himself and to his assistants in the government, so that the entire outlay came to five thousand myriads. [And the emperor was not unwilling to effect a reconciliation, both for the reasons mentioned and because his soldiers were extremely restive, — a condition due to their having been away from home an unusual length of time, as well as to the scarcity of food. No supplies were to be had from stores, since there were no stores ready, nor from the country itself, because part had been devastated and part was controlled by forts. Macrinus, however, did not forward an exact account of all their proceedings to the senate and consequently triumphal sacrifices were voted

him and the name of Parthicus was bestowed. But this he would not accept, being apparently ashamed to adopt the appellation of an enemy by whom he had been defeated.

Moreover, the war that had been waged in the regions of the Armenian king subsided. Tiridates received the diadem sent him by Macrinus, and got back his mother (whom Tarautas had confined in prison eleven months), together with the booty captured from Armenia and all the territory that his father possessed in Cappadocia, with hopes of obtaining the annual payment often furnished by the Romans. And the Dacians, after damaging parts of Dacia, held their hands in spite of a desire for further conflict, and got back the hostages that Caracalla, under the name of an alliance, had taken from them. This was the course of these events.

[Sidenote: — 28 —] But a new war broke upon the heads of the Romans, and no longer a foreign but a civil strife. It was the soldiers who were responsible for the outbreak. They were somewhat irritated by their setbacks, but their behavior was owing still more to the fact that they would no longer endure any hard work if they could help it, but were thoroughly out of training in every respect and wanted to have no emperor that ruled with a firm hand but demanded that they get everything without stint, and chose to perform no task that was fitting for them. They were further angered by the cutting off of their pay and the deprivation of prizes and exemptions (these last among the privileges of the military), which they had gained from Tarautas, even though they personally were not destined to be affected by these measures. Their resolution was definitely strengthened by the delay which they had undergone in practically one and the same spot while wintering in Syria on account of the war. It should be stated that Macrinus seemed to have shown good generalship and to have acted sensibly in debarring the men in arms from no privilege, but preserving to them intact all the rights allowed by his predecessor, whereas he gave notice to such as intended to enlist anew that they would be enrolled only upon the old schedule published by Severus. He hoped that these recruits, entering the army a few at a time, would hold aloof from rebellion, at first through peaceful inclinations and fear and later through the influence of time and custom, and that by having no corrupting effect upon the rest they would quiet them.

[Sidenote: — 29 —] If this had been done after the members of the army had retired to their individual fortresses and were consequently scattered, it would have been a correct move. Perhaps some of them would not have shown indignation, believing that they would really be put at no disadvantage because temporarily they suffered no loss: and even if they had been vexed, yet, each body being few in number and subservient to the commanders sent by the senate, they could have accomplished no great harm. But, united in Syria, they suspected that they should be liable to innovations if they separated; — for the time being they could well believe they were being pampered on account of the demands of war. And again [lacuna] So the others

killed certain soldiers and ravaged portions of Mesopotamia, and these men butchered not a few of their own number and also overthrew their emperor; and, what is still worse, they set up another similar ruler, by whom nothing was done save what was evil and base. [Sidenote: — 30 —] It seems to me that this occurrence had been foreshadowed more clearly, perhaps, than any previous event. A very distinct eclipse of the sun [had taken place] about that time, [and the comet-star was seen for a considerable period. And another] luminary, whose tail extended from the west to the east, for several nights caused us terrible alarm, so that this verse of Homer's was ever on our lips:

“Rang the vast welkin with clarion calls, and Zeus heard the tumult.”

[Footnote: From Homer's *Iliad*, XXI, verse 388.]

It was brought about in the following way:

Mæsa, the sister of Julia Augusta, had two daughters, Soæmias and Mammæa, by her husband Julius, an ex-consul. She had also two male grandchildren. One was Avitus, the child of Soæmias and Varius Marcellus, a man of the same race, — he was from Apamea, — who had been occupied in procuratorships, had been enrolled in the senate, and soon after died. The other was Bassianus, the child of Mammæa and Gessius Marcianus, who was himself also a Syrian, from a city called Arca, and had been assigned to various positions as procurator. Now Mæsa at home in Emesa her life [lacuna] her sister Julia, with whom she had made her abode during the entire period of the latter's reign, having perished. For Avitus, after governing in Asia, sent by Caracalla from Mesopotamia into Cyprus, was seen to be limited to the position of adviser to some magistrate who suffered from old age and sickness; and again [lacuna] him, when [lacuna] he died, one Eutychianus, that had given satisfaction in games and exercises, and for that reason [lacuna] who [lacuna] [Sidenote: — 31 —] [lacuna] upon [lacuna] becoming aware of the strong dislike of the soldiers for Macrinus [lacuna] wall [lacuna] and partly persuaded by the Sun, whom they name Elagabalus and worship devotedly, and by some other prophecies, he undertook to overthrow Macrinus and put up Avitus, the grandson of Mæsa and a mere child, as emperor in his stead. And he accomplished both projects, although he had himself as yet not fully reached manhood and had as helpers only a few freedmen and soldiers [lacuna] and Emesenian senators [lacuna] pretending that he was a natural son of Tarautas and arraying him in clothing which the latter had worn when a child, Cæsar by the [lacunæ] introduced into the camp at night, without the knowledge of his mother or his grandmother, and at dawn on the sixteenth of May he persuaded the soldiers, who were eager to get some starting-point for an uprising, to revolt. Julianus, the prefect, learning this (for he happened to be not far distant), caused both a daughter and a son-in-law of Marcianus, together with some others, to be assassinated. Then, after collecting as many of the soldiers remaining as he could in the short time at his disposal, he made an attack upon what was, to all intents and

purposes, a most hostile fortress. [Sidenote: — 32 —] He might have taken it that very day, for the Moors sent to Tarautas according to the terms of alliance fought most valiantly for Macrinus, who was a countryman of theirs, and even broke through some of the gates. But he refused the opportunity, either because he was afraid to rush in or because he expected that he could win the men inside to surrender voluntarily. As no propositions were made to him, and they furthermore built up all the gates during the night, so that they were now in a securer position, he again assaulted the place but effected nothing. For they carried Avitus (whom they were already saluting as “Marcus Aurelius Antoninus”) all about upon the ramparts, and exhibited some likeness of Caracalla when a child as bearing some resemblance to their new ruler, declaring that the latter was truly Caracalla’s child and his proper successor in the imperial office. “Why do you do this, fellow-soldiers?” they exclaimed. “Why do you thus fight against your benefactor’s son?” By this means they corrupted all the soldiers with Julianus, especially as the troops were anxious to have a change, so that the attackers killed their commanders, save Julianus (for he effected his escape), and surrendered themselves to the False Antoninus. For when an attempt to restrain them was made by their centurions and the other subordinates, and they were, as a result, hesitating, Eutychianus sent Festus (thus — according to the cubicularius of Tarautas — was one of the Cæsarians named) [Footnote: The text is emended in accordance with a tentative suggestion of Boissevain.] and persuaded them to kill all such officers and offered as a prize to each soldier who should slay his man the victim’s property and military rank. The boy also harangued them from the wall with fictitious statements, praising his “father” and [lacuna] Macrinus, as [lacuna]

[Fourteen lines are lacking.]

* * * * *

[Sidenote: — 33 —] [lacuna] those left to be restored to their original property and status as citizens. But the most effective means by which he attached them to himself was his promise to give each and every one unlimited amounts of money, and to restore the exiles, — an act which would seem to make him out in truth a legitimate son of Tarautas [lacuna]

* * * * *

[Fourteen lines are lacking.]

[Sidenote: — 34 —] [lacuna] Marcianus [lacuna] Macrinus [lacuna] (for Marcellus was dead) he put this person to death; but, lacking courage to proceed further on his own responsibility without Macrinus, he sent for the latter. Macrinus came quickly to the Alban soldiers at Apamea and appointed his son emperor in spite of the lad’s being but ten years old, in order that with this excuse he might mollify the soldiers by various means, chief among

which should be the promise of five thousand denarii; he assigned them a thousand each on the spot and restored to the rest complete allowances of food and everything else of which they had been deprived: in this way he hoped to appease them. With this same end in view he bestowed upon the populace a dinner worth one hundred and fifty denarii a head before revealing to them anything about the uprising; for he wanted it to be thought that he was banqueting them not because of that event but to show honor to his son. And on that occasion first one of the revolted soldiers approached him carrying the head of Julianus (who had been found somewhere in hiding and slain), in many linen cloths and tied up very strongly indeed with ropes, pretending it was the head of the False Antoninus. He had sealed the package with the finger ring of Julianus. After doing that the soldier ran out when the head was uncovered. Macrinus, upon discovering what had been done, no longer dared either to stay where he was or to assault the fortification, but returned to Antioch with all speed. So the Alban legion and the rest who were wintering in that region likewise revolted. The opposing parties continued their preparations and both sides sent messengers and letters to the provinces and to the legions. As a result perturbation was caused in many places by the first communication of each side about the other and by the constant messages contradicting each other. In the course of the uncertainty numerous letter-carriers on both sides lost their lives, and numbers of those who had slain the followers of Antoninus, or had not immediately attached themselves to their cause, were censured. Some perished on this account and some merely incurred a small loss. Hence I will pass over most of this (it is all very much alike and permits of no considerable description in detail) and will give a summary of what took place in Egypt.

[Sidenote: — 35 —] The governor of that country was Basilianus, whom Macrinus had also made prefect in place of Julianus. Some interests were managed also by Marius Secundus, although he had been created senator by Macrinus and was at the head of affairs in Phoenicia. In this way both of them were dependent upon Macrinus and for that reason put to death the runners of the False Antoninus. As long, therefore, as the outcome of the business was still in dispute, they and the soldiers and the individuals were in suspense, some wishing and praying and reporting one thing and others the opposite, as always in factional disturbances. When the news of the defeat of Macrinus arrived, a riot of some magnitude followed, in which many of the populace and not a few of the soldiers were destroyed. Secundus found himself in a dilemma; and Basilianus, fearing that he should lose his life instantaneously, effected his escape from Egypt. After coming to the vicinity of Brundisium in Italy he was discovered, having been betrayed by a friend in Rome to whom he had sent a secret message asking for food. So he was later taken back to Nicomedeia and executed.

[Sidenote: — 36 —] Macrinus wrote also to the senate about the False Antoninus [as he did also to the governors everywhere], calling him “boy”

and saying that he was mad. He wrote also to Maximus, the præfectus urbi, giving him such information as one might expect, and further stating that the soldiers recently enlisted insisted upon receiving all that they were wont to have before, and that the rest, who had been deprived of nothing, made common cause with them in their anger at what was withheld. And to omit a recital, he said, of all the many means devised by Severus and his son for the ruin of rigid discipline, it was impossible for the troops to be given their entire pay in addition to the donatives which they were receiving; for the increase in their pay granted by Tarautas amounted to seven thousand myriads annually, and could not be given, partly because the soldiers and again because [lacuna] righteous [lacuna] but the recognized expenditures [lacuna] and the [lacuna] could he himself and the child as [lacuna] himself [lacuna] and he commiserated himself upon having a son, but said that he found it a solace in his disaster to think that he had outlived the fratricide who attempted to destroy the whole world. He also added to the missive something like the following: "I know that there are many who are more anxious to have emperors killed than to have them live, but this is one thing I can not say in respect to myself, that any one could either desire or pray that I should perish." At which Fulvius Diogenianus exclaimed: "We have all prayed for it!"

[Sidenote: — 37 —] The speaker was one of the ex-consuls, but not of very sound mind, and consequently he caused himself as much exasperation as he did other people. He also [lacuna] the subscription [lacuna] of letter [lacuna] and to the [lacuna] leather it had been entrusted to read [lacuna] and those [lacuna] and [lacuna] others and also [lacuna] be sent [lacuna] directly as [lacuna] hesitating [lacuna] ordering [lacuna] by the [lacuna] and both to others [lacuna] of foremost to the [lacuna] any care for the common preserver [lacuna] over [lacuna] that the False Antoninus finding in the chests of Macrinus not yet [lacuna] he himself voluntarily [lacuna] published [lacuna] calumny [lacuna] making with reference to the soldiers. And he marched so quickly against him that Macrinus could with difficulty encounter him in a village of the Antiochians one hundred and fifty stades distant from the city. There, so far as the zeal of the Pretorians went, he had him conquered (he had taken from them their breastplates scales and their grooved shields and had thus rendered them lighter for the battle): but he was beaten by his own cowardice, as Heaven had foreshown to him. For on that day when his first letter about the imperial office was read to us a pigeon had lighted upon an image of Severus (whose name he had applied to himself) that stood in the senate-chamber. [And subsequently, when the communication about his son was sent, we had convened, not at the bidding of the consuls or the prætors (for they did not happen to be present) but of the tribunes, — a practice which by this time had fallen more or less into disuse. And he had not written even his name in the preface of the letter, though he termed him Cæsar and emperor and indicated that the contents emanated from them both. Also, in the

rehearsal of events, he mentioned the name Diadumenianus, but left out that of Antoninus, though he had this title too. Such was the state of these [Sidenote: — 38 —] affairs; and, by Jupiter, when he sent word about the uprising of the False Antoninus, the consuls uttered certain formulæ against him, as is regularly done under such circumstances, and one of the prætors and another of the tribunes did the same. War was declared and solemnly proclaimed against the usurper and his cousin and their mothers and their grandmother, and immunity was granted to those that had taken part in the uprising, in case they should submit, according as Macrinus had promised them. For the conversation he had had with the soldiers was read aloud.] As a result of this, we all condemned still more strongly his abasement and folly. [For one thing] he was most constantly calling himself “father” and Diadumenianus his “son,” and he kept holding up to reproach the age of the False Antoninus, though he had designated as emperor his son, who was much younger. [Now in the battle Gannys hurriedly took possession of the narrow place in front of the village and disposed his soldiers in good order for warfare, regardless of the fact that he was most inexperienced in military matters. Of such surpassing importance is good fortune in comparison with other qualifications, that it actually bestows understanding upon the ignorant.] But his army made a very weak fight and the men would not have stood their ground, had not Mæsa and Soæmias [for they were already in the boy’s retinue] leaped down from their vehicles and, rushing among the fugitives, by their lamentations restrained them from flight, and had not the lad himself been seen by them (by some divine disposition of affairs) with drawn sword on horseback charging the enemy. Even so they would have turned their backs again, had not Macrinus fled at sight of their resistance.

[Sidenote: — 39 —] The latter, having been thus defeated on the eighth of June, sent his son in charge of Epagathus and some other attendants, to Artabanus, king of the Parthians. He himself went to Antioch, giving out that victory was his, to the end that he might be offered shelter there. Then, when the news of his defeat became noised abroad, in the midst of many consequent slaughters both along the roads and in the city, springing from somebody’s favoring the one side or the other, he made his escape. From Antioch he proceeded by night, on horseback, with his head and whole chin shaved, and attired in a dark garment worn over his purple robe in order that he might, so far as possible, resemble an ordinary citizen. In this way, with a few companions, he reached Ægæ in Cilicia, and there, by pretending to be one of the soldiers that carried messages, he got a wagon, on which he drove through Cappadocia and Galatia and Bithynia as far as the shipyard of Eribolus, which is opposite the city of Nicomedeia. It was his intention to make his way back to Rome, expecting that there he could gain some assistance from the senate and from the people. And, if he had escaped thither, he would certainly have accomplished something. For their disposition was decidedly more favorable to him, in view of the hardihood of the Syrians, the age of the False

Antoninus, and the uncontrolledness of Gannys and Comazon, so that even the soldiers would either voluntarily [Footnote: Reading [Greek: 'hechhontast'] instead of [Greek: thnhêschontast].] have changed their attitude or, refusing to do so, would have been overpowered. As it turned out, however, if any one recognized him in the course of his journey so far described, at least no one ventured to lay hands on him: but he came to grief on his voyage from Eribolus to Chalcedon. He did not dare to enter Nicomedeia [through fear of the governor of Bithynia, Cæcilius Aristo], and so he sent to one of the procurators asking for money, and in this way he became known. He was overtaken [while still] in Chalcedon and, on the arrival of those sent by the False Antoninus in order that [lacuna] now if ever [lacuna] he was arrested [by Aurelius Celsus, a centurion,] and taken to Cappadocia [like a man held in no honor]. Ascertaining there that his son had also been captured [(Claudius Pollio, the centurion of the legion, had arrested him while driving through Zeugma, where, in the course of a previous journey, he had been designated Cæsar)], he threw himself from the conveyance (for he had not been bound) and at the time suffered a fracture of his shoulder; but subsequently (though not a great deal later) being sentenced to die before entering Antioch, he was slain by Marcianus Taurus, a centurion, and his body remained unburied until the False Antoninus could come from Syria into Bithynia and gloat over it.

[Sidenote: — 40 —] So Macrinus, when an old man, — for he was fifty-four years of age [lacking three or five days], — and eminent in experience of affairs, displaying some degree of excellence and commanding so many legions, was overthrown by a mere child of whose very name he had previously been ignorant, — even as the oracle had foretold to him; [[lacuna]] for upon his applying [to Zeus Belus] it had answered him:

”Old man, verily warriors young harass and exhaust thee:

Utterly spent is thy strength, and a grievous eld comes upon thee!”

[Footnote: From Homer’s Iliad, VIII, verses 102-103.]

And fleeing [lacuna] or [lacuna], having played part of runaway slave through the provinces which he had ruled, arrested like some robber by common officers, beholding himself with villains most dishonored [lacuna] guarded before whom often many senators had been brought; and *his* death was ordered who had the authority to punish or to release any Roman whomsoever, and he was arrested and beheaded by centurions, when he had authority to put to death both them and others, inferior and superior. And his son likewise perished.

[Sidenote: — 41 —] This proves that no one, even of those whose foundations seem unshakable, is sure of his position, but the exceeding prosperous, equally with the rest, are poised in the balance.

And this man would have been lauded beyond all mankind, if he had not himself desired to become emperor, but had chosen some person enrolled in

the senate to stand at the head of the Roman empire and had appointed him emperor; and only in this way could he have avoided blame for the plot against Caracalla, for by such action he would have demonstrated that he resorted to it to secure his own safety and not on account of a desire for supremacy. Whereas, instead, he got himself into disrepute and ruined his career, becoming subject to reproach, and finally falling a victim to a disaster that he richly deserved. And having grasped at sole sovereignty before he had even the title of senator, he lost it very quickly and in the most disappointing way. He had ruled only a year and two months, lacking three days (a result obtained by reckoning to the date of the battle).

BOOK 79

Dio's Roman History 79: —

About Avitus, called also Pseudantoninus, and the slaughter that he wrought (chapters 1-7).

About his transgression of law and how he married the Vestal (chapters 8-10).

About Eleogabalus [Footnote: It will be noted that the spelling of this word in the Greek “arguments” of the MSS. differs from that in the Greek text of the same.] and how he summoned Urania to Rome and united her in bonds of wedlock with Eleogabalus (chapters 11-12).

About his licentiousness (chapters 13-16).

How he adopted his cousin and also renamed him Alexander (chapters 17, 18).

How he was overthrown and slain (chapters 19-21).

DURATION OF TIME.

The remainder of the consulship of Macrinus and Adventus, together with four additional years, in which there were the following magistrates, here enumerated. Pseudantoninus (II) and Q. Tineius Sacerdos. (A.D. 219 = a.u. 972 = Second of Eleogabalus, from June 8 th.)

Pseudantoninus (III) and M. Valerius Comazon. (A.D. 220 = a.u. 973 = Third of Elagabalus.)

C. Vettius Gratus Sabinianus and M. Flavius Vitellius Seleucus. (A.D. 221 = a.u. 974 = Fourth of Elagabalus.)

Pseudantoninus (IV) and M. Amelius Severus Alexander. (A.D. 222 = a.u. 975 = Fifth of Elagabalus to March 11 th.)

BOOK 80, BOISSEVAIN.

[Sidenote: A.D. 218 (*a.u.* 971)] [Sidenote: — 1 —] Now Avitus, alias False Antoninus, alias Assyrian or again Sardanapalus and also Tiberinus (he secured the last appellation after he had been slain and his body thrown into the Tiber) [on the very next day after the victory entered Antioch, first promising the soldiers attending him five hundred denarii apiece on condition that they should not sack the town, — a thing which they were very anxious to do. This amount he levied upon the people. And he sent to Rome such a despatch as might have been expected, speaking much evil of Macrinus, especially with reference to his low birth and his plot against Antoninus. Here is a sample of what he said: “He who was not permitted to enter even the senate-house after the proclamation debarring everybody other than senators from doing so, this man, I say, dared treacherously to murder the emperor whom he had been trusted to guard, dared to appropriate his office and to become emperor before he was senator.” About himself he made many promises, not only to the soldiers but also to the senate and the people. He asserted that he should do everything without exception to emulate Augustus (to whose youth he likened his own) and also Marcus Antoninus. Yes, and he wrote also the following, alluding to the derogatory remarks made about him by Macrinus: “He undertook to censure my age, when he himself appointed a five-year old son.”

[Sidenote: — 2 —] Besides forwarding this communication to the senate, he sent to the senate the records discovered among the soldiers and the letters of Macrinus written, to Maximus, and sent them likewise to the legions, hoping that these would cause them to hold the preceding emperor’s memory in greater detestation, and to feel greater affection for him. In both the despatch to the senate and the letter to the people he subscribed himself as emperor and Cæsar, son of Antoninus, grandson of Severus, Pius, Felix, Augustus, proconsul, and holder of the tribunician power, assuming these titles before they were voted,[lacuna] the [lacuna] not the [lacuna] but the [lacuna] of [lacuna] used [Footnote: Illegible MS. — Boissevain conjectures: “And he used not the name of Avitus, but that of his father.”] [lacuna] the records of the soldiers [lacuna] for of Macrinus [lacuna] Cæsar [lacuna] Pretorians and Alban legionaries who were in Italy [lacuna] and as consul should proclaim [Footnote: “He sent another letter to the Pretorians and to the Alban legionaries who were in Italy, in which he stated incidentally that he was consul and high-priest.” (Boissevain’s conjecture.)] [lacuna] and the [lacuna] Marius Censorinus [lacuna] superintendence [lacuna] accepted [lacuna] Macrinus [lacuna] himself since not sufficiently by his own voice [lacuna] public [lacuna] read [lacuna] the letters of Sardanapalus [lacuna] registered among the ex-consuls and gave him injunctions that if any one should resist him he should use the band of soldiers. As a consequence,

though against its will, it read everything to those [lacuna] [Footnote: "Most of it Marius Censorinus, who was their commandant, read aloud, but the news about Macrinus he suppressed, because he thought that his single voice could not give it sufficient publicity; at the same time, however, he took it upon himself to have the letter of Sardanapalus read to the senate through the medium of Claudius Pollio, who had been enrolled among the ex-consuls; thus, if any opposition should develop, he would be in a position to use the band of soldiers. As a consequence the senate, though against its will, read everything to those enlisted." (Boissevain's conjecture.)]

For, by reason of the necessity thrust upon them, they were not able to do anything that they should or had better have done [lacuna] but were panic-stricken by fear [lacuna] and Macrinus, whom they had often commended, they voted should be regarded as a public enemy and they abused him, together with his son; and Tarautas, whom they had often wished to declare an enemy, they now exalted and of course prayed that his son might be like him.

[Sidenote: — 3 —] This was in Rome. And Avitus assigned [lacuna] Pollio to govern [lacuna] Germany [lacuna] since the latter had very rapidly reduced Bithynia to subjection. He himself, after sojourning some months in Antioch until he had established his authority there in every direction, went into Bithynia, coadjutor [lacuna] often [lacuna] making Gannys, as had been his custom in the case of Antioch.

Having passed the winter here he proceeded into Italy through Thrace and Moesia and both the Pannonias, and there he abode to the end of his life. One action of his was worthy of a thoroughly good emperor: for, whereas many individuals and communities alike,

including the Romans themselves, both knights and senators,

had privately and publicly, by word and deed, heaped insults upon [both Caracalla and] himself as a result of the letters of Macrinus, he [neither threatened to make reprisals] in the case of a single person, nor did he make reprisals. But on the other hand he drifted into all the most obscene and lawless and bloodthirsty practices. [Some of them never before known in Rome, took root and grew like ancestral institutions. Others, taken up tentatively from one time [Footnote: Reading [Greek: allotē] (Bekker, Dindorf) in place of [Greek: alla tē].] to another by various individuals] flourished for the three years and nine months and four days during which he ruled (to compute from the battle in which he gained supreme control). [In Syria, he caused the assassination of Nestor and Fabius Agrippinus, the governor of the country, as well as of the foremost knights belonging to the party of Macrinus; but he inflicted a similar fate upon men in Rome who were on most friendly terms with him. In Arabia, he executed Pica Cæsianus, [Footnote: *P. Numicius Pica Cæsianus*.] entrusted with the administration, because he had not immediately declared his allegiance; and, in Cyprus, Claudius Attalus, because he had fallen out with Comazon. Attalus had once been governor of Thrace, had been expelled from the senate by Severus in the

war with Niger, but was restored to it by Tarautas, and had at this time been assigned to Cyprus, as the lot directed. He had incurred Comazon's ill-will by having formerly reduced him to the position of rower in a trireme as a punishment for some villany which the latter committed while serving in Thrace.]

[Sidenote: — 4 —] This incident sheds some light on the character of Comazon, who got this name from mimes and buffoonery. [Footnote: This statement is an error on the part of Xiphilinus, who thought that "Comazon" (in Greek=The Reveler) was a nickname for a certain Eutychianus. Investigations, however, show that there was a M. Valerius Comazon prominent at this time and that the word should be taken as a proper and not as a vulgar noun.] He commanded the Pretorians and, though holding no position of management or superintendence whatever, except over the camp, [he obtained the consular honors] and subsequently actually became consul. [Also he became city prefect] not merely once, but twice and thrice, as could be recorded in no other case. Wherefore this, too, must be enumerated among the most illegal proceedings. [It was on his account, then, that Attalus was put to death.

Triccianus came to his end on account of the Alban legion, which he commanded with good discipline during Macrinus's reign, and Castinus [Footnote: *C. Iulius Septimius Castinus*.] because he was energetic and was known to many soldiers in consequence of the commands he had held and his association with Antoninus. He had accordingly been sent out in advance by Macrinus without reference to other events and was living in Bithynia. The emperor put him to death in spite of having written concerning him to the senate that Triccianus had been banished from Rome, like Julius Asper, by Macrinus, and that he had restored him. He took similar vengeance on Sulla, who had been governing Cappadocia but had relinquished it, because Sulla both meddled in some matters that did not concern him and when summoned to Rome by Elagabalus had managed to meet the Celtic soldiers returning home after their winter in Bithynia, a period during which they had raised some little disturbance. These men perished for the reasons specified and no statements about them were communicated to the senate. Seius Carus, the descendant of Fuscianus, who had been city prefect, was killed because he was rich, great, and sensible, on the pretext that he was forming a league of some of the soldiers belonging to the Alban legion; and, on the basis of some charges preferred by the emperor alone, he was accused in the palace, where he was also slain.] Valerianus Pætus lost his life because he had stamped some likeness of himself upon gold pieces to serve as ornaments for his mistresses. [This led to the accusation that he intended to remove to Cappadocia, a country bordering on his own (he was a Gaul), for the purpose of starting a revolution, and that this was why he made gold pieces bearing his own figure.

[Sidenote: — 5 —] On these charges] Silius Messala and Pomponius

Bassus [also were condemned to death by the senate: they] incurred blame because they were not pleased with what he was doing. He did not hesitate to write this statement about them to the senate, and called them investigators of his habits of life and censors of proceedings in the palace. [“The proofs of their plot I have not sent you,” he said, “because it would be useless to read them, in view of the fact that the men are already dead.”] There was another cause of dislike underlying [the case against Messala, — the point, namely, that he sturdily made public many facts in the senate. This was what led the emperor at the outset to send for him to come to Syria, pretending to have very great need of him, whereas his real fear was that Messala might bring about a change of attitude on the part of the senators.

The cause in] the case of Bassus was that he had a wife both fair to look upon and of noble rank; she was a descendant of Claudius Severus and of Marcus Antoninus. Indeed, the prince married her, not allowing her even to mourn the catastrophe. Now of his marriages, in which he both married and was bestowed in marriage, an account will be given presently. He appeared both as man and as woman, and performed the functions of both in the most licentious fashion [lacuna] about [lacuna] and [lacuna] by whom [lacuna] own [lacuna] Sergius [lacuna] and [lacuna] out of [lacuna] any [lacuna] making [lacuna] him [lacuna] blame for [lacuna] slaughter the [Sidenote: — 6 —] [lacuna] and of knights [lacuna] Cæsarians [lacuna] [lacuna] were destroyed [lacuna] nothing [lacuna] but by killing in Nicomedeia at the very start of his reign Gannys, who had arranged the uprising, who had introduced him into the camp and had likewise caused [the soldiers to revolt, who had presented him with the victory over Macrinus, one who had reared and managed him, — by this act he came to be regarded as the most impious of men. To be sure, Gannys was living rather luxuriously and was fond of accepting bribes, but for all that he brought no injury upon anybody and bestowed many benefits upon many people. Most of all, he always showed a deep respect for the emperor, and he was thoroughly satisfactory to Mæsa and Soæmias, suiting the former because she had brought him up and the latter because he practically lived with her. But these were not the reasons why the emperor put him out of the way, seeing that he was willing to give him a marriage contract and appoint him Cæsar. It was rather that Gannys compelled him to live temperately and prudently. And his own hand was the first to give his minister a mortal blow, since no one of the soldiers had the hardihood to take the initiative in his murder. — These events, then, took place in this way.

[Sidenote: — 7 —] [lacuna] Another pair executed were Verus, who had likewise mustered courage to make an attempt upon the sovereignty while in the midst of the third (Gallic) legion, which he was commanding; and Gellius Maximus, on the same sort of charge, though he was lieutenant in Syria proper and at the head of the fourth (Scythian) legion. For to such an extent had everything got upside down, that these men, too, one of whom had been enrolled in the senate from the ranks of the centurions and the other of whom

was the son of a physician, took it into their heads to aim at the imperial office. I have mentioned them alone by name, not so much because they were the only ones who appeared entirely insane as because they belonged to the senate; for other attempts were made. A certain centurion's son undertook to throw into disorder the same Gallic legion, and another, a worker in wool, tampered with the Fourth, and a third, a private citizen, with the fleet in harbor at Cyzicus when the False Antoninus was wintering at Nicomedeia. And there were many others elsewhere, so that it became a very ordinary thing for those who so wished to hazard the chance of fomenting rebellion and becoming emperor. They were encouraged partly by the fact that many persons had entered upon the supreme office without expecting or deserving it. Let no one be incredulous of my statements, for the facts about the private citizens I ascertained from men who are worthy of confidence, and of what I have written about the fleet I gained an exact knowledge in Pergamum, close at hand, the affairs of which, as also of Smyrna, I managed, having been assigned to duty there by Macrinus. And in view of this attempt none of the others seemed at all incredible to me.

[Sidenote: — 8 —] This is what he did in the way of murders. His acts which varied from our ancestral precedents, however, were of simple character and inflicted no great harm upon us. Some noteworthy innovations were his applying to himself certain titles connected with his sovereignty before they had been voted, as I have already described, [Footnote: See Chapter 2.] and again his enrolling himself in the consulship in place of Macrinus when he had not been elected to it and did not enter upon any of its duties (the time expiring too soon): yet at first, in three letters, he had referred to the year by the name of *Adventus*, as if assuming that the latter had been sole consul. Other points were that he undertook to be consul a second time, without having secured any office previously or the privileges of any office, and that while consul in Nicomedeia he did not employ the triumphal costume on the Day of Vows. [Footnote: Translated by Sturz "*votivorum ludorum die*." What festival is meant is uncertain, but it is probably *not* the Compitalia (III. Non. Ian.).] [Sidenote: — 11 —] With his infractions of law is connected also the matter of Elagabalus. The offence consisted, not in his introducing a foreign god into Rome, or in his exalting him in very strange ways, but in his placing him before even Jupiter and having himself voted his priest, in his circumcising his foreskin and abstaining from swine's flesh [on the ground that his devotion would be purer by this means. He had thought of cutting off his genitals altogether, but that was an idea prompted by salaciousness; the circumcision which he actually accomplished was a part of the priestly requirements of Elagabalus. Hence he mutilated in like manner numerous of his associates.] A further offence was his being frequently seen in public clad in the barbaric dress which the Syrian priests employ, a circumstance which had more to do than anything else with his getting the name of "The Assyrian."

[Sidenote: — 12 —] A golden statue of False Antoninus was erected, distinguished by its great and varied adornment.

Macrinus, though he found considerable money in the treasury, squandered it all, and incomes did not suffice for expenditures.

[Sidenote: A.D. 219 (*a.u.* 972)] [Sidenote: — 9 —] As to his marriage. He espoused Cornelia Paula in order that he might sooner (these are his words) become a father, — he, who could not even be a man. On the occasion of his marriage not only the senate and the equestrian order but also the wives of the senators received some distribution of presents. The people were given a banquet at the per capita rate of one hundred and fifty denarii, and the soldiers had one that cost a hundred more. There were contests of gladiators at which the prince wore a purple-bordered toga, the same as he had done at the *ludi votivi*. Various beasts were slain, among them an elephant and fifty-one tigers, a greater number than had ever yet been despatched at one time. Afterwards he dismissed Paula on the pretext that she had some blemish on her person and cohabited with Aquilia Severa, — a most flagrant breach of law. She was consecrated to Vesta and yet he most sinfully ravished her and actually dared to say: “I did it in order that godlike children may spring from me, the high-priest, and from her, the high-priestess.” He felicitated himself on an act which was destined to lead to his being maltreated in the Forum and thrown into prison and subsequently put to death. However, he did not keep even this woman for long, but married a second, and then a third, and still another; after that he went back to Severa.

[Sidenote: — 10 —] Portents had been taking place in Rome, one of them on the statue of Isis, which is borne upon a dog above the pediment of her temple: it consisted in her turning her face towards the interior. — Sardanapalus was conducting games and numerous spectacles, in which Helix, the athlete, won renown. How far he surpassed his adversaries is shown by his wishing to contend in both wrestling and pancratium at Olympia, and by his winning victories in both at the Capitolina. The Eleans, being jealous of him, and through fear that he might prove the eighth from Hercules (as the saying is), [Footnote: The history and significance of this proverb are not known.] would not call any wrestler into the stadium, in spite of their having inscribed this contest on the bulletin-board. But in Rome he won each of the two games, — a feat that no one else had accomplished.

[Sidenote: — 11 —] And here I must omit mention of the barbaric chants which Sardanapalus chanted to Elagabalus, and his mother and grandmother, all three, as also of the secret sacrifices that he offered to him: at these he slaughtered boys, and used charms, besides shutting up in the god’s temple a live lion and monkey and snake, throwing in among them human genitals, and practicing other unholy rites, while he wore invariably innumerable amulets. [Sidenote: — 12 —] But to run briefly over these matters, he actually (most ridiculous of all) courted a wife for Elagabalus, on the assumption that the god wanted marriage and children. Such a wife might be neither poor nor low-

born, and so he chose the Carthaginian Urania, summoned her to come thence, and established her in the palace. He gathered wedding gifts for her from all his subjects, as he might have done in the case of his own wives. All these presents that were given during his lifetime were exacted later, but in the way of dowry he declared that nothing should be brought save the gold lions, which were melted down.

[Sidenote: — 13 —] But this Sardanapalus, who thought it right to make the gods cohabit under the form of marriage, himself lived from first to last most licitiously. [He married many women] and had liaisons with many more [without any lawful title], yet it was not that he cared about them; he simply wanted to imitate their actions when he should lie with his lovers [and get accomplices in his excesses by returning to them indiscriminately]. He used his body for doing and allowing many unheard of things which no one would endure telling or hearing, but his most conspicuous acts, which it would be impossible to conceal, were the following. He would go by night, wearing a wig of long hair, into the taverns and ply the trade of a female huckster. He frequented the notorious brothels, drove out the prostitutes, and prostituted himself. Finally, he set aside a room in the palace and there committed his indecencies, standing all the time naked at the door of it, as the harlots do, and shaking the curtain, which was fastened by gold rings, the while in a soft and melting voice he solicited the passers-by. Certain persons had been given special orders to let themselves be attracted to his abode. For, as in other matters, so in this business, too, he had numerous detectives through whom he sought out the persons who could please him most by their foulness. He would collect money from his Patrons and put on airs over his gains: he would also dispute with his associates in this shameful occupation, saying that he had more lovers than they and took in more money. [Sidenote: — 14 —] This is the way he behaved to all alike that enjoyed his services. But he had, besides, one chosen man whom he accordingly desired to appoint Cæsar.

Also, arrayed in the Green uniform, he drove a chariot privately and at home, — if one can call that place home where contests were conducted by the foremost of his suite [and knights and Cæsarians], the very prefects, his grandmother, his mother, his women, and likewise several members of the senate, including Leo, the præfectus urbi, and where they watched him playing charioteer and begging gold coin like any vagabond, and bowing down before the managers of the games and the members of the factions.

[Now in trying anybody in court he really did have the appearance of a man, but everywhere else his actions and the quality of his voice showed the wantonness of youth. For instance, he used to dance not only in the orchestra but more or less also while walking, performing sacrifice, greeting friends or making speeches.

And finally (to go back now to the story which I began) he was bestowed in marriage and was termed wife, mistress, queen. He worked in wool,

sometimes wore a hair-net, painted his eyes [daubing them with white lead and alkanet], and once he shaved his chin and celebrated a festival to mark the event. After that he went with smooth face, because it would help him appear like a woman, and he often reclined while greeting the senators. [Sidenote: — 15 —] “Her” husband was Hierocles, a Carian slave [once the favorite of Gordius], from whom he had learned chariot-driving. It was in this connection, also, that by a most unexpected chance he won the imperial approbation. At a horse-race Heirotles fell out of his chariot just opposite the seat of Sardanapalus, losing his helmet in his fall. Being still beardless and adorned with a crown of yellow hair, he attracted the attention of the prince and was at once carried hastily to the palace; and by his nocturnal feats he captivated Sardanapalus more than ever and rose to still greater power. Consequently his influence became even greater than his patron’s and it was thought a small thing that his mother, while still a slave, should be brought to Rome by soldiers and be numbered among the wives of ex-consuls. Certain other persons, too, were not seldom honored by the emperor and became powerful, some because they had joined in his uprising and others because they committed adultery with him. For he was anxious to have the reputation of committing adultery, that in this respect, too, he might imitate the most lascivious women; and he would often get caught voluntarily and in the very act. Then, for his conduct, he would be brutally abused by his husband and would be beaten, so that he had black eyes. His affection for this “husband” was no light inclination, but a serious matter and a firmly fixed passion, so much so that he did not become vexed at any such harsh treatment, but on the contrary loved him the more for it and actually wished to appoint him Cæsar; — he threatened his grandmother when she interfered, and chiefly on this man’s account he became at odds with the soldiers. It was this that was destined to lead his destruction.

[Sidenote: — 16 —] As for Aurelius Zoticus, a native of Smyrna, whom they also called “Cook” (from his father’s trade), he incurred the sovereign’s thorough love and thorough hatred, and consequently his life was saved. This Aurelius had a body that was beautiful all over, as if ready for a gymnastic contest, and he surpassed everybody in the size of his private parts. The fact was reported to the emperor by those who were on the lookout for such features and the man was suddenly snatched away from the games and taken to Rome, accompanied by an immense procession, larger than Abgarus had in the reign of Severus or Tiridates in that of Nero. He was appointed cubicularius before he had been even seen by the emperor, [was honored by the name of his grandfather, Avitus, was adorned with garlands as at a festival,] and entered the palace the center of a great glare of lights. Sardanapalus, on seeing him, rose with modesty; the newcomer addressed him, as was usual, “My Lord Emperor, hail!” whereupon the other, bending his neck so as to assume a ravishing feminine pose, and turning his eyes wide open upon him, answered without hesitation: “Call me Not Lord, for I am a

Lady.” Then Sardanapalus immediately took a bath with him, and, finding his guest when stripped to correspond to the report of him, burned with even greater lust, reposed upon his breast, and took dinner, like some loved mistress, in his bosom. Hierocles began to fear that Zoticus would bring the emperor into a greater state of subjection than he himself was able to effect, and that he might suffer some terrible fate at his hands, as often happens in the case of rival lovers. Therefore he had the wine-bearers, who were well-disposed to him, administer some drug that abated the visitor’s ferocity. And so Zoticus after a whole night of embarrassment, being unable to secure an erection, was deprived of all that he had obtained, and was driven out of the palace, out of Rome, and later out of the remainder of Italy; and this saved his life. [However, the emperor drove himself to such a frenzy of lewdness that he asked the physicians to contrive a woman’s vagina in his person by means of an incision, and held out to them the hope of great pay for this achievement.]

[Sidenote: — 17 —] Sardanapalus himself was destined not much later to receive his well-deserved pay for his own defilement. For his acting in this way and for making himself the object of these actions he became hated by the populace and by the soldiers to whom he was most attached, and at last he was slain by them in the very camp.

The False Antoninus was despised and put out of the way by the soldiers. When any persons, particularly if armed, have accustomed themselves to feel contempt for their rulers, they set no limits on their right to do what they please but keep their arms ready to use even against the very man who gave them whatever rights they possess.

[Sidenote: A.D. 221 (*a.u.* 974)] This is how it happened. He introduced his cousin Bassianus before the senate, and, having stationed Mæsa and Soæmias on either hand, adopted him as his child. Then did he congratulate himself on being suddenly the father of so large a child (as if he surpassed him in age) and declared that he needed no other offspring to keep his house free from despondency.

Elagabalus, he said, had ordered him to do this and further to call his son’s name Alexander. And I for my part am persuaded that it came about in very truth by some divine intention, and I base my inference not upon what he said but upon what was said to him by some one, viz., that an Alexander would come from Emesa to succeed him, and again on what took place in upper Moesia and in Thrace. [Sidenote: — 18 —] A little before this a spirit, declaring that he was the famous Alexander of Macedon, wearing his appearance and all his apparatus, started from the regions near the Ister, appearing there in I know not what way. It traversed Thrace and Asia, reveling in company with four hundred male attendants, who were equipped with thyrsi and fawn-skins and did no harm. The fact was admitted by all those who lived in Thrace at that time that lodgings and all the provisions for It were provided at public expense. And no one dared to oppose It either by

word or by deed, — no governor, no soldier, no procurator, no heads of provinces, — but It proceeded, as if in a daylight procession prescribed by proclamation, to the confines of Bithynia. Leaving that point, it approached the Chalcedonian land and there, after performing some sacred rite by night and burying a wooden horse, it vanished. These facts I ascertained while still in Asia, as I stated, and before anything at all had been done about Bassianus in Rome.

One day the same man said this: “I have no need of titles derived, from war and blood. It suffices me to have you call me ‘Pious’ and ‘Fortunate’.”

The False Antoninus on receiving praise from the senate one day remarked: “Yes, you love me and, by Jupiter, so does the populace and likewise the foreign legions. But I do not satisfy the Pretorians, to whom I keep giving so much.”

[Sidenote: A.D. 222 (*a.u.* 975)] [Sidenote: — 19 —] So long as Sardanapalus continued to love his cousin, he was safe. But, since he was suspicious of all men, and learned that their favor was turning solely and absolutely to the boy, he dared to change his mind and worked in every way to effect his overthrow.

Some persons were conversing with the False Antoninus and remarked how fortunate he was to be consul along with his son. He rejoined: “I shall be more fortunate next year, for then I’m going to be consul with my truly-begotten son.”

The moment, though, that he tried to destroy him, he not only accomplished nothing but ran the risk of being killed himself. Alexander was sedulously guarded by his mother and his grandmother and the soldiers, and the Pretorians, on becoming aware of the attempt of Sardanapalus, raised a terrible tumult. They would not cease their rebellious attitude until Sardanapalus, with Alexander, visited the camp; and he poured out his supplications and under compulsion gave up such of his companions in lewdness as the soldiers demanded. In behalf of Hierocles he pled piteously and lamented him with tears, foretelling his own death, and adding: “Grant me this one man, whatever you are pleased to suspect about him, or else kill me!” and thus with difficulty he succeeded in appeasing them. On this occasion, then, he was saved, though with difficulty. His grandmother hated him for his practices (which seemed to show that he was not the son of Antoninus) and was coming to favor Alexander, as being really sprung from him.

[Sidenote: — 20 —] Later he again made a plot against Alexander and, as the Pretorians raised an outcry at this, entered the camp with him. Then, he became aware that he was under guard and awaiting execution, for the mothers of the two, being more openly at variance with each other than before, were stirring up the soldiers to action. He then made an attempt to flee, and intended to escape to some point by being placed in a box, but was discovered and slain, having reached eighteen years of age. His mother, who embraced and clung tightly to him, perished with him; their heads were cut off

and their bodies, after being stripped naked, were first dragged all over the city, and then the woman's trunk was cast off in some corner, while his was thrown into the river.

[Sidenote: — 21 —] With him perished Hierocles, and others, and the prefects; and Aurelius Eubulus, who was an Emesene by race [and had gone so far in lewdness and defilement that his surrender had earlier been demanded by the populace]. He had been entrusted with the general accounts [Footnote: One of the *rationales summarum*.] and there was nothing that escaped his confiscations. So now he was torn to pieces by the populace and the soldiers, and Fulvius, the city prefect, with him. Comazon succeeded the latter, as he had succeeded Fulvius's predecessor. Just as a mask used to be carried into the theatres to occupy the stage during the intervals in the acting, when it was left vacant by the comedians, so was Comazon put in the vacant place of the men who had been prefects in his day over the city of Rome. — As for Elagabalus, [Footnote: Elagabalus, the god.] he was banished from Rome altogether.

Such was the story of Tiberinus: and none of those even who helped him arrange the uprising and attained great power in return, save perhaps a single individual, [Footnote: This probably refers to Comazon.] survived.

BOOK 80

Why Dio was not able to relate in detail the history of the reign of Alexander (chapter 1).

About Ulpian, Pretorian Prefect, and his death (chapter 2).

Undertakings of Artaxerxes the Persian against the Parthians and Romans (chapters 3, 4).

Dio's second consulship, his return to his own country, and conclusion of the History (chapter 5).

DURATION OF TIME.

Duration of time eight years, in which the following are enumerated as consuls.

Antoninus Elagabalus (IV), M. Aurelius Severus Alexander Coss. (A.D. 222 = a.u. 975 = First of Alexander, from March 11 th.)

L. Marius Maximus (II), L. Roscius Ælianus. (A.D. 223 = a.u. 976 = Second of Alexander.)

Iulianus (II), Crispinus. (A.D. 224 = a.u. 977 = Third of Alexander.)

Fuscus (II), Dexter. (A.D. 225 = a.u. 978 = Fourth of Alexander.)

Alexander Aug. (II), C. Marcellus Quintilianus (II). (A.D. 226 = a.u. 979 = Fifth of Alexander.)

Lucius Albinus, Max. Æmilius Æmilianus. (A.D. 227 = a.u. 980 = Sixth of Alexander.)

T. Manilius Modestus, Ser. Calpurnius Probus. (A.D. 228 = a.u. 981 = Seventh of Alexander.)

Alexander Aug. (III), Cassius Dio (II). (A.D. 229 = a.u. 982 = Eighth of Alexander.)

[Sidenote: A.D. 222-229 (*a.u.* 975-982)] [Sidenote: — 1 —] Alexander became emperor immediately after him [and at once proclaimed Augusta, his own mother, Mammæa, who had in hand the administration of affairs and gathered wise men about her son, that by their guidance he might be duly trained in morals; and she chose out of the senate the better class of counselors, to whom she communicated everything that had to be done]. He entrusted to one Domitius Ulpianus the command of the Pretorians and the remaining business of the empire. — These matters I have set down in detail, so far as I was able, in each case, but of the rest I have not found it feasible to give a detailed account, for the reason that for a long time I did not sojourn in

Rome. After going from Asia to Bithynia I fell sick, and from there I hurried to my duties as head of Africa. On returning to Italy I was almost immediately sent to govern in Dalmatia and from there into Upper Pannonia. After that I came back to Rome and on reaching Campania at once set out for home.

[Sidenote: — 2 —] For these reasons, then, I have not been able to compile an account of what follows similar to that which precedes. I will narrate briefly, however, all the things that were done up to the time of my second consulship.

Ulpianus corrected many of the irregular practices instituted by Sardanapalus; but, after putting to death Flavianus and Chrestus, that he might succeed them, he was himself before long slain by the Pretorians, who attacked him in the night; and it availed nothing that ran to the palace and took refuge with the emperor himself and the latter's mother. — Even during his lifetime a great dispute had arisen between the populace and the Pretorians, from some small cause, with the result that they fought each other for three days, and many were lost by both sides. The soldiers, on getting the worst of it, directed their efforts to firing the buildings, and so the populace, fearing that the whole city would be destroyed, reluctantly came to terms with them. Besides these occurrences, Epagathus, who was believed to have been chiefly [Footnote: Reading [Greek: to pleon] (Reimar, Bekker, BOISSEVAIN.) responsible for the death of Ulpianus, was sent into Egypt, supposedly to govern it, but really to prevent any disturbance taking place in Rome when he met with punishment. From there he was taken to Crete and executed. [Alexander's mother, being a slave to money, gathered funds from all sources. She also brought home for her son a spouse, whom she would not allow to be addressed as Augusta. After a time, however, she separated her from her son and drove her away to Libya, in spite of the woman's possessing his affections. Alexander, however, could not oppose his mother, for she ruled him absolutely.]

[Sidenote: — 3 —] Many uprisings were made by many persons, some of which caused serious alarm, but they were all checked. But affairs in Mesopotamia were still more terrifying, and provoked in the hearts of all, not merely the men of Rome but the rest of mankind, a fear that had a truer foundation. Artaxerxes, a Persian, having conquered the Parthians in three battles and killed their king, Artabanus, [made a campaign against Hatra, which he endeavored to take as a base for attacking the Romans. He did make a breach in the wall but, as he lost a number of soldiers through an ambuscade, he transferred his position into Media. Of this district, as also of Parthia, he acquired no small portion, partly by force and partly by intimidation, and then] marched against Armenia. Here he suffered a reverse at the hands of the natives, some Medes, and the children of Artabanus, and either fled (as some say) or (as others assert) retired to prepare a larger expedition. [Sidenote: — 4 —] He accordingly became a source of fear to us; for he was encamped with a large army over against not Mesopotamia only

but Syria also and boasted that he would win back everything that the ancient Persians had once held, as far as the Grecian Sea. It was, he said, his rightful inheritance from his forefathers. He was of no particular account himself, but our military affairs are in such a condition that some joined his cause and others refused to defend themselves. The troops are so distinguished by wantonness, and arrogance, and freedom from reproof, that those in Mesopotamia dared to kill their commander, Flavius Heracleo, and the Pretorians found fault with me before Ulpianus because I ruled the soldiers in Pannonia with a strong hand; and they demanded my surrender, through fear that some one might compel them to submit to a régime similar to that of the Pannonian troops.

[Sidenote: — 5 —] Alexander, however, paid no attention to them, but promoted me in various ways, appointing me to be consul for the second time, as his colleague, and taking upon himself personally the responsibility of meeting the expenditures of my office. As the malcontents evinced displeasure at this, he became afraid that they might kill me if they saw me in the insignia of my office, and he bade me spend the period of my consulship in Italy, somewhere outside of Rome. Later, accordingly, I came both to Rome and to Campania to visit him. After spending a few days in his company, during which the soldiers saw me without offering to do me any harm, I started for home, being released on account of the trouble with my feet. Consequently, I expect to spend all the remainder of my life in my own country, as the Divine Presence revealed to me most clearly at the time I was in Bithynia. Once, in a dream there, I thought I saw myself commanded by it to write at the close of my work the following verses:

”Hector was led of Zeus far out of the range of the missiles,
Out of the dust and the slaying of men, out of blood and of uproar.”

[Footnote: From Homer’s Iliad, XI, verses 163-4.]

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PRESERVED FROM BOOKS
PRECEDING No. 36.

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(The “Fragments” of Dio.)

[Frag. I]

1. Dio says: “I am anxious to write a history of all (that is worth remembering) done by the Romans both at peace and in war, so as to have nothing essential lacking, either of those matters or of others. (Valesius, .)

2[lacuna] everything about them, so to speak, that has been written by any persons, and I have put in my history not everything but what I have selected.

However, let no one entertain any suspicions (as has happened in the case of some other writers), regarding the truth of it merely because I have used elaborate diction to whatever extent the subject matter permitted; for I have been anxious to be equally perfect in both respects so far as was possible. I will begin at the point where I have obtained the clearest accounts of what is reported to have taken place in this land which we inhabit.

This territory in which the city of Rome has been built” [Lacuna]
(Mai, .)

[Frag. II]

1. Ausonia, as Dio Cocceianus writes, is properly the land of the Aurunci only, lying between the Campanians and Volsci along the sea-coast. Many persons, however, thought that Ausonia extended even as far as Latium, so that all of Italy was called from it Ausonia. (Isaac Tzetzes on Lycophron, 44. and 615, 702.)

2. Where now Chone is there was formerly a district called Oenotria, in which Philoctetes settled after the sack of Troy as Dionysius and Dio Cocceianus and all those who write the story of Rome relate. (Idem, v. 912.)

3. About the Etruscans Dio says: “These facts about them required to be written at this point in the narrative, and elsewhere something else and later some still different fact will be told as occasion demands, in whatever way the course of the history may chance to prepare the point temporarily under discussion. Let this same explanation be sufficient [Footnote: The MS. here has [Greek: ekontes] = “being (plural) sufficient.” I have adopted the reading [Greek: eketo], suggested by Melber.] to cover also the remaining matters of importance. For I shall recount to the best of my ability all the exploits of the Romans, but as to the rest only what has a bearing on the Romans will be written.” (Mai, .)

[Frag. III]

1. Dio and Dionysius give the story of Cacus (Tzetzes, History, 5, 21).

2. In this way the country was called Italy. Picus was the first king of it, and after him his son Faunus, when Heracles came there with the rest of the kine of Geryon. And he begat Latinus by the wife of Faunus, who was king of the people there, and from him all were called Latins. In the fifty-fifth year after Heracles this Æneas, subsequent to the capture of Troy, came, as we have remarked, to Italy and the Latins. He landed near Laurentum, called also Troy, near the River Numicius along with his own son by Creusa, Ascanius or Ilus. There his followers ate their tables, which were of parsley or of the harder portions of bread loaves (they had no real tables), and likewise a white sow leaped from his boat and running to the Alban mount, named from her, gave birth to a litter of thirty, by which she indicated that in the thirtieth year his children should get fuller possession of both land and sovereignty. As he had heard of this beforehand from an oracle he ceased his wanderings, sacrificed the sow, and prepared to found a city. Latinus would not put up

with him, but being defeated in war gave Æneas his daughter Lavinia in marriage. Æneas then founded a city and called it Lavinium. When Latinus and Thurnus, king of the Rutuli, perished in war each at the other's hands, Æneas became king. After Æneas had been killed in war at Laurentum by the same Rutuli and Mezentius the Etruscan, and Lavinia the wife of Æneas was pregnant (of Silvius [Footnote: Reimar thinks this word a later interpolation.]), Ascanius the child of Creusa was king. He finally conquered Mezentius, who had opposed him in war and had refused to receive his embassies but sought to command all the dependents of Latinus for an annual tribute. When the Latins had grown strong because of the arrival of the thirtieth year, they scorned Lavinium and founded a second city named from the sow Alba Longa, i. e. "long white," — and likewise called the mountain there Albanus. Only, the images from Troy turned back a second time to Lavinium.

After the death of Ascanius it was not Ascanius's son Iulus who became king, but Æneas's son by Lavinia, Silvius, — or, according to some Ascanius's son Silvius. Silvius again begat another Æneas, and he Latinus, and he Capys. Capys had a child Tiberinus, whose son was Amulius, whose son was Aventinus.

So far regarding Alba and Albanians. The story of Rome follows. Aventinus begat Numitor and Amulius. Numitor while king was driven out by Amulius, who killed Numitor's son Ægestes in a hunting party and made the sister of Ægestes, daughter of the aforesaid Numitor, Silvia or Rhea Ilia, a priestess of Vesta, so that she might remain a virgin. He stood in terror of an oracle which foretold his death at the hands of the children of Numitor. For this reason he had killed Ægestes and made the other a priestess of Vesta, that she might continue a virgin and childless. But she while drawing water in Mars's grove conceived, and bore Romulus and Remus. The daughter of Amulius by supplication rescued her from being put to death, but the babes she gave to Faustulus, a shepherd, husband of Laurentia, to expose in the vicinity of the river Tiber. These the shepherd's wife took and reared up; for it happened that she had about that time brought forth a still-born infant.

When Romulus and Remus were grown they kept flocks in the fields of Amulius, but as they killed some of the shepherds of their grandfather Numitor a watch was set for them. Remus being arrested, Romulus ran and told Faustulus, and he ran to narrate everything to Numitor. Finally Numitor recognized them to be his own daughter's children. They with the assistance of many persons killed Amulius, and after bestowing the kingdom of Alba on their grandfather Numitor themselves made a beginning of founding Rome in the eighteenth year of Romulus's life. Prior to this great Rome, which Romulus founded on the Palatine mount about the dwelling of Faustulus, another Rome in the form of a square had been founded by a Romulus and Remus older than these.

(Is. Tzetzes on Lycophron, 1232. Consequently Dio must have written what is found in Zonaras 7, 3 [vol. II, , 7-10:]) “Romulus has been described as eighteen years old when he joined in settling Rome. He founded it around the dwelling of Faustus. The place had been named Palatium.”

3. I have related previously at some length the story how Æneas founded Lavinium, though these ignorant persons say Rome. See how *they* tell the story. Æneas received an oracle to found the city on the spot where his companions should devour their own tables. Now when they came to Italy and were in want of tables they used loaves instead of tables. Finally they ate also the tables — or the loaves. Æneas, consequently, understanding the oracle founded there the Lavinian city, even if the ignorant do say Rome. (Is. Tzet. on Lycophr. 1250.) (Cp. Frag. III, 4.)

4. Rome is part of the Latin country and the Latins have the same name as Latinus, who is said to be the son of Odysseus and Circe, and the Tiber, once called Albulus, received its change of name from the fact that King Tiberius lost his life in it; this is proclaimed by Dio’s history among others. The Tiberius here meant by the history is not the one subsequent to Augustus, but another who came earlier. He, they say, died in battle and was carried away by the stream, and so left his own name to the river. (Eustathius on Dionysius, 350.)

5. Arceisius — Lætes was a son of Arceisius who was so called either from [Greek: arkeo arkeso] [Footnote: These are the first two principal parts of a Greek verb meaning “to be sufficient.”] as if he were able merely to be sufficient ([Greek: eparkeo]), whence comes the epithet [Greek: podarkes] (sufficient with the feet) or else because an *arkos* or *arktos* (bear) suckled him, just as some one else was suckled by a horse or goat, and still others by a wolf, among whom were also the Roman chiefs (according to Dio), — Remus, that is to say, and Romulus, whom a wolf (*lykaina*) suckled, called by the Italians *lupa*; this name has been aptly used metaphorically as a title for the *demi-monde*. (Eustathius on the Odyssey, , 13-16.)

[Frag. IV]

1. [Lacuna] [lacuna] (for it is not possible that one who is a mortal should either foresee everything, or find a way to turn aside what is destined to occur) children to punish his wrongdoing were born [infinitive] of that maiden. [Footnote: I.e., Rhea Sylvia.] (Mai, .)

2. Romulus and Remus, by their quarrel together, made it plain that some can bear dangers straight through life altogether more easily than good fortune. (Mai, .)

3. On Romulus and Remus Dionysius of Halicarnassus makes remarks in his History, and so do Dio and Diodorus. (Scholia of Io. Tzetzes in Exeg. Hom. II. , 20.)

4. After they had set about the building of the city a dispute arose between the brothers regarding the sovereignty and regarding the city, and they got into a conflict in which Remus was killed. (Zonaras, 7, 3, vol. II, p-90, 7 sqq.)

(Cp. Haupt, *Hermes* XIV.)

5. Whence also the custom arose that he who dared to cross the trench of the camp otherwise than by the usual paths should be put to death. (Zonaras, *ib.*, , 16-18.)

6. They themselves [Footnote: The Cæninenses, Crustumini, and Antemnates are meant (Bekker). — Compare Livy, I, 10, 11.] learned well and taught others the lesson that those who take vengeance on others are not certainly right merely because the others have previously done wrong, and that those who make demands on stronger men do not necessarily get them, but often lose the rest besides. (Mai, .)

7. Hersilia and the rest of the women of her kin on discovering them one day drawn up in opposing ranks ran down from the Palatine with their little children (children had already been born), and rushing suddenly into the space between the armies aroused much pity by their words and their actions. Looking now at the one side and now at the other they cried: “Why, fathers, do you do this? Why, husbands, do you do it? When will you stop fighting? When will you stop hating each other? Make peace with your sons-in-law! Make peace with your fathers-in-law! For Pan’s sake spare your children, for Quirinus’s sake your grandchildren! Pity your daughters, pity your wives! For if you refuse to make peace and some bolt of madness has fallen upon your heads to drive you to frenzy, then kill at once us, the causes of your contention, and slay at once the little children whom you hate, that with no longer any name or bond of kinship between you you may gain the greatest of evils — to slay the grandsires of your children and the fathers of your grandchildren.” As they said this they tore open their garments and exposed their breasts and abdomens, while some pressed themselves against the swords and others threw their children against them. Moved by such sounds and sights the men began to weep, so that they desisted from battle and came together for a conference there, just as they were, in the *comitium*, which received its name from this very event. (Mai, .)

8. Tribous Trittys; or a third part. Romulus’s heavy-armed men, three thousand in number (as Dio tells us in the first book of his History), were divided into three sections called *tribous*, i. e. trittytes, which the Greeks also termed “tribes.” Each trittys was separated into ten *Curiae* or “thinking bodies” — *cura* meaning thoughtfulness — and the men who were appointed to each particular *curia* came together and thought out the business in hand.

Among the Greeks the *curiae* are called *phratriae* and *phatriae* — in other words *associations*, *brotherhoods* *unions*, *guilds* — from the fact that men of the same *phratry* *phrased* or revealed to one another their own intentions without scruple or fear. Hence fathers or kinsmen or teachers are *phrators*, — those who share in the same *phratry*. But possibly it was derived from the Roman word *frater*, which signifies “brother.” (— Glossar. Nom. Labbaei.)

9. (And he named the people *populus*.) Hence in the Law Books the popular assembly has the name *popularia*. (Zonaras 7, 3 (vol. 11, , 17 and 18.)

Cp. Haupt, *Hermes* XIV.)

10. She [i. e. Tarpeia] having come down for water was seized and brought to Tatius, and was induced to betray the fathers. (Zonaras, *ib.*, , 15-17.)

11. It is far better for them [senate-houses?] to be established anew than having existed previously to be named over. (Mai, .)

12. Romulus assumed a rather harsh attitude toward the senate and behaved toward it rather like a tyrant, and the hostages of the Veientes he returned [Footnote: Mai supplies the missing verb.] on his own responsibility and not by common consent, as was usually done. When he perceived them vexed at this he made a number of unpleasant remarks, and finally said: "I have chosen you, Fathers, not for the purpose of your ruling me, but that I might give directions to you." (Mai, .)

[What is said of Romulus in John of Antioch, Frag. 32 (Mueller) to have been drawn from the extant books of Dio. Cp. Haupt, *Hermes* XIV.]

13. Dio I: "Thus by nature, doubtless, mankind will not endure to be ruled by what is similar and ordinary partly through jealousy, partly through contempt of it." [Footnote: This is probably a remark in regard to the quarrels of the Roman elders over the kingdom after the death of Romulus. — Compare Livy. I, 17.] (— Bekker, *Anecd.*, , 15.)

14. Dio in I: "What time he threw both body and soul into the balance, encountering danger in your behalf." [Footnote: Perhaps a reference to the father of Horatius defending his son, or even to Romulus.] (*Ib.*, , 27.)

[Frag. V] 1. Romulus had a crown and a sceptre with an eagle on the top and a white cloak reaching to the feet striped with purple embroideries from the shoulders to the feet: the name of the cloak was toga, i. e. "covering," from *tegere* the corresponding verb (this is the word the Romans use for "cover") and a purple shoe which was called *cothurnus*, as Cocceius says. (Io. Laur. Lydus, *De Magis. Reip. Rom.* 1, p-22.)

Therefore the words of Zonaras II, , 5, may be attributed to Dio:
"(Romulus) also used red sandals."

2. "Shedding ashes from the hearth over the earth, they skillfully traced the prophesies with this wand, as they gazed at the sun and foretold the future. This wand Plutarch terms *lituos*, but *lituoi* is what Cocceianus Cassius Dio says." (Io. Tzetzes, *Alleg. Iliadis* 1, 28.)

3. Numa dwelt on a hill called Quirinal, because he was a Sabine, but he had his official residence in the Sacred Way and used to spend his time near the temple of Vesta and sometimes even remained on the spot. (Valesius, .)

4. For since he understood well that the majority of mankind hold in contempt what is of like nature and consorts with them through a feeling that it is no better than themselves, but cultivate what is obscure and foreign as being superior, because they believe it divine, he dedicated a certain lot of land to the Muses [lacuna] (Mai, .)

5. The gods, as guardians of peace and justice, must be pure of murder; and

not listen to or look at anything pertaining to divinity in a cursory or neglectful manner, but must exist enjoying leisure from other affairs and fixing their attention on the practice of piety as the most important act. — Zonaras, 7, 5 (vol. II,).

6. Dio, Book I: “This, then, is what Numa thought” (Bekker, Anecd. , 23.)

7. Furthermore, also, that they became composed at that time through their own efforts, and took the sacred oath; after which they themselves continued at peace both with one another and with the outside tribes throughout the entire reign of Numa, and they seemed to have lighted upon him by divine guidance no less than in the case of Romulus. Men who know Sabine history best declare that he was born on the same day that Rome was founded. In this way, because of both them the city quickly became strong and well adorned: for the one gave it practice in warfare, — of necessity, since it was but newly founded, — and the other taught it besides the art of peace, so that it was equally distinguished in each of these two particulars. (Valesius, .)

8. Dio the Roman says that Janus, an ancient hero, because of his entertainment of Saturn, received the knowledge of the future and of the past, and that on this account he was represented with two faces by the Romans. From him the month of January was named, and the beginning of the year comes in the same month. (Cedrenus, Vol. 1, , 10, Bekker.)

9. Book 1, Dio:— “For in some beginnings, when grasping at ends, the costs that we endure are not unwelcome.” (Bekker, Anecd. , 3.)

10. (Numa) having lived for a period of three more than eighty years, and having been king forty and three years. — Zonaras, 7, 5. (Cp. Haupt, *Hermes* XIV.)

[Frag. VI]

1. Dio, Book 2: “that their [Footnote: Probably refers to the people of Alba.] reputation would stand in the way of their growth.” (Bekker, Anecd., , 12.)

2. Neither of the two [Tullus or Mettius] sanctioned the removal, but both championed their own pretensions. For Tullus in view of the report about Romulus and the power they possessed was elated and so was Fufetius in view of the age of Alba and because it was the mother city not only of the Romans themselves but of many others; and both felt no little pride. For these reasons they withdrew from that dispute but plunged into a new quarrel about the sovereignty: for they saw that it was impossible [Footnote: Refers to the Romans.] to keep them free from party feeling, dwelling with them in safety on fair terms; and this was due to the inherent disposition of men to quarrel with their equals, and to desire to rule others. Many claims also regarding this they preferred against each other, to see if by any means the one party would voluntarily concede either of the two favors to the other. They accomplished nothing, but formed a compact to struggle in her behalf.

(Mai, .)

3. Dio, Book 2.— “and attacking them who expected no further danger.”

(Bekker, Anecd. , 15.)

4. Tullus was deemed most able against the enemy, but absolutely despised and neglected religion until, during the recurrence of a plague, he himself fell sick. Then, indeed, he paid the strictest regard to all the gods, and furthermore established the Salii Collini. (Valesius, .)

[Frag. VII]

Marcus, comprehending how it is not sufficient for men who wish to remain at peace to refrain from wrongdoing, and that refusing to molest others, without active measures, is not a means of safety, but the more one longs for it the more vulnerable does one become to the mass of mankind, changed his course. He saw that a desire for quiet was not a power for protection unless accompanied by equipment for war: he perceived also that delight in freedom from foreign broils very quickly and very easily ruined men who were unduly enthusiastic over it. For this reason he thought that war was nobler and safer, both as a preparation and as forethought, than was peace, and so whatever he was unable to obtain from the Latins with their consent, and without harming them, he took away against their will by means of a military expedition. (Mai, .)

[Frag. VIII]

Tarquinius, by using wealth, knowledge, and great wit opportunely everywhere, put Marcus in such a frame of mind that he was enrolled by the latter among the patricians and among the senators, was often appointed general and was entrusted with the guardianship of his children and of the kingdom. He was no less agreeable to the rest, and consequently ruled them with their consent. The reason was that while he took all measures from which he might derive strength he did not lose his head, but though among the foremost humbled himself. Any laborious tasks he was willing to undertake openly in the place of others, but in pleasure he willingly made way for others while he himself obtained either nothing or but little, and that unnoticed. The responsibility for what went well he laid upon any one sooner than upon himself and placed the resulting advantages within the reach of the public for whoever desired them, but more unsatisfactory issues he never laid to the charge of any one else, nor attempted to divide the blame. Besides, he favored all the friends of Marcus individually both by deeds and by words. Money he spent without stint and was ready to offer his services if any one wanted anything of him. He neither said nor did anything mean against any one, and did not fall into enmity with any one if he could help it. Furthermore, whatever benefits he received from any persons he always exaggerated, but unpleasant treatment he either did not notice at all or minimized it and regarded it as of very slight importance: not only did he refuse to take offensive measures in return, but he conferred kindnesses until he won the man over entirely. This gained him a certain reputation for cleverness, because he had mastered Marcus and all the latter's followers, but through subsequent events he caused the majority of men to be distrusted, either as

being deceitful by nature or as changing their views according to their own influence and fortunes. (Valesius, .)

[Frag. IX]

Second Book of Dio: "As there was nothing in which they did not yield him obedience." (Bekker, Anecd. , 19.)

[Frag. X] 1. Dio, Book 2.— "Because his brother did not cooperate with him he secretly put him out of the way by poison through the agency of his wife." (Bekker, Anecd. , 17. Cp. Zonaras, 7, 9.)

2. Tarquinius, when he had equipped himself sufficiently to reign over them even if they were unwilling, first arrested the most powerful members of the senate and next some of the rest, and put to death many publicly, when he could bring some real charge against them, and many besides secretly, while some he banished. Not merely because some of them loved Tullius more than him, nor because they had family, wealth, intelligence, and displayed conspicuous bravery and distinguished wisdom did he destroy them, out of jealousy and out of a suspicion likewise that their dissimilarity of character must force them to hate him, the while he defended himself against some and anticipated the attack of others; no, he slew all his bosom friends who had exerted themselves to help him get the kingship no less than the rest; for he thought that impelled by the audacity and fondness for revolution through which they had obtained dominion for him they might equally well give it to some one else. So he made away with the best part of the senate and of the knights and did not appoint to those orders any one at all in place of the men who had been destroyed: he understood that he was hated by the entire populace and was anxious to render the classes mentioned extremely weak through paucity of men. Yes, he even undertook to abolish the senate altogether, since he believed that every gathering of men and especially of chosen persons who had some pretence of prestige from antiquity, was most hostile to a tyrant. But as he was afraid that the multitude or else his bodyguards themselves, in their capacity as citizens, might by reason of vexation at the change in government revolt, he refrained from doing this openly, but effected it in a conveniently outrageous way. He failed to introduce any new member into the senate to make up the loss, and to those who were left he communicated nothing of importance. He called the senators together not to help him in the administration of any important business; no, this very act was to give them a proof of their littleness, and thereby to enable him to humiliate and show scorn for them. Most of his business he carried on by himself or with the aid of his sons, in the first place to the end that no one else should have any power, and secondly because he shrank from publishing matters involving his own wrongdoing. He was difficult of access and hard to accost, and showed such great haughtiness and brutality toward all alike that he received the nickname among them of "Proud." Among other decidedly tyrannical deeds of himself and his children might be mentioned the fact that he once had some citizens bound naked to some crosses in the Forum and

before the eyes of the citizens, and had them shamefully beaten to death with rods. This punishment, invented by him at that time, has often been inflicted. (Valesius, .)

3. Dio in 2nd Book: "Publicly and by arrangement reviling his father in many unusual ways on the ground that he was a tyrant and was forsworn." (Bekker, *Anecd.* , 1.)

4. The Sibyl about whom Lycophron is now speaking was the Cumæan, who died in the time of Tarquin the Proud and left behind three or nine of her prophetic books. Of these the Romans bought either one or three, after the Sibyl's servant had destroyed the rest by fire because they would not give her as much gold as she wanted. This they did later and bought up either one that was left over or else three, and gave them to Marcus Acilius to keep. Him they cast alive into the skin of an ox and put to death because he had given them to be copied: but for the book or books they dug a hole in the Forum and buried them along with a chest. (Ioannes Tzetzes, scholia on Lycophr. 1279.)

5. Lucius Junius, a son of Tarquinius's sister, in terror after the king had killed his father and had moreover taken his property away from him feigned madness, to the end that he might possibly survive. For he well understood that every person possessed of sense, especially when he is of a distinguished family, becomes an object of suspicion to tyrants. And when once he had started on this plan he acted it out with great precision, and for that reason was called Brutus. This is the name that the Latins gave to idiots. Sent along with Titus and Arruns as if he were a kind of plaything he carried a staff as a votive offering, he said, to the gods, though it had no great value so far as anyone could see. (Mai, .)

6. Dio in Book 2: "After that he was found in the Pythian god's temple." (Bekker, *Anecd.* , 21.)

7. They made sport of the gift [i. e. the staff] of Brutus, and when to the enquiry of the ambassadors as to who should succeed to the kingdom of their father the oracle replied that the first to kiss his mother should hold dominion over the Romans, he kissed the earth, pretending to have fallen down by accident, for he regarded her as the mother of all mankind. (Mai, .)

8. Brutus overthrew the Tarquins for the following reason. During the siege of Ardea the children of Tarquin were one day dining with Brutus and Collatinus, since these two were of their own age and relatives; and they fell into a discussion and finally into a dispute about the virtue of their wives, — each one giving the preference to his own spouse. And, as all the women happened to be absent from the camp, they decided straightaway that night, before they could be announced, to take horse and ride away to all of them simultaneously. This they did, and found all engaged in a carousal except Lucretia, wife of Collatinus, whom they discovered at work on wool. This fact about her becoming noised abroad led Sextus to desire to outrage her. Perchance he even felt some love for her, since she was of surpassing beauty; still it was rather her reputation than her body that he desired to ruin. He

watched for an opportunity when Collatinus was among the Rutuli, hurried to Collatia, and coming by night to her house as that of a kinswoman obtained both food and lodging. At first he tried to persuade her to grant her favors to him, but as he could not succeed he attempted force. When he found he could make no progress by this means either, he devised a plan by which in the most unexpected way he compelled her to submit voluntarily to be debauched. To his declaration that he would cut her throat she paid no attention, and his statement that he would make away with one of the servants she listened to in contempt. When, however, he threatened to lay the body of the servant beside her and spread the report that he had found them sleeping together and killed them he was no longer to be resisted: and she, fearing it might be believed that this had so happened, chose to yield to him and die after giving an account of the affair rather than lose her good name in perishing at once. For this reason she did not refuse to commit adultery, but afterward she made ready a dagger beneath the pillow and sent for her husband and her father. As soon as they had come she shed many tears, then spoke with a sigh: "Father, I utter your name because I have disgraced it less than my husband's. It is no honorable deed I have done this last night, but Sextus forced me, threatening to kill me and a slave together and pretend he had found me sleeping with the man. This threat compelled me to sin, to prevent you from believing that such a thing had taken place. And I, because I am a woman, will treat my case as becomes me: but do you, if you are men and care for your wives and for your children, avenge me, free yourselves, and show the tyrants what manner of creatures you are and what manner of woman they have outraged." Having spoken to this effect she did not wait for any reply but immediately drawing the dagger from its hiding place stabbed herself. (Valesius, .)

9. Dio, Second Book: "And he [Footnote: Van Herweiden's reading is the one adopted in this doubtful passage.] went outside of Roman territory making frequent trials of neighboring peoples." (Bekker, Anecd. , 25.)

1. All crowds of people judge measures according to the men who direct them, and of whatever sort they ascertain the men to be, they believe that the measures are of the same sort. (Mai, .)

[Frag. XI]

2. Every one prefers the untried to the well known, attaching great hope to the uncertain in comparison with what has already gained his hatred. (Ib.)

3. All changes are very dangerous, and especially do those in governments work the greatest and most numerous evils to both individuals and state. Sensible men, therefore, decide to remain under the same forms continually, even if they be not very good, rather than by changing to have now one, now another, and be continually wandering. (Ib.)

4. Dio, 2nd Book: "When he had learned this he accordingly both came to them the following day [lacuna]" (Bekker, Anecd., , 20.)

5. In 3rd Book of Dio: "Whose father also ruled you blamelessly." (Ib., , 24.)

6. Dio's 3rd Book: "Of the fact that he loves you, you could get no greater proof than his eagerness to live in your midst and his action in having his possessions long since brought here." (Ib., , 26, and , 28.)

7. Dio's 3rd Book: "How would it pay any one to do this?" (Ib., ,14.)

8. Dio's 3rd Book: "As Romulus also enjoined upon us." (Ib., , 29.)

9. Every person comes to possess wishes and desires according to his fortune and whatever his circumstances be, of like nature are also the opinions he acquires. (Mai, .)

10. The business of kingship, more than any other, demands not merely virtue, but also great understanding and intelligence, and it is not possible without these qualities for the man who takes hold of it to show moderation. Many, for example, as if raised unexpectedly to some great height, have not endured their elevation, but startled from their senses have fallen and made failures of themselves and have shattered all the interests of their subjects. (Mai, ib.)

11. With regard to the future form a judgment from what they have done, but do not be deceived by what they as suppliants falsely pretend. Unholy deeds proceed in every case from a man's real purpose, but any one may concoct creditable phrases. Hence judge from what a man has done, not from what he says he will do. (Mai, ib.)

12. 3rd Book of Dio: "It is done not merely by the actual men who rule them, but also by those who share the power with those rulers." (Bekker, Anecd. p.130, 23, and p.164, 32.)

In the preceding fragment we have, apparently, some comment of Dio himself on the change in the Roman government (from monarchy to republic) together with scraps of two speeches, — namely, that of the envoys of Tarquinius to the Roman people, and that of Brutus in reply.

[Frag. XII]

1. Valerius, the colleague of Brutus, although he had proved himself the most democratic of men came near being murdered in short order by the multitude: they suspected him, in fact, of being eager to become sole sovereign. They would have slain him, indeed, had he not quickly anticipated their action by courting their favor. He entered the assembly and bent the rods which he had formerly used straight, and took away the surrounding axes that were bound in with them. After he had in this way assumed an attitude of humility, he kept a sad countenance for some time and shed tears: and when he at last managed to utter a sound, he spoke in a low fearful voice with a suggestion of a quaver. [The general subject is speechmaking.] (Mai, .)

2. On account of whom (plur.) also [Collatinus] was enraged. Consequently Brutus so incited the populace against him that they came near slaying him on the spot. They did not quite do this, however, but compelled him to resign without delay. They chose as colleague to the consul in his place Publius Valerius, who had the additional title of Poplicola. This appellation translated into Greek signifies "friend of the people" or "most democratic."

(Zonaras, 7, 12. Cp. Haupt, *Hermes* XIV.)

[Frag. XIII]

The temple of Jupiter was dedicated by Horatius, as determined by lot, although Valerius made the declaration that his son was dead, and arranged to have this news brought to him during the very performance of his sacred office, with the purpose that Horatius under the blow of the misfortune and because in general it was impious for any one in grief to fulfill the duties of priest, should yield to him the dedication of the structure. The other did not refuse credence to the report — for it was noised abroad by many trustworthy persons — yet he did not surrender his ministry: on the contrary, after bidding some men to leave unburied the body of his son, as if it were a stranger's, in order that he might seem unconcerned regarding the rites due to it, he then performed all the necessary ceremonies. (Valesius, p.577.)

[Frag. XIV]

1. (Tarquinius continued to supplicate Klara Porsina.) (Zonaras, 7, 12. Cp. Tzet. Hist. 6, 201. Plutarch, Poplic. 16, has "Lara Porsina.")

2. Dio in 4th Book: "But they overran the Roman territory and harried everything up to the wall." (Bekker, Anecd. p.152, 3 and 1.) 3. Larta Porsenna, an Etruscan, or, perhaps, Klara Porsenna, was proceeding against Rome with a great army. But Mucius, a noble Roman soldier, after equipping himself in arms and dress of Etruscans then started to spy upon them, wishing to kill Porsenna. Beside the latter at that time was sitting his secretary, who in the Etruscan tongue was called Clusinus; and Mucius, doubtful which might be the king, killed Clusinus instead of the king. The man was arrested, and when Porsenna asked him: "Why in the world did you do this thing? What injury had you received from him?" the other cried out: "I happen to be not Etruscan but Roman; and three hundred others of like mind with me who are now hunting thee to slay thee." This he had spoken falsely; and, with his right hand thrust into the fire, he gazed on Porsenna as though another were suffering: and when the prince enquired: "Why do you look fixedly upon us?" he said: "Reflecting how I erred in failing to slay thee and in thy stead killed one whom I thought Porsenna." And when Porsenna exclaimed: "You shall now become my friend!" Mucius rejoined: "If thou becom'st a Roman." Porsenna admiring the man for his uprightness becomes a friend to the Romans and checks the tide of battle. (Tzetzes, Chiliades, VI, 201-223.)

(Cp. Scholia on John Tzetzes's Letters in Cramer's Anecd. Oxon., vol. III, p.360, 30: "Clusinus was the name of Porsenna's secretary, according to what Dio says"; and Zonaras, 7, 12: "Drawing his sword he killed his secretary, who was sitting beside him and was similarly arrayed.")

4. Dio's 4th Book: "And he [Footnote: Porsenna.] presented to the maiden [Footnote: Clælia] both arms (or so some say) and a horse." (Bekker, Anecd. p.133, 8.)

5. After this the Tarquins endeavored on several occasions, by forming alliances with tribes bordering on Roman dominions, to recover the kingdom;

but they were all destroyed in the battles save the sire, who, moreover, was called Superbus (or, as a Greek would say, Proud). Subsequently he found his way to Cyme of Opicia and there died. Thus the careers of the Tarquins reached a conclusion. And after their expulsion from the kingdom consuls, as has been stated, were chosen by the Romans. One of these was Publius Valerius, who became consul four times, — the one to whom also the name Poplicola was applied. (Zonaras 7, 12 sq. Cp. Haupt, *Hermes* XIV.)

6. And the management of the funds they assigned to others in order that the men holding the consular office might not possess the great influence that would spring from their having the revenues in their power. Now for the first time “stewards” began to be created and they called them *quæstors*. These in the first place tried capital cases, from which fact they have obtained this title, — on account of their *questionings* and on account of their search for truth as the result of *questionings*. But later they acquired also management of the public funds and received the additional name of Stewards ([Greek: tamiai]). After a time the courts were delivered over to different persons, while these officials were managers of the funds. (Zonaras 7, 13. Cp. Haupt, *Hermes*, XIV.)

7. Dio’s 4th Book: “And they provided them [Footnote: Probably a reference to the *quæstors*.] with separate titles besides in general making very different provision for them in the different cases.” (Bekker, *Anecd.* p.133, 16.)

8. Dio in 5th Book: “The lords filling them with hope on certain points.” (Ib. p.140, 10.)

9. Dio in 5th Book: “With this accordingly he honored him.” (Ib. p.175, 19.)

[Frag. XV]

To a large extent success consists in planning secretly, acting at the opportune moment, following one’s own counsel somewhat, and in having no chance to fall back upon any one else, but being obliged to take upon one’s self the responsibility for the issue, however it turns out. [Footnote: Fragment XV may perhaps be a comment on dictatorships.] (Mai, p.142.)

[Frag. XVI]

1. They had recourse to civil strife. And the reason is plain. Those whose money gave them influence desired to surpass their inferiors in all respects as though they were their sovereigns, and the weaker citizens, sure of their own equal rights, were unwilling to obey them even in some small point. The one class, insatiate of freedom, sought to enjoy the property of the other; and this other, uncontrolled in its pride of place, to enjoy the fruits of the former’s labors. So it was that they sundered their former relations, wherein they were wont harmoniously to assist each other with mutual profit, and no longer made distinctions between foreign and native races. Indeed, both disdained moderation, and the one class set its heart upon an extreme of dominion, the other upon an extreme of resistance to voluntary servitude; consequently they

missed the results accomplished by their previous allied efforts and inflicted many striking injuries, partly in defence against each other's movements and partly by way of anticipating them. More than all the rest of mankind they were at variance save in the midst of particularly threatening dangers that they incurred in the course of successive wars, — wars due chiefly to their own dissensions; and for the sake of the respite many prominent men on several occasions brought on these conflicts purposely. This, then, was the beginning of their suffering more harm from each other than from outside nations. And the complexion of their difficulties inspires me to pronounce that it was impossible that they should be deprived of either their power or their sway, unless they should lose it through their own contentions. (Mai, *ib.*)

2. They were especially irritated that the senators were not of the same mind after obtaining something from them as they were while requesting it, but after making them numbers of great promises while in the midst of danger failed to perform the slightest one of them when safety had been secured. (Mai, p.143.)

3. So to the end that they might not fight in a compact mass, but each division struggle separately for its own position and so become easier to handle, they divided the army. [Footnote: Cp. Livy, II, 30.] (*Ib.*)

4. The populace, as soon as Valerius the dictator became a private citizen, began a most bitter contest, going so far even as to overturn the government. The well-to-do classes insisted, in the case of debts, upon the very letter of the agreement, refusing to abate one iota of it, and so they both failed to secure its fulfillment and came to be deprived of many other advantages; they had failed to recognize the fact that an extreme of poverty is the heaviest of curses and that the desperation which results from it is, especially if shared by a large number of persons, very difficult to combat. This is why not a few politicians voluntarily choose the course which is expedient in preference to that which is absolutely just. Justice is often worsted in an encounter with human nature and sometimes suffers total extinction, whereas expediency, by parting with a mere fragment of justice, preserves the greater portion of it intact.

Now the cause of most of the troubles that the Romans had lay in the unyielding attitude adopted by the more powerful class toward its inferiors. Many remedies were afforded them against delays in payment of debts, one of which was that in case it happened that several persons had been lending to anybody, they had authority to divide his body piecemeal according to the proportionate amounts that he was owing. Yet, however much this principle had been declared legal, still it had surely never been put into practice. For how could a nation have proceeded to such lengths of cruelty when it frequently granted to those convicted of some crime a refuge for their preservation and allowed such as were thrust from the cliffs of the Capitoline to live in case they should survive the experience? (Mai, p.143. Cp. Zonaras. 7, 14.)

5. Those who were owing debts took possession of a certain hill and

having placed one Gaius at their head proceeded to secure their food from the country as from hostile territory, thereby demonstrating that the laws were weaker than arms, and justice than their desperation. The senators being in terror both that this party might become more estranged and that the neighboring tribes in view of the crisis might join in an attack upon them proposed terms to the rebels offering everything that they hoped might please them. The seceders at first were for brazening it out, but were brought to reason in a remarkable way. When they kept up a series of disorderly shouts, Agrippa, one of the envoys, begged them to hearken to a fable and having obtained their consent spoke as follows. Once all the Members of Man began a contention against the Belly, saying that they worked and toiled without food or drink, being at the beck and call of the Belly in everything, whereas it endured no labor and alone got its fill of nourishment. And finally they voted that the Hands should no longer convey aught to the Mouth nor the latter receive anything, to the end that the Belly might so far as possible come to lack both food and drink and so perish. Now when this measure was determined and put into execution, at first the entire body began to wither away and next it collapsed and gave out. Accordingly, the members through their own evil state grew conscious that the Belly was the salvation of them and restored to it its nourishment.

On hearing this the multitude comprehended that the abundance of the prosperous also supports the condition of the poor; therefore they showed greater mildness and accepted a reconciliation on being granted a release from their debts and from seizures therefor. This then, was voted by the senate. (Mai, p.144. Cp. Zonaras 7, 14.) The account of John of Antioch, frag. 46 (Müller, fr. hist. gr. IV, p.556) regarding this secession of the plebs seems to have been taken from intact books of Dio. (Cp. Haupt, *Hermes* XIV, p.44, note 1; also G. Sotiriadis, *Zur Kritik des Johannes von Antiochia*, Supplem. annal. philol. vol. XVI, p.50.)

6. And it seemed to be most inconsistent with human conditions, and to many others also, some willingly, some unwillingly [lacuna]

Whenever many men gathered in a compact body seek their own advantage by violence, for the time being they have some equitable agreement and display boldness, but later they become separated and are punished on various pretexts. (Mai, p.146. Cp. Zonaras, 7, 15.)

7. Through the tendency, natural to most persons, to differ with their fellows in office (it is always difficult for a number of men to attain harmony, especially in a position of any influence) — through this natural tendency, then, all their power was dissipated and torn to shreds. None of their resolutions was valid in case even one of them opposed it. They had originally received their office for no other purpose than to resist such as were oppressing their fellow-citizens, and thus he who tried to prevent any measure from being carried into effect was sure to prove stronger than those who supported it. (Mai, ib. Cp. Zonaras 7, 15.)

1. For it is not easy for a man either to be strong at all points or to possess excellence in both departments, — war and peace, — at once. Those who are physically strong are, as a rule, weak-minded and success that has come in unstinted measure generally does not luxuriate equally well everywhere. This explains why after having first been exalted by the citizens to the foremost rank he was not much later exiled by them, and how it was that after making the city of the Volsci a slave to his country he with their aid brought his own land in turn into an extremity of danger. (Mai, . Cp. Zonaras 7,16.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 491 (*a.u.* 263)] 2. The same man wished to be made prætor, and upon failing to secure the office became angry at the populace; and in his displeasure at the great influence of the tribunes he employed greater frankness in speaking to that body than was attempted by others whose deeds entitled them to the same rank as himself. A severe famine occurring at the same time that a town Norba needed colonizing, the multitude censured the powerful classes on both these points, maintaining that they were being deprived of food and were being purposely delivered into the hands of enemies for manifest destruction. Whenever persons come to suspect each other, they take amiss everything even that is done in their behalf, and yield wholly to their belligerent instincts. Coriolanus had invariably evinced contempt for the people, and after grain had been brought in from many sources (most of it sent as a gift from princes in Sicily) he would not allow them to receive allotments of it as they were petitioning. Accordingly, the tribunes, whose functions he was especially eager to abolish, brought him to trial before the populace on a charge of aiming at tyranny and drove him into exile. It availed nothing that all his peers exclaimed and expressed their consternation at the fact that tribunes dared to pass such sentences upon *their* order. So on being expelled he betook himself, raging at his treatment, to the Volsci, though they had been his bitterest foes. His valor, of which they had had a taste, and the wrath that he cherished toward his fellow-citizens gave him reason to expect that they would receive him gladly, since they might hope, thanks to him, to inflict upon the Romans injuries equal to what they had endured, or even greater. When one has suffered particular damage at the hands of any party, one is strongly inclined to believe in the possibility of benefit from the same party in case it is willing and also able to confer favors. (Mai, p.147. Cp. Zonaras 7, 16.) 3. For he was very angry that they, who were incurring danger for their own country would not even under these conditions withdraw from the possessions of others. When, accordingly, this news also was brought, the men did not cease any the more from factional strife. They were, indeed, so bitterly at variance that they could be reconciled not even by dangers. But the women, Volumnia the wife of Coriolanus and Veturia his mother, gathering a company of the other most eminent ladies visited him in camp and took his children with them; and they caused him to end the war not only without requiring the submission of the country, but without even

demanding restoration from exile. For he admitted them at once as soon as he learned they were there, and granted them a conversation, the course of which was as follows. While the rest wept without speaking Veturia began: “Why are you surprised, my child? Why are you startled? We are not deserters, but the country has sent to you, if you should yield, your mother and wife and children, if otherwise, your spoil; hence, if even now you still are angry, kill us first. Why do you weep? Why turn away? Can you fail to know how we have just ceased lamenting the affairs of state, in order that we might see you? Be reconciled to us, then, and retain no longer your anger against your citizens, friends, temples, tombs; do not come rushing down into the city with hostile wrath nor take by storm your native land in which you were born, were reared, and became Coriolanus, bearer of this great name. Yield to me, my child, and send me not hence without result, unless you would see me dead by own hand.”

At the end of this speech she sighed aloud, and tearing open her clothing showed her breasts, and touching her abdomen exclaimed: “See, my child, this brought you forth, these reared you up.” When she had said this, his wife and the children and the rest of the women joined in the lament, so that he too was cast into grief. Recovering himself at length with difficulty he embraced his mother and at the same time kissing her replied: “Mother, I yield to you. Yours is the victory, and let the other men, too, bestow their gratitude for this upon you. For I can not endure even to see them, who after receiving such great benefits at hands have treated me in such a way. Hence I never even enter the city. Do you keep the country instead of me, since you have so wished it, and I will take myself out of the way of you all.”

Having spoken thus he withdrew. For through fear of the multitude and shame before his peers, in that he had made an expedition against them at all he would not accept even the safe return offered him, but retired among the Volsci, and there, either as the result of a plot or from old age, died. (Mai, p.148. Zonaras, 7, 16. Cp. John Tzetzes, Letters, 6, p.9, 16.)

4. Dio Cocceianus himself and numberless others who have set forth the deeds of the Romans, tell the story of this Marcus Coriolanus. This Marcus, as he was formerly called and later Gnæus, had along with these the name of Coriolanus. When the Romans were warring against the city of Coriolanus [*sic*], and had all turned to flight at full speed, the man himself turned toward the hostile city and finding it open alone set fire to it. As the flames rose brilliantly he mounted his horse and with great force fell upon the rear of the barbarians, who were bringing headlong flight upon the Romans. They wheeled about and when they saw the fire consuming the city, thinking it was sacked they fled in another direction. He, having saved the Romans and sacked the city, which we have already said was called Coriolanus, received, in addition to his former names Marcus and Gnæus, the title of Coriolanus, from the rout. But (the usual treatment that jealousy accords to benefactors) after a little in the course of reflections they fine the man. The man

excessively afflicted with most just wrath leaves his wife, his mother, and his country, and goes to the Corioli, and they receive the man. Then after that they arrayed themselves against the Romans. And had not his spouse and mother at the breaking out of that war run and torn apart their tunics and stood about him naked, — Veturia and Volumnia were their names, — and checked him with difficulty from the battle against the Romans, Rome would have made a resolve to honor benefactors. But brought to a halt by the prayers of his mother and of his spouse he stopped the war against the Romans, and he himself leaving behind the Corioli and the Romans hurried to another land, smitten by sorrow. (Tzetzes, Hist. 6, 527-560. Cp. Haupt, *Hermes*, XIV.)

5. I pass over mention of the noble Marcus Coriolanus, and with Marcus himself also Marcus Corvinus; of whom the one, having sacked unaided a city named Coriolanus and burned it down, although the entire army of the Romans had been routed, was called Coriolanus, though otherwise termed Marcus. (Tzetzes, Hist. 3, 856-861.)

[Frag. XVIII]

[Sidenote: B.C. 486 (*a.u.* 268)] Cassius after benefiting the Romans was put to death by that very people. So that thereby it is made plain that there is no element deserving confidence in multitudes. On the contrary they destroy men who are altogether devoted to them no less than men guilty of the greatest wrongs. With respect to the interest of the moment on various occasions they deem those great who are the cause of benefits to them, but when they have profited to the full by such men's services they no longer regard them as having any nearer claims than bitterest foes. For Cassius, although he indulged them, they killed because of the very matters on which he prided himself: and it is manifest that he perished through envy and not as a result of some injustice committed. (Mai, p.150.)

[Frag. XIX]

1. For the men from time to time in power when they became unable to restrain them by any other method stirred up purposely wars after wars in order that they might be kept busy attending to those conflicts and not disturb themselves about the land. (Mai, *ib.* Zonaras 7, 17.)

2. At any rate they were so inflamed with rage by each of the two as to promise with an oath victory to their generals: with regard to the immediate attack they thought themselves actually lords of fortune. (Mai, p.150.)

3. It is natural for the majority of the human race to quarrel with any opposing force even beyond what is to its own advantage and upon those who yield to bestow a benefit in turn even beyond its power. (Mai, p.151.)

[Frag. XX]

[Sidenote: B.C. 477 (*a.u.* 277)] 1. The Fabii, who on the basis of birth and wealth made pretensions equal with the noblest, very quickly indeed saw that they were dejected. For when persons involve themselves in many undertakings that are at the same time hard to manage, they can discover no device for confronting the multitude and array of dangers, and give up as

hopeless quite easy projects: after which their sober judgments and, contrary to what one would expect, their very opinions cause them to lose heart and they voluntarily abandon matters in hand with the idea that their labor will be but vain; finally they surrender themselves to unforeseen dispensations of Heaven and await whatever Chance may bring. (Mai, p.151. Zonaras 7,17.)

2. The Fabii, three hundred and six in number, were killed, by the Etruscans. Thus the arrogance which arises from confidence in valor is oftentimes ruined by its very boldness, and the boastfulness which comes from good fortune runs mad and suffers a complete reverse. (Mai, ib. Zonaras 7, 17.)

3. For whom (plur.) the Romans grieved, both in private and with public demonstrations, to a greater degree than the number of the lost would seem to warrant. That number was not small, especially since it was composed entirely of patricians, but they further felt, when they stopped to consider the reputation and the resolute spirit of these men that all their strength had perished. For this reason they inscribed among the accursed days that one on which they had been destroyed and put under the ban the gates through which they had marched out, so that no magistrate might pass through them. And they condemned Titus Menenius the praetor, — it was in his year that the disaster took place, — when he was later accused before the people of not having assisted the unfortunates and of having been subsequently defeated in battle. (Valesius, p.578.)

[Frag. XXI]

1. The patricians openly took scarcely any retaliatory measures, except in a few cases, where they adjured some one of the gods, but secretly slaughtered a number of the boldest spirits. Nine tribunes on one occasion were delivered to the flames by the populace. This did not, however, restrain the rest: on the contrary, those who in turn held the tribuneship after that occurrence were rather filled with hope in the matter of their own quarrels than with fear as a result of the fate of their predecessors. Hence, so far from being calmed, they were even the more emboldened by those very proceedings. For they put forward the torture of the former tribunes as a justification of the vengeance they would take really in their own behalf; and they got great pleasure out of the idea that they might possibly, contrary to expectation, survive without harm. The consequence was that some of the patricians, being unable to accomplish anything in the other way, transferred themselves to the ranks of the populace: they thought its humble condition far preferable, considered in the light of their desire for the tribunician power, to the weakness of their own ornamental titles, — especially so because many held the office a second and third and even greater number of times in succession, although there was a prohibition against any one's taking the position twice. (Mai, . Zonaras 7, 17.)

2. The populace was incited to this course by the patricians themselves. For the policy which the latter pursued with an eye to their own advantage, that of always having some wars in readiness for them, so that the people

might be compelled by the dangers from without to practice moderation, — this policy, I say, only rendered the people bolder. By refusing to go on a campaign unless they obtained in each instance the objects of their striving and by contending listlessly whenever they did take the field, they accomplished all that they desired. Meanwhile, as a matter of fact, not a few of the neighboring tribes, relying on the dissension of their foes more than on their own power, kept revolting. (Mai, ib. Zonaras 7, 17.)

[Frag. XXII]

1. The Æqui after capturing Tusculum and conquering Marcus [Footnote: Other accounts give his name as *Lucius* or *Quintus*.] Minucius became so proud that, in the case of the Roman ambassadors whom the latter people sent to chide them regarding the seizure of the place, they made no answer at all to the censure but after designating by the mouth of their general, Cloelius Gracchus, a certain oak, bade them speak to it, if they desired aught. (Ursinus, p.373. Zonaras 7, 17.)

2. That the Romans on learning that Minucius with some followers had been intercepted in a low-lying, bushy place elected as dictator against the enemy Lucius Quintus, in spite of the fact that he was a poor man and at the time was engaged in tilling with his own hands the little piece of ground which was his sole possession: for in general he was the peer in valor of the foremost and was distinguished by his wise moderation; though he did let his hair grow in curls, from which practice he received the nickname of Cincinnatus. (Valesius, p.578. Zonaras 7, 17.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 449 (a.u. 305)] 2. Affairs of state and camp alike were thrown into confusion. For the men under arms in their zealous eagerness that no success should attend those who held the power voluntarily surrendered both public and private interests. The other side, too, took no pleasure in the death of their own members at the hands of opponents, but themselves likewise destroyed in some convenient manner many of the most active persons who espoused the cause of the populace. As a result no small contention arose between them. (Mai, p.153. Zonaras, 7, 18.)

3. For they [Footnote: This must mean the “military tribunes with consular powers.”]reached such a pitch of emulation and next of jealous rivalry of one another that they no longer, as the custom had been, all held office as one body, but each of them individually in turn; and the consequence was by no means beneficial. Since each one of them had in view his own profit and not the public weal and was more willing that the State should be injured, if it so happened, than that his colleagues should obtain credit, many unfortunate occurrences took place. (Mai, ib.)

4. Democracy consists not in all winning absolutely the same prizes, but in every man’s obtaining his deserts. [Footnote: Seemingly an excerpt from a speech of one of the optimates, though possibly a remark by Dio himself.] (Mai, p.154.)

[Frag. XXIII]

1[lacuna]. to have happened as the law of triumphs enjoins, about which Dio Cocceianus writes. And if it seems to you an irksome thing to delve into books of ancient writers, at all events I will explain cursorily, as best I may, the entertainments pertaining to the triumph. They cause the celebrator of the triumph to ascend a car, smear his face with earth of Sinope or cinnabar (representing blood) to screen his blushes, fasten armlets on his arms, and put a laurel wreath and a branch of laurel in his right hand. Upon his head they also place a crown of some kind of wood having inscribed upon it his exploits or his experiences. A public slave, standing in the back part of the chariot holds up the crown, saying in his ear: "See also what comes after." Bells and a whip dangle from the pole of the chariot. Next he runs thrice about the place in a circle, mounts the stairs on his knees and there lays aside the garlands. After that he departs home, accompanied by musicians. (Tzetzes Epist. 107, .)

[Therefore the following words of Zonaras (7, 21) correspond nearly with those of Dio, concerning the popular anger against Camillus on account of his triumph (according to Plutarch's Camillus, Cha). — Editor]

The celebration of the triumphal festivities, which they called *thriambos*, was of somewhat the following nature. When any great success, worthy of a triumph, had been gained, the general was immediately saluted as imperator by the soldiers, and he would bind twigs of laurel upon the rods and deliver them to the runners to carry, who announced the victory to the city. On arriving home he would assemble the senate and ask to have the triumph voted him. And if he obtained a vote from the senate and from the people, his title of imperator was confirmed. If he still held the office in the course of which he happened to be victorious, he continued to enjoy it while celebrating the festival; but if the term of his office had expired, he received some other name connected with it, since it was forbidden a private individual to hold a triumph. Arrayed in the triumphal dress he took armlets, and with a laurel crown upon his head and holding a branch in his right hand he called together the people. After praising his comrades of the campaign he presented some both publicly and privately with money: he honored them also with decorations, and upon some he bestowed armlets and spears without the iron; crowns, too, he gave to some of gold and to others of silver, bearing the name of each man and the representation of his particular feat. For example, either a man had been first to mount a wall and the crown bore the figure of a wall, or he had captured some point by storm, and a likeness of that particular place had been made. A man might have won a battle at sea and the crown had been adorned with ships, or one might have won a cavalry fight and some equestrian figure had been represented. He who had rescued a citizen from battle or other peril, or from a siege, had the greatest praise and would receive a crown fashioned of oak, which was esteemed as far more honorable than all, both the silver and the gold. And these rewards would be given not only to men singly, as each had shown his prowess, but were also bestowed upon cohorts and whole armies. Much of the spoils was likewise assigned to the

sharers in the campaign. Some have been known to extend their distributions even to the entire populace and have gone to expense for the festival and obtained public appropriations: if anything was left over, they would spend it for temples, porticos or for some public work.

After these ceremonies the triumphator ascended his chariot. Now the chariot did not resemble one used in games or in war, but had been made in the shape of a round tower. And he would not be alone in the chariot, but if he had children or relatives he would make the girls and the infant male children get up beside him in it and place those who were grown upon the horses, outriggers as well as the yoke-pair. If these were many, they would accompany the procession on chargers, riding along beside the triumphator. None of the rest rode, but all went on foot wearing laurel wreaths. A public servant, however, rode also upon the chariot itself holding over him the crown made of precious stones set in gold and kept saying to him "Look behind!", the "behind" meaning naturally "Look ahead at the ensuing years of life, and do not be elated or puffed up by your present fortune." Both a bell and a whip were fastened to the chariot, signifying that it was possible for him to meet misfortune as well, to the extent of being disgraced or condemned to death. It was customary for those who had been condemned to die for any offence to wear a bell, to the end that no one should approach them as they walked along and so be affected with pollution.

Thus arrayed they entered the city, having at the head of the procession the spoils and trophies and in images the captured forts displayed, cities and mountains and rivers, lakes, seas, — everything that they had taken. If one day sufficed for the exhibition of these things in procession, well and good: otherwise, the celebration was held during a second and a third. When these adjuncts had gone on their way the triumphator reached the Roman Forum and after commanding that some of the captives be led to prison and put to death he rode up to the Capitol. There, when he had fulfilled certain rites and had brought offerings and had dined in the buildings on the hill, toward evening he departed homeward, accompanied by flutes and pipes.

Such were the triumphs in old times. Factions and powerful cliques attempted very frequently revolutionary movements on those occasions.

All the matters pertaining to the triumphal, the curule chair the letter contains. What need to write again? How after anointing with cinnabar or else Sinopian earth the man who held a triumph they put him on a chariot and placed upon his head a golden crown bearing plainly marked all he had accomplished: in the man's hand they lay a laurel sprig; armlets they clasp about his arms: they crown all who had gained distinction with crowns made out of silver material inscribed with the feats of daring; and how upon the chariot a public slave stands behind him holding up the crown and saying in his ear: "see also what comes after" — all things important the letter contains. (Tzetzes, *Hist.* 13, 41-54.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 395 (*a.u.* 359)] 2. The Romans after fighting many battles

against the Falisci, [Footnote: Perhaps Dio wrote *Fidenates* or *Veientes* (Livy, IV, 32), and *Falisci* is due to the copyist, although, to be sure, there were wars with the last named (Livy, IV, 18). Whether the transference of Juno from Veii to Rome (Livy, V, 22) or the lectisternia just established about this time (Livy, V, 13) constitutes the topic discussed is a matter respecting which scholars differ.] and after many sufferings and achievements as well, despised their ancestral rites and took up with foreign ones in the idea that the latter would suffice them. Human nature is for some reason accustomed in trouble to scorn what is usual even though it be divine, and to admire the untried. Thinking, as men do, that they are not helped by it at the present, they expect no benefit in the future, but from what is strange they hope to accomplish whatever they may wish, by means of its novelty. (Mai, .)

3. The Romans, who were besieging the city of the Falisci would have consumed much time encamped before it, had not an incident of the following nature occurred. A school teacher of the place who instructed a number of children of good family, either under the influence of anger or through hope of gain led them all outside the wall, supposedly for some different purpose from his real one. They had so great an abundance of courage that they followed him even then. And he took them to Camillus, saying that in their persons he surrendered to him the whole city: for the inhabitants would no longer resist them when those dearest to them were held prisoners. However, he [Sidenote: B.C. 393 (*a.u.* 361)] to accomplish aught; for Camillus, filled with a sense of the conduct proper for Romans and also of the liability to failure of human plans, would not agree to take them by treachery: instead, he bound the traitor's hands behind his back and delivered him to the children themselves to lead home again.

After this episode the Falisci held out no longer, but in spite of the fact that they were securely entrenched and had ample resources to continue the war nevertheless came to terms voluntarily. They felt sure it would be no ordinary friendship that they would enjoy at the hands of one, whom, as an enemy even, they had found so just. (Valesius, . Cp. Zonaras, 7, 22.)

4. Accordingly Camillus became on this account an object of even greater jealousy to the citizens, and he was indicted by the tribunes on the charge of not having benefited the public treasury with the plunder of the Veii; and before the trial he voluntarily withdrew. (Valesius, *ib.* Cp. Zonaras, 7, 22.)

5. In Dio's 7th Book: "When he had ended his term of office they indicted him and imposed a money fine, not bringing him into danger of his life." [Footnote: Boissvain believes that this fragment does not refer to Camillus, and that the number of the Book is possibly a corruption. He would locate it earlier.](Bekker, *Anecd.* , 21.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 393 (*a.u.* 361)]6. To such a degree did not only the populace nor all those who were somewhat jealous of his reputation merely, but his best friends and his relatives, too, feel envy toward him that they did not even attempt to hide it. When he asked some of them for support in his

case, and others to deposit the money for his release, they refused to assist him in regard to the vote but simply promised, if he were convicted, to estimate the proper money value and to help him pay the amount of the fine. This led him to take an oath in anger that the city should have need of him; and he went over to the Rutuli before accusation was brought against him. [Footnote: Very likely the copyist erred here. The sense requires "before sentence was passed upon him."] (Mai, . Cp. Zonaras, 7, 22.)

[Frag. XXIV]

[Sidenote: B.C. 391 (*a.u.* 363)] 1. The cause of the Gallic expedition was this. The Clusini had endured hard treatment in the war from the Gauls and fled for refuge to the Romans, having considerable hope that they could obtain certainly some little help in that quarter, from the fact that they had not taken sides with the people of Veii, though of the same race. When the Romans failed to vote them aid, but sent ambassadors to the Gauls and negotiated peace for them, they came very near accepting it (it was offered them in return for a part of the land); however, they attacked the barbarians after the conference and took the Roman envoys into battle along with them. The Gauls, vexed at seeing them on the opposite side, at first sent men to Rome, preferring charges against the envoys. Since, however, no punishment was visited upon the latter, but they were all, on the contrary, appointed consular tribunes, they were filled with wrath — being naturally quick to anger — and, as they held the Clusini in contempt, started for Rome. (Ursinus, p.373. Cp. Zonaras, 7, 23.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 364 (*a.u.* 390)] 2. The Romans after withstanding the inroads of the Gauls had no time to recover breath, but went immediately from their march into battle, just as they were, and lost. Panic-stricken by the unexpectedness of the invaders' hostile expedition, by their numbers, their physical dimensions, and their voices uttering some foreign and terrifying sound they forgot their training in military science and after that lost possession of their valor. A good comprehension contributes very largely to bravery, because when present it confirms the strength of a man's resolution and when lacking destroys the same more thoroughly by far, than if such a thing had never existed at all. Many persons without experience often carry things through by the violence of their spirit, but those who fail of the discipline which they have learned lose also their strength of purpose. This caused the defeat of the Romans. (Mai, p.154. Cp. Zonaras, 7, 23.)

3. Coclius Horatius was by race a Roman. He, when on one occasion the army of the Romans had been routed, so that there was danger of their opponents occupying Rome, alone withstood them all at the wooden bridge, while Marcus cut it down behind Minucius. When it had been cut down, Coclius too crossed the Tiber, having saved himself and Rome by the cutting of the bridge. Yet, as he swam, he might have been struck by a spear of the enemy. To him the senate presents lands (as a reward for his excellent bravery) as much as he could mark out in a day with cattle fastened to a plow.

He was called Coclius in the Roman tongue because he had lost one of his eyes before he fought. (Tzetzes, Hist. 3, 818-830. Cp. Haupt, *Hermes* XIV.)

[Sidenote: B. C 364 (*a.u.* 390)] 4. The Romans who were on the Capitol under siege had no hope of safety unless from heavenly powers. So scrupulously did they observe the mandates of religion, although in every extremity of evil, that when it was requisite for one of the sacred rites to be performed by the pontifices in another part of the city Cæso [Footnote: Very likely the copyist erred here. The sense requires "before sentence was passed upon him."] Fabius, who exercised the office of priest, descended for the purpose from the Capitol after receiving his charge, as he had been accustomed to do, and passing through the enemy performed the customary ceremony and returned the same day. I am led to admire the barbarians on the one hand because either on account of the gods or his bravery they spared him: and far more do I feel admiration for the man himself for two reasons, that he dared to descend alone among the enemy, and that when he might have withdrawn to some place of safety he refused and instead voluntarily returned up the Capitol again to a danger that he foresaw: he understood that they hesitated to abandon the spot which was the only part of their country they still held but saw at the same time that no matter how much they desired to escape it was impossible to do so by reason of the multitude of the besiegers. (Valesius, p.581.)

5. Camillus, being urged to let the leadership be entrusted to him, would not allow it because he was an exile and could not take the position according to time-honored usage. He showed himself so law-abiding and exact a man that in so great a danger to his native land he made precedent a matter of earnest thought and did not think it right to hand down to posterity an example of lawlessness. (Valesius, p.582. Cp. Zonaras, 7, 23.)

6. When Rome had been sacked by the Gauls, Brennus being at the head of that expedition of theirs, as the Gauls were on the point of capturing the Capitol by ascending secretly to the Acropolis at night, a great outcry of geese arose in that quarter; and one Marcus Manlius roused from sleep saw the enemy creeping up, and by striking some with his oblong shield and slaying others with his sword he repulsed them all and saved the Romans. For this they gave him the title of Capitolinus, and in honor of the geese they have door-keepers as guards in the palace in remembrance of their watch at that time, just as earlier the Greeks in Athens called Pelargikon Geraneia (Crane-ry) from such creatures. (Tzetzes, His. 830-842. Cp. Zonaras, 7, 23.)

[Frag. XXV]

[Sidenote: B.C. 384 (*a.u.* 370)] 1. The populace passed sentence against Capitolinus, his house was razed to the ground, his money confiscated, and his name and even likeness, if such anywhere existed, were erased and destroyed. At the present day, too, all these punishments, except the razing to the ground, are visited upon those who conspire against the commonwealth. They gave judgment also that no patrician should dwell upon the height because

Capitolinus happened to have had his house there. And his kinsmen among the Manlii prohibited any one of their number from being named Marcus, since that appellation had been his.

Capitolinus at any rate underwent a great reversal, both in his character and in his fortune. Having made a specialty of warfare he did not understand how to remain at peace; the Capitol he had once saved he occupied for the purpose of establishing a tyranny; although a patrician he became the prey of a house-servant; and whereas he was deemed a warrior, he was arrested after the manner of a slave and hurled down the very rock from which he had repulsed the Gauls. (Valesius, p.582. Cp. Zonaras, 7, 24.)

2. Capitolinus was thrown headlong down the rock by the Romans. So true it is that nothing in the affairs of men, — generally speaking, — remains at it was; and success, in particular, leads many people on into catastrophes equally serious. It raises their hopes, makes them continually strive after like or greater results and, if they fail, casts them into just the opposite condition. (Mai, . Cp. Zonaras, 7, 24.)

3. This Marcus Manlius, who was once termed also Capitolinus, and fell through seeking the tyranny, when about to be put to death by vote of all the jurors was saved by their looking just then at the Capitol, where he himself had performed famous deeds of valor, — until the one who spoke against him, perceiving the cause, transferred the assembly to another court-house from which the Capitol could not be seen at all and so a remembrance spring up of his trophies. Then they kill him. But on the other hand, even so, through the whole period the populace of Rome wore black, recompensing the graces of his valor and the inimitable manner of his distinguished behavior. (Tzetzes, Hist. 3, 843-855. Cp. Zonaras, 7, 24.)

[Frag. XXVI]

[Sidenote: B.C. 381 (*a.u.* 373)] 1. Camillus made a campaign against the Tusculans, but thanks to the astonishing attitude that they adopted they suffered no harm. For just as if they themselves were guilty of no offence and the Romans entertained no anger toward them, but were either coming to them as friends to friends or else marching through their territory against some other tribes, they changed none of their accustomed habits and were not in the least disturbed: instead, all without exception remaining in their places, at their occupations and at their other work just as in time of peace, received the army within their borders, gave them hospitable gifts, and in other ways honored them like friends. Consequently the Romans so far from doing them harm enrolled them subsequently among the citizens. (Valesius, p.582.)

[Frag. XXVII]

[Sidenote: B.C. 376 (*a.u.* 378)] 2. In Dio's 7th Book: "Tusculans did not raise their hands against him." (Bekker, Anecd. , 32.)

1. The wife of Rufus, while he was military tribune and engaged in public service in the Forum was visited by her sister.[Footnote: Livy and Valerius Maximus give his name as *Gaius*.] When the husband arrived and the lictor,

according to some ancient custom, knocked at the door, the visitor was alarmed at this having never previously had any such experience and was startled. She was consequently the subject of hearty laughter on the part of her sister and the rest alike and she was made a butt for jests as one not at home in an official atmosphere because her husband had never proved his capacity in any position of authority. She took it terribly to heart, as women, from their littleness of soul, usually do, and would not give up her resentment until she had thrown all the city in an uproar. Thus small accidental events become, in some cases, the cause of many great evils, when a person receives them with jealousy and envy. (Mai, p.155. Zonaras, 7, 24)

2. In the midst of evils expectation of rescue has power to persuade one to trust even in what is beyond reason. (Mai, p.156.)

3. For by their disputes they kept constantly enfeebling in one way or another the good order of their government; consequently, all these objects so to speak for which they were formerly accustomed to wage the greatest wars they gained in time — not without factional quarrels, to be sure, but still with small difficulty. (Mai, ib.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 368 (*a.u.* 386)] 4. Publius,[Footnote: The gap existing from the word “Forum” to the end of the sentence is supplied by Bekker’s conjecture.] when the citizens of Rome were quarreling with one another, nearly reconciled them. For he chose as master of the horse Licinius Stolo, who was merely one of the populace.[Footnote: This is Publius Manlius, the dictator (Livy, VI, 39).] This innovation grieved the patricians, but conciliated the rest so much that they no longer laid claim to the consulship for the following year, but allowed the consular tribunes to be chosen. As a result of this they in turn yielded some points one to the other, and perhaps would have made peace with each other had not Stolo the tribune made such utterance as that they should not drink unless they could eat and so persuaded them to relinquish nothing, but to perform as inevitable duties all that they had taken in hand. (Valesius, p.585.)

[Frag. XXVIII]

[Sidenote: B.C. 362 (*a.u.* 392)] 1. Dio Cassius Cocceianus, the compiler of Roman history, states that as a result of the wrath of Heaven a fissure opened in the ground round about Rome and would not close. An oracular utterance having been obtained to the effect that the fissure would close if they should throw into it the mightiest possession of the Romans, one Curtius, a knight of noble birth, when no one else was able to understand the oracle, himself interpreted it to mean a horse and man together. Straightway he mounted his horse and, just as he was, dashed heroically forward and passed down into that frightful pit. No sooner had he rushed down the incline than the fissure closed; and the rest of the Romans from above scattered flowers. From this event the name of Curtius was applied also to a cellar. (Io. Tzetzes, Scholia for the Interpretation of Homer’s Iliad, , 17, Cp. Zonaras, 7, 25.)

2. There is no mortal creature either better or stronger than man. Do you

not see that all the rest go downwards and look forever toward the earth and accomplish nothing save what is closely connected with eating and the propagation of their species? So they have been condemned to these pursuits even by Nature herself. We alone gaze upwards and associate with heaven itself and despise those things that are on the earth, while we dwell with the gods themselves, believing them to be similar to us inasmuch as we are both their offspring and creations, not earthly but heavenly: for which reason we paint and fashion those very beings according to our forms. For, if one may speak somewhat boldly, man is naught else than a god with mortal body, and a god naught else than a man without body and consequently immortal. That is why we surpass all other creatures. And there is nothing afoot which we do not enslave, overtaking it by speed or subduing it by force or catching it by some artifice, nor yet aught that lives in the water or travels the air: nay, even of these two classes, we pull the former up from the depths without seeing them and drag the latter down from the sky without reaching them. (Mai, . Zonaras, 7, 25.)

[Frag. XXIX]

Dio says: "Wherefore, although not accustomed to indulgence in digressions, I have taken pains to make mention of it and have stated in addition the Olympiad, in order that when most men forget the date of the migration,[Footnote: This last clause is a conjecture by Reimar.] it may, from the precaution mentioned, become less doubtful." (Mai, .)

[Frag. XXX]

[Sidenote: B.C. 353 (*a.u.* 401)] The Agyllæans, when they ascertained that the Romans wished to make war on them, despatched ambassadors to Rome before any vote was taken, and obtained peace on surrender of half their territory. (Ursinus, .)

[Frag. XXXI]

[Sidenote: B.C. 349 (*a.u.* 405)] Marcus Corvinus received the name of Corvinus because when once engaged with a barbarian in single combat, he had a savage crow as his ally in the battle, that flew at the eyes of the barbarian until this Marcus killed him at that time. (Tzetzes, Hist. 3, 862-866. Cp. Zonaras, 7, 25.)

[Frag. XXXII]

1. These proposals and a few others of similar nature they put forward not because they expected to carry any of them into effect, — for they, if anybody, understood the purposes of the Romans, — but in order that failing to obtain their requests they might secure an excuse for complaints, on the ground that wrong had been done them. (Mai, .)

[Sidenote: B.C. 340 (*a.u.* 414)] 2. Dio in Book 7: "And for this reason I shall execute you, in order that even as you obtain the prize for your prowess, so you may receive the penalty for your disobedience." [Footnote: The migration of Alexander(?). See Livy, VIII, 3, 6.] (Bekker, Anecd. , 19. Zonaras, 7, 26.)

3. The statement is made by Douris, Diodorus and Dio that when the Samnites, Etruscans and other nations were warring against the Romans, Decius, a Roman consul and associated with Torquatus in command of the troops, gave himself to be slain, and of the opposite side there were slaughtered a hundred thousand that very day.[Footnote: Words of Torquatus to his son.] (Io. Tzetzes, on Lycophr. 1378. Zonaras, 7, 26.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 340 (*a.u.* 414)] 4. Dio says: "I am surprised that his (Decius's) death should have set the battle right again, should have defeated the side that was winning and have given victory to the men who were getting worsted: I can not even comprehend what brought about the result. When I reflect what some have accomplished, — for we know that many such chances have befallen many persons before, — I can not disbelieve the tradition: but when I come to calculate the causes of it, I fall into a great dilemma. How can you believe that from such a sacrifice of one man so great a multitude of human beings were brought over at once to safety and to victory? Well, the truth of the matter and the causes that are responsible shall be left to others to investigate." (Mai, p.157. Zonaras, 7, 26.)

5. It was evident to every one that they had considered the outcome of the event [Footnote: At the battle of Sentinum (295 B.C.).] and had ranged themselves on the victorious side. Torquatus did not, however, question them about it for fear they might revolt, since the affair of the Latins was still a sore point with them. He was not harsh in every case nor in most matters the sort of man he had shown himself toward his son: on the contrary, he was admitted to be good at planning and good in warfare, so that it was said by the citizens and by their adversaries alike that he held success in war subservient to him, and that if he had been leader of the Latins, he would certainly have made them conquer. (Mai, p.157, and Valesius, p.585.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 340 (*a.u.* 414)] 6. The Romans, although vexed at Torquatus on account of his son to such an extent that deeds remarkable for their cold-blooded indifference [Footnote: The phrase after "deeds" is supplied from the general sense. The MS. shows a superlative ending of adjective form, but the root portion of the word is lost.] are called "Manliana," after him, and angry furthermore that he had celebrated the triumph in spite of the death of that youth, in spite of the death of his colleague, nevertheless when another war threatened them elected him again to a fourth consulship. He, however, refused to hold their chief office longer, and renounced it, declaring: "I could not endure you nor you me." (Mai, p.157. Zonaras, 7, 26.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 338 (*a.u.* 416)] 7. The Romans by way of bringing the Latins in turn to a condition of friendliness, granted them citizenship so that they secured equal privileges with themselves. Those rights which they would not share with that people when it threatened war and for which they underwent so many dangers, they voluntarily voted to it now that they conquered. Thus they requited some for their allegiance and others because they had taken no steps of a revolutionary character. (Mai, p.158.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 328 (*a.u.* 426)] 8. With reference to the inhabitants of Privernum the Romans made no enquiry, asking them what they deserved to suffer for such conduct. The others answered boldly: "Whatever is suitable for men who are free and desire so to continue." To the next question of the consul: "And what will you do if you obtain peace?" they replied: "If we are granted it on [Sidenote: B.C. 426 (*a.u.* 426)] fairly moderate terms, we will cease from disturbance, but if unendurable burdens are placed upon us, we will fight." Admiring their spirit they not only made a much more favorable truce with them than with the rest [lacuna] (Mai, p.158.)

[Frag. XXXIII]

[Sidenote: B.C. 325 (*a.u.* 429)] 1. [From the address of the father of Rullus.] Be well assured that penalties most unfitting in such cases, while they destroy the culprits under sentence, who might have been made better, are of no avail in correcting the rest. Human nature refuses to leave its regular course for any threats. Some pressing fear or violence of audacity together with courage born of inexperience and rashness sprung from opportunity, or some other combination of circumstances such as often occurs unexpectedly in the careers of many persons leads men to do wrong. And these men are of two classes, — such as do not even think of the punishments but heedless of them rush into the business before them, and such as esteem them of no moment in comparison with the attainment of the ends for which they are striving.

Consistent humanity, however, can produce an effect quite the opposite of that just now mentioned. Through the influence of a seasonable pardon the criminals frequently change their ways, especially when they have acted from brave and not from wicked motives, from ambition and not from baseness. For it should be noted that a reasonable humanity is a mighty force for subduing and correcting a noble soul. As for the rest, they are, without resistance, brought [Sidenote: B.C. 325 (*a.u.* 429)] into a proper frame of mind by the sight of the rescue. Every one would rather obey than be forced, and prefers voluntary to compulsory observance of the law. He who submits to a measure works for it as if it were his own invention, but what is imposed upon him he rejects as unfitting for a freeman. Furthermore it is the part of the highest virtue and power alike not to kill a man, — this is often done by the wickedest and weakest men, — but to spare him and to preserve him; yet no one of us is at liberty to do that without your consent.

It is my wish at length to cease from speaking. What little spirit I have is weary, my voice is giving way, tears check my utterance and fear closes my mouth. But I am at a loss how to close. For my suffering, appearing to me in no doubtful light, does not allow me (unless you decide otherwise) [Footnote: A clause that in the MS. has faded out is represented here by Boissevian's conjecture.] to be silent, but compels me, as if the safety of my child were going to be in accord with whatever I say last, to speak even further as it were in prayers. (Mai, p.159.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 325 (*a.u.* 429)] 2. The name and form of the office with which he was invested he shrank from changing, and when he was intending to spare Rullus, — for he observed the zeal of the populace, — he wished to resist him somewhat before granting the favor and to alter the attitude of the young men, so as to have his pardon come unexpectedly. Therefore he contracted his face, and darting a harsh frowning look at the populace, he raised his voice and spoke. The talking ceased, but still they were not quiet: instead, as generally happens in such a case, what with groaning over his fate and whispering one to another, in spite of their not uttering a single word they gave the impression that they desired the rescue of the cavalry commander. Papirius seeing this, in fear of their possibly taking hostile action, relaxed the extremely domineering manner which he had assumed (for purposes of their correction) in an unusual degree, and by showing moderation in the rest of his actions brought them once more to friendship and enthusiasm for him, so that they proved themselves men when they met their opponents. (Mai, p.160. Zonaras, 7, 26.)

3. The Samnites after their defeat at the hands of the Romans, made proposals for truce to the Romans in the city. They sent them all the Roman captives that they held, together with the property of a man named Papius, [Footnote: *Papius Brutulus*.] who was esteemed among the foremost of his race and bore the entire responsibility for the war; his bones, since he anticipated them in committing suicide, they scattered abroad. Yet they did not obtain their peace; for they were regarded as untrustworthy and had the name of making truces according to events merely for the purpose of cheating any power that conquered them: hence they not only failed to obtain terms, but even brought a relentless war upon themselves. The Romans while accepting their prisoners voted to make war upon them without announcement. (Ursinus, p.374. Zonaras, 7, 26.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 321. (*a.u.* 433)] 4. Among the many events of human history that might give one cause for wonder must certainly be reckoned what occurred at this time. The Romans, who were so extremely arrogant as to vote that they would not again receive a herald from the Samnites in the matter of peace and hoped moreover to capture them all at the first blow, succumbed to a terrible disaster and incurred disgrace as never before; the others, who to begin with were badly frightened and thought the refusal to make peace a great calamity, seized their camp and entire force, and sent them all under the yoke. So great a reverse of fortune did they suffer. (Mai, p.161. Zonaras, 7, 26.)

5. Benefits lie rather within the actual choice of men and are not brought about by necessity, or by ignorance, or anger, or deceit, or anything of the sort, but are performed voluntarily by a willing and eager condition of spirit. And for this reason it is proper to pity, admonish, instruct those who commit any error and to admire, love, reward those who do right. Whenever men act in both of these two ways, it is decidedly more befitting our characters to

remember their better than their less correct deeds. [Footnote: Sections 5, 6, and 7 appear to come from various speeches delivered at the Caudine Forks; section 8, however, is from the speech of Herennius Pontius.] (Mai, p.535.)

6. Quarrels are checked by kindness. The greater the pitch of enmity to which a man has come when he unexpectedly obtains safety instead of severity, the more readily does he hasten voluntarily to abandon the quarrel and to acknowledge gladly the influence of kindness. B.C. 321 (*a.u.* 433) As in a random host of persons at variance from divers causes those who have passed from friendship to enmity hate each other with the more intense hatred, so in a random host of persons kindly treated do those who receive this considerate treatment after a state of strife love their benefactors the more. Romans, accordingly, are very anxious to surpass in war and at the same time they honor virtue; for this reason, compelled in both regards by their nobility of spirit, they verily earn the right to surpass, since they take pains to recompense fair treatment fairly, and even beyond its value. (Mai, p.161.)

7. For it is right to pride one's self upon requiting those who have done some wrong, but to feel more highly elated over recompensing such as have conferred some benefit. (Mai, p.536.)

8. All men are by nature so constituted as to grieve more over any insults offered them than they rejoice over benefits conferred upon them: therefore they show hostility to persons who have injured them with less effort than they require for aiding in return persons who have shown them kindness; hence also they make no account, when their own advantage is concerned, of the ill reputation they will gain by not taking a friendly attitude toward their preserver, but indulge a spirit of wrath even when such behavior runs counter to their own interest.

Such was the advice he gave them out of his own inherent good sense and experience acquired in a long life, not looking to the gratification of the moment but to the possible regret of the future. (Mai, p.162.)

9. The people of Capua, when the Romans after [Sidenote: B.C. 321 (*a.u.* 433)] their defeat arrived in that city, were guilty of no bitter speech or outrageous act, but on the contrary gave them both food and horses and received them like victors. They pitied in their misfortune the men whom they would have not wished to see conquer on account of the treatment those same persons had formerly accorded them. When the Romans heard of the event they were altogether possessed by doubt whether to be pleased at the survival of their soldiers or whether to continue displeased. When they thought of the depth of the disgrace their grief was extreme; for they deemed it unworthy of them to have met with defeat, and especially at the hands of the Samnites, so that they could wish that all had perished; when they stopped to reflect, however, that if such a calamity had befallen them all the rest as well would have incurred danger, they were not sorry to hear that the men had been saved. (Mai, p.162. Zonaras, 7, 26.) 10. It is requisite and blameless for all men to plan for their own safety, and if they get into any danger to do

anything whatsoever so as to be preserved. (Mai, p.163.)

11. Pardon is granted both by gods and by men to such as have committed any act involuntarily. (Ib. Zonaras, 7, 26.)

12. Dio in Book 8: "I both take to myself the crime and admit the perjury." (Bekker, Anecd. p.165, 13.)

13. Dio in Book 8: "For in all such matters he was quite all-sufficient to himself." [Footnote: This is thought to refer to L. Papirius Cursor or possibly to Q. Fabius Maximus. Cp. Livy, X, 26.] (Ib. p.124, 1.)

14.[Sidenote: B.C. 321 (*a.u.* 433)] The Samnites, seeing that neither were the oaths observed by them nor gratitude for favors manifested in any other way, and that few instead of many were surrendered, thus making void the oaths, became terribly angry and loudly called upon the gods in respect to some of these matters: moreover, they brought the pledges to their attention, demanded the captives, and ordered them to pass naked under the same yoke where through pity they had been released, in order that by experience they might learn to abide by terms which had been once agreed upon. The men that had been surrendered they dismissed, either because they did not think it right to destroy guiltless persons or because they wished to fasten the perjury upon the populace and not through the punishment of a few men to absolve the rest. This they did, hoping as a result to secure decent treatment. (Mai, p.163. Zonaras, 7, 26.) 15. The Romans so far from being grateful to the Samnites for the preservation of the surrendered soldiers, actually behaved as if they had in this suffered some outrage. They showed anger in their conduct of the war, and, being victorious, treated the Samnites in the same way. For the justice of the battle-field does not fit the ordinary definition of the word, and it is not inevitable that the party which has been wronged should conquer: instead, war, in its absolute sway, adjusts everything to the advantage of the victor, often causing something that is the reverse of justice to go under that name. (Mai, p.163. Zonaras, 7, 26.)

16.[Sidenote: B.C. 321 (*a.u.* 433)] The Romans after vanquishing the Samnites sent the captives in their turn under the yoke, regarding as satisfactory to their honor a repayment of similar disgrace. So did Fortune for both parties in the briefest time reverse her position and by treating the Samnites to the same humiliation at the hands of their outraged foes show clearly that here, too, she was all-supreme. (Mai, . Zonaras, 7, 26.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 319 (*a.u.* 435)] 17. Papirius made a campaign against the Samnites and having reduced them to a state of siege entrenched himself before them. At this time some one reproached him with excessive use of wine, whereupon he replied: "That I am not intoxicated is clear to every one from the fact that I am up at the peep of dawn and lie down to rest latest of all. But on account of having public affairs on my mind day and night alike, and not being able to obtain sleep easily, I take a little wine to lull me to rest." (Mai, ib.)

18. The same man one day while making the rounds of the garrison

became angry on not finding the general from Præneste at his post. He summoned him and bade him hand the axe to the lictor. Alarm and consternation at this was evident on the part of the general, and his fear sufficed. Papirius harmed him no further but merely gave orders to the lictor to cut off some roots growing beside the tents, so that they should not injure passers-by. (Mai, ib.)

19. In numerous cases instances of good fortune are not at all constant, but lead many aside into paths of carelessness and ruin them.[Footnote: Cp. Livy, IX, 18, 8.] (Mai, .)

[Sidenote: B.C. 310 (*a.u.* 444)] 20. The men of the city put forward Papirius as dictator, and fearing that Rullus might be unwilling to name him on account of his own experiences while master of the horse, they sent for him and begged him to put the common weal before a private grudge. And he gave the envoys, indeed, no response, but when night had come (according to ancient custom it was quite necessary that the dictator be appointed at night), he named Papirius and secured by this act the greatest renown.(Valesius, .)

[Sidenote: B.C. 296 (*a.u.*)] 21. Appius the Blind and Volumnius became at variance each with the other: and it was owing to this that Volumnius once, when Appius charged him in the assembly with showing no gratitude for the progress he had made in wisdom through Appius's instruction, answered that he had indeed grown wiser and was likewise ready to admit it, but that Appius had not advanced at all in matters pertaining to war. (Mai, .)

[Sidenote: B.C. 296 (*a.u.* 458)] 22. As regards the prophecy the multitude was not capable for the time being of either believing or disbelieving him. [Footnote: I.e., Manius, an Etruscan.] It neither wished to hope for everything, inasmuch as it did not desire to see everything fulfilled, nor did it dare to refuse belief in all points inasmuch as it wished to be victorious, but was placed in an extremely painful position, as it were between confusion and fear. As each single event occurred they applied the interpretation to it according to the actual result, and the man himself undertook to assume some reputation for skill with regard to the foreknowledge of the unseen. (Mai, . Cp. Zonaras, 8, 1.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 293 (*a.u.* 461)] 23. The Samnites, enraged at what occurred and deeming it highly disgraceful to be defeated, resorted to extreme daring and folly with the intention of either conquering or being utterly destroyed. They assembled all their men that were of military age, threatening with death all that should remain at home, and they bound themselves with frightful oaths to the effect that no man should flee from the contest but should slaughter any person that might undertake to do so. (Mai, ib. Zonaras, 8, 1.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 292 (*a.u.* 462)] 24. The Romans on hearing that their consul Fabius had been worsted in the war became terribly angry and summoned him to stand trial. A vehement denunciation of the man was made before the people, — and, indeed, he was depressed by the injury to his father's reputation even more than by the complaints, — and no opportunity

was afforded the object of the attack for reply. Nor did the elder man make a set defence of his son, but by enumerating his own services and those of his ancestors, and by promising furthermore that his son would do nothing unworthy of them, he abated the people's wrath, especially since he urged his son's youth. Moreover, he joined him at once in the campaign, overthrew the Samnites in battle, though they were elated by their victory, and captured their camp and great booty. The Romans therefore extolled him and ordered that his son also should command for the future with consular powers, and still employ his father as lieutenant. The latter managed and arranged everything for him, sparing his old age not a whit, and the allied forces readily assisted the father in remembrance of his old-time deeds. He made it clear, however, that he was not executing the business on his own responsibility, but he associated with his son as if actually in the capacity of counselor and under-officer, while he moderated his temperament and assigned to him the glory of the exploits. (Valesius, . Zonaras, 8, 1.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 291 (a.u. 463)] 25. The soldiers with Junius who took the field along with Postumius fell sick on the way, and thought that their trouble was due to the felling of the grove. He was recalled for these reasons, but showed contempt for them even at this juncture, declaring that the senate was not his master but that he was master of the senate [lacuna] Envio [lacuna] and the [lacuna] men much [lacuna] ambition [lacuna] [Words of Postumius Megillus: Cp. Dionys. Hal. Ant. Rom. 16, [Footnote: The famous Apollonius of Tyana.]. (Mai, .)

[Frag. XXXIV]

Gaius Fabricius in most respects was like Rufinus, but in incorruptibility far superior. He was very firm against bribes, and on that account did not please Rufinus, but was always at variance with him. Yet the latter chose Fabricius, thinking that he was a most proper person to meet the requirements of the war, and making his personal enmity of little account in comparison with the advantage of the commonwealth.

[Frag. XXXIV]

As a result he gained some reputation for having shown himself above jealousy, which springs up in the hearts of many of the best men by reason of emulation. Since he was a thorough patriot and did not practice virtue for a show he thought it a matter of indifference whether the State were benefited by him or through some other man, even if that man should be an opponent. (Valesius, p.586.)

[Frag. XXXV]

Cornelius Fabricius, when asked why he had entrusted the business to his foe, [lacuna][Footnote: See Niebuhr, Rh. Mus., 1828, p.600, or *Kleine Schriften*, 2, p.241.] the general excellence of Rufius and added that to be spoiled by the citizen is preferable to being bought and sold by the enemy. [This anecdote concerns Fabricius Luscinus, mentioned by Cicero, de orat. 2, 66, 268; Quintilian 12, 1, 43; Gellius 4, 48.]

[Frag. XXXVI]

[Sidenote: B.C. 290 (*a.u.* 464)] Curius, in defence of his conduct in the popular assembly, said that he had acquired so much land [lacuna] and had hunted for so many men [lacuna] country [lacuna] [The person referred to is Manius Curius Dentatus. Cp. Auct. de Viris. Illustr., c. 33.]

After Niebuhr, Rh. Mus. 1828, p.579.]

[Frag. XXXVII]

When the tribunes moved an annulment of debts, the law was often proposed without avail, since the lenders were by no means willing to accept it and the tribunes granted the nobles the choice of either putting this law to the vote or following that of Stolo, by which they were to reckon the previous interest toward the principal and receive the remainder in triennial payments. [Footnote: The opening portion of this fragment is based largely on conjectures of Niebuhr (Rhein. Mus., 1828, p.579 ff.)] And for the time being the weaker party, dreading lest it might lose all, paid court to them, and the wealthier class, encouraged to think it would not be compelled to adopt either course, maintained a hostile attitude. But when the revolted [Footnote: A doubtful reading.] party proceeded to press matters somewhat, both sides changed their positions. The debtors were no longer satisfied with either plan, and the nobles thought themselves lucky if they should not be deprived of their principal. Hence the dispute was not decided immediately, but subsequently they prolonged their rivalry in a spirit of contentiousness, and did not act at all in their usual character. Finally the people made peace in spite of the fact that the nobles were unwilling to remit much more than they had originally expected; however, the more they beheld their creditors yielding, the more were they emboldened, as if they were successful by a kind of right; and consequently they regarded the various concessions almost as matters of course and strove for yet more, using as a stepping-stone to that end the fact that they had already obtained something. (Mai, p.167. Zonaras, 8,2.)

[Frag. XXXVIII]

When the opposite side [Footnote: The Tuscans, Senones, and Gauls appear to be meant.] saw also another general approaching, they ceased to heed the common interests of their force but each cast about to secure his individual safety, as a common practice of those who form a union uncemented by kindred blood, or who make a campaign without common grievances, or who have not one commander. While good fortune attends them their views are harmonious, but in disaster each one sees before him only matters of individual concern. They betook themselves to flight as soon as it had grown dark, without having communicated to one another their intention. In a body they thought it would be impossible for them to force their way out or for their defection to pass unnoticed, but if they should leave each on his own account and, as they believed, alone, they would more easily escape. And so, to his own party, — each one of them [lacuna] they will think

that accomplishing their flight with the greatest security [lacuna] (Mai, p.167.)

[Frag. XXXIX]

[Sidenote: B.C. 283 (a.u. 471)] 1. The Romans had learned that the Tarentini and some others were making ready to war against them, and had despatched Fabricius as an envoy to the allied cities to prevent them from committing any revolutionary act: but they had him arrested, and by sending men to the Etruscans and Umbrians and Gauls they caused a number of them also to secede, some immediately and some a little later. (Ursinus, p.375. Zonaras, 8, 2-Vol. II, p.174, 4 sq.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 283 (a.u. 471)] 2. The Tarentini, although they had themselves initiated the war, nevertheless were sheltered from fear. For the Romans, who understood what they were doing, pretended not to know it on account of temporary embarrassments. Hereupon the Tarentini, thinking that they either could mock [Footnote: Verb adopted from Boissevain's conjecture [Greek: *diasilloun*] (cp. the same word in Book Fifty-nine, chapter 25). at Rome or were entirely unobserved because they were receiving no complaints behaved still more insolently and involved the Romans even contrary to their own wishes in a war. This proved the saying that even good fortune, when a disproportionately large portion of it falls to the lot of any individuals, becomes the cause of disaster to them; it entices them on to a state of frenzy (since moderation refuses to cohabit with vanity) and ruins their greatest interests. So these Tarentini, too, after rising to an unexampled height of prosperity in turn met with a misfortune that was an equivalent return for their wantonness. (Mai, p.168 and 536.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 282 (a.u. 472)] 3. Dio in Book 9: "Lucius Valerius,

[Footnote: Appian (Samnite Wars, VII, 1) gives the second name as Cornelius.] who was admiral of the Romans and had been despatched on some errand by them." (Bekker, Anecd. p.158, 25. Zonaras, 8, 2.)

4. Lucius was despatched by the Romans to Tarentum. Now the Tarentini were celebrating the Dionysia, and sitting gorged with wine in the theatre of an afternoon suspected that he was sailing against them as an enemy. Immediately in a passion and partly under the influence of their intoxication they set sail in turn: so without any show of force on his part or the slightest expectation of any hostile act they attacked and sent to the bottom both him and many others. When the Romans heard of this they naturally were angry, but did not choose to take the field against Tarentum at once. However, they despatched envoys in order not to seem to have passed over the affair in silence and by that means render them more impudent. But the Tarentini, so far from receiving them decently or even sending them back with an answer in any way suitable, at once, before so much as granting them an audience, made sport of their dress and general appearance. It was the city garb, which we use in the Forum; and this the envoys had put on, either for the sake of stateliness or else through fear, thinking that this at least would cause the

foreigners to respect their position. Bands of revelers accordingly jeered at them, — they were still celebrating the festival, which, although they were at no time noted for temperate behavior, rendered them still more wanton, — and finally a man planted himself in the road of Postumius and, with a forward inclination, threw him down and soiled his clothing. At this an uproar arose from all the rest, who praised the fellow as if he had performed some remarkable deed, and they sang many scurrilous anapæsts upon the Romans, accompanied by applause and capering steps. But Postumius cried: “Laugh, laugh while you may! For long will be the period of your weeping, when you shall wash this garment clean with your blood.” (Ursinus, p.375. Mai, 168. Zonaras, 8, 2.)

5. Hearing this they ceased their jests but could accomplish nothing towards obtaining pardon for their insult: however, they took to themselves credit for a kindness in the fact that they let the ambassadors withdraw unharmed. (Mai, *ib.*)

6. Meton, failing to persuade the Tarentini not to engage in hostilities with the Romans, retired unobserved from the assembly, put garlands on his head, and returned along with some fellow-revelers and a flute girl. At the sight of him singing and dancing the kordax, they gave up the business in hand to accompany his movements with shouts and hand-clapping, as is often done under such circumstances. But he, after reducing them to silence, spoke: “Now it is yours both to be drunken and to revel, but if you accomplish what you plan to do, we shall be slaves.” (Mai, p.169.)

[Frag. XL]

[Sidenote: B.C. 281 (*a.u.* 473)] King Pyrrhus was not only king of the district called Epirus, but had made the larger part of the Greek world his own, partly by kindness and partly by fear. The Ætolians, who at that period possessed great power, and Philip [Footnote: The son of Cassander, who ruled only four months in B. C. 296.] the Macedonian, and the chief men in Illyricum did his bidding. By natural brilliancy and force of education and experience in affairs he far surpassed all, so as to be esteemed far beyond what was warranted by his own powers and those of his allies, although these powers were great. (Valesius, p.589. Zonaras, 8, 2.)

2. Pyrrhus, the king of Epirus, had a particularly high opinion of his powers in that he was deemed by foreign nations a match for the Romans: and he believed that it would be opportune to assist the fugitives who had taken refuge with him, especially as they were Greeks, and at the same time to anticipate the Romans with some plausible excuse before he received any damage at their hands. So careful was he about a fair pretext that though he had long had his eye on Sicily and had been considering how he could overthrow the Roman dominion, he shrank from taking the initiative in hostilities, when no wrong had been done him. (Mai, p.169. Zonaras, 8, 2.)

3. King Pyrrhus was said to have captured more cities by Cineas than by his own spear. For the latter, says Plutarch, [Footnote: Cp. Plutarch, *Life of*

Pyrrhus, chapter 14.] was skilled in speaking, — the only one in fact to be compared in skill with Demosthenes. Notwithstanding, as a sensible man, he spoke in opposition to Pyrrhus, pointing out to him the folly of the expedition. For the king intended by his prowess to rule the whole earth, whereas Cineas urged him to be satisfied with his own possessions, which were sufficient for enjoyment. But the man's fondness for war and fondness for leadership prevailed against the advice of Cineas and caused him to depart in disgrace from both Sicily and Italy, after losing in all of the battles many myriads of his own forces. (Valesius, p.586.)

4. Pyrrhus sent to Dodona and enquired of the oracle about the expedition. And a response having come to him: "You, if you cross into Italy, Romans shall conquer," he construed it according to his wish (for desire has mighty power to deceive any one) and would not even await the coming of spring. (Mai, p.169.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 280 (a.u. 474)] 5. The Rhegians had asked of the Romans a garrison, and Decius [Footnote: *Decius Vibellius*.] was the leader of it. The majority of these guards, accordingly, as a result of the excess of supplies and general easy habits, — for they enjoyed a far less strenuous existence than they had known at home, — through the persuasion of Decius formed the desire to kill the foremost Rhegians and occupy the city. It seemed as though they might be quite free to perform whatever they pleased, unconcerned about the Romans, who were busied with the Tarentini and with Pyrrhus. Decius was further enabled to persuade them by the fact that they saw Messana in the power of the Mamertines. The latter, who were Campanians and had been appointed to garrison it by Agathocles, the lord of Sicily, had slaughtered the natives and occupied the town.

The conspirators did not, however, make their attempt openly, since they were decidedly inferior in numbers. Letters were forged by Decius, purporting to have been written to Pyrrhus by some citizens with a view to the betrayal of the city. He next assembled the soldiers and read these to them, stating that they had been intercepted, and by his talk (the character of which may easily be conceived) excited them greatly. The effect was enhanced by the sudden announcement of a man (who had been assigned to the role) that a portion of Pyrrhus's fleet had anchored somewhere off the coast, having come for a conference with the traitors. Others, who had been instructed, magnified the matter, and shouted out that they must anticipate the Rhegians before some harm happened, and that the traitors, ignorant of what was being done, would find it difficult to resist them. So some rushed down to the landing places, and others broke into the houses and slaughtered great numbers, — save that a few had been invited to dinner by Decius and were slain there. (Valesius, p.589.)

6. Decius, commander of the garrison, after slaying the Rhegians, ratified friendship with the Mamertines, thinking that the similar nature of their outrages would render them most trustworthy allies. He was well aware that a great many men find the ties resulting from some common transgression

stronger to unite them than the obligations of lawful association or the bonds of kinship. (Mai, p.170.)

7. The Romans suffered some reproach from them for a while, until such time as they took the field against them. For since they were busied with concerns that were greater and more urgent, what these men did seemed to some of comparatively little importance. (Mai, p.170.)

8. The Romans, on learning that Pyrrhus was to come, stood in terror of him, since they had heard that he was a good warrior and had a large force by no means despicable as an adversary, — the sort of information, of course, that is always given to enquirers in regard to persons unknown to them who live at a very great distance. (Mai, p.170. Zonaras, 8,3.)

9. For it is impossible that persons not brought up under the same institutions, nor filled with the same ambitions, nor regarding the same things as base or noble, should ever become friends with one another. [Footnote: Nos. 9, 10, and 11 are thought to be possibly from the speech made by Lævinus to the soldiers (Zonaras, VIII, 3, 6).] (Mai, .)

10. Ambition and distrust are always qualities of tyrants, and so it is inevitable that they should possess no real friend. A man who is distrusted and envied could not love any one sincerely. Moreover, a similarity of habits and a like station in life and the fact that the same objects are disastrous and beneficial to persons are the only forces that can create true, firm friends. Wherever any one of these conditions is lacking, you see a delusive appearance of comradeship, but find it to be without secure support. (Mai, p.170 and 537.)

11. Generalship, if it is assisted by respectable forces of men, contributes greatly both to their preservation and their chances of victory, but by itself is worth nothing. Nor is there any other profession that is of weight without persons to coöperate and to aid in its administration. (Mai, p.171.)

12. When Megacles was dead and Pyrrhus had cast off his cap the battle took an opposite turn. One side was filled with much greater boldness by his preservation and the fact that he had survived contrary to their fears than if the idea had never gained ground that he was dead: the other side, deceived, had no second fund of zeal to expend, but, since they had been cut short in their premature encouragement and because of the sudden change in their feelings to an expectation of less favorable results, had no hope that he might subsequently perish once more. (Mai, p.171. Zonaras, 8, 3.)

13. When certain men congratulated Pyrrhus on his victory, he accepted the glory of the exploit, but said that if he should ever conquer again in like fashion, it would be his ruin. Besides this story, it is told of him that he admired the Romans even in their defeat and judged them superior to his own soldiers, declaring: "I should already have mastered the whole inhabited world, were I king of the Romans." (Mai, p.171. Zonaras, 8, 3.)

14. Pyrrhus became famous for his victory and acquired a great reputation from it, to such an extent that many who were standing neutral came over to

his side and that all the allies who had been watching the turn of events espoused his cause. He did not openly display anger towards them nor conceal entirely his suspicions; he rebuked them somewhat for their tardiness, but otherwise received them kindly. The result of showing excessive irritation would be, he feared, their open estrangement, while if he failed to reveal his real feelings at all, he thought that he would either be condemned by them for his simplicity in not comprehending what they had done, or would be suspected of harboring secret wrath. Such a surmise would breed in them either contempt or hatred, or would lead to a plot against him, due to the desire to anticipate injuries that they might suffer at his hands. For these reasons, then, he conversed affably with them and presented to them some of the spoils. (Mai, p.172. Zonaras, 8, 4.)

15. Pyrrhus at first undertook to persuade the Roman captives (who were many) to join with him in a campaign against Rome; when, however, they refused, he treated them with the utmost consideration and did not put them in prison or harm them in any other way, his intention being to restore them voluntarily and through their agency to win over the city without a battle. (Valesius, p.590.)

16. The Romans, who by reason of the elephants, — a kind of beast that they had never before seen, — had fallen into dismay, still, by reflecting on the mortal nature of the animals and the fact that no beast is superior to man, but that all of them in every way show inferiority if not as regards strength, at least in respect to understanding, they gradually became encouraged. (Mai, p.172.)

17. The soldiers of Pyrrhus, also, both his native followers and the allies, showed tremendous eagerness for plunder, which seemed to lie ready before them and to be free from danger. (Mai, ib.)

18. The Epirots dishonored the ties of friendship, through vexation that after making the campaign supported by high hopes they were getting nothing except trouble. And this happened very opportunely for the Romans: for the dwellers in Italy that had leagued themselves with him, on seeing that he ravaged the possessions of allies and enemies alike, withdrew. In other words, his acts made a greater impression upon them than his promises. (Mai, ib.)

19. Pyrrhus dreaded being cut off on all sides by the Romans, while he was in unfamiliar regions. When his allies showed displeasure at this he told them that he could see clearly from the country itself what a difference existed between them and the Romans. The subject territory of the latter had all kinds of trees, vineyards and farms, and expensive agricultural machinery; whereas the property of his own friends had been so pillaged, that it was impossible to tell even whether it had ever been settled. (Mai, p.173. Zonaras, 8, 4.)

20. The same man, when as he was retreating it occurred to him to wonder [Footnote: Gap supplied by van Herwerden.] how he beheld the army of Lævinus much larger than it was before, declared that the Roman troops when cut to pieces grew whole again, hydra-fashion. This did not, however, cause

him to lose courage: he made preparations in his turn, but did not come to the issue of battle. (Mai, p.173. Zonaras, 8,4.)

21. Pyrrhus, who learned that Fabricius and other envoys were approaching, to treat in behalf of the captives, sent a guard to them as far as the border, to the end that they should suffer no violence at the hands of the Tarentini, met them in due time, escorted them to the city, entertained them brilliantly and honored them in other ways, expecting that they would ask for a truce and make such terms as was proper for a defeated party. (Ursinus, p.376. Zonaras, 8, 4.)

22. When Fabricius made this statement merely: "The Romans sent us to bring back the men captured in battle, and to pay ransoms of such size for them as shall be agreed upon by both of us," he was quite dumbfounded because the man did not say that he was commissioned to treat about peace; and after removing them he took counsel with the friends who were usually his advisers partly, to be sure, about the return of the captives, but chiefly about the war and its management, whether with vehemence or in some other way it [lacuna] (Four pages are lacking.) (Mai, p.173. Zonaras, 8, 4.)

23 [lacuna]. "to manage, or to run the risk of battles and combats, the outcome of which is doubtful. [Footnote: Cineas is the speaker.] Hence, if you heed me, Milo, and the old proverb, you will not employ violence for any purpose rather than skill, where the latter is feasible, since Pyrrhus knows precisely what he has to do and does not need to be enlightened by us regarding a single detail of his program." By this speech they were all brought to one decision, particularly because this course entailed neither loss nor danger, whereas the others were likely to bring both. And Pyrrhus, being of this mind, said to the ambassadors: "Not willingly, Romans, did I previously make war upon you, and I would not war against you now: I feel that it is of the highest importance to become your friend, and for this reason I release all the captives without ransom and make a treaty of peace." Privately, also, he did them favors, in order that, if possible, they might take his part, or at any rate obtain friendship for him. (Mai, p.173. Zonaras, 8, 4.)

24. Pyrrhus made friends of nearly all, and with Fabricius he conversed as follows: "Fabricius, I do not want to be at war with you any longer, and indeed I repent that I heeded the Tarentini in the first place and came hither, although I have beaten you badly in battle. I would gladly, then, become a friend to all the Romans, but most of all to you. For I see that you are a thoroughly excellent and reputable [Footnote: The two words "and reputable" are a conjecture of Bossevain's. Some ten letters in the MS. have faded out.] man. I accordingly ask you to help me in getting peace and furthermore to accompany me home. I want to make a campaign against Greece and need you as adviser and general." Fabricius replied: "I commend you for repenting of your expedition and desiring peace, and will cordially assist you in that purpose if it is to our advantage (for of course you will not ask me, a man who pretends to uprightness, as you say, to do anything against my country); but

an adviser and general you must never choose from a democracy: as for me, I have no leisure whatever. Nor could I ever accept any of these things, because it is not seemly for an ambassador to receive gifts at all. I would fain know, therefore, whether you in very truth regard me as a reputable man or not. If I am a scoundrel, how is it that you deem me worthy of gifts? If, on the other hand, I am a man of honor, how can you bid me accept them? Let me assure you, then, of the fact that I have many possessions and am in no need of more: what I own supplies me and I feel no desire for what belongs to others. You, however, even if you believe yourself ever so rich, are in unspeakable poverty. For you would not have crossed over to this land, leaving behind Epirus and the rest of your dominions, if you had been content with them and had not been reaching out for more. Whenever a man is in this condition and sets no limit to his greed, he is the poorest of beggars. And why? Because he longs for everything not his own as if it were absolutely necessary, and with the idea that he could not live without it.

“Consequently I would gladly, since you call yourself my friend, afford you a little of my own wealth. It is far more secure and imperishable than yours, and no one envies it or plots against it, neither populace nor tyrant: best of all, the larger the number of persons who share it, the greater it will grow. In what, accordingly, does it consist? In using the little one has with as much satisfaction as if it were inexhaustible, in refraining from the goods of others as if they contained some mighty danger, in wronging no man, in doing well to many, and in numberless other details, which only a person of leisure could rehearse. I, for my part, should choose, if it were absolutely necessary to suffer either one or the other, to perish by violence rather than by deceit. The former falls to the lot of some by the decree of Fortune, but the latter only as a result of folly and great greed of gain: it is, therefore, preferable to fall by the crushing hand of Fate [Footnote: Omitting [Greek: ti], and reading [Greek: thehioy], which the MSS. give.] rather than by one’s own baseness. In the former instance a man’s body is laid low, but in the latter his soul is ruined as well,[lacuna] but in that case a man becomes to a certain extent the slayer of himself, because he who has once taught his soul not to be content with the fortune already possessed, acquires a boundless desire for increased advantages.” (Mai, pp.174 and 538. Zonaras, 8, 4.)

25. And they presented themselves for the enlistment with the greatest zeal, believing, each man of them, that his own defection would mean the overthrow of the fatherland. [Footnote: Cp. Plutarch, Life of Pyrrhus, chapter 18 (early).] (Mai, p.176.)

26. Such is the nature of oratory and so great is its power that it led even them to change, causing courage and hatred to take the place respectively of the fear inspired by Pyrrhus and the estrangements his gifts had wrought. (Mai, ib.)

27. Every force which, contrary to expectation, is humbled in spirit, suffers a loss also in strength. (Mai, p.177.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 279 (*a.u.* 475)] 28. Pyrrhus sent to Decius, telling him that he would not succeed in accomplishing this even if he wished it [i. e., to die without being seized] and threatened besides that if he were taken alive he should perish miserably. To this the consuls answered that they were in no need of having recourse to such a proceeding as the one to which he alluded, since they were sure to conquer him in other ways. (Mai, *ib.* Zonaras, 8, 5.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 278 (*a.u.* 476)] 29. He did not know how he would repulse the one of them [Footnote: "They" are C. Fabricius Luscinus and Q. Aemilius Papus, Roman consuls.] first, nor how he should repel them both, and was in perplexity. To divide the army, which was smaller than that of his opponents, was something he feared to do, yet to allow one of them to ravage the country with impunity seemed to him almost out of the question. (Mai, p.177.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 277 (*a.u.* 477)] 30. However, he behaved in general toward them with great circumspection, and awarded greater credit for his safety to the fact that no one, even if he wished, could harm him, than to the probability that no one would have desired to inflict an injury. It was for this reason, too, that he expelled and slew many who held office and many who called him in to help in their disputes. This was partly because he was somewhat displeased with them, on account of their statements that he had secured the reins of power in the State through their influence, and partly because he was suspicious of them and thought that as they had come over to his side so they might go over to some one else's [lacuna] (Mai, p.178. Zonaras, 8, 5.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 276 (*a.u.* 479)] 31. As the allies were unwilling to contribute anything for the support of Pyrrhus, he betook himself to the treasuries of Persephone, that were widely reputed for their wealth, despoiled them and sent the spoils on ships to Tarentum. And the men almost all perished through a storm, while the money and offerings were cast out on land. (Valesius, p.590.)

32. All admired the following act of Pyrrhus. Some youths at a banquet had ridiculed him, and at first he wished to have them before a court and exact vengeance, but, afterward, when they declared: "We should have said a lot more things a good deal worse, if the wine hadn't failed us," he laughed and let them go. (Mai, *ib.* Zonaras, 8, 6.)

[Frag. XLI]

[Sidenote: B.C. 273 (*a.u.* 481)] Ptolemy, nicknamed Philadelphus, king of Egypt, when he learned that Pyrrhus had fared poorly and that the Romans were growing, sent gifts to them and made a compact. The Romans, accordingly, pleased that a monarch living so very far away should have come to respect them, despatched ambassadors to him in turn. From him the envoys, too, received magnificent gifts; but when they had offered these to the treasury, they would not accept them. (Ursinus, p.374. Zonaras, 8, 6.)

[Frag. XLII]

[Sidenote: B.C. 266 (*a.u.* 488)] Though the Romans were faring in this manner and were constantly rising to greater heights they showed no

haughtiness as yet: on the contrary, they surrendered to the Appolloniatians (Corinthian colonists on the Ionian Gulf) Quintus Fabius, a senator, because he had insulted some of their ambassadors. The people of this town, however, did him no harm, and even sent him home. (Valesius, p.590. Zonaras, 8, 7.)

[Frag. XLIII]

1. The causes responsible for the dispute between the two were — on the side of the Romans that the Carthaginians had assisted the Tarentini, on the side of the Carthaginians, that the Romans had made a treaty of friendship with Hiero. But these they merely put forward as excuses, as those are inclined to do who in reality are desirous of advancing their own interests but pause before a reputation for such action. The truth is different. As a matter of fact, the Carthaginians, who had long been powerful, and the Romans, who were now growing rapidly, kept viewing each other with jealousy; and they were incited to war partly by the desire of continually getting more, according to the instinct of the majority of mankind, most active when they are most successful, and partly also by fear. Each alike thought that the one sure salvation for her own possessions lay in obtaining what the other held. If there had been no other reason, it was most difficult, nay, impossible, for two nations that were free, powerful, and proud, and separated from each other, so to speak, only a very short distance (considering the speed of voyages) to rule any outside tribes and yet keep their hands off each other. But a mere accident of the kind that befell broke the truce they had been keeping and dashed them together in war. (Mai, p.178. Zonaras, 8, 8.)

2. The conflict, according to report, concerned Messina and Sicily, but in reality both parties perceived that from this region danger threatened their native land, and they thought that the island, lying, as it did, between them, would furnish to the side that conquered it a safe base for operations against the other party. (Mai, p.179. Zonaras, 8, 8.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 264 (*a.u.* 490)] 3. Gaius Claudius came to the meeting, and among other remarks which he made to tempt them declared that the object of his presence was to free the city, since the Romans had no need of Messina; and that he would immediately sail away, as soon as he should set their affairs in order. Next he bade the Carthaginians also either to withdraw, or, if they had any just plea to offer, to submit to arbitration. Now when not one of the Mamertines (by reason of fear) opened his lips, and the Carthaginians since they were occupying the city by force of arms paid little heed to him, he stated that the silence on both sides afforded sufficient evidence: on the part of the invaders it showed that they were in the wrong, for they would have justified themselves if their purposes were at all honest, and on the part of the Mamertines that they desired freedom; they might have been quite free to speak, had they espoused the cause of the Carthaginians, especially as there was a force of the latter present. Furthermore he promised that he would aid them, both on account of their Italian origin and on account of the request for assistance they had made. (Mai, p.179. Zonaras, 8,8.)

4. Gaius Claudius lost some of the triremes and with difficulty reached safety. Neither he nor the Romans in the City, however, were prevented from renewing attempts by sea through the fact that they had been worsted when first making a trial of it, although this is the ordinary course that people pursue who fail in the first undertaking and think that they can never again succeed, viewing the past in the light of an omen. On the contrary, they applied themselves to the watery element with an even greater zeal, and chiefly because they were ambitious and did not wish to appear to have been diverted from their purpose by the disaster. (Mai, p.180. Zonaras 8, 8, sq.) 5. Hanno, who was in no wise disposed to make light of the war in case it were bound to occur, was particularly anxious to throw the responsibility for breaking the truce upon the other man, for fear it might be thought that he himself was taking the initiative. Accordingly, he sent back to him the ships and the captives, while he urged him to accept peace and exhorted him besides not to meddle with the sea. (Mai, p.180. Zonaras, 8, 9.)

6. When he would accept nothing, he launched at him an arrogant and reprehensible threat. For he declared that he would never allow the Romans even to wash their hands in the sea: yet he lost not only the sea but also Messana not much later. (Mai, p.180. Zonaras, 8, 9.)

7. Claudius, finding the Mamertines gathered at the harbor, called an assembly of their number and made the statement: "I have no need of arms but will leave it with you to decide everything." By this means he persuaded them to send for Hanno. As the latter refused to come down, he chid him soundly, inveighing against him and declaring that if he had even the slightest justification, he would certainly hold a conference with him and not persist in occupying the city by force. (Mai, p.180. Zonaras, 8, 9.)

8. The consul Claudius exhorted the soldiers beforehand to be of good cheer and not to be cast down over the defeat of the tribune. He instructed them that in the first place victories fall to the lot of the better equipped, and that secondly their valor far surpassed the skill of their opponents. They would acquire, he said, the knowledge of seafaring in a short time, whereas the Carthaginians would never have bravery equal to theirs. Knowledge was something that could be obtained in a brief space by men who gave their minds to it and could be mastered by practice; but bravery, in case it were absent from a man's nature, could never be furnished by instruction. (Mai, .)

9. The Libyans, rejoicing in the idea that they had conquered not through the nature of their position, but by their own valor, sallied out. But Claudius made them so fearful that they would not even peep out of the camp. (Mai, . Zonaras, 8, 9.)

10. For it happens in the majority of instances that those who as a result of calculation fear something are successful by reason of their precaution against it, whereas those whose boldness rests on lack of forethought, are ruined on account of their unguarded condition. [Footnote: The Carthaginians are, in a general way, the subject of this section.] (Mai, .)

11. The quality of moderation both obtains victories and preserves them after they are won, whereas that of wantonness can prevail against nothing, and if it be at any time fortunate in some matter, very easily destroys it. And again, if it perchance preserves some conquest, it grows worse by the very fact of extraordinary good fortune and so far from being benefited by its success is actually ruined by it irretrievably.

Moreover, whenever there is boldness not in accord with reason, you may expect to find unreasoning fear. Calculation, bringing with it resolution strengthened by forethought, and a hope made confident by its own trustworthiness do not allow one to be either dejected or presumptuous. Unreasoning impulse, however, often elates men in the midst of good fortune and humbles them to dust in disasters, possessing, as it were, no support, but always copying the feature of the chance event. (Mai, and .)

12. The Romans and Carthaginians when they entered upon war were equally matched in the number of ships and readiness to serve. [Sidenote: B.C. 260 (*a.u.* 494)] It was a naval battle soon after in which, with equal equipment, they first became engaged. They hoped that it would decide the whole war: Sicily lay before their eyes as the prize: they were contending in a matter of servitude or empire, resolved not to be beaten, lest they taste the former, but to conquer and obtain the latter. One side surpassed in the experience possessed by the crews of its triremes, since they had long been masters of the sea, and the other in the strength of its marines and its daring; for the rashness and audacity of their fighting was commensurate with their inexperience in naval affairs. In matters of experience practically all men make exact calculations and are imbued with wholesome fear, even if their judgment approves a particular course, but the untried renders them unreasonably bold, and draws them into conflict through lack of due consideration. (Mai, p.181.)

13. The Carthaginians because of their defeat by the Romans in the sea-fight came near putting Hannibal to death. It is a trait of practically all people who send out armies on any mission to lay claims to advantage gained but to put the responsibility of defeat upon their leaders, and the Carthaginians were very ready to chastise those who failed in an enterprise.

He, however, was afraid and immediately after the defeat enquired of them whether if the business were still untouched they would bid him risk a sea-fight or not. When they declared in the affirmative, as he had doubtless expected, because they prided themselves on having such a superior navy, he added, by the mouths of the same messengers: "I, then, have done no wrong, for I went into the engagement with the same hopes as you. The decision was within my power but not the fortune of the battle." (Mai, p.182. Zonaras, 8, 11.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 258 (*a.u.* 496)] 14. Dio in Book 11: "When the storm continued and a mist arose besides, he brought about Hannibal's defeat through the agency of some deserters." (Bekker, Anecd. p.171, 26. Zonaras, 8,

12.)

15. But regarding the non-surrender of their native land and the acquirement of foreign territory as matters of equal importance, they [Footnote: I.e., The Carthaginians.] contended with courage and force. For whereas most men defend their own possessions to the very limit of their power but are unwilling to lay claim to the goods of others if it involves danger, these antagonists set a like value upon what they held fast and what they expected, and so were equally determined upon both points. Now the Romans thought it better to conduct the war no longer at a distance, nor to risk a first encounter in the islands, but to have the contest in the Carthaginians' own land. If they failed, they would lose nothing; and if they conquered they would obtain something besides hopes. Therefore, making their preparation follow their resolve, they took the field against Carthage. (Mai, . Cp. Zonaras, 8, 12.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 256 (*a.u.* 498)] 16. Their leaders were Regulus and Lucius, preferred before others for their excellence. Regulus was, indeed, in so great poverty that he did not readily consent, on that account, to take up the command; and it was voted that his wife and children should be furnished their support from the public treasury. (Valesius, . Zonaras, 8, 12.)

17. Hanno had been sent to the Romans by Hamilcar, as was pretended, in behalf of peace, but in reality for the sake of delay. And he, when some clamored for his arrest, because the Carthaginians by fraud [lacuna] Cornelius [lacuna] [Mai, .] Four pages of the MS. are lacking. (Zonaras, 8, 12.)

18. Dio the Roman, who wrote a history about the Empire and the Republic of Rome and describes the far-famed Carthaginian war, says that when Regulus,

[Sidenote: B.C. 256 (*a.u.* 498)] consul for Rome, was warring against Carthage, a serpent suddenly crept out of the palisade of the Roman army and lay there. By his command the Romans slew the reptile and having flayed it sent its skin, a great prodigy, to the Roman senate. And when measured by the same senate (as the same Dio says) it was found to have a length of one hundred and twenty feet. In addition to its length its thickness was also notable. (Ioannes Damascenus, *On Serpents*, vol. I, , A.B. Cp. Zonaras, 8, 13.)

19. The Carthaginians in fear of capture sent heralds to the consul to the end that by some satisfactory arrangement they might turn aside the danger of the moment, and so escape. But since they refused to withdraw from both Sicily and Sardinia, to release the Roman captives free of cost and to ransom their own, to make good all the expenses incurred by the Romans for the war and besides to pay more as tribute each year, they accomplished nothing. And in addition to the above mentioned, there were the following commands which displeased them: that they should make neither war nor treaties without the consent of the Romans, that they should employ not more than one warship but the Romans would come to their aid with fifty triremes as often as notice should be sent them, and that they would not be on an equal footing in

conducting some other kinds of business. Considering these points they decided that the truce would mean their utter subjugation, and preferred rather to fight with the Romans. (Ursinus, . Zonaras, 8, 13.)

20. Dio in Book 11: “The Carthaginians kept watch for their ships homeward bound and captured several heavily laden with money.” (Bekker, Anecd. , 12. Zonaras, 8, 14.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 251 (*a.u.* 503)] 21. They say the Carthaginians sent heralds to the Romans on account of the great number of the captives (among other causes), and most of all to see if they would be inclined to make peace on some moderate terms; if this could not be effected, their purpose still held to get back the captives. They say that Regulus, too, had been sent among the envoys because of his reputation and valor. The people assumed that the Romans would do anything whatever in the hope of getting him back, so that he might even be delivered up alone in return for peace, or at any rate in exchange for the captives. Accordingly, they bound him by mighty oaths and pledges to return without fail in case neither of their objects should be accomplished, and they despatched him as an envoy with others.

And he acted in all respects like a Carthaginian, not a Roman; for he did not even grant his wife leave to confer with him nor did he enter the city, although he was invited: instead, when the senate assembled outside of the walls, as their custom was in treating with the envoys of the enemy, he asked for permission to approach with the others — at least, so the story goes, [lacuna] (Ursinus, . Zonaras, 8, 15.)

22. Dio in Book 11: “Regulus paid no heed to them until the Carthaginians permitted him to do so.” (Bekker, Anecd. , 20. Zonaras, 8, 15.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 251 (*a.u.* 503)] 23. Dio in Book 11: “For it is neither my duty nor that of any other upright man to give up aught that pertains to the public welfare.” (Ib. , 23.)

24. In Book 11: “Any one else, wishing to console himself for the disaster which had happened in his own case, would have exalted the prowess of the enemy.” (Ib. , 30.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 249 (*a.u.* 505)] 25. The second part of the augury is transmitted to us by Dio Cassius Cocceianus, who says that they keep tame birds which eat barley, and put barley grains in front of them when they seek an omen. If, then, in the course of eating the birds do not strike the barley with their beaks and toss it aside, the sign is good; but if they do so strike the grain, it is not good. (Io. Tzetzes, Exegesis of Homer’s *Iliad*, , 2.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 244 (*a.u.* 510)] 26. He [sc. Mamilcar] thought it was requisite for a man who wished to accomplish anything by secret means not to make the matter known to anyone at all. There was no one, he believed, so self-possessed as to be willing, when he had heard, merely to observe operations and be silent. Just the reverse was true: the more strongly a man might be forbidden to mention anything, the greater would be his desire to speak of it, and thus one man learning the secret from another with the

understanding that he was the only person to know it would reveal the story. [Footnote: Section 26 may refer to Hamilcar Barca's plans for seizing Mount Eryx.] (Mai, . Cp. Diodorus, 24, 7.)

27. In Book 11 of Dio: "He feasted the populace." [Footnote: Boissevain thinks that No. 27 may concern the banqueting of the populace during Metellus's triumph. Others have other opinions.] (Bekker, Anecd. , 24.)

28. In Book 11 of Dio: "You attack even such friends as have been guilty of any error, whereas I pardon even my enemies." (Ib. p.171, 29.)

29. In Book 12 of Dio: "By the one process [Footnote: Perhaps from the speech of Regulus to the senators.] he might have become to a certain extent estranged from you." (Ib. p.124, 4.) 30. In Book 12 of Dio: "Some are dead, and others who were deserving of some notice, have been captured." [Footnote: This may be likewise from the speech of Regulus and be said of the Carthaginian leaders.] (Ib. ,25.)

[Frag. XLIV]

1. For the Ligurians occupy the whole shore from Etruria up to the Alps and as far as Gaul, according to Dio's statement. (Isaac Tzetzes, on Lycophron, 1312.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 236 (*a.u.* 518)] 2. The Romans at first sent Claudius to the Corsicans and gave him up. This was after he had made terms with them, but his countrymen, who claimed that the fault in breaking the compact rested on him and not on themselves, had waged war upon them and subdued them. When the Corsicans refused to receive him, the Romans drove him out. (Valesius, p.593. Zonaras, 8, 18.)

[Frag. XLV]

[Sidenote: B.C. 235 (*a.u.* 519)] 1. The Romans after exacting also money from the Carthaginians, renewed the truce. And at first when an embassy from the latter arrived, they returned no proper answer, because they were aware of the state of their own equipment and because they were themselves still busied at that time with the war against the neighboring tribes. After this, however, Hanno, a man of youthful years who employed striking frankness of speech, was sent. He touched unreservedly on a number of other subjects and finally his appeal— "If you don't want to be at peace, restore to us both Sardinia and Sicily; for with these we purchased not a temporary respite but eternal friendship" — caused them to become milder and ashamed [lacuna] (Ursinus, p.378. Zonaras, 8, 18.)

2[lacuna] lest [Footnote: Preceding this fragment four pages of the MS. are missing.] they might suffer the same injuries in return, so that they were very glad to delay, — the one side choosing to preserve the prosperity that was an inheritance of the past, and the other to cling to the possessions which were still theirs. To judge by their threats they were no longer maintaining peace, but in fact they still deliberated about the matter, so that all could see that whichever of the two found it to his advantage to create the first disturbance would also be the one to begin war. Most men abide by their agreements just

so long as suits their own convenience. If they have in view a greater resultant benefit to themselves, they deem it safe even to break some compact. (Mai, p.184.)

[Frag. XLVI]

[Sidenote: B.C. 231 (*a.u.* 523)] Once in the consulship of Marcus Pomponius and Gaius Papirius they despatched envoys to investigate affairs in Spain, although none of the Spanish States had ever yet belonged to them. He, [Footnote: A reference to some previous proper name, outside this fragment.] besides showing them other honors, addressed them in suitable words, declaring that he was obliged to fight against the Spaniards in order that the money which was still owing to the Romans on the part of the Carthaginians might be paid; for it was impossible to obtain it from any other source. The envoys were consequently embarrassed to know how to censure him. (Mai, p.184)

[Frag. XLVII]

[Sidenote: B.C. 230 (*a.u.* 524)] 1. The island of Issa surrendered itself voluntarily to the Romans. This was the first time the islanders were about to make the acquaintance of the latter, but they judged them more friendly and faithful than the powers which they then dreaded. Calculation caused them to place more dependence on the unknown than on the evident; for while the latter had aroused irritation through the dealings already had with it, the former afforded good hope, because its actions were as yet only matters of expectation. (Mai, *ib.* Zonaras, 8, 19.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 230 (*a.u.* 524)] 2. When the Issæans had attached themselves to the Romans, the latter, being ready and anxious to do them some favor in return forthwith, so as to get the reputation of aiding such as espoused their cause and also for the purpose of restraining the Ardiasans, who were annoying those that sailed from Brundisium, — for these reasons they sent messengers to Agro, who were to ask clemency for the Issæans and censure the king in that he was wronging them without previous cause. Now these men found Agro no longer in existence: he had died, leaving behind a child named Pineus. Teuta, Agro's wife and stepmother of Pineus, held the power over the Ardiæans,[lacuna] Being [lacuna] by boldness, she made no moderate response to their requests, but woman-like she showed a vanity (due to innate recklessness as well as to the power that she was holding) by casting some of the ambassadors into prison and killing others for speaking frankly. Such was her action at that time, and she actually took pride in it as if she had displayed some strength by her facile cruelty. In a very short space, however, she proved the weakness of the female sex, for as she had quickly flown into a passion through short-sightedness of judgment, so through cowardice she was quickly terrified. As soon as she learned that the Romans had voted for war against her she was panic-stricken, and promised to restore their men whom she held, while she tried to defend herself for the death of the others, declaring that they had been slain by some robbers. When the Romans were thus led to

cease temporarily their campaign and demand the surrender of the murderers, she showed contempt again, because the danger was not yet at her doors, and declaring that she would not give anybody up despatched an army against Issa. When she learned that the consuls were at hand she grew terrified again, gave over her high spirit, and became ready to heed them in every minutest detail. She had not yet, however, been fully brought to her senses, for when the consuls had crossed over to Corcyra she felt imbued with new courage, revolted, and despatched an army against Epidamnus and Apollonia. After the Romans had rescued the cities and at the news of their capture of ships and treasures of hers she was on the point of again yielding obedience. Meanwhile in the course of scaling certain heights overlooking the sea they were worsted near the Atyrian hill and she now waited, hoping, in view of the fact that it was really winter already, for their withdrawal. But on perceiving that Albinus remained where he was and Demetrius as a result of her caprice as well as from fear of the Romans had transferred his allegiance, besides persuading some others to desert, she became utterly terrified and gave up her sovereignty. (Ursinus, . Zonaras, 8, 19.)

[Frag. XLVIII]

[Sidenote: B.C. 228 (*a.u.* 526)] In the time of Fabius Maximus Berucosus ("full of warts") the Romans did this, after burying in the middle Of the Forum a Greek and a Gallic couple, man and woman: they were frightened by a certain oracle which said that Greek and Gaul should occupy the city. (Isaac Tzetzes on Lycophron, 603, 1056. Cp. Zonaras, 8, 19.)

[Frag. XLIX]

1. The Romans were being frightened by an oracle of the Sibyl which urged the necessity of guarding against the Gauls when a thunderbolt should fall upon the Capitol near the temple of Apollo. (Mai, .)

[Sidenote: B.C. 225 (*a.u.* 529)] 2. The Gauls became dejected on seeing that the Romans had taken beforehand the most favorable locations. All men if they obtain the object of their first aim proceed more readily toward their subsequent goals, but if they miss it, lose interest in everything else. They, however, after the Gallic fashion and more than is usual with the rest of mankind, lay hold very eagerly of what they desire and cling most tenaciously to any success, but if they meet with the slightest obstacle have no hope left for the future. Folly makes them inclined to expect whatsoever they wish, and their spirited temperament ready to carry out whatsoever they undertake. They are given to violent anger and dash headlong into enterprises, and for that reason they have within themselves no quality of endurance (since it is impossible for reckless audacity to prevail for any time), and if they once suffer any setback they are unable (especially by reason of the fear to which they then fall a prey) to recover themselves: they are plunged into a state of panic corresponding to their previous fearless daring. In a brief period they rush vehemently to the most opposite extremes, since they can furnish no motive based on calculation for either action. (Mai, .)

3. Æmilius on conquering the Insubres celebrated a triumph and in it conveyed the foremost captives clad in armor up to the Capitol, making jests upon them because he had heard that they had sworn not to remove their breastplates before they had ascended the Capitol. (Mai, . Zonaras, 8, 20.)

[Frag. L]

If any of the details, even the smallest, that were customary in festivals had been missed, they renewed the ceremonial proceedings at any rate a second and a third time, and even more times still, so far as was possible in one day, till everything seemed to them to have been done faultlessly. (Mai, . Zonaras, 8, 20.)

[Frag. LI]

[Sidenote: B.C. 219 (*a.u.* 535)] Demetrius, elated by his position as guardian of Pineus and by the fact that he had married the latter's mother Triteuta (Teuta was dead), was hateful to the natives and injured the property of neighboring tribes. So they summoned him before them (since it appeared that it was by misusing the friendship of the Romans that he was able to wrong those peoples) as soon as they heard of it. When he refused compliance and actually assailed their allies, they made a campaign against Issa, where he was. (Valesius, p.593. Zonaras, 8, 20.)

[Frag. LII]

1. The Romans were at their prime in equipment for war and enjoyed absolute harmony among themselves. Whereas the majority of persons are led by unmixed good fortune to audacity but by a tremendous fear to proper behavior, they had quite a different experience at that time in those matters. The more successes they had the more sober it made them; against their enemies they displayed the kind of boldness that partakes of bravery, while toward one another they employed that right dealing which is closely connected with good order. [Footnote: The word for "good order" is conjectured by van Herwerden.] They held their power with a view to the practice of moderation and kept their orderliness for the acquirement of a true bravery: they did not allow their good fortune to develop into wantonness, nor their right dealing into cowardice. They believed that in case of such laxity temperance might be ruined by bravery and boldness by boldness; but that when people exercised care, as they did, moderation was made more secure by bravery and good fortune rendered surer by discipline. This was the reason for their vast superiority over the enemies that encountered them and for their excellent administration of both their own affairs and those of the allies. (Mai, .)

2. All who dwelt on the near side of the Alps revolted to join the Carthaginians, not because they preferred the Carthaginians to the Romans as leaders, but because they hated the force that ruled them and were for welcoming the untried. The Carthaginians had allies against the Romans from every one of the tribes that then existed; but Hannibal was worth nearly all of them. He could comprehend matters very quickly and plan the details of every

project that he laid to heart, notwithstanding the fact that generally sureness is the product of slowness and only rash decisions result from hastiness of disposition. He was most [lacuna] when given the smallest margin of time, and most enduring with a very great degree of reliability. He managed in a safe way the affair of the moment and showed skill in considering the future beforehand: he proved himself a most capable counselor in ordinary events and a very accurate judge of the unusual. By these powers he handled the issue immediately confronting him very readily and in the shortest time, while by calculation he anticipated the future afar off and considered it as though it were actually present. Consequently he, more than any man, met each occasion with suitable words and acts, because he made no distinction between what he possessed and what he hoped for. He was able to conduct matters so for the reason that in addition to his natural capacity he was well versed in much Phoenician learning, common to his country, and likewise much Greek, and furthermore he understood divination by inspection of entrails. (Mai, and Valesius, .)

3. With such intellectual qualities he had brought his body to a state of equal perfection, partly by nature, partly by practice, so that he could carry out easily everything that he took in hand. It was nimble and at the same time heavy to the utmost degree, and he could, therefore, run, fight, and ride safely at full speed. He never burdened himself with overmuch food, nor suffered annoyance by lack of it, but took more or less with equal grace, feeling that either was satisfactory. Hardship made him rugged, and on loss of sleep he grew strong.

Having these advantages of mind and body he universally administered affairs in a fashion now to be described. Since he saw that most men were trustworthy only in what concerned their own interest, he himself dealt with them in this manner and expected the same treatment of them, so that he very often succeeded by deceiving persons and very seldom failed by being the object of a plot. He regarded as hostile every force that could gain an advantage both among foreigners and among kinsmen alike, and did not wait to learn their intentions from their acts, but handled them quite unsparingly, assuming that they were anxious to commit a wrong when they could: he thought it better to be the first to act than the first to suffer, and resolved that the rest of the world should be dependent on him, and not he upon other persons. In fine, he paid attention to the nature of things, rather than to their reputed good points, as often as the two did not happen to coincide. He also, however, prized extravagantly whatever he needed. Slaves, most of them, he esteemed in that way, and beheld them willing to encounter danger for him even contrary to their own advantage. For these reasons he often himself refrained from opportunities for gain and other most delightful pleasures, but gave a share ungrudgingly to them. Hence he could get them to be not unwilling partners in hard work. He subjected himself not only to the same conditions of living as these men, but also to the same dangers and was the

first to accomplish every task that he demanded of them. Likewise he was confident that they, too, without pretexts and with zeal, — since he showed his care for them not in words only, — would help him effect his projects.

Toward the rest he always behaved quite proudly; and the whole multitude, in consequence, felt either good-will or fear toward him because of their similar conditions of life, on the one hand, and because of his haughtiness on the other. Accordingly, he was fully able to bring low the towering head, to exalt humility, and to inspire all whom he pleased, in the shortest period, one with hesitation, another with boldness, with hope also and despair regarding most important matters.

And that this information about him is not false, but is truthful tradition, his works are proof. Much of Spain he won over in a short time, and from there carried the war into Italy through the country of the Gauls, most of whom were not only not in league with him, but actually unknown to him. He was the first of non-Europeans, so far as we know, to cross the Alps with an army, and after that he made a campaign against Rome itself, sundering from it almost all its allies, some by force and others by persuasion. This, however, he achieved by himself without the aid of the Carthaginian government. He was not sent forth in the beginning by the magistrates at home, nor did he later obtain any considerable assistance from them. While they were on the eve of enjoying the greatest glory and benefit through his efforts, they wished rather not to appear to be leaving him in the lurch than to coöperate effectively in any enterprise. (Valesius, .)

[Frag. LIII]

Dio Cocceianus calls the Narbonenses *Bebruces*, writing this: “To those who of old were Bebruces, but now Narbonenses, belongs the Pyrenees range. This range is the boundary between Spain and Gaul.” (Isaac Tzetzes on Lycophron, 516. Zonaras, 8, 21.)

[Frag. LIV]

1. Peace both creates wealth and preserves it, but war both expends it and destroys it. [Footnote: The first eight sections of this fragment seem to be taken from speeches of Romans in the senate-house. Nos. 1 and 2 are apparently the words of an unknown individual discouraging the eagerness for war; Nos. 3 and 4 may be spoken by Lentulus, urging war; and Nos. 5 to 8 may contain the opposing arguments of Fabius.](Mai, .)

2. Every human being is so constituted as to desire to lord it over such as yield, and to employ the turn of Fortune’s scale against voluntary slaves. (Mai, ib.)

3. But do you who know the facts and have experienced them, think that propriety and humaneness are sufficient for your safety? And do you regard listlessly all the wrongs they have committed against us by stealth or deceit or violence? Are you not stimulated, are you not for paying them back or for defending yourselves? Then again, you have never reflected that such behavior is in place for you toward one another, but toward the Carthaginians

is cowardly and base. Our citizens we must treat in a gentle and politic fashion; if one be preserved unexpectedly, he is of our possessions: but harsh treatment is for the enemy. We shall save ourselves not by our defeats as a result of sparing them, but by our victories that will come from abasing them. (Mai, p.188.)

4. War both preserves men's own possessions and wins the property of others, whereas peace destroys not only what has been bestowed by war but itself in addition. (Mai, pp.188 and 541.)

[Frag. LIV]

5. It is base to proceed to action ere arguments about the matter have been heard: for in such a case, if successful, you will be thought to have enjoyed good fortune rather than to have employed good counsel, and if worsted, to have taken your resolution without forethought, at a time when there was no profit in it. And yet who does not know this, — that to heap up reproaches and to accuse people that have once warred against us is very easy — any man can do it — whereas, to say what is advantageous for the State, not in anger over other men's deeds, but with a view to the State's benefit, is really the duty of the advising class? Do not irritate us, Lentulus, nor persuade us to begin war until you show us that it shall be really for our advantage. Reflect particularly (though there are other considerations) that speaking here about deeds of war is not the same sort of thing as their actual performance. (Mai, p.189.)

6. Men are often set on their feet by disasters, and many who use them wisely fare better than those who are completely fortunate and for that very reason wanton. Somehow ill luck seems to hold no inconsiderable portion of benefit, because it does not permit men to lose their senses or indulge in extreme wantonness. For naturally it is most advisable to set one's face steadfastly toward all the best things, and to make not possibility, but calculation, the measure of desire. And if a man be not able to prefer what is more excellent, it will still pay him to behave, even unwillingly, with moderation so as to regard in the light of happiness even the failure to be fortunate in all cases. (Mai, p.542.)

7. It is imperative to be on one's guard against any similar experience again, — that being the only benefit that can come from disasters. Repeated good fortune occasionally ruins those who unthinkingly base their hopes upon it, believing they are sure of another victory, whereas failures compel every one as a result of his past trouble to provide for the future carefully beforehand. (Mai, pp.189 and 542.)

8. For securing the favor of the gods or a good reputation among men it is no small thing to escape the appearance of creating war, and seem to be compelled to defend the existing population. (Mai, p.189.)

9. After speeches of this character on both sides they determined to prepare for fighting: they would not vote that way however, but determined to send envoys to Carthage and denounce Hannibal; then, if the Carthaginians refrained from approving his exploits, they would arbitrate the matter, or if all

responsibility were laid on his shoulders, they would demand his extradition; if he were given up, well; otherwise they would declare war. (Mai, p.190. Zonaras, 8, 22.)

10. When the Carthaginians made no definite answer to the envoys and instead behaved contemptuously toward them, Marcus [Footnote: According to Livy (XXI, 18, 1) his name was *Quintus*. Willems suggests emending to Maximus here.] Fabius thrust his hands beneath his toga and holding them with palms upward said: "Here I bring to you, Carthaginians, both war and peace: do you choose unequivocally whichever of them you wish." Upon their replying to this challenge even then that they chose neither but would readily accept either that the Romans left with them, he declared war upon them. (Mai, p.190. Zonaras, 8, 22.)

[Frag. LV]

The Romans invited the Narbonenses to an alliance. But the latter declared that they had never suffered any harm from the Carthaginians or received any favor from the Romans that they should war against the one or defend the other, and were quite angry with them, charging that the Romans had often treated their kinsmen outrageously. (Mai, p.190.)

[Frag. LVI]

1. From such an expectation, Dio says, already acquired from that source, the Romans and Carthaginians had reached a state in which they had formed the most different judgments regarding the administration of the war. For hopefulness, in that it leads all men to cheerfulness, renders them also more active and confident, possessed of a faith that they will be victorious; lack of hope casts them into dejection and despair, and deprives of strength even the naturally stout-hearted. (Mai, p.191.)

2. Just as matters at a great distance and quite unknown are accustomed to disturb many men, so now they struck no little fear to the hearts of the Spaniards. [Footnote: This refers to the Spaniards' refusing, at the start, to undertake a campaign. Cp. Livy, XXI, 23.] For the majority of the multitude that makes a campaign not for any reason of its own but ranking as an allied force is a strong force just so long as it has the hopes of obtaining some benefit without danger. But when the men reach the vicinity of the conflict, they are frightened out of their hopes of gain and lose their faith in promises. And the most of them have gotten it into their heads that they are by all means going to be successful in any case; consequently, even if they should meet with some reverse, they esteem it lightly in comparison with the hopes which have been offsetting it. (Mai, p.191. Cp. Zonaras, 8, 23.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 218 (*a.u.* 536)] 3. When the preparations failed to be sufficient in any respect for the size of Hannibal's army, and some one on this account suggested to him that the soldiers be fed on the flesh of their opponents, he did not take the idea amiss, but said he feared that some day through lack of bodies of that kind they might turn to eating one another. (Mai, p.191. Cp. Zonaras, 8, 23.)

4. Hannibal before beginning operations called together the soldiers and brought in the captives whom he had taken by the way: he enquired of the latter whether they wished to undergo imprisonment in fetters and to endure a grievous slavery or to fight in single combat one with another on condition that the victors should be released. When they chose the second alternative, he set them to fighting. And at the end of the conflict he said: "Now is it not shameful, fellow-soldiers, that these men who have been captured by us are so disposed toward bravery as to be eager to die in place of becoming slaves, whereas we shrink from incurring a little toil and danger for the purpose of not being subservient to others, — yes, and ruling them besides?" (Mai, p.192. Zonaras, 8, 23.)

5. All the sufferings that we have endured when occasionally defeated by the enemy we will inflict upon them, if we are victorious. Be well assured that by conquering we shall obtain all the benefits that I mention, but if conquered we shall not even have a safe means of escape. The victor straightway finds everything friendly, even if possibly it hates him, and to the vanquished no one even of his own household pays any longer heed. (Mai, p and 192.)

6. To have once failed in an enterprise against some foes puts them forever out of countenance, and is a preventative of any future courage. (Mai, .)

7. For the whole Gallic race is naturally more or less eccentric and cowardly and faithless. Just as they are readily emboldened in the face of hopes, so (only more readily) when frightened do they fall into a panic. The fact that they were no more faithful to the Carthaginians will teach the rest of mankind a lesson never to dare to invade Italy. (Mai, . Cp. Zonaras, 8, 24.)

8. Many portents, [Footnote: Cp. Livy XXI, 62, and XXII, I, 8-20.] some of which had actually occurred and others which were the product of idle talk, became the subject of conversation. For when persons get seriously frightened and those [lacuna] are in reality proven to have occurred to them, oftentimes others are imagined. And if once any of the former phenomena is believed, heedlessly at once the rest [lacuna]

Accordingly, the sacrifices were offered and all the other ceremonies were accomplished which men are in the habit of performing for the cure of their temporary terror and for escape from expected ruin. Yet the race of men is wont to trust such agencies, hoping in the line of improvement, and so now, even if because of the greatness of the danger awaited they thought that the harshest fate would fall upon them, still they kept hoping that they would not be defeated. (Mai, .)

9. The Romans proclaimed Fabius dictator, satisfied if they could themselves survive, and neither despatched any aid to the allies nor [lacuna] but learning that Hannibal had turned aside from Campania, they made sure of the former's safety through fear that they might change sides either willingly or under compulsion. (Mai, . Zonaras, 8, 25.)

10. Fabius continued to besiege him from a safe distance instead of in dangerous proximity; he would not venture to make a trial of men skilled in

the art of war, and made the safety of the soldiers a matter of great circumspection because of the scarcity of the citizens, deeming it no disaster to fail of destroying the forces of the enemy but a great one to lose any of his troops. The Carthaginians, he believed, by means of their enormous multitude would encounter danger again even if once defeated, but if the smallest part of his own army met with failure he calculated that he should find himself in every extremity of evil; this would not be due to the number of the dead on any such occasion but to the previous setbacks endured. He was in the habit of saying that men with powers undiminished could often suffer without hurt the most dreadful losses, but those who were already exhausted might be harmed by the slightest reverses. Once, when his son advised him to run the risk and be done with it and said something about his not losing more than a hundred men, the above consideration led him to refuse assent, and he further inquired of the young man whether he would like to be one of the hundred men. (Mai, p and 544. Zonaras, 8, 26.)

11. The Carthaginians, far from sending voluntarily any support to Hannibal, were rather disposed to make sport of him, because whereas he was continually writing of his splendid progress and his many successes he still asked money and soldiers of them. They said his requests did not agree with his successes: victors ought to find their existing army sufficient and to send money home instead of demanding additional funds from them. (Mai, . Zonaras, 8, 26.)

12. I am under accusation, not because I dash headlong into battles nor because I risk dangers in my office as general, purposing by losing many soldiers and killing many enemies to be named dictator and celebrate a triumph, but because I am slow and because I delay and because I always exercise extreme foresight for your preservation. (Mai, p.542.)

13. Is it not really absurd for us to be zealous for success in enterprises outside and far off before the city itself is really set upon a firm foundation? Is it not absolutely outrageous to be eager to conquer the enemy before we set our own affairs well in order? (Mai, .)

14 Hannibal either as a favor to Fabius, on the ground that he was an advantage to them or perhaps to create a prejudice against him, did not ravage any of his possessions. Accordingly, when an exchange of captives was made between the Romans and Carthaginians with the proviso that any number in excess on either side should be ransomed, and as the Romans were unwilling to ransom their men with money from the public treasury, Fabius sold the farms and paid their ransom. Therefore they did not depose him but they gave equal power to his master of the horse, so that both held their commands on a like footing. Fabius harbored no wrath against either the citizens or Rufus: he excused them for an act prompted by human nature and was for contenting himself if in any way they might survive. He desired the preservation and victory of the commonwealth rather than an individual reputation, and continued to believe that excellence depends not on decrees but on each man's

spirit, and that a man is better or worse not as a result of any ordinance but as a result of his own wisdom or ignorance.

Rufus, however, who had not shown the right spirit in the first place was now more than ever puffed up and could not contain himself because he had obtained through his insubordination the further prize of equal authority with the dictator. And so he kept asking for the right to hold sole sway a day at a time, or for several days alternately. But Fabius, in the fear that he might work some harm if he should get possession of the undivided power, would not consent to either plan of his, but divided the army in such a way that they each, like the consuls, had a separate force. And immediately Rufus encamped apart, in order that he might give a practical illustration of the fact that he held sway in his own right and not subject to the dictator. (Valesius, . Zonaras, 8, 26.)

15. It is customary for men who are ruled to concur in opinion easily. Especially often do they join forces when the object is to slander men of good reputation, for the reason that it is their nature to help in augmenting any power just come to light but to bring low what has already obtained preëminence. And though one can not immediately measure one's self with men who surpass one through ampler resources, growth in an unexpected quarter brings hope of a like good fortune to others that dwell in obscurity. [Footnote: This may come from a speech of M. Terentius Varro in favor of equalizing the powers of dictator and of master-of-horse.](Mai, .) 16. Rufus, who obtained equal authority with the dictator, after a defeat by the Carthaginians altered his attitude (for disasters chasten somehow those who are not completely fools) and voluntarily gave up his leadership. And for this all praised him loudly. He was not held worthy of censure because he had failed to recognize at first what was fitting, but was commended for not hesitating to change his mind. They deemed it an act of good fortune for a man to choose right at the start a proper course of conduct, but they thoroughly approved the course of one, who, having learned from practical experience the better way, was not ashamed to face squarely about. From this episode, too, it was clearly shown how much one man differs from another and true excellence from the reputation therefor. What had been taken from Fabius by jealousy and prejudice of the citizens, he received back with goodwill and even at the request of his colleague. (Mai, . Zonaras, 8, 26.) 17. The same man when about to retire from office sent for the consuls, surrendered his army to them, and advised them in addition very fully regarding all the details of what must be done. The safety of the city stood higher in his estimation than a reputation for being the only successful commander, and expecting that if they followed their own bent they would probably meet with failure, but if they heeded his counsel they would meet with a favorable outcome, he preferred to look to the second contingency for praise. And the consuls were not unduly bold but acted on the suggestion of Fabius, deeming it better not to accomplish any important result than to be ruined; hence they

remained where they were throughout the entire period of their command. (Mai, . Zonaras, 8, 26.)

18. For the Iapygians and Apulians dwell around the Ionic Gulf. Of the Apulians the tribes according to Dio are the Peuketii Pediculi, Daunii, Tarentini. There is also Cannæ, the “plain of Diomed,” near Daunian Apulia. Messapia was called also Iapygia, later Salentia, and then Calabria. Argyrippa, a Diomedian city, was renamed Arpi by the Apulians. (Isaac Tzetzes on Lycophron, 603 and 852. Cp. Zonaras, 9, 1.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 216 (*a.u.* 538)] 19. Later he was arrayed against the Romans at Cannæ, when the Roman generals were Paulus and Terentius. Now Cannæ is a level district of Argyrippa, where Diomed founded the city Argyrippa, that is to say “Argos the Horse-City” in the tongue of the Greeks. And this plain comes to belong later to the Daunii (of the Iapygians), then to the Salantii, and now to those that all call by the name Calauri. It is also the boundary between the Calauri and Longibardi, where the great war burst upon them. (Tzetzes, Hist., 1, 757-767. Cp. Zonaras, 9, 1.)

20. With regard to divination and astronomy Dio says: “I, however, can not form any opinion either about these events or about others that are foretold by divination. For what does foreshowing avail, if a thing shall certainly come to pass, and if there could be no averting of it either by human devices or by divine providence? Accordingly, let each man look at these matters in what way he pleases.” (Mai, . Cp. Zonaras, 9, 1.)

21. The commanders were Paulus and Terentius, men not of similar temperament, but differing alike in family and in character. The former was a patrician, possessed of the graces of education, and esteemed safety before haste, being restrained partly, it might be said, as a result of the censure he had received for his former conduct in office. Hence he was not inclined to audacity, but was considering how he might keep from getting into trouble again rather than how he might achieve success by some desperate venture. Terentius, however, had been brought up among the rabble, was practiced in vulgar bravado, and so displayed lack of prudence in nearly all respects; for instance, he promised himself general direction of the war, kept constantly annoying the patricians, and thought that he alone should have the leadership in view of the quiet behavior of his colleague. Now they both reached the camp at a most opportune time: Hannibal had no longer any provender; Spain was in turmoil; the affection of the allies was being alienated from him: and if they had waited for even the briefest possible period, they would have conquered without trouble. As matters went, however, the heedlessness of Terentius and the submissiveness of Paulus, who always desired the proper course but assented to his colleague in most points — so sure is gentleness to be overcome by audacity, — compassed their defeat. (Mai, . Zonaras, 9, 1.)

22. In the mêlée of the war not even the boldest possessed a hope so buoyant as to rise above the fear that arose from its uncertainty. The surer they felt of conquering the more did they tremble for fear they might in some way come to grief. Those who are ignorant of a matter by reason of their very lack of perception are not awaiting anything terrible, but the boldness derived from calculation [lacuna] (Six pages are lacking.) (Mai, .)

23. At the time when burst this frightful war, a terrific earthquake occurred, so that mountains were cleft asunder and showers of great stones poured down from heaven. But they, fighting vigorously, perceived none of these things. At last so great a multitude of Roman warriors fell that Hannibal, the general, in sending to Sicily the finger-rings of the generals and the other men of repute filled many bushel and peck measures — so great a multitude that the noble, foremost Roman women ran lamenting to the temples in Rome and with the hairs of their heads cleansed the statues there; — and later had intercourse with both slaves and barbarians (because the Roman land had been utterly impoverished of men), to the end that their race might not be every whit extirpated. Rome at that time, after the utter loss of all her citizens, stood inglorious through many day-coursing cycles. Her old men sitting at her outer gates bewailed the disaster most grievous to be borne and asked ever and anon the passers-by whether any one perchance were left alive. (Tzetzes, *Hist.* 1, 767-785. (Cp. *Fragm.* LVI, 19, which precedes this.) Cp. Zonaras, 9, 1.)

24. Scipio, on learning that some of the Romans were prepared to abandon Rome, and indeed all Italy, because they felt it was destined to fall into the hands of the Carthaginians, yet found a way to restrain them. Sword in hand he sprang suddenly into the room where they were conferring, and after himself swearing to take all proper measures both of word and act he made them also devote themselves by oath to utter destruction, should they fail to keep their pledges to him. Later these men reached a harmonious decision and wrote to the consul that they were safe enough. He, however, did not at once write or despatch a messenger to Rome; on reaching Canusium he set in order affairs at that place, sent to the regions in proximity garrisons sufficient for immediate needs, and repulsed a cavalry attack upon the city. Altogether, he displayed neither dejection nor terror, but with an unbending spirit, as if no serious evil had befallen them, he both planned and executed all measures of immediate benefit. (Valesius, . Zonaras, 9, 2.)

25. Hannibal took possession of the Nucerini under an agreement that each man should leave the city carrying one change of clothing. As soon, however, as he was master of the situation he shut the senators into bath-houses and suffocated them, and in the case of the others, although he had granted them permission to go away where they pleased, he cut down many of them even on the road. Still, this course was of no profit to him, for the rest became afraid that they might suffer a similar fate, and so would not come to terms with him and resisted as long as they could hold out. (Valesius, . Zonaras, 9, 2.)

26. Marcellus showed great bravery, moderation, and justice. His demands on his subjects were not all rigorous or harsh, nor was he careful to see that they also should do what was needful. Those of them who committed any errors he pardoned humanely and, furthermore, was not angry if they failed to be like him. (Valesius, .)

27. When many citizens of Nola were dreading the men captured at Cannæ and later released by Hannibal, because they thought that such persons favored the invader's cause, and when they were even desirous of putting them to death, he opposed it. Furthermore, he concealed from this time on the suspicion that he felt toward them, and treated them in such a way that they chose his side by preference, and became extremely useful both to their native land and to the Romans. (Valesius, . Cp. Zonaras, 9, 2.)

28. The same Marcellus when he perceived that one of the Lucanian cavalymen was in love with a woman permitted him to keep her in the camp, because he was a most excellent fighter: this in spite of the fact that he had forbidden any women to enter the ramparts. (Valesius, .)

29. He pursued the same course with the people of Acerræ as he had with those of Nuceia, except that he cast the senators into wells and not into bath-houses. (Valesius, . Zonaras, 9, 2.)

30. Fabius got back some of the men captured in former battles by exchanging man for man, while others he made a compact to ransom with money. When, however, the senate failed to confirm the expenditure, because it did not approve of their ransoming, he offered for sale, as I have said, [Footnote: Cp. section 14 (first paragraph) of this fragment.] his own farms and from the proceeds of them furnished the ransom for the men. (Valesius, .)

31. Archimedes, the well-known inventor, was by birth a Syracusan. Now this old geometrician, who had passed through seventy-five seasons, had built many powerful engines, and by the triple pulley, with the aid of the left hand alone, could launch a merchant ship of fifty thousand medimni burden. And when Marcellus once, the Roman general, assaulted Syracuse by land and sea, this man first by his engines drew up some merchantmen, and lifting them up against the wall of Syracuse dropped them again and sent them every one to the bottom, crews and all. Again, as Marcellus removed his ships a little distance, the old man gave all the Syracusans the power to lift stones of a wagon's size, and letting them go one by one to sink the ships. When Marcellus withdrew a bow shot thence, the old man manufactured a kind of hexagonal mirror, and at an interval proportionate to the size of the mirror he set similar small mirrors with four edges, moving by links and by a kind of hinge, and made the glass the center of the rays of the sun, — its noontide ray, whether in summer or in the dead of winter. So after that when the beams were reflected into this, a terrible kindling of flame arose upon the ships, and he reduced them to ashes a bowshot off. Thus by his contrivances did the old man vanquish Marcellus.

He used to say, moreover, in Dorian, the Syracusan dialect: "Give me

where to stand, and with a lever I will move the whole earth.”

This man, when (according to Diodorus) this Syracuse surrendered herself entire to Marcellus, or (according to Dio) was pillaged by the Romans during an all-night festival to Artemis that the citizens were celebrating, was killed by a certain Roman in the following fashion. — He was bent over, drawing some geometrical figure, and some Roman, coming upon him, made him his prisoner and began to drag him away: but he, with all his attention fixed just then upon his figure, not knowing who it was that pulled him said to the man: “Stand aside, fellow, from my figure.” But as the other kept on dragging, he turned, and recognizing him as a Roman cried out: “Let some one give me one of my machines.” The Roman in terror immediately killed him, an unsound weak old man, but marvelous through his works. Marcellus straightaway mourned on learning this, buried him brilliantly in his ancestral tomb, assisted by the noblest citizens and all the Romans, and the man’s murderer, I trow, he slew with an axe. Dio and Diodorus have written the story. (Tzetzes, Hist. 2, 103-149. Cp. Zonaras, 9, 4.)

32. Proculus sings of having forged fire-producing mirrors and of having hung them from the wall opposite the enemy’s ships. Then when the rays of the sun fell upon these, fire was struck out of them that consumed the naval force of the opponents and the ships themselves, — a device which Dio relates Archimedes hit upon long ago, at the time when the Romans were besieging Syracuse. (Zonaras, 14, 3.)

33. Though such a disaster at that time had overwhelmed Rome, Hannibal neglected to reduce the town, and occupied in triumphs, drinking bouts and luxurious living appeared sluggish in the enterprise, until at length a Roman army was collected for the Romans.

[Sidenote: B.C. 211 (*a.u.* 543)] Then was he hindered in three-fold manner when he set out for Rome. For of a sudden from the clear sky a most violent hail poured down, and a spreading darkness kept him from his journey. (Tzetzes, Hist. 1, 786-792. Cp. Zonaras, 9, 6.)

34. Dio in his Roman History 15: “For as a result of their position from very early times and their pristine friendship for the Romans, they would not endure to be punished, but the Campanians undertook to accuse Flaccus and the Syracusans Marcellus. And they were condemned in the assembly.” (Suidas, s. v. [Greek: ‘edkaióthaesan’].)

35. Dio in 15th Book: “For fear the Syracusans, in despair of assistance, commit some act of rebellion.” (Bekker, Anecdota, , 121. Zonaras, 9, 6.)

36. The Romans had made propositions to Hannibal looking to a return of the prisoners on both sides, but did not accomplish the exchange although they sent, Carthalo to them for this very purpose. For when they would not receive him, as an enemy, within the walls, he refused to hold any conversation with them, but immediately turned back in anger. (Ursinus, . Zonaras, 9, 6.)

37. Scipio the prætor, who saved his wounded father, surpassed in natural

excellence, was renowned for his education, and possessed great force both of mind and also of language, whenever the latter was necessary. These qualities he displayed conspicuously in his acts, so that he seemed to be high-minded and disposed to do great deeds not for the sake of an empty boast but as the result of a steadfast tendency. For these reasons and because he scrupulously paid honors to the heavenly powers, he was elected. He had never had charge of any public or private enterprise before he ascended the Capitol and spent some time there. On this account also he acquired the reputation of having sprung from Jupiter, who had taken the form of a serpent on the occasion of intercourse with his mother. [Footnote: Compare the story about Augustus (Volume III, page 3 of this translation).] And by this tradition he inspired many with a kind of hope in him. (Valesius, p.601. Zonaras, 9, 7.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 210 (*a.u.* 544)] 38. Scipio, although he did not receive the title of legal commander from those by whom he was elected, nevertheless made the army his friend, roused the men from their undisciplined state and drilled them, and brought them out of the terror with which their misfortunes had filled them. As for Marcius, [Footnote: This is L. Marcius, a knight, who at the death of Publius and Gnæus Scipio in Spain was chosen commander by the soldiers.] Scipio did not, as most men would have done, regard him as unfit because he had acquired popularity, but both in word and deed always showed him respect. He was the sort of man to wish to make his way not by slandering and overthrowing his neighbor, but by his native excellence. And it was this most of all that helped him to conciliate the soldiers. (Valesius, p.602.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 209 (*a.u.* 545)] 39. When a mutiny of the soldiers took place, Scipio distributed many gifts to the soldiers and designated many also for the public treasury. Some of the captives he appointed to service in the general fleet and all the hostages he gave back freely to their relatives. For this reason many towns and many princes, among them Indibilis and Mandonius of the Ilergetes, came over to his side. The Celtiberian race, the largest and strongest of those in that region, he gained in the following way. He had taken among the captives a maiden distinguished for her beauty and it was supposed, on general principles, that he would fall in love with her: and when he learned that she was betrothed to Allucius, one of the Celtiberian magistrates, he voluntarily sent for him and delivered the girl to him along with the ransom her kinsfolk had brought. By this deed he attached to his cause both them and the rest of the nation. (Valesius, p.602. Zonaras, 9, 8.)

40. Scipio was clever in strategy, agreeable in society, terrifying to his opponents, and humane to such as yielded. Furthermore, through his father's and his uncle's reputation he was thoroughly able to inspire confidence in his projects, because he was thought to have acquired his fame by hereditary excellence and not fortuitously. At this time the swiftness of his victory, the fact that Hasdrubal had retreated into the interior, and especially the recollection that he had predicted, whether through divine inspiration or by

some chance information, that he would encamp in the enemy's country, — a prediction now fulfilled, — caused all to honor him as superior to themselves, while the Spaniards actually named him Great King. (Valesius, . Zonaras, 9, 8.)

41. The king of the Spaniards, taken captive by Scipio, chose to follow the Roman cause, surrendered his own sovereignty, and stood ready to furnish hostages. Scipio, though he accepted the man's alliance, said there was no need of hostages, for he possessed the necessary pledge in his own arms. [Footnote: Probably spurious (Melber).] (Mai, .)

42. Dio in 16: "You all deserve to die: however, I shall not put you all to death, but I shall execute only a few whom I have already arrested; the rest I shall release." (Suidas, s. v. [Greek: edikaióthaesan]. Zonaras, 9, 10.)

43. Later Hannibal incurred the jealousy of the Sicilians, and when he fell in need of grain, as the islanders did not send it, the former noble conqueror, now by famine conquered, was put to flight by Scipio the Roman, and to the Sicilians became part cause of their utter, dire destruction. (Tzetzes, Hist. 1, 793-797.)

44. Thus these authorities in regard to the Gymnesian islands. Dio Cocceianus, however, says they are near the Iberus river and near the European Pillars of Hercules, — which islands the Greeks and Romans alike call the Gymnesian, but the Spaniards Valerian or Healthful Islands. (Isaac Tzetzes on Lycophron, 633. Cp. Zonaras, 9, 10.)

45. Masinissa was in general among the most prominent men and was wont to accomplish warlike deeds, whether by planning or by force, in the best manner, and gained the foremost place in the confidence not only of the men of his own race (and these are most distrustful as a rule) but of those who greatly prided themselves upon their sagacity. (Valesius, . Zonaras, 9, 11.)

46. Masinissa became mightily enamoured of Sophonis, [Footnote: The name appears as Sophoniba in Livy (XXX, 12).] who possessed conspicuous beauty, — that symmetry of body and bloom of youth which is characteristic of the prime of life, — and had also been trained in a liberal literary and musical education. She was of attractive manners, coy and altogether so lovable that the mere sight of her or even the sound of her voice vanquished every one, however devoid of affection he might be. (Valesius, . Zonaras, 9, 11.)

47[lacuna]. However he also wished to take revenge on him. For having incurred suspicion beforehand he took to flight, and on arriving at Libya inflicted many injuries by himself and many with Roman aid upon Syphax and the Carthaginians. Scipio, when he had won over the whole territory south of the Pyrenees, partly by force, partly by treaty, equipped himself for the journey to Libya, as he had received orders to do. This business, too, had now been entrusted to him in spite of much opposition, and he was instructed to join Syphax. Certainly he would have accomplished something worthy of his aspirations: he would have either surrounded Carthage with his troops and

have captured the place or he would have drawn Hannibal from as he later did, had not the Romans at home through jealousy of him and through fear stood in his way. They reflected that youth without exception always reaches out after greater results and good fortune is often insatiate of success, and thought that it would be very difficult for a youthful spirit [lacuna] through self-confidence [lacuna] [lacuna] it would be of advantage not to treat him according to his power and fame but to look to their own liberty and safety, they dismissed him; in other words, the man that they themselves had put in charge of affairs when they stood in need of him they now of their own motion removed because he had become too great for the public safety. They were no longer anxious to conduct a destructive warfare through his agency against the Carthaginians, but simply to escape training up for themselves a self-chosen tyrant. So they sent two of the prætors to relieve him and called him home. Also they did not vote him a triumph, because he was campaigning as an individual and had been appointed to no legal command, but they allowed him to sacrifice a hundred white oxen upon the Capitol, to celebrate a festival, and to canvass for the consulship of the second year following. For the elections for the next year had recently been held.

[Sidenote: B.C. 207 (*a.u.* 547)] At this same period Sulpicius, too, with Attalus captured Oreus by treachery and Opus by main force. Philip although in Demetrias was unable to check their encroachments speedily because the Ætolians had seized the passes in advance. At last, however, he did arrive on the scene and finding Attalus disposing of the spoil from Opus (for this had fallen to his lot and that from Oreus to the Romans) he hurled him back to his ships. Attalus, accordingly, for this reason and also because Prusias, king of Bithynia, had invaded his country and was devastating it, hastily sailed away homewards.

Philip, however, far from being elated at this success, even wished to conclude a truce with the Romans and especially because Ptolemy, too, was sending ambassadors from Egypt and trying to reconcile them. After some preliminary discussion [lacuna] he no longer requested peace, but [lacuna] drew the Ætolians away from the Roman alliance by some [lacuna] and made them friends.

Nothing worthy of remembrance, however, was done either by him or by any others either then or in the following year when Lucius Veturius and Cæcilius Metellus became consuls: this notwithstanding the fact that many signs of ill-omen to the Romans were reported. For example, a hermaphrodite lamb was born, and a swarm of [lacuna] was seen, down the doors of the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter two serpents glided, both the doors and the altar in the temple of Neptune ran with copious sweat, in Antium bloody ears were seen by some reapers, elsewhere a woman having horns appeared and many thunderbolts [lacuna] into temples [lacuna] Paris Fragment (10th Century MS.) (See Haase, *Rh. Mus.*, 1839, p.458, ff. Zonaras 9, 11.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 205 (*a.u.* 549)]48. Licinius Crassus, by reason of his

geniality and beauty and wealth (which gained for him the name of Wealthy) and because he was a high priest, was to stay in Italy without casting lots for the privilege. (Valesius, . Zonaras, 9, 11.)

49. The Pythian god commanded the Romans to entrust to the best of the citizens the conveyance to the city of the goddess from Pessinus, and they accordingly honored Publius Scipio, a son of Gnæus who died in Spain, above all others by their first preference. The reason was that he was in general [lacuna] and was deemed both pious and just. He at this time, accompanied by the most prominent women, conducted the goddess to Rome and to the Palatine. (Valesius, .)

50. The Romans on learning of the actions of the Locrians, thinking it had come about through contempt of Scipio, were displeased, and under the influence of anger immediately made plans to end his leadership and to recall him for trial. They were also indignant because he adopted Greek manners, wore his toga thrown back over his shoulder, and contended in the palæstra. Furthermore it was said he gave over to the soldiers the property of the allies to plunder, and he was suspected of delaying the voyage to Carthage purposely, in order that he might hold office for a longer time; but it was principally at the instigation of men who all along had been jealous of him that they wished to summon him. Still, this proposition was not carried out because of the great favor, based on their hopes of him, which the mass of the people felt for him. (Valesius, . Zonaras, 9, 11.)

51 [lacuna]. they stopped and pitched a camp in a suitable place and fenced it all about with palisades, as they had brought in stakes for this very purpose. It had just been finished when a great serpent came gliding along beside it on the road leading to Carthage, so that by this portent, Scipio, owing to the tradition about his father, was encouraged, and devastated the country and assaulted the cities with greater boldness. Some of the latter he did succeed in capturing; and the Carthaginians not yet [lacuna] prepared remained still, and Syphax was by profession their friend, but, as a matter of fact, he held aloof from the action; by urging Scipio to come to terms with them he showed that he was unwilling that either side should conquer the other and at the same time become his master; on the contrary he desired them to oppose each other as vigorously as possible but to be at peace with him. Consequently, as Scipio was harrying the country, Hanno the cavalry commander (he was a son of Hasdrubal) [lacuna] the [lacuna] was persuaded on the part of Masinissa [lacuna] to the Carthaginians [lacuna] warlike [lacuna] was believed, and, therefore, Scipio, sending forward some horsemen on the advice of Masinissa [lacuna] laid an ambush in a suitable spot where they were destined [lacuna] making an onset to simulate flight. Against [lacuna] those wishing to pursue them. This also took place. The Carthaginians attacked them, and when after a little by agreement they turned, followed after at full speed while Masinissa with his accompanying cavalry lagged behind and got in the rear of the pursuers, and Scipio appearing from ambush went to meet them: thus they

were cut off and overwhelmed with weapons on both sides and many were killed and captured [lacuna] and also Hanno. On learning this, Hasdrubal arrested the mother of Masinissa. And those captives were exchanged, one for the other.

Now Syphax, being well aware that Masinissa would war against him no less than against the Carthaginians and fearing that he might find himself bereft of allies if they suffered any harm through his desertion of their cause, renounced his pretended friendship for the Romans and attached himself openly to the Carthaginians. He failed to render the wholehearted assistance, however, to the point of actually resisting the Romans, and the latter overran the country with impunity, carrying off much plunder and recovering many prisoners from Italy who had previously been sent to Libya by Hannibal; consequently they despised their foes and began a campaign against Utica. When Syphax and Hasdrubal saw this, they so feared for the safety of the place that they no longer remained passive; and their approach caused the Romans to abandon the siege, since they did not dare to contend against two forces at the same time. Subsequently the invaders went into winter quarters where they were, getting a part of their provisions from the immediate neighborhood and sending for a part from Sicily and Sardinia; for the ships that carried the spoils to Sicily could also bring them food supplies.

In Italy no great results were accomplished in the war against Hannibal. Publius Sempronius in a small engagement was vanquished by Hannibal, but later overcame the latter in turn: Livius and Nero, having become censors, announced to those Latins who had abandoned the joint expedition and had been designated to furnish a double quota of soldiers, that a census of persons taxable should be taken; this they did in order that others, too, might contribute money, and they made salt, which up to that time had been free of tax, taxable. This measure was for no other purpose than to satisfy Livius, who designed it, thus requiting the citizens for their vote of condemnation; and indeed, he received a nickname from it; after this he was called Salinator. [Footnote: Salinator = "salt-dealer."] This was one act that caused these censors to become notorious; another was that they deprived each other of their horses and made each other *æarii* [Footnote: *Ærarius* — a citizen of the lowest class, who paid only a poll-tax and had no right to vote.] [lacuna] according to the [lacuna] (Paris fragment). Zonaras, 9, 12.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 203 (*a.u.* 551)] 52. Scipio captured a Carthaginian vessel but released it, inflicting no injury when they feigned to have been coming on an embassy to him. He knew that this pretext was invented to secure the safety of the captives, but preferred avoiding the possibility of being touched by the breath of slander to the retention of the ship. Also, when Syphax at that time was still endeavoring to reconcile them on the terms that Scipio should sail from Libya and Hannibal from Italy, he received his proposition not because he trusted him, but to the end that he might ruin him. (Valesius, . Zonaras, 9, 12.)

53. The Romans came bringing to Scipio along with much other property Syphax himself. And the commander would not consent to see him remain bound in chains, but calling to mind his entertainment at the other's court and reflecting on human misfortunes, on the fact that his captive had been king over no inconsiderable power and had shown commendable zeal in his behalf, and that nevertheless he beheld him in so pitiable a plight, — Scipio leaped from his chair, loosed him, embraced him, and treated him with great consideration. (Valesius, . Zonaras, 9, 13.)

54. The Carthaginians made propositions to Scipio through heralds, and of the demands made upon them by him there was none that did not promise to satisfy, although they never intended to carry out their agreement; they did, to be sure, give him money at once and gave back all the prisoners, but in regard to the other matters they sent envoys to Rome. The Romans would not receive them at that time, declaring that it was a tradition in the State not to negotiate a peace with any parties while their armies were in Italy. Later when Hannibal and Mago had embarked, they granted the envoys an audience and fell into a dispute among themselves, being of two minds. At last, however, they voted the peace on the terms that Scipio had arranged. (Ursinus, . Zonaras, 9, 13.)

55. The Carthaginians attacked Scipio both by land and by sea. Scipio, vexed at this, made a complaint, but they returned no proper answer to the envoys and moreover actually plotted against them when they sailed back; and had not by chance a wind sprung up and aided them, they would have been captured or would have perished. On this account Scipio, although at this time the commissioners arrived with peace for the men of Carthage, refused any longer to make it. (Ursinus, . Zonaras, 9, 13.)

56. Nearly all who conduct a military expedition, — or many, at any rate, — perform voluntarily many acts which would not be required of them. They look askance at their instructions as something forced upon them, but are delighted with the projects of their own minds because they feel themselves so far independent. (Valesius, .)

57. Dio in Book 17: "He suddenly halted in his running." (Bekker, Anecd., , 23. Zonaras, 9, 14.)

58. Dio in *Roman History* 17: "In general the fortunate party is inclined to audacity and the unfortunate to moderate behavior, and accordingly, the timid party is wont to show temperance and the audacious intemperance. This was to be noted to an especial degree in that case." [Footnote: This may conceivably relate to Masinissa's marrying Sophoniba without authorization.] (Suidas s. v. [Greek: hôst hephipan])

59. Dio in *Roman History* 17: "And a report about them of same such nature as follows was made public." (Suidas and Etymologicum Magnum and others s. v. [Greek: hedêmhôthê].)

60. [Greek: henthymixhomenoi] = *calculating*. So Dio in Book 17, *Roman History*. (Suidas or Etym. in Cramer. Anecd., Paris, Vol. IV, , 8. Zonaras, Lex., .)

61. [Greek: diathithêmi] (“arrange”) for [Greek: diaphrattomai] (“accomplish”), with the accusative in Dio, Book 18: “And culling all the best flowers of philosophy.” (Bekker, Anecd., , 29.) [This is from two glosses, and there is confusion caused by gaps. — Ed.]

[Sidenote: B.C. 201 (a.u. 553)]62. [The Carthaginians made overtures for peace to Scipio. The terms agreed upon were, that they should give hostages, should return the captives and deserters they were holding (whether of the Romans or of the allies), should surrender all the elephants and the triremes (save ten), and for the future possess neither elephants nor ships, should withdraw from all territory of Masinissa that they were holding and restore to him the country and the cities that were properly in his domain, that they should not hold levies, nor use mercenaries, nor make war upon any one contrary to the advice and consent of the Romans. (Ursinus, . Zonaras, 9, 14.)

63. It seemed to Cornelius [Footnote: *Cu. Cornelius Lentulus.*] the consul, as well as to many other Romans, that Carthage ought to be destroyed, and he was wont to say that it was impossible, while that city existed, for them to be free from fear. (Ursinus, . Cp. Zonaras, 9, 14.)

64. In the popular assembly, however, [lacuna] all unanimously voted for peace. [*About three obscure lines (fragmentary) follow.*]

[Sidenote: B.C. 201 (a.u. 553)] And of the elephants the larger number were carried off to Rome, and the rest were presented to Masinissa. [lacuna] of Carthaginians. And they themselves, immediately after the ratification of the peace, abandoned Italy, and the Romans, Libya. The Carthaginians who sent commissioners to Rome were allowed by the Romans to contribute for the benefit of the captives severally related to them; and about two hundred of them were sent back without ransoms to Scipio [lacuna] after the treaty [lacuna] and friendship [lacuna] confirmed; and they granted peace [lacuna] [Two fragmentary lines.]

Scipio accordingly attained great prominence by these deeds, but Hannibal was even brought to trial by his own people; he was accused of having refused to capture Rome when he was able to do so, and of having appropriated the plunder in Italy. He was not, however, convicted, but was shortly after entrusted with the highest office in Carthage [lacuna] [One fragmentary line.] (Paris Fragment, . Zonaras, 9, 14. Livy, 30:42, 43, 45.) [Frag. LVII]

1[lacuna]. Marcus [lacuna] sent to Philip by the generals [lacuna] from them either [lacuna] was successful; embassy [lacuna] of Philip and [lacuna] and some [lacuna] which he himself [lacuna] had sent to the Carthaginians [lacuna] not at all peace [lacuna] having vanquished [lacuna] enemies by the [lacuna] rendered them of no less importance in reputation. (Paris Fragment, . Cp. Zonaras, 9, 15 = Livy 30:42.)

[Frag. LVII]

2. I found the Dardanians to be a race dwelling above the Illyrians and Macedonians. And the city of Dardanus is there. (Isaac Tzetzes on Lycophron, 1128. Cp. Zonaras, 9, 14.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 200 (*a.u.* 554)]3. And they [Footnote: I.e., the Romans and the Macedonians.]delayed for several days, not meeting in battle array but conducting skirmishes and sallies of the light-armed troops and the horse. The Romans, for their part, were eager to join battle with all speed: their force was a strong one, they had little provision, and consequently would often go up to the foe's palisade. Philip, on the other hand, was weaker in point of armed followers, but his supply of provisions was better than theirs because his own country was close by; so he waited, expecting that they would become exhausted without a conflict, and if he had possessed self-control he certainly would have accomplished something. As it was, he acquired a contempt for the Romans, thinking that they feared him because they had transferred their camp to a certain spot from which they could get food better: he thereupon attacked them unexpectedly while they were engaged in plundering and managed to kill a few. Galba on perceiving this made a sortie from the camp, fell upon him while off his guard, and slew many more in return. Philip, in view of his defeat and the further fact that he was wounded, no longer held his position but after a truce of some days for the taking up and burial of the corpses withdrew the first part of the night. Galba, however, did not follow him up; he was short of provisions, he did not know the country, and particularly he was ignorant of his adversary's strength; he was also afraid that if he advanced inconsiderately he might come to grief. For these reasons he was unwilling to proceed farther, but retired to Apollonia.

During this same time Apustius with the Rhodians and with Attalus cruised about and subjugated many of the islands [lacuna] (Paris Fragment, . Zonaras, 9, 15. Cp. Livy, 31:21 ff.)

4. The Insubres were thrown into confusion. For Hamilcar, a Carthaginian, who had made a campaign with Mago and remained secretly in those regions, after a term of quiet, during which he was satisfied merely to elude discovery, as soon as the Macedonian war broke out, caused the Gauls to revolt from the Romans; then in company with the rebels he made an expedition against the Ligurians and won over some of them. Later they had a battle with the praetor Lucius Furius, were defeated, and sent envoys asking peace. This the Ligurians obtained; then others [lacuna] [Five fragmentary lines.] (Paris Fragment, . Zonaras, 9, 15.)

5[lacuna]. he thought he ought to be granted a triumph, and many arguments were presented on both sides. Some, especially in view of the malignity of Aurelius, eagerly furthered his cause and magnified his victory, using many illustrations. Others declared he had contended with the help of the consular army and had no individual and independent appointment, and furthermore they even demanded an accounting from him because he had not carried out his instructions. However, he won his point. And he in that place [lacuna] before Aurelius [lacuna] Vermis [lacuna] from the [lacuna] (Paris Fragment, . Cp. Livy, 31:47 ff.)

[Frag. LVIII]

[Sidenote: B.C. 197 (*a.u.* 557)] Philip after his defeat sent heralds to Flamininus. The latter, however eagerly he coveted Macedonia and desired the fullest results from his good fortune of the moment, nevertheless made a truce. The cause lay in the fear that, if Philip were out of the way, the Greeks might recover their ancient spirit and no longer pay them court, that the Ætolians, already filled with great boasting because they had contributed the largest share to the victory, might become more vexatious to them, and that Antiochus might, as was reported, come to Europe and form an alliance with Philip. (Ursinus, . Zonaras, 9, 16.)

[Frag. LIX]

[Sidenote: B.C. 192 (*a.u.* 562)] 1. Antiochus and his generals were ruined beforehand; for by his general indolence and his passion for a certain girl he had drifted into luxurious living and had at the same time rendered the rest unfit for warfare. (Valesius, . Zonaras, 9, 19.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 190 (*a.u.* 564)] 2. Seleucus [Footnote: Probably an error of the excerptor, for Antiochus himself.] the son of Antiochus captured the son of Africanus, who was sailing across from Greece, and had given him the kindest treatment. Although his father many times requested the privilege of ransoming him, his captor refused, yet did him no harm: on the contrary, he showed him every honor and finally, though he failed of securing peace, released him without ransom. (Valesius, . Zonaras, 9, 20.)

[Frag. LX]

[Sidenote: B.C. 189 (*a.u.* 565)] Many were jealous of the Scipios because the two brothers of excellent stock and trained in virtue had accomplished all that has been related and had secured such titles. That these victors could not be charged with wrongdoing is made plain by my former statements and was shown still more conclusively on the occasion of the confiscation of the property of Asiaticus, — which was found to consist merely of his original inheritance, — or again by the retirement of Africanus to Liternum and the security that he enjoyed there to the end of his life. At first he did appear in court, [Footnote: Political enemies of P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus summoned him to court on trumped-up charges.] thinking that he would be saved by the genuineness of his good behavior. (Valesius, . Zonaras, 9, 20.)

[Frag. LXI]

The Romans, when they had had a taste of Asiatic luxury and had spent some time in the possessions of the vanquished amid the abundance of spoils and the license granted by success in arms, rapidly came to emulate their prodigality and ere long to trample under foot their ancestral traditions. Thus this terrible influence, arising from that source, fell also upon the city. (Valesius, .)

[Frag. LXII]

Gracchus was thoroughly a man of the people and a very fluent public speaker, but his disposition was very different from Cato's. Although he had an enmity of long standing against the Scipios, he would not endure what was taking place but spoke in defence of Africanus, who was accused while absent, and exerted himself to prevent any smirch from attaching to that leader; and he prevented the imprisonment of Asiaticus. Consequently the Scipios, too, relinquished their hatred of him and made a family alliance, Africanus bestowing upon him his own daughter. (Valesius, .)

[Frag. LXIII]

[Sidenote: B.C. 187 (*a.u.* 567)] Some youths who had insulted the Carthaginian envoys that had come to Rome were sent to Carthage and delivered up to the people; they received no injury, however, at the hands of the citizens and were released. (Ursinus, .)

[Frag. LXIV]

[Sidenote: B.C. 183 (*a.u.* 571)] He himself [i.e. Hannibal] died by drinking poison near Bithynia, in a certain place called Libyssa by name; though he thought to die in Libyssa his own proper country. For an oracle had once been written down for Hannibal to the following effect: "A Libyssan clod shall hide the form of Hannibal." Later the Roman Emperor Severus, being of Libyan birth, interred in a tomb of white marble this man, the general Hannibal. (Tzetzes. Hist. 1, 798-805. Cp. Zonaras, 9, 21.)

[Frag. LXV]

[Sidenote: B.C. 169 (*a.u.* 585)] 1. Perseus hoped to eject the Romans from Greece completely, but through his excessive and inopportune parsimony and the consequent contempt of his allies he became weak once more. When Roman influence was declining slightly and his own was increasing, he was filled with scorn and thought he had no further need of his allies, but believed that either they would assist him free of cost or he could prevail by himself. Hence he paid neither Eumenes nor Gentius the money that he had promised, thinking that they must have reasons of their own strong enough to insure hostility towards the Romans. These princes, therefore, and the Thrasians — they, too, were not receiving their full pay — became indifferent; and Perseus fell into such depths of despair again as actually to sue for peace. (Valesius, . Zonaras, 9, 22.)

2. Perseus sued for peace at the hands of the Romans, and would have obtained it but for the presence in his embassy of the Rhodians, who joined it through fear that a rival to the Romans might be annihilated. Their language had none of the moderation which petitioners should employ, and they talked as if they were not so much asking peace for Perseus as bestowing it, and adopted a generally haughty tone: finally they threatened those who should be responsible for their failing to come to a satisfactory agreement by saying that they would fight on the opposite side. They had previously been somewhat under the ban of Roman suspicion, but after this many more hard things were said of them and they prevented Perseus from obtaining peace. (Ursinus, .)

Zonaras, 9, 22.)

[Sidenote: B.C. 168 (*a.u.* 586)]3. When Perseus was in the temple at Samothrace, a demand was made upon him for the surrender of one Evander, of Cretan stock, a most faithful follower who had assisted him in many schemes against the Romans and had helped to concoct the plot carried out at Delphi against Eumenes. The prince, fearing that he might declare all the intrigues to which he had been privy, did not deliver him but secretly slew him and spread abroad the report that he had made way with himself in advance. The associates of Perseus, fearing his treachery and blood-guiltiness, then began to desert his standard. (Valesius, . Zonaras, 9, 23.)

4. Perseus allowed himself [Footnote: Cp. Livy, XLV, 6.] to be found, and upon his being brought to Amphipolis Paulus accorded him no harsh treatment by deed or word, but on the contrary made way for him when he approached, entertained him in various ways and had him sit at his table, keeping him, meanwhile, although a prisoner, unconfined and showing him every courtesy. (Valesius, . Zonaras, 9, 23.)

[Frag. LXVI]

Paulus was not only good at generalship but most inaccessible to bribes. Of this the following is proof. Though he had at that time entered for a second term upon the consulship and had gained possession of untold spoils, he continued to live in so great indigence that when he died the dowry was with difficulty paid back to his wife. Such was the nature of the man and such were his deeds. The only thing regarded as a blemish that attaches to his character is his turning over the possessions [of the Epirots?] to his soldiers for pillage: for the rest, he showed himself a man not devoid of charm and temperate in good fortune, who was seen to be extremely lucky and at the same time full of wise counsel in dealing with the enemy. As an illustration: he was not cowardly or heedless in waging war against Perseus, but afterward did not assume a pompous or boastful air toward him. (Valesius, . Zonaras, 9, 24.)

[Frag. LXVII]

1. The Rhodians, who formerly had possessed a vast amount of self-esteem, thinking that they, too, ranked as conquerors of Philip and Antiochus, and were stronger than the Romans, fell into such depths of terror as to despatch an ambassador to Antiochus, king of Syria, and summon Popilius, in whose presence they condemned all those opposed to the Roman policy and then sent such as were arrested to punishment. (Ursinus, . Zonaras, 9, 24.)

2. The same persons, though they had often sent envoys to them, as frequently as they wanted anything, now ceased to bring to their attention any of the former enterprises, but mentioned only those cases which they could cite pertaining to services once rendered which might be useful in diverting Roman ill-will. They were especially anxious at this time to secure the title of Roman allies. Previously they had refused to accept it. They had wished to inspire some fear in Rome, — for, not being bound to friendship by any oath, they had power to transfer their allegiance at any time, — and furthermore to

be courted by such states as from time to time might be engaged in war with that city. But now they were looking to confirm the favor of the Romans and to the consequent honor that was sure to be accorded to them by others. (Ursinus, . Zonaras, 9, 24.)

[Frag. LXVIII]

Prusias himself entered the senate-house at Rome and covered the threshold with kisses. The senators he termed gods, and worshiped them. Thus, then, he obtained an abundance of pity, though he had fought against Attalus contrary to the Roman decision. It was said that at home, too, whenever their envoys came to him, he worshiped them, calling himself a freedman of the people, and often he would put on a slave's cap. (Ursinus, . Zonaras, 9, 24.)

[Frag. LXIX]

[Sidenote: B.C. 149 (*a.u.* 605)] Scipio Africanus excelled in planning out at leisure the requisite course, but excelled also in discovering at a moment's notice what needed to be done, and knew how to employ either method on the proper occasion. The duties that lay before him he reviewed boldly but accomplished their fulfillment as if with timidity. Therefore by his fearless detailed investigation he obtained accurate knowledge of the fitting action in every emergency, and by his good judgment in doubtful cases met these emergencies safely. Consequently, if he was ever brought face to face with some need that admitted of no deliberation, — as is wont to happen in the contradictions of warfare and the turns of fortune — not even then did he miss the proper course. Through accustoming himself to regard no happening as unreasonable he was not unprepared for the assault of sudden events, but through his incessant activity was able to meet the unexpected as if he had foreseen it long before. As a result he showed himself daring in matters where he felt he was right, and ready to run risks where he felt bold. In bodily frame he was strong as the best of the soldiers. This led to one of his most remarkable characteristics: he would devise movements that looked advantageous as if he were merely going to command others, and at the time of action would execute them as if they had been ordered by others. Besides not swerving from the ordinary paths of rectitude, he kept faith scrupulously not only with the citizens and his acquaintances, but with foreign and most hostile nations. This, too, brought many individuals as well as many cities to his standard. He never spoke or acted without due consideration or through anger or fear, but as a result of the certainty of his calculations he was ready for all chances: he had thought out practically all human possibilities; he never did anything unexpected, but deliberated every matter beforehand, according to its nature. Thus he perceived very easily the right course to follow even before there was any necessity, and pursued it with firmness.

These are the reasons, or chiefly these — I should mention also his moderation and amiability — that he alone of men escaped the envy of his peers, or of any one else. He chose to make himself like to his inferiors, not

better than his equals, weaker than greater men, and so passed beyond the power of jealousy, which harasses only the noblest men. (Valesius, . Zonaras, 9, 27.)

[Frag. LXX]

[Sidenote: B.C. 148 (*a.u.* 606)] Dio in Book 21: “Phameas, despairing of the Carthaginian cause” [lacuna] (Bekker, *Anecd.* , 9 a. Zonaras, 9, 27.)

[Frag. LXXI]

What age limit, pray, is imposed upon those who from their very boyhood set their faces toward obtaining a right state of mind? What number of years has been settled upon with reference to the fulfillment of duties? Is it not true that all who enjoy an excellent nature and good fortune both think and do in all things what is right from the very beginning, whereas those who at this age of their life have little sense would never subsequently grow more prudent, even if they should pass through many years? A man may continue to improve upon his former condition as he advances in age, but not one would turn out wise from being foolish, or sensible from being silly. Do not, therefore, put the young into a state of dejection through the idea that they are actually condemned to a state of inability to perform their duties. On the contrary, you ought to urge them to practice zealously the performance of all that they are required to do, and to look for both honors and offices even before they reach old age. By this course you will render their elders better, too, — first, by confronting them with many competitors, and next by making clear that you are going to establish not length of years but innate excellence as the test in conferring positions of command upon any citizens, even more than you do in the case of ordinary benefits. [Footnote: These words would appear to be taken from the speech before the senate of some such person as a tribune of the plebs, and to relate either to the consulship of Scipio Æmilianus (B.C. 148) or to the Spanish appointment of Scipio Africanus (B.C. 211), preferably the former.] (Mai, , and also Excerpts from a Florentine MS. of John of Antioch’s *Parallela*. Cp. Zonaras, 9, 29.)

The Greek Texts



Ruins at ancient Smyrna, modern day İzmir, Turkey — Dio was a senator under Emperor Commodus and became governor of Smyrna following the death of Emperor Septimius Severus.

LIST OF GREEK TEXTS



In this section of the eBook, readers can view the original Greek texts and fragments of Dio's works. You may wish to Bookmark this page for future reference.

CONTENTS

[BOOK 1](#)

[BOOK 2](#)

[BOOK 3](#)

[BOOK 4](#)

[BOOK 5](#)

[BOOK 6](#)

[BOOK 7](#)

[BOOK 8](#)

[BOOK 9](#)

[BOOK 10](#)

[BOOK 11](#)

[BOOK 12](#)

[BOOK 13](#)

[BOOK 14](#)

[BOOK 15](#)

[BOOK 16](#)

[BOOK 17](#)

[BOOK 18](#)

[BOOK 19](#)

[BOOK 20](#)

[BOOK 21](#)

[BOOK 22](#)

[BOOK 23](#)

[BOOK 24](#)

[BOOK 25](#)

[BOOK 26](#)

[BOOK 27](#)

[BOOK 28](#)

[BOOK 29](#)

[BOOKS 30 TO 35](#)

[UNCERTAIN FRAGMENTS](#)

[BOOK 36](#)

BOOK 37
BOOK 38
BOOK 39
BOOK 40
BOOK 41
BOOK 42
BOOK 43
BOOK 44
BOOK 45
BOOK 46
BOOK 47
BOOK 48
BOOK 49
BOOK 50
BOOK 51
BOOK 52
BOOK 53
BOOK 54
BOOK 55
BOOK 56
BOOK 57
BOOK 58
BOOK 59
BOOK 60
BOOK 61
BOOK 62
BOOK 63
BOOK 64
BOOK 65
BOOK 66
BOOK 67
BOOK 68
BOOK 69
BOOK 70
BOOK 71
BOOK 72
BOOK 73
BOOK 74
BOOK 75
BOOK 76
BOOK 77
BOOK 78
BOOK 79
BOOK 80

BOOK 1

“ 1. [2] ἀνέγγων μὲν πάντα ὡς εἰπεῖν τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν τισι γεγραμμένα, συνέγραψα δὲ οὐ πάντα ἀλλ’ ὅσα ἐξέκρινα. μὴ μέντοι μηδ’ ὅτι κεκαλλιεπημένοις, ἐς ὅσον γε καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐπέτρεψε, λόγοις κέχρημαι, ἐς τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτῶν διὰ τοῦτο τις ὑποπτεύσῃ, ὅπερ ἐπ’ ἄλλων τινῶν συμβέβηκεν: ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀμφοτέρα, ὡς οἶόν τε ἦν, ὁμοίως ἀκριβῶσαι [3] ἐσπούδασα. ἄρξομαι δὲ ὁθενπερ τὰ σαφέστατα τῶν περὶ τήνδε τὴν γῆν, ἣν κατοικοῦμεν, συμβῆναι λεγομένων παρελάβομεν.” M. 1 (p. 135). “ τὴν χώραν ταύτην, ἐν ἣ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἄστυ πετόλισται.” M. 2 (p. 135). “ [p. 4] [p. 6] 2. [4] ὅτι περὶ Τυρσηνῶν φησιν ὁ Δίων ‘ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ προσῆκεν ἐνταῦθα τοῦ λόγου περὶ αὐτῶν γεγράφηται: ἐτέρωθι καὶ ἄλλο τι καὶ αὖθις αὐ ἕτερον, ὅτω ποτ’ ἂν ἡ διέξοδος τῆς συγγραφῆς τὸ αἰεὶ παρὸν εὐτρεπίζουσα προστύχῃ, κατὰ καιρὸν εἰρήσεται. τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων [p. 8] τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀρκούντως ἐχέτω: τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πάντα κατὰ δύναμιν ἐπέξειμι, τῶν δὲ δὴ λοιπῶν τὰ πρόσφορα αὐτοῖς μόνον γεγράφεται.” M. 3 (p. 136). “ [p. 10] [p. 12] 5. ἔδει δὲ ‘οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν οὐτε προῖδέσθαι πάντα ἀνθρώπῳ ὄντι οὐτ’ ἀποτροπὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίως ἐσομένων εὐρεῖν’ τιμωροὺς τινὰς τῆς ἀδικίας αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς κόρης ἐκείνης γεννηθῆναι.” M. 4 (p. 136). “ [p. 14] [p. 16] [3] ὅτι στασιάσαντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους Ῥέμος καὶ Ῥωμύλος ἔκδηλον ἐποίησαν ὅτι τινὲς καὶ πάνυ ἀσφαλέστερον τοὺς κινδύνους τῶν εὐτυχιῶν συνδιαφέρουσιν.” M. 5 (p. 136). “ [4] καὶ αὐτοὶ τε ἐξέμαθον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξεδίδαξαν ὅτι οὐθ’ οἱ τιμωρούμενοί τινες κατορθοῦσι πάντως, ὅτι προηδίκηνται, οὐθ’ οἱ παρὰ τῶν κρειττόνων ἀπαιτοῦντές τινὰ ἀπολαμβάνουσιν αὐτά, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσαπολλύουσιν.” M. 6 (p. 136). “ [5] ὅτι ἡ Ἑρσιλία καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι αἱ ὁμόφυλοι γυναῖκες τηρήσασαί ποτε ἀντιπαρεταγμένους σφᾶς κατέδραμον ἀπὸ τοῦ Παλατίου μετὰ τῶν [p. 18] παιδίων ‘ἦδη γὰρ τινὰ ἐγεγέννητό καὶ ἐς τὸ μεταίχμιον ἐξαπίνης ἐσπεσοῦσαι πολλὰ καὶ οἰκτρὰ καὶ εἴπον καὶ ἐποίησαν: τοτὲ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τοὺτους τοτὲ δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνους βλέπουσαι ‘τί ταῦτα’ ἔφασαν ‘ποιεῖτε, πατέρες; τί ταῦτα, 6. ἄνδρες; μέχρι ποῦ μαχεῖσθε; μέχρι ποῦ μισήσετε ἀλλήλους; καταλλάγητε τοῖς γαμβροῖς, καταλλάγητε τοῖς πενθεροῖς. φείσασθε πρὸς τοῦ Πανὸς τῶν τέκνων, φείσασθε πρὸς τοῦ Κυρίνου τῶν ἐκγόνων. ἐλεήσατε τὰς θυγατέρας, ἐλεήσατε τὰς γυναῖκας: ὡς εἶγε ἀκαταλλάκτως ἔχετε καὶ τις ὑμᾶς σκηπτὸς μανίας ἐσπεσῶν οἰστρεῖ, ἡμᾶς τε δι’ ἃς μάχεσθε προαποκτεínaτε, καὶ τὰ παιδία ταῦτα ἃ μισεῖτε προαποσφάζατε, ἵνα μηδὲν ἔτι μήτ’ ὄνομα μήτε σύνδεσμον συγγενείας πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχοντες κερδάνητε τὸ μέγιστον τῶν κακῶν, τὸ τοὺς τε πάππους τῶν παιδων καὶ τοὺς πατέρας 7. τῶν ἐκγόνων φονεῦειν.’ ταῦτά τε ἔλεγον καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια καταρρηξάμεναι, τοὺς τε μαστοὺς καὶ τὰς γαστέρας γυμνώσασαι, αἱ μὲν αὐταὶ τοῖς ξίφεσι σφῶν ἐνεχρίμποντο, αἱ δὲ καὶ τὰ παιδία αὐτοῖς προσερρίπτουν, ὥστε ἐκείνους καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἦκουον καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἐώρων κλαῦσαι καὶ τῆς τε μάχης ἐπισχεῖν καὶ ἐς λόγους αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ

εἶχον, ἐν τῷ κοιτιῷ δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο κληθέντι συνελθεῖν.” M. 7 (p. 137). “ 10. πολὺ γὰρ διαφέρει ἐκ καινῆς τινας κατασταθῆναι ἢ καὶ πρότερον οὕσας ἐπικληθῆναι.” M. 8 (p. 137). “ [p. 20] 11. ὅτι ὁ Ῥωμύλος πρὸς τὴν γερουσίαν τραχύτερον διέκειτο καὶ τυραννικώτερον αὐτῇ προσεφέρετο, καὶ τοὺς ὁμήρους τοῖς Οὐριένταις ἀπέδωκε καθ’ ἑαυτὸν καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ κοινῆς γνώμης, ὥσπερ τὰ πολλὰ ἐγίνετο: ἀγανακτοῦντάς τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ αἰσθόμενος ἄλλα τε ἐπαχθῇ διελέχθη καὶ τέλος εἶπεν ὅτι ‘ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς, ὦ πατέρες, ἐξελεξάμην οὐχ ἵνα ὑμεῖς ἐμοῦ ἄρχητε, ἀλλ’ ἵνα ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ἐπιτάττοιμι.’” M. 9 (p. 138). “ [p. 22] 12. Δίῳ α’ οὕτω που φύσει πᾶν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον οὐ φέρει πρὸς τε τοῦ ὁμοίου καὶ τοῦ συνήθους, τὰ μὲν φθόνῳ τὰ δὲ καταφρονήσει αὐτοῦ, ἀρχόμενον.” Bekk. Anecd. p. 164, 15. “ [p. 24] 13. α βιβλίῳ Δίῳ ‘ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν παραβαλλόμενος ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκινδύνευσεν.’” Bekk. Anecd. p. 165, 27. “ 6. [2] ὅτι ὁ Νουμᾶς ᾧκει ἐν κολωνῷ τῷ Κυριναλίῳ ὠνομασμένῳ ἅτε καὶ Σαβίνος ὢν, τὰ δὲ δὴ ἀρχεῖα ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ ὁδῷ εἶχε, καὶ τὰς τε διατριβὰς πλησίον τοῦ Ἑστιαίου ἐποιεῖτο καὶ ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ κατὰ χώραν ἔμενεν.” V. 1 (p. 569). “ 1. ὁ δὲ Δίῳ φησὶν ὅτι σπουδὴν ἔχω συγγράφαι πάνθ’ ὅσα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ εἰρηνοῦσι καὶ πολεμοῦσι ἀξίως μνήμης ἐπράχθη, ὥστε μηδὲν τῶν [p. 26] ἀναγκαίων μήτε ἐκείνων τινὰ μήτε τῶν ἄλλων ποθῆσαι.” V. 2 (p. 569). “ 6. [3] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εὖ ἠπίστατο τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ μὲν ὁμοφυῆς σφισι καὶ σύννομον ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ ὡς μηδὲν βέλτιον ἑαυτῶν ὄν ποιουμένους, τὸ δὲ ἀφανὲς καὶ ἀλλοῖον ὡς καὶ κρεῖσσον πίστει τοῦ θεοῦ θεραπεύοντας, χωρίον τέ τι ταῖς Μούσαις ἱέρωσεν...” M. 10 (p. 138). “ [4] Δίῳ α βιβλίῳ ‘ταῦτά τε οὖν ὁ Νουμᾶς ἐνόμισεν.’” Bekk. Anecd. p. 158, 23. “ [p. 28] [5] ὅτι δι’ ἑαυτῶν τότε κατέστησαν πίστιν τοῦ θεοῦ λαβόντες, κἂκ τούτου αὐτοὶ τε ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν τοῦ Νουμᾶ ἀρχὴν διεγένοντο, καὶ ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἄθεεῖ σφισι ἐξ ἴσου τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ ὑπάρξαι ἔδοξεν. φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ τὰ σαφέστατα Σαβίνων εἰδότες ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ἧ ἢ Ῥώμῃ [6] ἐκτίσθη γεγεννηθῆσαι. οὕτω μὲν δὴ δι’ ἀμφοτέρους αὐτοὺς καὶ ἰσχυρὰ ταχὺ καὶ εὐκοσμος ἡ πόλις ἐγένετο, τοῦ μὲν τὰ πολεμικὰ αὐτὴν ἀναγκαίως ἅτε καὶ νεόκτιστον οὖσαν ἀσκήσαντος, τοῦ δὲ τὰ εἰρηνικὰ προσεκδιδάξαντος, ὥστ’ αὐτὴν ἐν ἑκατέρῳ ὁμοίως διαπρέψαι.” V. 3 (p. 569). “ [p. 30] [7β] α βιβλίῳ Δίῳ ‘καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἀρχαῖς πῖσι τελευταῖων ὀριγνώμενοι καὶ τὰς δαπάνας οὐκ ἀκουσίως ὑπομένομεν.’” Bekk. Anecd. p. 161, 3. “ [p. 32]”

“ 7. Δίωνος β βιβλίῳ ‘δόξαν τὴν ἐκείνων ἐπίπροσθὲν σφισι τῆς αὐξήσεως ἔσεσθαι.’” Bekk. Anecd. p. 139, 12. “ [2] ὅτι ὁ τε Τοῦλλος καὶ ὁ Μέττιος οὐδέτεροι συνεχώρουν τὴν μετανάστασιν, ἀμφοτέροι δὲ τὰ σφέτερα περιέστελλον: ὁ τε γὰρ Τοῦλλος πρὸς τε τὴν Φήμην τὴν περὶ Ῥωμύλου καὶ πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν τὴν παροῦσαν, καὶ ὁ Φουφήτιος πρὸς τε τὴν ἀρχαιότητα τῆς Ἄλβης καὶ ὅτι καὶ μητρόπολις ἄλλων τε πολλῶν καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Ῥωμαίων [3] ἦν, ἐπαίρόμενοι μικρὸν οὐδὲν ἐφρόνουν. δι’ οὖν [p. 34] ταῦτα τῆς ἀμφισβητήσεως ἐκείνης ἀπέστησαν, περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας διηνέχθησαν: ἀστασιάστους γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις ἀσφαλῶς συμβῆναι σφας ἀδύνατον ἑώρων ὄν, ἐκ τῆς ἐμφύτου τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πρὸς τε τὸ ὅμοιον φιλονεικίας καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄρχειν ἐτέρων ἐπιθυμίας. πολλὰς τε καὶ περὶ τοῦτου δικαιώσεις ἀλλήλοις προσήνεγκον, εἴ πως ἐκείνης γε οἱ ἕτεροι ὁποτεροιοῦν ἐθελούσιοι τοῖς ἐτέροις παραχωρήσειαν. οὐδὲν δ’ ἐπέραναν, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀγωνισασθαι συνέθεντο.” M. 11 (p. 139). “ [p. 36] [4] Δίωνος βιβλίον β ‘καὶ μηδὲν ἕτερον δεινὸν προσδεχομένοις ἐπιθέμενος.’” Bekk. Anecd. p. 139, 15. “ [5] ὅτι ὁ Τοῦλλος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους κράτιστος [p. 38] ἐνομιζέτο, τοῦ δὲ δὴ θείου πάνυ καταφρονήσας παρημέλει, μέχρις οὗ νόσου λοιμώδους γενομένης καὶ αὐτὸς ἡρῶσθη: τότε γὰρ τῶν τε ἄλλων θεῶν δι’ ἀκριβείας ἐπεμελήθη, καὶ τοὺς Σαλίους τοὺς Κολλίνους προσκατέστησε.” V. 4 (p. 569). “ 8. ὅτι συνεῖς ὁ Μάρκιος ὡς τοῖς βουλομένοις εἰρηνεῖν οὐκ ἐξαρκεῖ τὸ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν, οὐδὲ ἐστὶ τὸ ἀπραγμον ἄνευ τοῦ δραστηρίου σωτήριον, ἀλλ’ ὅσω τις αὐτοῦ ὀριγνᾶται, εὐεπιθετώτερος τοῖς πολλοῖς γίγνεται, μετεβάλετο: οὔτε γὰρ τὸ ἐπιθυμοῦν ἡσυχίας ἰσχυρὸν πρὸς φυλακὴν ἄνευ τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευῶν ἑώρα ὄν, καὶ τὸ [p. 40] τῆς ἀπραγμοσύνης τάχιστα καὶ ῥᾶστα τοῖς πέρα τοῦ καιροῦ σπουδάζουσιν αὐτὴν ἀπολλύμενον [2] ἥσθανετο. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ καλλίῳ καὶ ἀσφαλεστέραν καὶ παρασκευὴν καὶ φροντίδα τῆς εἰρήνης τὸν πόλεμον νομίσας εἶναι, πάνθ’ ὅσα παρ’ ἐκόντων τῶν Λατίνων μηδὲν σφας ἀδικῶν οὐκ ἡδυνήθη κομίσασθαι, παρὰ ἀκόντων στρατεύσας ἀπέλαβεν.” M. 12 (p. 139). “ [p. 42] 9. ὅτι Ταρκύνιος πλούτῳ καὶ συνέσει καὶ εὐτραπελίᾳ πολλῇ πανταχοῦ κατὰ καιρὸν χρώμενος οὕτω τὸν Μάρκιον διέθηκεν ὥστε καὶ ἐς τοὺς [p. 44] εὐπατρίδας καὶ ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καταλεχθῆναι, στρατηγὸς τε πολλάκις ἀποδειχθῆναι, καὶ τὴν ἐπιτροπείαν τῶν παιδῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας πιστευθῆναι: καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις προσφιλὴς οὐδὲν ἦπτον ἦν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκόντων [2] αὐτῶν ἐπρώτευσεν. αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι πάντα ἀφ’ ὧν ἰσχύειν ἔμελλε πράττων οὐκ ἐξεφρόνει, ἀλλ’ ἐν τοῖς πρῶτος ὧν συνεστέλλετο, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπίποννα καὶ ἀνθ’ ἐτέρων καὶ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ ὑπέμενε, τῶν δὲ δὴ ἡδέων τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἐθελοντῆς παρεχόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς ἢ οὐδὲν ἢ ὀλίγα, καὶ ταῦτα λανθάνων, ἐκαρποῦτο. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀμεινόνων τὴν τε αἰτίαν ἐς πάντας μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς αὐτὸν ἀνῆγε, καὶ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν ἐς τὸ μέσον τῷ δεομένῳ κατετίθει, τὰ δὲ ἀτοπώτερα οὗτ’ ἀνέφερεν ἐς τινα οὔτε ἐκοινοῦτό [3] τινι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις

ἐχαρίζετο μὲν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Μάρκιον ὡς ἐκάστοις καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ καὶ τοῖς λόγοις· τῶν τε γὰρ χρημάτων ἀφειδῶς ἀνήλπισκε, καὶ ταῖς σπουδαῖς, εἴ τις τι αὐτοῦ δεηθεῖν, [p. 46] ἐτοίμως ἐχρῆτο· φαῦλον δὲ τι ἐς οὐδένα οὔτε ἔλεγεν οὔτε ἔπραττεν, οὐδὲ ἐς ἀπέχθειαν ἐκὼν οὐδενὶ καθίστατο. καὶ προσέτι, ἃ μὲν εὖ ὑπὸ τινων ἔπασχεν, ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον αἰεὶ ἐλάμβανεν, τὰ δὲ δυσχερέστερα ἦτοι τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐδὲ προσεποιεῖτο ἢ καὶ φαυλίσας παρ' ἐλάχιστον ἦγε, καὶ οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἡμύνετο τινα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐηργέτει, μέχρι περ καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐξενίκησεν. ἐκ μὲν οὖν τούτων σοφίας τινὰ δόξαν, ἄτε καὶ τὸν Μάρκιον καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν πάντας χειρωσάμενος, ἐκτίσαστο, [4] ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἔπειτα ἀπιστεῖσθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐποίησεν ὡς ἦτοι δολεροὺς φύσει ὄντας ἢ καὶ πρὸς τὰς δυνάμεις τὰς τε τύχας καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἀλλοιουμένους.” V. 5 (p. 570). “ [p. 48] [p. 50] [p. 52] [p. 54] 10. β βιβλίῳ Δίων ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν ὃ τι οὐκ ἐπειθάρχουν αὐτῷ.” Bekk. Anecd. p. 164, 19. “ [p. 56] [p. 58] [p. 60] 11. Δίωνος βιβλίον β ‘καὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν, ὅτι μὴ συνήρετο, λάθρα διὰ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ φαρμάκοις ἐξειργάσαστο.” Bekk. Anecd. p. 139, 17. “ [p. 62] [2] ὅτι ὁ Ταρκύνιος, ἐπεὶ ἱκανῶς ὡς καὶ ἀκόντων τυραννήσων παρεσκευάσαστο, τοὺς δυνατωτάτους πρῶτον μὲν τῶν βουλευτῶν, ἔπειτα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συλλαμβάνων, πολλοὺς μὲν Φανερωῶς, οἷς γε αἰτίαν τινὰ εὐπρεπῆ ἐπενεγκεῖν ἐδύνατο, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ [p. 64] [3] λάθρα ἀπεκτίννυε, καὶ τινὰς ὑπερώριζεν. οὐ γὰρ ὅτι τὸν Τούλλιον τινες αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκεῖνον ἠγάπησαν, οὐδ' ὅτι γένη καὶ πλούτους ἢ καὶ φρόνημα εἶχον, ἀνδρεία τε ἐπιφανεῖ ἢ καὶ σοφία διαπρεπεῖ ἐχρῶντο, τοὺς μὲν ἀμυνόμενος τοὺς δὲ προκαταλαμβάνων, φθόνῳ τε καὶ ὑποψίᾳ ἅμα μίσους ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὁμοήθους ἔφθειρεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πάνυ φίλους πρὸς τε τὴν μοναρχίαν οἱ σπουδάσαντας οὐδὲν ἦπτον τῶν ἐτέρων ἀπώλλυν; νομιζῶν σφᾶς ὑπὸ τε τῆς θρασύτητος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς νεωτεροποιίας, ὑφ' ἧς ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν συγκατέπραξαν, [4] κἂν ἄλλῳ τινὶ αὐτὴν δοῦναι. κἂκ τοῦτου τὸ κράτιστον τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῆς ἱππᾶδος ἀπανάλωσεν, οὐδ' ἀντικαθίστη τὸ παράπαν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων οὐδένα· μισεῖσθαι τε γὰρ ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ δήμου ἐπίστευε, καὶ τὰ [p. 66] τέλη ἐκεῖνα ἀσθενέστατα ἐκ τῆς ὀλιγανθρωπίας ποιῆσαι ἐπεθύμει. καὶ τὴν γε γερουσίαν καὶ καταλύσαι παντελῶς ἐπεχείρησεν, πᾶν ἄθροισμα ἀνθρώπων, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπιλέκτων καὶ πρόσχημα προστατείας τινὸς ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ ἐχόντων, πολεμιώτατον τυράννῳ νομιζῶν εἶναι. δείσας δὲ μὴ πῶς οἱ τὸ πλῆθος ἢ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ δορυφόροι, οἷᾶ που πολῖται ὄντες, ἀγανακτῇσι τοῦ τὴν πολιτείαν σφῶν μεθίστασθαι ἐπαναστῶσιν, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ προφανοῦς οὐκ ἐποίησε τοῦτο, ἐν τρόπῳ δὲ τινὶ ἐπιτηδεῖω καὶ πάνυ αὐτὸ κατέπραξεν. οὔτε γὰρ ἀντεισηγεν ἐς αὐτὴν οὐδένα, οὔτε τοῖς καταλοιποῖς [5] λόγου τι ἄξιον ἐπεκοίνου. συνεκάλει μὲν γὰρ αὐτούς, οὐ μὴν ὥστε καὶ συνδιοικεῖν τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πρὸς τε τὸν ἔλεγχον τῆς ὀλιγότητός σφων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ταπεινότητα καὶ καταφρόνησιν ἐξεπίτηδες ἐποίει. [p. 68] [6] τὰ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστα καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἢ καὶ μετὰ τῶν υἱέων, τοῦτο μὲν ὅπως μηδεὶς τῶν ἄλλων μηδὲν δύναίτο, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ κατοκνῶν δημοσιεῦειν ἐν οἷς ἐκακούργει, ἔπραττεν. δυσπρόσοδος τε καὶ δυσπροσήγορος ἦν, καὶ τῇ ὑπεροψίᾳ τῇ τε

ὡμότητι τοσαύτῃ πρὸς πάντας ὁμοίως ἐχρήτο ὥστε καὶ Ὑπερήφανος ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπικληθῆναι. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ τυραννικώτερον ἔπραττον, καὶ ποτε τῶν πολιτῶν τινὰς ἔν τε τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ δήμου ὄμμασι σταυροῖς τε γυμνοὺς προσέδησεν καὶ ῥάβδοις αἰκισάμενος ἀπέκτεινεν. καὶ τοῦθ' ὑπ' ἐκείνου τότε ἐξευρεθὲν καὶ πολλάκις ἐγένετο.” V. 6 (p. 573). “ [p. 70] [7] Δίων ἐν β βιβλίῳ ‘τὸν γὰρ πατέρα πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα ὡς καὶ τυραννοῦντα καὶ παρασπονδοῦντα φανερώς ἐκ συνθήκης λοιδορήσας.” Bekk. Anecd. p. 155, 1. “ [p. 72] 12. [38] Δίων β βιβλίῳ ‘μαθὼν οὖν τοῦτο ἐκεῖνος ἦλθέ τε τῆς ὑστεραίας πρὸς αὐτούς.” Bekk. Anecd. p. 177, 20. “ [p. 74] [p. 76] [p. 78] 11. [10] ὅτι Λούκιος Ἰούνιος, ἀδελφῆς Ταρκυνίου παῖς, φοβηθεὶς ἐπειδὴ τὸν τε πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἀπεκτόνει καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν ἀφῆρητο, μωρίαν προσεποιήσατο, εἴ πως αὐτὸς γε περιγένοιτο: καὶ γὰρ εὖ ἠπίστατο ὅτι πᾶν τὸ ἔμφρον, ἄλλως τε [p. 80] καὶ ὅταν ἐν λαμπρότητι γένους ᾖ, δι' ὑποψίας τοῖς τυραννοῦσι γίγνεται. καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε ἅπαξ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ὥρμησεν, ἀκριβέστατα αὐτὴν ὑπεκρίνετο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Βροῦτος ἐκλήθη: τοὺς γὰρ εὐήθεις οὕτω πως οἱ Λατῖνοι προσηγόρευον. τῷ τε Τίτῳ καὶ Ἀρροῦντι ὥσπερ τι ἄθυρμα συμπεμφθεὶς Βακτηριαν τινὰ ἀνάθημα τῷ θεῷ φέρειν ἔλεγεν, μηδὲν μέγα ὅσα γε ἰδεῖν ἔχουσιν.” M. 13 (p. 139). “ [11] ἐν β βιβλίῳ Δίων ‘ἔπειτα ἐν τοῦ Πυθίου εὐρέθη.” Bekk. Anecd. p. 139, 20. “ 12. ὅτι τοῦ Βροῦτου τό τε δῶρον ἔσκωπτον, καὶ ὅτι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῖς θεωροῖς περὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς [p. 82] βασιλείας, ὅστις αὐτὴν διαδέξεται, ἐπερωτήσας θεοσπίσαντος τὸν πρῶτον τὴν μητέρα φιλήσαντα τὸ κράτος τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔξειν, τὴν γῆν ὡς καὶ καταπεσὼν ἄλλως κατεφίλησε, νομίσας αὐτὴν μητέρα ἀπάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι.” M. 14 (p. 140). “ 13. ὅτι ὁ Βροῦτος τοὺς Ταρκυνίους ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας κατέλυσε. συνδειπνοῦντές ποτε ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀρδεατῶν πολιορκίᾳ οἱ τε τοῦ Ταρκυνίου παῖδες καὶ Κολλατῖνος καὶ Βροῦτος, ἅτε καὶ ἡλικιωταὶ καὶ συγγενεῖς αὐτῶν ὄντες, ἐς λόγον τινὰ περὶ τῆς σωφροσύνης τῶν γυναικῶν σφω, κάκ τούτου καὶ 14. ἐς ἔριν, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γαμετὴν ἐκάστου προκρίνοντος, ἦλθον. καὶ ‘ἐτύγχανον γὰρ πᾶσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀποῦσαι ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς αὐτίκα τῆς νυκτὸς, πρὶν καταγγέλτους σφᾶς γενέσθαι, πρὸς πάσας ἅμα αὐτὰς ἀφιππεῦσαι. ποιήσαντες δὲ τοῦτο τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἐν πότῳ τινὶ εὖρον, Λουκρη- [p. 84] 15. τίαν δὲ τὴν τοῦ Κολλατίνου γυναῖκα ἐριουργοῦσαν κατέλαβον. περιβόητον οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ γενομένην ὁ Σέξτος αἰσχῶναι ἐπεθύμησεν: τάχα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἔρωτα αὐτῆς ἔσχε ὑπερκαλλοῦς οὔσης, ἐπὶ πλέον δὲ ὅμως τὴν δόξαν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ σῶμα διαφθεῖραι ἠθέλησε. καὶ ποτε τηρήσας τὸν Κολλατῖνον πρὸς τοῖς Ῥουτούλοις ὄντα ἠπειχθη μὲν ἐς τὴν Κολλατίαν, καὶ νυκτὸς πρὸς αὐτὴν ὡς καὶ πρὸς οἰκείαν γυναῖκα ἐλθὼν καὶ σίτου καὶ καταλύσεως 16. ἔτυχε. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀναπείθειν αὐτὴν ἐπειρᾶτο συγγενέσθαι οἱ, ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπέραιεν, ἐβιάζετο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ οὕτως αὐτῷ προεχώρει, καινὸν δὴ τινα τρόπον ἐξεῦρεν, ὑφ' [p. 86] οὗ τὸ παραδοξότατον ἠνάγκασεν αὐτὴν ἐκοῦσαν ὑβρισθῆναι. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἀποσφάξειν αὐτὴν εἶπε, παρ' οὐδὲν ἔθετο, καὶ ὅτι καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν τινα προσκαταχρήσεσθαι ἔφη, καὶ τοῦτο ὀλιγώρως 17. ἤκουσεν: ἐπεὶ μέντοι

παρακατακλινεῖν τε αὐτῇ τὸ τοῦ δούλου σῶμα καὶ λόγον ὥς καὶ συγκαθεύδοντάς σφας εὐρών ἀποκτείνειε διαδώσειν ἐπηπείλησεν, οὐκέτ' ἀνεκτὸν ἐποίησατο, ἀλλὰ φοβηθεῖσα μὴ καὶ πιστευθῇ τοῦθ' οὕτω γεγονέναι, εἶλετο μιχθεῖσα αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ πραχθὲν ἐξεipoῦσα ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ παραχρηῖμα τελευτήσασα ἀδοξῆσαι. 18. διὰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτ' οὐκ ἄκουσα δὴ ἐμοιχεύθη, παρασκευάσασα δὲ ἐκ τούτου ξιφίδιον ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον μετεπέμψατο τὸν τε ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν πατέρα, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἦλθον, κατεδάκρυε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἀναστενάξασα, 'πάτερ,' [p. 88] εἶπε, 'τὸν γὰρ ἄνδρα μᾶλλον ἢ σὲ αἰσχύνομαί οὐδέν μοι χρηστὸν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ πέπρακται. ἀλλὰ με Σέξτος ἐβιάσατο ἀπειλήσας δούλῳ τινὶ συναποκτενεῖν ὥς καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ καθεύδουσαν λαβών. αὕτη γὰρ με ἡ ἀπειλὴ ἁμαρτεῖν ἠνάγκασεν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ πιστεῦσητε τοῦθ' οὕτω γεγονέναι. 19. καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν 'γυνὴ γὰρ εἰμί τὰ πρόποντα ἐμαυτῇ ποιήσω: ὑμεῖς δ' εἴπερ ἄνδρες ἐστέ καὶ τῶν γαμετῶν τῶν τε παίδων ὑμῶν προορᾷσθε, τιμωρήσατε μὲν ἐμοί, ἐλευθερώσατε δὲ ἑαυτούς, καὶ δεῖξατε τοῖς τυράννοις οἷων ἄρα ὑμῶν ὄντων οἷαν γυναῖκα ὕβρισαν.' τοιαῦτα ἅττα εἰποῦσα οὐκ ἀνέμεινεν ἀντακοῦσαι τι, ἀλλ' εὐθέως τὸ ξιφίδιον ὑφελκύσασα αὐτὴ ἑαυτὴν ἐφόνευσεν." V. 7 (p. 574). "[p. 90] 20. Δίω β βιβλίῳ 'καὶ ἐκχωρήσας ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων γῆς πολλαχῇ μὲν τῶν προσοίκων ἐπείρασεν.'" Bekk. Anecd. p. 164, 25. "[p. 92]"

“ 12. ὅτι οἱ ὅμιλοι πάντες τὰ πράγματα πρὸς τοὺς μεταχειρίζοντας αὐτὰ κρίνουνσι, καὶ ὁποίους ἂν τοὺτους αἰσθάνωνται ὄντας, τοιαῦτα καὶ ἐκεῖνα νομίζουσιν εἶναι.” M. 15 (p. 140). “ [2] πᾶς γάρ τις τὸ ἀπειρατον πρὸ τοῦ κατεγνωσμένου προαιρεῖται, μεγάλην ἐς τὸ ἄδηλον ἐλπίδα παρὰ τὸ μεμισημένον ἤδη ποιούμενος.” M. 16 (ib.). “ [3a] πᾶσαι μὲν γὰρ μεταβολαὶ σφαλερώταται εἰσι, μάλιστα δὲ αἱ ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις πλεῖστα δὴ καὶ μέγιστα καὶ ιδιώτας καὶ πόλεις βλάπτουσι. διὸ οἱ νοῦν ἔχοντες ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς αἰεὶ, κἂν μὴ βέλπιστα ᾗ, ἀξιοῦσιν ἐμμένειν ἢ μεταλαμβάνοντες ἄλλοτε ἄλλα αἰεὶ πλανᾶσθαι.” M. 17 (ib.). “ [p. 94] 8. ὅτι καὶ τὰ βουλήματα καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας πρὸς τὰς τύχας ἕκαστοι κτῶνται, καὶ ὁποῖα ἂν τὰ παρόντα αὐτοῖς ᾗ, τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ οἰήματα λαμβάνουσιν.” M. 18 (p. 141). “ 9. ὅτι τὸ τῆς βασιλείας πρᾶγμα οὐκ ἀρετῆς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιστήμης καὶ συνηθείας, εἴπερ τι ἄλλο, πολλῆς δεῖται, καὶ οὐχ οἷον τέ ἐστὶν ἄνευ ἐκείνων ἀφάμενόν τινα σωφρονῆσαι. πολλοὶ γοῦν ὥσπερ ἐς ὕψος τι μέγα παρὰ λόγον ἀρθέντες οὐκ ἤνεγκαν τὴν μετεώρισιν, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὶ τε καταπεσόντες ὑπ’ ἐκπλήξεως ἔπταισαν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀρχομένων πάντα συνηλόησαν.” M. 19 (ib.). “ 11. γ Δίωνος βιβλίῳ ‘οὐχ ὅπως πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν βασιλευόντων σφῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τῶν παραδυναστευόντων αὐτοῖς γίγνεται.’” Bekk. Anecd. p. 130, and 164, 32. “ 4. ἐν γ βιβλίῳ Δίωνος ‘οὗ γε καὶ ὁ πατήρ ἀμέμπτως ὑμῶν ἦρξεν.’” Ib. p. 120, 24. “ [5a] Δίωνος γ βιβλίῳ ‘ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ ὑμᾶς, οὐδὲν ἂν μεῖζον τεκμήριον λάβοιτε ἢ ὅτι τοῦ τε βίου τοῦ παρ’ ὑμῖν ἐφίεται.’” Ib. p. 139, 26. “ [p. 96] [5β] γ βιβλίῳ Δίων ‘καὶ πρὸ πολλοῦ κομίσασθαι τὰ προϋπάρξαντά οἱ ποιεῖται.’” Bekk. Anecd. p. 164, 28. “ 6. Δίων βιβλίῳ γ ‘πῶς δ’ ἂν καὶ λυσιτελήσειέ τιτι τοῦτο πρᾶξαι;” Ib. p. 155, 14. “ 7. Δίωνος γ βιβλίον ‘ὥσπερ που καὶ Ῥωμύλος ἡμῖν ἐπέσκηψεν.’” Ib. p. 139, 29. “ 10. καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐξ ὧν ἔπραξαν τεκμήρασθε, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐξ ὧν πλάττονται ἱκετεύοντες ἀπατηθῇτε: τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀνόσια ἔργα ἀπὸ γνώμης ἀληθοῦς ἐκάστω γίγνεται, συλλαβὰς δ’ ἂν τις εὐπρεπεῖς συμπλάσειεν: καὶ διὰ τοῦτ’ ἀφ’ ὧν ἐποίησέ τις, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀφ’ ὧν φησι ποιήσειν, κρίνετε. 3” M. 20 (p. 141). “ 13. Δίων γ βιβλίῳ ‘πένθος αἱ γυναῖκες ἐνιαυτῷ ὄλῳ ἐποίησαντο.’” Bekk. Anecd. p. 162, 26. “ [2] ὅτι Οὐαλέριον, τὸν συνάρχοντα Βρούτου, [p. 98] καίπερ δημοτικώτατον ἀνδρῶν γενόμενον, ὅμως αὐτοεντία μικροῦ ὁ ὅμιλος κατεχρήσατο: ἐπιθυμεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν μοναρχίας ὑπετόπησαν. καὶ ἐφόνευσαν ἄν, εἰ μὴ σφας διὰ ταχέων φθάσας ἐθώπευσεν. ἐσελθὼν γὰρ ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὰς τε ῥάβδους ἔκλινεν, ὀρθαῖς πρότερον ταύταις χρώμενος, καὶ τοὺς πελέκεις τοὺς συνδεδεμένους σφίσι περιεῖλε: σχηματίσας δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦτοις ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὸ ταπεινότατον, ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν ἐσκυθρόωπασε καὶ κατεδάκρυσεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐφθέγγατό ποτε, σμικρᾷ καὶ δεδιυῖα τῇ φωνῇ ὑποτρέμων εἶπεν.” M. 21 (p. 141). “ [2a] τῷ γὰρ Μάρκῳ ἀνελθόντι τε ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων ποιούμενῳ...” Bekk. Anecd. p. 162, 28. “ [3] ὅτι τὸν τοῦ Διὸς νεῶν ἐθείωσεν

ἀπὸ κλήρου ὁ Ὅρατιος, καίτοι τοῦ Οὐαλερίου τὸν τε υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τεθνηκέναι φήσαντος, καὶ τοῦτο παρ’ αὐτὴν αὐτῷ τὴν ἱερουργίαν ἀγγελθῆναι παρακευάσαντος, ἵν’ ὑπὸ τε τοῦ πάθους, καὶ ὅτι οὐδ’ ἄλλως ὅσιον ἦν ἐν πένθει τινὰ ὄντα ἱεροποιεῖν, παραχωρήσειέν οἱ ^[4] τῆς τοῦ ἔργου ἱερώσεως. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ οὐκ ἠπίστησε μὲν τῷ ῥηθέντι ‘καὶ γὰρ ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ ἀξιοπίστων ἐθρυλήθη, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐξέστη, ἀλλ’ ἄταφον τὸ σῶμα τοῦ παιδὸς ὡς καὶ ἀλλότριον, ὅπως μηδὲν τῇ περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁσίᾳ προσήκειν δόξῃ, κελεύσας τισὶν ἐᾶσαι, πάνθ’ οὕτω τὰ καθήκοντα διετέλεσεν.” V. 8 (p. 577). “^[p. 100]”

“ [p. 102] 14. Δίωνος δ βιβλίῳ ‘καὶ τῇ γε κόρῃ καὶ ὄπλα, ὥς φασὶ τινες, καὶ ἵππον ἐδωρήσατο.’” Bekk. Anecd. p. 133, 8. “ [p. 104] [15β] Δίωνος δ βιβλίῳ ‘καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα αὐτοῖς πολὺ διαλλάττοντα ἀλλήλων καὶ τὰς ἐπικλήσεις διαφόρους παρέθεσαν.’” Bekk. Anecd. p. 133, 16. “ [15α] Δίωνος ἐκ τοῦ δ βιβλίου ‘ἀλλὰ τῆς τε χώρας τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς κατέδραμον.’” Ib. p. 152, 3. “ Δίων δ βιβλίῳ ‘πάντα τὰ μέχρι τείχους ἐκακούργουν.’” Ib. p. 152, 1. “ [p. 106] 16. ὅτι τὸ κρύφιον τῶν βουλευμάτων καὶ τὸ καίριον τῶν πράξεων, τὸ τε ἰδιοβουλεῖν τινα καὶ τὸ μήτ’ ἀναχώρησιν ἐς μηδέν᾽ ἄλλον μηδεμίαν ἔχειν [p. 108] καὶ τῶν συμβαινόντων αὐτὸν ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα τὴν αἰτίαν λαμβάνειν, μέγα μέρος ἐς τὸ κατορθωθῆναι τι συμβάλλεται.” M. 22 (p. 142). “ 17. πρὸς στάσεις ἐτράποντο. αἷτιον δ’ ὅτι οἱ τε ἰσχύοντες τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐν πᾶσι τῶν καταδεεστέρων ὥς καὶ βασιλεύοντες σφων προέχειν ἐβούλοντο, καὶ οἱ ἀσθενέστεροι οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ [p. 110] σμικρὸν ὥς καὶ ἰσονομοῦμενοι πειθαρχεῖν ἤθελον, ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν ἅπληστοι τῆς ἐλευθερίας ὄντες καὶ ταῖς οὐσίαις ταῖς ἐκείνων, οἱ δὲ ἀκρατῶς τῆς τιμῆσεως ἔχοντες καὶ τοῖς σώμασι τοῖς τούτων [2] ἐχρῶντο: καὶ οὕτως ἐξ ὧν πρότερον τὰ πρόσφορα ἀνθυπουργοῦντες ἀλλήλοις συνεφρόνουν καταλύσαντες, οὐκέτι τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀθνείου διέκρινον, ἀλλὰ τὸ τε μέτριον ἀμφοτέρωι ὑπερορῶντες, καὶ τὸ ἄκρον οἱ μὲν τῆς ἐπιτάξεως οἱ δὲ τῆς οὐκ ἐθέλοδουλείας προτιμῶντες, οὐτε ἐκεῖνα κατειργάσαντο καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα τὰ μὲν ἀμυνόμενοι τὰ δὲ [3] καὶ προκαταλαμβάνοντες ἀλλήλους ἔδρασαν, ὥστ’ [p. 112] αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀνθρώπων, πλὴν ἐν τοῖς πάνυ κινδύνοις, οὓς ἐκ τῶν αἰεὶ πολέμων δι’ αὐτὰ ταῦτα μάλιστα ἔσχον, διχοστατῆσαι: ὅθενπερ συχνοὶ τῶν πρώτων καὶ ἐξεπιτηδὲς σφας πολλάκις παρεσκεύασαν. καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἀρξάμενοι πολὺ πλείω κακὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλων ἢ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων ἔπαθον. καὶ μοι καὶ καταμαντεύσασθαι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπέρχεται ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἄλλως εἴτ’ οὖν τῆς δυνάμεως εἴτ’ οὖν τῆς ἀρχῆς στερηθεῖεν, εἰ μὴ δι’ ἀλλήλων σφαλεῖεν.” M. 23 (p. 142). “ [4] ἄλλως τε γὰρ ἐδυσχέραινον ὅτι μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ δεόμενοι σφων οἱ βουλευταὶ καὶ τυχόντες ἐφρόνουν, ἀλλ’ ἐν μὲν τῷ κινδύνῳ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχοντο, σωθέντες δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τῶν ἐλαχίστων ἐποίησαν.” M. 24 (p. 143). “ [p. 114] [5] ἵνα γὰρ δὴ μὴ καθ’ ἐν μαχόμενοι ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκείας χωρὶς ἕκαστοι ἀγωνιζόμενοι εὐχειρωτότεροι σφισι γένωνται, διεῖλον τὴν στρατιάν.” M. 25 (p. 143). “ [6] ὅτι ὁ δῆμος ἰδιωτεύσαντος τοῦ Οὐαλερίου τοῦ δικτάτορος χαλεπώτατα ἐστασίασεν, ὥστε καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν νεοχμῶσαι: οἱ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς περιουσίαις ὄντες τοῦ πάνυ ἀκριβοῦς περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια ἀντεχόμενοι καὶ μηδ’ ὅτιοῦν αὐτοῦ παριέντες, καὶ ἐκείνου διημαρτον καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν ἐστερήθησαν: οὐ γὰρ ἔγνωσαν ὅτι ἢ τε πενία ἢ [p. 116] ἀκρατος βιαιότατον κακόν, ἢ τε ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀπόνοια, ἄλλως τε καὶ πλῆθος προσλαβοῦσα, δυσμαχώτατον [7] ἐστι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν τὰ πολιτικὰ πρασσόντων ἐθελοντὶ τὸ ἐπεικὲς πρὸ τοῦ σφόδρα δικαίου προαιροῦνται: τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τῆς τε ἀνθρωπείας

φύσεως πολλάκις ἡττᾶται καὶ ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ παντελῶς καταλύεται, ἐκεῖνο δὲ σμικρὸν τι αὐτοῦ παραθραύσαν τὸ γοῦν λοιπὸν μεῖζον ὃν σώζει. πλείστων γοῦν δεινῶν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις αἰτία ἡ τοῦ δυνατωτέρου ἐς τοὺς ὑποδεεστέρους [8] ἀκρίβεια ἐγένετο: ἄλλα τε γὰρ πολλὰ κατὰ τῶν ὑπερημέρων αὐτοῖς ἐδέδοτο, καὶ εἰ δὴ τινι πλείους δεδανεικότες ἔτυχον, κρεουργηδὸν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα πρὸς τὸ μέρος ὧν ὤφειλεν ἐξουσίαν εἶχον κατανέμεσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν εἰ καὶ τὰ [p. 118] μάλιστα ἐνενόμιστο, ἀλλ' οὔτι γε καὶ ἔργῳ ποτὲ ἐγεγόνει: πῶς γὰρ ἂν πρὸς τοσαύτην ὠμότητα προεχώρησαν οἱ καὶ τοῖς ἐπ' ἀδικήματι τινι ἀλοῦσι διάφευξιν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ πολλάκις δόντες τοῖς τε ἀπὸ τῶν πετρῶν τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ὠσθεῖσι ζῆν, εἰ περιγένοιτο, ἐπιτρέποντες;" Μ. 26 (p. 143). " [9] ὅτι οἱ χρεωστοῦντες τὰ δάνεια κολωνὸν τινα κατέλαβον, καὶ Γαῖον τινα προστησάμενοι τὴν τροφήν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὥσπερ ἐκ πολεμίας ἐλάμβανον, κᾶκ τοῦτου τοὺς τε νόμους τῶν ὀπλων καὶ τὸ δίκαιον τῆς ἀπονοίας σφῶν ἀσθενέστερα ἀπέφηναν. οἱ δὲ βουλευταὶ τοὺτους τε φοβηθέντες μὴ ἐπὶ πλεῖον πολεμωθῶσι καὶ τοὺς περιοίκους μὴ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα συνεπιθῶνται σφίσι, διεκηρυκεύσαντο αὐτοῖς πάνθ' ὅσα καθ' ἡδονὴν [10] ἥλπιζον ἔσεσθαι προτείνοντες. οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν [p. 120] πρῶτον ἐθρασύνοντο, θαυμασίῳ δὲ δὴ τινι τρόπῳ κατέστησαν: ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀτάκτως διεβῶν, Ἀγρίππας εἷς τῶν πρέσβειων μύθου τινὸς ἐπακοῦσαί σφας ἤξιωσε, καὶ τυχῶν εἶπεν ὅτι πρὸς τὴν γαστέρα ποτὲ τᾶλλα μέλη τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐστασίασε, λέγοντα αὐτὰ μὲν καὶ ἄσιτα καὶ ἄποτα πονεῖν καὶ ταλαιπωρεῖν ἅτε καὶ ἅπαντα αὐτῇ διακονούμενα, ἐκείνην δὲ δὴ μήτε τινὰ πόνον ἔχειν καὶ τῆς [11] τροφῆς μόνην ἐμπίμπλασθαι. καὶ τέλος ἐψηφίσαντο μηκέτι μήτε τὰς χεῖρας τῷ στόματι προς[1- [p. 122] φέρειν μήτε ἐκεῖνο λαμβάνειν, ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα ἡ γαστήρ ἐνδεὴς καὶ σίτου καὶ ποτοῦ γενομένη φθαρεῖη. ὥς δὲ ἔδοξε ταῦτα καὶ ἐγένετο, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐξισχάνθη τὸ σῶμα σύμπαν, ἔπειτα ὑπέδωκε καὶ ἐξέκαμε. πονήρως οὖν τὰ μέλη σφῶν% ἔχοντα συνέγνω τε ἐν ἐκείνῃ καὶ τὴν σφετέραν σωτηρίαν εἶναι καὶ ἀπέδωκεν αὐτῇ τὴν [12] τροφήν. ἀκοῦσαν δὲ τούτων τὸ πλῆθος συνῆκεν [p. 124] ὅτι καὶ τὰ τῶν πενήτων αἱ τῶν εὐπόρων περιουσίαι ἀνέχουσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἡπιώτεροι ἐγένοντο καὶ κατηλλάγησαν ἄφεσιν τῶν τε δανεισμάτων καὶ τῶν ὑπερημεριῶν εὐρόμενοι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ πρὸς τῆς βουλῆς ἐψηφίσθη." Μ. 27 (p. 144). " 14. καὶ ἐδόκει μήτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου εἶναι, καὶ πολλοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις, τοῖς μὲν ἐκοῦσι τοῖς δὲ ἄκουσιν ... " Μ. 28 (p. 145). " ὅτι ὅταν πολλοὶ καθ' ἓν γενόμενοι πλεονεκτήσωσι βιασάμενοι, παραχρῆμα μὲν ὁμολογίᾳ τινὶ ἐπικεικὶ θρασύνονται, διαλυθέντες δὲ ἄλλος κατ' ἄλλην πρόφασιν δικαιοῦνται." Μ. 29 (p. 146). " [p. 126] [p. 128] 15. κατὰ τε τὸ φύσει τοῖς πλείστοις πρὸς τοὺς συνάρχοντας διάφορον 'χαλεπὸν γὰρ πολλοὺς ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν δυνάμει τινὶ συμφρονῆσαι ' πᾶσα [p. 130] αὐτῶν ἡ ἰσχὺς διεσπᾶτο καὶ κατετέμνετο: οὐδὲν γὰρ ὄφελος ὧν ἐγίνωσκον ἦν, εἰ καὶ εἷς σφῶν ἀντεῖπεν: τῷ γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦς μὴ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι ἢ τὸ τοῖς βιαζομένοις τινὰς ἐναντιοῦσθαι λαμβάνειν, ἰσχυρότερος ὁ κωλύων τι πραχθῆναι τῶν σπουδαζόντων αὐτὸ ἐγένετο." Μ. 30 (p. 146). " [p. 132] [p. 134]"

“^[158] Δίον ε βιβλίῳ ‘τούτῳ τε οὖν αὐτὸν ἐτίμησεν.’” Bekk. Anecd. p. 175, 19. “^[p. 136] 18. ^[2] οὐ γάρ ἐστι ῥάδιον οὔτε ἐν πᾶσι τινα ἰσχύειν οὔτε ἐν ἑκατέροις ἅμα τοῖς τε πολεμικοῖς καὶ τοῖς εἰρηνικοῖς πράγμασιν ἀρετὴν ἔχειν: οἳ τε γὰρ τοῖς σώμασιν ἰσχυριζόμενοι ἀνοηταίνουσιν ὡς πλήθει, καὶ τὰ ἀθρόως εὐτυχήσαντ’ οὐκ ἐπὶ πᾶν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἀνθεῖ. δι’ οὖν ταῦτ’ ἐς τὰ πρῶτά ποθ’ ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀρθεῖς, ἔπειτα πρὸς αὐτῶν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐξέπεσεν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν τῶν Οὐόλσκων τῇ πατρίδι δουλώσας τὴν οἰκείαν αὐ μετ’ ἐκείνων ἐς πᾶν κινδύνου κατέστησεν.” M. 31 (p. 146). “^[3] ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς στρατηγῆσαι θελήσας καὶ μὴ τελεσθεὶς ἡγανάκτησε τῷ ὁμίλῳ, καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοῖς δημάρχους πολὺ δυναμένοις βαρύνεσθαι, ^[p. 138] παρρησίᾳ πλείονι πρὸς αὐτὸν παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ὁμοίους οἱ ἐκ τῶν κατειργασμένων ἐχρήτο. ^[4] καὶ λιμοῦ γενομένου ἰσχυροῦ καὶ Νώρβης πόλεως ἀποικίζεσθαι βουλομένης, τὸ πλήθος ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέροις αὐτοῖς τοὺς δυνατοὺς ἠτιάσατο, ὡς καὶ δι’ ἐκείνους καὶ τῆς τροφῆς στερισκόμενοι καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπίτηδες ἐπ’ ὀλέθρῳ προύπτῳ ἐκδιδόμενοι: ὅταν γὰρ ἐς ὑποψίαν τινὲς ἀλλήλων ἔλθωσι, πάντα καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ σφῶν γιγνόμενα ἀλλοίως κατὰ ^[5] τὸ στασιωτικὸν λαμβάνουσι. καὶ ὁ Κοριολανὸς ἄλλως τε ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ αὐτοὺς ἐποίησατο, καὶ σίτου πολλαχόθεν κομισθέντος, καὶ τοῦ γε πλείστου προῖκα παρὰ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ βασιλέων πεμφθέντος, οὐκ ἐπέτρεψέ σφισι διαλαχεῖν αὐτὸν ὥσπερ ἦτουν. οἱ οὖν δήμαρχοι, οὔσπερ που καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καταλῦσαι ἐγλίχeto, τυραννίδος αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὸ πλήθος ἀγαγόντες ἐξήλασαν, καίτοι πάντων τῶν βουλευτῶν βοῶντων καὶ δεινὸν ποιουμένων ὅτι καὶ περὶ σφῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα κρίνειν ^[6] ἐτόλμων. ἐκπεσὼν οὖν πρὸς τοὺς Οὐόλσκους ^[p. 140] καίπερ ἐχθίστους ὄντας ὀργῇ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἦλθε, καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔκ τε τῆς ἀνδρείας ἧς ἐπεπείραντο, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας, ἀσμένως δέξεσθαι προσεδόκησεν, ἀντίπαλα ἢ καὶ μεῖζω δι’ αὐτὸν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὧν ἔπαθον δράσειν ἀντελπίσαντας: ὑφ’ ὧν γὰρ ἂν τις σφόδρα κακοπαθῇ, πρὸς τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ εὖ πείσεσθαι, βουλομένων γε καὶ δυναμένων εὖ ποιῆσαι, οὐκ ἐλάχιστα πιστεύει.” M. 32 (p. 147). “^[p. 142] ^[7] Πανὺ γὰρ περιθῦμῳς ἔφερεν ὅτι καὶ περὶ τῆς οἰκείας κινδυνεύοντες μὴδ’ ὡς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀφίσταντο. ὡς οὖν καὶ ταῦτα ἀνηγγέλθη σφίσιν, οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐκινήθησαν: οὕτω πως κακῶς ἐστασίαζον ὥστε μὴδ’ ὑπὸ τῶν κινδύνων καταλλαγῆναι: αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες, ἧς τε γαμετὴ τοῦ Κοριολανοῦ Οὐόλουμνία καὶ ἡ μήτηρ Οὐετουρία, ^[p. 144] παραλαβοῦσαι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας, ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὰ παιδιά αὐτοῦ ἄγουσαι, καὶ ἐποίησαν αὐτὸν μὴ ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ ἐπὶ τῇ καθόδῳ καταλῦσασθαι. ^[8] προσήκατο γὰρ αὐτὰς εὐθύς, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα παρούσας ἦσθετο, καὶ λόγου σφισι μετέδωκεν, ἐπράχθη τε ᾧδε: αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι σιωπῶσαι ἔκλαον, ἡ δὲ δὴ Οὐετουρία ‘τί θαυμάζεις,’ ἔφη, ‘τέκνον; τί δὲ ἐκπέπληξαι; οὐκ ἠὲ τομολήκαμεν, ἀλλ’ ἡμᾶς ἡ πατρίς ἐπεμψέ σοι, εἰ μὲν πείθοιο, μητέρα καὶ

γυναῖκα καὶ τέκνα, εἰ δὲ μή, λάφυρα, ὥστ' εἰ καὶ ^[9] νῦν ἔτι ὀργίζῃ, πρῶτας ἡμᾶς ἀπόκτεινον. τί δακρύεις; τί δ' ἀποστρέφῃ; ἢ ἀγνοεῖς ὅπως τὰν τῇ πόλει ἡμεῖς τοι ἄρτι ὁδουρόμενοι ἐπαυσάμεθα, ἵνα σε ἴδωμεν; καταλλάγῃθι τε οὖν ἡμῖν καὶ μηκέτι ^[p. 146] ὀργίζου τοῖς πολίταις τοῖς φίλοις τοῖς ἱεροῖς τοῖς τάφοις, μηδ' ἐπεσπέσης ἐς τὸ ἄστρ' ὀλεμῶ, μηδὲ ἐκπολιορκήσῃς τὴν πατρίδα ἐν ἧ καὶ ἐγεννήθης καὶ ἀνετράφης καὶ τὸ μέγα τοῦτο ὄνομα Κοριολανδὸς ἐγένου. πείσθητι μοι, παιδίον, μηδὲ με ἄπρακτον ἀποπέμψῃς, ἵνα μὴ καὶ νεκράν με ^[10] ὑπ' αὐτοχειρίας ἴδῃς.' ταῦτ' εἰποῦσα ἀνέκλαυσε, καὶ τὴν τε ἐσθῆτα καταρρηξάμενη καὶ τοὺς μαστοὺς προδείξασα τῆς τε γαστροῦς ἀφαμένη, 'ίδου,' ἔφη, 'τέκνον, αὕτη σε ἔτεκεν, οὗτοί σε ἐξέθρεψαν.' εἰπούσης δὲ αὐτῆς ταῦτα καὶ ἡ γαμετὴ αὐτοῦ τὰ τε παῖδια καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι γυναῖκες ^[p. 148] συνεθρήνησαν, ὥστε καὶ ἐκείνων ἐς πένθος ἐμβαλεῖν. ^[11] μόλις τέ ποτε ἀνενεγκὼν περιέπτυνε τὴν μητέρα, καὶ φιλῶν ἅμα αὐτήν, 'ίδου,' ἔφη, 'μήτερ, πείθομαι σοι: σὺ γὰρ με νικᾷς, καὶ σοὶ δὴ ταύτην τὴν χάριν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ἐχέτωσαν: ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐδ' ἰδεῖν αὐτοὺς ὑπομένω, οἵτινες τηλικαῦτα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ εὐεργετηθέντες τοιαῦτά με ἔδρασαν. οὐκ οὐδ' ἀφίξομαι ποτε ἐς τὴν πόλιν: ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν καὶ ἀντ' ἐμοῦ τὴν πατρίδα ἔχε, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο ἠθέλησας, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκποδῶν ὑμῖν ^[12] ἀπαλλαγῆσομαι.' ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀπανεῖστη: τῷ τε γὰρ δέει τῷ τοῦ ὁμίλου καὶ τῇ αἰσχύνῃ τῶν ὁμοίων, ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπεστράτευσεν, οὐδὲ τὴν κάθοδον διδομένην οἱ ἐδέξατο, ^[p. 150] ἀλλ' ἐς τοὺς Οὐόλσκους ἀναχωρήσας ἐνταῦθα ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἢ καὶ γηράσας ἀπέθανεν." M. 33 (p. 148). " 15ξ. Δίων ε βιβλίῳ 'ἐπελπίζοντές τινα αὐτοὺς οἱ δυνατοί.'" Bekk. Anecd. p. 140, 10. " 19. ὅτι Κάσσιος τοὺς Ρωμαίους εὐεργετήσας ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐθανατώθη: ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου διαδειχθῆναι ὅτι πιστὸν οὐδὲν ἐν τοῖς πληθέσιν ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πάντῃ σφίσι προσκειμένους οὐχ ἡττον τῶν τὰ μέγιστα ἀδικούντων ἀπολλύουσι: πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ αἰεὶ παρὸν μεγάλους τοὺς αἰτίους τῶν ὠφελημάτων ἄγουσιν, ἐπειδὴν δὲ σφας ἐκκαρπώσωνται, οὐδὲν ἔτ' αὐτοὺς οἰκιοτέρους τῶν ἐχθίστων νομίζουσι. τὸν γὰρ Κάσσιον καίπερ χαριζόμενόν σφισιν ὅμως ἐπ' αὐτοῖς οἷς ἐσεμνύνετο ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ ἐκδηλὸν γε ἐποίησαν ὅτι ζηλοτυπηθεὶς ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀδικήσας τι ἀπώλετο." M. 34 (p. 150). " ^[p. 152] 20. οἱ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν αἰεὶ γιγνόμενοι ἐπειδὴ μηδένα ἄλλον τρόπον κατέχειν σφᾶς ἐδύναντο, πολέμους ἐκ πολέμων ἐξεπίτηδες ἐκίνουν, ὅπως πρὸς ἐκείνους ἀσχολίαν ἄγοντες μηδὲν περὶ τῆς γῆς πολυπραγμονῶσιν." M. 65 (p. 150). " 3. οὕτω γοῦν ὑφ' ἐκατέρου παρωξύνθησαν ὥστε καὶ τὴν νίκην ἔνορκον τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ὑποσχέσθαι: πρὸς γὰρ τὴν αὐτίκα ὁρμὴν κύριοι καὶ τῆς τύχης εἶναι ἐνόμισαν." M. 36 (p. 150). " 4. ὅτι ἔοικε τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου πρὸς μὲν τὸ ἀνθιστάμενον καὶ παρὰ τὸ συμφέρον φιλονεικεῖν, τοῖς δὲ ὑπέκουσι καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν ἀνθυπουργεῖν." M. 37 (p. 151) = Max. Conf. flor. " φ. 189f α 'φ. 125f β' ~ αρσεν. απ. μαί. φρ. 115 'π. 561'. ^[p. 154] 21. ὅτι οἱ Φάβιοι ἐπὶ τε τῷ γένει καὶ τῷ πλούτῳ ὅμοια τοῖς ἀρίστοις φρονοῦντες ὡς τάχιστα αὐτοὺς ἀθυμοῦντας εἶδον: ὅταν γὰρ τινες ἐς πολλὰς ἅμα καὶ δυσχερεῖς πράξεις ἐμπέσωσιν, οὔτε τι βούλευμα πρὸς τε τὸ πληῆθος καὶ πρὸς

τὸ ἄθροον τῶν κινδύνων ἐξευρεῖν δύνανται, καὶ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τὰ πάνυ ῥάδια ἀπογιγνώσκουσι, καὶ τοῦτου ταῖς τε γνώμας παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς καὶ ταῖς δόξαις ἀναπίπτουσι, καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐκόντες ὥς καὶ μάτην πονήσαντες προΐενται, καὶ τέλος ἐπιτρέψαντές σφας τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου παραλόγοις ἀναμένουσι πάνθ' ὅσα ἂν ἡ συντυχία ἐνέγκῃ.” Μ. 38 (p. 151). “ [p. 156] [2] ὅτι οἱ Φάβιοι ἔξ καὶ τριακόσιοι ὄντες ὑπὸ Τυρσηνῶν ἀνηρέθησαν: καὶ γὰρ πῶς τὸ δι' ἀνδρείας πίστιν ὀγκούμενον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ θράσους πολλάκις φθείρεται, τὸ τε δι' εὐτυχίαν αὐχοῦν ἐς τοῦναντίον ἐκφρονήσαν ἐκπίπτει.” Μ. 39 (p. 151). “ [3] οὖς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μειζόνως ἢ κατὰ ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἀπογενομένων καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ ἐπένησαν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν εὐπατρίδαις οὐ μικρὸς, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὴν ἀξίωσιν τὸ τε φρόνημα αὐτῶν πᾶσάν σφον ἀπολωλέναι τὴν ἰσχὺν ἐνόμιζον. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν τε ἡμέραν ἐν ἣ διεφθάρησαν ἐς τὰς μιὰς ἐνέγραφαν, καὶ τὰς πύλας δι' ὧν ἐξεστράτευσαν ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ ἐποίησαντο, ὥστε μηδὲν δι' αὐτῶν ἄρχοντα διέναι. καὶ Τίτου Μενηγίου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦτου τὸ πάθος ἐγένετο κατηγορηθέντος ὕστερον ἐν τῷ [p. 158] δῆμῳ ὅτι μήτ' ἐκείνοις ἤμυνε καὶ μάχῃ μετὰ τοῦθ' ἡττήθη, κατεψηφίσαντο.” V. 9 (p. 578). “ 24. [5] Δίωνος βιβλίῳ ‘ἐπειδὴ διῆρξεν, εἰσήγαγον καὶ χρημάτων ἐζημίωσαν, οὔτε περὶ τοῦ σώματος ἐς κίνδυνον καταστήσαντες...’ 24” Bekk. Anecd. p. 146, 21. “ [p. 160] 22. ὅτι οἱ εὐπατρίδαι φανερώς μὲν οὐ πάνυ πλὴν βραχέων ἐπιθειάζοντές τινα ἀντέπραπτον, λάθρᾳ δὲ συχνοὺς τῶν θρασυτάτων ἐφόνευον. ἐννέα γὰρ ποτε δήμαρχοι πυρὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐδόθησαν: ἀλλ' οὔτε τοῦτο τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπέσχευεν, πολλῶν τε πλείονα ἐλπίδα οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀεὶ δημαρχοῦντες ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν φιλονεικίας ἢ δέος ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνων συμφορᾶς λαμβάνοντες, οὐκ ἡμβλύνοντο, ἀλλὰ [p. 162] καὶ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ὑπ' αὐτῶν τοῦτων ἐθρασύνοντο: [2] τοὺς τε γὰρ ἀπολλυμένους ἐς δικαίωμα τῆς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν τιμωρίας προεβάλλοντο, καὶ αὐτοὶ μεγάλῃν ἡδονὴν ἐκ τοῦ καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἀκινδύνως περιέσεσθαι νομίζειν προσετίθεντο. ὥστε καὶ τῶν εὐπατρίδων τινας, ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἄλλως ἦνυτον, ἐς τὰ τοῦ πλήθους νομίσματα μεταστῆναι: τὴν γὰρ ταπεινότητα αὐτοῦ πολὺ κρείττω πρὸς τὰς τῆς δημαρχικῆς ἰσχύος ἐπιθυμίας τῆς τῶν σφετέρων καλλωπισμάτων ἀσθενείας ἐνόμιζον εἶναι, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι καὶ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον ἐπὶ πλεῖδον τε ἔτι, καίπερ κωλυθὲν τὸ τινα δις τὴν ἀρχὴν λαμβάνειν, συχνοὶ καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἐδημάρχουν.” Μ. 40 (p. 152). “ [3] ὅτι ἐς τοῦτο ὁ ὄμιλος ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν εὐπατρίδων προήχθη: ὁ γὰρ τοι ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν ἡγοῦντο ποιεῖν, τὸ πολέμους τινὰς ἀεὶ παρασκευάζειν σφίσι, ὅπως ὑπὸ γε τῶν ἔξωθεν κινδύνων σωφρονεῖν ἀναγκάζωνται, τοῦτο θρασυτέρους αὐτοὺς ἀπειργάζετο: οὔτε γὰρ στρατεύειν, εἰ μὴ λάβοιεν [p. 164] ὧν ἐκάστοτε ἐπωρέγοντο, βουλόμενοι, καὶ ἀπροθύμως ὁπότε ἐξέλθοιεν ἀγωνιζόμενοι πάνθ' ὅσ' ἤθελον ἔπραπτον. κἂν τούτῳ καὶ ἀληθῶς οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν πλησιοχώρων σφίσι, τῇ ἐκείνων διχοστασίᾳ πλεον ἢ τῇ ἑαυτῶν δυνάμει θαρσοῦντες, ἐνεωτέριζον.” Μ. 41 (p. 152). “ 23. ὅτι οἱ Αἴκουοι τὸ τε Τοῦσκουλον λαβόντες καὶ Μᾶρκον Μινούκιον νικήσαντες ἐν φρονήματι ἐγένοντο, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων, οὖς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ χωρίου καταλήψει αἰτιώμενοί σφας ἔπεμψαν, πρὸς μὲν τὸ ἐπὶ κλημα μηδὲν

ἀποκρίνασθαι, δρῦν δέ τινα διὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ σφων Κοιλίου Γράκχου δειξάντες, πρὸς ἐκείνην, εἴ τι βούλονται, λέγειν αὐτοὺς κελεῦσαι.” U^r (p. 373). “ [2] ὅτι πυθόμενοι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν Μινούκιον ἐν κοίλῳ τινὶ καὶ λοχμῶδει τόπῳ μετὰ τινων ἀπει- [p. 166] λῆφθαι, δικτάτορα ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς Λούκιον Κοῖντιον, καίπερ πένητα ὄντα, τὸ τε γήδιον, ὃ μόνον αὐτῷ ὑπῆρχεν, αὐτοχειρίᾳ τότε γεωργοῦντα, προεχειρίσαντο: ἔς τε γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα ὁμοίος τοῖς πρώτοις ἀρετὴν ἦν καὶ σωφροσύνη διέπρεπεν, καίτοι τὰς κόμας ἐς πλοκάμους ἀνιείς, ἀφ’ οὗ δὴ καὶ Κιγκινᾶτος ἐπωνομάσθη.” V. 10 (p. 578). “ [p. 168] [p. 170] [3] ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἐταράχθη: οἳ τε γὰρ στρατευόμενοι φιλονεικίᾳ τοῦ μηδὲν τοῖς τὴν δυναστείαν ἔχουσι προχωρῆσαι καὶ τὰ κοινὰ καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἐθέλονται προῖεντο, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀπολλυμένοις σφῶν ἔχαιρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ πολλοὺς τῶν δραστηρίων τῶν τὰ τοῦ πλήθους [p. 172] πραττόντων ἐκ τρόπου δὴ τινος ἐπιτηδείου ἔφθειρον. κακ τοῦτου στάσις οὐ μικρά σφων συνηνέχθη.” M. 42 (p. 153). “ [p. 174] [p. 176] [p. 178]”

“ [p. 180] [p. 182] [p. 184] [p. 186] 24. ὅτι πρὸς Φαλίσκους οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πολλὰς μάχας μαχεσάμενοι καὶ πολλὰ καὶ παθόντες καὶ δράσαντες, τῶν μὲν πατρίων ἱερῶν ὠλιγώρησαν, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ξενικὰ ὡς καὶ ἐπαρκέσοντά σφισιν ὥρμησαν. φιλεῖ γὰρ πῶς τὸ ἀνθρώπειον ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς τοῦ μὲν συνήθους, κἂν θεῖον ᾗ, καταφρονεῖν, τὸ δὲ ἀπείρατον θαυμάζειν. παρ’ ἐκείνου μὲν γὰρ ἄτε μηδὲν ἐς τὸ παρὸν ὠφελεῖσθαι νομίζοντες οὐδὲ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα χρηστὸν οὐδὲν προσδέχονται, παρὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦ ξένου πᾶν ὅσον ἂν ἐθελήσωσιν ὑπὸ τῆς καινοτομίας ἐλπίζουσιν.” M. 43 (p. 153). “ 23. ^[4] ἐς γὰρ τοῦτο φιλοτιμίας κἂκ τοῦτου καὶ φιλονεικίας ἀλλήλοις ἀφίκοντο, ὥστε μηκέτι καθ’ ἐν πάντας, ὡσπερ εἰώθεσαν, ἀλλ’ ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἄρχειν, ἀφ’ οὗ οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἐγίγνετο: τὸ τε γὰρ οἰκεῖον, οὐ τὸ κοινὸν ἐκάστου αὐτῶν σκοποῦντος, καὶ βλαβῆναι πῃ τὸ δημόσιον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν συνάρχοντα εὐδοκιμῆσαι ἐθέλοντος, πολλὰ καὶ δυσχερῆ συνέβαινε.” M. 44 (p. 153). “ ^[5] ὅτι δημοκρατία ἐστὶν οὐ τὸ πάντας τῶν αὐτῶν ἀπλῶς τυγχάνειν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τὰ κατ’ ἀξίαν ἕκαστον φέρεσθαι.” M. 45 (p. 154). “ [p. 188] [p. 190] [p. 192] [p. 194] [p. 196] [p. 198] [p. 200] 24. ^[2] ὅτι τὴν τῶν Φαλίσκων πόλιν πολιορκοῦντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ταύτῃ προσκαθήμενοι διετρίβησαν, εἰ μὴ τοιόνδε τι ἐγένετο. γραμματιστῆς τις ἐν αὐτῇ παῖδας οὗτ’ ὀλίγους οὗτ’ ἀφανεῖς παιδεύων, εἴθ’ ὑπ’ ὀργῆς ἢ καὶ κέρδους ἐλπίδι πάντας σφᾶς ἔξω τε τοῦ τειχους ὡς καὶ ἐπ’ ἄλλο τι ἐξήγαγεν ὅσοῦτον γὰρ πού τῆς ἀδείας αὐτοῖς περιῆν ὥστε καὶ τότε συμφοιτᾶν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Κάμιλλον ἐκό- ^[p. 202] μισε, πᾶσάν οἱ τὴν πόλιν δι’ αὐτῶν παραδιδόναι λέγων: οὐ γὰρ περιοίσειν ἔτι τοὺς ἔνδον, τῶν ^[3] φιλτάτων σφίσι ἐχομένων. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπέρανέ τι: ὁ γὰρ Κάμιλλος τῆς τε ἀρετῆς ἅμα τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν συμπτωμάτων τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἐνθυμηθεὶς οὐκ ἠξίωσεν ἐκ προδοσίας αὐτοὺς ἐλεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ χεῖρε ἐς τοῦπίσω τοῦ προδότου δῆσας παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς τοῖς παισὶν ἀπαγαγεῖν οἴκαδε. γενομένου δὲ τούτου οἱ Φαλίσκοι οὐκέτ’ ἀντέσχον, ἀλλὰ καίτοι καὶ δυσάλωτοι ὄντες καὶ ἐκ περιουσίας τὸν πόλεμον διαφέροντες, ὅμως ἐθέλονται ὠμολόγησαν αὐτῷ, θαυμαστήν τινα φιλίαν παρ’ αὐτοῦ προσδοκήσαντες ἔξιεν, οὔγε καὶ πολεμίου οὕτω δικαίου ἐπεπείραντο.” V. 11 (p. 578). “ ^[4] ὁ οὖν Κάμιλλος ἐπιφθονώτερος ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκ τούτων τοῖς πολίταις γενόμενος, ἐγράφη τε ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων ὡς μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς λείας τῆς τῶν Οὐνηίων τὸ δημόσιον ὠφελήσας, καὶ ἐκουσίως πρὸ τῆς δίκης ὑπεξέσχε.” V. 12 (p. 578) = Suid. “ ^[c. f.] ὑπεξέσχε. ^[p. 204] ^[6] οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐ τὸ πλῆθος μόνον, οὐδ’ ὅσοι φιλοτιμίαν τινα πρὸς τὴν ἀξίωσιν αὐτοῦ εἶχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πάνυ φίλοι συγγενεῖς τε αὐτῷ ὄντες ἐβάσκαινον ὥστε μηδ’ ἀποκρύπτεσθαι: δεομένου γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῶν μὲν καὶ συναγωνίσασθαι οἱ, τῶν δὲ τὴν γε ἀπολύουσαν θέσθαι, ⁶ ... ἀλόντι δ’ αὐτῷ χρημάτων τε τιμήσειν καὶ τὴν καταδίκην συνεκτίσειν ὑπέσχοντο. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα εὐχὴν τε ὑπ’ ὀργῆς ἐποίησατο χρεῖαν αὐτοῦ τὴν πόλιν σχεῖν, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥουτούλους πρὶν κατηγορηθῆναι μετέστη.” M. 46 (p. 154). “ ^[p. 206]”

“ 25. ὅτι τῆς στρατείας τῶν Γαλατῶν αἰτία αὕτη ἐγένετο. οἱ Κλουσίνοι πολέμῳ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν κακωθέντες πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους κετέφυγον, ἐλπίδα οὐκ ἐλαχίστην ἔχοντες, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς Οὐηιένταις καίπερ ὁμοφύλοις οὕσιν οὐ συνήραντο, πάντως τινὰ ὠφελίαν παρ’ αὐτῶν εὐρήσεσθαι. ὥς δὲ ἐκεῖνοι τὴν ἐπικουρίαν οὐκ ἐψηφίσαντο, πρέσβεις δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Γαλάτας πέμψαντες εἰρήνην [2] αὐτοῖς ἔπραττον, ταύτην παρὰ μικρόν ἐπὶ γὰρ μέρει τῆς χώρας προετείνετο σφισιν’ ἐποιήσαντο, συμπεσόντες δὲ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐκ τῶν λόγων ἐς μάχην τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεις προσπαρέλαβον. οἱ οὖν Γαλάται χαλεπῶς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀντιτάξει αὐτῶν ἐνεγκόντες, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀνταπέστειλάν τινας ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, αἰτιώμενοι τοὺς πρέσβεις: εἴτ’ ἐπειδὴ μήτε τι- [p. 208] μωρία σφισιν ἐγένετο καὶ χιλιαρχοὶ πάντες ἀπεδείχθησαν, θυμοῦ τε ἐπληρώθησαν, ὄντες καὶ ἄλλως ὀργὴν ἄκροι, καὶ Κλουσίνοὺς ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ θέμενοι πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην ὥρμησαν.” UR (p. 373). “ [3] ὅτι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις δεξαμένοις τὴν τῶν Γαλατῶν ἔφοδον οὐδ’ ἀναπνεῦσαι ὑπῆρξεν, ἀλλ’ αὐθημερὸν ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐκ τῆς πορείας ὥσπερ εἶχον καταστάντες ἔπταισαν: πρὸς τε γὰρ τὸ ἀδόκητον τῆς ἐπιστρατείας αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν σωμάτων, τὴν τε φωνὴν ξενικὸν τέ τι καὶ φρικῶδες φθεγγομένην ἐκπλαγέντες, τῆς τε ἐμπειρίας ἅμα τῆς τῶν τακτικῶν ἐπελάθοντο, καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ τὰς ἀρετὰς προήκαντο. [p. 210] [4] πλεῖστον γὰρ τοι πρὸς ἀνδρείαν ἐπιστήμη φέρει, ὅτι καὶ παροῦσά τισι τὴν Ῥώμην τῆς γνώμης σφῶν βεβαιοῖ καὶ ἐλλείπουσα καὶ ἐκείνην προσδιαφθείρει πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖς προὔπηρξεν: ἄπειροι μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ πολλὰ θυμῷ βιαίως κατορθοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ δὴ τῆς εὐταξίας, ἣν ἂν μάθωσιν, ἀμαρτάνοντες καὶ τὴν τοῦ φρονήματος ἰσχὺν προσαπολλύουσιν. ὑφ’ ὧν καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐσφάλησαν.” M. 47 (p. 154). “ [5] ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ὄντες καὶ πολιορκούμενοι ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας πλὴν παρὰ τοῦ [p. 212] δαιμονίου οὐδεμίαν εἶχον. τὸ γὰρ δὴ θεῖον, καίπερ ἐν παντὶ κακοῦ ὄντες ἐθεράπευον οὕτως ὥστε, ἐπειδὴ τι τῶν ἱερῶν ἐχρῆν ὑπὸ τῶν ποντιφίκων ἄλλοθι ποὺ τῆς πόλεως γενέσθαι, Καίσων Φάβιος, ὃν ἡ ἱερουργία ἱκνεῖτο, κατέβη τε ἐπ’ αὐτὴν ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου στειλάμενος ὥσπερ εἰώθει, καὶ διὰ τῶν πολεμίων διεξελθὼν τὰ τε νομιζόμενα [6] ἐποίησε καὶ αὐθημερὸν ἀνεκομίσθη. θαυμάζω μὲν οὖν καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ὅτι αὐτοῦ, εἴτ’ οὖν διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς εἶτε καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἐφείσαντο: πολὺ γε μὴν μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐν θαύματι ποιοῦμαι καθ’ ἑκάτερον, ὅτι τε ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους μόνος κατελθεῖν ἐτόλμησε, καὶ ὅτι δυνηθεὶς ἀναχωρῆσαι ποι ἄσφαλῶς οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ’ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον αὖθις ἐκὼν ἐπὶ προὔπτον κίνδυνον ἀνεχώρησεν, ἐπιστάμενος μὲν ὀκνοῦντας αὐτοὺς τὸ χωρίον, ὃ μόνον ἔτι τῆς πατρίδος εἶχον, ἐκλιπεῖν, ὁρῶν δὲ μηδ’ εἰ πάνυ ἐπεθύμουν ἐκφυγεῖν δυναμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν πολιορκούντων τοῦτο ποιῆσαι.” V. 13 (p. 581). “ [p. 214] [7] ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς παρακαλούμενος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐγχειρισθῆναι οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν, ὅτι φεύγων τε ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔμελλε κατὰ τὰ πάτρια αὐτῇν

λήψεσθαι. οὕτω γάρ που νόμιμος ἀκριβῆς τε ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο ὥστε καὶ ἐν τηλικούτῳ τῆς πατρίδος κινδύνῳ διὰ φροντίδος τὰ καθήκοντα ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ μὴ δικαιοῦν παράδειγμα τοῖς ἔπειτα παρανομίας καταλιπεῖν.” V. 14 (p. 582). “ [p. 216] [p. 218] 26. ὅτι τοῦ Καπιτωλίνου κατέγνω ὁ δῆμος, καὶ ἥ τε οἰκία αὐτοῦ κατεσκάφη καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐδημεύθη, τὸ τε ὄνομα, καὶ εἰ δὴ που εἰκὼν ἦν, ἀπηλείφθη καὶ διεφθάρη: καὶ νῦν δὲ πλὴν τῆς κατασκαφῆς πάντα ταῦτα γίγνεται ἐπὶ τοῖς τῷ κοινῷ ἐπιβουλευουσιν. ἔκριναν δὲ καὶ μηδένα εὐπατριδὴν ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ κατοικεῖν, ὅτι καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐνταυθοῖ οἰκῶν ἐτύγχανεν. ἡ δὲ δὴ συγγένεια ἡ τῶν Μαλλίων ἀπέπτε μηδένα σφῶν Μάρκον, ἐπεὶ οὕτως ὠνομάζετο, προσκαλεῖσθαι. [2] Καπιτωλῖνος μὲν οὖν τοσοῦτον τὸ διαλλάσσον κἂν τοῖς τρόποις κἂν τῇ τύχῃ ἔσχεν: τὰ τε γὰρ πολέμια ἀκριβῶσας εἰρηνεῖν οὐκ ἠπίστατο, καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ὃ ἐσεσώκει κατέλαβεν ἐπὶ τυραννίδι, εὐπατριδὸς τε ὦν οἰκέτου ἔργον ἐγένετο, καὶ πολεμικὸς νομισθεὶς ἐν ἀνδραπόδου τρόπῳ συνελήφθη, κατὰ τε τῆς πέτρας αὐτῆς ἀφ’ ἧς τοὺς Γαλάτας ἀπεώσατο ἐρρίφη.” V. 15 (p. 582). “ [3] ὅτι ὁ Καπιτωλῖνος κατεκρημνίσθη ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων. οὕτως οὐτ’ ἄλλο τι κατὰ χώραν ὡς πλήθει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μένει. καὶ αἱ εὐπραγίαι συχνοὺς ἐς συμφορὰς ἀντιρρόπους προάγουσιν: ἐξαίρουσαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὰς ἐλπίδας τῶν ὁμοίων, τοῦ τε πλείονος ἀεὶ ποιοῦσιν ἐπορεύεσθαι καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐναντιώτατον σφαλέντας καταβάλλουσι.” M. 48 (p. 155). “ [p. 220] 28. ὅτι πρὸς Τουσκουλανοὺς ἐστράτευσε Κάμιλλος, θαυμαστῇ δὲ τινι προσποιήσῃ δεινὸν οὐδὲν ἔπαθον. καθάπερ γὰρ οὕτ’ αὐτοὶ τι πλημμελήσαντες οὔτε τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὀργὴν σφισι ἐχόντων, ἀλλ’ ἦτοι ὡς φίλων παρὰ φίλους ἰόντων ἢ καὶ ἐφ’ ἐτέρους τινὰς διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων στρατεούντων, οὔτε τι μετέβαλον τῶν καθεστηκότων οὐθ’ [2] ὅλως ἐταράχθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πάντες ἐπὶ τε ταῖς δημιουργίαις καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔργοις ἐν εἰρήνῃ κατὰ χώραν μείναντες, εἴσω τε τὸν στρατὸν ἐσεδέξαντο καὶ ξένια αὐτοῖς ἔδοσαν τὰ τε ἄλλα ὡς φίλους ἐτίμησαν. ἐξ οὗπερ καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι οὐχ ὅτι κακὸν τι αὐτοὺς ἔδρασαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν μετὰ ταῦτ’ ἐσεγράψαντο.” V. 16 (p. 582). “ [3] Δίωνος ζ βιβλίῳ ‘Τουσκουλανοὶ δὲ χεῖρας μὲν οὐκ ἀντήραντο αὐτῷ.” Bekk. Anecd. p. 123, 32. “ [p. 222] 29. ὅτι ἡ γυνή, τοῦ Ρούφου χιλιαρχοῦντος καὶ πράττοντός τι ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ δημόσιον, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἀφίκετο καὶ τὴν θύραν ὁ ῥαβδοῦχος κατὰ τι ἔθος ἀρχαῖον ἔκρουσεν, ἐξεταράχθη πρὸς τοῦτο, οὕπῳ πρότερον τοιοῦτου τινὸς πεπειραμένη, καὶ διεπτοήθη. γέλως οὖν ἐπ’ αὐτῇ συχνοῦ καὶ παρὰ [2] τῆς ἀδελφῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων γενομένου, καὶ σκωφθεῖσα ὡς ἰδιώτις τῶν ἀρχικῶν πραγμάτων διὰ τὸ τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς μήποτε ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ τινὶ ἐξητάσθαι οὔσα, δεινὸν ἐποίησατο, οἷα που ἄλλως τε καὶ ταῖς γυναιξίν ἐκ μικροψυχίας συμβαίνειν πέφυκεν, καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀνῆκε δυσκολαίνουσα πρὶν πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν θορυβῆσαι, ὥς που σμικρὰ καὶ τὰ τυχόντα πολλῶν τισι καὶ μεγάλων κακῶν αἷτια γίγνεται, ὅταν φθόνῳ τέ τις αὐτὰ καὶ ζηλοτύπως λαμβάνῃ.” M. 49 (p. 155). “ [p. 224] [3] ὅτι δεινὸν ἐν κακοῖς προσδοκία σωτηρίας ἀναπεῖσαι τινα πιστεῦσαι καὶ τοῖς παραλόγοις.” M. 50 (p. 156). “ [4] ἀεὶ γὰρ τι τοῦ τῆς πολιτείας κόσμου στασιάζοντες παρέλυνον, ὥσθ’ ὑπὲρ ὧν τοὺς πολέμους

πρὶν τοὺς μεγίστους ἀνηροῦντο, ταῦτ' ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ σύμπαντα ὡς εἶπεῖν οὐκ ἄστασιάστως μὲν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ χαλεπῶς κατακτήσασθαι.” M. 51 (p. 156). “^[5] ὅτι Πούπλιος, τῶν πολιτῶν στασιαζόντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὀλίγου τούτους συνήλλαξεν: Δικίννιον γὰρ Στόλωνα ἵπαρχον προσεῖλετο καίπερ ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους ὄντα. ὅπερ καινοτομηθὲν τοὺς μὲν εὐπατρίδας ἐλύπησεν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους οὕτως ὑπηγάγετο ὥστε μηκέτι τῆς ὑπατείας τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει ἀντιποιήσασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐᾶσαι τοὺς^[6] χιλιάρχους αἰρεθῆναι. ἐκ γὰρ τούτου καὶ ἐς τᾶλλα ἀνθυπεῖξαντές γέ τινα ἀλλήλοις ἴσως ἂν κατηλλάγησαν, εἰ μήπερ ὁ Στόλων ὁ δῆμαρχος τοιοῦτόν τι εἰπὼν, ὡς οὐκ ἂν πίοιεν εἰ μὴ φάγοιεν, ^[p. 226] ἀνέπεισεν αὐτοὺς μηδενὸς ἀφέσθαι, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ ἀναγκαῖα πάντα ὅσα ἐνεχειρίσαντο κατεργάσασθαι.” V.17 (p. 585). “^[p. 228] ^[p. 230] 30. ^[2] οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν ζῶον θνητὸν οὐτ' ἄμεινον οὐτ' ἰσχυρότερον ἀνθρώπου. ἢ οὐχ ὁρᾷτε ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα κάτω κέκυφε καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν αἰεὶ βλέπει, πράττει τε οὐδὲν ὃ μὴ τροφῆς καὶ ἀφροδισίων ἔχεται ὁὔτω καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως ^[3] ἐς ταῦτα κατακέκριται, μόνοι δὲ ἡμεῖς ἄνω τε ὀρῶμεν καὶ τῷ οὐρανῷ αὐτῷ ὁμιλοῦμεν, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὑπερφρονοῦμεν, τοῖς δὲ δὴ θεοῖς αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ ὁμοίοις οὖσιν ἡμῖν σύνεσμεν, ἅτε καὶ φυτὰ καὶ ποιήματα αὐτῶν οὐ γήινα ἀλλ' οὐράνια ὄντες; ὑφ' οὗ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους πρὸς τὰ ἡμέτερα εἶδη καὶ γράφομεν καὶ πλάττομεν: εἰ γὰρ δεῖ δὴ τι καὶ θρασυνόμενον εἶπεῖν, οὐτ' ^[p. 232] ἀνθρωπος οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ θεοῦ σῶμα θνητὸν ἔχων, οὐτε θεοῦ ἄλλο τι ἢ ἀνθρωπος ἀσώματος καὶ ^[4] διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀθάνατος. ταῦτά τοι καὶ συμπάντων τῶν ἄλλων ζῶων προφέρομεν: καὶ οὕτε τι πεζὸν ἐστὶν ὃ μὴ τάχει καταληφθὲν ἢ ἰσχυρὶ δαμασθὲν ἢ καὶ τέχναις τισὶ συλληφθὲν δουλοῦμεθα, οὐτ' ἔνυδρον οὐτ' ἀεροπόρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖνα τὰ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ μὴδ' ὀρῶντες ἀνέλκομεν, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ μὴδὲ ἐξικνούμενοι κατασύρομεν.” Max. Conf. Flor. f. 211 v A (f. 241 B) (M. p. 532). “^[p. 234] ^[p. 236] 32. ὅτι ὁ Δίων φησὶ ‘διόπερ που, καίπερ οὐκ εἰσθῶς ἐκβολαῖς τοῦ λόγου χρῆσθαι, ἄλλως τε ἐπεμνήσθην αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ὀλυμπιάδα προσέγραψα, ἵν' ἐπειδὴ λανθάνει τοὺς πολλοὺς ὁ χρόνος τῆς μετοικίσεως, ἐκφανέστερος ἐξ ἐκείνου γένηται.’” M. 52 (p. 156). “35. ταῦτά τε δὴ καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ τοιουτότροπα προετείνοντο, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ καταπράξειν τι αὐτῶν ^[p. 238] ἤλπιζον· εὖ γάρ, εἴπερ τινὲς ἄλλοι, τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων φρονήματα ἠπίσταντό, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἀποτυχόντες αὐτῶν πρόφασιν ἐγκλημάτων ὡς ἀδικοῦμενοι λάβωσιν.” M. 53 (p. 156). “^[p. 240] ^[2] Δίωνος ζ βιβλίῳ ‘καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σε δικαίωσω, ἵνα ὥσπερ τὸ τῆς ἀριστείας ἄθλον, οὕτω καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀνηκουστίας τίμημα ἀπολάβῃς.’” Bekk. Anecd. p. 133, 19. “^[4] ἦν μὲν δὴ παντὶ καταφανὲς ὅτι περισκοπήσαντες τὴν ἔκβασιν τῆς μάχης πρὸς τὸ κρατοῦν ἔστησαν: οὐ μὴν ἐξήλεγξεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Τορκουᾶτος, μὴ τι οἰδοῦντων σφίσιν ἔτι τῶν πρὸς τοὺς Λατίνους πραγμάτων νεωτερίσωσιν: οὐ γάρ τοι τὰ πάντα τραχύς, οὐδ' οἶος ἐς τὸν υἱὸν ἐγένετο καὶ ἐς τᾶλλα ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐβουλος καὶ εὐπόλεμος ὠμολόγητο εἶναι, ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων ὁμοίως λέγεσθαι ὅτι τὸ τε κράτος τοῦ πολέμου ὑποχείριον ἔσχε, καὶ εἰ καὶ τῶν Λατίνων ἠγεῖτο, πάντως ἂν αὐτοὺς νικῆσαι ἐποίησεν.” M. 54 (p. 157) (h)=n ... e)s ta)=lla h)=n' and V. 18 (p. 585) (o)/ti “

ὁ Τορκουᾶτος οὐ τὰ πάντα τραχὺς ... ἐποίησεν'. [p. 242] [9] ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καίπερ ἀχθόμενοι τῷ Τορκουάτῳ διὰ τε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ οὕτως ὥστε καὶ τὰ χαλεπώτατα τῶν ἔργων μαλλιανὰ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὀνομάσαι, καὶ διότι καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια τεθνηκότος μὲν ἐκείνου τεθνηκότος δὲ καὶ τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἐώρτασεν, ὅμως ἐπείξαντός ποτε ἐτέρου σφᾶς πολέμου καὶ αὐθις αὐτὸν ἐς τετάρτην ὑπατείαν προεχειρίσαντο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἄρξει ἔτ' αὐτῶν ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐξωμόσατο εἰπὼν ὅτι οὐτ' ἂν ἐγὼ ὑμῶν ἀνασχοίμην οὐθ' ὑμεῖς ἐμοῦ." M. 55 (p. 157). "[p. 244] [7] ὅτι φησὶν ὁ Δίων 'θαυμάζω μὲν γὰρ εἰ ὁ θάνατος ὁ τοῦ Δεκίου τὴν μάχην ἀνώρθωσε καὶ τοὺς μὲν νικῶντας ἥττησε, τοῖς δὲ δὴ κρατουμένοις νίκην ἔδωκεν, οὐ μὴν καὶ συμβαλεῖν ἔχω δι' ὃ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ τὰ πραχθέντα πιστὸν ἐπιλέξωμαι 'πολλὰ γὰρ ἤδη πολλοῖς τοιαῦτα συνενεχθέντα ἴσμεν', οὐ δύναμαι τοῖς λεγομένοις [8] ἀπιστῆσαι: ὅταν δὲ δὴ τὰς αἰτίας αὐτῶν ἐκλογίσωμαι, καὶ πάννυ ἐς ἀπορίαν καθίσταμαι: πῶς γὰρ ἂν καὶ πιστεύσειέ τις ἐκ τοιαύτης ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐπιδόσεως τοσοῦτο πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐς τε τὴν σωτηρίαν ὁμοίως καὶ ἐς τὴν ἐπικράτησιν μεταβαλέσθαι; καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὅπῃ ποτὲ καὶ δι' ἃς αἰτίας οὕτως ἔχει ζητεῖν ἄλλοις μελήσει.'" M. 56 (p. 157). "[p. 246] [10] ὅτι ἀνθυπαγόμενοι τοὺς Λατίνους ἐς εὐνοίαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτοῖς ἔδωκαν, ὥστε καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων σφίσι μεταλαμβάνειν: ὧν γὰρ ἀπειλοῦσι τὸν πόλεμον οὐ μετέδοσαν καὶ δι' ἃ τοσοῦτους κινδύνους ὑπέστησαν, ταῦτα τότε κρατήσαντες αὐτῶν αὐτεπάγγελτοι τούτοις ἐψηφίσαντο, τοὺς μὲν τῆς συμμαχίας, τοὺς δὲ ὅτι μηδὲν ἐνεόχμωσαν ἀμειβόμενοι." M. 57 (p. 158). "[11] ὅτι διαγνώμην πρὸς Πριουερνάτας ἐποίησαντο οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐρωτήσαντες τί παθεῖν τοιαῦτα δρῶντες ἄξιοι εἶεν: οἱ ἀπεκρίναντο θαρσοῦντως ὅτι ὅσα χρὴ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ὄντας τε καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦντας εἶναι. πυθομένου τε αὐθις τοῦ ὑπάτου 'καὶ τί ποιήσετε ἂν τῆς εἰρήνης τύχητε;' ἔφασαν ὅτι, ἂν μὲν ἐπὶ μετρίοις πιστὸν αὐτὴν λάβωμεν, ἡσυχάσομεν, ἂν δὲ ἀφόρητόν τι προσταθῶμεν, πολεμήσομεν. θαυμάσαντες δὲ τὴν προθυμίαν οὐχ ὅπως τὰς σπονδὰς πολὺ βελτίους σφίσι παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἔδοσαν ..." M. 58 (p. 158). "

[p. 248]"

“ 36. ^[18β] Δίωνος η βιβλίῳ ‘ἦν γὰρ καὶ πάνυ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ πρὸς πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀρκῶν.’” Bekk. Anecd. p. 124, 1. “ 36. Ἄλλ’ εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι αἱ μὲν ἀνήκεστοι ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις τιμωρίαι αὐτοὺς τε τοὺς δικαιουμένους παραπολλοῦσι δυνηθέντας ἂν ἀμείνους γενέσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οὐδὲν μᾶλλον σωφρονίζουσιν· ἡ γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνη φύσις οὐκ ἐθέλει ἑαυτῆς πρὸς τὰς ^[2] ἀπειλὰς ἐξίστασθαι, ἀλλ’ ἡ δέους τινὸς ἀνάγκη ἢ θάρσους ὕβρει ἀπειρίας τε θρασυτητι καὶ ἐξουσίας προπετεία, ἣ καθ’ ἑτέραν τινὰ συντυχίαν, οἷα πολλὰ πολλοῖς καὶ παρ’ ἐλπίδα συμβαίνει, τοὺς μὲν οὐδὲ ἐνθυμουμένους τῶν κολάσεων ἀλλ’ ἀλογίστως αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ προκείμενον φερομένους, τοὺς δὲ παρ’ οὐδὲν αὐτὰς πρὸς τὸ τυχεῖν ὧν ὀρέγονται ^[3] ποιουμένους ἀμαρτάνειν ἀναπείθει. αἱ δὲ ἐμμελεῖς φιλανθρωπίαι τάναντία αὐτῶν πάντα διαπράτ- ^[p. 250] τουσιν· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς ἐγκαίρου συγγνώμης αὐτοὶ τε πολλάκις μεταβάλλονται, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅταν ἐξ ἀνδρείας καὶ μὴ κακουργίας, ἐκ φιλοτιμίας καὶ μὴ πονηρίας τι ποιήσωσι ‘δεινὴ γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ δουλῶσαι καὶ σωφρονίσαι φρόνημα γενναῖον εὖλογος φιλανθρωπία, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐθελοντὰς ἅτε καὶ τὸ σεσωσμένον ὀρώντας μεταρρुθμιζουσι· πείθεται γὰρ πᾶς ἥδιον ἢ βιάζεται, καὶ ἐκούσιος ἀκούειν τοῦ νόμου βούλεται μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνάγκη, ὅτι τὸ μὲν αὐθαίρετον ὡς καὶ οἰκεῖον σπουδάζει, τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ὡς καὶ ἀνελεύθερον ἀπωθεῖται.” M. 59 (p. 159). “ ^[4] ὅτι τῆς μεγίστης καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας ἐστὶν ἔργον οὐ τὸ φονεῦσαι τινα ‘τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν κακίστων καὶ ἀσθενεστάτων πολλάκις γίγνεται· ἀλλὰ τὸ φείσασθαι τινος καὶ τὸ σῶσαι τινα, ὃ μηδεὶς ἄλλος ἡμῶν ἄκοντός γέ σου δύναται. ^[5] βούλομαι μὲν ἤδη πεπαῦσθαι λέγων· τὸ τε γὰρ ψυχιδίον μου κέκμηκε καὶ τὸ φθέγμα ἐνδίδωσι, τὰ τε δάκρυα τὴν φωνὴν ἐνίσχει, καὶ ὁ φόβος τὸ στόμα συνδεῖ. ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔχω πῶς ἀπαλλαγῶ· τὸ γὰρ πάθος, ἂν γε μὴ ἄλλο τι δόξη σοι, μὴ ἐνδοιαστώς μοι προφανόμενον, οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει μοι σιωπῆσαι, ἀλλ’ ὡς καὶ παρὰ τοῦθ’ ὃ τι ποτ’ ἂν τελευταῖον εἴπω τῆς σωτηρίας μοι τοῦ παιδὸς ἐσομένης, ἀναγκάζει με πλείω ὥσπερ ἐν εὐχαῖς λαλεῖν.” M. 60 (p. 159). “ ^[p. 252] ^[6] τὸ τε γὰρ ὄνομα καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἧς περιεβέβλητο ὥκνει καταλῦσαι· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἔμελλε τοῦ Ρούλλου φείσεσθαι ‘τὴν γὰρ σπουδὴν τοῦ δήμου ἐώρα, ἐκείνῳ τε ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀντισχῶν χαρίσασθαι καὶ τοὺς νέους ἐπιστρέψαι μᾶλλον, ὥστε ἐξ ἀδοκῆτου αὐτῷ συγγνοῦς, ἠθέλησε. τὸ τε οὖν πρόσωπον συστρέψας καὶ τὸν δῆμον δριμύ ^[7] ὑποβλέψας τὴν φωνὴν ἐνέτεινε καὶ εἶπε. καὶ σιωπὴ μὲν ἦν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἡσύχαζον, ἀλλ’ οἷόν τι φιλεῖ ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ γίγνεσθαι, αὐτῷ τε ἐπιστένοντες καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τονθορύζοντες ἐν μὲν οὐδὲν λαλοῦντες ἐξηκούοντο, σωθῆναι δὲ δὴ τὸν ἵππαρχον ἐπιθυμεῖν ὑπωπτεύοντο. ἰδὼν δὲ ταῦθ’ ὁ Παπίριος καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ νεοχμῶσσι τι, τοῦ τε πάνυ ἀρχικοῦ, ὅπερ ἐς ἐπανόρθωσιν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ μείζον τοῦ καθήκοντος προσεπεποιήτο, ὑφῆκε, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μετριάζων ἔς τε φιλίαν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ προθυμίαν αὐθις σφᾶς ἀντικατέστησεν, ὥστε συμβαλόντας τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἀνδρίσασθαι.” M.

61 (p. 160). “[8] ὅτι νικηθέντες οἱ Σαυνῖται ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐπεκηρυκεύσαντο τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει Ῥωμαίοις, τοὺς [p. 254] τε αἰχμαλώτους, ὅσους εἶχον αὐτῶν, πέμπαντές σφισι, καὶ τινος Παπίου, ἀνδρὸς ἕς τε τὰ πρῶτα τῶν παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἀξιουμένου καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ πολέμου πᾶσαν φερομένου, τὴν τε οὐσίαν καὶ τὰ ὅστ’ αἰ, ἐπειδὴ φθάσας ἐαυτὸν προαπεχρήσατο, διαρρίψαντες. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἔτυχον τῆς εἰρήνης: ἄπιστοί τε γὰρ δόξαντες εἶναι, καὶ πρὸς τὰς συμφορὰς ἐς παράκρουσιν τοῦ αἰεὶ κρατοῦντός σφων σπένδεσθαι, οὐχ ὅσον οὐχ εὖροντό τι συμβαπτικόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄσπονδόν σφισι τὸν πόλεμον παρεσκεύασαν. οἱ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι, καίτοι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους λαβόντες, ἀκηρυκτὴν πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐψηφίσαντο.” UG (p. 374). Parts also in Suidas s.vv. para/krousin, “ οὐχ ὅσον, ἀκηρυκτεῖ; ξφ. αλσο ς.φ. ἀξιουμένον. [10] πολλὰ μὲν δὴ οὖν καὶ ἄλλα τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου γένους θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ τὰ τότε γενόμενα: οἱ τε γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι ὑπεραυχήσαντες, ὥστε μήτε κήρυκα ἔτι ἐπ’ εἰρήνῃ παρὰ τῶν Σαυνιτῶν προσδέχεσθαι ψηφίσασθαι καὶ προσελπίσαι καὶ αὐτοβοεῖ πάντας αὐτοὺς αἰρήσειν, παθῇ- [p. 256] ματι δεινῶ περιέπεσον καὶ ἐν αἰσχύνῃ οἶα οὐ πώποτε ἐγένοντο, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἄλλως τε ὑπερδείσαντες καὶ ἐν μεγάλῃ συμφορᾷ τὸ μὴ σπείσασθαι ποιησάμενοι πανσυδία τε τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν ἐζώγρησαν καὶ πάντας ὑπὸ τὸν ζυγὸν ὑπήγαγον: ἐς τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ τύχη περιέστη.” M. 62 (p. 161). “[11] αἱ εὐεργεσίαι ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων μᾶλλον προαιρέσει εἰσι, καὶ οὐθ’ ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης οὐθ’ ὑπ’ ἀγνοίας, οὐκ ὀργῆς, οὐκ ἀπάτης, οὐκ ἄλλου πινὸς τῶν τοιούτων γίνονται, ἀλλ’ αὐθαίρετοι παρ’ ἐκουσίας καὶ προθύμου τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκτελοῦνται: καὶ διὰ ταῦτα χρή τοὺς μὲν πλημμελήσαντάς τι ἐλεεῖν νοθετεῖν παιδεύειν, τοὺς δὲ εὖ ποιήσαντας θαυμάζειν φιλεῖν ἀμειβεσθαι. καὶ ὅταν γε ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἑκάτερον γένηται, πολὺ που μᾶλλον τοῖς ἡθεσιν ἡμῶν προσήκει τῶν ἀμεινόνων μνημονεῦειν ἢ τῶν ἀτοπωτέρων.” Max. Conf. Flor. f. (M. p. 535). “[p. 258] [12] ὅτι αἱ διαφοραὶ εὐεργεσίαις παύονται: καὶ ὅσω ἂν τις ἐπὶ μείζον ἔχθρας ἐλθὼν σωτηρίας ἀντὶ τιμωρίας παρὰ δόξαν τύχῃ, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐκείνην τε ἐκὼν καταλύει καὶ ταύτης ἄσμενος ἡττᾶται: ὅσω τε τῶν ἄλλως πως διενεχθέντων οἱ ἐκ φιλίας ἐς ἔχθραν χωρήσαντες μισοῦσιν ἀλλήλους, ἐπὶ πλεῖον καὶ τῶν ἄλλως πως εὐεργετηθέντων οἱ ἐκ διαφορᾶς εὖ παθόντες φιλοῦσι τοὺς πεπονηκότας. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι οὖν βούλονται μὲν καὶ μάλα πολέμῳ κρατιστεύειν, προσέτι δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀρετὴν τιμῶσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἡναγκασμένοι τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς γενναιότητι τὸ κρατεῖν ἐπικερδαίνουσι, σπουδάζοντες αἰεὶ τὰ ὅμοια τοῖς ὁμοίοις καθ’ ὑπερβολὰς ἀμύνεσθαι.” M. 63 (p. 161). “[13] μέγα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς ἀδικήσαντάς τι ἀμύνασθαι δεῖ φρονεῖν, μείζω δὲ δόξαν ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς εὐεργετήσαντάς τι ἀμειβεσθαι ἔχειν.” Max. Conf. Flor. f. 46v (M. p. 536). “[14] πεφύκασι γὰρ πάντες ἀνθρωποὶ πλέον ἀλγεῖν ὢν ἂν ἀτιμασθῶσιν ἢ χαίρειν ἐφ’ οἷς ἂν εὐεργετηθῶσι, καὶ ῥᾶϊόν γε ἐπεξέρχονται τοῖς τι λυπήσασί σφας ἢ ἀνθυπουργοῦσι τοῖς εὖ ποιήσασι, τὴν τε κακοδοξίαν τοῦ τὸν σώσαντα μὴ δὲ εὐνοίας ποιήσασθαι παρ’ οὐδὲν πρὸς τὰ συμφέροντα αὐτῶν τιθέμενοι, καὶ τῷ θυμουμένῳ καὶ παρὰ τὸ λυσιτελοῦν σφων χαριζόμενοι. [p. 260] Τοιαῦτα αὐτοῖς παρὰ τε τῆς ἐμφύτου φρονήσεως καὶ

παρὰ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ γήρωος ἐμπειρίας οὐ τὸ αὐτίκα κεχαρισμένον ἀλλὰ τὸ
 ἔπειτα ἀλγεινὸν προσκοπῶν παρήνευσεν.” M. 64 (p. 162) and *refu/kasi galr* “
 πάντες — ποιήσασιν μαχ. ξομφ. φλορ.φ.46F ‘μ.π. 536’. [15] ὅτι οἱ Καπυηνοὶ
 τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡττηθέντων καὶ ἐς Καπύην ἐλθόντων οὗτ’ εἶπον αὐτοὺς
 δεινὸν οὐδὲν οὔτε ἔπραξαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τροφήν καὶ ἵππους αὐτοῖς ἔδωκαν καὶ
 ὡς κεκρατηκότας ὑπεδέξαντο: οὕς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἐβούλοντο διὰ τὰ
 προγεγονότα σφίσιν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν νενικηκέναι, τούτους [16] κακοτυχήσαντας
 ἡλέησαν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι [p. 262] ὡς τὰ πεπραγμένα ἤκουσαν, ἄποροι
 πανταχόθεν ἐγένοντο, μὴθ’ ὅπως ἡσθῶσι τῇ τῶν στρατιωτῶν σωτηρίᾳ μὴθ’
 ὅπως ἀχθεσθῶσιν ἔχοντες: πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ δεινὸν τῆς αἰσχύνης
 ὑπερήλγουν, ἀπαξιοῦντες ἄλλως τε τοῦτο καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Σαυνιτῶν
 πεπονθέναι, καὶ ἐβούλοντο ἂν πάντες αὐτοὺς ἀπολωλέναι, ἐκλογιζόμενοι δὲ
 ὅτι, εἴπερ τι τοιοῦτον συνεβέβηκει σφίσι, κἂν περὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἅπασιν
 ἐκινδύνευσαν, οὐκ ἀκουσίως ἤκουον ὅτι ἐσώθησαν.” M. 65 (p. 162). “[p. 264]
 [17] ὅτι τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς ἐαυτῶν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἀναγκαῖον καὶ
 ἀνεμέσητόν ἐστι προνοεῖσθαι, κἂν ἐν κινδύνῳ τινὶ καταστῶσι, πᾶν ὅτιοῦν
 ὥστε σωθῆναι πράττειν.” M. 66 (p. 163). “ὅτι συγγνώμη καὶ παρὰ θεῶν καὶ
 παρὰ ἀνθρώπων δίδοται τοῖς ἀκούσιόν τι πράξασιν.” M. 67 (ib.). “[18a] Δίω
 η βιβλίῳ ‘καὶ προσποιοῦμαι τὸ ἀδίκημα καὶ ὁμολογῶ τὴν ἐπιπορκίαν.’”
 Bekk. Anecd. p. 165, 13. “[p. 266] [19] ὅτι οἱ Σαυνῖται ὀρώντες μῆτε τὰς
 συνθήκας σφίσι τηρουμένας μῆτε ἄλλην χάριν ἀντιδιδομένην, ἀλλ’ ὀλίγους
 ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἐς παραγωγὴν τῶν ὄρκων ἐκδιδομένους, δεινῶς ἠγανάκτησαν,
 ἐπεθείαζόν τέ τινα τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπιβόωμενοι καὶ τὰς πίστεις αὐτῶν
 προφερόμενοι, καὶ ἀπῆλθον τοὺς ἀλόντας, ἐκέλευόν τε αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τὸν
 αὐτὸν ζυγὸν γυμνοὺς ἐσελθεῖν οὔτε ἐλεθθέντες ἀφείθησαν, ἵνα καὶ τῷ
 ἔργῳ μάθωσι τοῖς ἅπαξ ὁμολογηθεῖσιν [20] ἐμμένειν. καὶ ἀντέπεμψαν τοὺς
 ἐκδοθέντας, εἴτ’ οὖν ὅτι οὐκ ἤξιωσάν σφας μηδὲν ἡδίκηκότας ἀπολέσαι, ἢ
 ὅτι τῷ δῆμῳ τὴν ἐπιπορκίαν προσάψαι ἠθέλησαν καὶ μὴ δι’ ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν
 κολάσεως τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπολῦσαι. ταῦτ’ ἔπραξαν ἐλπίσαντες ἐκ τούτων
 ἐπεικές τι εὐρήσεσθαι.” M. 68 (p. 163). “[21] ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοῖς Σαυνίταις
 οὐχ ὅτι χάριν τινὰ τῆς γοῦν τῶν ἐκδοθέντων σωτηρίας ἔσχον, [p. 268] ἀλλ’
 ὥσπερ τι δεινὸν ἐκ τούτου παθόντες ὀργῇ τε τὸν πόλεμον ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ
 κρατήσαντες τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτοὺς 20 ἀντειργάσαντο: τὸ γὰρ δίκαιον οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ
 ὁμοίου τῷ νομιζομένῳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὡς πλήθει κρίνεται, οὐδ’ ἀνάγκη
 τίς ἐστι νικᾶν τοὺς ἀδικουμένους, ἀλλ’ ὁ πόλεμος αὐτοκράτωρ ὢν τὰ τε
 ἄλλα πρὸς τὸ τοῦ κρατοῦντος συμφέρον τίθεται καὶ τὴν τοῦ δικαίου νόμισιν
 ἐς τοῦναντίον πολλάκις περιστήσιν.” M. 69 (p. 163). “[22] ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι
 Σαυνιτῶν κρατήσαντες τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ὑπὸ τὸν ζυγὸν ἀνθυπηγάγον,
 ἐξαρχεῖν σφίσι νομίσαντες τὴν τῆς ὁμοίας αἰσχύνης ἀνταπόδοσιν. οὕτω μὲν
 ἢ τύχη πρὸς τὰ ἐναντία αὐτοῖς ἀμφοτέροις ἐν βραχυτάτῳ περιστᾶσα, καὶ
 τοὺς Σαυνίτας ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν ὑβρισθέντων τὰ αὐτὰ ἀντιποιήσασα, διέδειξε
 καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὸ ὅλον αὐτῇ δυναμένη.” M. 70 (p. 164). “[23] ὅτι ὁ Παπίριος
 στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τοὺς Σαυνίτας καὶ καταστήσας αὐτοὺς ἐς πολιορκίαν
 προσήδρευέ σφίσι. κἂν τούτῳ ὀνειδίσαντός τινος αὐτῷ ὅτι οἴνῳ πολλῷ

ἐχρήτο, ἔφη ὅτι τὸ μὲν ^[p. 270] μὴ εἶναι με μεθυστικὸν παντὶ που δῆλον ἔκ τε τοῦ πρωιαίτατά με ὀρθρεῦεσθαι καὶ ἔκ τοῦ ὀψιαίτατα καταδαρθάνειν ἐστίν· διὰ δὲ τὸ τὰ κοινὰ αἰεὶ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ ὁμοίως ἐν φροντίδι ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ μὴ δύνασθαι ῥαδίως ὕπνου λαχεῖν, τὸν οἶνον κατακοιμήσοντά με παραλαμβάνω.” M. 71 (p. 164). “^[24] ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς ἐφοδεύων ποτὲ τὰς φυλακὰς καὶ μὴ εὐρῶν τὸν Πραίνεστίνων στρατηγὸν ἐν τῇ τάξει ὄντα ἡγανάκτησεν, εἴτα μεταπεμφάμενος αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε τῷ ῥαβδούχῳ τὸν πέλεκυν προχειρίσασθαι· ἐκπλαγέντος τε αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ καταδείσαντος, τῷ τε φόβῳ αὐτοῦ ἠρκέσθη καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι δεινὸν αὐτὸν ἔδρασεν, ἀλλὰ ῥίζας τινὰς παρὰ τὰ σκηνώματα οὖσας ἐκκόψαι τῷ ῥαβδούχῳ, ἵνα μὴ τοὺς παριόντας λυπῶσι, προσέταξεν.” M. 72 (ib.). “^[25] ὅτι αἱ εὐπραγίαι οὐ πάνυ τοῖς πολλοῖς παραμένουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συχνοὺς ἐς ἀφυλαξίαν παραγαγοῦσαι φθειροῦσιν.” M. 73 (p. 165). “^[p. 272] ^[26] ὅτι Πατίριον δικτάτορα προεβάλλοντο οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστει, καὶ δείσαντες μὴ ὁ Ροῦλλος οὐκ ἐθελήσῃ αὐτὸν διὰ τὰ συμβάντα οἱ ἐν τῇ ἵππαρχίᾳ εἰπεῖν, ἔπεμψαν πρὸς αὐτὸν δεόμενοι τὰ κοινὰ πρὸ τῆς ἰδίας ἐχθρας προτιμῆσαι. καὶ ὅς τοις μὲν πρέσβεσιν οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο, ἐπειδὴ δὲ νύξ ἐγένετο ἵκντο γὰρ πάντως ἐκ τῶν πατρίων τὸν δικτάτορα ἔδει λέγεσθαι, εἶπε τε αὐτὸν καὶ εὐκλειαν ἐκ τούτου μεγίστην ἔλαβεν.” V. 19 (p. 585). “^[27] ὅτι Ἄππιος ὁ τυφλὸς καὶ ὁ Οὐολούμνιος διεφέροντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους· ἀφ’ οὗπερ Οὐολούμνιος τοῦ Ἄππιου προενεγκόντος ποτὲ αὐτῷ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅτι σοφώτερος ὑφ’ ἑαυτοῦ γεγονῶς οὐδεμίαν οἱ χάριν εἶδειν, αὐτὸς μὲν καὶ γεγονέναι οὕτως σοφώτερος καὶ ὁμολογεῖν τοῦτ’ ἔφη, ἐκείνον δὲ μηδὲν πρὸς τὰ τοῦ πολέμου πράγματα ἐπιδεδωκέναι.” M. 74 (p. 165). “^[p. 274] ^[28] ὅτι ὁ Ὀμιλος περὶ τῆς μαντείας παραχρήμα μὲν οὐθ’ ὅπως πιστεύσῃ οὐθ’ ὅπως ἀπιστήσῃ αὐτῷ ^[p. 276] εἶχεν· οὔτε γὰρ ἐλπίζειν πάντα ἐβούλετο, ὅτι μηδὲ γενέσθαι πάντα ἠθέλεν, οὐτ’ αὖ ἀπιστεῖν ἅπασιν ἐτόλμα, ὅτι νικῆσαι ἐπεθύμει, ἀλλ’ οἷα ἐν μέσῳ τῆς τε εὐχῆς καὶ τοῦ φόβου ὦν χαλεπώτατα διῆγεν. συμβάντων δ’ αὐτῶν ὡς ἐκάστων καὶ τὴν ἐρμήνευσιν σφισιν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἔργων πείρας ἐφήρμοσαν, καὶ αὐτὸς σοφίας τινὰ δόξαν ἐς τὴν τοῦ ἀφανοῦς πρόγνωσιν προσποιεῖσθαι ἐπεχείρει.” M. 75 (p. 165) “^[p. 278] ^[29] ὅτι οἱ Σαννῖται ἀγανακτήσαντες ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσι καὶ ἀπαξιώσαντες ἐπὶ πολὺ ἡττᾶσθαι, πρὸς ἀποκινδύνευσιν καὶ πρὸς ἀπόνειαν ὡς ἦτοι κρατήσοντες ἢ παντελῶς ἀπολούμενοι ὥρμησαν, καὶ τὴν τε ἡλικίαν πᾶσαν ἐπελέξαντο, θάνατόν τε ^[p. 280] προειπόντες ὅστις ἂν αὐτῶν οἶκοι καταμένῃ, καὶ ὄρκοις σφᾶς φρικώδεσι πιστωσάμενοι μὴτ’ αὐτὸν τινα ἐκ μάχης φεῦξεσθαι καὶ τὸν ἐπιχειρήσοντα τοῦτο ποιῆσαι φονεῦσειν.” M. 76 (p. 165). “^[p. 282] ^[30] ὅτι πυθόμενοι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ὅτι ὁ ὕπατος Φάβιος ἡττήθη ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δεινῶς ἡγανάκτησαν καὶ τοῦτον μεταπέμψαντες εὐθύνον. κατηγορίας τε αὐτοῦ πολλῆς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ γενομένης ‘καὶ γὰρ τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς δόξῃ ἐπὶ πλεῖον τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἐβαρύνετό ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐδεὶς λόγος ἐδόθη, ὁ δὲ γέρων ὑπὲρ τοῦ παιδὸς οὐκ ἀπελογήσατο, κατα- ^[p. 284] ριθμήσας δὲ τὰ τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἔργα, καὶ προσυποσχόμενος μηδὲν ἀνάξιον αὐτῶν πράξειν τῆς τε ὀργῆς σφας παρέλυσεν, ἄλλως τε ^[31] καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν τοῦ υἱόος

προβαλλόμενος· καὶ συνεξελθὼν εὐθὺς αὐτῷ μάχῃ τοὺς Σαυνίτας καὶ πρὸς τὴν νίκην ἐπλημένους κατέβαλεν, καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ λείαν πολλὴν εἶλεν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι διὰ τοῦτο ἐκείνον τε ἐμεγάλυνον καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἀντὶ ὑπάτου ἄρξαι ἐκέλευσαν, ὑποστρατήγῳ καὶ τότε τῷ πατρὶ χρώμενον. καὶ ὃς πάντα μὲν αὐτῷ διώκει καὶ διῆγεν οὐδὲν τοῦ γήρωος φειδόμενος, καὶ τὰ γε συμμαχικὰ προθύμως οἱ, μνήμῃ τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτοῦ ἔργων, συνήρετο· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἔνδηλος ἦν δι’ ἑαυτοῦ τὰ [p. 286] πράγματα ποιοῦμενος, ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ ὄντως ἔν τε συμβούλου καὶ ἐν ὑπάρχου μέρει τῷ παιδί συνὼν αὐτός τε ἐμετρίαζε καὶ τὴν δόξαν τῶν ἔργων ἐκείνῳ προσετίθει.” V. 20 (p. 585). “ [32] ὅτι οἱ ... στρατιῶται μετὰ Ποστούμιου ἐξελθόντες κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τε ἐνόσησαν καὶ ἐδόκουν διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἄλσους τομὴν πονεῖσθαι. ἐπ’ οὖν τούτοις ἀνακληθεὶς ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ κάνταῦθα αὐτοὺς ἐποίησατο λέγων οὐκ ἑαυτοῦ τὴν βουλὴν ἀλλ’ ἐκείνης αὐτὸν ἄρχειν. 35” M. 77 (p. 166). “ 40. ὅτι Γάιος Φαβρίκιος ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅμοιος ἦν Ρουφίνῳ, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ ἀδωροδοκίᾳ πολὺ προέχων· ἦν γὰρ ἀδωρότατος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκείνῳ οὐτ’ ἡρέσκετο καὶ αἰεὶ ποτε διεφέρετο. ὅμως ἐχειροτόνησεν· ἐπιτηδεϊότατον γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν [2] τοῦ πολέμου χρεῖαν ἐνόμισεν εἶναι, καὶ παρ’ ὀλίγον τὴν ἰδίαν ἔχθραν πρὸς τὰ κοινῇ συμφέροντα ἐποίησατο, καὶ δόξαν γε καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐκτήσατο, κρείττων καὶ τοῦ φθόνου γενόμενος, ὅσπερ πού [p. 288] καὶ τῶν ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν πολλοῖς ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας ἐγγίγνεται. φιλόπολις τε γὰρ ἀκριβῶς ὢν, καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ προσήματι ἀρετὴν ἀσκῶν, ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ τὸ τε ὑφ’ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὸ δι’ ἐτέρου τινός, κἂν διάφορός οἱ ᾖ, εὖ τι τὴν πόλιν παθεῖν ἐτίθετο.” V. 21 (p. 586) and M. 78 (p. 166) (krei/ttwn — e)ggi/gnetai). “ 36. 33. ὅτι ἐρωτηθεὶς Γάιος Φαβρίκιος διὰ τί τῷ ἐχθρῷ τὰ πράγματα ἐπέτρεψε τὴν τε ἄλλην ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπήνεσε καὶ πρὸς εἶπεν ὅτι αἰρετώτερον ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πολίτου συληθῆναι ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων πραθῆναι. 41” M. 79 (p. 166). “ 37. ὅτι Κούριος τὰ πεπραγμένα οἱ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ἀπολογιζόμενος ἔφη ὅτι γῆν μὲν τοσαύτην προσεκτήσατο ὅσην οὐκ ἂν ἄνθρωποι ἐλάττους ἐξειργάσαντο, καὶ ἀνθρώπους τόσους ἐθηράσατο ὅσοις οὐκ ἂν ἐλάττων χώρα ἐξήρκεσεν.” M. 80 (ib.). “ [2] ὅτι χρεῶν ἀποκοπὴν εἰσηγουμένων τῶν δημάρχων ὁ νόμος κελεύων τὴν ἄφεισιν τῶν ὑπερμεριῶν πολλάκις μάτην ἐξετέθη, πᾶν ἀπολαβεῖν τῶν δα- [p. 290] νειστῶν βουλομένων, τῶν δὲ δὴ δημάρχων αἵρεσιν διδόντων τοῖς δυνατοῖς ἢ τοῦτον ἐπιψηφίσαντας τὸν νόμον τὰ ἀρχαῖα μόνον λαβεῖν ἢ καὶ ἐκείνους τοὺς [3] ... ἀποφοραῖς τριέτεσι κομίσασθαι. καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ παραχρῆμα οἱ τ’ ἀσθενέστεροι ὀκνήσαντες μὴ καὶ τοῦ παντός ἀμαρτάνοιεν ἀμφοτέρα προσήκαντο καὶ οἱ εὐπορώτεροι θαρσῆσαντες ὡς οὐδέτερον ἀναγκασθῆσονται ἤχθοντο· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπίσχειν † τὸ μεταστάν τι% ἔμελλεν, ἐς τούναντίον ἀμφοτέροις αὐτοῖς περιέστη· τοῖς τε γὰρ ὀφείλουσιν οὐδέτερον ἔτ’ αὐτῶν ἐξήρκεσε, καὶ τοῖς δυνατοῖς ἀγαπητὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων στερηθεῖεν. οὐτ’ οὖν ἐν τῷ τότε παρόντι ἢ στάσις διεκρίθη, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπὶ μακρότερον ἐς τὸ φιλονικεῖν συνέβαλλον ἀλλήλοις· οὐτ’ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ [4] καθεστῶτι προσώπῳ ἐποιοῦν. τελευτῶντες οὖν οὐδὲ ἐθελόντων τῶν δυνατῶν πολλῷ πλείῳ τῶν κατ’

ἀρχὰς ἐλπισθέντων σφίσιν ἀφεῖναι συνηλλάγησαν, ἀλλ’ ὅσω μᾶλλον εἰκοντας αὐτοὺς ἐώρων, ἐπὶ πλεῖον ὥς καὶ δικαιώματί τινι περιγιγνόμενοι ἔθρασύνοντο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰ τε αἰὲ [p. 292] συγχωρούμενα αὐτοῖς ὥς καὶ ἀναγκαῖα παρὰ μικρὸν ἐτίθεντο καὶ ἐτέρων ἐπωρέγοντο, ἐπιβασίαν ἐς αὐτὰ τὸ τινῶν ἤδη τετυχηκέναι ποιοῦμενοι.” Μ. 81 (p. 166). “ 38. ὅτι ὥς εἶδον οἱ ἐναντίοι καὶ ἕτερον στρατηγὸν ἐλθόντα, τοῦ μὲν κοινοῦ τῆς στρατείας σφῶν ἡμέλησαν, τὴν δὲ ἰδίαν ἕκαστοι σωτηρίαν διεσκόπουν, οἷά που φιλοῦσι ποιεῖν οἱ μήτε ἐξ ὁμοφύλων συνιόντες μήτ’ ἀπὸ κοινῶν ἐγκλημάτων στρατεῦοντες μήτ’ ἄρχοντα ἓνα ἔχοντες: ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς [2] εὐπραγίαις συμφρονοῦσιν, ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς συμφοραῖς τὸ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος μόνον προορᾷται. καὶ ὥρμησαν ἐς φυγὴν, ἐπειδὴ συνεσκότασε, μηδὲν ἀλλήλοις ἐπικοινωνήσαντες: ἄθροοι μὲν γὰρ οὕτ’ ἂν βιάσασθαι οὕτ’ ἂν λαθεῖν τὴν ἀπόδρασιν ἐνόμισαν, ἂν δὲ αὐτοὶ ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστοι καὶ ὥς ὥοντο μόνοι ποιᾶπωσι, ῥᾶόν που διαπεσεῖσθαι. καὶ οὕτω τῷ οἰκείῳ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν δόγματι ὅτι ἀσφαλέστατα τὴν φυγὴν ποιησάμενοι...” Μ. 82 (p. 167). “[p. 294]”

“ 39. ὅτι πυθομένων τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὡς Ταραντῖνοι καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς πόλεμον ἀρτύνουσι κατ’ αὐτῶν, καὶ πρεσβευτὴν Φαβρίκιον ἐς τὰς πόλεις τὰς συμμαχίδας, ὅπως μηδὲν νεωτερίσωσι, στείλαντων, ἐκεῖνόν τε συνέλαβον, καὶ πέμψαντες πρὸς τοὺς Τυρσηνοὺς καὶ Ὀμβρικοὺς καὶ Γαλάτας συχνοὺς αὐτῶν, τοὺς μὲν παραχρῆμα τοὺς δ’ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, προσαπέστησαν.” UR (p. 375). “ [3] ὅτι οἱ Ταραντῖνοι, καίπερ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοὶ παρασκευάσαντες, ὅμως ἐν σκέπη τοῦ φόβου ἦσαν: οἱ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι ἡσθάνοντο μὲν τὰ πραττόμενα ὑπ’ αὐτῶν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ προσεποιοῦντο διὰ τὰ παρόντα σφίσι. μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο νομίσαντες γοῦν ἢ διαφυγεῖν ἢ πάντως γε λανθάνειν, ὅτι μὴδ’ ἔγκλημα ἐλάμβανον, ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐξῦ- [p. 296] βρισαν καὶ ἄκοντας αὐτοῖς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐξεπολέμωσαν, ὥστε καὶ ἐπαληθεῦσαι ὅτι καὶ αἱ εὐπραγίαι, ἐπειδὴν ἔξω τοῦ συμμέτρου τισὶ γένωνται, συμφορῶν σφισιν αἵτια καθίστανται: προαγαγοῦσαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸ ἔκφρον ‘οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐθέλει τὸ σῶφρον τῷ χαύνῳ συνεῖναι τὰ μέγιστα σφάλλουσιν, ὥσπερ που καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ὑπερανθήσαντες ἀντίπαλον τῆς ἀσελγείας κακοπραγίαν ἀντέλαβον.” M. 83 (p. 168) and αἱ εὐπραγίαι — σφάλλουσιν Max. Conf. Flor. f. 103 (M. p. 536). “ [4] Δίῳν θ βιβλίῳ ‘Λούκιος Οὐαλέριος ναυαρχῶν τε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ σταλεις ποι ὑπ’ αὐτῶν.” Bekk. Anecd. p. 158, 25. “ [5] ὅτι Λούκιος ἀπεστάλη παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐς Τάραντα. οἱ δὲ Ταραντῖνοι Διονύσια ἄγοντες, καὶ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ διακορεῖς οἴνου τὸ δειλῆς καθήμενοι, πλεῖν ἐπὶ σφᾶς αὐτὸν ὑπετόπησαν, καὶ παραχρῆμα δι’ ὀργῆς, καὶ τι καὶ τῆς μέθης αὐτοὺς ἀναπειθοῦσης, ἀντανήχθησαν, καὶ προσπεσόντες αὐτῷ μῆτε χεῖρας ἀνταιρομένῳ μῆθ’ ὅλως πολέ- [p. 298] μίον τι ὑποτοπουμένῳ κατέδυσαν κάκεῖνον καὶ ἄλλους [6] πολλοὺς. πυθόμενοι δὲ ταῦθ’ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι χαλεπῶς μὲν, ὥσπερ οὖν εἰκός, ἔφερον, οὐ μὴν καὶ στρατεῦσαι ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς εὐθύς ἠθέλησαν. πρέσβεις μέντοι, τοῦ μὴ κατασεσιωπηκέναι δοῦναι κάκ τούτου θρασυτέρους αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι, ἔστειλαν. καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ταραντῖνοι οὐχ ὅπως καλῶς ἐδέξαντο, ἢ τρόπον γέ τινα ἐπιτήδειον ἀποκρινάμενοι ἀπέπεμψαν, ἀλλ’ εὐθύς, πρὶν καὶ λόγον σφίσι δοῦναι, γέλωτα τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὴν [7] στολὴν αὐτῶν ἐποιοῦντο. ἦν δὲ ἡ ἀστική, ἥ κατ’ ἀγορὰν χρώμεθα: ταύτην γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι, εἴτ’ οὖν σεμνότητος ἕνεκα εἴτε καὶ διὰ δέος, ἴν’ ἔκ γε τούτου αἰδεσθῶσιν αὐτούς, ἐσταλμένοι ἦσαν. κατὰ συστάσεις τε οὖν κωμάζοντες ἐτῶθαζον ‘καὶ γὰρ καὶ τότε ἐορτὴν ἦγον, ὑφ’ ἧς καίτοι μηδένα χρόνον σωφρονοῦντες ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ὕβριζον’, καὶ τέλος προσστάς τις τῷ Ποστούμῳ καὶ κύψας ἑαυτὸν [8] ἐξέβαλε καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα αὐτοῦ ἐκηλίδωσε. θο- [p. 300] ρύβου δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ παρὰ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων γενομένου, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐπαινοῦντων ὥσπερ τι θαυμαστὸν εἰργασμένον, ἐς δὲ δὴ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πολλὰ καὶ ἀσελγῆ ἀνάπαιστα ἐν ῥυθμῷ τοῦ τε κρότου καὶ τῆς βαδίσσεως ᾄδόντων, ὁ Ποστούμιος ‘γελᾶτε,’ ἔφη, ‘γελᾶτε, ἕως ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν: κλαυσεῖσθε γὰρ ἐπὶ μακρότατον, ὅταν τὴν ἐσθῆτα ταύτην τῷ αἵματι ὑμῶν ἀποπλύνητε.’ [9] ἀκούσαντες τοῦτ’ ἐκεῖνοι τῶν μὲν σκωμμάτων ἐπέσχον, ἐς

δὲ τὴν παραίτησιν τοῦ ὑβρίσματος οὐδὲν ἔπραξαν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ σῶς αὐτοῦς ἀφῆκαν, ἐν εὐεργεσίας μέρει ἐτίθεντο.” UR (p. 375), “ §§ 5-8, ανδ μ. 'π. 168', §§ 8, 9. [10] ὅτι Μέντων, ὡς οὐκ ἔπεισε Ταραντίνους τὸ μὴ Ῥωμαίοις ἐκπολεμωθῆναι, ἔκ τε τῆς ἐκκλησίας [p. 302] ὑπέξῃλθε καὶ στεφάνους ἀνεδήσατο, συγκωμαστάς τέ τινας καὶ αὐλητρίδα λαβὼν ὑπέστρεψεν. ῥιδοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ κορδακίζοντος ἐξέστησαν τῶν προκειμένων καὶ ἐπεβίων καὶ ἐπεκρότουν, οἷα ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι. καὶ ὅς σιγάσας αὐτοὺς 'νῦν μὲν καὶ μεθύειν,' ἔφη, 'καὶ κωμὰ' ζεῖν ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν: 'ἂν δ' ὅσα βουλευέσθε ἐπιτελέσητε, δουλεύσομεν.'” M. 85 (p. 169). “ 40. [5] ὅτι ὑπὸ τοῦ Κινέου ἐλέγετο Πύρρος ὁ βασιλεὺς πλείονας πόλεις ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐξελεῖν δόρατος. καὶ γὰρ ἦν δεινός, φησὶ Πλούταρχος, ἐν τῷ λέγειν, καὶ τῷ Δημοσθένει μόνος ἐν τῇ δεινότητι παρισούμενος. ἀμέλει καὶ τὸ ἄτοπον τῆς ἐκστρατείας οἷα ἔμφρων εἰδὼς ἀνὴρ, ἐμποδὼν τῷ Πύρρῳ ἐς λόγους ἐλθὼν καθίστατο: [p. 304] ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἄρξειν διὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν πάσης διανοεῖτο τῆς γῆς, ὁ δὲ ἀρκεῖσθαι ἱκανοῖς οὔσι τοῖς οἰκείοις πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν προέτρεπεν. ἀλλὰ τὸ φιλοπόλεμον τοῦ ἀνδρός καὶ φιλόπρωτον τὴν τοῦ Κινέου νικῆσαν παραίνεσιν, αἰσχυρῶς ἀπαλλάξαι αὐτὸν καὶ Σικελίας καὶ Ἰταλίας πεποίηκεν, πολλὰς τῶν αὐτοῦ δυνάμεων μυριάδας ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπάσαις ἀποβεβληκότα.” V. 22 (p. 586). “ [3] ὅτι ὁ Πύρρος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς τε Ἠπείρου καλουμένης ἐβασίλευσε, καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τὸ πλεῖστον, τὸ μὲν εὐεργεσίαις τὸ δὲ φόβῳ, προσεπεποίητο. Αἰτωλοὶ τε πολὺ τότε δυνάμενοι καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδὼν καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ Ἰλλυρικῷ δυνάσται ἐθεράπευον αὐτόν. καὶ γὰρ φύσεως λαμπρότητι καὶ παιδείας ἰσχύι καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ πραγμάτων πολὺ πάντων προέφερεν, ὥστε καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ τὰς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὰς τῶν συμμάχων καίπερ μεγάλας οὕσας ἀξιοῦσθαι.” V. 23 (p. 589). “ [p. 306] [4] ὅτι Πύρρος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Ἠπείρου τὸ τε φρόνημα πολλῷ μεῖζον ἔσχεν ἅτε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων ἀντίπαλος τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις εἶναι νομιζόμενος, καὶ ἐν τύχῃ οἱ ἡγήσατο ἔσεσθαι τοῖς τε πρὸς αὐτὸν καταφυγοῦσιν, ἄλλως τε καὶ Ἑλλήσιν οὔσιν, ἐπικουρῆσαι καὶ ἐκείνους σὺν προφάσει τινὶ εὐπρεπεῖ προκαταλαβεῖν πρὶν τι δεινὸν ὑπ' αὐτῶν παθεῖν. οὕτω γὰρ που καὶ τῆς εὐδοξίας αὐτῷ ἔμελεν ὥστε καὶ ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου Σικελίας ἐφιέμενος καὶ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὅπῃ χειρώσατο διασκοπῶν, ὀκνεῖν τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχθρας, ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἡδίκητο, προκατάρξασθαι.” M. 86 (p. 169). “ [p. 308] [6] ὅτι Πύρρος πέμψας ἐς Δοδώνην ἐμαντεύσατο περὶ τῆς στρατείας: καὶ οἱ χρησμοῦ ἐλθόντος, ἂν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν περαιωθῇ Ῥωμαῖους νικήσειν, συμβαλὼν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸ βούλημα 'δεινὴ γὰρ ἔξαπατῆσαι τινα ἐπιθυμία ἐστίν 18' οὐδὲ τὸ ἔαρ ἔμεινεν.” M. 87 (p. 169). “ [p. 310] [7] ὅτι οἱ Ῥηγῖνοι φρουρὰν ἤτήσαντο παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις, ἡγεῖτο δὲ αὐτῆς Δέκιος. τούτων οὖν οἱ πλείους ἐκ τε τῆς περιουσίας τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης ῥαστώνης, ἅτε καὶ ἀνειμένη παρὰ πολὺ διαίτη πρὸς τὰ οἶκοι χρώμενοι, ἐπεθύμησαν, ἐνάγοντος αὐτοὺς τοῦ Δεκίου, τοὺς πρώτους τῶν Ῥηγίνων ἀποκτείναντες τὴν πόλιν κατασχεῖν: ἄδεια γὰρ αὐτοῖς πολλὴ ἐφαίνετο, τῶν Ῥωμαίων περὶ τοὺς Ταραντίνους καὶ περὶ τὸν Πύρρον ἀσχό- [p. 312] [8] λων ὄντων, πάνθ' ὅσα ἐβούλοντο πρᾶξαι. προσανέπειθε δὲ αὐτοὺς ὅτι καὶ τὴν

Μεσσήνην ὑπὸ τῶν Μαμερτίνων ἐχομένην ἐώρων. οὗτοι γάρ, Καμπανοὶ τε ὄντες καὶ φρουρεῖν αὐτὴν ὑπ' Ἀγαθοκλέους τοῦ ἐν Σικελίᾳ δυναστεύοντος ταχθέντες, σφαγὰς τε τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐποιήσαντο καὶ τὴν [9] πόλιν κατέσχον. οὐ μέντοι ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἐποιήσαντο: πολὺ γὰρ ἡλαττοῦντο τῷ πλήθει: ἀλλ' ἐπιστολὰς ὁ Δέκιος ὡς καὶ τῷ Πύρρῳ ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ σφῶν ὑπὸ τινων γεγραμμένας πλάσας ἤθροισε τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ ἐκείνας τε αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ ἐαλωκυίας ἀνέγνω, καὶ προσπαρώξυνεν αὐτοὺς εἰπὼν οἷα εἰκὸς ἦν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐσαγγεῖλαντός τινος ἐκ κατασκευ-

[p. 314] ασμοῦ ὅτι ναυτικὸν τέ τι τοῦ Πύρρου κατῆρε που τῆς χώρας καὶ ἐς λόγους τοῖς προδόταις ἀφικνεῖται. [10] οἱ δὲ παρεσκευασμένοι ἐμεγάλυνον, καὶ διεβῶν προκαταλαβεῖν τοὺς Ῥηγίνους πρὶν τι δεινὸν παθεῖν: ἀγνοοῦντας δὲ τὸ πρᾶσσόμενον χαλεπῶς ἂν ἀντισχεῖν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὰς καταγωγὰς σφῶν οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς οἰκίας ἐσπηδήσαντες ἐφόνευσαν πολλοὺς, πλὴν ὀλίγων οὓς ὁ Δέκιος καλέσας ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἔσφαξεν.” V. 24 (p. 589). “ [11] ὅτι ὁ Δέκιος ὁ φρουράρχος τοὺς Ῥηγίνους ἀποσφάξας φιλίαν πρὸς Μαμερτίνους ἐσπείσατο, νομίζων αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοιοτρόπου τῶν τολμημάτων πιστοτάτους σφίσι συμμάχους ἔσσεσθαι, ἅτε καὶ εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι συχνοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἰσχυροτέrais δὴ τισιν ἀνάγκαις ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν ὁμοίων τι παρανομῆσαι τοῦ τε κατὰ νόμους ἑταιρικοῦ καὶ τοῦ κατὰ γένος οἰκείου συνίστανται.” M. 88 (p. 170). “ [12] ὅτι διαβολὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι χρόνον πινὰ ἔσχον, μέχρι οὗ ἐπέξῃλθον αὐτοῖς: πρὸς γὰρ τὰ μείζω καὶ πρὸς τὰ μᾶλλον κατεπείγοντα ἀσχολίαν ἄγοντες παρὰ σμικρὸν τισιν αὐτὰ ποιεῖσθαι ἔδοξαν.” M. 89 (p. 170). “ [13] ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μαθόντες ἤξειν τὸν Πύρρον κατέδεισαν, ἐκείνόν τε αὐτὸν εὐπόλεμον εἶναι [p. 316] μαθόντες καὶ δύναμιν πολλὴν καὶ ἀνανταγώνιστον ἔχειν, οἷα που συμβαίνει περὶ τε τῶν ἀγνώστων σφίσι καὶ περὶ τῶν διὰ πλείστου ὄντων μάλιστα θρυλεῖσθαι τοῖς πυνθανομένοις.” M. 90 (p. 170). “ [p. 318] [p. 320] [14] ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἐστὶ μήτε ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἡθεσι τεθραμμένους τινάς, μήτε τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμοῦντας, μήτε τὰ αὐτὰ καλὰ καὶ αἰσχροῖς νομίζοντας εἶναι, φίλους ποτὲ ἀλλήλοις γενέσθαι.” Max. Conf. Flor. f. 34r (M. p. 537). “ [15] ὅτι ἢ τε φιλοτιμία καὶ ἢ ἀπιστία ἀεὶ τοῖς τυράννοις σύνεστιν, ἐξ ὧν ἀνάγκη μηδὲνα αὐτοὺς ἀκριβῆ φίλον ἔχειν: ἀπιστοῦμενός τε γὰρ καὶ φθονοῦμενός τις οὐδένα ἂν καθαρῶς ἀγαπήσειε. πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ ἡ τῶν τρόπων ὁμοιότης ἢ τε τοῦ βίου ἰσότης καὶ τὸ τὰ αὐτὰ τισι καὶ σφαλερὰ καὶ σωτήρια εἶναι καὶ ἀληθεῖς καὶ βεβαίους φιλίας μόνᾳ ποιεῖ. ὅπου δ' ἂν τούτων τι ἐνδεήσῃ, προσποιητὸν μὲν τι σχῆμα ἑταιρίας ὀρᾷται, ἔρμα δ' οὐδὲν αὐτῆς ἐχέγγυνον εὐρίσκεται.” M. 91 (p. 170) and (as “ τηρεε σελεξτινος' μαχ. ξονφ. φλορ. φ. 'μ. π. 537'. [16] ὅτι στρατηγία ἂν μὲν καὶ δυνάμεις ἀξιοχρεως λάβῃ, πλεῖστον καὶ πρὸς σωτηρίαν σφῶν καὶ πρὸς ἐπικράτησιν φέρει, αὐτὴ δὲ καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὐδενὸς ἐν μέρει ἐστίν: οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἄλλη τις τέχνη χωρὶς τῶν συμπραξόντων καὶ συνδιοικησόντων αὐτῇ ἰσχύει.” M. 92 (p. 171). “ [p. 322] 18. ὅτι τοῦ Μεγακλέους τελευτήσαντος καὶ τοῦ [p. 324] Πύρρου τὸν πῖλον ἀπορρίψαντος ἐς τὸ ἐναντίον ἡ μάχη περιέστη: τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἡ σωτηρία αὐτοῦ πολὺ πλεῖον ἐκ τοῦ παρὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα σφῶν αὐτὸν περιεῖναι ἢ εἰ μὴδ' ἀρχὴν τεθνηκέναι ἐνενόμιστο θάρσος ἐνεποίησεν,

οἱ δὲ ἀπατηθέντες δεύτερον οὐδὲν ἔτι πρόθυμον ἔσχον, κολουσθέντες τε αὖθις τὸ μάτην θαρσῆσαν καὶ ἐκ τῆς δι' ὀλίγου μεταβολῆς σφων ἐς τὴν τοῦ χειρόνος δόκησιν οὐδ' ὕστερόν ποτε αὐτὸν φθαρῆσεσθαι ἐλπίσαντες.” Μ. 93 (p. 171). “ [p. 326] 19. ὅτι συγχαιρόντων τινῶν τῷ Πύρρῳ τῆς νίκης, τὴν μὲν δόξαν τοῦ ἔργου ἐδέχετο, εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ αὖθις ποτε ὁμοίως κρατήσκειν, ἀπολείσθαι ἔφη. καὶ τοῦτο τ' αὐτοῦ φερόμενόν ἐστιν, καὶ ὅτι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καίτοι νικηθέντας ἐθαύμασε καὶ προέκρινε τῶν ἑαυτοῦ στρατιωτῶν, εἰπὼν ὅτι τὴν οἰκουμένην ἂν ἤδη πᾶσαν ἐχειρωσάμην, εἰ Ῥωμαίων ἐβασίλευον.” Μ. 94 (p. 171). “ 21. ὅτι Πύρρος λαμπρὸς τε ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ ἦν καὶ ὄνομα ἀπ' αὐτῆς μέγα ἔσχεν, ὥστε πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου καθημένων προσχωρήσασθαι οἷ, πάντας δὲ τοὺς περιορωμένους τῶν συμμάχων ἀφικέσθαι. οὐ μὴν οὔτε ἐμφανῇ ὀργὴν αὐτοῖς ἐποιήσατο, οὐτ' αὖ παντελῶς τὴν ὑποψίαν ἀπεκρύ- [p. 328] ψατο, ἀλλ' ὀλίγα σφίσιν ἐπὶ τῇ διαμελλήσει ἐπιτιμήσας ἄλλως φιλοφρόνως ἐδέξατο: καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τε τοῦ σφόδρα αὐτοῖς ἐγκεῖσθαι ἔδεισε μὴ καὶ ἐς φανεράν αὐτοὺς ἀλλοτριώσιν προαγάγῃ, 22. καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν ἐνδείξασθαι ἐνόμισεν ἦτοι καταγνωσθήσεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν εὐήθειαν ὥς οὐ συνείς ὦν ἔπραξαν, ἢ καὶ ὑποπτευθήσεσθαι ὀργὴν κρυφαίαν ἔχειν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἢ καταφρόνησιν ἢ μῖσος προεπιβουλήν τε ἐς αὐτόν, ὅπως μὴ προπάθωσι τι, ἐγγενήσεσθαι σφισι προσεδόκησε. δι' οὗν ταῦτα πρῶως τε αὐτοῖς διελέχθη καὶ τῶν σκύλων τινὰ ἔδωκεν.” Μ. 95 (p. 172). “ 23. ὅτι Πύρρος τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων αἰχμαλώτους συχνοὺς ὄντας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πείσαι ἐπεχείρησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην συστρατεύσαι, ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἠθέλησαν, ἰσχυρῶς ἐθεράπευσε, μήτε δήσας τινὰ μήτ' ἄλλο τι κακὸν δράσας, ὥς καὶ προῖκα αὐτοὺς ἀποδώσων καὶ ἀμαχεῖ δι' αὐτῶν τὸ ἄστὺ προσποιησόμενος.” V. 25 (p. 590). “ 24. ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν ἀπόρῳ γενόμενοι διὰ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, ἅτε μηπώποτε τοιοῦτο θηρίον ἰδόντες, τὴν μέντοι θνητὴν φύσιν ἐνθυμούμενοι καὶ ὅτι [p. 330] θηρίον οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπου κρεῖττον ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ πάντα δὴ πάντως, εἰ καὶ μὴ κατ' ἰσχύν, ταῖς γοῦν σοφίαις σφῶν ἐλαττοῦται, ἐθάρσουν.” Μ. 96 (p. 172). “ 25. ὅτι καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ τοῦ Πύρρου, οἳ τε οἴκοθεν καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι, δεινῶς πρὸς τὰς ἀρπαγὰς ὥς καὶ ἐτοιμοὺς καὶ ἀκινδύνους σφίσιν οὔσας ἠπείγοντο.” Μ. 97 (p. 172). “ 26. ὅτι οἱ Ἑπειρῶται τὴν φιλίαν, ἀγανακτήσει ὅτι ἐπὶ μεγάλαις δὴ πρὸς ἐλπίσι στρατεύσαντες οὐδὲν ἔξω πραγμάτων εἶχον, ἐλυμήναντο, καὶ πάνυ γε ἐν καιρῷ τοῦτο τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο: συνιστάμενοι γὰρ πρὸς αὐτόν οἱ τὴν Ἰταλίαν οἰκοῦντες ἀνεκόπησαν, ἐξ ἴσου τὰ τῶν συμμάχων καὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων πορθοῦντας αὐτοὺς ὀρῶντες: τὰ γὰρ ἔργα αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἐσκόπουν.” Μ. 98 (p. 172). “ [p. 332] 27. ὅτι ὁ Πύρρος ἐφοβήθη μὴ καὶ πανταχόθεν ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐν χωρίοις ἀγνώστοις ἀποληφθῇ. χαλεπῶς δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτοῦ φερόντων, εἶπε σφισιν ὅτι σαφῶς ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς χώρας ὀρώη ὅσον τῶν Ῥωμαίων διαφέρουσι: τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνων ὑπήκοον καὶ δένδρα παντοδαπὰ καὶ ἀμπελουργίας καὶ γεωργίας κατασκευὰς τε τῶν ἀγρῶν πολυτελεῖς ἔχειν, τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων οὕτω πεπορθησθαι ὥστε μὴδ' εἰ κατωκλήθη ποτὲ γινώσκεσθαι.” Μ. 99 (p. 173.) “ 28. ὅτι ὁ αὐτός, ἐπειδὴ γε ἀναχωροῦντι

αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα τοῦ Λαιουίνου πολλῷ πλεῖον τοῦ πρόσθεν εἶδεν, ὕδρας ἔφη δίκην τὰ στρατόπεδα τῶν Ῥωμαίων κοπτόμενα ἀναφύεσθαι. οὐ μέντοι παρὰ τοῦθ' ἦττον ἐθάρσησεν, ἀλλ' ἀντιπαρετάξατο μὲν, οὐκ ἐμαχέσατο δέ.” M. 100 (p. 173). “ [p. 334] 29. ὅτι ὁ Πύρρος πρέσβεις ὑπὲρ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν Φαβρίκιον προσιέναι πυθόμενος, φρουράν τε σφισι πρὸς τὰ μεθόρια, μὴ καὶ βιαιὸν τι ὑπὸ τῶν Ταραντίνων πάθωσιν, ἔπεμψε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀπήντησεν, ἔς τε τὴν πόλιν αὐτοὺς ἐσαγαγὼν καὶ ἐξένισε λαμπρῶς καὶ τᾶλλα ἐδεξιώσατο, ἐλπίσας σπονδῶν τε δεῖσθαι καὶ ὁμολογίαν οἶαν ἡττηθέντας εἰκὸς ἦν ποιήσεσθαι.” UR (p. 376). “ 30. ὅτι τοῦ Φαβρικίου αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον εἰπόντος, ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι ἡμᾶς ἔπεμψαν τοὺς τε ἐαλωκότας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κομιουμένους καὶ λύτρα ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἀντιδῶσοντας, ὅσα ἂν ἀμφοτέροις ἡμῖν συμβῇ, διηπορήθη τε ὅτι μὴ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης πρεσβεύειν ἔφη, καὶ μετασθησάμενος αὐτοὺς ἔβου- [p. 336] μετὰ τῶν φίλων ὥνπερ εἰώθει, τὸ μὲν τι καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀνταποδόσεως τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον περὶ τε τοῦ πολέμου καὶ περὶ τῆς διαχειρίσεως αὐτοῦ, εἶτε κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν εἶτε καὶ ἄλλως πως αὐτὸν ... 43” M. 101 (p. 173). “ 31. ‘ ... μεταχειρίσασθαι ἢ μάχας καὶ παρατάξεις ἀσταθμήτους ἀναρρῖψαι: ὥστε πεισθεῖς, ὦ Μίλων, ἔμοι καὶ τῷ παλαιῷ λόγῳ, μηδὲ ἐς ἄλλο τι βίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ σοφίᾳ, ὅπου γε καὶ ἐνδέχεται, χρήσῃ, ἐπεὶ Πύρρος γε πάντα τὰ πρακτέα οἱ ἀκριβῶς οἶδε καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῶν δεῖται παρ' ἡμῶν μαθεῖν.’ ταῦτ' εἶπε, καὶ πάντες ὁμογνώμονες ἐγένοντο, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι ἐκ μὲν τούτων οὔτε ζημιωθήσεσθαι τι οὔτε κινδυνεύσειν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν 32. ἐτέρων ἐκάτερον πείσεσθαι ἔμελλον. καὶ ὁ [p. 338] Πύρρος οὕτω φρονῶν εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς πρέσβεις ‘οὔτε πρότερον ἐκὼν ὑμῖν, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπολέμησα, οὐτ' ἂν νῦν πολεμήσαιμι: φίλος τε γὰρ ὑμῖν γενέσθαι περὶ παντὸς ποιοῦμαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς τε αἰχμαλώτους πάντας ἄνευ λύτρων ἀφίημι καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην σπένδομαι.’ καὶ ἰδίᾳ τούτους ἐθεράπευεν, ὅπως μάλιστα μὲν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἀνθέλωνται, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τὴν γε φιλίαν οἱ πρυτανεύσωσιν.” M. 102 (p. 173). “ 33. ὁ δὲ Πύρρος τοὺς τε ἄλλους προσηταιρίσατο καὶ τῷ Φαβρικίῳ διελέχθη ὧδε: ‘ἐγώ, ὦ Φαβρίκιε, πολεμεῖν μὲν ὑμῖν οὐδὲν ἔτι δέομαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῖς Ταραντίνοις ἐπέισθην καὶ δεῦρο ἦλθον μεταγινώσκω, καίπερ πολὺ ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κρατήσας: φίλος δὲ δὴ καὶ πᾶσι μὲν Ῥωμαίοις ἡδέως ἂν ἐγενόμην, μάλιστα δὲ δὴ σοί: [p. 340] πάνν γάρ σε καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἐλλόγιμον ἄνδρα ὁρῶ ὄντα. τὴν τε οὖν εἰρήνην συμπρᾶξαι σέ μοι ἀξιῷ, καὶ οἴκαδε ἐπισπέσθαι: ἐπὶ τε γὰρ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατεύσειω καὶ συμβούλου στρατηγοῦ 34. τέ σου δέομαι.’ ὁ οὖν Φαβρίκιος ‘ἐπαίνῳ μὲν σε,’ εἶπεν, ‘ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ στρατείᾳ μεταγινώσκεις καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμεῖς, καὶ σοι πρὸς αὐτήν, εἶγε συμφέρει ἡμῖν, σπουδάσω ‘οὐ γὰρ που καὶ κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος τι πρᾶξαι με ἀγαθόν, ὡς φῆς, ἄνδρα ὄντα ἀξιώσεις’, σύμβουλον δὲ δὴ καὶ στρατηγὸν μηδένα ποτὲ ἐκ δημοκρατίας παραλάβῃς: ἔμοιγ' οὐδ' ἥτισοῦν ἐστὶ σχολή. οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ τούτων τι λάβοιμι ἄν, ὅτι οὐ προσήκει 35. τὸ παράπαν πρεσβευτὴν δωροδοκεῖν. πυνθάνομαι γοῦν πότερον ἐλλόγιμόν με ὡς ἀληθῶς νομίζεις ἄνδρα εἶναι ἢ οὐ: εἰ μὲν γὰρ φαῦλός εἰμι, [p. 342] πῶς με δῶρων ἄξιον κρίνεις; εἰ δὲ χρηστός, πῶς με λαβεῖν αὐτὰ κελεύεις; εὖ τοίνυν ἴσθ’

ὅτι ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ πάνυ πολλὰ ἔχω καὶ οὐδὲν δέομαι πλειόνων: ἄρκεϊ γάρ μοι τὰ ὄντα, καὶ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμῶ: σὺ δ' εἰ καὶ σφόδρα πλουτεῖν νομίζεις, ἐν πενίᾳ μυρία καθέστηκας: οὐ γὰρ ἂν οὔτε τὴν Ἑπειρον οὔτε τὰλλα ὅσα κέκτησαι καταλιπὼν δεῦρ' ἐπεραιώθης, εἴγε ἐκείνοις τε 36. ἡρκοῦ καὶ μὴ πλειόνων ὠρέγῃ. ὅταν γὰρ τις τοῦτο πάσχη καὶ μηδὲν ὄρον τῆς ἀπληστίας ποιῇται, πτωχότατός ἐστι. διὰ τί; ὅτι πᾶν τὸ μὴ ὑπάρχον αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ποθεῖ, καθάπερ ἄνευ ἐκείνου μὴ δυνάμενος ζῆσαι. ὥστ' ἔγωγε ἡδέως ἂν σοι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ φίλος μοι φῆς εἶναι, ἐκ τοῦ ἑμαυτοῦ τι πλούτου χαρισαίμην: πολλῷ γάρ τοι καὶ ἀσφαλέστερος καὶ ἀθανατώτερός ἐστι τοῦ σοῦ, καὶ οὔτε τις αὐτῷ φθονεῖ οὔτε τις ἐπιβουλεύει, οὐ δῆμος, οὐ τύραννος: καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ὅσῳ τις ἂν αὐτοῦ πλείοσι μεταδιδῷ, ^[p. 344] 37. καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ μείζον αὖξεται. τίς οὖν οὗτός ἐστιν; τὸ τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι τινι ὡς καὶ παμπληθέσιν οὖσιν ἡδέως χρῆσθαι, τὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ὡς καὶ μέγα τι κακὸν ἐχόντων ἀπέχεσθαι, τὸ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν, τὸ πολλοὺς εὐεργετεῖν, ἅλλα μυρία ἃ σχολὴν ἂν τις ἄγων εἴποι. ὥστ' ἔγωγε βουλοίμην ἂν, εἴπερ που πάντως ἀναγκαῖον εἶη θάτερον αὐτῶν παθεῖν, βιασθεῖς ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ φρενακισθεῖς ἀπολέσθαι: τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς τύχης ἀξιώσει φιλεῖ τισι συμβαίνειν, τὸ δὲ ἔκ τε ἀνοίας καὶ ἐξ αἰσχροκερδεῖας 38. πολλῆς, ὥσθ' αἰρετώτερον εἶναι τῇ τοῦ θείου πλεονεξία μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ κακία σφαλεῖναι: ἐν ἐκείνῳ μὲν γὰρ τὸ σῶμά τινος ἡττᾶται, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ προσδιαφθείρεται: ... ἐνταυθοῖ δ' αὐτοέντης τρόπον τινὰ αὐτὸς τις ἑαυτοῦ γίγνεται, ὅτι ὁ τὴν ψυχὴν ἅπαξ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τὸ μὴ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀρκεῖσθαι διδάξας ἀόριστον τὴν τῆς πλεονεξίας ἐπιθυμίαν λαμβάνει.” M. 103 (p. 174) and e)llo/gimon — keleu/eis § Max. Conf. Flor. f. 75v (M. p. 538). “ 39. καὶ προθυμότατα ἐς τοὺς καταλόγους ἀπήντησαν, τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος ἐλλιπὲς ἀνάστασιν τῆς πατρίδος νομίζοντες ἔσεσθαι.” M. 104 (p. 176). “ ^[p. 346] ^[p. 348] 40. τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ τοῦ λόγου φύσις ἐστὶ καὶ τοσαύτην ἰσχὺν ἔχει ὥστε καὶ ἐκείνους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τότε μεταβαλεῖν καὶ ἐς ἀντίπαλον καὶ μῖσος καὶ θάρσος τοῦ τε δέους τοῦ Πύρρου καὶ τῆς ἐκ τῶν δώρων αὐτοῦ ἀλλοιώσεως περιστῆναι. 58” M. 105 (p. 176). “ 42. ὅτι πᾶν τὸ τῇ γνώμῃ παρὰ δόξαν ταπεινωθὲν καὶ τῆς ῥώμης ὑποδίδωσιν.” M. 106 (p. 177). “ ^[p. 350]”

“ [p. 352] 43. ὅτι τῷ Δεκίῳ ὁ Πύρρος προσπέμψας οὔτε προχωρήσειν οἱ τοῦτο πρᾶξαι ἐθελήσαντι ἔφη καὶ ζωγρηθέντα κακῶς αὐτὸν ἀπολεῖσθαι ἐπηπείλησεν. οἱ δὲ ὕπατοι πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπεκρίναντο μηδενὸς τοιοῦτου ἔργου σφᾶς δεῖσθαι: πάντως γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλως κρατήσιν.” M. 107 (p.177). “ [p. 354] [p. 356] 45. Οὐθ’ ὅπως τὸν ἕτερον αὐτῶν πρότερον οὐθ’ ὅπως ἀμφοτέρους ἅμα ἀμύναιτο ἔσχεν, καὶ ἐν ἀμυχανίᾳ ἦν: τὸ τε γὰρ διελεῖν τὸ στράτευμα ἔλαπτον ὃν τῶν ἐναντίων ἐδεδίει, καὶ τὸ τῷ ἐτέρῳ τὴν χώραν ἀδεῶς κακοῦν ἀφεῖναι δεινὸν ἐποίειτο.” M. 108 (p. 177). “ 46. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἄλλως τε δι’ ἀκριβείας αὐτοὺς ἐποιεῖτο, μεῖζον μέρος ἐς ἀσφάλειαν τοῦ μηδ’ ἂν [p. 358] ἐπιθυμῆσαι τινα κακῶς αὐτὸν δρᾶσαι τῷ μηδ’ ἂν ἐθελήσῃ δύνασθαι νέμων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλοὺς τῶν ἐν τέλει, καὶ τοὺς ἐπικαλεσαμένους αὐτόν, τὸ μὲν τι βαρυνόμενός σφισιν ὅτι ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐν κράτει τῆς πόλεως γεγονέναι ἐλέγετο, τὸ δὲ καὶ προσυποπτεῦν σφᾶς μὴ ὥσπερ αὐτῷ οὕτω καὶ ἄλλῳ τινὶ προσχωρήσωσιν, ἐξήλασε καὶ διέφθειρεν,...” M. 109 (p.178). “ [p. 360] [p. 362] 48. ὅτι τῷ Πύρρῳ ὡς οὐδὲν οἱ σύμμαχοι συντελέσαι ἐβούλοντο, ἐτράπετο πρὸς τοὺς θησαυροὺς τῆς Φερρεφάττης, δόξαν πλούτου μεγάλην ἔχοντας, καὶ αὐτοὺς συλήσας ἐς τὸν Τάραντα τὰ σῦλα ἐπὶ νεῶν ἔπεμψε. καὶ οἱ τε ἄνθρωποι ὀλίγου πάντες ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἐφθάρησαν καὶ τὰ χρήματα τὰ τε ἀναθήματα ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐξέπεσεν.” V. 26 (p. 590). “ [p. 364] 47. ὅτι τοῦ Πύρρου ἐκεῖνο δὴ πάντες ἐθαύμαζον, ὅτι νεανίσκων τινῶν ἐν συμποσίῳ σκωφάντων αὐτόν τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐξελέγξαι σφᾶς ἠθέλησεν, ὅπως τιμωρήσεται, ἔπειτ’ εἰπόντων αὐτῶν ὅτι πολὺ πλείω καὶ χαλεπώτερα ἂν εἰρήκειμεν εἰ μήπερ ὁ οἶνος ἡμᾶς ἐπελελοιπεί, ἐγέλασε καὶ ἀφῆκεν αὐτούς.” M. 110 (p. 178). “ [p. 366] 33. ὅτι Ἀγύλλαιοι ἐπειδὴ ἦσθοντο τοὺς Ῥωμαίους σφίσι πολεμῆσαι βουλομένους, πρέσβεις τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔστειλαν πρὶν καὶ ὅτιοῦν ψηφισθῆναι, καὶ εἰρήνης ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμίσει τῆς χώρας ἔτυχον.” UG (p. 374). “ 41. καὶ ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς, ὁ Φιλάδελφος ἐπικληθεὶς, ὡς τὸν τε Πύρρον κακῶς ἀπηλαχότα καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους αὐξανομένους ἔμαθε, δῶρά τε αὐτοῖς ἔπεμψε καὶ ὁμολογίαν [p. 368] ἐποίησατο. οἱ οὖν Ῥωμαῖοι ἠσθέντες ὅτι καίτοι διὰ πλείστου ὦν περὶ πολλοῦ σφᾶς ἐπεποιήτο, πρέσβεις πρὸς αὐτόν ἀνταπέστειλαν. ἐπειδὴ τε ἐκεῖνοι δῶρα παρ’ αὐτοῦ μεγαλοπρεπῆ λαβόντες ἐς τὸ δημόσιόν σφας ἀπέδειξαν, οὐκ ἐδέξαντο αὐτά.” UG (p. 374). “ [p. 370] [p. 372] 42. ὅτι τοιαῦτα πράττοντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἐπὶ μεῖζον αἰεὶ αἰρόμενοι οὐδέπω ὑπερεφρόνουν, ἀλλὰ Κύντον Φάβιον βουλευτὴν Ἀπολλωνιάταις τοῖς ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ ὑπὸ Κορινθίων ἀποικισθεῖσιν [p. 374] ἐξέδωκαν, ὅτι τινὰς πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ὕβρισεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκεῖνο ἵκνόν τι ἔδρασαν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔπεμψαν οἴκαδε.” V. 27 (p. 590). “ [p. 376] 40. 46α. Δίων ἰ βιβλίῳ ‘οὔτοι δὲ καὶ προσυποπτεῦουσιν ὑμᾶς.” Bekk. Anecd. p. 177, 28. “ [p. 378]”

“ 43. ὅτι αἰτίαι ἐγένοντο τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφορᾶς τοῖς μὲν Ῥωμαίοις ὅτι Καρχηδόνιοι τοῖς [p. 380] Ταραντίνοις ἐβοήθησαν, τοῖς δὲ Καρχηδονίοις ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι φιλίαν τῷ Ἰέρωνι συνέθεντο. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, οἷά που πεφύκασιν οἱ τῷ μὲν ἔργῳ πλεονεκτεῖν βουλόμενοι τὴν δὲ δόξαν αὐτοῦ αἰσχυρόμενοι, σκήψεις ἐποιοῦντο: ἡ δὲ ἀλήθεια [2] ἄλλως ἔχει. δυνάμενοι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ πολλοῦ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, αὐξανόμενοι δὲ ἤδη οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀλλήλους τε ὑφερωῶντο, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπιθυμία τοῦ αἰεὶ πλείονος κατὰ τὸ τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅταν εὖ πράττωσιν, ἔμφυτον, τὰ δὲ καὶ φόβῳ προήχθησαν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκάτεροι τῶν οἰκείων σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ τὸ τὰ τῶν ἐτέρων [3] προσκτήσασθαι νομίζοντες εἶναι: τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ χαλεπώτατον ἀδύνατόν τε ἦν δύο δῆμους ἐν τε ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ ἐν δυνάμει φρονήματι τε ὄντας, καὶ βραχύτατον ὡς εἰπεῖν ταῖς τῆς ναυτιλίας ὀξύτησι διεστηκότας, ἄλλων μὲν τινων ἄρχειν, ἀλλήλων δὲ ἀπέχεσθαι ἐθελεῖν. τοιοῦτον κατὰ [p. 382] τύχην συμπεσὼν τάς τε σπονδάς σφων διέλυσε καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοὺς συνέρρηξεν.” M. 111 (p. 178). “ [4] ὅτι τὸ ἀγώνισμα λόγῳ μὲν περὶ Μεσσήνης καὶ Σικελίας, ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς οἰκείας ἐκάτεροι ἐκέλθεν ἤδη κινούμενον ἡσθάνοντο, καὶ τὴν νῆσον, ἅτε ἐν μέσῳ σφῶν κειμένην, ἐπίβασιν τοῖς κρατήσασιν αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐτέρους ἀσφαλῆ παρέξειν ἐνόμιζον.” M. 112 (p. 179). “ [p. 384] [5] ὅτι Γάιος Κλαύδιος ἐλθὼν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν ἄλλα τε ἐπαγωγὰ εἶπε καὶ ὅτι ἐπ' ἐλευθερώσει τῆς πόλεως ἡκει, οὐ γὰρ δεῖσθαι γε Ῥωμαίους Μεσσήνης οὐδέν: καὶ ὅτι εὐθύς, ἐπειδὴν τὰ πράγματα αὐτῶν καταστήσῃ, ἀποπλευσεῖται. κᾶκ τούτου καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἦτοι καὶ ἀποχωρῆσαι ἐκέλευσεν, ἢ, εἰ δὴ τι δίκαιον εἰπεῖν ἔχουσιν, ἐς [p. 386] [6] κρίσιν καταστήναι. ὡς δ' οὕτε τῶν Μαμερτίνων τις ὑπὸ δέους ἐφθέγγετο καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ἅτε καὶ βία τὴν πόλιν κατέχοντες βραχὺ αὐτοῦ ἐφρόντιζον, αὐταρκες ἔφη μαρτύριον τὴν σιωπὴν παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἔχειν, τῶν μὲν ὅτι ἀδικοῖεν, δεδικοιολογήσθαι γὰρ ἂν εἴπερ τι ὑγιὲς ἐφρόνουν, τῶν δὲ ὅτι τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐπιθυμοῖεν: παρρησία γὰρ ἂν, εἴπερ τὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἡροῦντο, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἰσχύος αὐτῶν παρούσης κεχρῆσθαι. καὶ προσυπέσχετό σφισι βοηθήσειν καὶ διὰ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν τῆς Ἰταλίας ὄν καὶ διὰ τὴν αἵτησιν τῆς ἐπικουρίας ἦν ἐπεποιήντο.” M. 113 (p. 179). “ [p. 388] [7] ὅτι Γάιος Κλαύδιος τῶν τε τριήρων τινὰς ἀπέβαλε καὶ χαλεπῶς ἀπεσώθη: οὐ μέντοι παρὰ τοῦθ' ἦττον οὕτε ἐκεῖνος οὕτε οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστει Ῥωμαῖοι ἀντελάβοντο τῆς θαλάσσης, ὅτι πρῶτον πειρασάμενοι αὐτῆς ἡττήθησαν, ὅπερ που φιλοῦσιν οἱ πρῶτόν τι ἐγχειρισάμενοι καὶ σφαλέντες ποιεῖν, πρὸς οἴωνοῦ τὸ πρόσθεν τιθέμενοι καὶ μὴδ' αὐθὶς ποτε κατορθώσιν νομίζοντες: ἀλλὰ καὶ προθυμότερον αὐτῆς διὰ τε τᾶλλα καὶ διὰ φιλοτιμίαν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἀποτετράρθαι δόξωσι, μετεποιήσαντο.” M. 114 (p. 180). “ [8] ὅτι ὁ Ἄννων οὗτ' ἄλλως ἐν ἐλαφρῷ τὸν πόλεμον ποιοῦμενος, εἰ τε καὶ δέοι αὐτὸν γενέσθαι, τὴν γοῦν αἰτίαν τῆς διαλύσεως τῶν σπονδῶν ἐς

ἐκείνον τρέψαι, μὴ κατάρχειν αὐτὸς νομισθεῖν, θέλων, ἀπέπεμψε αὐτῷ τὰς ναῦς καὶ [p. 390] τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, πρὸς τε τὴν εἰρήνην προυκαλεῖτο, καὶ προσπαρῆναι οἱ μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν τὴν θάλατταν.” M. 115 (p. 180). “^[9] ὅτι ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἐδέξατο, ἀπειλὴν ὑπέρφρονα καὶ νεμεσητὴν ἠπειλήσεν: ἔφη τε γὰρ μὴδ’ ἀπονίφασθαι ποτε τὰς χεῖρας ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιτρέψειν, καὶ μετὰ ταύτης ἀπέβαλε καὶ τὴν Μεσσηνίαν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον.” M. 116 (p. 180). “^[10] ὅτι ὁ Κλαύδιος καταλαβὼν τοὺς Μαμερτίνους ἐν τῷ λιμένι συνεστραμμένους, ἐκκλησίαν τε αὐτῶν ἐποίησε καὶ εἰπὼν ὅτι ‘οὐδὲν δεόμεαι τῶν ὄπλων, ἀλλ’ αὐτοῖς ὑμῖν διαγινῶναι πάντα ἐπιτρέπω,’ ἔπεισέ σφας μεταπέμψασθαι τὸν Ἄννωνα: μὴ βουληθέντος τε αὐτοῦ καταβῆναι πολὺς ἐνέκειτο κατατρέχων καὶ λέγων ὅτι, εἰ δὴ τι καὶ [p. 392] τὸ βραχύτατον δικαίωμα εἶχεν, πάντως ἂν ἐς λόγους οἱ ἀφίκετο καὶ οὐκ ἂν βία τὴν πόλιν κατεῖχεν.” M. 117 (p. 180). “^[32ε] Δίων ἰα βιβλίῳ ‘σὺ μὲν καὶ τοῖς φίλοις τοῖς τι πλημμελήσασιν ἐπεξέρχῃ, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς συγγινώσκω.’” Bekk. Anecd. p. 171, 29. “^[p. 394] ^[11] ὅτι ὁ ὕπατος Κλαύδιος τοῖς στρατιώταις προσπαρῆνεσε θαρρεῖν μὴδὲ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ χιλιάρχου ἡττῇ καταπεπλῆχθαι, διδάσκων αὐτοὺς ὅτι τε αἱ νῖκαι τοῖς ἄμεινον παρεσκευασμένοις γίνοιτο καὶ ὅτι ἡ σφετέρᾳ ἀρετῇ πολὺ τῆς τῶν ἐναντίων τέχνης προέχουσα εἴη: ἑαυτοὺς μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἐπιστήμην τῶν ναυτικῶν δι’ ὀλίγου προσλήψεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ δὴ Καρχηδονίοις μὴδέποτε τὴν ἀνδρείαν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσου σφίσιν ὑπάρξειν ἔφη: τὸ μὲν γὰρ κτητὸν διὰ βραχέος τοῖς τὸν νοῦν αὐτῷ προσέχουσι καὶ καθαιρετὸν μελέτη εἶναι, τὸ δὲ εἰ μὴ φύσει τῷ προσεῖη, οὐκ ἂν διδασχῇ πορισθῆναι.” M. 118 (p. 181). “^[p. 396] ^[12] ὅτι θαρσύναντες οἱ Λίβυες, ὡς οὐ τῇ φύσει τοῦ χωρίου ἀλλὰ τῇ σφετέρᾳ ἀρετῇ κεκρατηκότες, ἐπέξοδον ἐποίησαντο: ὁ δὲ Κλαύδιος οὕτως αὐτοὺς δεδιέναι ἐποίησεν ὡς μὴδ’ ἔξω τοῦ στρατοπέδου παρακῦβαι.” M. 119 (p. 181). “^[13] συμβαίνει γὰρ ὡς πλήθει τοῖς μὲν ἐκ λογισμοῦ τι δεδιόσιν ὀρθοῦσθαι διὰ προφυλακὴν αὐτοῦ, τοῖς δ’ ἀπρονοήτως θρασυνομένοις φθειρεσθαι δι’ ἀφυλαξίαν.” Max. Conf. Flor. f. 165v (M. p. 539). “^[14] τὸ μὲν σωφρονοῦν καὶ κτᾶται τὰς νίκας καὶ γενομένας φυλάσσει, τὸ δ’ ἀσελγαῖνον οὔτε περιγίγνεται τινος, κἂν ἄρα εὐτυχῇ ποτὲ ἐν τινι, ῥᾶστα αὐτὸ ἀπόλλυσι: κἂν μὲν διασώσῃ τι, χεῖρον ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ παρὰ λόγον εὐπραγῆσαι γενόμενον, οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἐκείνου τι ὀνίναται, ἀλλὰ ^[15] καὶ αὐτὸ προσδιαφθείρεται. καὶ γὰρ πῶς πᾶν τὸ παρὰ λόγον θρασυνόμενον καὶ δεδιέναι ἀλόγως πέφυκεν: ὁ μὲν γὰρ λογισμὸς τὴν τε γνώμην τῇ προνοίᾳ βεβαίαν καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα πιστὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἐχεγγύου αὐτῆς ἔχων, οὔτε καταπτήσσειν τινὰ ^[p. 398] οὐθ’ ὑπερφρονεῖν ἔα: ἡ δ’ ἀλόγιστος ἐμπληξία πολλοὺς ἐν τε ταῖς εὐπραγίαις ἐξαιρεῖ κἂν ταῖς συμφοραῖς ταπεινοῖ, οἷα μὴδὲν ἔρμα ἔχουσα, ἀλλ’ αἰεὶ τῷ συμπίπτοντι ἐξομοιουμένη.” Max. Conf. Flor. f. 165v (M. p. 539) and from *kail ga/t pws* “‘§ 15’ μ. 120 ‘π. 181’.” ^[p. 400] ^[p. 402] ^[p. 404] ^[p. 406] ^[16] ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι πρὸς ναυμαχίαν ἐλθόντες τῷ μὲν ἀριθμῷ τῶν νεῶν καὶ ταῖς προθυμίαις ἀντίρροποι ἦσαν, ἐκατέρωθεν πρῶτόν τ’ ἐς ναυμαχίαν ἀπ’ ἀντιπάλου παρασκευῆς καθιστάμενοι, καὶ ἐλπίζοντες καὶ τὸν πάντα πόλεμον ὑπ’ αὐτῆς κριθήσεσθαι, τὸ τε ἄθλον τὴν

Σικελίαν [p. 408] ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἔχοντες, καὶ περὶ δουλείας καὶ περὶ ἀρχῆς, τῆς μὲν μὴ πειραθῆναι νικηθέντες τὴν δὲ προσκτῆσασθαι κρατήσαντες, ἀγωνιζόμενοι. [17] προέφερον δὲ οἱ μὲν τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ τῶν τριηριτῶν ἅτε ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ ναυκρατοῦντες, οἱ δὲ τῇ τε ῥώμῃ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν καὶ ταῖς τόλμαις· ὅσω γὰρ ἀπειρότεροι τῶν ναυτικῶν ἦσαν, τόσω καὶ προπετέστερον καὶ θρασύτερον ἐμάχοντο. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν πείρᾳ σφίσις ὃν ἀκριβῶς πάντες ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐκλογίζονται, καὶ ὀκνοῦσιν, ἂν γε καὶ ταύτῃ σφᾶς ἡ γνώμη φέρῃ, τὸ δὲ ἀπείρατον ἀλογίστως τε θαρσοῦσι καὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἐξ ἀπροβουλίας ἄγονται.” M. 121 (p. 181). “ [p. 410] [18] ὅτι ἡττηθέντων Καρχηδονίων κατὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ὀλίγου καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἀπέκτειναν· πᾶσι τε γὰρ ὡς εἰπεῖν τοῖς στρατεύματά ποι πέμπουσι πρόσσεσι φύσει τῶν μὲν πλεονεξιῶν προσποιεῖσθαι, τὰς δὲ ἐλαττώσεις ἐς τοὺς στρατηγήσαντας ἀνωθεῖν, καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι προχειρότατα τοὺς παίσαντάς τι ἐκόλαζον’, εἰ μὴ φοβηθεὶς εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν ἦτταν ἐπερωτῶν αὐτοὺς, ὡς καὶ ἀκραίων ἔτι τῶν πραγμάτων ὄντων, πότερον ναυμαχῆσαι οἱ κελεύουσιν ἢ μὴ, συνεπαινεσάντων αὐτῶν ὥσπερ που καὶ προσεδόκα, ἅτε καὶ τοσοῦτον τῷ ναυτικῷ προέχειν ἐπαιρομένων, ὑπεῖπτε διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀγγέλων ὅτι ‘οὐδὲν ἄρα ἡδίκηκα ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ ὑμῖν ἐλ- [p. 412] πίσας συνέβαλον: τῆς γὰρ γνώμης, ἀλλ’ οὐ τῆς τύχης ἦν κύριος.’” M. 122 (p. 182). “ [p. 414] [p. 416] [p. 418] [328] Δίωνος ἰα βιβλίῳ ‘ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ τε χειμῶν ἐπέμενε καὶ ὁμίχλη προσεγένετο, ἔσφηλε δι’ αὐτομόλων δὴ τινων τὸν Ἀννίβαν.’” Bekk. Anecd. p. 171, 26. “ [p. 420] [19] Ἄλλ’ ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ τὸ τὴν οἰκείαν μὴ προσέσθαι καὶ τὸ τὴν ἄλλοτρίαν προσκτῆσασθαι τιθέμενοι, θυμῷ καὶ ῥώμῃ ἡγωνίζοντο: τῶν γὰρ πολλῶν τὰ μὲν σφέτερα καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν περιστελλόντων, τῶν δὲ ἄλλοτρίων οὐκ ἐθελόντων μετὰ κινδύνων ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, ἐκεῖνοι ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ τὸ τε κεχειρωμένον καὶ τὸ προσδοκώμενον ποιοῦμενοι, πρὸς ἀμφοτέρα ὁμοίως ἔρρωντο. οἱ δὲ δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι ἄμεινον εἶναι νομίσαντες μηκέτι πόρρω τὸν πόλεμον ποιεῖσθαι, μηδὲ ἐν ταῖς νήσοις προκινδυνεῦειν, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ τῇ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀγωνίζεσθαι· παίσαντες γὰρ οὐδενὸς στερήσεσθαι καὶ κρατήσαντες ἐν ἐλπίσιν ἔσεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ’ ἀκόλουθον τῇ διανοίᾳ σφῶν τὴν παρασκευὴν ποιησάμενοι, ἐξεστράτευσαν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα. [p. 422] [20] ἡγοῦντο δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ τε Ῥήγουλος καὶ Λούκιος, ἀπ’ ἀρετῆς προκριθέντες: ὁ γὰρ Ῥήγουλος ἐν τοσαύτῃ πενίᾳ ἦν ὥστε μήτε τὴν ἀρχὴν ῥαδίως ἐθελῆσαι δι’ αὐτὴν ὑποστῆναι, καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ τοῖς τε παισὶν αὐτοῦ τὴν τροφὴν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου δίδοσθαι ψηφισθῆναι.” M. 123 (p. 183) (a)ll’ e)n “ τῷ ἴσῳ — ἐξεστράτευσαν’ ανδ Ϝ. ‘π. 593’ ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐστράτευσαν ἀκόλουθον — ψηφισθῆναι, ομ. ἐξεστράτευσαν’. [21] ὅτι Ἀννωνὰ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους λόγῳ μὲν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης, ἔργῳ δὲ τριβῆς ἔνεκα ἔπεμψεν Ἀμίλκας: καὶ ὃς ἐπιβοῶντων τινῶν συλλαβεῖν αὐτόν, ὅτι Καρχηδόνιοι τὸν Κορνήλιον ἀπάτη ... 32” M. 124 (p. 183). “ [p. 424] [p. 426] [22] Ὅτι οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι φοβηθέντες μὴ ἁλῶσι, προεκηρυκέυσαντο πρὸς τὸν ὕπατον, ὅπως ὁμολογίᾳ τινὶ ἐπιεικεῖ ἀποπέμψαντες αὐτόν τὸ παραχρῆμα δεινὸν ὑπεκφύγωσιν. ἐπειδὴ τε οὐκ ἦθέ- [p. 428] λησαν Σικελίας τε πάσης καὶ Σαρδοῦς ἀποστῆναι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τῶν Ῥωμαίων αἰχμαλώτους προῖκα ἀφεῖναι τοὺς δὲ σφετέρους λύσασθαι, τὰ

τε δαπανηθέντα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐς τὸν πόλεμον πάντα διαλύσαι καὶ χωρὶς
 ἄλλα καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος συντελεῖν ^[23] οὐδὲν ἤνυσαν. πρὸς γὰρ δὴ τοῖς
 εἰρημένοις καὶ ἐκεῖνα αὐτοὺς ἐλύπει, ὅτι μήτε πολεμεῖν μήτε συμβαίνειν
 ἄνευ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν μὴ πλείοσι μῖδας ναυσὶ μακραῖς χρῆσθαι,
 ἐκείνοις δὲ πεντήκοντα τριήρεσιν ἐπικουρεῖν ὁσάκις ἂν ἐπαγγελθῇ σφισιν,
 ἄλλα τέ τινα οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου ποιεῖν ἐκελεύοντο. ἐξ οὖν τούτων ἄλωσιν
 σφω ἀκριβῆ τὰς σπονδὰς νομίσαντες ἔσσεσθαι, πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον
 εἴλοντο.” UG (p. 376). “ [p. 430] [p. 432] [p. 434] [29α] Δίων ια βιβλίῳ ‘οἱ δὲ
 Καρχηδόνιοι τὰς ναῦς αὐτῶν ἀναπλευούσας οἴκαδε τηρήσαντες, συχνὰς
 χρημάτων γεμούσας εἴλον.” Bekk. Anecd. p. 131, 12. “ [p. 436] [p. 438] [p. 440] 29β.
 Δίωνος ια βιβλίῳ ‘τὸν δῆμον ἐδείπνισεν.’ βεκκ. ανεξδ. π. 133, 24. 26. ὅτι
 φασὶ Καρχηδονίους ἐπικηρυκεύσασθαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις διὰ τε τᾶλλα καὶ διὰ
 τὸ πλῆθος τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, μάλιστα μὲν εἰ πως καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπὶ
 μετρίοις πσι ποιήσαιτο, εἰ δὲ μή, ἵνα τοὺς γε ἐάλωκότας κομίσαιτο. φασὶ
 δὲ καὶ τὸν Ῥήγουλον ἐν τοῖς πρέσβεσι πεμφθῆναι διὰ τε τὸ ἀξίωμα αὐτοῦ
 καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν: ὑπέλαβον γὰρ πᾶν ὅτιοῦν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπὶ τῷ
 κομίσασθαι αὐτὸν πρᾶξαι, ὥστε καὶ μόνον ἀντὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἢ πάν- ^[p. 442] τως
 γε ἀντὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀνταποδοθῆναι. 27. ὥρκωσάν τε οὖν αὐτὸν πιστεσι
 μεγάλαις ἢ μὴν ἐπανάξειν, ἂν μηδέτερον αὐτῶν διαπράξῃται, καὶ
 πρεσβευτὴν μεθ' ἐτέρων ἔστειλαν. καὶ ὃς τὰ τε ἄλλα καθάπερ τις
 Καρχηδόνιος ἀλλ' οὐ Ῥωμαῖος ὦν ἔπραττε, καὶ οὔτε τὴν γυναῖκα ἐς λόγους
 ἐδέξατο, οὔτε ἐς τὴν πόλιν καίπερ ἐσκληθεὶς ἐσῆλθεν, ἀλλ' ἔξω τοῦ τείχους
 τῆς βουλῆς ἀθροισθείσης, ὥσπερ τοῖς τῶν πολεμίων πρέσβεσιν ἔθος εἶχον
 χρηματίζειν, τὴν τε πρόσοδον μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ὥς γε καὶ ὁ λόγος ἔχει,
 ἠτήσατο, ... υγ 'π. 377'. 30. Δίων ια βιβλίῳ ‘οὐ πρότερον αὐτοῖς ἐπείσθη ὁ
 Ῥήγουλος πρὶν Καρχηδονίους οἱ ἐπιτρέψαι.” Bekk. Anecd. p. 140, 20. “ [p.
 444] [32α] Δίωνος ια βιβλίῳ ‘ἄλλος ἂν τις, παραμυθήσασθαι τὴν καθ' ἑαυτὸν
 συμφορὰν ἐθελήσας, ἐξῆρεν ἂν τὰ τῶν πολεμίων.” Bekk. Anecd. 165, 30. “
 [32β] Δίωνος ιβ βιβλίῳ ‘ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ ἀπαλλοτριωθῆναι ὑμῶν τρόπον τινὰ
 ἡδυνήθη.’ 41” Ib. p. 124, 4. “ [32ε] Δίωνος ιβ βιβλίῳ ‘τεθνᾶσι δὲ οἱ μέν, οἱ δὲ
 ἐάλωκασιν οἳ γε καὶ λόγου τινὸς ἄξιοι.” Ib. p. 133, 25. “ [p. 446] 31. Δίων ια
 βιβλίῳ ‘οὔτε γὰρ πρὸς ἐμοῦ οὔτε πρὸς ἄλλου ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ οὐδενὸς ἐστι
 προέσθαι τι τῶν κοινῇ συμφερόντων.” Bekk. Anecd. p. 165, 23. “ [p. 448]”

“ [p. 2] [p. 4] [p. 6] [p. 8] [p. 10] 43. [25] καὶ γὰρ ἡγεῖτο δεῖν τὸν τι δι’ ἀπορρήτων πρᾶξιαι βουλόμενον μηδενὶ αὐτὸ τὸ παράπαν ἐμφαίνειν: οὐδένα γὰρ οὕτως ἰσχυρόφρονα εἶναι ὡς ἀκούσαντά τι καρτερῆσαι καὶ σιωπῆσαι αὐτὸ ἐθελῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶν τοῦναντίον, ὅσω ἂν ἀπορρηθῇ τινὶ μὴ εἰπεῖν τι, τόσω μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμεῖν αὐτὸ ἐκκαλεῖσθαι, καὶ οὕτως ἕτερον παρ’ ἑτέρου τὸ ἀπόρρητον ὡς καὶ μόνον μανθάνοντα φημίζειν.” Max. Conf. Flor. f. 116v (M. p. 540). “ [p. 12] [p. 14] [p. 16] [p. 18] [p. 20] [p. 22] 45. ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν Κλαύδιον, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τοὺς Κυρνίους συνθήκας ἐποίησατο, πόλεμον ἀράμενοι καὶ αὐτοὺς χειρωσάμενοι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ὡς καὶ ἐκείνου τὸ παρασπονδηθὲν ἀλλ’ οὐχ ἑαυτῶν τὸ αἴτιμα ὄν, ἔπεμψαν ἐκδιδόντες αὐτοῖς, μὴ προσδεξαμένων δέ σφων αὐτὸν ἐξήλασαν.” V. 29 (p. 593). “ 46. ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς Καρχηδονίους χρήματα ἐπιπραξάμενοι τὰς σπονδὰς ἀνε νέωσαντο, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πρεσβεία αὐτῶν ἐλθούσῃ, ὅτι τε τῆς σφετέρως παρασκευῆς ἦσθοντο καὶ ὅτι αὐτοὶ τῷ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμόρους πολέμῳ ἔτι καὶ τότε κατεῖχοντο, μέτριον οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίναντο, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο [p. 24] Ἄννωνός τινος νέου τῇ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ δεινοῦ τῇ παρρησίᾳ πεμφθέντος, καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἀπαρακαλύπτως καὶ τέλος ὅτι ‘εἰ μὴ: βούλεσθε εἰρηνεῖν, ἀπόδοτε ἡμῖν καὶ Σαρδῶ καὶ Σικελίαν: οὐ γὰρ πρόσκαιρόν τινα ἀνοχὴν ἀλλ’ αἰδίων φιλίαν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἐπριάμεθα’ εἰπόντος, ἡπιώτεροί τε αἰσχυθέντες ἐγένοντο .. υγ’ π. 378’ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι — ἀνε νέωσαντο συιδ. ς. f. ἐπιπραξάμενοί. [2] ... οἱ δὲ μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ ἀντιπάθωσιν, ὥστε καὶ πάνυ ἄσμένως οἱ μὲν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πρόσθεν εὐτυχίαν διασώσασθαι, οἱ δ’ ἐπὶ γοῦν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σφίσι μεῖναι αἰρούμενοι διεμέλλησαν, καὶ ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς μηκέτι τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγοντες, τοῖς ἔργοις ἔτι διασκοποῦντες περὶ αὐτῆς ἀνέσχον, ὥσθ’ ἅπασι δῆλον γενέσθαι ὅτι ὁποτέρους ἂν αὐτῶν προτέροις παρακινήσαι τι συνενέγκῃ, καὶ τοῦ πολέμου προκατάρξουσιν. ἐς γὰρ τοσοῦτον οἱ πολλοὶ ταῖς ὁμολογίαις ἐμμένουσιν ἐς ὅσον αὐτοῖς καὶ καθήκῃ: πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὸ μᾶλλον σφίσι συμφέρον ἀσφαλές καὶ τὸ παρασπονδῆσαι τι νομίζουσιν εἶναι.” M. 125 (p. 184). “ [p. 26] [p. 28] 48. ὅτι πρέσβεις ποτὲ ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ ... Γαῖου Παπυρίου, καίπερ μηδὲν μηδέπω τῶν Ἰβηρικῶν σφίσι προσηκόντων, ἀπέστειλαν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνος τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐδεξιώσατο καὶ λόγοις ἐπιτηδεῖσι διήγαγεν, εἰπὼν ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι ἀναγκαίως τοῖς Ἰβηρσι πολεμεῖν, ἵνα τὰ χρήματα ἃ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἔτι πρὸς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπωφείλετο ἀποδοθῇ, διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἄλλοθεν ποθεν αὐτὰ ἀπαλλαγῆναι, ὥστε τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀπορῆσαι ὅ τι οἱ ἐπιτιμήσωσιν.” M. 126 (p. 184). “ [p. 30] [p. 32] 49. ὅτι Ἰσσα ἢ νῆσος ἐκουσία ἑαυτὴν Ῥωμαίοις παρέδωκεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τότε πρῶτον πειρᾶσθαι σφων ἔμελλον, καὶ προσφιλεστέρους αὐτοὺς καὶ πιστοτέρους τῶν ἤδη φοβερῶν ἐνόμιζον εἶναι, κρείττους ἐς τὸ ἀφανές τοῦ προδῆλου τῷ λογισμῷ γιγνόμενοι, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἤδη προσκεῖσθαι σφισιν ἀχθηδὸνα, τὸ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ προσδοκᾶσθαι ἐλπὶδα χρηστὴν ἔφερεν.” M. 127 (p. 184). “ [2] ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς Ἰσσαίους προσχωρήσαντας αὐτοῖς,

ἀνθυπουργεῖν τι εὐθύς τούτοις προθύμως, ὥς τοῖς πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἐσπουδακοσί βοηθεῖν δοκεῖν, καὶ τοὺς Ἀρδιαίους ἀμύνεσθαι, διότι τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου ἐκπλέοντας ἑκακούργουν, ἐθελήσαντες, ἔπεμψαν πρὸς Ἄγρωνα τοὺς μὲν παραιτούμενοι, τὸν δὲ ὅτι μηδὲν προπαθῶν ἀδικοίη σφᾶς αἰτιώμενοι. καὶ ἐκείνον μὲν οὐκέτι περιόντα εὖρον, ἀλλὰ τι παιδίον, Πίννην [p. 34] ὄνομα, καταλιπὼν ἐτεθνήκει: Τεῦτα δὲ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ, μητρὶα δὲ τοῦ Πίννου, ἐκράτει τῶν Ἀρδιαίων ... ὑπὸ θρασυτήτος οὔσα οὐδὲν μέτριον αὐτοῖς ἀπεκρίνατο, ἀλλ' οἷα γυνὴ πρὸς τῇ ἐμφύτῳ προπετεία καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς δυνάμεως ἥς εἶχε χαννουμένη, τοὺς μὲν ἔδησε τῶν πρέσβων, τοὺς δὲ καὶ [4] ἀπέκτεινεν, ὅτι ἐπαρρησιάσαντο. καὶ τότε μὲν ταῦτ' ἔπραξε, καὶ φρόνημα ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ τινὰ ἰσχὺν ἐν τῷ προχείρῳ τῆς ὠμότητος ἐπιδεδειγμένη, ἔλαβε: διήλεγξε δὲ δι' ἐλαχίστου τὴν τοῦ γυναικείου γένους ἀσθένειαν ταχὺ μὲν ὑπὸ βραχύτητος γνώμης ὀργιζομένην, ταχὺ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ [5] δειλίας φοβουμένην. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τάχιστα τὸν πόλεμον τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐψηφίσθαι οἱ ἐπύθετο, κατέπτηξε, καὶ τοὺς τε ἄνδρας οὓς εἶχεν αὐτῶν ἀποδώσειν ὑπέσχετο καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν [p. 36] ἀτελογεῖτο λέγουσα ὑπὸ ληστῶν τινων αὐτοὺς πεφονεῦσθαι. τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων τὰ τῆς στρατείας διὰ τοῦτο ἐπισχόντων τοὺς δὲ αὐτόχειρας ἐξαίτησάντων κατεφρόνησέ τε αὐθις, ὅτι μηδέπω τὰ δεινὰ αὐτῇ παρῆν, καὶ οὔτε τινὰ ἐκδώσειν ἔφη [6] καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰοσαν στράτευμα ἀπέστειλεν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοὺς ὑπάτους παρόντας ἦσθετο, κατέδεισεν αὐτὴ καὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ ὑψηλὴ καὶ ἐς πᾶν ὅτιοῦν ἐπακοῦσαι σφω ἐτοίμη ἐγένετο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ παντάπασιν ἐσωφρονίσθη: τῶν γὰρ ὑπάτων πρὸς Κέρκυραν περαιωθέντων ἀνεθάρσησε, καὶ ἀποστᾶσα ἐπ' Ἐπίδαμον καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν στράτευμα ἀπέστειλε. τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων τὰς πόλεις ῥυσαμένων καὶ πλοῖα αὐτῆς μετὰ χρημάτων [p. 38] λαμβανόντων, ἐμέλλησεν αὐθις πειθαρχῆσαι [7] σφισιν: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀναβάντες ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάσσης κακῶς περὶ τὸν Ἀτύριον λόφον ἀπήλλαξαν, ἐπέσχεν ἐλπίσασα αὐτοὺς ἥδη γὰρ καὶ χειμῶν ἦν ἀπαναστήσεσθαι. αἰσθομένη δὲ τὸν Ἀλβῖνον κατὰ χώραν μένειν, καὶ τὸν Δημήτριον ἐκ τε τῆς ἐμπληξίας ἐκείνης καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων φόβου μεθεστηκότα καὶ τινας ἄλλους αὐτομολῆσαι πεπεικότα, παντελῶς κατέδεισε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφῆκεν.” UR (p. 378). “ 50. ὅτι χρησμός τις τῆς Σιβύλλης τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐδειμάτου, φυλάξασθαι τοὺς Γαλάτας δεῖν κελεύων ὅταν κεραυνὸς ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον πλησίον Ἀπολλωνίου κατασκήψῃ.” M. 128 (p. 185). “ [p. 40] [p. 42] [2] ὅτι οἱ Γαλάται τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἰδόντες τὰ ἐπιτηδειότατα τῶν χωρῶν προκατειληφότας ἠθύμησαν: πάντες μὲν γὰρ ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἐπιτυχόντες ὧν ἂν ὀριγνηθῶσι πρῶτον ἐτοιμότερον πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ χωροῦσιν, καὶ διαμαρτόντες ἐς πάντα ἀπαμβλύνονται, τὸ δὲ δὴ Γαλατικὸν πλεον τι ἢ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ὀξύτατα μὲν ὧν ἂν ἐπιθυμήσωσιν ἀντιλαμβάνονται καὶ ἐρρωμενέστατα τῶν προχωρούντων αὐτοῖς ἀντέχονται, ἂν δ' ἄρα τι καὶ βραχύτατον προσκρούσωσιν, οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ ἐλπίζουσι, πρόχειροι μὲν ὑπ' ἀνοίας πᾶν ὃ βούλονται προσδοκῆσαι, πρόχειροι δὲ ὑπὸ θυμοῦ πᾶν ὃ ἂν ἐγχειρίσωνται ἐπεξελθεῖν ὄντες. [3] καὶ ὀργῇ ἀκράτῳ καὶ ὀρμῇ ἀπλήστῳ χρῶνται, καὶ δι' αὐτὰ οὔτε τι διαρκὲς ἐν αὐταῖς ἔχουσιν ἄδύνατον γὰρ ἔστιν ἐπὶ πολὺ τὸ προπετῶς θρασυνόμενον

ἀνταρκέσαι, κἄν ἅπαξ ἀλλοιωθῶσιν, οὐτ' ἀναλαβεῖν ἑαυτοὺς ἄλλως τε καὶ
δέους τινὸς προσγενομένου δύνανται, καὶ ἐς ἀντίπαλον ἔκπληξιν τῆς
πρόσθεν ἀδεοῦς τόλμης καθίστανται: δι' ὀλίγου γὰρ πρὸς τὰ ἐναντιώτατα
ὀξυρρόπως, ἅτε μηδὲν ἐκ τοῦ λογισμοῦ ἐχέγγυον ἐς μηδέτερον αὐτῶν
παρεχόμενοι, φέρονται.” M. 129 (p. 185). “ [p. 44] [4] ὅτι Αἰμίλιος τοῦς
Ἰνσούμβρους νικήσας τὰ ἐπινίκια ἤγαγε, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοὺς πρώτους τῶν
ἀλόντων ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ὥπλισμένους ἀνεκόμισεν ἐπισκώπτων σφίσιν, ὅτι
ὁμωμοκότας αὐτοὺς ἥσθετο μὴ πρότερον τοὺς θώρακας ἀποδύσεσθαι πρὶν
ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀναβῆναι.” M. 130 (p. 186). “ 51. ὅτι εἴ τι τῶν ἐν ταῖς
πανηγύρεσι νομιζομένων καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον ἡμαρτήθη, πάντως που καὶ [p. 46]
δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον ἐπὶ πλεῖόν τε ἔτι, μέχρι περ καὶ ἀμέμπτως πάντα
γεγονέναι σφίσιν ἔδοξεν, μῖ᾽ γέ τι νημέρᾳ ἀνεωρτάζετο.” M. 131 (p. 186). “
[p. 48] [p. 50] 53. ὅτι Δημήτριος ἔκ τε τῆς τοῦ Πίννου ἐπιτροπεύσεως καὶ ἐκ τοῦ
τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ Τριτεύταν τῆς Τεύτας ἀποθανούσης γῆμαι ἐπαρθεῖς, τοῖς
τε ἐπιχωρίοις ἐπαχθὴς ἦν καὶ τὰ τῶν πλησιοίκων ἐκακούργει. καὶ ἐδόκει
γὰρ τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων φιλίᾳ ἀποχρώμενος ἀδικεῖν αὐτοὺς, αἰσθόμενοι τοῦτο
μετεπέμψαντο αὐτόν. ὥς δὲ οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς συμμαχίδος σφῶν
ἤπτετο, ἐστράτευσαν ἐπ' αὐτόν ἐν τῇ Ἰσση ὄντα.” V. 30 (p. 593). “ [p. 52] [p.
54]”

“ [p. 56] [p. 58] [p. 60] 52. ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἤκμαζον καὶ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμονοίᾳ ἀκριβῶς ἐχρῶντο, ὡσθ’ ἅπερ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐκ μὲν ἀκράτου εὐπραγίας ἐς θάρσος, ἐκ δὲ ἰσχυροῦ δέους ἐς ἐπείκειαν [p. 62] φέρει, ταῦτα αὐτοῖς τότε διαλλαγήναι: ὅσω γὰρ ἐπὶ πλεῖον εὐτύχησαν, ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἐσωφρόνησαν, τὸ μὲν θράσος, οὗ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον μετέχει, πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιπάλους ἐνδεικνύμενοι, τὸ δὲ ἐπείκες, οὗ κοινωνεῖ ἢ εὐταξία, κατ’ ἀλλήλους παρεχόμενοι: [2] τὴν τε γὰρ ἰσχὺν πρὸς μετριότητος ἀκινδύνου ἐξουσίαν καὶ τὸ κόσμιον πρὸς ἀνδρείας ἀληθοῦς κτῆσιν ἐλάμβανον, μήτε τὴν εὐπραγίαν ἐς ὕβριν μήτε τὴν ἐπείκειαν ἐς δειλίαν ἐξάγοντες. οὕτω μὲν γὰρ τὸ τε σωφρονοῦν ἐξ ἀνδρείας καὶ τὸ θαρσοῦν ἐκ δέους φθειρεσθαι, ἐκείνως δὲ τὸ μέτριον ὑπ’ ἀνδρείας ἀσφαλέστερον καὶ τὸ εὐτυχοῦν ὑπ’ εὐταξίας βεβαιότερον γίνεσθαι ἐνόμιζον. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ μάλιστα τοὺς τε προσπεσόντας σφίσι πολέμους κράτιστα διήνεγκαν καὶ τὰ σφέτερα τὰ τε τῶν συμμάχων ἄριστα ἐπολίτευσαν.” M. 132 (p. 186). ὅσω — ἐνόμιζον Max. Conf. Flor. (cod. Paris. 1169 f. 26r’. “ 54. ὅτι ὅσοι ἐντὸς τῶν Ἀλπεων ἐνέμοντο τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις συνεπανέστησαν, οὐχ ὅτι τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἀντὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμόνας ἀνθηροῦντο, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἄρχον σφῶν ἐμίσουν, τὸ δὲ ἀπειράτον ἡγάπων. ἐκ πάντων μὲν δὴ τῶν τότε ἐθνῶν σύμμαχοι τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἐπὶ [p. 64] τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑπῆρξαν: πρὸς ἅπαντας δ’ ὡς εἰπεῖν αὐτοὺς ἰσοστάσιος ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐγένετο: συνεῖναι τε γὰρ ὀξύτατα καὶ ἐκφροντίσαι πάνθ’ ὅσα ἐνεθυμεῖτο τάχιστα ἐδύνατο: καίτοι πέφυκεν ὡς πλήθει τὸ μὲν βέβαιον ἐκ βραδυτήτος, τὸ δὲ ὀξύρροπον ἐκ τάχους διανοίας ὑπάρχειν. [2] κ ... ὡτατος τε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ὑπογυνωτάτου καὶ διαρκέστατος ἐς τὸ φερεγγυώτατον ἦν: τὸ τε αἰὲ παρὸν ἀσφαλῶς διετίθετο καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἰσχυρῶς προενόει, βουλευτὴς τε τοῦ συνήθους ἱκανώτατος καὶ εἰκαστῆς τοῦ παραδόξου ἀκριβέστατος γενόμενος, ἀφ’ ὧν τὸ τε ἤδη προσπλῖπτον οἱ ἐτοιμότατα καὶ δι’ ἐλαχίστου καθίστατο, καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῖς λογισμοῖς προλαμβάνων ὡς καὶ παρὸν [3] διεσκόπει. κακ τοῦτου καὶ τοῖς καιροῖς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἐφήρμοζεν, ἅτε καὶ ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ τὸ τε ὑπάρχον καὶ τὸ ἐλπιζόμενον ποιούμενος. ἐδύνατο δὲ ταῦθ’ οὕτω πράττειν, ὅτι πρὸς τῇ τῆς φύσεως ἀρετῇ καὶ παιδείᾳ πολλῇ μὲν Φοινικικῇ κατὰ τὸ πάτριον πολλῇ δὲ καὶ Ἑλληνικῇ ἥσκητο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ μαντικὴν τὴν διὰ σπλάγχχνων ἠπίστατο.” M. 133 (p. 187); “ καίτοι — ὑπάρχειν ‘§ 1’ σνιδ. ζ. υ. ὡς ἐπίπαν, ‘ἐν τρισκαίδεκάτῳ,’ ἀνδ ὅτι πρὸς τῇ τῆς φύσεως — ἠπίστατο ‘§ 3’ φαλ. ‘π. 593’. [p. 66] [4] τοιοῦτος οὖν δὴ τις τὴν ψυχὴν γενόμενος ἀντίρροπον καὶ τὸ σῶμα, τὰ μὲν φύσει, τὰ δὲ καὶ διαίτη, παρεσκεύαστο, ὡσθ’ ὅσα ἐνεχειρίζετο ῥαδίως κατεργάζεσθαι. κοῦφόν τε γὰρ καὶ ἐμβριθὲς ὅτι μάλιστα αὐτὸ εἶχε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ θεῖν καὶ συνίστασθαι ἵππευειν τε ἀνὰ κράτος ἀσφαλῶς ἐδύνατο. καὶ οὐτε πλήθει ποτὲ τροφῆς ἐβαρύνετο οὔτε ἐνδεία ἔκαμνεν, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ τὸ πλεόν καὶ τὸ ἔλαττον, ὡς καὶ αὐταρκες ἐκάτερον, ἐλάμβανεν. ταῖς τε ταλαιπωρίαις

ἰσχυρίζετο, καὶ ταῖς ἀγρυπνίαις ἐρρῶννυτο. [5] οὕτως οὖν δὴ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἔχων τοιαῦτα τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων διαχειρίσει ἐπίπαν ἐχρήτο. τοὺς τε γὰρ πολλοὺς ἐς μόνον τὸ συμφέρον σφίσι πιστοὺς ὄρων ὄντας, αὐτὸς τε τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῖς προσεφέρετο καὶ ἐς ἐκείνους ταῦτόν ὑπώπτευν, ὥστε πλεῖστα μὲν ἀπατήσας τινὰς κατορθῶσαι, ἐλάχιστα δὲ [6] ἐπιβουλευθεὶς σφαλιῆναι. καὶ πολέμιον πᾶν τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν δυνάμενον καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὀθνεῖσι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις ὁμοίως ἡγούμενος, οὐκ ἀνέμενε τοῖς ἔργοις τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐκμανθάνειν, ἀλλ' ὥς καὶ βουλομένους σφᾶς ἀδικεῖν ὅτι ἐδύναντο τραχύτατα μετεχειρίζετο, προποιοῖσαι τέ τι μᾶλλον ἢ προπαθεῖν ἄμεινον ἡγεῖτο, καὶ ἐφ' ἐαυτῷ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐφ' ἑτέροις [7] ἐαυτὸν εἶναι ἡξίου. τὸ τε σύμπαν εἵπεῖν, τῇ φύσει τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖς ἐς φήμην [p. 68] αὐτῶν εὐδοκιμοῦσιν, ὅσακις γε μὴ κατ' αὐτὸ καὶ ἄμφω συνέπιπτε, προσέκειτο. καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἐτίμα καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὅτου δέοιτο: δούλους τε γὰρ τοῦ τοιούτου τοὺς πλείστους ἡγεῖτο εἶναι, καὶ κινδυνεύειν ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ παρὰ τὸ συμφέρον [8] σφίσιν ἐθέλοντας ἑώρα. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν κερδῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἡδίστων αὐτὸς μὲν πολλάκις ἀπείχετο, ἐκείνοις δὲ ἀφθόνως μετεδίδου, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κοινωνοὺς σφας καὶ τῶν πόνων οὐκ ἀκουσίους ἐκτάτο. καὶ τούτοις μὲν οὐχ ὅπως ἰσοδίατος ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰσοκίνδυνος ἐγίνετο, πάνθ' ὅσα ἀπῆται παρ' αὐτῶν πρῶτος ἐκπονούμενος: οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἐκείνους ἀπροφασίστως καὶ προθύμως, ἅτε μὴ κενοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ προσέχοντας, σύμπαντ' αἱ συμπράξεις ἐπίστευν: πρὸς δὲ δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους πολλῷ τῷ φρονήματι [9] αἰεὶ ἐχρήτο: ὥστε τοὺς μὲν εὖνοιαν αὐτοῦ τοὺς δὲ δέος ἔκ τε τοῦ ὁμοδιαίτου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὑπέρφρονος παμπληθεὶς ἔχειν. ἐξ οὐπὲρ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα τὸ τε ὑπερέχον κολοῦειν καὶ τὸ ταπεινούμενον ἐξαίρειν, καὶ τῷ μὲν ὄκνον, τῷ δὲ θάρσος, ἐλπίδα τε καὶ ἀπόγνωσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων δι' ἐλαχίστου πᾶσιν οἷς ἐβούλετο ἐμποιεῖν ἐδύνατο. [10] καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ' οὐκ ἄλλως περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγεται ἀλλ' ἀληθῆ παραδέδοται, τεκμηριοῖ τὰ ἔργα. τῆς τε γὰρ Ἰβηρίας πολλὰ διὰ βραχέος προσεκτίσαστο, [p. 70] καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκεῖθεν διὰ τῶν Γαλατῶν, οὐχ ὅτι ἀσπόνδων ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγνώστων οἱ τῶν πλείστων ὄντων, ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσήγαγε. τάς τε Ἀλπεῖς πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων τῶν οὐκ Εὐρωπαίων, ὅσα γε ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν, σὺν στρατῷ διέβη. καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπεστράτευσεν, τὰ τε συμμαχικὰ αὐτῆς ὀλίγου πάντα, τὰ μὲν βίαι, τὰ δὲ καὶ πείθων, [11] ἀτέρρηξεν. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι αὐτὸς καθ' ἐαυτὸν ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Καρχηδονίων κατέπραξεν. οὐτε γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ τῶν οἴκοι τελῶν ἐξεπέμφθη, οὐθ' ὕστερον μεγάλης τινὸς βοήθειας παρ' αὐτῶν ἔτυχεν: τῆς γὰρ τοι δόξης τῆς τε ὠφελίας οὐκ ἐλάχιστα ἀπολαύσειν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μέλλοντες, μὴ ἐγκαταλιπεῖν αὐτὸν δόξαι μᾶλλον ἢ συναίρεσθαι ἔν τινι ἰσχυρῶς ἠθέλησαν.” V. 31 (p. 593). “ 55. ὅτι ἡ μὲν εἰρήνη καὶ πορίζει χρήματα καὶ φυλάσσει, ὁ δὲ δὴ πόλεμος καὶ ἀναλίσκει καὶ διαφθείρει.” M. 134 (p. 188). “ ὅτι πέφυκε πᾶν τὸ ἀνθρώπειον δεσπόζειν τε ἐπιθυμεῖν τῶν ὑπαικόντων καὶ τῇ παρὰ τῆς τύχης ῥοπῇ κατὰ τῶν ἐθελοδουλοῦντων χρῆσθαι.” M. 135 (p. 188). “ [2] ἀλλὰ μὴν συνειδότες αὐτὸ καὶ πεπειραμένοι [p. 72] αὐτῶν ἐξαρκεῖν ὑμῖν πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν τὴν τε ἐπιείκειαν καὶ τὴν φιλάνθρωπίαν νομίζετε; καὶ

ὅσα ἂν ἢ λαθόντες ἢ ἐξαπατήσαντες ἡμᾶς ἢ καὶ βιασάμενοι ἀδικήσωσιν ἐν ἀμελείᾳ τίθεσθε, μήτε παρορμᾶσθε μήτε προφυλάττεσθε μήτε ἀμύμεσθε; καὶ μέντοι καὶ ὅτι οὐδέποτε ἐλογίσασθε τοῦθ' ὅτι τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς μὲν ἀλλήλους ὀρθῶς ὑμῖν ἔχει ποιεῖν, πρὸς δὲ δὴ Καρχηδονίους αἰσχυρῶς καὶ κακῶς: τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πολίταις καὶ πρᾶως καὶ πολιτικῶς χρῆσθαι δεῖ, κἂν γὰρ ἀλόγως τις σωθῇ, ἡμέτερόν ἐστιν, τοῖς δὲ δὴ πολεμίοις ἀφειδῶς. οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ὧν ἂν σφαλῶμεν φεισάμενοι αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἂν κρατήσωμεν κολούσαντες αὐτοὺς σωθησόμεθα.” M. 136 (p. 188). “[³] ὅτι ὁ μὲν πόλεμος καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἰσὶ σώζει καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια προσκτᾶται, ἡ δὲ εἰρήνη οὐχ ὅπως τὰ πορισθέντα δι' ἐκεῖνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑαυτὴν προσαπόλλυσιν.” M. 137 (p. 188) and Max. Conf. Flor. f. 157v (M. p. 541). “[^{p. 74}] [^{3a}] αἰσχυρὸν ἄρ' ἐστὶν ἥτοι τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὴ ὀρθῶς δόξαι τι πεποιηκέναι ἢ αὐθις μὴ δεόντως μετεγνωκέναι: τὸ τε γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς προπετῶς ἢ μὴ χρῆ πράττειν δεινὸν ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ τὰ ἀρέσαντα ἅπαξ ἐμπλήκτως λυεῖν δεινότερον.” Max. Conf. Flor. in cod. Paris. 1169 f. 18r. “[^{3b}] δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς ὀρθῶς καὶ καλῶς βιοῦντας καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι χρωμένους προδιασκοπεῖν πρότερον ἢ δεῖ ποιεῖν, εἴθ' οὕτως τοῖς ἀρέσασιν [⁴] χρῆσθαι: αἰσχυρὸν γὰρ ἐστὶ πρὸς τὰ ἔργα πρὸ τῶν λόγων τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν χωρεῖν, ἐν ᾧ κατορθώσαντες μὲν εὐτυχηκέναι μᾶλλον ἢ καλῶς βεβουλεῦσθαι δόξετε, σφαλέντες δὲ τὴν σκέψιν ἀπρονοήτως ὅτε οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἔστι ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἐκεῖνο τίς οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἐπιτιμῆσαι τι καὶ κατηγορεῖσθαι τινων προσπολεμησάντων ποτὲ ἡμῖν ῥᾶστον που καὶ παντός ἐστι, τὸ δ' αὖ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον οὐ πρὸς ὀργὴν ὧν πεποιήκασι τινες, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ χρήσιμον αὐτῆς εἰπεῖν τῇ τοῦ συμβούλου τάξει προσήκει; [⁵] μὴ παρόξυνε πρότερον ἡμᾶς, ᾧ Λέντουλε, μηδ' ἀνάπειθε πολεμῆσαι πρὶν ὅτι καὶ συνοίσει τοῦθ' ἡμῖν ἐπιδείξει, σκοπῶν τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐνταυθοῖ τε περὶ τῶν τοῦ πολέμου [^{p. 76}] πραγμάτων λέγεται καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἔργοις πράττεται.” Max. Conf. Flor. in cod. Paris. 1169 f. 18r “δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς — ὅτ' οὐδὲν ὄφελός ἐστι ποιήσασθαι ἀνδ μ. 138 'π. 189' ὅτι αἰσχυρὸν ἐστὶ πρὸς τὰ ἔργα — πράττεται. [⁶] συχνοὺς γὰρ αἱ συμφοραὶ διορθοῦσι, καὶ πολλοὶ καλῶς αὐταῖς χρησάμενοι κρεῖττον ἀπαλλάσσουν τῶν εὖ καὶ τελείως πραττόντων καὶ δι' αὐτὸ καὶ ὑβρίζοντων: δοκεῖ γὰρ πως ἢ κακοπραγία μέρος οὐκ ἐλάχιστον ἔχειν ὠφελίας, ὅτι μήτε ἐκφρονεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μήτε ἐξυβρίζειν ἔῃ. κράτιστον μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ φῦσει πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἀμείνονα τετράφθαι, καὶ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας μέτρον μὴ τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἀλλὰ τὸν λογισμὸν ποιεῖσθαι: ἂν δέ τις ἀδυνατῇ στέργειν τὸ κρεῖττον, λυσιτελεῖ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄκοντι σωφρονεῖν, ὥστε ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ καὶ τὸ μὴ πάντα εὖ πράττειν τίθεσθαι.” Max. Conf. Flor. f. 103r (M. p. 542). “57. [¹²] πῶς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἄτοπον τὰ τε ἔξω καὶ τὰ πόρρω πραττόμενα προθυμεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς κατορθῶσαι πρὸ τοῦ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν ἐπανορθῶσαι; πῶς δ' οὐ σχέτλιον τῶν πολεμίων σπουδάζειν κρατῆσαι πρὸ τοῦ τὰ σφέτερα εὖ θέσθαι;” Max. Conf. Flor. f. 157v (M. p. 543). “55. [⁷] φυλάεσθαι χρῆ μὴ καὶ αὐθις τι τῶν ὁμοίων [^{p. 78}] παθεῖν: ὅπερ που καὶ μόνον ἂν τις ἐκ τῶν συμφορῶν ὠφελῇται; αἱ μὲν γὰρ εὐπραγίαι σφάλλουσιν ἔστιν ὅτε τοὺς ἀπερισκέπτως τι δι' αὐτὰς ἐλπίσαντας ὥς καὶ αὐθις κρατήσοντας, τὰ δὲ δὴ

πταισµατα ἀναγκάζει πάντα τινὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν ὧν πεπειράται καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀσφαλῶς προορᾷσθαι.” Max. Conf. Flor. f. 103r (M. p. 542) and M. 139 (p. 189) (ο(/ti ai(meln eu)pragi/ai — proora=sqai). “^[8] ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι σμικρὸν οὔτε πρὸς τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὐνοίαν οὔτε πρὸς τὴν παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐδοξίαν τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν πολεμοποιεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἀναγκάζεσθαι τοὺς ὑπάρξαντας ἀμύνασθαι.” M. 140 (p. 189). “^[9] τοιούτων δὴ τινων ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέρα λεχθέντων, ἔδοξε σφισι παρασκευάζεσθαι μὲν ὥς καὶ πολεμήσουσι, μὴ μέντοι καὶ τοῦτο ψηφίσασθαι, ἀλλὰ πρέσβεις ἐς τὴν Καρχηδὸνα πέμψασι τοῦ Ἀννίβου κατηγορῆσαι, καὶ εἰ μὲν μὴ ἐπαίνοϊεν τὰ πραχθέντα ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, δικάσαι, εἰ δ’ ἐς ἐκείνον ἀναφέροιν αὐτά, ἐξαίτησιν αὐτοῦ ποιή- ^[p. 80] σασθαι, κἄν μὲν ἐκδῶσιν αὐτόν, — εἰ δὲ μὴ, τὸν πόλεμόν σφισιν ἐπαγγεῖλαι.” M. 141 (p. 190). “^[10] ὅτι ὥς οὐδὲν σαφὲς οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἀπεκρίναντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ αὐτοὺς ἐποιοῦντο, ὁ Φάβιος ὁ Μάρκος τὰς τε ^[p. 82] Χεῖρας ὑπὸ τὸ ἱμάτιον ὑπέβαλε καὶ ὑπιάσας αὐτὰς ἔφη ‘ἐγὼ μὲν ἐνταῦθ’, ὦ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην φέρω, ὑμεῖς δ’ ὁπότερον αὐτῶν βούλεσθε ἄντικρυς ἔλεσθε.’ ἀποκριναμένων δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ τότε αὐτῶν αἰρεῖσθαι μὲν μηδέτερον, δέχεσθαι δὲ ἐτοίμως ὁπότερον ἂν σφισι καταλίπωσι, τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς ἐπήγγειλεν.” M. 142 (p. 190). “56. ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι Ναβωνησίους πρὸς συμμαχίαν ἐκάλουν: οἱ δὲ οὔτε τι πρὸς τῶν Καρχηδονίων κακὸν οὔτ’ αὖ πρὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀγαθόν, ὥστε τοῖς μὲν πολεμῆσαι, τοῖς δὲ ἀμῦναι, πεπονθέναι πώποτε ἔφασαν, καὶ πάνυ δι’ ὀργῆς αὐτοὺς ἔσχον, ἐπικαλοῦντές σφισιν ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ τοὺς ὁμοφύλους αὐτῶν ἐδεδράκεσαν.” M. 143 (p. 190). “^[p. 84] ^[p. 86]”

“ 57. ὅτι ἀπὸ τοιαύτης φησὶν ὁ Δίων ἐκεῖθεν ἤδη προσδοκίας Ῥωμαίους καὶ Καρχηδονίους καθίστασθαι μέγιστον τῇ γνώμῃ τὸ διάφορον ἐς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου διαχείρισιν εἰληφότας. τὸ τε γὰρ εὐέλπι πρὸς εὐθυμίαν πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἄγον προθυμότερους τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐχεγγωτέρους πρὸς πίστιν τοῦ κρατήσῃν παρέχεται, καὶ τὸ δύσελπι ἔς τε ἀθυμίαν καὶ ἐς ἀπόγνωσιν ἐμβαλὼν καὶ τὴν ῥώμην τῆς εὐψυχίας ἀφαιρεῖται.” M. 144 (p. 191). “[p. 88] [2] οἷά που οὖν φιλεῖ τὰ τε διὰ πλείστου καὶ τὰ ἐν ἀγνωσίᾳ ὄντα πολλοὺς ἐκταράσσειν, δέος τοῖς Ἰβηροῖν οὐκ ἐλάχιστον ἐνεποιεῖ. τὸ γὰρ τοι πολὺ τοῦ ὁμίλου, τὸ μὴ ἀπ’ οἰκείας πινὸς αἰτίας ἀλλ’ ἐν συμμαχίας λόγῳ στρατευόμενον; ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἔρρωται ἐφ’ ὅσον ἂν ὠφελήσεσθαι τι ἀκινδύνως ἐλπίσωσιν: ὅταν δὲ δὴ ἐγγὺς τῶν ἀγώνων γένωνται, τὰς τε ἐλπίδας τῶν κερδῶν ἐξίστανται καὶ τὰς πίστεις τῶν ὑποσχέσεων ἐγκαταλείπουσι. καὶ τὸ μὲν πλείστον ταῖς γνώμαις, ὡς καὶ πάντῃ πάντως κατορθώσοντας, λαβεῖν: εἰ δ’ οὖν τι καὶ σφαλεῖν, ἐλάχιστον αὐτὸ πρὸς ἃ ἀντήλπιζον νομίζειν.” M. 145 (p. 191). “[p. 90] [3] ὅτι ἐπεὶ τῷ πλήθει τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ Ἀννίβου οὐδὲν τῶν παρασκευαζομένων ἐξήρκει ... καὶ πινος αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦτο γνώμην δόντος ταῖς τῶν ἐναντίων σαρεῖ τοὺς στρατιώτας σιτίζειν, τὸ μὲν πρᾶγμα οὐκ ἐδυσχέραινε, φοβεῖσθαι δὲ ἔφη μήποτε τοιούτων σωμάτων ἀπορήσαντες ἐπ’ ἀλληλοφαγίαν τράπωνται.” M. 146 (p. 191). “[p. 92] [4] ὅτι Ἀννίβας πρὶν ἔργου ἔχεσθαι συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατιώτας παρήγαγε τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους οὓς κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν εἰλήφει, καὶ ἐπύθετο αὐτῶν πότερα δεδέσθαι τε ἐν πέδαις καὶ δουλεύειν [p. 94] κακῶς ἢ μονομαχεῖν ἀλλήλοις, ὥστ’ ἀφελθῆναι προῖκα τοὺς νικήσαντας, ἐθέλοιεν. ἐπειδὴ τε τοῦθ’ εἴλοντο, συνέβαλεν αὐτούς, καὶ μαχεσασμένων σφῶν εἶπεν ‘εἴτ’ οὐκ αἰσχρόν, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, τοὺς μὲν τοὺς ὑφ’ ἡμῶν ἐαλωκότας οὕτω πρὸς τὴν ἀνδρείαν ἔχειν ὥστε καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ δουλεῦσαι ἐπιθυμῆσαι, ἡμᾶς δ’ ὀκνησαι πόνον τινὰ καὶ κίνδυνον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἀκούειν ἐτέρων καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἄρχειν ἄλλων ὑποσθῆναι;” M. 147 (p. 192). “[5] ὅσα ἐλαττωθέντες ποτὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπάθομεν, ταῦτα νικήσαντες αὐτοὺς ἀντιδράσομεν: εὖ γὰρ ἴστε ὅτι κρατήσαντες μὲν πάντων ὧν λέγω τευξόμεθα, κρατηθέντες δὲ οὐδὲ τὴν διαφυγὴν ἀσφαλῆ στήσομεν: τοῦ τε γὰρ κρατήσαντος τὸ πᾶν παραχρῆμα φίλιόν ἐστι, κἂν μισοῦν αὐτὸ τυγχάνῃ, καὶ τὸ νικηθὲν οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ τῶν οἰκείων ἔτι θεραπεύει.” Max. Conf. Flor. f. 157r (M. p. 543) and M. 148 (p. 192) (ο/τι του= krath/santos — qerapeu/ei). “[6a] ὅτι τὸ ἅπαξ προσπαῖσαν πρὸς τινὰ αἰεὶ τε δυσωπεῖται σφας καὶ θαρρεῖν οὐκέτι τολμᾷ.” M. 149 (p. 192). “[p. 96] [p. 98] [p. 100] [6β] κοῦφον γὰρ τι καὶ δειλὸν καὶ ἄπιστον φύσει πᾶν τὸ Γαλατικὸν γένος ἐστίν: ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐτοιμῶς θρασύνεται πρὸς τὰς ἐλπίδας, οὕτως ἐτοιμότερον φοβηθὲν ἐκπλήττεται: πιστότερον τ’ οὐδὲν τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ὄν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ἐκδιδάξει τε μηδέποτε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐμβάλλειν τολμῆσαι ...” M. 150 (p. 192). “[p. 102] [7] ὅτι πολλὰ τέρατα τὰ μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς συμβάντα, τὰ δὲ καὶ

μάτην θρυλούμενα ἐλογοποιήθη: ὅταν γάρ τινες ἰσχυρῶς φοβηθῶσιν καὶ σφισι καὶ ἐκεῖνα ὡς ὄντως γενόμενα ἀποδειχθῇ, πολλάκις ἕτερα προσφαντάζεται: κἂν ἅπαξ τι καὶ ἐκείνων πιστευθῇ, προπετῶς ἤδη καὶ τᾶλλα πίστιν λαμβάνει. ἐθύνοντο οὖν αἱ θυσίαι καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα οἱ ἄνθρωποι πρὸς τε τὴν τοῦ παρόντος δεινοῦ σφισιν ἄκεσιν καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὑποπτευομένου διάφευξιν εἰώθασιν ποιεῖν ἐγίγνετο. ἀλλὰ καὶ γὰρ φιλοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις παρὰ τὸ κρεῖττον ἐλπίζοντες πιστεῦσαι, καὶ τότε, εἰ καὶ μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ τοῦ προσδοκωμένου κινδύνου μέγεθος ἐνόμιζον ὅτι καὶ τὸ τραχύτατον αὐτοῖς συμπεσοί, ὅμως ἤλπιζον μὴ ἡττηθῆσθαι.” Μ. 151 (p. 192). “ [p. 104] [p. 106] [p. 108] [8] ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι δικτάτορα τὸν Φάβιον ἀνείπον, ἀγαπῶντες εἰ αὐτοὶ γε περιγένοιτο οὐδὲ τοῖς συμμάχοις βοήθειαν ἀπέστειλαν οὐδεμίαν οὐδὲ εσση. ... πυθόμενοι δὲ τὸν Ἀννίβαν τῆς τε ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ὁδοῦ ἀποτετράφθαι [p. 110] καὶ ἐς Καμπανίαν ὠρμῆσθαι, τότε δὴ καὶ ἐκείνους, μὴ πως εἴτε ἐκούσιοι εἴτε βιασθέντες μεταστῶσιν, ἐς ἀσφάλειαν ἐποίησαντο.” Μ. 152 (p. 193). “ [p. 112] [9] ὅτι ὁ Φάβιος δι’ ἀσφαλείας μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ κινδύνων προσεδρεῦων οὔτε πείραν λαβεῖν ἀνδρῶν χειροτεχνῶν τοῦ πολέμου ὄντων ἐτόλμα, καὶ ἐν πολλῇ περιωπῇ τὴν τῶν στραπιωτῶν σωτηρίαν, ἄλλως τε καὶ διὰ τὴν πολιτῶν ὀλιγαν- [p. 114] θρωπίαν, ἐποιεῖτο, συμφορὰν οὐ τὸ μὴ φθεῖραι τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἀποβαλεῖν [10] μεγάλην εἶναι νομίζων: ἐκείνους μὲν γὰρ τῇ περὶ οὐσίᾳ τοῦ πλήθους κἂν ἀνακινδυνεῦσαι ποτε σφαλέντας ἠγεῖτο, αὐτὸς δ’ εἰ καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον πταίσειεν, ἐν παντὶ κακοῦ, οὐ πρὸς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν τότε ἀποθανόντων, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν πρὶν παθημάτων, γενήσεσθαι ἐλογίζετο: τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀκεραίοις πράγμασι καὶ τὰ δεινότερα ῥαδίῳ πολλάκις τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὑφίστασθαι, τοὺς δὲ προκεκμηκότας καὶ τὰ βραχύτατα κακοῦν ἔλεγεν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ υἱέος συμβουλευόντός ποτε αὐτῷ ἀποκινδυνεῦσαι, καὶ τι τοιοῦτον εἰπόντος ὅτι οὐκ ἂν πλείους ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν ἀπόλοιτο οὔτε ἐπείσθη, καὶ προσανήρετο αὐτὸν εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν ἐθελήσειε τῶν ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν γενέσθαι.” Μ. 153 (p. 193). “ [14] ὅτι οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι οὐχ ὅπως αὐτεπάγγελτον τι τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ ἔπεμψαν, ἀλλ’ ἐν γέλῳ τε αὐτὸν ἐποιοῦντο ὅτι τε εὖ πράττειν καὶ ὅτι πολλὰ [p. 116] κατορθοῦν αἰεὶ ποτε γράφων σφισι, καὶ χρήματα καὶ στρατιώτας παρ’ αὐτῶν ἦται, λέγοντες μηδὲν ὁμολογεῖν τὰς αἰτήσεις αὐτοῦ ταῖς κατορθώσεσι: τοὺς γὰρ κρατοῦντας προσήκειν καὶ τῷ παρόντι στρατεύματι ἀρκεῖσθαι καὶ χρήματα οἰκαδε πέμπειν, ἀλλ’ οὐχ ἕτερα πρὸς ἑαυτῶν προσεπατεῖν.” Μ. 154 (p. 194). “ [p. 118] [11] ἔγκλημα γοῦν ἔχω οὐχ ὅτι προπετῶς ἐς τὰς μάχας χωρῶ, οὐδ’ ὅτι διὰ κινδύνων στρατηγῶ, ἵνα πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν στραπιωτῶν ἀποβαλὼν πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἀποκτείνας αὐτοκράτωρ τε ὀνομασθῶ καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια πέμψω, ἀλλ’ ὅτι βραδύνω καὶ ὅτι μέλλω καὶ ὅτι τῆς σωτηρίας ὑμῶν ἰσχυρῶς αἰεὶ προορῶμαι.” Max. Conf. Flor. f. 157v (M. p. 542.) “ [18] ὅτι τοῖς πολλοῖς σύνηθες τοῖς ἀρχομένοις εὖ φέρεσθαι ῥαδίως, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τῶν εὐδοκιμούντων, προστίθεσθαι, διότι τὸ μὲν ἄρτι προφαινόμενον συναύξειν, τὸ δ’ ὑπερέχον ἔτι καθαιρεῖν πεφύκασι: τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐκ πλείονός σφων προφέρουσιν οὐκ ἂν τις ἐξαίφνης παρισωθῇ, τὸ

δ' ἀδόκητον αὐξηθὲν ἐλπίδα καὶ ἐκείνοις ἐς τὴν ὁμοίαν εὐτυχίαν φέρει." Μ. 155 (p. 194). "[15] ὅτι Ἀννίβας ἦτοι χαριζόμενος τῷ Φαβίῳ ὡς καὶ ἐπιτηδεύω σφίσιν ὄντι, ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ διαβολῇ [p. 120] αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲν τῶν προσηκόντων οἱ κατέδραμεν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἀντιδόσεως τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, ὥσθ' ὁποτέρων ἂν πλείους εὐρεθῶσιν ἀπολυτρωθῆναι σφας, γενομένης, καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων μὴ βουληθέντων αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου λυτρώσασθαι, τὰ χωρία ὁ Φάβιος ἀποδόμενος τὰ λύτρα αὐτοῖς [16] ἐχαρίσατο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν μὲν οὐκ ἔπαυσαν, τῷ δὲ ἱπάρχῳ τὴν αὐτὴν οἱ ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκαν, ὥστ' ἀμφοτέρους ἅμα ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης ἄρχειν. καὶ ὁ μὲν Φάβιος οὐδεμίαν ὀργὴν οὔτε τοῖς πολίταις οὔτε τῷ Ῥούφῳ ἔσχε: τῶν τε γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων συνεγίνωσκεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀγαπητὸν ἐποιεῖτο εἰ καὶ ὅπως οὖν περιγένοιτο. τὸ γὰρ κοινὸν σῶζεσθαι καὶ κρατεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτὸς εὐδοξεῖν ἤθελεν, τὴν τε ἀρετὴν οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἐκάστου ψυχῇ εἶναι, καὶ τὸ κρεῖττον τὸ τε χεῖρον οὐκ ἀπὸ δόγματός τι ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου ἐπιστήμης ἢ ἀμαθίας [p. 122] [17] ὑπάρχειν νομίζων. ὁ δὲ δὴ Ῥοῦφος οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ πρὶν ὀρθῶς φρονῶν τότε δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπεφύσητο, καὶ κατέχειν ἑαυτὸν, ἅτε καὶ τῆς ἀπειθαρχίας ἄθλον τὴν πρὸς τὸν δικτάτορα ἰσομοιρίαν προσλαβών, οὐκ ἐδύνατο, ἀλλ' ἡμέραν ἡξίου παρ' ἡμέραν ἢ καὶ πλείους ἐναλλάξ μόνος ἄρχειν. ὁ δὲ Φάβιος φοβηθεὶς μὴ τι κακὸν σφας, εἰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως ἐγκρατὴς γένοιτο, ἐξεργάσαιο, πρὸς οὐδέτερον αὐτῷ συνήνεσεν, ἀλλ' ἐνείματο τὸ στράτευμα, ὥστε ἐν ὁμοίῳ τοῖς ὑπάτοις καὶ ἐκείνους ἰδίαν ἐκάτερον ἰσχὺν ἔχειν. καὶ παραχρῆμα ὁ Ῥοῦφος ἀπεστρατοπεδεύσατο, ἵνα καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ διάδηλος, ὅτι αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτὸν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὸ τῷ δικτάτορι ἄρχοι, γένοιτο." V. 32 (p. 597). "[p. 124] [19] ὅτι ὁ Ῥοῦφος ἰσομοιρίαν λαχὼν τῷ δικτάτορι καὶ ἡττηθεὶς ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων μετεβάλετο ὥσφρονίζουσι γὰρ πως τοὺς μὴ πάνυ ἀνοήτους αἱ συμφοραὶ καὶ ἐθελοντὴς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀφῆκε. καὶ αὐτὸν ἰσχυρῶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ πάντες ἐπήνεσαν: οὐ γὰρ ὅτι μὴ κατ' ἀρχὰς τὸ δέον ἔγνω, μεμπτὸς ἐνομιζέτο, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ κατώκνησε μετανοῆσαι, [20] καλῶς ἤκουε. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ πρώτης εὐθύς τὰ προσήκοντά τινα ἐλέσθαι καὶ εὐτυχίας ἔργον ἡγοῦντο εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῆς πείρας τῶν πραγμάτων τὰ βελτίω μαθόντα μὴ αἰσχυνηθῆναι μεταθέσθαι μεγάλως ἐπήνουν. ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου δειχθῆναι σαφῶς ὅσον ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴ τε ἀληθοῦς δοκίσεως διαφέρει: ἃ γοῦν φθόνῳ καὶ [p. 126] διαβολῇ πρὸς τῶν πολιτῶν ὁ Φάβιος ἀφηρέθη, ταῦτα παρ' ἐκόντος τοῦ συνάρχοντος καὶ δεομένου γε ἀνεκτῆσατο." Μ. 156 (p. 194). "[21] ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς μέλλων ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι τοὺς ὑπάτους μετεπέμψατο καὶ ἐκεῖνό τε αὐτοῖς παρέδωκε καὶ προσπαρήνεσε πάνθ' ὅσα πραχθῆναι ἐχρῆν ἀφθονώτατα: τὴν τε γὰρ σωτηρίαν τῆς πόλεως προετίμα τοῦ μόνος γε δοκεῖν καλῶς ἄρχειν, καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἔπαισαν ἰδιογνωμονήσαντες, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν κατώρθωσαν πεισθέντες αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἐπαινεθῆσεσθαι προσεδόκησε. καὶ οἱ ὑπάτοι δὲ οὐδὲν θρασέως κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Φαβίου ὑποθήκην ἔπραξαν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀμείνονι τὸ μὴ τι κατατράῃσαι τοῦ καὶ σφαλῆναι τιθέμενοι κατὰ χώραν πάντα τὸν τῆς ἡγεμονίας χρόνον ἔμειναν." Μ. 157 (p. 195). "[p. 128] [p. 130] [p. 132]"

“ [p. 134] 57. [22] ὅτι περὶ μαντικῆς καὶ ἀστρονομίας φησὶν ὁ Δίων ‘ἐγὼ μέντοι οὔτε περὶ τούτων οὔτε περὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐκ μαντικῆς προλεγομένων τισὶ συμβαλεῖν ἔχω: τί γάρ που καὶ βούλεται τὸ προσημαίνειν, εἴ γε πάντως τέ τι ἔσται καὶ μηδεμία ἂν αὐτοῦ ἀποτροπὴ μὴτ’ ἀνθρωπίνῃ περιτεχνήσει μὴτ’ αὖ θείᾳ προνοίᾳ γένοιτο; ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὅπῃ ποτὲ ἐκάστω δοκεῖ νομιζέσθω.” M. 158 (p. 195). “ [23] ὅτι ἦρχον Παῦλος καὶ Τερέντιος ἄνδρες οὐχ [p. 136] ὁμοιοτρόποι, ἀλλ’ ἐξ ἴσου τῷ διαφύρῳ τοῦ γένους καὶ τὰ ἥθη διαλλάττοντες. ὁ μὲν γὰρ εὐπατρίδης τε ἦν καὶ παιδείᾳ ἐκεκόσμητο, τό τε ἀσφαλὲς πρὸ τοῦ προπετοῦς προετίμα, καὶ πῃ καὶ ἐκ τῆς αἰτίας, ἦν ἐπὶ τῇ προτέρᾳ ἀρχῇ εἰλήφει, κεκολουσμένος οὐκ ἐθρασύνετο, ἀλλ’ ὅπως μὴ καὶ αὐθις τι δεινὸν πάθοι μᾶλλον ἢ ὅπως ἀποτολήσας [24] τι κατορθώσῃ ἐσκόπει, Τερέντιος δὲ ἔν τε τῷ ὁμίλῳ ἐτέθραπτο καὶ ἐν θρασυτητι βανασικῇ ἤσκητο, καὶ διὰ ταῦτ’ ἔς τε τᾶλλ’ ἐξεφρόνει καὶ τὸ κράτος ἐαυτῷ τοῦ πολέμου προουσιχνεῖτο. τοῖς τε εὐπατρίδασι πολλὺς ἐνέκειτο, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν μόνος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἐπιείκειαν ἔχειν ἠγεῖτο.” M. 159 (p. 196). “ [p. 138] [25] ὅτι τὸ τοῦ Τερεντίου ἀπερίσκεπτον καὶ τὸ τοῦ Παύλου ἐπιεικές, βουλομένου μὲν αἰεὶ τὰ προσήκοντα, συγχωροῦντος δὲ τὰ πολλὰ τῷ συνάρχοντι ‘δεινὴ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐλαττωθῆναι θράσους πραότης’, ἥτησεν αὐτούς.” M. 160 (p. 196). “ [p. 140] [p. 142] [26] ὅτι ἐν τῇ συμπλοκῇ τοῦ πολέμου οὐδ’ οἱ πάνυ θαρσοῦντες ἐλαφροτέραν τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ φόβου πρὸς τὸ ἄδηλον αὐτῆς εἶχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσω μᾶλλον ἠγοῦντο νικήσειν, τόσω μᾶλλον ἐδέδισαν [p. 144] μὴ πῃ σφαλῶσι: τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀγνοοῦσι τι οὐδὲν ἐστι φοβερόν ἐκ τῆς ἀπονοίας ὑπομένειν, τὸ δὲ ἐκ λογισμοῦ θαρσοῦν...” M. 161 (p. 196). “ [28] ὅτι ὁ Σκιπίων πυθόμενός τινας παρασκευάζεσθαι τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὴν τε Ῥώμην ἐγκαταλιπεῖν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὅλην, ὡς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐσομένην, ἐπέσχεν αὐτοὺς ξιφῆρης ἐς τὴν κατάλυσιν ἐν ἣ ἐκοινολογοῦντο ἐξαίφνης ἐσπηδήσας, [p. 146] καὶ αὐτὸς τε ὁμόςας πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ πράξειν, καὶ ἐκείνους ὀρκώσας ὡς παραχρῆμα ἀπολουμένους, ἂν μὴ τὰ πιστὰ [29] αὐτῷ παράσχωνται. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκ τούτου συμφρονήσαντες πρὸς τὸν ὕπατον ἔγραψαν ὅτι σώζοιντο. ἐκείνος δὲ ἐς μὲν τὴν Ῥώμην οὐτ’ ἔγραψε παραχρῆμα οὐτ’ ἄγγελον ἀπέστειλεν, ἐς δὲ τὸ Κανύσιον ἐλθὼν τὰ τε ἐνταῦθα κατεστήσατο, καὶ τοῖς πλησιοχώροις φρουρὰς ὡς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἔπεμψε, προσβάλλοντάς τε τῇ πόλει ἱππέας ἀπεκρούσατο. τό τε σύνολον οὐτ’ ἀθυμήσας οὔτε καταπηξας, ἀλλ’ ἀπ’ ὀρθῆς τῆς διανοίας, ὥσπερ μηδενὸς σφισι δεινοῦ συμβεβηκότος, πάντα τὰ πρόσφορα τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ ἐβούλευσε καὶ ἔπραξεν.” V. 33 (p. 598). “ [p. 148] [p. 150] [p. 152] [30] ὅτι τοὺς Νουκερίνους καθ’ ὁμολογίαν ὥστε [p. 154] μεθ’ ἐνὸς ἱματίου ἕκαστον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκχωρησάμενοι λαβὼν Ἀννίβας, ἐπειδὴ ἐγκρατὴς αὐτῶν ἐγένετο, τοὺς μὲν βουλευτὰς ἐς βαλανεῖα κατακλείσας ἀπέπνιξεν, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἀπελθεῖν δῆθεν ὅποι βούλοιντο δοῦς, πολλοὺς καὶ ἐκείνων ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἐφόνευσεν. οὐ μέντοι αὐτῷ ἐλυσιτέλησε: φοβηθέντες

γὰρ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ μὴ τὰ ὅμοια πάθωσιν, οὐ συνέβαινον αὐτῷ, καὶ ἀντεῖχον ἐφ' ὅσον ἐξήρκουν.” V. 34 (p. 598). “^[31] ὅτι ὁ Μάρκελλος καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ σωφροσύνη τῇ τε δικαιοσύνῃ πολλῇ ἐχρήσατο, παρὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἀρχομένων οὐ πάντα ἀκριβῶς οὐδὲ χαλεπῶς ἀπῆται, οὐδὲ ἐπιμέλειαν ὅπως καὶ ἐκείνοι τὰ δέοντα πράττωσιν ἐποιεῖτο, τοῖς τε ἁμαρτάνουσι τι αὐτῶν συγγνώμην κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἔνεμε, καὶ οὐκ ὠργίζετο εἰ μὴ ὅμοιοι αὐτῷ εἶεν. F. ‘π. 601’.” ^[p. 156] ^[32] ὅτι ἐν τῇ Νώλῃ πολλῶν τοὺς ἀλόντας τε ἐν ταῖς Κάνναις καὶ ἀφεθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀννίβου διὰ φόβου τε ἐχόντων ὡς καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου φρονοῦντας καὶ θανατῶσαι βουλομένων, ἀντέστη. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν ὑποψίαν ἦν ἐς αὐτοὺς εἶχεν ἀποκρυψάμενος, οὕτω σφᾶς μετεχειρίσατο ὥστε τὰ τε ἑαυτοῦ ἀνθελέσθαι καὶ χρησιμωτάτους καὶ τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι.” V. 36 (601). “^[33] ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς Μάρκελλος τῶν ἱππέων τινὰ τῶν Λευκανῶν αἰσθόμενος ἐν ἔρωτι γυναικὸς ὄντα, συνεχώρησεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτὴν ἔχειν, ὅτι κράτιστα ἐμάχετο, καίπερ ἀπαγορεύσας μηδεμίαν ἐς τὸ τάφρευμα γυναικὰ ἐσίναει.” V. 37 (ib.). “^[34] ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ ἐποίησε τοὺς Ἀκερανοὺς τοῖς Νουκερίνοις, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον ἐς φρέατα τοὺς βουλευτὰς καὶ οὐκ ἐς βαλανεῖα ἐνέβαλεν.” V. 38 (ib.). “^[p. 158] ^[p. 160] ^[35] ὅτι ὁ Φάβιος τοὺς πολίτας τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πρὶν μάχαις ζωγρηθέντας τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρα ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς ἐκομίσατο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ χρημάτων ἀπολύσασθαι συνέθετο. μὴ δεξαμένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς τὸ ἀνάλωμα, ὅτι μὴδὲ τὴν λύσιν αὐτῶν συνεπῆνεσε, τὰ τε ἑαυτοῦ χωρία, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἀπεκέρυξεν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς τιμῆς σφῶν τὰ λύτρα αὐτοῖς ἐχαρίσατο.” V. 39 (p. 601) “^[p. 162] ^[p. 164] ^[p. 166] ^[p. 168] ^[p. 170] ^[p. 172] ^[46b] Δίῳ ἐν ἐ βιβλίῳ ‘μὴ οἱ Συρακοῦσιοι νεωτερίσωσι τι, τὴν βοήθειαν ἀπογνόντες.’” Bekk. Anecd. p. 119, 21. “^[p. 174] ^[p. 176] ^[p. 178] Ζοναράς 9, 5-6. ὁ μὲν οὖν Μάρκελλος τὰς Συρακοῦσας ἐλὼν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Σικελίας τὰ πλείω προσαγαγόμενος καὶ ἐπηνεῖτο μεγάλως καὶ ὕπατος ἀποδέδεικτο. προεβάλοντο μὲν γὰρ τὸν Τορκουάτον, ὅς ποτε τὸν υἱὸν ἀπέκτεινεν: ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκεῖνος ἀπηνήνατο, εἰπὼν ὡς ‘οὗτ' ἂν ἐγὼ τὰ ὑμέτερα ἁμαρτήματα οὗτ' ἂν ὑμεῖς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀκρίβειαν ἐνέγκοιτε,’ τὸν Μάρκελλον καὶ Λαουίνιον τὸν Οὐαλλέριον ἐχειροτόνησαν. 6. ἀπελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου ἐκ Σικελίας, δύναμιν ἱππέων ἐς αὐτὴν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἀπέστειλε, καὶ ἑτέραν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ἐπεμψαν: καὶ μάχαις τισὶν ἐνίκησαν καὶ πόλεις προσεποιήσαντο: καὶ εἴ γε μὴ Κορνήλιος Δολοβέλλας στρατηγὸς ἐπελήλυθε, πᾶσαν τὴν Σικελίαν ἐχειρώσαντο ἄν. καὶ ἡ Καπύη δὲ τότε ἐάλω παρὰ Ῥωμαίων, καίτοι τοῦ Ἀννίβου ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὁρμήσαντος, ἵν' ἀπὸ τῆς Καπύης τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας αὐτὴν ἀπάξῃ, καὶ διὰ τῶν Λατίνων ἐλάσαντος καὶ πρὸς τὸν Τίβεριν ἐλθόντος καὶ πορθοῦντος τὰ πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος. οἱ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐφοβήθησαν μὲν, ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων ἐν Καπύῃ μεῖναι, τὸν δ' ἕτερον αὐτοῖς ἐπαμῦναι. καὶ Κλαύδιος μὲν ἐν τῇ Καπύῃ κατέμεινεν ‘ἐτέτρωτο γάρ’, Φλάκκος δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπείχθη. τοῦ δ' Ἀννίβου τὰς τε καταδρομὰς ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτῶν αἰεὶ ποιομένου καὶ πολλὰ δεινὰ δρῶντος, τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἡγάπων, εἰ τὰ γε ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν περισώσαιντο, ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ἅμα προσβαλεῖν ἔμελλεν, ἀνερρίψαντο, τὸ τοῦ λόγου, κύβον, καὶ ^[p. 180] ^[p. 182] ^[46a]

Δίων ἐν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ιε ‘ἔκ τε γὰρ τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου ἀξιώσεως καὶ ἐκ τῆς παλαιᾶς πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους φιλίας οὐκ ἤνεγκαν δικαιωθέντες ἀλλ’ ἐπεχείρησαν καὶ οἱ Καμπανοὶ τοῦ Φλάκκου καὶ οἱ Συρακόσιοι τοῦ Μαρκέλλου κατηγορῆσαι. καὶ ἐδικαιώθησαν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ.’” Suidas s.v. ἐδικαιώθησαν, Lex. Seguer. ed. Bachm. Anecd. Gr. 1. 206, Cram. Anecd. Par. 4. 168, καὶ οὐκ ἤνεγκαν — συνεδρίῳ Etym. Magn. p. 316, Gaisf. “ [p. 184] [p. 186]”

“ 57. ^[36] ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διεκηρυκεύσαντο τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ ἀνταπόδοσιν τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀξιοῦντες γενέσθαι, οὐ κατηλλάξαντο δὲ αὐτούς, καίπερ καὶ ἐκείνου Καρθάλωνα ἐπ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀντιπέμψαντος· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο αὐτὸν εἰσω τοῦ τειχους κατὰ τὸ πολέμιον, οὐδὲ ἐς λόγους αὐτοῖς ἐλθεῖν ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ’ εὐθύς δι’ ὀργῆς ἀνέστρεψεν.” UR (p. 379). “^[p. 188] ^[38] ὅτι ὁ Σκιπίων ὁ τὸν πατέρα τρωθέντα σώσας, ὁ στρατηγός, ἦν καὶ φύσεως ἀρετῇ κράτιστος καὶ παιδείᾳ λογιμώτατος, τὸ τε φρόνημα καὶ τὸ τῆς ^[p. 190] γνώμης καὶ τὸ τῶν λόγων, ὅποτε γε καὶ τούτου ἔδει, μέγιστον εἶχε, καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐβεβαίον, ὥστε καὶ μεγαλόφρων καὶ μεγαλοπράγμων, οὐκ ἐκ κενοῦ αὐχήματος ἀλλ’ ^[39] ἐξ ἐχεγγύου διανοίας, δοκεῖν εἶναι. διὰ τε οὖν ταῦτα, καὶ διότι καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἀκριβῶς ἠγαλλεν, ἐχειροτονήθη. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὗτ’ οὖν δημόσιον οὗτ’ ἴδιον πρὶν ἐς τε τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀναβῆναι καὶ χρόνον τινὰ ἐνδιατρίψαι ἐνεχειρίζετο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φήμην ἔλαβεν ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς ἐς δράκοντα ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ συνουσίᾳ μεταβαλόντος γεγεννηῖσθαι. καὶ τινας καὶ ἐκ τούτου πολλοῖς ἐλπίδας ἐς αὐτὸν ἐνεποίει.” V. 40 (p. 601); “διὰ τε οὖν — ἠγαλλεν ‘§ 39’ πηοτ. λεχ. ⁷σιυιδας, ετψμ. μαγν. ανδ βαξημ. ανεξδ. γρ. 1, 248’ ς.φ. ἠγαλλεν, αλλ σιτη: Δίωv ἐν ις λόγῳ Ῥωμαϊκῶν. ^[40] ὅτι ὁ Σκιπίων καὶ μὴ ἐννόμου ἡγεμονίας λαβὼν ὄνομα ἐξ ὧν ἐχειροτονήθη, τὸ στρατόπεδον ^[p. 192] προσφιλὲς ἐποίησατο, καὶ ἥσκησεν ἐξηργηκότας ἐκ τῆς ἀναρχίας καὶ ἀνεκτήσατο κατεπτηχότας ἐκ τῶν συμφορῶν. τὸν τε Μάρκιον οὐχ, οἷα πού φιλοῦσιν οἱ πολλοί, ἀνεπιτήδειον ἡγήσατο ὅτι εὐδοκιμηκῶς ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αἰεὶ ἐσέμνυνεν: καὶ γὰρ ἦν οἷος οὐκ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πέλας διαβολῆς καὶ καθαιρέσεως ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας ἀρετῆς αὐξεσθαι θέλειν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γε οὐχ ἥκιστα τοὺς στρατιώτας ὠκείωσατο.” V. 41 (p. 602). “^[p. 194] ^[p. 196] ^[42] ὅτι στάσεως γενομένης τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁ Σκιπίων συχνὰ μὲν τοῖς στρατιώταις διέδωκε, ^[p. 198] συχνὰ δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸ δημόσιον ἀπέδειξε. τῶν τε αἰχμαλώτων ἐς τὸ ναυτικὸν κατέταξεν, καὶ τοὺς ὁμήρους προῖκα πάντα τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀπέδωκε. καὶ αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦτο πολλοὶ μὲν δῆμοι πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ δυνάσται, ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἰνδὶβίλις καὶ Μανδόνιος ^[43] Ἰλεργητανοί, προσεχώρησαν. τὸ τε τῶν Κελτιβήρων ἔθνος πλεῖστον τε καὶ ἰσχυρότατον τῶν περιχώρων ὃν ὧδε προσέθετο. παρθένον ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἐπιφανῆ κάλλει λαβὼν ὑπωπτεύθη μὲν ἄλλως ἔσεσθαι αὐτῆς ἐν ἔρωτι, μαθὼν δὲ ὅτι Ἀλλουκίῳ τινὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει Κελτι- ^[p. 200] βήρων ἡγγύηται, μετεπέμψατό τε αὐτὸν αὐτεπάγγελτος, καὶ τὴν παῖδα αὐτῷ παρέδωκε μετὰ τῶν λύτρων ἅπερ οἱ προσήκοντες αὐτῆς ἐκεκομίσκυσαν. κάκ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου καὶ ἐκείνους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνηρτήσατο.” V. 42 (p. 602). “^[48] ὅτι ὁ Σκιπίων δεινὸς μὲν ἦν ἐν ταῖς στρατηγίαις, ἐπαικῆς δὲ ἐν ταῖς ὁμιλίαις, καὶ ἐς μὲν τοὺς ἀνθισταμένους αὐτῷ φοβερὸς, ἐς δὲ τοὺς ὑπείκοντας φιλάνθρωπος. καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ τε θεοῦ δόξης πλεῖστον ἐς πίστιν ὧν ἐποίει, τῷ δοκεῖν ἀπ’ ἀρετῆς ἐκ γένους ἀλλ’

οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ προστυχόντος εὐδοκιμεῖν, ἴσχυε. τότε δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τε τῷ τάχει τῆς νίκης, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ὁ Ἀσδροῦβας ἐς τὴν μεσογειαν ἀνεχώρησεν, μάλιστα δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐθείασεν, εἴτ' οὖν [p. 202] παρὰ δαιμονίου τινὸς μαθὼν εἶτε κατὰ τύχην, ὅτι ἐν τῇ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπεδεύσοιτο, ὃ καὶ ἐγένετο, πάντες μὲν αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ κρείττω σφῶν ὄντα ἐτίμων, οἱ δὲ Ἰβηρες καὶ βασιλέα μέγαν ὠνόμαζον.” V. 43 (p. 605). “ [p. 204] [p. 206] [p. 208] [p. 210] [p. 212] [p. 214] [p. 216] [p. 218] 57. [47] Δῖων’ ἐν τῷ ἰς ‘πάντες ἀποθανεῖν ἐστε ἄξιοι, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐγὼ πάντας ὑμᾶς θανατώσω, ἀλλ’ ὀλίγους μὲν, οὓς καὶ συνείληφα ἤδη, δικαίωσω, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀφίημι.’ σσιδας ς.F. ἐδικαιώθησαν, ετψμ. μαγν. π. 316, 9, λεχ. σεγυερ. ‘βαξημ. ανεξδ. γρ. 1, 206’, ξραμ. ανεξδ. παρ. 4, 168. [p. 220] [p. 222]”

“ 57. ^[50] ὅτι ὁ Μασινίσσας ἄλλως μὲν ἐν τοῖς κράτιστος ἀνὴρ ἦν, τὰ τε πολέμια καὶ τοῖς βουλευμασι καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἄριστα ἐξειργάζετο, καὶ ἐς πίστιν οὐχ ὅτι τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἄπιστοι γὰρ οὗτοί γε ὡς πλήθει εἰσὶ ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πάνυ μέγα ἐπ’ αὐτῇ φρονούντων προέφερεν.” V. 44 (p. 605). “ ^[51] ὅτι τῆς Σοφωνίδος ἰσχυρῶς ἦρα Μασινίσσας, ἥ τὸ τε κάλλος ἐπιφανὲς εἶχε ‘καὶ γὰρ τῇ ^[p. 224] συμμετρίᾳ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῷ ἄνθει τῆς ὥρας ἤκμαζεν’ καὶ παιδεῖα πολλῇ καὶ γραμμάτων καὶ μουσικῆς ἥσκητο: ἀστεία τε καὶ αἰμύλος ἦν, καὶ τὸ σύμπαν οὕτως ἐπαφρόδιτος ὥστε καὶ ὀφθεῖσα ἢ καὶ ἀκουσθεῖσα μόνον πάντα τινά, καὶ τὸν πάνυ δυσέρωτα, κατεργάσασθαι.” V. 45 (p. 605). “ ^[53] ... μέντοι καὶ ἠθέλησε τοῦτον τίσασθαι: προὔποπτευθεὶς γὰρ ἔφυγε, καὶ ἐς τὴν Λιβύην ἐλθὼν πολλὰ μὲν καθ’ ἑαυτὸν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὸν Σύφακα καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐλύπησεν. Σκιπίων δὲ ἐπειδὴ πάντα τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ Πυρηναίου τὰ μὲν βίᾳ, τὰ δὲ καὶ ὁμολογίᾳ προσεποιήσατο, τὸν στόλον τὸν ἐς τὴν Λιβύην ἡτοιμάζετο, οὐπὲρ αἰὲ ἐφίετο: ^[p. 226] καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο καίτοι πολλῶν ἀντιλεγόντων ἐπετράπη τότε, καὶ τῷ Σύφακι συγγενέσθαι ἐκελεύσθη. ^[54] κἂν ἐξειργαστό τι τοῦ φρονήματος τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἄξιον ἢ γὰρ Καρχηδόνα εἶλεν ἂν τὸν πόλεμον αὐτῇ περιστήσας, ἢ τὸν Ἀννιβαν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐξήγαγεν, ὅπερ ὕστερον ἔπραξεν’, εἰ μὴ οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ μὲν φθόνῳ αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ καὶ φόβῳ ἐμποδῶν ἐγένοντο: τὸ τε γὰρ νέον πᾶν μειζόνων αἰὲ ἐπορέγεσθαι καὶ τὸ κατορθοῦν πολλάκις ἅπληστον τῆς εὐπραγίας εἶναι νομίζοντες χαλεπώτατα ἂν ἡγοῦντο νεανίσκου ψυχὴν αὐχήμετι προ ... ‘φοῦρ λινες σαντινγ ιν μς.’ ^[55] χ ... οὐκ ἐκείνῳ πρὸς τε δυναστείαν καὶ δόξαν ἀλλ’ ἑαυτοῖς πρὸς τε ἐλευθερίαν καὶ σωτηρίαν συμφέρῃ χρῆσθαι, κατέλυνον αὐτόν, καὶ ὃν αὐτοὶ προῆγον ἐς τὰ πράγματα ἐν χρεῖα αὐτοῦ γενόμενοι, τοῦτον ἐθέλονται καθήρουν, ὅτι μείζων τῆς κοινῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐγεγόνει: καὶ τοῦτο οὐκέτι ὅπως Καρχηδονίους παντελῶς δι’ αὐτοῦ καταπολεμήσωσιν, ἀλλ’ ὅπως μὴ ἑαυτοῖς τύραννον ^[56] αὐθαίρετον ἐπασκῆσωσιν ἐσκόπουν. τῶν οὖν στρατηγῶν δύο αὐτῷ διαδόχους πέμψαντες ἀνεκάλεσαν αὐτόν. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπινίκια οὐκ ἐψηφί- ^[p. 228] σαντὸ οἷ, ὅτι ἰδιώτης τε ὢν ἐστράτευτο καὶ ἐπ’ οὐδεμιᾶς ἐννόμου ἡγεμονίας ἐξήταστο, βοῦς μέντοι ἑκατὸν λευκοὺς ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ θῦσαι καὶ πανήγυριν τινα ἐπιτελέσαι τὴν τε ὑπατείαν ἐς τὸ τρίτον ἔτος αἰτῆσαι ἐπέτρεψαν: αἱ γὰρ ἐς νέωτα ἀρχαιρεσῖαι νεωστὶ ἐγεγόνεσαν. ^[57] ἐν δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις χρόνοις καὶ ὁ Σουλπίκιος μετὰ τοῦ Ἀττάλου Ὠρεὸν μὲν προδοσίᾳ, Ὀποῦντα δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν ἔλαβεν: ὁ γὰρ Φίλιππος οὐκ ἡδυνήθη σφίσι διὰ ταχέων καίπερ ἐν Δημητριάδι ὢν ἐπαμῦναι, ἐπειδὴ οἱ 58. Αἰτωλοὶ τὰς διόδους προκατέσχον. ὥπὲ δ’ οὖν ποτε ἐπελθὼν καὶ καταλαβὼν τὸν Ἀτταλον τὴν λείαν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Ὀποῦντος διατιθέμενον ἑκείνῳ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῇ, τοῖς δὲ δὴ Ῥωμαίοις ἢ ἐκ τοῦ Ὠρεοῦ ἐγένετό ἐς τὰς ναῦς αὐτόν καθήραξεν, ὥστε τὸν Ἀτταλον διὰ τε τοῦτο καὶ διὰ Προυσίαν τὸν Βιθυνῶν βασιλέα, ἐσβαλόντα τε ἐς τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ καὶ πορθοῦντα

αὐτήν, ἀποπλεῦσαι κατα τάχος οἴκαδε. ὁ μέντοι Φίλιππος οὐχ ὅσον [p. 230] οὐκ ἐπήρθη τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ σπείσασθαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἠθέλησε, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι καὶ ὁ Πτολεμαῖος πρέσβεις ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου πέμπων συνήλλαπτεν 59. αὐτούς. καὶ τινων λόγων σφίσι γενομένων ... 'φουρ λινες σαντινγ ιν μς.' ... εἰρήνην οὐκέτι ἤτησεν ἀλλὰ ... τοὺς δὲ Αἰτωλοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς συμμαχίας τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ρ ... τινι ἀποσπάσας φίλους ἐποίησατο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπράχθη τι μνήμης ἄξιον οὐθ' ὑπ' ἐκείνων οὔτε ὑπ' ἄλλων τινῶν, οὔτε τότε οὔτε ἐν τῷ ὑστέρω ἔτει ἐν ᾧ Λούκιος τε Οὐετούριος καὶ Καικίλιος Μέτελλος ὑπάτευσαν, καίπερ σημείων πολλῶν 60. καὶ δυσχερῶν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις γενομένων: ἄρνιον τε γὰρ ἀρρενόθηλυ ἐγεννήθη, καὶ σμήνων ὁ ... ον ὤφθη, κατὰ τε τῶν θυρῶν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ὄφεις δύο κατώλισθον, καὶ ἰδρῶτι πολλῷ αἶ τε θύραι τοῦ Ποσειδωνίου καὶ ὁ βωμὸς ἐρρύη, ἔν τε Ἀντιῳ στάχυες αἱματώδεις θερίζουσι τισιν ὤφθησαν, καὶ ἐτέρωθι γυνὴ κέρατα ἔχουσα [p. 232] ἀνεφάνη, κεραυνοὶ τε ἐς ναοὺς πολλοί, ... π. 'π. 458 #3.'. 52. ὅτι Λικίνιος Κράσσος ὑπὸ τε ἐπικειρίας καὶ κάλλους πλούτου τε, ἀφ' οὐπὲρ καὶ πλούσιος ἐπωνομάσθη, ὅτι τε ἀρχιερεὺς ἦν, ἔμελλεν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἀκλήρωτος μένειν." V. 46 (p. 605). "[p. 234] 61. Ὅτι τοῦ Πυθίου κελεύσαντος τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τῷ ἀρίστῳ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιτρέψαι τὴν θεὸν τὴν ἐκ Πεσινοῦντος κομιζομένην ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, Πούπλιον Σκιπίωνα, παῖδα τοῦ Γναίου τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ τελευτήσαντος ὄντα, ἀπάντων προέκριναν καὶ προετίμησαν. αἶτιον δὲ ὅτι ἄλλως τε ... καὶ [p. 236] εὐσεβὴς καὶ δίκαιος ἐνομιζέτο. ὅς ταύτην τότε ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐς τὸ Παλάπιον μετὰ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων γυναικῶν ἀνῆγαγεν." V. 47 (p. 606). "62. ὅτι πυθόμενοι τὰ τῶν Λοκρῶν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ νομίσαντες αὐτὰ ὀλιγωρίᾳ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος συμβεβηκέναι, χαλεπῶς τε ἔφερον, καὶ ἐβουλεύσαντο εὐθύς ὑπὸ ὀργῆς τῆς τε ἡγεμονίας αὐτὸν παῦσαι καὶ ἐπὶ δίκην ἀνακαλέσαι, προσπαροξυνθέντες ὅτι τῇ τε Ἑλληνικῇ διαίτῃ ἐχρήτο καὶ ὅτι ἱμάτιον ἀνεβάλλετο, ὅτι τε ἐς παλαιστραν παρέβαλλεν. ὅτι τε τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀρπάζειν τὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπιτρέπειν ἐλέγετο, τὸν τε πλοῦν τὸν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα διατρίβειν ἐπίτηδες, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἄρξειεν, ὑπωπτεύετο, μέγιστον δέ, ἐναγόντων τῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς οἱ φθονούντων, μεταπέμψασθαι αὐτὸν ἤθελον. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος μεγάλην εὐνοίαν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχον οὐκ ἐγένετο..." V. 48 (p. 606). "[p. 238] 63. ... σχόντες στρατόπεδον τε ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ ἐποίησαντο, καὶ πᾶν αὐτὸ σταυρώμασι περιέφραξαν, χάρακας ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἐνεγκάμενοι. ἄρτι τε κατεσκεύαστο, καὶ δράκων παρ' αὐτὸ μέγας διὰ τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα φερούσης ὁδοῦ παρείρπυσεν, ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου τὸν Σκιπίωνα κατὰ τὴν περὶ τοῦ γονέως αὐτοῦ φήμην ἐπιθαρσήσαντα προθυμότερον τὴν τε χώραν πορθῇ- [p. 240] 64. σαι καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι προσμῖξαι. καὶ τινας καὶ εἶλεν αὐτῶν: οἱ τε Καρχηδόνιοι μηδέπω ... παρεσκευασμένοι ἡσύχαζον, καὶ ὁ Σὺφαξ ὀνόματι μὲν φίλος αὐτῶν ἦν, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ ἐκ μέσου εἰστήκει: καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα καταλλαγὰς αὐτοῖς πρυτανεῦειν ἐβούλετο, κρατήσαντας τοὺς ἐτέρους τῶν τε ἐτέρων ἂν ἅμα καὶ ἑαυτοῦ δεσπότης γενέσθαι νομίζων καὶ ἀντιπάλους ὅτι μάλιστα 65. ἀλλήλοις ὄντας ἐλπίζων διαλλάξειν. ἐγκειμένους δ' οὖν τῇ χώρᾳ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ὁ Ἄννων ὁ ἵππαρχος ἦν δὲ υἱὸς

τοῦ Ἀσδρούβου τοῦ Γιογωνοῦ φ. ξ.· εἰνος μὲν τὸν ... διεστ ... ἀνπεισθή
πρὸς τοῦ Μασινίσσου ... χω ... Καρχηδονίοις ... ν πολεικῶν ομ.ρίας ἐν π ...
νε ... φ.· σιν ἐπιστεύετο· κἀκ τούτου προπέμψας ὁ Σκιπίων ἱππέας τινὰς ἐκ
τῆς συμβουλίας τῆς τοῦ Μασινίσσου ἐνήδρευσε ἐς χωρία ἐπιτήδεια ἐς
λείαν ὄντα, ἵνα καταδρομὴν ποιούμενοι ὑποφύγῃσι καὶ ἐπισπῶνται τοὺς
66. ἐπιδιώξαι σφας ἐθέλησοντας. γενομένου δὲ τούτου [p. 242] καὶ τῶν
Καρχηδονίων ἐπεξελθόντων τε ἐκείνοις καὶ δι' ὀλίγου κατὰ τὸ συγκείμενον
τραπομένοισι ἀνὰ κράτος ἐπισπομένων, ὃ τε Μασινίσσας μετὰ τῶν ἀμφ'
αὐτὸν ἱππέων ὑπολειφθεὶς κατὰ νώτου τοῖς διώκουσιν ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ
Σκιπίων ἐξαναστὰς ἐκ τοῦ λόχου ἐπὶ ἁπλήντησεν αὐτοῖς, ὥστ'
ἀμφιβόλους διχα ἀποληφθέντας καὶ ἀποθανεῖν πολλοὺς καὶ ἀλῶναι ... δ. ε.
καὶ τὸν Ἄννωνα. 67. πυθόμενος δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Ἀσδρούβας τὴν μητέρα τοῦ
Μασινίσσου συνέλαβε. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἀνταπεδόθησαν· ὁ δὲ δὴ Σύφαξ εὖ τε
εἰδὼς ὅτι ὁ Μασινίσσας οὐ Καρχηδονίοις μᾶλλον τι ἢ καὶ αὐτῷ πολέμησει,
καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ ἐν ἐρημίᾳ συμμάχων, ἂν τι ἐκεῖνοι ἐγκαταλειφέντες ὑπ'
αὐτοῦ πάθῃσι, γένηται, τὴν τε προσποιήτον πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους φιλίαν
ἀπεῖπε καὶ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις 68. φανερώς συνήρετο· οὐ μέντοι γε καθαρῶς,
ὥστε καὶ ἀνθίστασθαι σφισιν, ἀλλὰ ἀδεῶς ἐκεῖνοι [p. 244] καταθέοντες λείαν
τε πολλὴν ἦγον καὶ συχνοὺς τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀννίβου πρότερον
ἐς τὴν Λιβύην πεμφθέντων ἐκομίσαντο, καταφρονήσαντές τε αὐτῶν διὰ
ταῦτα καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Οὐτίκην 69. ἐπεστράτευσαν. ἰδόντες οὖν τοῦτο ὃ τε
Σύφαξ καὶ ὁ Ἀσδρούβας καὶ δεῖσαντες περὶ αὐτῇ, οὐκέτ' ἐκαρτέρησαν, ἀλλ'
ἀντεπελθόντες ἔλυσαν τὴν πολιορκίαν, μὴ τολμησάντων αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς
ἀμφοτέρους ἅμα ἀγωνίσασθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκ τούτου κατὰ χώραν ἐχείμασαν,
τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τὰ μὲν αὐτόθεν λαμβάνοντες, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας τῆς τε
Σαρδοῦς μεταπεμπόμενοι· αἱ γὰρ νῆές σφισιν αἱ τὰ λάφυρα ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν
ἄγουσαι καὶ τροφὴν ἂν ἐπῆγον. 70. ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ κατὰ μὲν τὸν πρὸς
Ἀννίβαν πόλεμον οὐδὲν μέγα ἐπράχθη, Πούπλιος γὰρ Σεμπρώνιος μάχη τινὶ
βραχεῖα νικηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀννίβου ἀντεπεκράτησεν αὐτοῦ, ὁ δὲ δὴ Λίουιος
καὶ ὁ Νέρων τιμητεύσαντες τοῖς τε Λατίνοις τοῖς προλιποῦσι τὴν
συστρατεῖαν καὶ διπλοῦν ἀποδιδόναι πλῆθος τῶν στρατιωτῶν [p. 246]
προσταχθεῖσι διδόναι ἀπογραφὰς ἐπήγγειλαν, ὅπως καὶ ἄλλοι χρήματά σφισι
συνεσφέρωσι, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλας ἀτελεῖς μέχρι τότε ὄντας ὑποτελεῖς 71.
ἐποίησαν· τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἄλλως ἔλεξα, ἀλλ' ὅτι ὁ Λίουιος ἔπραξέ τε αὐτὸ
ἀμυνόμενος τοὺς πολίτας ἐπὶ τῇ καταψηφίσει, καὶ ἐπὶ κλησιν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
ἔλαβε· Σαλινάτωρ γὰρ ἐπωνομάσθη. διὰ τε οὖν τοῦτο περιβόητοι οἱ τιμηταὶ
οὗτοι ἐγένοντο, καὶ ὅτι τε ἀλλήλους τῶν τε ἱππῶν παρείλοντο καὶ αἰραρίους
ἐποίησαν ... ὄντες κατὰ τὴν ... π. 'ππ. 460 §3.'. 72. ὅτι ὁ Σκιπίων ναῦν
Καρχηδονίαν λαβὼν ἀφῆκε μηδὲν ἀδικήσας, ἐπειδὴ ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ πρὸς
αὐτὸν ἀφικνεῖσθαι ἐπλάσαντο· ἦδει μὲν γὰρ ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἐαλωκότων
σωτηρίᾳ προεφασίσθη, προετίμησε δὲ τῆς καθέξεως αὐτῶν τὸ μηδ' ὅτι οὖν
διαβληθῆναι [p. 248] πως δυνάμενον ποιῆσαι. τοῦ τε Σύφακος καὶ τότε ἔτι
συναλλάττοντος αὐτοὺς ὡς τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐκ
τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπᾶραι, ἐδέξατο τὸν λόγον, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἐπίστευέν οἱ, ἀλλ' ἵνα

αὐτὸν σφῆλῃ.” V. 49 (p. 606). “[p. 250] [p. 252] 73. ὅτι ἦλθον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα τὰ τε ἄλλα πολλὰ ἄγοντες καὶ τὸν Σύφακα. καὶ ὅς ἰδὼν αὐτὸν δεδεμένον οὐκ ἦνεγκεν, ἀλλὰ τῆς τε παρ’ αὐτῷ ξενίσεως μνημονεύσας, καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια παθήματα ἀναλογισάμενος, ὅτι τε βασιλεῖα [p. 254] δυνάμειος οὐ σμικρὰς καὶ ὅτι ἀξιοσπουδάστον καὶ ἑαυτῷ γενόμενον ἑώρα τότε οἰκτρῶς οὕτως ἔχοντα, ἀνεπήδησε μὲν ἐκ τοῦ δίφρου καὶ ἔλυσέ τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐδεξιώσατο καὶ ἐν θεραπείᾳ πολλῇ ἦγε.” V. 50 (p. 606). “[p. 256] 77. πλεῖστοι ὅσοι ἐστρατεύσαντο, ὥς που πολλὰ ἐκουσίως πολλοὶ ὦν οὐδὲν ἂν ἀναγκαζόμενοι δράσειαν ποιοῦσι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ προσταττόμενόν σφισι ὥς καὶ βίαιον δυσχεραίνουσιν, τὸ δ’ αὐθαίρετον ὥς καὶ αὐτοκράτορες ἀγαπῶσιν.” V. 51 (p. 609). “ 74. ὅτι ἐπικηρυκευσάμενοι οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῷ Σκιπίωνι, τῶν τε ἐπιταχθέντων σφίσιν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ὅτι οὐχ ὑποσχόμενοι, οἷα μηδὲν αὐτῶν πράξειν μέλλοντες, χρήματα μὲν αὐτῷ εὐθύς ἔδοσαν καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους πάντας ἀπέδωκαν, [p. 258] ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπρεσβεύσαντο. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνοι τότε οὐ προσεδέξαντο, λέγοντες οὐκ εἶναι σφισι πάτριον στρατοπέδων τισὶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ὄντων ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης χρηματίζειν. ὕστερον δὲ ἀπάραντος τοῦ τε Ἀννίβου καὶ τοῦ Μάγωνος λόγον αὐτοῖς ἔδοσαν, καὶ ἦλθον μὲν ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέρα ταῖς γνώμαις γενόμενοι, τέλος δὲ ἐψηφίσαντο τὰς σπονδὰς ἐφ’ οἷς ὁ Σκιπίων συνετέθειτο. 19” UG (p. 380). “ 75. ὅτι οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἐπέθεντο καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. τοῦ δὲ Σκιπίωνος [p. 260] ἀγανακτήσαντος ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἔγκλημα ποιησαμένου οὔτε τι μέτριον τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἀπεκρίναντο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπεβούλευσαν αὐτοῖς ἀποπλεύσασιν: καὶ εἶγε μὴ ἄνεμός σφισι κατὰ τύχην ἐπιγενόμενος ἐβοήθησεν, ἐάλωσαν ἂν ἢ ἀπώλονται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Σκιπίων, καίπερ ἐπελθόντων ἐν τούτῳ τῶν τὴν εἰρήνην αὐτοῖς φερόντων, οὐκέτ’ αὐτὴν ἐποίησατο.” UG (p. 380). “[p. 262] [p. 264] 80β. Ἐνθυμιζόμενοι, λογιζόμενοι. οὕτω Δίων ἐν ἱς Ῥωμαϊκῶν.” Suidas, Lex. Seguer., and Zon. Lex. “ ζ.Ϝ. ἐνθυμιζόμενοι. [p. 266] 78. Δίων βιβλίῳ ἱς ‘ἐπέστησεν ἐξαίφνης τοῦ δρόμου.’” Bekk. Anecd. p. 140, 23. “[p. 268] 79. Δίων ἐν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἱς ‘πέφυκε γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως ὥς πλήθει τὸ μὲν εὐτυχοῦν θρασύνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ κακοπραγοῦν μετριάζειν, κἄκ τούτου τὸ μὲν δεδιὸς σωφρονεῖν, τὸ δὲ θαρσοῦν ἀκολασταίνειν. ἐπὶ πλεον δὲ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τοῦτ’ ἐφωράθη.” Suidas s.v. w(s “ ἐπίπαν, λεχ. σεγυερ. ‘βαξημ. ανεξδ. γραεξ. 1, 422.’ 80. Δίων ἐν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἱς ‘καὶ τις λόγος περὶ αὐτῶν τοιόσδε ἐδημώθη.” Suidas, Etym. Mag., “ ανδ λεχ. σεγυερ. ζ.Ϝ. ἐδημώθη. 82. ὅτι διεκηρυκεύσαντο οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῷ Σκιπίωνι. ἦν δὲ τὰ διωμολογημένα ὁμήρους τέ σφας δοῦναι, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τοὺς τε αὐτομόλους οὕς ἦτοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἢ τῶν συμμάχων σφῶν εἶχον ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας πάντας καὶ τὰς τριήρεις πλὴν δέκα παραδοῦναι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν [p. 270] μὴ κεκτῆσθαι μήτε ἐλέφαντας μήτε ναῦς, καὶ τῷ Μασινίσσᾳ πάντων ὦν εἶχον αὐτοῦ ἀποστῆναι καὶ ἐκείνῳ δοῦναι, τὴν τε χώραν καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐν τῇ ἐπικρατεῖᾳ αὐτοῦ οὕσας ἀφεῖναι, καὶ μήτε καταλόγους ποιεῖσθαι μήτε μισθοφόροις χρῆσθαι μήτε πόλεμον πρὸς μηδένα παρὰ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων γνώμην ἀναιρεῖσθαι.” UG (p.

380) “ ἀνδ' ἰν' παρτ' σιδαῖς ζ.φ. ἀναιρεθεῖς. 59. ὅτι ἡ Καρχηδὼν πολλοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἐξαιρετέα ἐδόκει εἶναι, καὶ Κορνηλίῳ ὑπάτῳ, καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἀδύνατόν ἐστι συνεστῶσης αὐτῆς ἀδεεῖς σφᾶς εἶναι.” UG (p. 381)= Suidas s.v. e)cairete/a. “ 57. [83] ..ἐν μέντοι τῷ δήμῳ ... πάντες τὴν εἰρήνην ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐψηφίσαντο. ἃ γὰρ ἐπεπόνθεσαν λογισάμενοι ... αὐτῶν ἤμελλον π ... κινδύνων [p. 272] τε ταλ ... τῶν πραγμάτων ... ἐδικαίωσαν ὁ ... τες καὶ ἐκεῖνα ... τ. ἐκ μεγάλων.. α. α ε. ν οἱ δὲ ὁ ... ντες ἐπτ.. [84] καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων οἱ μὲν πλείους ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπήχθησαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῷ Μασινίσσῃ [85] ἐδωρήθησαν ... Καρχηδονίων ... τε τὴν Λιβύην ... δὲ δὴ πρεσβεύ ... συμβαλεῖν τοῖς ... ἐπέτρεψαν: καὶ ὦ ... λησαν τῷ Σκιπίωνι ... μετὰ τὴν σύμβασιν ... τὴν τε φιλίαν κ ... βαίωσαν: καὶ τ ... νην ἐχαρίσαντο ... [86] .. αἰχμαλώτους ... ε Τερέντιος εἷς ... βουλῆς ὦν πιλίον ... καὶ ὥς τινα ... ἀκολουθεῖν. Σκιπίων μὲν οὖν μέγας ἐκ τούτων ἤρετο, Ἀννίβας [p. 274] δὲ καὶ ἐς δίκην παρὰ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἤχθη, καὶ ὥς τὴν τε Ῥώμην δυνηθεὶς λαβεῖν καὶ μὴ ἐθελήσας καὶ τὴν λείαν τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας σφετερισάμενος κατηγορήθη. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐάλω, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν μεγίστην τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐπετράπη.. τα μὲν ἐπὶ τε ... ν ὑπάτων γε ... τῇ Σικελίᾳ βε.. 76. .. νῳ Μᾶρκος ... πον πεμφθεὶς ... ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ... παρ' αὐτῶν ἡ ... ὠρθωσε πρὸς 1 ... ἦν τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ ... τέ τινα ὄν αὐτὸς ... Καρχηδονίοις ἐπεπόμεναι ... υτοσ οὐδὲν εἰρη ... ν κεκρατηκότες ... πολέμους τῷ μὲν ... ε δὴ δόξῃ οὐδὲν σμι.. κροτέρους κατέστησαν.” P. 3 (p. 462 s#3.). “ [p. 276]”

“ [p. 278] 58. ... καὶ διέτριψαν συχνὰς ἡμέρας, ἔς μὲν παράταξιν μὴ συνιόντες, ἀκροβολισμοῖς δὲ τισι καὶ πείραις τῶν τε ψιλῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων [p. 280] χρώμενοι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι ἠπείγοντο ὅτι τάχιστα συμβαλεῖν: τῇ τε γὰρ δυνάμει ἔρρωντο καὶ τροφὴν οὐ πολλὴν εἶχον, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πολλάκις καὶ πρὸς τὸ χαράκωμά σφον προσέμισγον: [2] ὁ δὲ δὴ Φίλιππος τοῖς μὲν ὅπλοις ἀσθενέστερος ὢν, τῇ δὲ παρασκευῇ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων διὰ τὸ τὴν οἰκείαν οἱ ἐγγὺς εἶναι προφέρων ἀνείχεν, ἐκτρυχώσειν αὐτοὺς ἀμαχεὶ προσδοκήσας. καὶ εἴπερ ἐκεκρατῆκει τῆς γνώμης, πάντως ἂν τι ἐξείργαστο: νῦν δὲ καταφρονήσας τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὡς φοβουμένων αὐτόν, ὅτι πρὸς χωρίον τι ὅθεν ἐπισιτίσασθαι σφισι λῶον ἦν μετέστησαν, ἐπῆλθέ τε αὐτοῖς ἀρπαγὰς ποιουμένοις ἀπροσδόκητος [3] καὶ τινας καὶ διέφθειρεν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Γάλβας ἐπεξέδραμεν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ προσπεσὼν αὐτῷ μὴ προσδεχομένῳ πολλῷ πλείους ἀνταπέκτεινεν. ἡττηθεὶς τε καὶ προσέτι καὶ τρωθεὶς οὐκέτι κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινεν, ἀλλ’ ἡμέρας τινὰς πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν καὶ ταφὴν δὴ τῶν [p. 282] νεκρῶν σπειςάμενος ἔπειτα ὑπὸ τὴν πρώτην νύκτα [4] ἀπανέστη. οὐ μέντοι ὁ Γάλβας ἐπεδίωξεν αὐτόν: τῇ τε γὰρ ἀπορίᾳ τῶν τροφῶν καὶ τῇ ἀπειρίᾳ τῶν χωρίων, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλείστον καὶ τῇ ἀγνωσίᾳ τῆς παρασκευῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ δέει μὴ ἀπερισκέπτως ποι προχωρῶν σφαλῇ, οὐκ ἠθέλησε περαιτέρω προχωρῆσαι, ἀλλ’ ἐς τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν ἀνεκομίσθησαν. κὰν τούτῳ καὶ ὁ Ἀποῦστιος μετὰ τῶν Ῥοδίων καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀττάλου περιπλέων συχνὰς μὲν νήσους ἐχειρώσατο ... ‘φουρ ορ φιφε λινες σαντινγ ιν μς.’ [5] ... οἱ Ἴνσουμβροι ἐταράχθησαν: Ἀμίλκας γάρ τις Καρχηδόnius τῷ τε Μάγωνι συστρατεύσας καὶ ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις ἐκείνοις ὑπομείνας τέως μὲν ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν, ἀγαπῶν εἰ διαλάθοι, ἐπεὶ δ’ ὁ Μακεδονικὸς πόλεμος ἐνέστη, τοὺς τε Γαλάτας ἀπέστησε τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ [p. 284] Λίγυας στρατεύσας καὶ ἐκείνων τινὰς προσεποίησατο: [6] μάχης δὲ σφισι μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Λούκιον Φούριον στρατηγὸν γενομένης ἡττήθησαν καὶ ἐπρεσβεύσαντο σπονδῶν δεόμενοι. καὶ οἱ μὲν Λίγυες ἔτυχον αὐτῶν: ... χ ... ρ. σιν ... ς1.. δεινὸν μὲν ... συνε. ημ. δ ... ἐκυρίευν ε ... ταις ἐπε. φακ εστ ... γεω οὐκ ... ε ... ἐς τὴν μν. μην:.. ιχθεῖο 57. [81] ... διη. η ... τῶν ἐπινικίων τυχεῖν ἤξιον: λόγων τε ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέρα πολλῶν γενομένων ‘οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλως τε καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Αὐρηλίου κακοήθειαν συνεσπούδαζον αὐτῷ, καὶ τὴν τε νίκην ἐμεγάλυνον καὶ παραδειγμασι πολλοῖς ἐχρῶντο: οἱ δὲ τῇ τε τοῦ ὑπάτου ἰσχύι ἠγωνίσθαι αὐτόν ἔλεγον, μηδεμίαν ἰδίαν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα, καὶ προσέτι καὶ λόγον παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἀπήτουν ὅτι τὰ προσταχθέντα οὐκ ἐπεποιήκει ὅμως ἔλαβεν αὐτά. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκεῖνα πρὶν τὸν ... ε .. θες1 ... ἐώρτασεν. ὁ δὲ δὴ Οὐερμῖνα ... εστ . ε μὲν παρὰ τῶν . χ..” P. 4 (pp. 464 s#3.). “ [p. 286] [p. 288] [p. 290] [p. 292] 60. ὅτι ὁ Φίλιππος ἡττηθεὶς ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο τῷ Φλαμινίῳ: καὶ ὅς, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐγλίχeto καὶ τῇ παρούσῃ οἱ εὐτυχία ἐπίπαν ἐπεξελθεῖν ἐπεθύμει, ὅμως ἐσπείσατο. αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι ἐφοβήθη μὴ οἷ τε Ἑλλήνες ὑπεξαιρεθέντος αὐτοῦ τὸ τε φρόνημα τὸ

παλαιὸν ἀναλάβωσι καὶ σφᾶς οὐκέτι θεραπεύσωσι, καὶ οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ ἐν
μεγάλῳ καὶ τότε αὐχήματι, ὅτι τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς νίκης κατειργάσαντο, ὄντες
ἐπαχθέστεροὶ σφισι γένωνται, ὃ τε Ἀντίοχος ἔς τε τὴν Εὐρώπην, ὥσπερ
ἠγγέλλετο, ἔλθῃ καὶ τῷ Φιλίππῳ συμμαχήσῃ.” UG (p. 381). “ [p. 294] [p. 296] [p.
298] [p. 300]”

“ [p. 302] [p. 304] [p. 306] [p. 308] [p. 310] 62. ὅτι ὁ Ἀντίοχος καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ αὐτοῦ προδιεφθάρησαν: τῇ τε γὰρ ἄλλῃ ῥαστώνῃ καὶ ἔρωτι κόρης τινὸς ἕς τε τὸ ἀβροδίατον ἐξώκειλε καὶ ἀπολέμους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐποίησεν.” V. 52 (p. 609). “ [p. 312] [p. 314] [1α] Δίωv ιθ βιβλίω ‘περὶ ... τὰ δὲ ὑμέτερα ἐγὼ τε αἰὲ προστατῶ.” Bekk. Anecd. 166, 1. “ [p. 316] [2] ὅτι Σέλευκος ὁ τοῦ Ἀντιόχου τὸν τοῦ Ἀφρικανοῦ υἱὸν διαπλέοντα ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος λαβὼν ἐν θεραπείᾳ πολλῇ ἐπεποίητο. ἀπολυτρῶσαι μὲν γάρ, καίτοι τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ πολλὰ δεηθέντος, οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, οὐ. μέντοι καὶ κακὸν τι εἰργάσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸνναντίον ἰσχυρῶς περιεῖπε, καὶ τέλος, καίπερ τῶν σπονδῶν ἁμαρτῶν, ἀφῆκεν ἄνευ λύτρων.” V. 53 (p. 609). “ [p. 318] [p. 320] [p. 322] 63. ὅτι ἐφθόνουν τοῖς Σκιπίωσι πολλοί, ὅτι δύο ἀδελφοὶ γένους τε καὶ ἀρετῆς εὖ ἦκοντες τὰ τε ἄλλα κατέπραξαν ὥσπερ εἴρηται καὶ ἐπικλήσεις τοιαύτας ἔλαβον, ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε οὐδὲν ἡδίκουν δηλοῦται μὲν καὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις, ἀπεδείχθη δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον τῇ τε τοῦ Ἀσιατικοῦ δημεύσει τῆς οὐσίας, ἐν ᾗ μηδὲν πλεον τῶν προὑπαρχόντων οἱ εὐρέθη, καὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἀφρικανοῦ ἐς Λίτερνον ἀναχωρήσει κάνταῦθα μέχρι τῆς τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς ἀδεία. τὴν μὲν γὰρ πρώτην ἀπῆντησε, νομίζων τῇ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀληθείᾳ περιέσεσθαι.” V. 54 (p. 609). “ [p. 324] [p. 326] 61. ὅτι νεανίσκοι τινὲς Καρχηδονίων πρέσβεις ἕς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλθόντας ὑβρίσαντες ἐπέμφθησαν μὲν ἕς τὴν Καρχηδόνα καὶ ἐξεδόθησαν σφισιν, οὐκ ἔπαθον δὲ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν δεινὸν οὐδὲν, ἀλλ’ ἀφείθησαν.” UG (p. 381). “ 64. ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς τρυφῆς τῆς Ἀσιανῆς γευσάμενοι, καὶ μετὰ τῆς τῶν λαφύρων περιουσίας τῆς τε παρὰ τῶν ὀπλων ἐξουσίας ἐν τοῖς τῶν [p. 328] ἡττηθέντων κτήμασιν ἐγχρονίσαντες, τὴν τε ἀσωτίαν αὐτῶν διὰ βραχέος ἐζήλωσαν, καὶ τὰ πάτρια ἔθη οὐ διὰ μακροῦ κατεπάτησαν. οὕτω τὸ δεινὸν τοῦτ’ ἐκεῖθεν ἀρξάμενον καὶ ἕς τὸ ἄστυ ἐνέπεσε. 7” V. 55 (p. 609). “ 65. ὅτι ὁ Γράκχος ἄλλως μὲν ἔκ τε τοῦ πλήθους ἦν καὶ ἐδημηγόρει δεινότατα, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὠμοιώθη Κάτωνι, ἀλλὰ καίπερ παλαιάν τινα πρὸς τοὺς Σκιπίωνας ἔχθραν ἔχων οὐκ ἤνεγκε τὸ γιγνόμενον, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀφρικανοῦ καὶ ἀπελογήσατο ἐρήμην κατηγορηθέντος, ὅπως τε μηδεμίαν κηλῖδα λάβῃ διεσποῦδαστο, τὸν τε Ἀσιατικὸν ἐκώλυσεν ἕς τὸ οἶκημα ἐμβληθῆναι. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα αὐτῷ οἱ Σκιπίωνες τὴν τε ἔχθραν κατέλυσαν καὶ κῆδος συνῆψαν: τὴν γὰρ θυγατέρα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς συνώκισεν.” V. 56 (p. 610). “ [2] Δίωv ιθ βιβλίω ‘ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ὥς περιῆν αὐτοῖς τῆς σχολῆς, τὰς ὁδοὺς δι’ αὐτῶν κατεσκευάσαντο.” Bekk. Anecd. 166, ; cf. 166, 3. “ [p. 330] [p. 332]”

“ [p. 334] [p. 336] 66. ὅτι ὁ Περσεὺς παντελῶς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐκ [p. 338] τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐκβαλεῖν ἤλπισεν, τῇ δὲ πολλῇ καὶ ἀκαιρῷ φειδωλίᾳ καὶ τῇ δι’ αὐτὴν τῶν συμμάχων ὀλιγωρίᾳ ἀσθενὴς αὐθις ἐγένετο. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὰ τε τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπεδίδου καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου ἐπηύξετο, κατεφρόνησεν ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν συμμαχικῶν δεόμενος, ἀλλ’ ἦτοι καὶ προῖκά οἱ αὐτῶν βοηθησόντων, ἢ καὶ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν κρατήσων, καὶ οὔτε τῷ Εὐμενεῖ οὔτε τῷ Γεντίῳ τὰ χρήματα ἃ ὑπέσχητο ἀπέδωκε, νομίσας οἰκείαν αὐτοὺς αἰτίαν ἔχθρας πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἔχειν. τούτων τε οὖν καὶ τῶν Θρακῶν ‘οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ’ ἐκείνοι ἐντελῇ τὸν μισθὸν ἐλάμβανον’ ἀπροθύμων γενομένων ἐς τοσοῦτο αὐθις ἀπογνώσεως ἀφίκετο ὥστε καὶ σπονδῶν δεηθῆναι.” V. 57 (p. 610). “ [2] ὅτι ὁ Περσεὺς σπονδῶν ἐδεήθη παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις, κἂν ἔτυχεν αὐτῶν, εἰ μὴ οἱ Ῥόδιοι συνε- [p. 340] πρέσβευσαν αὐτῷ δέει τοῦ μὴ Ῥωμαίοις τὸν ἀντίπαλον ὑπεξαيرهθῆναι. μέτριον μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν, οἷα δεομένους εἰκὸς ἦν εἰπεῖν, ἔλεξαν: καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης οὐκ αἰτηται μᾶλλον τῷ Περσεῖ ἢ δόται ὄντες, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ὑπερήφανα διελέχθησαν, καὶ τέλος ἠπειλήσαν τοῖς αἰτίοις τοῦ μὴ συμβῆναι σφας γενομένοις μετὰ τῶν ἑτέρων πολεμήσειν. κἂκ τοῦτου οὐδὲ τὸ πρὶν ἀνύποπτοι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὄντες μᾶλλον διεβλήθησαν, καὶ τὸν Περσέα τῶν σπονδῶν τυχεῖν ἐκώλυσαν.” UG (p. 382). Cf. Suid. s.v. ai)thtai/. “ [p. 342] [p. 344] [p. 346] [3] ὅτι ὁ Περσεὺς ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ ὦν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ ἐξαίτηθεῖς Εὐανδρόν τινα, γένος μὲν Κρητῆρα πιστότατον δὲ ὄντα καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἑαυτῷ κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπουργηκότα καὶ τὴν τοῦ Εὐμενοῦς ἐπιβουλὴν τὴν ἐν τοῖς Δελφοῖς γενὸς μένην συνεσκευακότα, οὐκ ἐξέδωκε μὲν, φοβηθεὶς μὴ κατεῖπη ὅσα αὐτῷ συνήδει, λάθρα δὲ ἀποῦ κτείνας διέδωκε λόγον ὅτι ἑαυτὸν προαπεχρήσατο οἱ δὲ συνόντες οἱ φοβηθέντες τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτοῦ [p. 348] καὶ τὴν μαιφονίαν μεθίστασθαι ἤρξαντο.” V. (??) (p. 610). “ [4] ὅτι ὁ Περσεὺς ἐθελοντῆς εὐρέθη, καὶ αὐτὸν τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν ἀχθέντα ὁ Παῦλος οὐδὲν οὔτε ἔργ’ οὔτε λόγῳ δεινὸν ἔδρασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσιόντι ὑπαναστὰς τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐδεξίωσατο καὶ ὁμόσιζ’ ἐποίησατο, ἔν τε φυλακῇ ἀδέσμῳ καὶ ἐν θεραπῇ πολλῇ ἦγε.” V. 59 (p. 613). “ [p. 350] [p. 352] 67. ὅτι ὁ Παῦλος οὐ στρατηγῆσαι μόνον ἦν ἀγὰ θὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ χρημάτων ἄδωρότατος. τεκμήριον δέ: δεῦτερον τότε ὑπατεύσας καὶ λαφύρων ἀμυθῆτων κρατήσας ἐν τοσαύτῃ πενίᾳ διεβίω ὥστε χαλεπῶς τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν προῖκα τελευτήσαντος ἀποδοθῆναι. τοιοῦτος μὲν οὖν [2] ἦν καὶ τοιαῦτα ἔπραξεν: τοῦτο δὲ μόνον ὥσπερ τινὰ κηλῖδα τῷ τούτου βίῳ προστετριφθαί νομίζουσι, τὸ διαρπάσαι τοῖς στρατιώταις τὰ χρήματα ἐπιτρέψαι, τᾶλλα οὐκ ἄμοιρον χαρίτων ἄνδρα γενόμενον, καὶ μέτριον μὲν ἐν ταῖς εὐπραγίαις, εὐτυχέστατον δὲ ἅμα καὶ εὐβουλότατον ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις ὀφθέντα. μαρτύριον δὲ τὸ μήτε πρὸς τὸν Περσέα ὑπέρογκον καὶ ἀλαζόνα δειχθῆναι, μήτε τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν πόλεμον κακῶς καὶ ἀπροβούλως ἀγωνίσασθαι.” V. 60 (p. 613). “ [p. 354] 68. ὅτι οἱ Ῥόδιοι φρόνημα πολὺ πρότερον σχόντες ὥς καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸν τε Φίλιππον καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον

νενικηκότες τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων κρείττους ὄντες, ἐς τοσοῦτον δέους ἀφίκοντο ὥστε καὶ πρεσβευτὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον τὸν τῆς Συρίας βασιλέα σταλέντα Ποπίλιον μεταπέμψασθαι, καὶ παρόντος αὐτοῦ καταψηφίσασθαι πάντων τῶν τάναντία τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις φρονησάντων, τοὺς τε συλληφθέντας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν πέμψαι.” UG (p. 382). Cf. Suid. s.v. *fro/nhma*. “ [2] ὅτι οἱ αὐτοὶ πρεσβευσάμενοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς πολλάκις, ὡς που καὶ ἐδέοντό τινος, οὐδὲν ἔτ’ αὐτοῖς προσέφερον ὥνπερ καὶ πρότερον, ἀλλ’ ὅσα ἐς τὸ παραιτήσασθαι μὴ μνησικακεῖν σφισιν αὐτοὺς χρήσιμα ἐξ ὧν ὑπουργησάν ποτε αὐτοῖς [3] λαβεῖν ἐδύναντο, μόνα ἔλεγον, καὶ τὴν γε πρὸς1- [p. 356] ρησιν τῆς συμμαχίας τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς μὴ προσδεχόμενοι πρόσθεν, ἵνα ὡς καὶ μετατάξασθαι ποτε ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ μηδεμίαν ἔνορκον ἀνάγκην φιλίας ἔχειν δυνάμενοι φοβεροὶ τε αὐτοῖς ὥσι καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἀεὶ πολεμούντων σφισιν ἐπιθεραπεύωνται, τότε καὶ πάνυ προσθέσθαι ἐσπούδαζον, τὴν τε παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων εὖνοιαν ἅμα βεβαιούμενοι καὶ τιμὴν ἐκ τούτου καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων θηρώμενοι.” UG (p. 382). “ 69. ὅτι ὁ Προυσίας αὐτὸς ἕς τε τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσελθὼν τὸν τε οὐδὸν αὐτοῦ κατεφίλησε καὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς θεοὺς ἐπωνόμασε καὶ προσεκύνησεν. ἐξ οὗπερ καὶ ἠλεήθη ὅτι μάλιστα, καίτοι καὶ τῷ Ἀττάλῳ παρὰ τὴν τῶν [p. 358] Ῥωμαίων γνώμην πολεμήσας. ἐλέγετο γὰρ καὶ οἵκοι τοὺς πρέσβεις αὐτῶν, ὁσάκις ἀφίκοντό τινες, προσκυνεῖν, ἀπελεύθερόν τε ἑαυτὸν τοῦ δήμου ἐπεκάλει, καὶ πιλίον πολλάκις ἐπετίθετο.” UG (p. 383). “ [p. 360] [p. 362] [p. 364] [p. 366]”

“ [p. 368] [p. 370] [p. 372] [p. 374] 70. [4] ὅτι οὗτος ἄριστος μὲν ἦν ἐκ πλείονος τὸ δέον ἐκφροντίσαι, ἄριστος δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ παραχρηῖμα τὸ κατεπεῖγον ἐρευνῆσαι, ἔν τε τῷ προσήκοντι καιρῷ ἑκατέρῳ αὐτῶν χρήσασθαι, τὰ τε πρακτέα ἐν τῷ θαρσοῦντι διεσκόπει, καὶ τὴν διαχείρισιν αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ δεδιῶς ἐποιεῖτο. ὅθεν περ τῇ τοῦ λογισμοῦ ἀδεεῖ διασκέψει πάντα ἀκριβῶς τὰ καθήκοντα ἐνενόει, καὶ τῇ περὶ τοῦ ἀσταθμήτου [5] φροντίδι ἀσφαλῶς αὐτὰ ἐπραττε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ’, εἴ ποτε καὶ ἐς ἀπροβουλίας ἀνάγκην, οἷα ἔν τε [p. 376] τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου παραλόγοις καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῆς τύχης ῥοπαῖς συμβαίνειν εἴωθε, προήχθη, οὐδὲ τότε τῶν προσηκόντων ἡμάρτανεν. ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ἔθους, τοῦ τῇ τύχῃ πρὸς μηδὲν ἀλογίστως χρῆσθαι, οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν τοῦ ἐξαπναιίου προσβολὴν ἀπαράσκευος ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς αἰφνιδίους ὑπὸ τοῦ μηδέποτε ἀτρεμίζειν ὡς καὶ ἐκ πολλοῦ αὐτὰ [6] προενοηκῶς ἐχρήτο. τολμητῆς τε ἐκ τούτων ἐν οἷς ἐπεπιστεῦκει ὀρθῶς ἔχειν, καὶ κινδυνευτῆς ἐν οἷς ἐθάρσει ἰσχυρῶς ἐγίγνετο: καὶ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ἴσα τοῖς πάνυ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔρρωτο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ὃ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἂν τις αὐτοῦ θαυμάσειεν, προεβούλευε τε τὰ κράτιστα ὡς καὶ ἑτέροις ἐπιτάξων, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ αὐτὰ ὡς καὶ ὑφ’ ἑτέρων [7] κεκελευσμένα ἐχειροῦργει. τῇ τε οὖν ἄλλῃ ἀρετῇ ἀσφαλῆς ἦν, καὶ τὴν πιστότητα οὐχ ὅπως πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας τοὺς τε χρωμένους οἱ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὀθνεῖον τό τε πολεμιώτατον ἀκριβῆ ἐκέκτητο. καὶ αὐτῷ κατὰ τοῦτο πολλοὶ μὲν ἰδιῶται, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πόλεις προσεχώρησαν. [8] ἅτε γὰρ μηδὲν ἀλογίστως μηδὲ ἐξ ὀργῆς ἢ καὶ δέους ποιῶν ἢ καὶ λέγων, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τοῦ βεβαίου τῶν λογισμῶν πρὸς πάντα τὰ καιρία ἔτοιμος ὢν, καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἱκανῶς ἐκλογιζόμενος, καὶ μήτε [p. 378] τι ἀνέλπιστον ποιούμενος, καὶ πάντα πρὸς τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων φύσιν προδιασκοπῶν, ῥᾶστα τ’ τὰ πρακτέα πρὶν καὶ δεηθῆναι αὐτῶν ἐπενόει [9] καὶ ἐς βεβαιότητα αὐτοῖς ἐχρήτο. τοιγαροῦν μόνος ἀνθρώπων ἢ καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τε ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τὴν μετριότητα τὴν τε ἐπιείκειαν οὐτ’ ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοτίμων οὐθ’ ὑπὸ τίνος ἐφθονήθη. ἴσος μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ὑποδεεστέροις, οὐκ ἀμεινων δὲ τῶν ὁμοίων, ἀσθενέστερος δὲ τῶν μειζόνων ἀξιῶν εἶναι, κρείττων καὶ τοῦ φθόνου τοῦ μόνου τοὺς ἀρίστους ἀνδρας λυμαιομένου ἐγένετο.” V. 61 (p. 613). “ [p. 380] 71. [2] Δίωνος κα βιβλίῳ ‘ὃ τε Φαμέας ἀπογνοὺς τὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων πράγματα.” Bekk. Anecd. p. 124, “ [p. 382] [p. 384] [p. 386] 70. [2] τίς γὰρ ποτε καὶ ὁρος ἡλικίας τοῖς γε ἅπαξ ἐκ μεираκιῶν ἐξελθοῦσι πρὸς τὸ τὰ δέοντα φρονεῖν ἔπεστι; τίς ἀριθμὸς ἐτῶν πρὸς τὸ τὰ προσήκοντα πράττειν ἀποδέδεικται; οὐχ ὅσοι μὲν ἂν τῇ τε [p. 388] φύσει καὶ τῇ τύχῃ χρηστῇ χρῆσωνται, πάντα ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς εὐθύς ἃ δεῖ καὶ φρονοῦσι καὶ πράττουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ βραχὺν νοῦν ἔχοντες οὐδ’ ἂν αὐθὶς ποτε, οὐδ’ εἰ πολλὰ ἔτι διέλθοι, φρονιμώτεροι γένοιτο; ἀμεινων μὲν γὰρ ἂν τις αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ προϊούσης τῆς ἡλικίας ὑπάρξειεν, ἔννους δ’ ἐξ ἀνοήτου καὶ ἔμφρων ἐξ ἄφρονος οὐδ’ ἂν εἰς ἐκβαίῃ. [3] μὴ μέντοι τοὺς νέους ἐς ἀθυμίαν, ὡς καὶ κατεγνωσμένους τὸ μηδὲν τῶν δεόντων πράττειν δύνασθαι, ἐμβάλῃτε: πᾶν

γὰρ τοῦναντίον προτρέπεσθαι αὐτοὺς ὀφείλετε πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα αὐτοῖς προθύμως ποιεῖν ἀσκεῖν, ὡς καὶ τιμὰς καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ πρὸ τοῦ γήρως ληφόμενους· ἐκ γὰρ τούτου καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους βελτίους ποιήσετε, πρῶτον μὲν ἀνταγωνιστὰς πολλοὺς ἀποδείξαντες, ἔπειτ' ἐνδειξάμενοι ὡς καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα καὶ τὰς ἡγεμονίας μάλιστα οὐκ ἐξ ἀριθμοῦ ἐτῶν ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀρετῆς ἐμφύτου πᾶσι τοῖς πολίταις δώσετε.” Max. Conf. Flor. f. 168v (M. p. 546) and Ioann. Damasc. Sacr. Parall. cod. Med. 8, f. “ ‘2, 688 ζ#3. γαισφ., 4, 148 ζ#3. μειν.’. [p. 390] [p. 392] [p. 394] [p. 396] [p. 398] ἐξαφανίσαι δεῖν ἐγνωμάτευσεν, ὁ δὲ Νασικᾶς φείσασθαι τῶν Καρχηδονίων καὶ ἔτι συνεβούλευε. κἀντεῦθεν εἰς ἀντιλογίαν πολλὴν προήχθη καὶ ἀμφισβήτησιν τὸ συνέδριον, ἕως ἔφη τις ὅτι εἰ καὶ μὴ δι’ οὐδὲν ἕτερον, ἀλλὰ γε ἑαυτῶν ἕνεκα φείσασθαι αὐτῶν ἀναγκαῖον νομίζοιτο ἂν, ἵν’ ἀνταγωνιστὰς αὐτοὺς ἔχοντες ἀρετὴν ἀσκῶσι, καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἡδονὰς καὶ τρυφὴν τράπωνται, τῶν δυναμένων αὐτοὺς καταναγκάζειν εἰς ἄσκησιν τῶν πολεμικῶν περιαιρεθέντων, καὶ χεῖρους ὑπ’ ἀνασκησίας γένωνται, ἀξιοχρέους ἀντιπολέμους μὴ ἔχοντες. ἐκ τούτων οὖν τῶν λόγων πάντες κατασκάψαι τὴν Καρχηδόνα ὠμογνωμόνησαν, μήποτε εἰρηγήσειν ἐκείνους πιστεύσαντες ἀκριβῶς. καὶ πᾶσα ἄρδην ἀνάστατος γέγονε, καὶ ἐπάρατον ἐψηφίσθη τὸ ἐπ’ αὐτὴν κατοικῆσαι τινα. καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀλόντων οἱ μὲν πλείους εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἐνεβλήθησαν κἀκεῖ διεφθάρησαν, ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες πλὴν τῶν πάντων πρώτων ἐπράθησαν: οὗτοι γὰρ οἱ τε Ὀμηροὶ καὶ ὁ Ἀσδρούβας καὶ ὁ Βιθίας ἄλλοι ἄλλῃ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐν φρουραῖς ἀδέσμοις κατεβίωσαν. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων δόξης τε ἔτυχε καὶ τιμῆς, καὶ Ἀφρικανὸς οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ πάππου, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἐπεκέκλητο πράξεων. 31. τότε δὲ καὶ ἡ Κόρινθος κατεσκάφη. ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κορυφαϊότατοι ὑπὸ Παύλου τοῦ Αἰμιλίου μετωκίσθησαν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, οἱ λοιποὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πρεσβείαις τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπῆτουν, ὡς δ’ οὐκ ἔτυχον, καὶ τινες ἐκείνων τὴν οἴκαδε ἀπογνόντες ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς διε- [p. 400] 72. ὅτι ἦρξαν τῆς διαφορᾶς οἱ Ἀχαιοί, τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐγκαλοῦντες ‘διηνέχθησαν γὰρ ἀλλήλοισ’ ὡς τῶν συμβεβηκότων σφίσι αἰτίοις γεγονόσι, Διαιὺ ὅτι μάλιστα τοῦ στρατηγοῦ αὐτοὺς ἐνάγοντος. καὶ τῶν γε Ῥωμαίων καταλλακτὰς αὐτοῖς πολλὰκις πεμψάντων οὐκ ἐπέισθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις, οὓς ἐκείνοι διασπάσαι πῃ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ὅπως ἀσθενέστεροι ὦσιν, ἐθελήσαντες ἔπεμψαν, πρόφασιν τὸ μὴ δεῖν τὰς πόλεις τὰς τοῦ Φιλίππου γενομένας, ὧν καὶ Κόρινθος ἦν ἕς τε τὰ ἄλλα ἀνθοῦσα καὶ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ κρατιστεύουσα, μετέχειν αὐτοῦ ποιησά- [p. 402] [2] μνοι, παρ’ ὀλίγον ἦλθον ἀποκτεῖναι. φυγῇ δ’ οὖν αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀκροκορίνθου, ἐν ᾧ ἦσαν, προαποχωρησάντων ἐπρεσβεύσαντο μὲν ἕς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἀπολογούμενοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ γεγονότος: οὐ γὰρ ἐπ’ ἐκείνους, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τοὺς μετ’ αὐτῶν ὄντας ὀρμησάμενοι ἔφασκον. τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων τὴν μὲν σκῆψιν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐλεγξάντων ‘τοῖς τε γὰρ Καρχηδονίοις ἔτι ἐπολέμουν, καὶ τὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων οὐδέπω καλῶς βέβαια εἶχον’, ἄνδρας δὲ στειλάντων, καὶ τὴν ἄδειαν αὐτοῖς, ἂν μηδὲν ἔτι νωτερίσωσι, δώσειν ὑποσχομένων, τὸ συνέδριον αὐτοῖς οὐ παρέσχον, ἀλλ’ ἐς ἕτερόν σφας σύλλογον, ὃς μεθ’ ἔκμηνον ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι, ἀνεβάλοντο.” UR (p. 384). “ [p.

“ 73. ὅτι Οὐριρίαθος ἀνὴρ Λυσιτανός, ἀφανέστατος μὲν γένος ὥς γέ τισι δοκεῖ ὦν, περιβοητότατα δὲ ταῖς πράξεσι χρησάμενος, ληστής τε γέγονεν ἐκ ποιμένος, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ στρατηγός. ἐπεφύκει γὰρ καὶ ἡσκητο τάχιστος μὲν διῶξαι τε καὶ φυγεῖν, ἰσχυρότατος δὲ ἐν σταδία μάχη [2] εἶναι: καὶ τὴν τε τροφήν τὴν αἰὲ παροῦσαν καὶ τὸ ποτὸν τὸ προστυχὸν ἥδιστα ἐλάμβανεν, ὑπαίθριός τε τὸν πλείω τοῦ βίου χρόνον διητᾶτο, καὶ ταῖς αὐτοφύεσι στρωμαῖς ἤρκεϊτο. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα παντὸς μὲν καύματος, παντὸς δὲ ψύχους κρείσσων ἦν, καὶ οὐθ’ ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ποτε ἐπόνησεν οὐθ’ ὑπὸ ἄλλης τινὸς ἀκηδίας ἐταλαιπώρησεν, ἅτε καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐκ τῶν αἰὲ παρόντων ὥς καὶ ἀρίστων ἀπολαύων [3] ἱκανώτατα. τοιοῦτου δ’ αὐτῷ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἐκ τῆς φύσεως καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀσκήσεως ὄντος, πολὺ ταῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρεταῖς ὑπερέφερε. ταχὺς μὲν γὰρ πᾶν τὸ δέον ἐπινοῆσαι καὶ ποιῆσαι ἦν ‘τό τε γὰρ πρακτέον ἅμα ἐγίγνωσκε, καὶ τὸν καιρὸν αὐτοῦ ἠπίστατό, δεινὸς δὲ τὰ τε ἐμφανέστατα [p. 410] ἀγνοεῖν καὶ τὰ ἀφανέστατα εἰδέναι [4] προσποιήσασθαι. πρὸς δ’ ἔτι καὶ στρατηγὸς καὶ ὑπηρέτης αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ ἐς πάντα ὁμοίως γιγνόμενος, οὔτε ταπεινὸς οὔτε ἐπαχθὴς ἑωρᾶτο, ἀλλ’ οὕτω πρὸς τε τὴν τοῦ γένους ἀσθένειαν καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἰσχύος ἀξίωσιν ἐκέκρατο ὥστε μήτε χεῖρων τινὸς μήτε κρείσσων δοκεῖν εἶναι. τὸ τε σύμπαν εἶπεῖν, οὔτε πλεονεξίας οὔτε δυναστείας ἢ καὶ ὀργῆς ἕνεκα τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ δι’ αὐτὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἐποιεῖτο, κάκ τοῦτου τὰ μάλιστα καὶ φιλοπόλεμος καὶ εὐπόλεμος ἐλογίσθη.” V. 62 (p. 614).

“ 74. ὅτι ὁ Κλαύδιος ὁ συνάρχων Μετέλλου, πρὸς τε τὸ γένος ὠγκωμένος καὶ τῷ Μετέλλῳ φθονῶν, ἔτυχεν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ λαχὼν ἄρχειν, καὶ πολέμιον οὐδὲν ἀποδεδειγμένον εἶχε, καὶ ἐπεθύμησε πάντως τινὰ ἐπνικίων πρόφασιν λαβεῖν, καὶ Σαλάσσους Γαλάτας μὴ ἐγκαλουμένους τι ἐξεπολέμωσε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. ἐπέμφθη γὰρ ὡς συμβιβάσων αὐτοὺς τοῖς ὁμοχώροις περὶ τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ ἐς τὰ χρυσεῖα ἀναγκαίου διαφερομένοις αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὴν τε χώραν αὐτῶν πᾶσαν κατέδραμεν ... ἔπεμψαν δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκ τῶν δέκα ἱερέων δύο.” V. 63 (p. 617).

“ [2] ὅτι Κλαύδιος, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀκριβῶς ἠπίστατο ὅτι οὐκ ἐνενικήκει, ἀλλ’ οὖν καὶ τότε [p. 412] τοσαύτη ὑπερηφανία ἐχρήσατο ὥσθ’ ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν ἐπνικίων μηδὲνα λόγον μήτε ἐν τῇ βουλῇ μήτε ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ποιήσασθαι, καθάπερ δὲ ὑπαρχόντων οἱ πάντως αὐτῶν κἂν μηδεὶς ψηφίσηται, τὰ ἐς αὐτὰ ἀναλώματα αἰτῆσαι.” V. 64 (p. 617).

“ 76. ὅτι Μόμμιος καὶ ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς παμπληθὲς ἀλλήλων τοῖς τρόποις ἐς πάντα διέφερον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τε τὸ σωφρονέστατον καὶ μετὰ ἀκριβείας, μηδενὸς μηδὲν προτιμῶν, ἤρξεν, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν τε ἄλλων ὡς ἐκάστους εὐθυνεν: ὁ δὲ δὴ Μόμμιος πρὸς τε τὸ δημοτικώτερον καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀνθρωπινώτερον οὐτ’ αὐτὸς τινι κηλῖδα προσέθηκε, καὶ συχνὰ τῶν ὑπ’ ἐκείνου πραχθέντων, [2] ὅσα γε καὶ ἐνεδέχετο, κατέλυσεν. ἐς τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἐπεικειας φύσει προήκων ἦν ὥστε καὶ τῷ Λουκούλλῳ χρῆσαι τε ἀγάλματα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Τυχαιου, ὃ ἐκ τοῦ

Ἰβηρικοῦ πολέμου κατεσκεύασε, καθιέρωσιν, καὶ μὴ βουληθέντος αὐτὰ ὡς καὶ ἱερὰ ἐκ τῆς ἀναθέσεως γεγονότα ἀποδοῦναι μηδεμίαν ὀργὴν ποιήσασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνου ὀνόματι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ λάφυρα περιδεῖν ἀνακείμενα.” V. 65 (p. 618). “ 77. ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ ἐσφάλη καὶ αἰσχύνην δεινὴν ὤφλεν: ποταμὸν γάρ τινα διὰ τῆς τῶν Νουμαντίνων χώρας ῥέοντα βουληθεὶς ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίας [p. 414] διεξόδου παρατρέψαι, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτῶν ἐφεῖναι, τοῦτο μὲν ἰσχυρῶς πονηθεὶς ἐξεργάσατο πολλοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας ἀποβαλὼν οὐτε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὄφελος ἐκ τῆς παρεκτροπῆς γενέσθαι οὐτε ἐκείνοις βλάβος...” V. 66 (p. 618). “ 78. ὅτι Καιπίων τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν, τοὺς δὲ οἰκείους πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἔδρασεν, ὥστε καὶ κινδυνεῦσαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπολέσθαι. χαλεπῶς τε γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τραχέως τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἱππεῦσι χρωμένους, πολλοὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα ταῖς νυξὶν ὅτι μάλιστα διέσκωπτον καὶ διεθρόουν, καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον γε ἐκεῖνος διὰ τοῦτ' ἠγανάκτει, ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐτώθαζον, [2] ὅπως ἐξοργίζοιτο. ὡς οὖν τὸ πραπτόμενον ἔνδηλον ἦν, ὑπεύθυνος δὲ οὐδεὶς εὗρίσκετο, ὑποτοπήσας ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων αὐτὸ γίνεσθαι, καὶ ἐς οὐδένα τρέψαι δυνηθεὶς τὴν αἰτίαν, πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν ὀργὴν ἔφερεν, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἐξακοσίους ὄντας τὸν ποταμὸν, παρ' ᾧ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο, μετὰ μόνων ἱπποκόμων διαβῆναι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους ἐφ' ᾧ ὁ Οὐϊρίαθος ηὐλίζετο ξυλίσασθαι. προύπτου δὲ δὴ τοῦ κινδύνου πᾶσιν ὄντος, οἱ χιλίαρχοι καὶ οἱ ὑποστράτηγοι ἐδέοντο [3] αὐτοῦ μὴ ἀπολέσαι σφᾶς. οἱ δὲ ἱππῆς ὀλίγον ἐπισχόντες ὡς καὶ ἐκείνων αὐτοῦ ἀκούσοντος, ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἐνεδίδου, ἵκετεῦσαι μὲν αὐτὸν ἀπηξίωσαν, οὐπὲρ που καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐγλίχετο, διολέσθαι δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ τι ἐπικεκὸς φθέγγασθαι [p. 416] πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλόμενοι ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸ τεταγμένον καὶ αὐτοῖς τὸ τε τῶν συμμάχων ἱππικὸν καὶ ἄλλοι ἐθελονταὶ συνεξῆλθον. καὶ τὸν τε ποταμὸν διέβησαν, καὶ τὴν ὕλην τεμόντες περὶ τὸ στρατῆγιον αὐτοῦ παρενέβαλον ὡς καὶ καταπρήσοντες αὐτόν. κἂν κατεκαύθη, εἰ μὴ προεξέφυγεν.” V. 67 (p. 618). “ 75. ὅτι Ποπίλιος οὕτω κατεφόβησε τὸν Οὐϊρίαθον ὥστε καὶ ὑπὲρ σπονδῶν οἱ εὐθύς, πρὶν καὶ μάχης τινὸς πειραθῆναι, προσπέμψαι, τοὺς τε κορυφαίους τῶν ἀποστάντων ἀπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐξαιτηθέντα τοὺς μὲν ἀποκτεῖναι, ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ κηδεστὴς αὐτοῦ, καίπερ ἰδίαν δύναμιν ἔχων, ἐφονεύθη, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκδοῦναι, ὧν πάντων ὁ ὕπατος τὰς χεῖρας ἀπέκοψε. κἂν παντελῶς κατελύσατο, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἦτήθη: τοῦτο γὰρ οὐτ' αὐτὸς οὐτε τὸ λοιπὸν πληῆθος ὑπέμεινε ποιῆσαι. 12” UG (p. 383). “[p. 418]”

“ 79. ὅτι ἐλθόντων Νουμαντίνων πρέσβειων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἔξω τοῦ τείχους ἐδέξαντο αὐτοὺς, ἵνα μὴ καὶ βεβαιοῦν ἐκ τούτου τὰς σπονδὰς δόξωσι. ξένια μέντοι σφίσι καὶ ὥς ἐξέπεμψαν, μὴ βουλευθέντες πω τὴν ἐλπίδα αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ συναλλαγησομένων ^[2] ἀφελέσθαι. ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Μαγκῖνον τὴν τε ἀνάγκην τῶν ὠμολογημένων καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν σεσωσμένων, ὅτι τε πάνθ’ ὅσα καὶ πρότερον ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ ἐκέκτηντο εἶχον· ἤξιουν τ’ αὐτοὺς μὴ πρὸς τὴν παροῦσάν σφωὶν ἄδειαν ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν τότε περιστάντα τοὺς στρατιώτας κίνδυνον ἐκλογίζεσθαι οὐχ ὅσα ἔδει ^[3] γεγονέναι, ἀλλ’ ὅσα ἐνεδέχετο πραχθῆναι. οἱ δὲ Νουμαντῖνοι πολλὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς προτέρας σφῶν ἐς αὐτοὺς εὐνοίας, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐκείνων μετὰ ταῦτα ἀδικίας, ὅφ’ ἥς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον κατέστησαν, τὴν τε τοῦ Πομπηίου ψευδορκίαν προέφερον, καὶ τῆς τοῦ Μαγκίνου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σωτηρίας εὐεργεσίαν ἀπήτουν. καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς ἔλυσαν καὶ τὸν Μαγκῖνον ἐκδοθῆναι τοῖς Νουμαντῖνοις ἔγνωσαν.” UG (p. 383) and καὶ τὸν Μάγκινον — ἔγνωσαν. Suid. s.uu. ἔγνω and Μάγκινος. “ ^[p. 420] 81. ὅτι ὁ Κλαύδιος πολλὰ ἂν καὶ ἄτοπα ὑπὸ τραχύτητος εἰργάσατο, εἰ μήπερ ὁ συνάρχων αὐτοῦ Κύντος ἐκώλυσεν. ἐπεικῆς γὰρ ὢν καὶ ἐναντιωτάτην αὐτῷ φύσιν ἔχων ὀργῇ μὲν οὐδέν οἱ ἀντέπραξεν, ἐνδιδοὺς δὲ πῃ καὶ πράως πως αὐτῷ χρώμενος οὕτως αὐτὸν μετεχειρίσατο ὥστε ἐλάχιστα πικράνασθαι.” V. 68 (p. 621). “ 82. ὅτι ὁ Φοῦριος ἐξήγαγεν ἐν τοῖς ὑποστρατήγοις τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ τὸν Μέτελλον, καίπερ καὶ ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐχθροὺς ὄντας, ὅπως ὡς καὶ μέγα τι πράξων τὸν τε ἔλεγχον τῶν ἔργων ἀκριβῆ δι’ αὐτῶν ποιήσεται, καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ παρὰ ἀκόντων σφῶν λάβη.” V. 69 (p. 621). “ ^[p. 422]”

“ 83. ὅτι ὁ Γράκχος ὁ Τιβέριος ἐτάραξε τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καίπερ καὶ γένους ἐς τὰ πρῶτα πρὸς τὸν πάππον τὸν Ἀφρικανὸν ἀνήκων, καὶ φύσει ἀξία αὐτοῦ χρώμενος, τὰ τε τῆς παιδείας ἔργα ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἀσκήσας, καὶ φρόνημα μέγα ἔχων. ὅσω γὰρ πλείω καὶ ἰσχυρότερα ταῦτα ἐκέκτητο, μᾶλλον ἐς τε φιλοτιμίαν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν προήχθη, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἅπαξ ἔξω τοῦ βελτίστου παρετράπη, καὶ ^[2] ἄκων ἐς τὸ κάκιστον ἐξώκειλε. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰ τῶν Νουμαντίνων ἐπινίκια ἀπεψηφίσθη, καὶ αὐτός, τιμηθῆσθαι πρότερον ἅτε καὶ πρυτανεύσας αὐτὰ ἐλπίσας, οὐχ ὅπως τοιοῦτου τινὸς ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσεκινδύνευσεν ἐκδοθῆναι, ἔγνω καὶ τὰ πράγματα οὐκ ἀπ’ ἀρετῆς οὐδὲ ἐπ’ ἀληθείας, ^[3] ἀλλ’ ὥς που καὶ ἔτυχεν, ἐξεταζόμενα. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς δόξης ὡς οὐκ ἀσφαλῆ ἀφῆκε, ^[p. 424] τρόπον δέ τινα πρωτεῦσαι πάντως ἐπιθυμήσας, καὶ τοῦτο διὰ τοῦ ὁμίλου μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς βουλῆς ἐξεργάσεσθαι προσδοκήσας, ἐκείνῳ προσέθετο.” V. 70 (p. 621). “^[4] ὅτι Μᾶρκος Ὀκτάουιος τῷ Γράκχῳ διὰ φιλονεικίαν συγγενικὴν ἐκὼν ἀντηγωνίζετο. καὶ ἐκ τούτου οὐδὲν μέτριον ἐπράττετο, ἀλλ’ ἀντιφιλονεικοῦντες περιγενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἀλλήλων ἢ τὸ κοινὸν ὠφελῆσαι, πολλὰ μὲν καὶ βίαια, ὥσπερ ἐν δυναστείᾳ τινὶ ἀλλ’ οὐ δημοκρατίᾳ, ἔπραξαν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄτοπα, ὥσπερ ἐν πολέμῳ τινὶ ἀλλ’ ^[5] οὐκ εἰρήνῃ, ἔπαθον. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ εἷς πρὸς ἓνα, τοῦτο δὲ πολλοὶ κατὰ συστάσεις ¹ λαιδορίας τε ἐπαχθεῖς καὶ μάχας, οὐχ ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ βουλευτηρίῳ τῇ τε ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐποιοῦντο, τῇ μὲν ² προφάσει τῇ τοῦ νόμου χρώμενοι, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα πάντα διασπευδόμενοι, ὥστε ἐν μηδενὶ ἀλλήλων ^[6] ἐλαττοῦσθαι. κάκ τούτου οὗτ’ ἄλλο τι τῶν εἰθισμένων ἐν κόσμῳ συνέβαιεν οὗθ’ αἱ ἀρχαὶ τὰ νενομισ¹ μένα ἔπρασσον, τὰ δὲ δικαστήρια ἐπέπαυτο καὶ συμβόλαιον οὐδὲν ἐγίνετο, ἄλλη τε ταραχὴ καὶ ἀκρισία ³ πανταχοῦ πολλὴ ἦν: καὶ ὄνομα πόλεως ἔφερον, στρατοπέδου δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπεῖχον.” V. 71 (p. 622). “^[p. 426] ^[7] ὅτι ὁ Γράκχος τοῖς στρατευομένοις ἐκ τοῦ ὁμίλου νόμους τινὰς ἐπικουροῦντας ἔγραφε, καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπτεάς μετήγε, φύρων καὶ ταρασσών πάντα τὰ καθεστηκότα, ὅπως ἐκ γε τούτου ἀσφαλείας τινὸς ἐπιλάβηται. ^[8] καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα αὐτῷ προεχώρει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ’ ἐξόδῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἦν καὶ ἔμελλεν ἀπαλλαγεῖς αὐτῆς αὐτίκα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑποβληθῆσθαι, ἐπεχείρησε καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐπὶ ἔτος μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ δημαρχῆσαι καὶ τὸν πενθερὸν ὑπατον ἀποδεῖξαι, μηδὲν μὴτ’ εἰπεῖν μὴτ’ ὑποσχέσθαι τισὶν ὀκνῶν. καὶ πενθίμην ἐσθῆτα πολλάκις ἐνεδύετο, τὴν τε μητέρα καὶ τὰ παιδία ἐς τὸ πλῆθος παρῆγε συνδεόμενα.” V. 72 (p. 622). “ 84. ὅτι Σκιπίων ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς φιλοτιμίᾳ πλείονι παρὰ τὸ προσῆκον τὸ τε ἀρμόζον τῇ ἄλλῃ αὐτοῦ ἀρετῇ ἐχρήτο. οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν ⁵ τις αὐτῷ θανόντι ἐφήσθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, καίπερ βαρύτατον αὐτὸν σφισι νομίζοντες εἶναι, ἐπόθησαν: χρήσιμόν τε γὰρ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ ἐώρων, καὶ δεινὸν οὐδὲν οὐδ’ ἂν σφεῖς παθεῖν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ^[2] προσεδόκων.

ὑπεξαιρεθέντος δὲ τούτου πάντα αὖθις τὰ τῶν δυνατῶν ἤλαττώθη, ὥστε ἐπ’
ἀδείας τοὺς γεωνόμους πᾶσαν ὡς εἰπεῖν τὴν Ἰταλίαν πορθῆσαι. καὶ μοι ἐς
τοῦτο ὅτι μάλιστα ἀποσκῆ- [p. 428] ψαι δοκεῖ6 τὸ τε7 πλῆθος τῶν λίθων τῶν
ἐκ τοι οὐρανοῦ κατενεχθέντων καὶ ἐς ναοὺς τέ τινας ἐμπεσόντων καὶ
ἀνθρώπους ἀποκτεινάντων, καὶ τὰ δάκρυα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. ἔκλαυσε γὰρ8
ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, ὥστε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους κατακόψαι τε τὸ βρέτας καὶ
καταποντῶσαι ἐκ συμβουλῆς μάντεων ψηφίσασθαι.” V. 73 (p. 625). “[p. 430]”

BOOK 25

“ 85. ὅτι ὁ Γράκχος τὴν μὲν γνώμην ὁμοίαν τῷ ἀδελφῷ εἶχεν, πλὴν καθ’ ὅσον ἐκεῖνος μὲν¹ ἀπ’ ἀρετῆς ἐς φιλοτιμίαν καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐς κακία ἐξώκειλεν, οὗτος δὲ ταραχώδης τε φύσει ἦ καὶ ἐκὼν ἐπονηρεῦετο, τῇ δὲ δὴ παρασκευῇ τῷ λόγων πολὺ αὐτοῦ προέφερε. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ταῖς τε ἐπινοίαις κακοτροπωτέραις καὶ ταῖς τόλμαι προχειροτέραις τῇ τε αὐθαδεῖα πλείονι πρὸ^[2] πάντας² ὁμοίως ἐχρήτο. πρῶτός τε ἐν τοῖς συλλόγοις μεταξὺ δημηγορῶν³ ἐβάδιζε, καὶ τὸν βραχίονα πρῶτος ἀπεγύμνωσεν, ὥστε μηδέτεροι αὐτῶν κακὸν⁴ ἐξ ἐκείνου νομισθῆναι. καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε πολλῇ μὲν πυνότητι ἐνθυμημάτων πολλῇ δὲ καὶ σφοδρότητι ὀνομάτων ἐπίπαν ἐδημηγόρει καὶ ἐκ τούτου οὔτε κατέχειν ῥαδίως ἑαυτὸν ἐδύνατο καὶ⁵ πολλάκις ἐς ἃ οὐκ ἤθελεν εἰπεῖν ἐξεφέρετο, αὐλητὴν ἐπήγετο, καὶ παρ’ ἐκείνου ὑπαυλοῦντός οἱ ἐρρυθμίζετο καὶ ἐμετρίαζεν, ἣ καὶ εἰ^[3] πῃ καὶ ὡς ἐξέπιπτεν καθίστατο. τοιοῦτος οὖν^[p. 432] δὴ τις ὢν τῇ τε πολιτείᾳ ἐπέθετο, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπώμοτον οὔτ’ εἰπεῖν οὔτε πρᾶξαι ποιούμενος μέγιστος δι’ ἐλαχίστου παρά τε τῷ ὁμίλῳ καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐγένετο. τὸ τε γενναῖον καὶ τὸ βουλευῶν πᾶν, εἰ ἐπὶ πλείον ἐβεβιώκει, ... νῦν δ’ ὑπὸ τῆς πολλῆς δυναστείας ἐπίφθορος καὶ τοῖς στασιώταις γενόμενος ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ τέχναις ἐσφάλη.” V. 74 (p. 625). “[p. 434]”

“ 87. ὅτι αἱ ἱέρειαι τὸ πλεῖστον αὐταὶ τοῦ τε ὀλέθρου καὶ τῆς αἰσχύνης ὤφλον, συχνοῖς δὲ δὴ καὶ ἄλλοις μεγάλων κακῶν αἵτια ἐγένοντο, ἥ τε πόλις ἅπασα ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἐταράχθη. ἐκλογιζόμενοι γὰρ ὅτι τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἄχραντα καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τῆς θρησκείας ἅγια ἔκ τε τοῦ φόβου τῆς τιμωρίας κόσμια ἐλυμάνθη, οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐχ ὑπετόπουν τῶν αἰσχίστων καὶ ἀνοσιωτάτων δύνασθαι ^[2] γενέσθαι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὰς κολάσεις οὐ μόνων τῶν ἐλεγχθέντων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων τῶν αἰτιαθέντων μίσει τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ἐποίησαντο. ὅθεν οὐκ ἐκ γυναικειας ἔτι ἀσελγείας, ἀλλ’ ἐκ δαμονίας τινὸς ὀργῆς σύμπαντα τὰ κατ’ αὐτὰς συμβῆναι ἔδοξεν.” V. 75 (p. 626). “ ^[3] ὅτι τρεῖς ἅμα ἠνδρώθησαν, καὶ αὐτῶν Μαρκία μὲν αὐτὴ τε καθ’ αὐτὴν καὶ πρὸς ἓνα τινὰ ὑπέα ἠσχύνθη, κὰν διέλαθεν, εἰ μήπερ ἡ ζήτησις ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀρθεῖσα καὶ ἐκείνην προσκατέλαβεν: Αἰμιλία δὲ καὶ Λικιννία πλῆθος ^[p. 436] ἐραστῶν ἔσχον καὶ δι’ ἀλλήλων ὑβρίζοντο. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἰδίᾳ καὶ δι’ ἀπορρήτων ^[4] ὥς καὶ μόνῳ ἐκάστῳ συνεγίνοντο: ἔπειτα αὐταὶ τε πάντα τὸν καὶ ὑποπεῦσαι μηνῦσαι τέ τι δυνάμενον ἐς σιωπὴν ἀναγκαίαν μισθῷ τῆς ὀμιλίας προκατελάμβανον, καὶ οἱ προδιειλεγμένοι σφίσι ταῦθ’ ὀρῶντες ἔφερον, ἵνα μὴ κατάφωροι τῇ ἀγανακτῆσει γένωνται. ὥστε καὶ καθ’ ἓνα καὶ κατὰ πολλοὺς, τοῦτο μὲν ἰδίᾳ, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ κοινῇ, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ὀμιλεῖν, καὶ τῷ μὲν τῆς Αἰμιλίας ἀδελφῷ τὴν Λικιννίαν, τῷ δὲ ταύτης ^[5] τὴν Αἰμιλίαν συνεῖναι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω γιγνόμενα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἔλαθεν, καὶ πολλῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ γυναικῶν, καὶ ἐλευθέρων καὶ δούλων, συγγιγνωσκόντων ὅμως ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἔλαθε, πρὶν δὴ Μάνιός τις, ὅσπερ που καὶ τοῦ παντὸς κακοῦ πρῶτος καὶ ὑπηρέτης καὶ συνεργὸς ἐγεγόνει, κατεμήνυσεν αὐτό, ὅτι μήτε ἐλευθερίας μήτ’ ἄλλου μηδενὸς ὧν ἥλπισεν ἔτυχεν. καὶ ἦν γὰρ οὐ προαγωγεῦσαι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ διαβαλεῖν συγκροῦσαι τέ τινας δεινότατος...” V. 76 (p. 626). “ 88. ὅτι ἦν μὲν που καθ’ αὐτὰ ταῦτα δόξαν αὐτῷ φέροντα, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὴν τοῦ Κάτωνος συμφορὰν, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἐπιεικείᾳ πολλῇ πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας ^[p. 438] ἐχρήσατο, τὴν τε κατόρθωσιν ἐπὶ πλεῖον τῆς ἀληθείας πεποιοῖσθαι ἔδοξε, καὶ εὐκλειαν μεῖζω τῶν ἔργων ἐκτίσατο.” V. 77 (p. 629). “ 89. ὅτι τῷ Ἰουγοῦρθα ὁ Μέτελλος προσπέμψαντι οἱ ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης πολλὰ καθ’ ἓν ἕκαστον ὥς καὶ μόνον ἐπέταξε, καὶ οὕτως ὁμήρους τε παρ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅπλα τοὺς τε ἐλέφαντας καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τοὺς τε αὐτομόλους ἔλαβε. καὶ τούτους μὲν πάντας ἀπέκτεινεν, οὐ κατελύσατο δέ, ὅτι ὁ Ἰουγοῦρθας οὐκ ἠβουλήθη πρὸς αὐτόν, μὴ συλληφθῆ, ἐλθεῖν, καὶ ὁ Μάριος ὁ τε Γναῖος ἐνεπόδισαν.” UG (p. 385). “ ^[2] ἦν μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὴν ἄλλως καὶ στασιώδους καὶ παραχώδης, καὶ παντὸς μὲν τοῦ συρφετώδους, ἀφ’ οὗπερ καὶ ἐπεφύκει, φίλος, παντὸς δὲ τοῦ γενναίου καθαιρέτης. καὶ γὰρ εἶπεῖν τι καὶ ὑποσχέσθαι καὶ ψεύσασθαι καὶ ἐπιορκῆσαι, ἐν ᾧ πλεονεκτῆσειν ἥλπιζεν, ἐτοιμότατα ἐτόλμα, τὸ τε συκοφαντῆσαι τινα τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ τὸ ἐπαινέσαι αὖ τῶν κακίστων ἐν

παιδιᾷ ἐτίθετο. καὶ μοι μηδεὶς θαυμάσῃ εἰ τοιοῦτός τις ὦν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἔλαθεν ἐν οἷς ἐκακούργει: ἔκ τε γὰρ τῆς περιτεχνήσεως καὶ ἐκ τῆς τύχης, ἣ παράπαν τὰ πρῶτα ἀγαθῇ ἐχρήσατο, καὶ ἀρετῆς δόξαν ἐκτήσατο.” V. 78 (p. 629). “ [p. 440] [3] ὅτι τὸν Μέτελλον καὶ δι’ ἐκεῖνο ῥᾶον διαβαλεῖν ὁ Μάριος ἠδυνήθη, ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἐν τε τοῖς εὐπατριδαῖς ἐξητάζετο καὶ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἄριστα διεχειρίζεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐξ ἀφανεστάτου καὶ ἀδηλοτάτου ἐς τὸ μέσον παριέναι ἤρχετο ‘οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ ἐτοίμως τὸν μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου καθήρουν, τὸν δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἐπαγγελίας ἠῤῥον’, καὶ μάλισθ’ ὅτι ἐλογοποιήθη τὸν Μέτελλον παριεμένῳ τότε πρὸς τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας τῷ Μαρίῳ εἰπεῖν ὅτι ‘ἀγαπᾷν ὀφείλεις ἂν μετὰ τοῦ υἱέος μου’ ‘μειράκιον δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἦν’ ‘ὑπατεύσης.’” V. 79 (p. 630). “ [4] ὅτι τῷ Μετέλλῳ ἦχθετο ὁ Γαῦδας, ὅτι μήτε τοὺς αὐτομόλους μήτε φρουρὰν στρατιωτῶν Ῥωμαίων αἰτήσας παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἔλαβεν, ἣ καὶ ὅτι ἐγγὺς αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐκαθέζετο, ὅπερ ὡς πλήθει τοῖς τε βασιλεῦσι καὶ τοῖς δυνάσταις παρὰ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐδίδοτο.” V. 80 (p. 630). “ [5] ὅτι τῆς Κίρτας καθ’ ὁμολογίαν ἀλούσης ὁ Βόκχος ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο τῷ Μαρίῳ, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τὴν τοῦ Ἰουγούρθου ἀρχὴν μισθὸν τῆς μεταστάσεως ἦτει, ἔπειτα μὴ τυχὼν αὐτῆς ἀπλῶς ἠξίωσε συμβῆναι. καὶ ὁ μὲν πρέσβεις ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν, ὁ δὲ Ἰουγούρθας τούτων οὕτω [p. 442] γιγνομένων ἀπεχώρησεν ἐς τὰ ἐρημότατα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γῆς.” UG (p. 385). “ [6] ὅτι ὁ Μάριος πρέσβεις τοῦ Βόκχου κομισάμενος οὐκ ἔφη αὐτῷ συνθήσεσθαι, εἰ μὴ τὸν Ἰουγούρθαν ἔκδοτον παρ’ αὐτοῦ λάβοι: ὁ καὶ γέγονεν.” UG (p. 386). “ [p. 444]”

“ 90. ὅτι Τόλοσσαν πρότερον μὲν ἔνσπονδον οὕσαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, στασιάσασαν δὲ πρὸς τὰς τῶν Κίμβρων ἐλπίδας ὡς καὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς δεθῆναι, προκατέσχον νυκτὸς ἑξαπίνης ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐσαχθέντες, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ διήρπασαν, καὶ ἄλλα χωρὶς χρήματα πολλὰ ἔλαβον: τὸ γὰρ χωρίον ἄλλως τε παλαιόπλουτον ἦν, καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα ἃ ποτε οἱ Γαλάται οἱ μετὰ Βρέννου στρατεύσαντες ἐκ τῶν Δελφῶν ἐσύλησαν εἶχεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀξιόλογόν τι ἀπ’ αὐτῶν τοῖς οἴκοι Ῥωμαίοις περιεγένετο, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι τὰ πλείω ἐσφετερίσαντο. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ συχνοὶ εὐθύνθησαν.” V. 81 (p. 630).

“ 91. ὅτι ὁ Σερουίλιος ὑπὸ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν συνάρχοντα φθόνου ἅτ’ αὐτὸν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα ἐξ Ἰσου οἱ ἐπετέτραπτο, τῷ δὲ δὴ ἀξιώματι οἷα ὑπατεύοντος αὐτοῦ ἡλαττοῦτὸ πολλῶν καὶ κακῶν αἴτιος τῷ στρατεύματι ἐγένετο. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Μάλλιος μετὰ θάνατον Σκαύρου τὸν Σερουίλιον μετεπέμψατο: ὁ [p. 446] δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐκάτερον δεῖν φυλάττειν. [2] εἴτα ἐλπίσας τὸν Μάλλιον καθ’ ἑαυτὸν τι κατορθώσῃ, ἐφθόνησεν αὐτῷ, μὴ μόνος εὐδοκιμήσῃ, καὶ ἦλθε μὲν πρὸς αὐτόν, οὔτε δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χωρίῳ ἠύλισατο οὔτε τι βούλευμα κοινὸν ἐποίησατο, ἀλλ’ ὡς καὶ πρότερος αὐτοῦ τοῖς Κίμβροις συμμίξων, τὴν τε δόξαν τοῦ πολέμου [3] πᾶσαν ἀποισόμενος, ἐν μέσῳ ἰδρῦθη. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον φοβεροὶ καὶ ὡς τοῖς πολεμίοις, μέχρι οὗ ἢ διαφορὰ αὐτῶν ἐλάνθανεν, ἐγίνοντο, ὡς καὶ ἐς ἐπιθυμίαν σπονδῶν αὐτοὺς προαγαγεῖν: ὡς δὲ πρὸς Μάλλιον ὑπατεύοντα διεκηρυκεύσαντο, ὁ Σερουίλιος ἠγανάκτησεν ὅτι μὴ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπρεσβεύσαντο, καὶ οὔτε τι συμβατικὸν ἀπεκρίνατο, ὀλίγου τε καὶ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς διέφθειρεν.” V. 82 (p. 630).

“ [4] ὅτι οἱ στρατιῶται τὸν Σερουίλιον ἠνάγκασαν πρὸς Μάλλιον ἐλθεῖν καὶ μετ’ αὐτοῦ βουλευσασθαι περὶ τῶν παρόντων. τοσοῦτου δὲ ὁμοφρονῆσαι ἐδέησαν ὥστε καὶ ἐχθίους ἢ πρόσθεν ἦσαν ἐκ τῆς συνουσίας ἐγένοντο: ἔς τε γὰρ φιλονεικίαν καὶ λοιδορίας προαχθέντες αἰσχροῦς διελύθησαν.” V. 83 (p. 633).

“ 92. ὅτι Γναῖος Δομίτιος δίκην τῷ Σκαύρῳ λαχὼν, ἔπειτα ἐπειδὴ τῶν οἰκετῶν τις προσελθὼν αὐτῷ πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ κατὰ τοῦ δεσπότης μηνύσειν [p. 448] ὑπέσχετο, οὐκ ἐπολυπραγμόνησεν, καὶ προσέτι συλλαβὼν αὐτὸν παρέδωκε τῷ Σκαύρῳ.” V. 84 (p. 633).

“ 93. ὅτι Πούπλιος Λικίνιος Νέρουας στρατηγῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, καὶ μαθὼν ὅτι οὐκ ἐν δίκῃ τινὰ περὶ τοὺς δούλους γίγνοιτο, ἢ καὶ λημμάτων ἀφορμὰς ζητῶν ‘καὶ γὰρ ἦν οὐκ ἄδωροσ’, περιήγγειλεν ἀφικνεῖσθαι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν πάντας τοὺς αἰτιωμένους τι τοὺς δεσπότης σφῶν, ὡς καὶ [2] βοηθήσων αὐτοῖς. ἐξ οὖν τούτου ἐκείνων τε πολλοὶ συνιστάμενοι οἱ μὲν ἀδικεῖσθαι τι ἔλεγον, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι τοῖς δεσπότης ἐνεκάλουν, νομίζοντες καιρὸν εἰληφέναι τοῦ πάντα ὅσα ἐβούλοντο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀναιμωτὶ διαπράξασθαι: καὶ οἱ ἐλεύθεροι συμφρονήσαντες ἀνθίσταντο [3] σφισι καὶ οὐδαμῇ ὑφίεντο. φοβηθεὶς οὖν ὁ Λικίνιος τὴν σύστασιν αὐτῶν ἐκατέρων, μὴ καὶ μέγα τι δεινὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλαττωθέντων γένηται, οὐδένα τῶν δούλων προσεδέξατο, ἀλλ’ ἀπέπεμψεν αὐτοὺς ὡς μηδὲν κακὸν πεισομένους ἢ μηδὲν γε ἔτι

ταράξει τῷ διασκεδασθῆναι δυνησομένους. οἱ δὲ δεῖσαντες τοὺς δεσπότας, ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπικαλέσαι τι αὐτοῖς ἐτόλμησαν, συνεστράφησαν καὶ κοινολογησάμενοι πρὸς ληστείας ἐτράποντο.” V. 85 (p. 633). “ 94. ὅτι τῶν βαρβάρων ἡττημένων, καὶ συχνῶν [p. 450] ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πεσόντων, ὀλίγοι διεσώθησαν. ἐφ’ ὧπερ ὁ Μάριος τούτους παραμυθούμενος τε ἅμα καὶ ἀμειβόμενος, πᾶσαν αὐτοῖς τὴν λείαν ἐπευωνίσας ἀπέδοτο, ὅπως μηδὲν δόξῃ προῖκά τι κεχαρίσθαι. καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ὁ Μάριος, καίπερ ἐν τῷ πλήθει μόνῳ πρότερον, ὅτι ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγονὼς ἦν καὶ ὅτι ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἠϋξητο, εὖ φερόμενος, τότε καὶ τοὺς εὐπατριδας ὑφ’ ὧν ἐμισεῖτο ἐξενίκησεν, ὥστε πρὸς πάντων ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπαινέσθαι. τὴν τε ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐπὶ ἔτος, ὅπως καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσκατεργάσεται, παρ’ ἐκόντων καὶ ὁμογνωμονούντων αὐτῶν ἔλαβεν.” V. 86 (p. 633). “[2] ὅτι ὡς ἄπαξ ἐπέσχον, πολὺ τοῦ θυμοῦ οἱ Κίμβροι παρελύθησαν, κᾶκ τοῦτου καὶ ἀμβλύτεροι καὶ ἀσθενέστεροι καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐγένοντο. αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι ἐν τε οἰκίαις ἐκ τῆς πρόσθεν ὑπαιθρίου διαίτης κατέλυνον, καὶ λουτροῖς θερμοῖς ἀντὶ τῆς πρόσθεν ψυχρολουσίας ἐχρῶντο, καρυκείας τε καὶ ἡδυσμάτων ἐπιχωρίων διεπίμπλαντο, κρέα πρότερον ὡμὰ σιτοῦμενοι, καὶ τῷ οἴνῳ τῇ τε μέθῃ κατακορεῖς παρὰ τὸ ἔθος ἐγίννοντο. ταῦτα γὰρ τὸ τε θυμοειδὲς αὐτῶν πᾶν ἐξέκοψε καὶ τὰ σώματα ἐθήλυνεν, ὥστε μήτε τοὺς πόνους ἔτι μήτε τὰς τάλαιπωρίας, μὴ καῦμα, μὴ ψῦχος, μὴ ἀγρυπνίαν, φέρειν.” V. 87 (p. 633). “ 93. [4] ὅτι οἱ Μεσσήνιοι νομίσαντες μηδὲν δεινὸν πείσεσθαι, πάντα τὰ πλείστου ἄξια καὶ τιμιώτατα ἐκέισε ὑπεξέθεντο. μαθὼν δὲ τοῦτο Ἀθη- [p. 452] νίων, ὅπερ που τὸ μέγιστον κράτος τῶν ληστευόντων Κίλιξ ὧν εἶχεν, ἐπέθετο αὐτοῖς δημοτελῆ τινα ἑορτὴν ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἄγουσι, καὶ ἐκείνων τε πολλοὺς σκεδασθέντας ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὀλίγου κατὰ κράτος εἵλεν. χωρίον δὲ τι Μάκελλαν εὐερκὲς τειχισάμενος ἰσχυρῶς τὴν γῆν ἐκακούργει.” V. 88 (p. 634). “[p. 454]”

“ 95. ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς ὁ τοῦ Μετέλλου οὕτω καὶ ἰδία καὶ δημοσίᾳ πάντας ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὸν πατέρα κατελθεῖν ἰκέτευεν ὥστε καὶ Πίος, τοῦτ' ἔστιν Εὐσεβής, ἐπονομασθῆναι.” V. 92 (p. 638). “ [2] ὅτι ὁ Φούριος ἔχθραν τῷ Μετέλλῳ οὕτως ἔσχεν ὅτι τὸν ἵππον αὐτοῦ τιμητέων ἀφείλετο.” V. 93 (p. 638). “ [3] ὅτι Πούπλιον Φούριον γραφέντα ἐφ' οἷς δημαρχήσας ἐπεποιήκει ἀπέκτειναν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἀξιώτατον μὲν που ἀπολέσθαι ὄντα ‘καὶ γὰρ ταραχώδης ἦν, καὶ τῷ Σατουρνίνῳ τῷ τε Γλαυκίᾳ πρῶτον συστάς μετεβόλετο, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας αὐτῶν αὐτομολήσας σφίσι συνεπέθετό, οὐ μέντοι καὶ προσήκοντα τοῦτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ φθαρήναι. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν δίκῃ δὴ τινι γεγονέναι ἔδοξεν ... “ V. 89 (p. 637). “ 97. ὅτι τοῦ Ῥουτιλίου ἀγαθοῦ ὄντος ἀνδρὸς [p. 456] ἀδικώτατα κατεψηφίσαντο: ἐσήχηθη γὰρ ἐς δικαστήριον ἐκ κατασκευασμοῦ τῶν ἱππέων ὡς δωροδοκῇ ... Κυνίτῳ: Μουκίῳ, καὶ ἐξημιώθη ὑπ' αὐτῶν χρήμασι. ταῦτα ἐποίησαν θυμῷ φέροντες ὅτι πολλὰ περὶ τὰς τελωνίας πλημμελοῦντας ἐπέσχεν. 3” V. 90 (p. 637). “ [2] ὅτι ὁ Ῥουτίλιος ἀπελογήσατο μὲν γενναιότατα, καὶ οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ εἶπεν ὦν ἂν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς συκοφαντούμενος καὶ πολὺ πλεῖον τὰ τῶν κοινῶν ἢ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ὁδυρόμενος φθέγγαιτο, ἐάλω δέ, καὶ τῆς γε οὐσίας εὐθύς ἐξέστη. ἐξ οὗπερ οὐχ ἦκιστα ἐφωράθη μηδὲν οἱ προσήκουσαν καταδίκην ὀφλήσας: πολλῷ τε γὰρ σμικρότερα κεκτημένος εὐρέθη ἢ οἱ κατηγοροὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας αὐτὸν ἐσφετερισθαι ἐπεκάλουν, καὶ πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἐς δικαίας καὶ νομίμους ἀρχὰς [3] τῆς κτήσεως ἀνήγαγεν. οὕτω μὲν ἐπηρεάσθη, καὶ τινα ὁ Μάριος αἰτίαν τῆς ἀλώσεως αὐτοῦ ἔσχεν: ἀρίστῳ γὰρ καὶ εὐδοκιμωτάτῳ αὐτῷ ὄντι ἐβαρύνετο. διόπερ καὶ ἐκεῖνος τῶν τε πραττομένων ἐν τῇ πόλει καταγνοῦς, καὶ ἀπαξιῶσας τοιοῦτῳ ἔτι ἀνθρώπῳ συζῆσαι, ἐξεχώρησε μηδενὸς ἀναγκάζοντος, καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν γε τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐλθὼν τέως μὲν ἐν Μυτιλήνῃ διῆγεν, [p. 458] [4] ἔπειτα ἐκείνης ἐν τῷ Μιθριδατικῷ πολέμῳ κακωθείσης ἐς Σμύρναν μετωκίσθη, κάνταῦθα κατεβίω, οὐδὲ ἠθέλησεν ἐπανελθεῖν οἴκαδε. καὶ οὐδὲν γε παρὰ τοῦτο ἦττον οὔτε ἐν εὐκλείᾳ οὔτε ἐν περιουσίᾳ ἐγένετο: πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Μούκιος, πλεῖστα δὲ καὶ δῆμοι καὶ βασιλῆς ὅσοι ποτὲ ἐπεπειράντο αὐτοῦ ἐχαρίσαντο, ὥστε πολὺ πλείω αὐτὸν τῆς ἀρχαίας οὐσίας ἔχειν.” V. 91 (p. 637). “ 96. ἦσαν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς στασιάρχοι, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον κράτος τῶν μὲν Μάρκος, τῶν δὲ Κόιντος εἶχον, δυναστείας τε ἐπιθυμηταὶ καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἄπληστοι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐς τὸ [2] φιλόνεικον προπετέστατοι ὄντες. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου ἐκέκτηντο, προέφερον δὲ Δροῦσος μὲν τῷ γένει καὶ τῷ πλούτῳ, τῇ τε ἐς τοὺς αἰεὶ δεομένους αὐτοῦ ἀφειδῶς ἀναλώσει, ὁ δὲ τῷ τε θράσει πολλῷ καὶ τῇ τόλμῃ, ταῖς τε προεπιβουλαῖς καὶ ταῖς ὑπ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα κακοηθείαις. ὅθεν οὐκ ἀπεικότως τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν διαφόρων ἀντίρροποι τὸν τρόπον τινὰ ἀλλήλοις ὄντες τὴν στάσιν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἤγειραν, ὥστε αὐτὴν καὶ ἀποθανόντων αὐτῶν μεῖναι.” V (p. 638). “ [3] ὅτι ὁ Δροῦσος καὶ ὁ Καίπιων ἰδίαν ἀλλήλοις ἔχθραν ἐκ φιλίας πολλῆς καὶ γάμων

ἐπαλλαγῆς [p. 460] ποιησάμενοι καὶ ἐς τὰ πολιτικά αὐτὴν προήγαγον.” V. 95 (p. 638). “ [4] Δίων κή βιβλίῳ ‘καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐπιβουλευόντα.”” Bekk. Anecd. 136, 30. “ [5] κή βιβλίῳ Δίων ‘οὐχ ὅπως οὐκ ἔπεισέ τινας καίπερ τινὰ ἀληθῆ λέγων.”” Ib. 166, 8. “ [p. 462]”

“ 98. ὅτι ὁ Λοῦπος τοὺς εὐπατρίδας τοὺς συστρατευομένους οἱ ὡς καὶ τὰ βουλευόμενα αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐξαγγέλλοντας ὑποπτεύσας, ἐπέστειλε περὶ αὐτῶν τῇ βουλῇ πρὶν τι α ... κάκ τούτου οὐδ’ ἄλλως σφᾶς ... ὑπὸ τῆς στάσεως ἔχοντας ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον συνέβαλεν. καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐταράχθησαν, εἰ μὴ τινες τῶν Μαρσῶν ἐφωράθησαν ἀναμειγνύμενοί τε τοῖς προνομεύουσι τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ ἐς τὸ τάφρευμα ὡς καὶ σύμμαχοι σφων συνεσιόντες, καὶ πολυπραγμονοῦντες τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ λεγόμενα καὶ δρώμενα, καὶ τοῖς σφετέροις ἐξαγγέλλοντες. καὶ οὕτως ὀργιζόμενοι τοῖς εὐπατρίδαις ἐπαύσαντο.” V. 96 (p. 641). “ [2] ὅτι ὁ Μάριος ὑποπτεύσας τὸν Λοῦπον καίπερ συγγενῇ ὄντα, φθόνῳ τε καὶ ἐλπίδι τοῦ καὶ ὕπατον τὸ ἔβδομον, ὡς καὶ μόνον ἂν τὰ παρόντα κατορθώσαντα, ἀποδειχθῆναι, τρίβειν ἐκέλευεν: [p. 464] σφᾶς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ... τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔξειν ἔλεγεν, ἐκείνους δὲ οὐ δυνήσεσθαι ἐπὶ πλεῖον, ἅτε τοῦ πολέμου ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτῶν ὄντος, ἀνταρκέσαι.” V. 97 (p. 641). “ [3] ὅτι οἱ Πικένται τοὺς μὴ συναποστάντας σφίσι ἐχειρώσαντο, καὶ τούτοις ἐν ἐπόψει τῶν φίλων ἐνύβριζον, καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τὰς κόμας σὺν τῷ δέρματι ἐκ τῶν κεφαλῶν ἀπέσπασαν.” V. 98 (p. 641). “ [p. 466]”

BOOKS 30 TO 35

“ 99. ὅτι ὁ Μιθριδάτης πρέσβειων ἡκόντων Ῥωμαίων οὐδὲν ἐκίνησεν, ἀλλ’ ἀνταιτιασάμενός τινα, καὶ προσαποδείξας τοῖς πρέσβεσι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν χρημάτων ὧν τῷ τε κοινῷ καὶ ἰδίᾳ τισὶν ἀναλώκει, ἡσυχίαν ἔσχεν. ὁ δὲ Νικομήδης τῇ συμμαχίᾳ αὐτῶν ἐπαρθεὶς καὶ χρημάτων δεθηθεὶς ἐσέβαλεν ἐς τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ. 3” UG (p. 386). “ [1a] Δίωνος λα βιβλίῳ ‘καὶ τῷ Μιθραδάτῃ αὐτὸς πρὸς τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ πρὸς τῆς βουλῆς προστετάχθαι.’” Bekk. Anecd. 166, 18. “ [2] ὅτι ὁ Μιθριδάτης πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλεν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἀξιῶν, εἰ μὲν φίλον τὸν Νικομήδην νομίζουσι, πῆσαι αὐτὸν ἢ καὶ καταναγκάσαι τὰ δίκαιά οἱ ποιῆσαι, εἰ δὲ μὴ, αὐτῷ γε ἐπιτρέψαι τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἀμύνασθαι. οἱ δὲ οὐχ ὅτι τι ἔπραξαν ὧν ἠθελεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιπείλησαν αὐτῷ, ἂν μὴ τῷ Ἀριοβαρζάνῃ τὴν Καππαδοκίαν ἀποδῷ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Νικομήδην εἰρήνην ἄγῃ. τοὺς τε πρέσβεις αὐτοῦ αὐθημερὸν ἀπέπεμψαν, καὶ [p. 468] προσαπηγόρευσαν αὐτῷ μηκέτι μηδένα ἄλλον, ἂν μὴ πειθαρχῇ σφισι, πέμψαι.” UG (p. 386). “ [2a] Δίωνος λα βιβλίῳ ‘τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὡς καὶ ἐπικουρίας τινὸς παρ’ ἑαυτοῦ δεομένων ἐπιμνησθεῖς.’” Bekk. Anecd. 137, 20. “ 100. ὅτι Κάτων ἀστικὸν καὶ ἀφηλικέστερον τὸ πλεῖον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἔχων ἐς τὰ ἄλλα ἦττον ἔρρωτο, καὶ ποτε ἐπιτιμῆσαι σφισιν, ὅτι μήτε πονεῖν μήτε τὰ παραγγελλόμενα προθύμως ποιεῖν ἠθελον, ἐπιτολήσας ὀλίγου κατεχώσθη βληθεὶς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν. καὶ ἐτεθνῆκει γ’ ἂν εἰ λίθων εὐπορήκεσαν: ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ συνειλέχато ἐγεωργεῖτο καὶ διυγρον κατὰ τύχην ἦν, οὐδὲν ὑπὸ βῶλων ἔπαθεν. συνελήφθη δὲ ὁ τῆς στάσεως ἄρξας Γάιος Τίτιος, ἀνὴρ ἀγοραῖος καὶ ἐκ δικαστηρίων τὸν βίον ποιούμενος, τῇ τε παρρησίᾳ μετὰ ἀναισχυντίας κατακορεῖ χρώμενος, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἄστῃ ἐς τοὺς δημάρχους ἐπέμφθη, οὐκ ἐκολάσθη δέ.” V. 99 (p. 641). “ 101. ὅτι πάντες τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐφόνευσαν κελεύσαντος Μιθριδάτου οἱ Ἀσιανοί, πλὴν καθ’ ὅσον Τραλλιανοὶ οὐδένα ἀπέκτειναν, Θεόφιλον δὲ τινα Παφλαγὸνα ἐμισθώσαντο, ὥσπερ που ἦττον σφων ἀπόλλυσθαι μελλόντων, ἢ καὶ διαφέρον αὐτοῖς ὑφ’ ὅτου σφαγῇσιντο.” V. 100 (p. 642). “ [2] ὅτι οἱ Θρᾷκες ἀναπεισθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου [p. 470] τὴν τε Ἡπειρον καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ μέχρι τῆς Δωδώνης κατέδραμον, ὥστε καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἱερὸν συλῆσαι.” V. 101 (p. 642). “ 102. ὅτι ὁ Κίννας, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τὴν ἀρχὴν παρέλαβεν, οὐδὲν οὕτω τῶν πάντων ἐσπούδασεν ὡς καὶ τὸν Σύλλαν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκβαλεῖν, πρόφασιν μὲν τὸν Μιθριδάτην ποιησάμενος, ἔργῳ δὲ ἐπιθυμήσας αὐτὸν ἀπαρτῆσαι οἱ, ὅπως μὴ ἐγγύθεν ἐφεδρεῦων ἐμποδῶν πρὸς ᾧ ἔπραττε γένηται. καίτοι τῇ τοῦ Σύλλου σπουδῇ ἀπεδέδεικτο, καὶ οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐ κατὰ γνώμην αὐτοῦ [2] πράξειν ὑπέσχητο. ὁ γὰρ Σύλλας τὴν τε ἀνάγκην τοῦ πολέμου ὀρῶν καὶ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ γλιχόμενος, τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ οἱκοὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐπιτηδεϊότατον ἑαυτῷ πρὶν ἐξορμηθῆναι κατεστήσατο, καὶ τὸν Κίνναν Γναῖόν τε τινα Ὀκτάουιον διαδόχους ἀπέφηνεν, ἐλπίσας μάλιστα ἂν οὕτω καὶ [3] ἀπὼν ἰσχυῖσαι. τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τε ἐπιεικείᾳ ἐπαινούμενον ἡπίστατο καὶ οὐδὲν παρακινήσειν ἐνόμιζεν, ἐκεῖνον δὲ εὖ μὲν ἤδει κακὸν ἄνδρα ὄντα, οὐκ ἠθέλησε δὲ

ἐκπολεμῶσαι δυνάμενον τέ τι καὶ αὐτὸν ἤδη, καὶ ἑτοίμως, ὥς γε καὶ ἔλεγε καὶ ὦμνυν, ἔχοντα πᾶν οἱ ὅτιοῦν ὑπουργῆσαι. [4] αὐτός τε οὖν, καίτοι δεινότατος ὢν τὰς τε γνώμας τῶν ἀνθρώπων συνιδεῖν καὶ τὰς φύσεις τῶν πραγ- [p. 472] μάτων συλλογίσασθαι, πάνυ ἐν τούτῳ διεσφάλῃ, καὶ πόλεμον τῇ πόλει μέγαν κατέλιπεν.” V. 102 (p. 642). “ [5] ὅτι Ὁκτάουιος φύσει βραδὺς ἦν πρὸς τὰ πολιτικά.” V. 103 (p. 642). “ [6] ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦ ἐμφυλίου πολέμου ἐνεστηκότος τὸν Μέτελλον μετεπέμψαντο, κελεύσαντες βοηθεῖν.” UG (p. 386). “ [7] ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι στασιάσαντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὸν Μέτελλον μετεπέμψαντο, κελεύσαντες αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς Σαυνίτας, ὅπως ποτ’ ἂν δύνηται, συμβῆναι: οὗτοι γὰρ ἔτι τότε μόνοι τὴν Καμπανίαν καὶ τὴν ἐπέκεινα αὐτῆς ἐκακούργουν. ὁ δὲ τούτοις οὐκ ἐσπέισατο: τὴν τε γὰρ πολιτείαν ἤξιον οὐχ ἑαυτοῖς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἡυτομοληκόσι πρὸς σφᾶς δοθῆναι, καὶ οὔτε τι τῆς λείας ἦν εἶχον ἀποδοῦναι ἠθελον, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τοὺς τε αὐτομόλους σφῶν πάντας ἀπῆλθον, ὥστε μὴδὲ τοὺς βουλευτὰς τὴν εἰρήνην ἔτι τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐλέσθαι.” UR (p. 385). “ [8] ὅτι ἐπειδὴ ὁ Κίννας τὸν νόμον τὸν περὶ τῆς καθόδου τῶν φυγάδων ἀνενέωσατο, ὁ Μάριος οἷ τε ἄλλοι οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκπεσόντες ἐσεπῆδησαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ στρατοῦ κατὰ πάσας ἅμα τὰς πύλας, καὶ ἐκείνας τε ἔκλεισαν ὥστε μὴδὲνα διαδρᾶναι, καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντάς σφισι ἐξειργάσαντο, μὴδὲνα αὐτῶν ἀποκρίνοντες, [p. 474] ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως ὡς πολεμίοις [9] χρώμενοι. μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς τι ἔχοντας ἐπιθυμία χρημάτων ἔφθειρον, καὶ τοὺς τε παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας σφῶν ὕβριζον, ὥσπερ τινὰ ἄλλοτριαν πόλιν ἠνδραποδισμένοι. καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν ἐλλογιμωτάτων ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀνετίθεσαν. καὶ ἦν τὸ θέαμα οὐδὲν τι τοῦ ὀλέθρου αὐτῶν πραότερον: τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τοῖς ὀρώσι προσπαρίστη νομίζειν ὅτι, ὅσα πολεμίων ἀκροστολίοις οἱ προπάτορές σφῶν ἐκεκοσμήκεσαν, ταῦτα τότε ταῖς τῶν πολιτῶν κεφαλαῖς ἀπεκοσμεῖτο. [10] τοσαύτη γὰρ ἐνὶ λόγῳ ἢ τε ἐπιθυμία καὶ ἡ ἀπληστία τῶν φόνων τὸν Μάριον κατέσχεν ὥστε, ἐπειδὴ τὸ πλεῖστον τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπεκτόνει καὶ οὐκέτ’ οὐδεὶς ὢν ἐξολέσαι ἐγλίχετο ἐπὶ τὸν νοῦν ἅτε ἐν τοσαύτῃ ταραχῇ ἐπῆει, σύνθημα τοῖς στρατιώταις δοῦναι σφάττειν πάντας ἐξῆς οἷς ἂν τῶν προσιόντων μὴ ὀρέξῃ τὴν χεῖρα. πρὸς γὰρ τοῦτο τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πράγματα ἀφίκετο ὥστε μὴ μόνον ἀκρίτως μὴδ’ ἀπ’ ἐχθρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν οὐκ ἔκτασιν τῆς ἐκείνου χειρὸς ἀπόλλυσθαι. [11] καὶ ἦν γάρ, ὥσπερ εἰκός, ἔν τε ὄχλῳ καὶ ἐν θορύβῳ τοσοῦτῳ οὐδ’ αὐτῷ τῷ Μαρίῳ ἐπιμελές, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ δυνατόν οὐδ’ εἰ πάνυ ἐβούλετο, κατὰ γνώμην τῇ χειρὶ χρῆσθαι πολλοὶ καὶ τούτου μάτην ἀπέθανον, οὐς οὐδαμῇ οὐδαμῶς ἀποκτεῖναι ἐδεῖτο. τὸ μὲν οὖν σύμπαν τῶν τότε [p. 476] ἀποθανόντων ἀνεξεύρετόν ἐστι: πέντε γὰρ ὅλαις ἡμέραις καὶ νυξὶν ἴσαις αἱ σφαγαὶ ἐγένοντο.” V. 104 (p. 642). “ [11a] Δίων λα βιβλίῳ ‘κάνταῦθα ἀπογνοὺς μὴδὲν οἱ τὸν θεὸν ἐπαρκέσειν ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο.’” Bekk. Anecd. 140, 25. “ [12] ὅτι θυόντων τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἱσταμένου τοῦ ἔτους τὰ ἐσιτήρια, καὶ τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ τὰς εὐχὰς κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ποιουμένων, ὁ υἱὸς Μαρίου δήμαρχόν τινα αὐθεντία ἀποκτείνας τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἔπεμψε, καὶ ἄλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου κατεκρήμνισεν, ὅπερ οὐδεὶς ἄλλος

ἐπεπόνθει, καὶ δύο στρατηγοὺς καὶ πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος εἴρξεν.” V. 105 (p. 645). “ 104. ὅτι ὁ ὑποστράτηγος Φλάκκου Φιμβρίας ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐλθόντι αὐτῷ ἐστασίασεν. ἦν γὰρ ἐς πάντα δὴ τολμηρότατος καὶ προπετέστατος, δόξης τε ὁποιασοῦν ἐραστὴς καὶ παντὸς τοῦ ἀμείνονος ὀλίγωρος. ἐξ ὧν που καὶ τότε, ἀφ’ οὗπερ ἀπῆρεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης, ἀρετὴν τε ἐς χρήματα καὶ σπουδὴν περὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας προσποισάμενος ἀνηρτήσατό τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τῷ ^[2] Φλάκκῳ συνέκρουσεν. ἡδυνήθη δὲ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ὅτι ἐκεῖνος χρημάτων τε ἅπληστος ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἡγάπα τὰ περιγιγνόμενα σφετεριζόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν τροφῆς, ἔκ ^[p. 478] τῆς λείας, ἦν ἰδίαν ἐκάστοτε ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι, ἐχρηματίζετο.” V. 112 (p. 650). “ ^[3] ὅτι ἐπεὶ πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἀφίκοντο Φλάκκος καὶ Φιμβρίας, καὶ ὁ Φλάκκος ἔξω τοῦ τείχους αὐτοὺς αὐλίσασθαι κελεύσας ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσῆλθε, παραλαβὼν τοῦτο ὁ Φιμβρίας χρήματά τε αὐτὸν εἰληφέναι κατητιᾶτο, καὶ διέβαλλε λέγων ὡς ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἔνδον τρυφῶν, σφεῖς δὲ ὑπὸ σκηναῖς ἐν χειμῶνι ταλαιπωροῖντο. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐς τε τὸ ἄστυ θυμῷ ἔπεσον, καὶ τινες τῶν ἐμπεσόντων σφίσιν ἀποκτείναντες ἐς τὰς οἰκίας ἐσκεδάσθησαν.” V. 113 (p. 650). “ ^[4] ὅτι διαφορᾷς τινὸς τῷ Φιμβρίᾳ πρὸς τὸν ταμίαν γενομένης ἠπειλήσεν αὐτῷ ὁ Φλάκκος ἄκοντα ἐς Ῥώμην ἀποπέμψειν, λοιδορησάμενόν τέ τι διὰ τοῦτο αὐτῷ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀφείλετο. ὁ δὲ Φιμβρίας ἐς τὴν ἀποπορείαν δῆθεν ἐπαχθέστατα στείλάμενος πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἀφίκετο, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀφόδῳ αὐτοὺς ἡσπάζετο, γράμματά τε ἦται, καὶ ἐαυτὸν ^[5] ὡς καὶ ἀνάξια πεπονθῶς ὠδύρετο: μεμνησθαι τέ σφισι ὧν ὑπουργήκει, καὶ φυλακὴν σφῶν ποιεῖσθαι, αἰνιτιτόμενος ἐς τὸν Φλάκκον ὡς καὶ ἐπιβουλεύσοντα αὐτοῖς, παρήνει. καὶ μαθὼν τὰ λεγόμενα δεχομένους καὶ ἐαυτῷ εὐνοίαν ἔχοντας καὶ ἐς ἐκεῖνον ὑποπτεύοντας, ἀνέβη ἐπὶ μετέωρον καὶ προσπαρώξυνέ σφας, ἄλλα τέ τινα τοῦ ^[p. 480] Φλάκκου κατηγορήσας, καὶ ὅτι προδώσει αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ χρημάτων: ὥστε τοὺς στρατιώτας Θέρμον τὸν ἐπιτεταγμένον σφίσιν ἀπελάσαι.” V. 114 (p. 650). “ ^[6] ὅτι ὁ Φιμβρίας ἄνδρας πολλοὺς οὐ πρὸς τὸ δικαιοτάτον οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ τῇ Ῥώμῃ συμφορώτατον, ἀλλ’ ὀργῇ καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ φόνων ἀπώλλυεν. τεκμήριον δέ, σταυροὺς ποτε πολλοὺς, οἷς προσδέων αὐτοὺς καὶ αἰκίζόμενος διεχρήτο, γενέσθαι προστάξας, ἔπειτ’ ἐπειδὴ πολὺ πλείους τῶν θανατωθησομένων εὐρέθησαν ὄντες, ἐκέλευσεν ἐκ τῶν περιστηκότων τινὰς συλληφθῆναι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λοιποὺς προσδεθῆναι, ἵνα μὴ μάτην δόξωσι γεγονέναι.” V. 115 (p. 653). “ ^[7] ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ Ἴλιον λαβὼν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὅσους ἡδυνήθη μηδενὸς φεισάμενος κατεχρήσατο, καὶ τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν ὀλίγου κατέπρησεν. εἶλε δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐ κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρόν, ἀλλ’ ἀπατήσας: ἔπαινον γὰρ τινα αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ τῇ πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν πεμφθείσῃ ποιησάμενος, καὶ διαφέρειν μηδὲν ὁποτέρῳ σπείσονται ἄμφοτέρους γὰρ σφας Ῥωμαίους εἶναι εἰπὼν, ἔπειτα ὡς παρὰ φίλους αὐτοὺς ἐσῆλθε καὶ ἐξειργάσατο ταῦτα.” V. 116 (p. 653). “ ^[8] ἐν δὲ λγ βιβλίῳ Δίων’ ‘οἱ οὖν ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον οὔτε τι προσεποιεῖτο αὐτῶν...”” Bekk. Anecd. 165, 15. “ ^[p. 482] 106. ὅτι ὁ Μέτελλος ὑπὸ Κίννου ἡττηθεὶς ἐς τὸν Σύλλαν ἦκε καὶ πλεῖστα αὐτῷ συνήρατο: πρὸς γὰρ τοι τὴν δόξαν τῆς τε δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς

εὐσεβείας οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ τῶν τάναντία τῷ Σύλλᾳ πραπτόντων, νομίσαντες αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀκριτῶς οἱ συνέλπειν ἀλλὰ τὰ τε δικαιότερα καὶ τὰ τῇ πατρίδι συμφωρότερα ὄντως αἰρεῖσθαι, προσεχώρησαν σφίσι.” V. 117 (p. 653). “107. ὅτι ὁ Πομπήιος υἱὸς ἦν τοῦ Στράβωνος, συνεκρίθη δὲ ὑπὸ Πλουτάρχου Ἀγησιλάῳ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ. ἀχθόμενος δὲ τοῖς τὴν πόλιν ἔχουσι ἐξωρμήθη ἐς τὸ Πικηνὸν αὐτὸς ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῦ, οὐδὲ ἐς ἄνδρας πω πάννυ τελεῶν, καὶ παρ’ ἐκείνων χειρὰ τινα διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἡγεμονίαν ἀθροίσας δυναστείαν ἰδίαν συνίστη, καὶ ῥήθη ἐλλογιμὸν τι πράττει καθ’ ἑαυτὸν: καὶ τῷ Σύλλᾳ προσεχώρησε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπὸ τούτων ἀρξάμενος οὐδὲν μείων ἐκείνου ἐγένετο, ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ πού τις καὶ ἡ ἐπικλησις αὐτῷ προσετέθη, μέγας ἠυξήθη.” V. 118 (p. 653). “ Δίων γλ βιβλίῳ ‘καὶ γὰρ γελοῖόν ἐστιν, ἐν Καμπανίᾳ τε αὐτοῦ ὄντος καὶ δυναμένου διὰ ταχέων ὧν αἰτίαν ἔχει λόγον ὑποσχεῖν, ἐμὲ ὑπερδικεῖν.” Bekk. Anecd. 177, 30. “ Δίων γλ βιβλίῳ ‘πῶς δ’ ἂν τις πιστεύσειεν αὐτῷ;” Ib. 162, 19. “ [p. 484] 108. ὅτι ὁ Σύλλας τὸ στράτευμα παρέδωκεν ἀνδρὶ μὴτ’ ἄλλως ἐπαινουμένῳ, καίπερ πολλοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς συγγενομένων οἱ ἔχον καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ πράξει προφέροντας, οἷς πού τις καὶ ἐς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ χρόνου πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ὡς καὶ πιστοτάτοις ἐκέχρητο. καὶ πρὶν μὲν νικῆσαι ἐδεῖτό τε αὐτῶν καὶ ταῖς ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ὠφελίαις ἀπεχρῆτο: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγγυτέρω τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ παντελῶς κρατήσιν ἐγένετο, οὐδένα αὐτῶν ἔτι λόγον ἐποιεῖτο, τοῖς δὲ κακίοις καὶ μῆτε ἐν περιφανείᾳ γένους μῆτε ἐν δόξῃ ἀρετῆς οὕσι [2] μᾶλλον ἐπίστευσεν. αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι τοὺς μὲν τοιοῦτους πρὸς πάντα αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ χειρίστα ἐτοίμους ὄντας ὑπουργεῖν ἐώρα, καὶ χάριν τε ἑαυτῷ πλείστην κἂν ἐλαχίστου τινὸς τύχῳσιν ὀφειλήσιν, καὶ μὴτ’ ὑπερφρονήσιν ποτὲ μῆτε τῶν ἔργων ἢ τῶν βουλευμάτων ἀντιποιήσεσθαι ἐνόμιζεν, τὸ δ’ ἀρετὴν ἔχον οὐτε συγκακουργεῖν οἱ ἐθέλησιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἐπιτιμήσιν, καὶ τὰ γέρα τῶν εὐεργετημάτων κατ’ ἀξίαν ἀπαιτήσιν, καὶ μηδεμίαν χάριν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ἄτε καὶ ὀφειλόμενά σφισι ἀπολαμβάνοντας ἔξιν, τὰς τε πράξεις καὶ τὰς συμβουλίας ὡς καὶ ἑαυτῶν οὐσας προσποιήσεσθαι.” V. 119 (p. 654). “ [p. 486] 109. ὅτι ὁ Σύλλας νικήσας τοὺς Σαυνίτας μέχρι μὲν δὴ οὖν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης διαπρεπὴς ἦν, καὶ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τε τῶν στρατηγημάτων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν βουλευμάτων μέγιστον ἔσχε, φιланθρωπία τε καὶ εὐσεβεία πολὺ προέχιν ἐνόμιζετο, ὥστε καὶ τὴν τύχην σύμμαχον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς πάντας [2] ἔχιν αὐτὸν ἡγεῖσθαι: μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο τοσαύτην μεταβολὴν ἐποίησατο ὥστε μὴδ’ ἂν τοῦ αὐτοῦ τινα φάναι ταῦτά τε καὶ τὰ ἔπειτα εἶναι. οὕτως, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐκ ἦνεγκεν εὐτυχήσας. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα ἃ ἕως ἀσθενῆς ἦν ἄλλοις ἐπεκάλει, καὶ ἕτερα πλείω καὶ ἀτοπώτερα ἔπραξε, βουλόμενος μὲν πού τις καὶ αἰεὶ αὐτά, ἐλεγχθεὶς δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ. ἀφ’ οὐπὲρ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἔδοξε τισιν ἢ κακοπραγία μέρος οὐκ ἐλάχιστον ἔχειν τῆς ἀρετῆς. [3] ὁ γὰρ Σύλλας ὡς τάχιστα τῶν Σαυνιτῶν ἐκράτησε καὶ τέλος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐπιτεθεικέναι ἐνόμιζε ‘τὰ γὰρ δὴ λοιπὰ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποιεῖτο, μετεβάλετο, καὶ ἑαυτὸν μὲν ἔξω τε τῶν τειχῶν τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κατέλειπεν, τὸν δὲ δὴ Κίνναν καὶ τὸν Μάριον τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς μετ’ αὐτὸν γενομένους πάντας ἅμα ὑπερέβαλεν. ὅσα γὰρ μηδὲνα τῶν δῆμων τῶν ὀθνείων ἀντιπολεμησάντων οἱ

ἔδρασε, ταῦτα τότε τὴν πατρίδα καθάπερ καὶ ^[4] ἐκείνην νικήσας ἐξειργάσατο. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ αὐθημερόν ^[p. 488] τὰς κεφαλὰς τοῦ τε Δαμασίοπου καὶ τῶν συνεξετασθέντων αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ Πραινέστε πέμψας ἀνεσκολόπισε, καὶ τῶν παραδόντων σφᾶς ἐθελοντάς συχνούς ὡς καὶ ἄκοντας ἐλὼν ἀπέκτεινεν. ^[5] καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τοῖς τε βουλευταῖς ἐς τὸ Ἐννεῖον, ὡς καὶ ἀπολογιούμενός τι αὐτοῖς, καὶ τοῖς ζωγρηθεῖσι ἐς τὸν ἄγρὸν τὸν δημόσιον καλούμενον ὡς καὶ ἐς τὸν κατάλογον αὐτοὺς ἐσγράφων συνελθεῖν κελεύσας, τούτους ἅμα δι' ἐτέρων ἐφόνευσε 'καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀνθρώπων ἀναμιχθέντες σφίσι παραπῶλοντό, καὶ ἐκείνοις αὐτὸς πικρότατα διελέξατο." V. 120 (p. 654). " ^[6] ὅτι ὁ φόνος τῶν ἐαλωκότων καὶ τότε οὐδὲν ἦττον ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλου ἐγίνετο, καὶ αὐτῶν ἅτε ἐγγὺς τοῦ ναοῦ θνησκόντων πολὺς μὲν θόρυβος πολὺς δὲ καὶ θρῆνος οἰμωγαὶ τε καὶ ὀδυρμοὶ ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσέπιπτον, ὥστε τὴν γερουσίαν ἀμφοτέρωθεν ^[7] ἐκταράττεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ πόρρω ἔτι τοῦ τι καὶ αὐτοὶ δεινὸν πείσεσθαι προσδοκᾶν ἦσαν, οὕτως ἀνόσια αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγοντος ἅμα καὶ πράττοντος: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλοί, ἅτε ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις ἐν ταῦτῳ περιαλοῦντες, ἐπεθύμουν τῶν ἔξω καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν ἤδη ἀπολλυμένων εἶναι, ἵνα ^[8] παύσωνται ποτε φοβούμενοι. ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ μὲν ^[p. 490] ἀνεβέβληντο, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι κατεσφάγησαν καὶ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐρρίφησαν, ὥστε τὸ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου πολὺ δεινὸν νομισθέν, ὅτι ποτὲ πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ῥωμαίους ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐν βραχεὶ πρὸς τε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ πρὸς τὸν τρόπον ^[9] τῶν τότε φονευθέντων νομισθῆναι. οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα τὸ δεινὸν ἔστη, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀπὸ φρυκτωρίας τινὸς ἐκεῖθεν αἱ σφαγαὶ ἀρξάμεναι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄστει καὶ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ταῖς τε πόλεσι ταῖς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ πάσαις ἐγένοντο. πολλοὺς μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ Σύλλας, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐταῖροι αὐτοῦ, οἱ μὲν ἐπ' ἀληθείας, οἱ δὲ καὶ προσποιούμενοι, ἐμίσουν, ὅπως ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἔργων ὁμοιότητος τὸ τε ὁμότηδες οἱ ἐνδεικνύοντες καὶ τὴν φιλίαν βεβαιοῦντες, μὴ ἐκ τοῦ διαφόρου αὐτῷ ὑποπτευθῶσι τε καταγιγνώσκειν τι αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ^[10] κινδυνεύσωσιν. ἔσφαζον δὲ καὶ ὅσους πλουτοῦντας ἢ καὶ ἄλλως πως ὑπερέχοντάς σφωὶν ἐώρων, τοὺς μὲν φθόνῳ, τοὺς δὲ διὰ τὰ χρήματα: πλεῖστοι γὰρ ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ καὶ τῶν μέσων, κἂν μηδετέρωσιν συναίρωνται. ... ἰδιὸν τι ἔγκλημα τὸ κατ' ἀρετὴν ἢ καὶ γένει πλούτῳ τέ τινος προέχειν λαμβάνοντες. καὶ ἀσφάλεια οὐδεμία οὐδενὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν κράτει τινὶ ἀδικεῖν βουλομένους εὐρίσκετο." V. 121 (p. 657). " ^[p. 492] ^[11] ὅτι τοιαῦται συμφοραὶ τὴν Ῥώμην περιέσχον. τί γὰρ ἂν τις τὰς τῶν ζώντων ὕβρεις λέγοι, αἱ πολλαὶ μὲν περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, πολλαὶ δὲ περὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς εὐγενεστάτους καὶ ἐλλογιμωτάτους καθάπερ αἰχμαλώτους ἐγίνοντο; οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνα, καίπερ χαλεπώτατα ὄντα, τῷ γοῦν ὁμοιοτρόπῳ τῶν ἤδη σφίσι συμβεβηκότων οἰοτὰ ^[12] τοῖς γε ἐκτὸς τούτων οὕσιν ἐδόκει εἶναι. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐξήρκει τῷ Σύλλᾳ, οὐδ' ἡγάπα τὰ αὐτὰ ἐτέροις δρῶν, ἀλλὰ τις αὐτῷ πόθος ἐσῆει καὶ ἐν τῇ πολυτροπίᾳ τῶν φόνων πολὺ πάντων περιεῖναι, ὥσπερ τινὰ ἀρετὴν οὕσαν τὸ μηδὲ ἐν ταῖς μισαιφονίαις τινὸς ἡττᾶσθαι, τινὰ καινότητα ἐξέθηκε λελευκωμένον πίνακα, ἐς ὃν ἐνέγραφε τὰ ^[13] ὀνόματα. οὐ μέντοι γε ἦττον πάντα ὅσα καὶ πρὶν ἐγίνετο, οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ οἱ μὴ ἐς τὰ

λευκώματα ἐγγεγραμμένοι ἦσαν. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ οἱ μὲν ζῶντες οἱ δὲ καὶ
 τεθνηκότες ἐπ' ἀδεία τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων σφᾶς προσεγεγράφοντο, ὥστε ἐν
 τούτῳ μηδὲν διενεγκεῖν τὸ πρᾶγμα, τῇ τε δεινότητι τῇ τε ἀτοπία αὐτοῦ πάνυ
 πάντας χαλεπανθῆναι. [14] τὰ τε γὰρ πινάκια ὥσπερ τις ἀναγραφὴ βουλευτῶν
 ἢ κατάλογος στρατιωτῶν νομιζομένων ἐξετίθετο, καὶ συνέθεον ἐπ' αὐτὰ
 πάντες οἱ αἰεὶ παριόντες σπουδῇ, καθάπερ τινὰ χρηστὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἔχοντα·
 καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν συγγενεῖς, ἤδη δὲ τινες καὶ [p. 494] ἑαυτοὺς εὕρισκον
 ἐγγεγραμμένους, κἂκ τούτου τὸ πάθος οἷα ἐξαπιναιῶ κακῶ φοβερώτερον
 σφας κατελάμβανεν· καὶ συχνοὶ καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τούτου [15] γνωριζόμενοι
 διώλλυντο. καὶ ἦν οὐδενὶ ἔξω τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐταιρείας ἀσφαλὲς οὐδέν. εἴτε
 γὰρ προσίοι τις τοῖς λευκώμασιν, αἰτίαν ὥς καὶ πολυπραγμονῶν τι εἶχεν,
 εἴτε μὴ προσίοι, δυσχεραίνειν ἐδόκει. καὶ ὁ τε ἀναλεγόμενος ἢ καὶ
 ἐπερωτῶν τινα τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα ὑποπτος, ὥς καὶ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ τι τῶν τε
 ἐταίρων ζητῶν, ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ὁ μὴ ἀναγινώσκων μηδὲ πυνθανόμενος
 ἄχθεσθαι τε αὐτοῖς ὑπωπτεῦετο καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐμισεῖτο. [16] τὸ τε
 δακρυῖσαι ἢ καὶ γελάσαι θανάσιμον τὸ παραχρῆμα ἐγίγνετο· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
 καὶ πολλοί, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ εἰπὼν τι ἢ καὶ ἐπραξαν ὧν ἀπείρητο, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ
 ἐσκυθρόωσαν ἢ καὶ ἐμειδίσαν, ἐφθείροντο. οὕτω καὶ τὰ σχήματα αὐτῶν
 ἀκριβῶς ἐτηρεῖτο, καὶ οὐκ ἐξῆν οὐδενὶ οὔτε ἐπὶ φίλῳ ὁδύρασθαι οὔτε ἐπ'
 ἐχθρῷ ἐφησθῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ [17] ἐκεῖνοι ὥς καὶ χλευάζοντές τινα ἐσφάζοντο.
 καὶ προσέτι καὶ αἱ ἐπικλήσεις συχνοῖς πράγματα παρεῖχον· ἀγνοοῦντες γὰρ
 τινες τοὺς ἐπικεκρηυμένους ἐπὶ πάντας οὓς ἐβούλοντο τὰς ἐπωνυμίας
 αὐτῶν ἦγον, καὶ πολλοὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἀνθ' ἐτέρων ἀπέθανον. ὥστε καὶ ἐν
 τούτῳ ταραχήν, τῶν [p. 496] μὲν ὅπως ποτὲ ἐβούλοντο τὸν προστυχόντα
 ὀνομαζόντων, τῶν δὲ ἀρνούμενων μὴ οὕτω καλεῖσθαι, [18] γίγνεσθαι.
 ἐφονεύοντο δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι τελευτήσουσιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ προειδότες,
 πανταχοῦ ὅπουπερ ἐτύγχανον ὄντες· καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν αὐτοῖς χωρίον, οὐχ
 ὄσιον, οὐχ ἱερόν, οὐτ' ἀσφαλὲς οὐτ' ἄσυλον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐξαίφνης,
 πρὶν μαθεῖν τὴν ἐπικρεμαμένην συμφοράν, ἢ καὶ ἅμα τῇ πύστει αὐτῆς,
 διαφθειρόμενοι τῇ γοῦν εὐτυχίᾳ [19] τῆς μὴ προεκφοβήσεως ἐπεκουφίζοντο·
 οἱ δὲ δὴ προαισθόμενοι τοῦ δεινοῦ καὶ κατακρυπτόμενοι χαλεπώτατα
 ἀπήλλασσον· οὔτε γὰρ ἀποχωρῆσαι μὴ φωραθεῖεν ἐτόλμων, οὐτ' αὖ κατὰ
 χώραν μένειν μὴ καὶ προδοθεῖεν ὑπέμενον. πλεῖστοι δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν
 συνόντων καὶ φιλάτων σφίσι προεδόθησαν [20] καὶ ἀπώλοντο. κἂκ τούτου τῇ
 προσδοκίᾳ τοῦ αἰεὶ τὸν θάνατον προσδέχεσθαι οὐχ ὅτι οἱ ἐς τὰ πινάκια
 ἐγγεγραμμένοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ὁμοίως ἐπάσχον." V. 122 (p. 658).
 "[21] ὅτι πάντων τῶν σφαζομένων ὅπουδ' αἱ κεφαλαὶ ἐς τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων
 ἀγορὰν ἐκομίζοντο καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐξετίθεντο, ὥσθ' ὅσα περὶ τὰς
 προγραφὰς συνέβαινεν, ταῦτα καὶ περὶ ἐκείνας γίγνεσθαι." V. 123 (p. 662). "
 [p. 498] 111. ὅτι τῶν Κρητῶν πρεσβευσασμένων πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, καὶ
 ἐλπίζόντων τὰς τε παλαιὰς σπονδὰς ἀνανεώσεσθαι καὶ προσέτι καὶ
 εὐεργεσίαν τῆς τοῦ ταμίου τῶν τε συστρατιωτῶν αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας
 εὐρήσεσθαι, οὗτοι ὀργὴν μᾶλλον ὅτι μὴ ἐάλωσαν λαβόντες ἢ χάριν αὐτοῖς
 ὅτι μὴ ἐκείνους ἔφθειραν γνόντες, οὐτ' ἄλλως μέτριόν τι ἀπεκρίναντο, καὶ

τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τοὺς τε αὐτομόλους ^[2] ἅπαντας παρ' αὐτῶν ἀπήτησαν. καὶ ὁμήρους χρήματά τε πολλὰ αἰτήσαντες, τὰς τε ναῦς τὰς μείζους καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς κορυφαίους ἐξαιτήσαντες, οὐκ ἀνέμειναν τὴν οἴκοθεν αὐτῶν ἀπόκρισιν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὑπάτων αὐτίκα τὸν ἕτερον ταῦτά τε ληψόμενον καὶ πολεμήσοντά σφισιν, ἂν μὴ ^[3] διδῶσιν, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἔμελλον, ἐξέπεμψαν: οἱ γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, πρὶν αἰτηθῆναί τι τοιοῦτο καὶ κρατῆσαι, μὴ θελήσαντες ὁμολογῆσαι πῶς ἂν μετὰ τὴν νίκην τοσαῦτά τε ἅμα καὶ τοιαῦτα προσταττόμενοι ἦνεγκαν; τοῦτό τε οὖν σαφῶς εἰδότες, καὶ προσυποπτεύσαντες τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐπιχειρήσειν τινάς, ὥς καὶ κωλύσοντας τὴν στρατείαν, διαφθεῖραι χρήμασιν, ἐψηφίσαντο ἐν τῇ βουλῇ μηδὲνα αὐτοῖς μηδὲν δανεῖσαι.” UG (p. 388). “ ^[3β] ἐν λε βιβλίῳ Δῖων’ ‘ἢ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἡμῶν προσποιῆσαι.” Bekk. Anecd. 165, 18. “[p. 500]”

UNCERTAIN FRAGMENTS

“ 1. Δίων ἐν Ῥωμαϊκῇ ἱστορίᾳ ‘ὀλίγα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὰ κουφότατα τῶν πλοίων πρὸς τῇ γῇ ὥρμηι: τὰ δὲ δὴ πλείω καὶ μείζω μετέωρα διὰ τὰ τενάγη ἀπεσάλευν.’” Etym. Magn., Photius and Suidas “ ζ.Ϝ. ἐσάλευε, σιιδας ζ.Ϝ. τενάγη, αποστολ. τζετζες ιν λψξοπηρ. αλεχ. 44. Αὐσονία δὲ κυρίως, ὡς Δίων γράφει ὁ Κοκκειανός, ἡ τῶν Αὐρουγκων γῆ μόνη λέγεται, μέσον Καμπανῶν καὶ Οὐολκῶν παρὰ θάλασσαν κειμένη, συχνοὶ δὲ μέχρι τοῦ Λατίου Αὐσονίαν εἶναι ἐνόμισαν, ὥστε καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ... [p. 502] ‘1’ Δίων ‘εὐεργεσίαν ὑμῖν ὀφειλήσει.’” Bekk. Anecd. 160, 17. “ ‘2’ Παρὰ Δίῳνι ‘οὐκ οὐδ’ ἄρχοντες πρὶν διανομοθετηθῆναι περὶ αὐτῶν ὠνομάζοντο.’” Ibid. p. 164, 11. “ ‘3’ Δίων ‘οὐχ ὅπως ἐπείσθησαν αὐτοῦ.’” Ibid. “ π. 164, 23. ‘4’ Δίωνος ιθ βιβλίῳ ‘καὶ τοὺς τε ἀντεπεξεληθόντας οἱ ἀνέκοψαν.’” Ibid. p. 124, 7. “ ‘5’ Δίων ιθ βιβλίῳ ‘Ταραντῖνοι μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐκείνου προτιμήσαντες.’” Ibid. p. 165, 21. “ ‘6’ Δίων ιθ βιβλίῳ ‘ῥᾶον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσκατεργάσασθαι.’” Ibid. p. 166, 11. “ ‘7’ Δίων κβ βιβλίῳ ‘ὦν τὰ μὲν βία ἥρει, τὰ δὲ καὶ ὁμολογία παρίστατο.’” Ibid. p. 166, 5. “ ‘8’ Δίων † ν βιβλίῳ ‘ἐφ’ ᾧ καὶ τὴν τε χώραν σφῶν παντελῶς ἐκλίπωσιν.’” Ibid. p. 140, 17. “ ‘9’ Δίων † μς βιβλίῳ ‘καὶ οἱ ἵπποι τοῖς στραπῳταις ὑποῦργησαν.’” Ibid. p. 117, 32. “ 110. ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἐστὶ τάναντία τινὰ τοῖς ὀρθῶς ἔχουσι πράττοντα καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τινος ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἀπολαῦσαι.” Max. Conf. Flor. f. 7r=M. p. 562. “ [2] οὐ γὰρ αἱ ἐπικλήσεις καὶ τοὺς τρόπους τῶν ἀνθρώπων μεταβάλλουσιν, ἀλλ’ ὅπως ἂν τις τὰ [p. 504] πράγματα μεταχειρίζηται, τοιαύτας καὶ ἐκεῖνας δοκεῖν εἶναι ποιεῖ: καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν μοναρχοῦντες ἀγαθῶν αἵτιοι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις γίνονται, διὸ καὶ βασιλεία τὸ τοιοῦτον ὀνομάζεται, πολλοὶ δὲ δημοκρατοῦμενοι μυρία κακὰ αὐτοὺς ἐργάζονται.” Max. Conf. Flor. f. 50v=M. p. 556. “ [3] πέφυκεν γὰρ ὡς αἰεὶ πρὸς τὰς γνώμας τῶν ἀρχόντων τυποῦσθαι καὶ τὸ ὑποχείριον.” Max. Conf. Flor. f. 51r=M. p. 560. “ [4] οὐδὲν γὰρ καὶ στράτευμα καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ὅσα ἀρχῆς τινος δεῖται οὕτως οὔτε ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον οὔτε ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον προάγει ὡς ὃ τε τρόπος καὶ ἡ δίαίτα τοῦ ἐπιστατοῦντος αὐτῶν: πρὸς γὰρ τὰς γνώμας τὰς τε πράξεις τῶν ἡγουμένων σφίσι οἱ πολλοὶ ἐξομοιοῦνται, καὶ ὅποια ἂν ἐκείνους δρῶντας ἴδωσι, τοιαῦτα καὶ αὐτοί, οἱ μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς, οἱ δὲ καὶ προσποιοῦμενοι, πράττουσιν.” Max. Conf. Flor. f. 51r=M. p. 556. “ [5] φιλεῖ πως λυπεῖν μᾶλλον τινος τῶν μὴ προσδοκηθέντων ἀρχὴν ὅσα ἂν ἐν ἐλπίδι γενόμενα διαπῳτῃ: τὰ μὲν γὰρ πόρρω σφῶν νομίζοντες εἶναι ἦττον αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ ἀλλοτρίων ἐφίενται, τῶν δὲ ἐγγὺς ἐλθόντες ἄχθονται ὡς καὶ οἰκείων στερόμενοι.” Max. Conf. Flor. f. 160r=M. p. 558. “ [6] πολλῶ κρεῖττον ἐστὶ κατορθῳσαντάς τι ζηλοτυπηθῆναι ἢ πταίσαντας ἐλεσηθῆναι.” M. p. 558. ““

[p. 2] “ 1α. κληρουμένων δὴ τῶν ὑπάτων Ὀρτήσιος τὸν πρὸς Κρήτας ἔλαχε πόλεμον. ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνος μὲν ὑπὸ τε τῆς ἐν τῷ ἄστει φιλοχωρίας καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστηρίων, ἐν οἷς πλεῖστον τῶν κατ’ αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων μετὰ γε τὸν Κικέρωνα ἡδυνήθη, τῷ τε συνάρχοντι τῆς στρατείας ἐθελοντῆς ἐξέστη καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινεν: ὁ δὲ δὴ Μέτελλος ἐστεῖλατό τε ἐς Κρήτην...” Xiphil. p. 1, 5-12 Dind. “ 1β. Λούκουλλος δὲ Λούκιος κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους τοὺς τῆς Ἀσίας δυνάστας Μιθριδάτην τε καὶ Τιγράνην τὸν Ἀρμένιον πολέμῳ νικήσας καὶ φυγομαχεῖν ἀναγκάσας τὰ Τιγρανόκερτα ἐπολιόρκει. καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ βάρβαροι τῇ τε τοξείᾳ καὶ τῇ νάφθᾳ κατὰ τῶν μηχανῶν χεομένην δεινῶς [2] ἐκάκωσαν. ἀσφαλτῶδες δὲ τὸ φάρμακον τοῦτο, καὶ διάπυρον οὕτως ὥσθ’ ὅσοις ἂν προσμίξῃ, πάντως αὐτὰ κατακαίειν, οὐδ’ ἀποσβέννυται ὑπ’ οὐθενὸς ὕγροϋ ῥαδίως. ἐκ τούτου δὲ ὁ Τιγράνης [p. 4] ἀναθαρρήσας τοσαύτη χειρὶ στρατοῦ ἤλασεν ὥστε καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῶν ἐκεῖσε παρόντων καταγελάσαι: λέγεται δ’ οὖν εἰπεῖν ὡς εἰ μὲν πολεμήσοντες ἤκοιεν, ὀλίγοι, εἰ δὲ πρεσβεύοντες, [3] πολλοὶ παρεῖεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἦσθη, ἀλλ’ εὐθύς ἐξέμαθεν ὅσον ἦ τε ἀρετὴ καὶ ἡ τέχνη παντὸς ὁμίλου κρατεῖ. φυγόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν πᾶραν τὸ τε ἀνάδημα τὸ περὶ αὐτὴν εὐρόντες οἱ στρατιῶται τῷ Λουκούλλῳ ἔδωκαν: δείσας γὰρ μὴ γνωσθεῖς ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἄλῳ, περιεσπάσατο αὐτὰ καὶ ἀπέρριψεν.” Xiphil. p. 1, 20-2, Dind. “ “ 1. ... καὶ ὅτι ἰσχυρὰ τῇ τύχῃ ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέρα ἐκέχρητο, ἐπέτρεψεν: ἡττηθεὶς τε γὰρ πολλὰ καὶ κρατήσας: οὐκ ἐλάττω καὶ στρατηγικώτερος ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἐπεπίστευτο γεγονέναι. αὐτοὶ τε οὖν ὡς καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἀρχόμενοι τοῦ πολέμου παρεσκευάζοντο, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς περιχώρους, τοὺς τε ἄλλους καὶ Ἀρσάκην τὸν Πάρθον, καίπερ ἐχθρὸν τῷ Τιγράνῃ διὰ χώραν πινὰ ἀμφισβητήσιμον ὄντα, 2. ἐπρεσβεύοντο, καὶ ταύτης τε αὐτῷ ἀφίσταντο, καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διέβαλλον λέγοντες ὅτι, ἂν μονωθέντων σφῶν κρατήσῃ, καὶ ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνον εὐθύς ἐπιστρατεύσουσι: φύσει τε γὰρ πᾶν τὸ νικῶν ἀπληστον τῆς εὐπραγίας εἶναι καὶ μηδὲνα ὄρον τῆς πλεονεξίας ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τούτους, ἅτε καὶ ἐν κράτει πολλῶν δὴ γεγονότας, οὐκ ἐθελήσιν αὐτοῦ ἀποσχέσθαι. [p. 6] 2. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ’ ἔπραττον, Λούκουλλος δὲ Τιγράνην μὲν οὐκ ἐπέδιωξεν ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ κατὰ σχολὴν σωθῆναι εἶασε, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ αἰτίαν ὡς οὐκ ἐθελήσας τὸν πόλεμον, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἄρχῃ, καταλύσαι παρά τε τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ παρὰ [2] τοῖς πολίταις ἔσχε: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τότε τε ἐς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπανήγαγον, καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ’, ὡς καὶ αὖθις τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεπονηκέναι ἔδοξε, τὸν ὑπάτον αὐτῷ τὸν κατ’ ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ὄντα διάδοχον ἔπεμψαν. [3] τὰ δὲ δὴ Τιγρανόκερτα στασιασάντων πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρμένιους τῶν ξένων τῶν συνοικούντων αὐτοῖς εἶλε. Κιλικές τε γὰρ οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν ἦσαν ἀνάσπαστοί ποτε γεγονότες, καὶ ἐσήγαγον εἰσω [4] νυκτὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. καὶ ἐκ τούτου τὰ μὲν ἄλλα διηρπάσθη πλὴν τῶν ἐκείνοις ὑπαρχόντων, τὰς δὲ δὴ γυναικας τῶν δυνατωτάτων πολλὰς ἀλούσας ἄνευ ὕβριςμοῦ ὁ Λούκουλλος ἐφύλαξε, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς

ἄνδρας σφῶν προσεποιήσατο. ^[5] τὸν τε τῆς Κομμαγενῆς βασιλέα Ἀντίοχον ἢ δὲ δὴ χώρα αὕτη τῆς Συρίας πρὸς τε τῷ Εὐφράτῃ καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ταύρῳ ἐστὶ καὶ τινὰ Ἀράβιον δυνάστην Ἀλχαιδόνιον ἄλλους τε ἐπικηρυκευσαμένους οἱ ἐδέξατο. 3. καὶ μαθὼν παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν πρεσβείαν τὴν ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Τιγράνου καὶ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου πρὸς τὸν Ἀρσάκην πεμφθεῖσαν, ἀνταπέστειλέ τινας ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπειλὰς τε ἅμα αὐτῷ, ἂν ἐκείνοις ἐπικουρήσῃ, καὶ ὑποσχέσεις, ἂν τὰ σφέτερα ἀνθέλῃται, ^[2] φέροντας. ὁ οὖν Ἀρσάκης τότε μὲν ἔτι γὰρ τῷ τε Τιγράνῃ ὀργὴν εἶχε καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ^[p. 8] οὐδὲν ὑπώπτευε πρέσβεις τέ οἱ ἀντέπεμψε καὶ φιλίαν τε καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐσπέισατο: ὕστερον δὲ τὸν Σηκίλιον ἐλθόντα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἰδὼν ὑπετόπησε κατάσκοπον τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ^[3] αὐτοῦ παρεῖναι τούτου γὰρ ἔνεκα, ἀλλ' οὐ τῆς ὁμολογίας ἤδη γεγεννημένης, ἄνδρα ἐπιφανῆ τὰ πολεμικὰ πεμφθῆναι, καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἔτ' αὐτῷ βοήθειαν ἐποιήσατο. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἠγναντώθη τι, ἀλλ' ἐκ μέσου ἀμφοῖν ἔστη, μηδετέρους, ὥσπερ εἰκός, ἐθελήσας αὐξῆσαι: τὸν γὰρ πόλεμον αὐτῶν ἰσοπαλῇ ὄντα ἀσφάλειαν οἱ μεγίστην οἴσειν ἐνόμιζεν. τούτῳ μὲν δὴ τῷ ἔτει ταῦθ' ὁ Λούκουλλος ἔπραξε, καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας συχνὰ προσηγάγετο: 4. ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ Κυνίου Μαρκίου οὗτος γάρ, καίπερ οὐ μόνος ἀποδειχθεὶς, μόνος ὑπάτευσεν: ὁ τε γὰρ σὺν αὐτῷ χειροτονηθεὶς Λούκιος Μέτελλος ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ ἔτους ἀπέθανε, καὶ ὁ ἐφαιρεθεὶς πρὶν ἐπιβῆναι τῆς ἀρχῆς μετήλλαξε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ^[2] οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἀπεδείχθη — ἐν οὖν τῷ ἔτει τούτῳ ὁ Λούκουλλος μεσοῦντος ἤδη τοῦ θέρους ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ψύχους ἀδύνατος ἦν ἥρι ἐς τὴν πολέμιαν γῆν ἐσβαλεῖν στρατεύσας τινὰ τε τῆς γῆς ἐπόρθησεν, ὅπως ἀμύνοντας αὐτῇ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐς μάχην ὑπαγάγηται, καὶ ὥς οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐκινεῦντο, ἐπ' 5. αὐτοὺς ὥρμησε. κἂν τούτῳ τοῖς μὲν ἱππεῦσι τῶν Ῥωμαίων χαλεποὶ οἱ τῶν ἐναντίων ἱππῆς ἐγίνοντο, τῷ δὲ πεζῷ οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐς χεῖρας ἦει, ἀλλ' ὁπότε ἡ ἀσπίς τοῦ Λουκουλλοῦ τῇ ἵππῳ ^[p. 10] προσβληθήσειεν, ἐτρέποντο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ δεινὸν τι ἔπασχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιδιώκοντάς σφας ἐς τοῦπίσω τοξεύοντες πολλοὺς μὲν παραχρῆμα ^[2] ἀπεκτίννυσαν, παμπληθεῖς δὲ ἐτίτρωσκον. καὶ ἦν τὰ τραύματα χαλεπὰ καὶ δυσίατα: ταῖς τε γὰρ ἀκίστι διπλαῖς ἐχρῶντο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐφάρμοττον αὐτάς, ὥστε τὰ βέλη, εἴτε ἐμμένονι πῃ τοῖς σώμασιν εἴτε καὶ ἐξέλκοιτο, τάχιστα αὐτὰ διολλύναι: τὸ γὰρ ἕτερον σιδήριον ἔνδον, ἅτε μηδεμίαν ἀνθολκὴν ἔχον, ἐγκατελείπετο. 6. ὁ οὖν Λούκουλλος, ἐπειδὴ τε πολλοὶ ἐτραυματίζοντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔθνησκον, οἱ δ' ἀνάπηροι γοῦν ἐγίνοντο, καὶ ἅμα καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια αὐτοὺς ἐπέλιπεν, ἐκεῖθὲν τε ἀπεχώρησε καὶ ἐπὶ Νισιβίν ^[2] ὥρμησεν. ἡ δὲ δὴ πόλις αὕτη ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ καλουμένη πεπόλισται οὕτῳ γὰρ πᾶν τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Τιγρίδος καὶ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ὀνομάζεται καὶ νῦν μὲν ἡμετέρα ἐστὶ καὶ ἄποικος ἡμῶν νομίζεται, τότε δὲ ὁ Τιγράνης τῶν Πάρθων αὐτὴν ἀφελόμενος τοὺς τε θησαυροὺς ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπετέθειτο, φύλακά οἱ τὸν ^[3] ἀδελφὸν προστάξας. πρὸς οὖν ταύτην ὁ Λούκουλλος ἐλθὼν ἐν μὲν τῷ θέρει, καίπερ μὴ παρέργως τὰς προσβολὰς ποιησάμενος, οὐδὲν ἐπέρανε: τὰ γὰρ τειχὴ καὶ διπλᾶ καὶ πλίνθινα ὄντα, τὴν τε παχύτητα πολλὴν ἔχοντα καὶ τάφρῳ βαθεῖα

διδυμμένα, οὔτε κατασεισθῆναι πῃ οὔτε διορυχθῆναι ἡδυνήθη, διόπερ οὐδ' ὁ Τιγράνης ἐπήμυνε 7. σφισιν: ὡς δ' ὁ τε χειμῶν ἐνέστη καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι [p. 12] ῥαθυμότερον, ἅτε ἐπικρατοῦντες τοὺς τε Ῥωμαίους ὅσον οὐκ ἀπαναστήσεσθαι προσδοκῶντες, διηγόν, ἐτήρησε νύκτα ἀσέληνον καὶ ὑετῷ λάβρῳ [2] βρονταῖς τε χειμέριον, ὥστε μήτε τι προϊδέσθαι μήτε τι ἐπακοῦσαι αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας τὸν τε ἕξω περίβολον πλὴν ὀλίγων καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τάφρον ἐκλιπεῖν, καὶ προσέμιξε πολλαχῇ τῷ τείχει, καὶ ἐκείνου τε οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπὸ τῶν χωμάτων ἐπέβη, καὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς τοὺς ἐγκαταληφθέντας ἐν αὐτῷ ῥαδίως ἅτε μὴ πολλοὺς ὄντας ἀπέκτεινε. [3] καὶ οὕτω τῆς τε τάφρου μέρος τι ἑλὼν γὰρ γεφύρας οἱ βάρβαροι προκατέρρηξαν 13' συνέχωσεν ὅτι γὰρ τῇ τοξείᾳ οὐτ' αὐτῷ πυρὶ λυπεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ πολλῷ ὑετῷ ἐδύνατό, καὶ διαβάς αὐτὴν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, οὐ πάνυ ἰσχυροῦ τοῦ ἔνδον κύκλου πίστει τῶν ἕξωθεν αὐτοῦ προβεβλημένων ὄντος, εὐθύς [4] εἶλε, τοὺς δὲ ἐς τὴν ἄκραν ἀναφυγόντας, ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Τιγράνου, μετὰ τοῦτο καθ' ὁμολογίαν παρεστήσατο, καὶ χρήματά τε πολλὰ ἔλαβε καὶ ἐκεῖ διεχείμασε. 8. τὴν μὲν οὖν Νισιβιν οὕτως ἐχειρώσατο, τῆς δὲ Ἀρμενίας τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν περὶ τὸν Πόντον συχνὰ ἀπέβαλεν. ὁ γὰρ Τιγράνης ἐκείνη μὲν ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἀλούσῃ οὐκ ἐπεκούρησε, πρὸς δὲ τὰ προειρημένα ὡς πῶς ἀσχόλου περὶ τὴν Νισιβιν [2] αὐτοῦ ὄντος φθάσειεν αὐτὰ κομισάμενος. καὶ Μιθριδάτην μὲν πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπέστειλεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ Ἀρμενίαν ἦλθε, κἀνατυθᾶ [p. 14] Λούκιον Φάννιον ἀντιστάντα οἱ ἀπολαβὼν ἐπολιόρκει, μέχρις οὗ ὁ Λούκουλλος αἰσθόμενος τοῦτο ἐπεβόηθησεν αὐτῷ. 9. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, Μιθριδάτης ἕς τε τὴν ἑτέραν Ἀρμενίαν καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα ἐσβαλὼν πολλοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων τοὺς μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν πλανωμένους ἀπροσδόκητὸς σφισι προσπεσὼν ἐφθειρε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκ μάχης κατέκοψε, κἀν τούτῳ καὶ τῶν χωρίων τὰ πλείω διὰ ταχέων ἀνεκτήσατο. [2] οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι ἐκείνου τε εὖνοιον ἐκ τε τοῦ ὁμοφύλου καὶ ἐκ τῆς πατρίου βασιλείας καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων μῖσος διὰ τε τὸ ὀθνεῖον καὶ διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφεστηκότων σφισι κακουχεῖσθαι ἔχοντες, προσεχώρησάν τε αὐτῷ, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν ἐκεῖ Ῥωμαίων Μάρκον Φάβιον [3] ἐνίκησαν. οἱ τε γὰρ Θράκες οἱ πρότερον μὲν τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ μισθοφορήσαντες, τότε δὲ τῷ Φαβίῳ συνόντες, καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι οἱ ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαϊκῷ στρατοπέδῳ ὄντες ἰσχυρῶς αὐτοῖς ἐβοήθησαν. οἱ τε γὰρ Θράκες ὑπὸ τοῦ Φαβίου ἐς προσκοπὴν πεμφθέντες [4] οὐτε τι ὑγιὲς ἀνήγγειλαν αὐτῷ, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐκείνου τε ἀφυλακτότερον προϊόντος καὶ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου ἐξαίφνης οἱ προσπεσόντος συνεπέθεντο τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι ἐλευθερίαν σφισι τοῦ βαρβάρου κηρύξαντος συνεπελάβοντο [5] τοῦ ἔργου. καὶ ... ἀνάλωσαν ἂν, εἰ μὴ ὁ Μιθριδάτης ... τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀναστρεφόμενος ἑλὼν γὰρ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη γεγωνὺς ἐμάχετό λίθῳ τε ἐπλήγη καὶ δέος τοῖς βαρβάροις μὴ καὶ ἀποθάνῃ παρέσχεν: ἐπισχόντων γὰρ σφῶν [p. 16] διὰ τοῦτο τὴν μάχην ἡδυνήθησαν ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ Φάβιος ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἀποφυγεῖν. 10. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐς τὰ Κάβειρα κατακλεισθεῖς ἐπολιορκήθη μὲν, ἐσώθη δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Τριαρίου. οὗτος γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ταύτῃ πρὸς τὸν Λούκουλλον διῶν, καὶ γνοὺς τὰ

πεπραγμένα, δύναμιν τε ^[2] ὅσῃν οἶόν τ' ἦν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἤθροισε, καὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην ὡς καὶ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ στρατοῦ πλήθει προσιῶν ἐξέπληξεν, ὥστ' ἀναστῆναι ποιῆσαι πρὶν καὶ ἐς ὅσιν αὐτοῦ ἐλθεῖν. καὶ τοῦτου ἐπιθαρσῆσας καὶ μέχρι τῶν Κομάνων ὑποφυγόντα αὐτὸν ἐπεδίωξε, ^[3] κἀναυῖθα ἐνίκησεν. ἠυλίζετο μὲν γὰρ ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἢ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι προσήεσαν, βουληθεὶς δὲ σφισι κεκμηκόσιν ἐκ τῆς πορείας συμμῖξαι αὐτός τε προαπήντησε καὶ ἐτέρους δι' ἄλλης γεφύρας ἐν τῷ τῆς μάχης καιρῷ διαβάντας ἐπιθέσθαι προσέταξε: καὶ αὐτὸν ἀγχώμαλα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀγωνιζόμενον ἢ γέφυρα πολλῶν τε καὶ ἀθρόων ἅμα δι' αὐτῆς ἐπειγομένον ... τῆς τε ἐπικουρίας ἀπεστέρησε καὶ προσδιετάραξε. 11. καὶ οἱ μὲν μετὰ τοῦτ' ἤδη γὰρ χειμῶν ἦν' ἀπεχώρησαν ἐς τὰ ἑαυτῶν τείχη ἀμφοτέρω, καὶ ἡσυχάζον: τὰ δὲ δὴ Κόμανα τῆς τε νῦν Καππαδοκίας ἐστί, καὶ ἐδόκει τὸ τε τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος βρέτας τὸ Ταυρικὸν καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ Ἀγαμεμόννειον δεῦρο αἰεῖ ἔχειν. καὶ ὅπως μὲν ἐς αὐτοὺς ταῦτα ἀφίκετο ἢ ὅπως διέμεινεν, οὐ δύναμαι τὸ ^[2] σαφές πολλῶν λεγομένων εὑρεῖν: ὁ δ' ἀκριβῶς ^[p. 18] ἐπίσταμαι, φράσω. δύο αὐταὶ πόλεις ἐν τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ ὁμώνυμοι οὔτε πάνυ πόρρω ἀπ' ἀλλήλων εἰσὶ καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν περιέχονται: καὶ γὰρ μυθολογοῦσι καὶ δεικνύουσι τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου, καὶ τὸ ξίφος ὡς αὐτὸ ἐκεῖνο τὸ τῆς Ἰφιγενείας ὃν ἀμφοτέρω ἔχουσι. 12. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω: τῷ δὲ ἐπιγιγνομένῳ ἔτει, ἐπὶ τε Μανίου Ἀκιλίου καὶ ἐπὶ Γαίου Πίσωνος ὑπάτων, ὁ μὲν Μιθριδάτης τῷ Τριαρίῳ πρὸς Γαζιούροις ἀντεκάθητο, προκαλούμενός ^[2] τε ἅμα αὐτὸν ἐς μάχην καὶ ἐξοργίζων 'τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐπόψει τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων αὐτός τε ἥσκει καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ γυμνασίας ἐποιεῖτο, ὅπως πρὶν τὸν Λούκουλλον ἐπελθεῖν ἐκεῖνον τε συμβαλὼν, ὥσπερ ἤλπισε, κρατήσῃ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀνασώσῃται. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐκινεῖτο, πέμπει τινὰς πρὸς Δάδασα φρούριον, ἐν ᾧ τὰ σκευὴ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέκειτο, ἵν' ἐκείνοις γε ^[3] ἐπαμύνοντα αὐτὸν ἐς χεῖρας ὑπαγάγῃται. καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως. ὁ γὰρ Τριάριος τέως μὲν τὸ τε πλῆθος τοῦ Μιθριδάτου φοβούμενος καὶ τὸν Λούκουλλον 'μετεπέπεμπτο γὰρ αὐτὸν' προσδεχόμενος ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν: ὡς δὲ τὰ τε Δάδασα πολιορκούμενα ἐπύθετο, καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται δεισαντες περὶ αὐτοῖς ἐταράττοντο, καὶ ἐπηπείλουν, εἴ σφας μηδεὶς ἐξάγοι, καὶ αὐτοκέλευστοι βοηθήσειν σφισι, ^[4] καὶ ἄκων ἐξάνεστη. καὶ αὐτῷ οἱ βάρβαροι προχωροῦντι ἤδη προσπεσόντες τοὺς μὲν ἐν χερσὶ τῷ τε πλήθει σφῶν περιέσχον καὶ κατειργάσαντο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸ πεδῖον ἐκφυγόντας ἀγνοοῖα τοῦ ^[p. 20] τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς αὐτὸ ἐκτετράφθαι περιελάνοντες 13. ἐκτεινον. καὶ πασσυδὶ ἂν σφας διέφθειραν, εἰ μὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τις πλασάμενος ὡς καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Μιθριδάτου συμμαχίδος ὧν 'ἐν γὰρ τῷ αὐτῷ αὐτοῖς τρόπῳ συστρατευομένους, ὥσπερ εἶπον, οὐκ ὀλίγους εἶχε προσῆλθέ τέ οἱ ὡς καὶ εἰπεῖν τι βουλούμενος, καὶ ἔτρωσεν αὐτόν. οὕτω γὰρ ἐκεῖνος μὲν συλληφθεὶς ἀπεσφάγη, ταραχθέντων δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο τῶν βαρβάρων συχνοὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διέφυγον. ^[2] Μιθριδάτης μὲν δὴ τὸ τε τραῦμα ἰᾶτο, καὶ προσυποπτεῦσας καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ εἶναι, ἐξέτασιν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὡς καὶ κατ' ἄλλο τι ἐποίησατο, καὶ κελεύσας σφᾶς ἐς τὰς ἑαυτῶν σκηνὰς ὡς ἐκάστους κατὰ τάχος

ἀναχωρήσαι κατεφώρασε, καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους μονωθέντας διέφθειρε. 14. κὰν τούτῳ ὁ Λούκουλλος ἐπελθὼν δόξαν μὲν τισι παρέσχεν ὡς καὶ ἐκείνου ῥαδίως κρατήσων καὶ πάντα τὰ προειμένα δι' ὀλίγου κομιούμενος, [2] οὐ μέντοι καὶ κατέπραξε τι. ὃ τε γὰρ Μιθριδάτης ἐς τὰ μετέωρα τὰ πρὸς Ταλαύροις ὄντα ἰδρυθεὶς οὐκ ἀντεπῆει αὐτῷ, καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτης ὁ ἕτερος ὁ ἐκ Μηδίας γαμβρὸς τοῦ Τιγράνου ἐσκεδασμένοις τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐξαίφνης προσπεσὼν συχνοὺς ἀπέκτεινε, ὃ τε Τιγράνης αὐτὸς προσίων ἠγγέλθη, [3] καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἐστασίασεν. οἱ γὰρ Οὐαλερίειοι οἱ τῆς τε στρατείας ἀφεθέντες καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' αὐθις στρατευσάμενοι ἐκινήθησαν μὲν καὶ ἐν τῇ Νισίβι ἔκ τε τῆς νίκης καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἡσυχίας, τοῦ [p. 22] τε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἄφθονα ἔχειν, καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ Λουκούλλου τὰ πολλὰ, διὰ τὸ πολλαχόσε ἐκδημεῖν [4] αὐτόν, διαιτᾶσθαι, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι Πούπλιός τις Κλώδιος, ὃν Κλαύδιόν τινες ἐκάλεσαν, συνεστασίαζέ σφας ὑπ' ἐμφύτου νεωτεροποιίας, καίπερ τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ τῷ Λουκούλλῳ συνοικουσης: ἐταράχθησαν δὲ καὶ τότε ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὸν Ἀκίλιον τὸν ὑπατον, ὃς τῷ Λουκούλλῳ διάδοχος δι' ἅπερ εἶπον ἐξεπέμφθη, πλησιάζοντα ἐπύθοντο: ἐν γὰρ ὀλιγωρίᾳ αὐτόν ὡς καὶ ἰδιωτεύοντα ἤδη 15. ἐποιοῦντο. ὁ οὖν Λούκουλλος ἔκ τε τούτων, καὶ ὅτι παρὰ τοῦ Μαρκίου τοῦ πρὸ τοῦ Ἀκιλίου ὑπατεύσαντος, ἐς Κιλικίαν ἦς ἄρχειν ἔμελλε παριόντος, ἐπικουρίαν αἰτήσας οὐκ ἔτυχεν, ἐν ἀπόρῳ [2] ἐγένετο, καὶ ὀκνήσας μὲν διὰ κενῆς ἀναστήναι, δείσας δὲ καὶ κατὰ χώραν μεῖναι, ἐπὶ τὸν Τιγράνην ὥρμησεν, εἴ πως ἐκεῖνόν τε ἀπροσδόκητόν τε ἅμα καὶ κεκμηκότα ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ τρέψαιτο, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τρόπον τινὰ διὰ τούτου παύσειε στασιάζοντας. οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐπιτυχῆς οὐδετέρου [3] ἐγένετο: ἀκολουθῆσαν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα μέχρι πού τινος ὅθεν ἐς τὴν Καππαδοκίαν ἐκτραπείσθαι ἦν, ἐκεῖσε πάντες ὁμοθυμαδόν, μηδὲ φθεγξάμενοι τι, ἀπετράποντο. καὶ οἱ γε Οὐαλερίειοι, μαθόντες ὅτι τῆς στρατείας παρὰ τοῖς οἴκοι τέλεσιν ἀφεῖνται, παντελῶς ἀπεχώρησαν. 16. καὶ θαυμάσῃ μηδεὶς ὅτι στρατηγικώτατος ἀνδρῶν ὁ Λούκουλλος γενόμενος, καὶ πρῶτός τε Ῥωμαίων τὸν Ταῦρον σὺν τε στρατῷ καὶ ἐπὶ πολέμῳ διαβάς, καὶ δύο βασιλέας οὐκ ἀσθενεῖς [p. 24] ἐπικρατήσας, ἐλὼν τ' ἂν εἴπερ ταχέως διαπολεμῆσαι ἐβεβούλητο, οὐκ ἐδύνατο τῶν συστρατευομένων οἱ ἄρχειν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τε ἐστασίαζον καὶ τέλος [2] ἐγκατέλιπον αὐτόν. πολλὰ τε γὰρ σφισι προσέταττε, καὶ δυσπρόσοδος ἀκριβῆς τε ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἔργων ἀπαιτήσεσι καὶ ἀπαραίτητος ἐν ταῖς τιμωρίαις ὦν οὐκ ἡπίστατο οὔτε λόγῳ τινὰ προσαγαγέσθαι οὔτε ἐπιεικείᾳ ἀναρτήσασθαι, οὐ τιμαῖς, οὐ χρημάτων μεταδόσει προσεταιρισάσθαι, ὧν πάντων ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν πλήθει, καὶ μάλιστα [3] στρατευομένῳ, δεῖ. καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' οἱ στρατιῶται, ἕως μὲν εὖ τε ἐφέροντο καὶ τὰς ἀρπαγὰς: ἀνταξίας τῶν κινδύνων εἶχον, ἡκροῶντο αὐτοῦ, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔπταισαν καὶ ἐς φόβον ἀντὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων ἀντικατέστησαν, οὐδὲν ἔτι προετίμησαν. τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους ὁ Πομπήιος λαβὼν 'καὶ γὰρ τοὺς Οὐαλερίειους αὐθις κατελέξατό οὐδ' ὅπως οὖν στασιάζοντας ἔσχε. τοσοῦτον ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὸς διαφέρει. 17. ὡς δ' οὖν τοῦθ' οἱ στρατιῶται ἔπραξαν, πᾶσάν τε ὀλίγου τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἀνεκτήσατο καὶ τὴν Καππαδοκίαν ἰσχυρῶς ἐλυμήνατο, μήτε Λουκούλλου, προφάσει τοῦ τὸν

Ἀκίλιον ἔγγυς εἶναι, μήτε ἐκείνου προσαμύνοντος αὐτῇ: ἐπειγόμενος γάρ πρότερον ὡς καὶ τὴν τοῦ Λουκούλλου νίκην ὑφαρπάσων, τότε, ἐπειδὴ τῶν γεγονότων ἦσθετο, οὔτε πρὸς τὰ στρατόπεδα ἦλθε καὶ ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ [2] ἐχρόνισε. Μάρκιος δὲ Λουκούλλῳ μὲν οὐκ ἐπεκούρησε, πρόσχημα τοῦς στρατιώτας ὡς οὐκ ἐθελήσαντάς οἱ ἀκολουθεῖν ποιησάμενος, ἐς δὲ τὴν [p. 26] Κιλικίαν ἀφικόμενος Μενέμαχόν τινα ἀπαυτομολήσαντα ἀπὸ τοῦ Τιγράνου ἐδέξατο, καὶ τὸν Κλώδιον ἀποστάντα ἀπὸ τοῦ Λουκούλλου δέει τῶν ἐν τῇ Νισίβι γενομένων ἐπὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐπέστησεν: ἀδελφὴν γάρ τινα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκεῖνος [3] γυναῖκα εἶχε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀλούς τε ἐς καταποντιστάς, καὶ ἀφεθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πομπηίου φόβον, ἐς τε τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν τῆς Συρίας ἦλθεν ὡς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀραβίους, πρὸς οὓς τότε διεφέροντο, συμμαχήσων σφίσι, κάνταῦθα στασιάζων τινὰς ὁμοίως ὀλίγου διεφθάρη.

“ [17a] καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἅπασαν ἐχειρώσατο μετὰ τοῦτο, καίτοι πρὸς τοῦ Πομπηίου τοῦ Μάγνου, ἥδη τῆς θαλάσσης ζυμπάσης ἄρχοντος καὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ὅσον ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τριῶν, ἐμποδιζόμενός τε καὶ κωλυόμενος ὡς αὐτῷ προσηκουσῶν καὶ τῶν νήσων. ἀλλ' ὅμως καὶ ἄκοντος Πομπηίου τῷ Κρητικῷ πολέμῳ τέλος ὁ Μέτελλος ἐπιθεὶς θρίαμβόν τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κατήγαγε καὶ Κρητικὸς ἐπεκλήθη.” Xiphil. p. 1, 13-20 Dind. “ “ 18. ... φεῖδεται. δυναστείας τε ἐρών καὶ τοῖς Κρησὶ τοῖς ὁμολογήσασιν αὐτῷ προσέβαλε, καὶ οὔτε τὰς σπονδὰς προτεινομένων σφῶν ἐφρόντιζε, κακῶσαι τε αὐτοὺς πρὶν τὸν Πομπήιον ἐπελθεῖν ἡπείγετο. ὃ τε γὰρ Ὀκτάουιος ἄνευ δυνάμεως παρῶν ‘οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ πολέμῳ τινὶ ἄλλ’ ἐπὶ παραλήψει τῶν πόλεων ἐπέπεμπτὸ ἡσυχίαν ἦγε: [p. 28] καὶ Κορνήλιος Σισέννας ὁ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄρχων ἦλθε μὲν ἐς τὴν Κρήτην, ὡς ταῦτ’ ἐπύθετο, καὶ παρήνευσε τῷ Μετέλλῳ φείσασθαι τῶν δήμων, οὐ [2] μέντοι καὶ ἀντέπραξέ τι μὴ πείσας. ἄλλοις τε οὖν πολλοῖς ἐκεῖνος ἐλυμήνατο, καὶ Ἐλευθέραν τὴν πόλιν ἐκ προδοσίας ἐλὼν ἡργυρολόγησε: πύργον γὰρ τινα οἱ προδιδόντες ἔκ τε πλίνθων πεποημένον καὶ μέγιστον δυσμαχώτατόν τε ὄντα ὄξει συνεχῶς νυκτὸς διέβρεξαν, ὥστε θραυστὸν γενέσθαι. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο Λάμπαν, καίτοι τοῦ Ὀκταουίου αὐτὴν κατέχοντος, ἐκ προσβολῆς εἶλε, καὶ ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὐδὲν κακὸν εἰργάσατο, τοὺς δὲ δὴ 19. Κίλικας τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ὄντας ἐφθειρεν. ἀγανακτήσας οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁ Ὀκτάουιος οὐκέθ’ ἡσύχασεν, ἀλλὰ πρότερον μὲν τῷ τοῦ Σισέννου στρατῷ ‘νοσήσας γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐτεθνήκει χρώμενος ἐπεβοήθει πῇ τοῖς κακουμένοις, ἔπειτα δ’ ἀνακομισθέντων αὐτῶν πρὸς τε τὸν Ἀριστίωνα ἐς Ἱεράπυδνα ἦλθε καὶ μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἐπολέμει: οὗτος γὰρ ὡς τότε ἐκ τῆς Κυδωνίας ἀπεχώρησε Λούκιόν τέ τινα Βάσσον ἀνταναχθέντα οἱ ἐνίκησε καὶ [2] τὰ Ἱεράπυδνα κατέλαβε. καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα ἐκαρτέρησαν, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Μετέλλου ἐπιόντος σφίσι τὸ τε τεῖχος ἐξέλιπον, καὶ ἐξαναχθέντες χειμῶνι τε ἐχρήσαντο καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκπεσόντες συχνοὺς ἀπέβαλον. κάκ τούτου ὁ Μέτελλος πᾶσαν τὴν [3] νῆσον ἐχειρώσατο. Κρηῖτες μὲν οὖν οὕτως, ἐλεύθεροί τε πάντα τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον γενόμενοι καὶ δεσπότην ὀθνεῖον μηδένα κτησάμενοι, κατεδουλώθησαν: Μέτελλος δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ κλησιν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἔλαβε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Πανάρη τὸν τε Λασθῆνη [p. 30] ‘καὶ

γὰρ ἐκεῖνον εἶλεν' οὐκ ἠδυνήθη πέμψαι ἐν τοῖς ἐπινικίοις· ὁ γὰρ Πομπήιος ἀναπεισας τῶν δημάρχων τινὰ προαφείλετο αὐτοὺς ὥς καὶ ἑαυτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁμολογίαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνῳ προσχωρήσαντας. 20. λέξω δὲ ἤδη καὶ τὰ κατὰ τοῦτον πῶς ἐγένετο. οἱ καταποντισταὶ ἐλύπουν μὲν αἰετὸς τοὺς πλέοντας, ὥσπερ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ γῇ οἰκοῦντας οἱ τὰς ληστείας ποιοῦμενοι· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτε ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐγένετο, οὐδ' ἂν παύσαιτο ποτε ἕως δᾶν ἡ αὐτὴ φύσις [2] ἀνθρώπων ᾗ. ἀλλὰ πρότερον μὲν ἔν τε τόποις πρὸς τὴν ὠραίᾳ μόνῃ, κατ' ὀλίγους, καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ἐλήστευον· τότε δέ, ἐξ οὗ πολλαχῇ τε ἅμα καὶ συνεχῶς ἐπολεμήθη, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν πόλεις ἀνάστατοι ἐγένοντο, πᾶσι δὲ καὶ τοῖς διαφεύγουσιν αὐτῶν αἱ τιμωρίαι ἐπηρτῶντο καὶ ἀδεῆς οὐδενὶ οὐδέν ἦν, ἀμύπητοι πρὸς ληστείαν ἐτρέποντο. [3] καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἡπείροις ληστικά, ἅτε καὶ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τῶν δῆμων μᾶλλον ὄντα, καὶ τὴν τε αἰσθησιν τῆς βλάβης ἐγγύθεν καὶ τὴν σύλληψιν οὐ πάνυ χαλεπὴν ἔχοντα, ῥᾶον πως κατελύετο, τὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον [4] ἐπηυξήθη. τῶν γὰρ Ῥωμαίων πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιπολέμους ἀσχολίαν ἀγόντων ἐπὶ πολὺ ἤκμασαν, πολλαχόσε τε περιπλέοντες καὶ πάντας τοὺς ὁμοίους σφίσι προστιθέμενοι, ὥστε τινὰς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν συμμαχίας λόγῳ συχνοῖς ἐπικουρῆσαι. 21. καὶ εἴρηται μὲν ὅσα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἔπραξαν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν καὶ ἐκεῖνα διελύθη, οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ τοὺς τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ τοὺς συμάχους σφῶν ἐκακούργη- [p. 32] σαν. οὔτε γὰρ κατ' ὀλίγους ἔτι ἀλλὰ στόλοις μεγάλοις ἔπλεον, καὶ στρατηγούς εἶχον, ὥστε καὶ [2] ὄνομα αὐτοὺς μέγα κεκτήσθαι· ἡγόν τε καὶ ἔφερον πρῶτους μὲν καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς πλέοντας· οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν χειμερινὴν ὥραν ἀσφαλῆ αὐτοῖς παρεῖχον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς τόλμης καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔθους τῆς τε εὐπραγίας καὶ τότε' ἐπ' ἀδείας ταῖς ναυτιλίαις ἐχρῶντό, ἔπειτα καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς λιμέσιν ὄντας. [3] καὶ γὰρ εἴ τις ἀνταναχθῆναι σφίσι ἐτόλμησε, μάλιστα μὲν ἡττηθεὶς ἀπώλετο, εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐνίκησεν, ἀλλ' ἐλείν γε αὐτῶν οὐδένα ὑπὸ τοῦ ταχυναυτεῖν σφας ἐδύνατο, καὶ οὕτως ὑποστρέφοντες διὰ βραχέος ὥς καὶ κεκρατηκότες, τὰ μὲν ἔτεμον καὶ κατεπίμπρων, οὐχ ὅτι χωρία καὶ ἀγροὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις ὅλας, τὰ δὲ καὶ ὠκειοῦντο, ὥστε καὶ χεϊμάδια καὶ ὀρητήρια καθάπερ ἐν φιλίᾳ γῇ ποιεῖσθαι. 22. προχωρούντων δὲ αὐτοῖς τούτων καὶ ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον ἀνέβαινον, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἐκείνους τοὺς μηδὲ χρωμένους τῇ θαλάσῃ ἐλύπουν. καὶ ταῦτα οὐ τὴν ἕξω συμμαχίδα αὐτῶν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν [2] Ἰταλίαν αὐτὴν ἐποίουν· τὰ τε γὰρ κέρδη τὰ αὐτόθεν μεῖζω σήσειν καὶ πάντας τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπὶ πλέον ἐκφοβήσειν, ἂν μηδὲ ἐκείνης ἀπέχωνται, νομίζοντες, ἕς τε τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ταύτῃ πόλεις καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ τὰ Ἰωστιά ἐσέπλεον καὶ τὰς τε ναῦς [3] ἔκαιον καὶ πάνθ' ἤρπαζον. καὶ τέλος, ὥς οὐδεμία σφῶν ἐπιστροφή ἐγίνετο, τὰς τε διατριβὰς ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὅσους μὴ διώλλυσαν, τὰ τε σῦλα, ὅσα ἐλάμβανον, ἀδεῶς [4] ὥς γε καὶ ἐν οἰκείᾳ διετίθεντο. καὶ ἐλήστευον [p. 34] μὲν ἄλλοι ἄλλοι· οὐ γὰρ πού ἐν πάσῃ ἅμα τῇ θαλάσῃ οἱ αὐτοὶ κακουργεῖν ἐδύναντό, τοσαύτη μέντοι φιλία πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐχρῶντο ὥστε σφᾶς καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἐπικουρίας καὶ τοῖς πάνυ ἀγνῶσιν [5] ὥς καὶ οἰκειοτάτοις πέμπειν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γε οὐχ ἥκιστα ἴσχυσαν, ὅτι τοὺς τε θεραπευόντας

τινας αὐτῶν πάντες ἐτίμων καὶ τοὺς προσκρούσαντάς τισι πάντες ἐλεηλάτουν. 23. ἔς τοσοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὰ τῶν καταποντιστῶν ἦρθη ὥστε καὶ μέγαν καὶ συνεχῇ καὶ ἀπροφύλακτον καὶ ἄπιστον τὸν πόλεμον αὐτῶν γενέσθαι: οἱ δὲ δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι ἦκουον μὲν πού αὐτά, καὶ τινα καὶ ἐώρων ὅυτε γὰρ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐπακτῶν ἐφοῖτα σφίσι καὶ ἡ σιτοπομπία παντελῶς ἀπεκέκλειτό, ^[2] οὐ μέντοι καὶ μεγάλην, ὅτε γε ἐχρῆν, φροντίδα αὐτῶν ἐποίησαντο, ἀλλ' ἐξέπεμπον μὲν καὶ ναυτικὰ καὶ στρατηγούς, ὡς πού καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν προσαγγελλομένων ἐκινούντο, ἔπραττον δ' οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ πλείω τοὺς συμμάχους δι' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐταλαιπώρουν, μέχρις οὗ ἐν παντὶ ἐγένοντο. τότε δὲ συνελθόντες ἐβουλεύσαντο ἐπὶ ^[3] πολλὰς ἡμέρας ὅ τι καὶ χρῆ πρᾶξαι. τῇ τε γὰρ συνεχεῖα τῶν κινδύνων τετρυχωμένοι, καὶ μέγαν καὶ πολὺν τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον ὀρώντες ὄντα, καὶ οὐθ' ἅμα πᾶσι σφισιν οὗτ' αὖ καθ' ἑκάστους προσπολεμῆσαι δυνατὸν εἶναι νομίζοντες ἄλλήλοις τε γὰρ συνεβοήθουν, καὶ πανταχοῦ ἅμα ἀμήχανον ἦν αὐτοὺς ἀμύνασθαί ἐν τε ἀπορίᾳ καὶ ἀνελπιστίᾳ τοῦ κατορθῶσιν τι πολλῇ ἐγένοντο, ^[4] πρὶν δὴ Αὐλὸς τις Γαβίνιος δήμαρχος ^[p. 36] γνώμην ἔδωκεν, εἰτ' οὖν τοῦ Πομπηίου καθέντος αὐτόν, εἶτε καὶ ἄλλως χαρίσασθαι οἱ ἐθέλησας ὅτι γὰρ πού καὶ ὑπ' εὐνοίας αὐτὸ τῆς τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐποίησε: κάκιστος γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἦν', στρατηγὸν ἕνα αὐτοκράτορα ἐφ' ἅπαντας αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων ἐλέσθαι, τρισὶ τε ἔτεσιν ἄρξοντα καὶ δυνάμει παμπληθεῖ μεθ' ὑποστρατήγων πολλῶν ^[5] χρῆσόμενον. ἀντικρυς μὲν γὰρ τὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου ὄνομα οὐκ εἶπεν: εὐδελον δὲ ἦν ὅτι, ἂν ἅπαξ τι τοιοῦτον ὁ ὅμιλος ἀκούσῃ, ἐκείνον αἰρήσεται. 24. καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτω: τὴν τε γὰρ ἐσῆγησιν αὐτοῦ ἀπεδέξαντο, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον παραχρῆμα πάντες πλὴν τῆς γερουσίας ἀπέκλιναν. αὕτη γὰρ πᾶν ὅτιοῦν ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκείνῳ τοσαύτην ἡγεμονίαν ἐγχειρίσαι ἡρεῖτο: καὶ ὀλίγου καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τὸν Γαβίνιον ἐν αὐτῷ ^[2] τῷ συνεδρίῳ. ὑπεκδράντος δ' οὖν πῇ αὐτοῦ μαθόντες οἱ πολλοὶ τὴν τῶν βουλευτῶν γνώμην ἐθορύβησαν, ὥστε καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς συγκαθημένους ἐφορμῆσαι: καὶ εἴ γε μὴ ἐξεκεχωρήκεσαν, πάντως ^[3] ἂν αὐτοὺς διεφθάρκεσαν. οἱ μὲν δὴ οὖν ἄλλοι σκεδασθέντες διέλαθον, Πίσωνα δὲ τὸν Γάιον τὸν ὑπατον ἐπὶ γὰρ ἐκείνου τοῦ τε Ἀκιλίου ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετό συλληφθέντα καὶ μέλλοντα καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπόλλυσθαι ὁ Γαβίνιος ἐξητήσατο. ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ δυνατοὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἦγον, ἀσμενίζοντες ἂν τις σφας ζῆν ἐάσῃ, τοὺς δὲ δημάρχους τοὺς ἐννέα ἀνέπεισαν ἐναντιωθῆναι ^[4] τῷ Γαβινίῳ. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι φοβηθέντες τὸ πλῆθος οὐδὲν ἀντεῖπον, Λούκιος δὲ δὴ τις Τρεβέλλιος καὶ Λούκιος Ῥώσκιος ἐτόλμησαν ^[p. 38] μὲν, οὐκ ἡδυνήθησαν δὲ οὗτ' εἰπεῖν τι ὧν ὑπέσχηντο οὕτε πρᾶξαι. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡ κυρία ἡμέρα, ἐν ἣ τὴν γνώμην ἐπικυρωθῆναι ἔδει, ἐνέστη, τότε ἐγένετο. ^[5] ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπιθυμῶν μὲν πάνυ ἄρξαι, καὶ ἤδη γε ὑπὸ τε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φιλοτιμίας καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ δήμου σπουδῆς οὐδὲ τιμὴν ἔτι τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἀτιμίαν τὸ μὴ τυχεῖν αὐτοῦ νομίζων εἶναι, τὴν δὲ ἀντίταξιν τῶν δυνατῶν ὀρών, ἡβουλήθη δοκεῖν ^[6] ἀναγκάζεσθαι. ἦν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως ὡς ἥκιστα προσποιούμενος ἐπιθυμεῖν ὧν ἠθέλε: τότε δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον, διὰ τε τὸ ἐπιφθονον ἂν γε ἐκὼν τῆς ἀρχῆς

ἀντιποιήσεται, καὶ διὰ τὸ εὐκλεές ἄν γε καὶ ἄκων ὥς γε καὶ ἄξιοστρατηγητότατος ὢν ἀποδειχθῇ, ἐπλάττετο. 25. καὶ παρελθὼν ἔφη 'χαίρω μὲν τιμώμενος ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ὦ Κυριῖται: φύσει τε γὰρ πάντες ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἐγκαλλωπίζονται ταῖς παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν εὐεργεσίαις, καὶ ἐγώ, ἅτε δὴ πολλάκις τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν τιμῆς ἀπολελευκώς, οὐκ ἔχω πῶς κατ' ἀξίαν ἡσθῶ τοῖς παροῦσιν: οὐ μέντοι οὐθ' ὑμῖν νομίζω προσήκειν ἀπλήστως οὕτω πρὸς με διακεῖσθαι, οὔτε ἐμοὶ διὰ παντὸς ἔν τινι ἡγεμονίᾳ εἶναι. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ἐκ παίδων κέκμηκα, καὶ ὑμᾶς δεῖ καὶ περὶ ^[2] τοὺς ἄλλους σπουδάζειν. ἢ οὐ μέμνησθε ὅσα μὲν ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν Κίνναν πολέμῳ ἔταλαιπώρησα, καίτοι κομιδῇ νέος ὢν, ὅσα δὲ ἐν τε τῇ Σικελίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ ἔκαμον, μηδέπω καθαρῶς ἐς ἐφήβους τελῶν, ὅσα δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ ἐκινδύνευσα, μηδὲ βουλεύων πω; ἐφ' οἷς ἅπασιν οὐχ ὅτι ^[p. 40] ^[3] ἀχάριστοι πρὸς με ἐγένεσθε ἐρῶ. πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ: πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὢν πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων παρ' ὑμῶν ἡξιώθην, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ πιστευθῆναι με τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Σερτώριον στρατηγίαν, μηδενὸς ἄλλου μῆτ' ἐθελήσαντος μῆτε δυνηθέντος αὐτὴν ὑποστῆναι, τὸ τε ἐπινίκια καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ παρὰ τὸ νενομισμένον πέμψαι μεγίστην μοι τιμὴν ^[4] ἤνεγκεν. ἀλλ' ὅτι πολλὰς μὲν φροντίδας πολλοὺς δὲ κινδύνους ὑπέμεινα, κατατέτριμμαι μὲν τὸ σῶμα, πεπόνημαι δὲ τὴν γνώμην. μὴ γὰρ ὅτι νέος ἔτ' εἰμὶ λογιζέσθε, μηδ' ὅτι ἔτη τόσα καὶ τόσα ^[5] γέγονα ἀριθμεῖσθε. ἂν γὰρ τοι καὶ τὰς στρατείας ἅς ἐστράτευμαι καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους οὓς κεκινδύνευκα ἀναριθμήσητε, πολὺ γε πλείους αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐτῶν εὐρήσετε, καὶ μᾶλλον οὕτω πιστεῦσете ὅτι οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς πόνους οὔτε πρὸς τὰς φροντίδας καρτερεῖν ἔτι δύναμαι. 26.

εἰ δ' οὖν τις καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντέχοι, ἀλλ' ὁρᾷτε ὅτι καὶ ἐπιφθονα καὶ μισητὰ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐστίν: ἅπερ ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τίθεσθε 'οὐδὲ γὰρ καλῶς ἔχει προσποιεῖσθαι τι ὑμᾶς αὐτῶν', ἐμοὶ μέντοι βαρυτάτα ἂν γένοιτο, ^[2] καὶ ὁμολογῶ γε μηδ' ὑφ' ἐνὸς οὕτω τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις δεινῶν μῆτε ἐκταράττεσθαι μῆτε λυπεῖσθαι ὥς ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων. τίς μὲν γὰρ ἂν εὖ φρονῶν ἡδέως παρ' ἀνθρώποις φθονοῦσιν αὐτῷ ζῶη, τίς δ' ἂν δημόσιόν τι διοικῆσαι προθυμηθεῖν μέλλων, ἂν μὲν ἀποτύχη, δίκην ὑφέξειν, ἂν δὲ ^[3] κατορθώσῃ, ζηλοτυπηθήσεσθαι; ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μὲν ^[p. 42] καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τᾶλλα συγχωρήσατε τὴν τε ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν καὶ τὰ ἐμαυτοῦ πράττειν, ἴν' ἤδη ποτὲ καὶ τῶν οἰκείων ἐπιμεληθῶ καὶ μὴ κατατριφθεὶς ἀπόλωμαι: ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τοὺς καταποντιστὰς ἄλλον χειροτονήσατε. συχνοὶ δὲ εἰσι καὶ βουλόμενοι ναυαρχῆσαι καὶ δυνάμενοι, καὶ νεώτεροι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι, ὥστε τὴν αἵρεσιν ὑμῖν ^[4] ῥαδίαν ἐκ πολλῶν γενέσθαι. οὐ γὰρ που ἐγὼ μόνος ὑμᾶς φιλῶ ἢ καὶ μόνος ἐμπείρως τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔχω, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ δεῖνα καὶ ὁ δεῖνα, ἵνα μὴ καὶ χαρίζεσθαι τισι δόξω ὀνομαστὶ καταλέξας.

‘ 27. ταῦτα αὐτοῦ δημηγορήσαντος ὁ Γαβίνιος ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν ‘Πομπήιος μὲν, ὦ Κυριῖται, καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἄξιον τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἡθῶν ποιεῖ, μῆτε ἐφιέμενος τῆς ἀρχῆς μῆτε διδομένην οἱ αὐτὴν ἐξ ^[2] ἐπιδρομῆς δεχόμενος. οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως ἀγαθοῦ ἀνδρός ἐστιν ἄρχειν ἐπιθυμεῖν καὶ τὰ

πράγματι ἔχειν ἐθέλειν: κἂν τοῦτῳ προσήκει πάντα τὰ προσταπτόμενα μετ' ἐπισκέψεως ὑφίστασθαι, ἴν' αὐτὰ καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ὁμοίως πράξῃ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ προπετέες ἐν ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν, ὀξύτερον καὶ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι τοῦ καιροῦ γιγνόμενον, πολλοὺς σφάλλει, τὸ δ' ἀκριβὲς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ὁμοιον διατελεῖ ὃν καὶ πάντας ὀνίνησιν. [3] ὑμᾶς δὲ δὴ χρὴ μὴ τὸ τοῦτῳ κεχαρισμένον ἀλλὰ τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον ἐλέσθαι. οὐ γὰρ που τοὺς σπουδαρχοῦντας ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους προστάττειν τοῖς πράγμασι προσήκει: ἐκείνους μὲν γὰρ πάνυ πολλοὺς, τοιοῦτον δὲ δὴ τινα ἄλλον [4] οὐδένα εὐρήσετε. μέμνησθε δὲ ὅσα καὶ οἷα [p. 44] ἐπάθομεν ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν Σερτώριον πολέμῳ στρατηγοῦ δεόμενοι, καὶ ὅτι οὐδένα ἕτερον οὔτε τῶν νεωτέρων οὔτε τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀρμόζοντα αὐτῷ εὕρομεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτον καὶ τότε μηδέπω μὴθ' ἡλικίαν ἔχοντα μήτε βουλευόντα καὶ ἀντὶ [5] ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ὑπάτων ἐξεπέμψαμεν. βουλοίμην μὲν γὰρ ἂν πολλοὺς ὑμῖν ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας εἶναι, καὶ εἶγε καὶ εὖξασθαι δεῖ, εὖξαιμην ἄν: ἐπεὶ δ' οὐτ' εὐχῆς τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο ἐστίν οὔτ' αὐτόματόν τῳ παραγίγνεται, ἀλλὰ δεῖ καὶ φῦναι τινα πρὸς αὐτὸ ἐπιτηδείως, καὶ μαθεῖν τὰ πρόσφορα, καὶ ἀσκῆσαι τὰ προσήκοντα, καὶ παρὰ πάντα ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ χρῆσθαι, ἅπερ που σπανιώτατα ἂν τῷ [6] αὐτῷ ἀνδρὶ συμβαίῃ, χρὴ πάντας ὑμᾶς ὁμοθυμαδόν, ὅταν τις τοιοῦτος εὐρεθῇ, καὶ σπουδάζειν αὐτὸν καὶ καταχρῆσθαι αὐτῷ, κἂν μὴ βούληται. καλλίστη γὰρ ἡ τοιαύτη βία καὶ τῷ ποιήσαντι καὶ τῷ παθόντι γίγνεται, τῷ μὲν ὅτι σωθῇ ἂν ὑπ' αὐτῆς, τῷ δὲ ὅτι σώσειεν ἂν τοὺς πολίτας, ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὃ γε χρηστός καὶ φιλόπολις ἐτοιμότατα ἂν ἐπιδοίῃ. 28.

ἢ οἴεσθε ὅτι Πομπήιος οὗτος ἐν μὲν μεираκίῳ καὶ στρατεύεσθαι καὶ στρατηγεῖν καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα αὖξειν καὶ τὰ τῶν συμμάχων σώζειν τὰ τε τῶν ἀνθισταμένων προσκτᾶσθαι ἐδύνατο, νῦν δὲ ἀκμάζων καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὧν ἐν ἧ πᾶς τις ἄριστος αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ γίγνεται, καὶ ἐμπειρίαν ἐκ τῶν πολέμων πλείστην ὅσην προσειληφώς, οὐκ ἂν ὑμῖν [2] χρησιμώτατος γένοιτο; ἀλλ' ὃν ἔφηβον ὄντα ἄρχειν εἴλεσθε, τοῦτον ἄνδρα γεγονότα ἀποδοκιμάσετε; [p. 46] καὶ ὧ ἱππεῖ ἔτ' ὄντι τοὺς πολέμους ἐκείνους ἐνεχειρίσατε, τοῦτῳ βουλῆς γεγονότι τὴν στρατείαν [3] ταύτην οὐ πιστεύετε; καὶ οὗ καὶ πρὶν ἀκριβῶς πειραθῆναι, μόνου πρὸς τὰ τότε κατεπέιξαντα ὑμᾶς ἐδεήθητε, τοῦτῳ νῦν, ἱκανώτατα αὐτοῦ πεπειραμένοι, τὰ παρόντα οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐκείνων ἀναγκαῖα ὄντα οὐκ ἐπιτρέψετε; καὶ ὃν οὐδὲ ἄρχειν ἔτι πω καὶ τότε δυνάμενον ἐπὶ τὸν Σερτώριον ἐχειροτονήσατε, τοῦτον ὑπατευκότα [4] ἤδη ἐπὶ τοὺς καταποντιστὰς οὐκ ἐκπέμψετε; ἀλλὰ μὴθ' ὑμεῖς ἄλλως πως ποιήσητε, καὶ σύ, ὦ Πομπήιε, πείσθητι καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι. ταύτη γὰρ γεγέννησαι καὶ ταύτῃ τέθραψαι: καὶ δεῖ σε τοῖς τε συμφέρουσιν αὐτῇ δουλεύειν, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μὴτε πόνον τινὰ μὴτε κίνδυνον ἐξίστασθαι, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἀποθανεῖν ἀνάγκη σοι γένηται, μὴ τὴν εἰμαρμένην ἀναμεῖναι ἀλλὰ τῷ προστυχόντι 29. θανάτῳ χρῆσθαι. γελοῖος δὲ δήπουθ' εἰμι ταῦτα ἐγὼ σοὶ παραινῶν, ὅστις ἐν τοσοούτοις καὶ τηλικούτοις πολέμοις καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ [2] τὴν πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα εὐνοίαν ἐπιδέδειξα. πείσθητι οὖν καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ

τούτοις, μηδὲ ὅτι τινὲς φθονοῦσι φοβηθῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο μᾶλλον σποῦδαςον, ὥστε πρὸς τε τὴν παρὰ τῶν πλειόνων φιλίαν καὶ πρὸς τὰ κοινῇ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν συμφέροντα καὶ τῶν βασκαίνοντων σε καταφρόνει. [3] καὶ εἶγε καὶ λυπῆσαι τι αὐτοὺς ἐθέλεις, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἄρξον, ἵνα καὶ ἐκείνους ἀνιάσῃς παρὰ γνώμην αὐτῶν καὶ ἡγεμονεύσας καὶ εὐδοκίμησας, καὶ αὐτὸς ἄξιον σεαυτοῦ τέλος τοῖς προκατειργασμένοις ἐπαγάγῃς, πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων κακῶν ἡμᾶς ἀπαλλάξας.

‘ [p. 48] 30. τοιαῦτα δὴ τοῦ Γαβινίου εἰπόντος ὁ Τρεβέλλιος ἐπειράθη μὲν ἀντεπεῖν, ὡς δ’ οὐδενὸς λόγου ἔτυχεν, [2] ἡναντιοῦτο μὴ τὴν ψῆφον δοθῆναι. ὁ οὖν Γαβίνιος ἀγανακτῆσας τὴν μὲν περὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου διαψήφισιν ἐπέσχεν, ἐτέραν δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου ἀντεσῆγε: καὶ ἔδοξεν ἑπτακαίδεκα φυλαῖς ταῖς πρώταις χρηματισάσας ἀδικεῖν τε αὐτὸν καὶ μηκέτι χρῆναι δημαρχεῖν. μελλούσης οὖν καὶ τῆς ὀκτωκαιδεκάτης τὰ αὐτὰ ψηφιεῖσθαι [3] μόλις ποτὲ ὁ Τρεβέλλιος ἐσιώπησεν. ἰδὼν δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Ῥώσκιος φθέγγασθαι μὲν οὐδὲν ἐτόλμησε, τὴν δὲ δὴ χεῖρα ἀνατείνων δύο ἄνδρας ἐκέλευε σφας ἐλέσθαι, ὅπως ἔν γε τούτῳ τῆς δυναστείας τι τῆς τοῦ Πομπηίου παρατέμοιτο. ταῦτ’ οὖν αὐτοῦ χειρονομοῦντος ὁ ὅμιλος μέγα καὶ ἀπειλητικὸν ἀνέκραγεν, ὥστε κόρακά τινα ὑπερπετόμενόν σφων ἐκπλαγῆναι καὶ πεσεῖν [4] ὥσπερ ἐμβρόντητον. γενομένου δὲ τούτου ἐκείνος μὲν τὴν ἡσυχίαν οὐ τῇ γλώττῃ ἔτι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἤγαγεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάτουλος ἄλλως μὲν ἐσιώπα, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Γαβινίου προτρεψαμένου τι αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τὰ τε πρῶτα τῆς βουλῆς ἦν καὶ ἐδόκει δι’ ἐκείνου καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους [5] ὁμογνωμονήσειν σφίσι ‘καὶ γὰρ ἤλπιζεν αὐτὸν, ἐξ ὧν τοὺς δημάρχους πάσχοντας εἶδε, συνεπαινέσειν’, λόγου τε ἔτυχεν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡδοῦντο πάντες αὐτὸν καὶ ἐτίμων ὡς τὰ συμφέροντά σφισι καὶ λέγοντα ἀεὶ καὶ πράττοντα, καὶ ἐδημηγόρησε τοιάδε. 31. ‘ὅτι μὲν ἐς ὑπερβολὴν, ὧ Κυριῖται, πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ὑμῶν ἐσποῦδακα, πάντες που σαφῶς [p. 50] ἐπίστασθε: τούτου δὲ δὴ οὕτως ἔχοντος ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι πάντα ἀπλῶς, ἃ γινώσκω συμφέρειν τῇ πόλει, μετὰ παρρησίας εἰπεῖν, καὶ ὑμῖν προσῆκον ἀκοῦσαι τε μεθ’ ἡσυχίας αὐτῶν [2] καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο βουλεύεσθαι: θορυβήσαντες μὲν γὰρ ἴσως τι καὶ χρήσιμον δυνηθέντες ἂν μαθεῖν οὐχὶ λήψεσθε, προσέχοντες δὲ τοῖς λεγομένοις πάντως τι τῶν συμφερόντων ὑμῖν ἀκριβῶς [3] εὐρήσετε. ἐγὼ τοίνυν πρῶτον μὲν καὶ μάλιστα φημι δεῖν μηδενὶ ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ τοσαύτας κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς ἀρχὰς ἐπιτρέπειν. τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ἀπηγόρευται καὶ πείρα σφαλερώτατον ὄν πεφώραται. οὔτε γὰρ τὸν Μάριον ἄλλο τι ὡς εἰπεῖν τοιοῦτον ἐποίησεν ἢ ὅτι τοσοῦτους τε ἐν ὀλιγίστῳ χρόνῳ πολέμους ἐνεχειρίσθη καὶ [4] ὑπατος ἐξάκις ἐν βραχυτάτῳ ἐγένετο, οὔτε τὸν Σύλλαν ἢ ὅτι τοσοῦτοις ἐφεξῆς ἔτεσι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν στρατοπέδων ἔσχε καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δικτάτωρ, εἴθ’ ὑπατος ἀπεδείχθη. οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσει ψυχὴν, μὴ ὅτι νέαν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρεσβυτέραν, ἐν ἐξουσίαις ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐνδιατρίψασαν τοῖς πατρίοις ἔθεσιν ἐθέλειν ἐμμένειν. 32. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐχ ὡς καὶ κατεγνωκῶς τι τοῦ Πομπηίου λέγω, ἀλλ’ ὅτι μήτ’ ἄλλως συνενεγκόν ποτε ὑμῖν φαίνεται μήτε ἐκ τῶν νόμων

ἐπιτέτραπται. καὶ γὰρ εἴτε τιμὴν τοῖς ἀξιουμένοις αὐτοῦ φέρει, πᾶσιν αὐτῇς, οἷς γε ἐπιβάλλει, προσήκει τυγχάνειν τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ δημοκρατία, εἴτε κάματος, καὶ τούτου πρὸς τὸ μέρος πάντας μεταλαμβάνειν δεῖ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ ἰσομοιρία. [p. 52] [2]

ἔτι τοίνυν ἐν μὲν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ πολλοὺς τε ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἐγγυμνάζεσθαι, καὶ ῥάδιαν ὑμῖν τὴν αἵρεσιν τῶν πιστευθῆναι δυναμένων πρὸς πάντα τὰ πρακτέα ἀπὸ τῆς πείρας ὑπάρχειν συμβαίνει, ἐκείνως δὲ δὴ πολλὴν τὴν σπάνιν καὶ τῶν ἀσκησόντων τὰ προσήκοντα καὶ τῶν ἐπιτραπτησομένων [3] ἀνάγκη πᾶσα γίνεσθαι: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γε οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν Σερτώριον πολέμῳ στρατηγοῦ ἠπορήσατε, ὅτι τὸν πρὸ τούτου χρόνον τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐχρήσθε. ὥστ' εἰ καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἀξιός ἐστι Πομπήιος ἐπὶ τοὺς καταποντιστὰς χειροτονηθῆναι, ἀλλ' ὅτι γε παρὰ τε τὰ διατεταγμένα ἐν τοῖς νόμοις καὶ παρὰ τὰ διεληλεγμένα ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αἵρεθῆι ἂν, ἥκιστα καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ τούτῳ προσήκει αὐτὸ πραχθῆναι. 33.

πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τοῦτο καὶ μάλιστα λέγω, δεύτερον δὲ ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι τεταγμένως ἐκ τῶν νόμων τάς τε ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἡγεμονίας λαμβανόντων καὶ ὑπάτων καὶ στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν ἀντὶ τούτων ἀρχόντων, οὐτ' ἄλλως καλῶς ὑμῖν ἔχει παριδόντας αὐτοὺς καινὴν τινα ἀρχὴν ἐπεσαγαγέσθαι οὔτε [2] συμφέρει. τίνος μὲν γὰρ ἔνεκα καὶ τοὺς ἐνιαυσίους ἄρχοντας χειροτονεῖτε, εἶγε μηδὲν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα χρήσεσθε; οὐ γὰρ που ἴν' ἐν τοῖς περιπορφύροις ἱματίοις περινοστώσιν, οὐδ' ἵνα τὸ ὄνομα μόνον τῆς ἀρχῆς περιβεβλημένοι τοῦ [3] ἔργου αὐτῆς στέρωνται. πῶς δ' οὐχὶ καὶ τούτοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι τοῖς τι πράττειν τῶν πολιτικῶν [p. 54] προαιρουμένοις ἀπεχθῆσεσθε, ἂν τὰς μὲν πατρίους ἀρχὰς καταλύετε καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων χειροτονουμένοις μηδὲν ἐπιτρέπητε, ξένην δὲ τινα καὶ μηπώποτε γεγεννημένην ἡγεμονίαν ἰδιώτῃ προστάξητε; 34. εἰ γὰρ τοι καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἐπετησίους ἀρχὰς ἀνάγκη τις εἴη ἐτέραν ἐλέσθαι, ἔστι καὶ τούτου παράδειγμα ἀρχαῖον, λέγω δὲ τὸν δικτάτορα. καὶ τοῦτον μέντοι τοιοῦτον ὄντα οὔτε ἐπὶ πᾶσι ποτε τοῖς πράγμασιν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν οὔτε [2] ἐπὶ πλείῳ χρόνον ἐξαμήνου κατεστήσαντο. ὥστ' εἰ μὲν τοιοῦτου τινὸς δεῖσθε, ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν, μήτε παρανομήσασι μήτ' ὀλιγώρως ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν βουλευσαμένοις, δικτάτορα εἴτε Πομπήιον εἴτε καὶ ἄλλον τινὰ προχειρίσασθαι, ἐφ' ᾧ μήτε πλείῳ τοῦ τεταγμένου χρόνον μήτε ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας ἄρξῃ. οὐ γὰρ που ἀγνοεῖτε ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο δεινῶς οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐφυλάξαντο, καὶ οὐκ ἂν εὐρεθῆι δικτάτωρ οὐδεὶς ἄλλοσε πλὴν ἐνὸς ἐς Σικελίαν, [3] καὶ ταῦτα μηδὲν πράξαντος, αἵρεθεις. εἰ δ' οὔτε δεῖται ἡ Ἰταλία τοιοῦτου τινός, οὐτ' ἂν ὑμεῖς ὑπομείναιτε ἔτι οὐχ ὅτι τὸ ἔργον τοῦ δικτάτορος ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ ὄνομα δῆλον δὲ ἐξ ὧν πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν ἠγανακτήσατέ, πῶς δ' ἂν ὀρθῶς ἔχοι καινὴν ἡγεμονίαν, καὶ ταύτην ἐς ἔτη τρία καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὡς εἰπεῖν καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἔξω πράγμασιν, [4] ἀποδειχθῆναι; ὅσα γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτου δεῖνὰ ταῖς πόλεσι συμβαίνει, καὶ ὅσοι διὰ τὰς παρανόμους φιλαρχίας τὸν τε δῆμον ἡμῶν πολλάκις ἐτάραξαν [p. 56] καὶ αὐτοὶ αὐτοὺς μυρία κακὰ

ὥστε περὶ μὲν τούτων παύομαι λέγων: τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι οὗτ' ἄλλως καλῶς ἔχει οὔτε συμφέρει ἐνὶ τινὶ τὰ πράγματα προστάσσεσθαι καὶ ἓνα τινὰ πάντων τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν κύριον γίνεσθαι, κἂν τὰ μάλιστα ἄριστός τις ᾗ; αἱ τε γὰρ μεγάλαι τιμαὶ καὶ αἱ ὑπέρογκοι ἐξουσίαι καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους ἐπαίρουσι καὶ διαφθείρουσιν. [2] ἐκεῖνο δὲ δὴ σκοπεῖν ὑμᾶς ἀξιῶ, ὅτι οὐδὲ οἷόν τέ ἐστιν ἓνα ἄνδρα πάσης τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπάρξαι καὶ πάντα τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον ὀρθῶς διοικῆσαι. δεῖ μὲν γὰρ ὑμᾶς, εἴπερ τι τῶν δεόντων ποιήσετε, πανταχῇ ἅμα αὐτοῖς πολεμῆσαι, ἵνα μὴ συνιστάμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, μηδ' αὖ τὰς ἀναφυγὰς πρὸς τοὺς οὐ πολεμουμένους ἔχοντες, δύσληπτοι [3] γένωνται. τοῦτο δὲ οὐδένα ἂν τρόπον εἰς τις ἄρξας πρᾶξαι δυνήθει; πῶς γὰρ ἂν ὑπὸ τὰς αὐτάς ἡμέρας ἓν τε τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Κιλικίᾳ, τῇ τε Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ τῇ Συρίᾳ, τῇ τε Ἑλλάδι καὶ τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ, τῷ τε Ἰονίῳ καὶ ταῖς νήσοις πολεμῆσαι; πολλοὺς μὲν δὴ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ στρατιώτας καὶ στρατηγούς ἐπιστῆναι δεῖ τοῖς πράγμασιν, 36. εἴπερ τι ὄφελος αὐτῶν ἔσται: εἰ δὲ δὴ τις ἐκεῖνό φησιν, ὅτι κἂν ἐνὶ τῷ πάντα τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιτρέψῃτε, πάντως που καὶ ναυάρχους καὶ ὑπάρχους πολλοὺς ἔξει, πῶς οὐ πολὺ δικαιότερον καὶ συμφωρότερον ἔγώ γάρ ἂν εἴποιμί καὶ τί κωλύει τούτους αὖ τοὺς ὑπάρξαι ἐκείνῳ μέλλοντας καὶ προχειρισθῆναι ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν [2] ἡγεμονίαν παρ' ὑμῶν αὐτοτελεῖ λαβεῖν; οὕτω μὲν [p. 58] γὰρ καὶ φροντιοῦσι τοῦ πολέμου μᾶλλον, ἅτε καὶ ἰδίαν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν μερίδα πεπιστευμένος καὶ ἐς μηδένα ἕτερον τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀμέλειαν ἀνενεγκεῖν δυνάμενος, καὶ φιλοτιμῆσονται πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀκριβέστερον, ἅτε καὶ αὐτοκρατεῖς ὄντες καὶ τὴν δόξαν ὣν ἂν ἐργάζωνται αὐτοὶ κτησόμενοι: ἐκείνως δὲ τίνα μὲν ὁμοίως οἴεσθε ... ἄλλῳ τῷ ὑποκείμενον, τίνα δ' ἀπροφασίστως ὅτιοῦν ποιήσιν, μέλλοντα μὴ ἑαυτῷ ἄλλ' ἑτέρῳ κρατήσιν; [3]

ᾧ οὐδ' ὅτι μὲν εἰς οὐδ' ἂν δύναιτο τοσοῦτον ἅμα πόλεμον πολεμῆσαι, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ Γαβινίου ὠμολόγηται: πολλοὺς γοῦν τῷ χειροτονηθησομένῳ συνεργοὺς ἀξιοῖ δοθῆναι. λοιπὴ δὲ δὴ σκέψις ἐστὶ πότερον ποτε ἄρχοντας αὐτοὺς ἢ ὑπάρχοντας, καὶ στρατηγούς ἢ ὑποστρατήγους, καὶ πρὸς τοῦ δήμου παντὸς ἐπ' αὐτοκράτορός τινος ἡγεμονίας ἢ πρὸς ἐκείνου μόνου ἐφ' ὑπηρεσίᾳ αὐτοῦ, πεμφθῆναι [4] δεῖ. οὐκοῦν ὅτι μὲν καὶ νομιμώτερον καὶ συμφωρότερον καὶ πρὸς τὰλλα πάντα καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς ληιστὰς τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἐγὼ λέγω ἐστὶ, πᾶς ἂν τις ὑμῶν ὁμολογήσειε. χωρὶς δὲ τούτου καὶ ἐκεῖνο ὁρᾷτε οἷόν ἐστι, τὸ πάσας ὑμῶν τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν καταποντιστῶν προφάσει καταλυθῆναι, καὶ μηδεμίαν αὐτῶν μήτε ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ μήτε ἐν τῇ ὑπηκῳ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ... 68

‘ἐὰν ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐκπεμφθεῖς σφαλῇ, οἷα ἐν γε ἀγῶσι πολλοῖς καὶ τούτοις θαλαττίοις φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι, τίνα ἄλλον ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὰ ἀναγκαϊότερα εὐρήσετε;’ ὁ ὄμιλος σύμπας ὥσπερ ἀπὸ συγκειμένου τινὸς ἀνεβόησεν εἰπὼν ‘σέ.’ καὶ οὕτω Πομπήιος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς θαλάσσης τῶν τε νήσων καὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ἐς τετρακοσίους σταδίους ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ἄνω εἰλήφει.” Xiphil. p. 4, 2-11 Dind. 37. ... τῆς δὲ Ἰταλίας ἀντὶ ὑπάτου ἐπὶ τρία ἔτη, προσέταξαν αὐτῷ ὑποστρατήγους τε πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀπάσας, τὰ τε χρήματα καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ὅσα ἂν ἐθέλησῃ λαβεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ ἐκεῖνά τε καὶ ἡ γερουσία καὶ ἄκουσα ἐπεκύρωσε, καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα πρόσφορα ἐς αὐτὰ ἦν ^[2] ἐκάστοτε ἐγίνωσκεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ τοῦ Πίσωνος μὴ ἐπιτρέψαντος τοῖς ὑπάρχοις καταλόγους ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ τῇ Ναβωνησίᾳ, ἧς ἦρχε, ποιήσασθαι, δεινῶς ὁ ὄμιλος ἡγανάκτησε: καὶ εὐθύς γ’ ἂν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξήλασαν, εἰ μὴ ὁ ^[3] Πομπήιος παρητήσατο. παρασκευασάμενος οὖν ὡς τὸ τε πρᾶγμα καὶ τὸ φρόνημα αὐτοῦ ἀπῆται, πᾶσαν ἅμα τὴν θάλασσαν, ὅσῃν οἱ καταποντισταὶ ἐλύπουν, τὰ μὲν αὐτός, τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑποστρατήγων περιέπλευσε, καὶ τὰ πλείω αὐτῆς ^[4] αὐτοετὲς ἡμέρωσε. πολλῇ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τῇ παρασκευῇ τῇ τε τοῦ ναυτικοῦ καὶ τῇ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἐχρῆτο, ὥστε καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ ^[p. 62] ἀνυπόστατος εἶναι, πολλῇ δὲ καὶ τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τῇ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντάς οἱ, ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ^[5] τοιοῦτου παμπόλλους προσποιήσασθαι: οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι ταῖς τε δυνάμεσιν ἡττώμενοι καὶ τῆς χρηστότητος αὐτοῦ πειρώμενοι προθυμότατα αὐτῷ προσεχώρουν. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα αὐτῶν ἐπεμελεῖτο, καὶ ὅπως μὴδ’ αὐθις ποτε ἐς ἀνάγκην πονηρῶν ἔργων ὑπὸ πενίας ἀφίκωνται, καὶ χώρας σφίσιν ὅσας ἐρήμους ἐώρα, καὶ πόλεις ὅσαι ^[6] ἐποίκων ἐδέοντο, ἐδίδου. καὶ ἄλλαι τε ἐκ τούτου συνωκίσθησαν καὶ ἡ Πομπηιόπολις ἐπικληθεῖσα: ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ Κιλικίᾳ τῇ παραθαλασσίᾳ καὶ ἐπεπόρητο ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιγράνου, Σόλοι πρότερον ὠνομασμένη. 38. ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τοῦ Ἀκιλίου τοῦ τε Πίσωνος ταῦτά τε οὕτως ἐγένετο, καὶ κατὰ τῶν δεκάσμου περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀλίσκομένων ἐνομοθετήθη πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν ὑπάτων μῆτ’ ἄρχειν μῆτε βουλευεῖν σφῶν μηδένα, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήματα προσοφλισκάνειν. ^[2] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἦ τε τῶν δημάρχων δυναστεία ἐς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐпанελήλυθε; καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν τιμητῶν διαγεγραμμένων ἀναλαβεῖν τρόπον τινὰ τὴν βουλείαν ἐσπούδαζον, συστάσεις καὶ παρακελευσμοὶ παμπληθεῖς ἐφ’ ἀπάσαις ταῖς ^[3] ἀρχαῖς ἐγίνοντο. ἔπραξαν δὲ τοῦθ’ οἱ ὑπατοὶ οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἦχοντο τῷ πράγματι ‘αὐτοὶ γὰρ διασπουδάσαντες ἀπεδείχθησαν, καὶ ὁ γε Πίσων καὶ γραφεῖς ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ πρὸς ἑνὸς καὶ πρὸς ^[p. 64] ἐτέρου τινὸς ἐξεπρίατο τὸ μὴ κατηγορηθῆναι ^[4] ἀλλ’ ὅτι ἡναγκάσθησαν ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας. αἵτιον δὲ ὅτι Γαῖός τις Κορνῆλιος δημαρχῶν πικρότατα ἐπιτίμια τάξει κατ’ αὐτῶν ἐπεχείρησε καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ ὁ ὄμιλος ἠρέλτο. ἡ γὰρ βουλὴ συνιδούσα ὅτι τὸ μὲν ὑπερβάλλον τῶν τιμωρημάτων ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς ἐκπληξιν τίνα ἔχει, οὔτε δὲ τοὺς κατηγορήσοντας οὔτε τοὺς καταψηφιουμένους τῶν ὑπαιτιῶν, ἅτε καὶ ἀνηκέστων αὐτῶν ^[5] ὄντων, ῥαδίως εὐρίσκει, τὸ δὲ δὴ μέτριον ἐς τε τὰς κατηγορίας συχνοὺς προάγει καὶ τὰς καταψηφίσεις οὐκ ἀποτρέπει, μεταρρυθμίσει πῃ τὴν ἐσῆγησιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις νομοθετῆσαι 39.

αὐτὴν ἐκέλευσεν. ἔπει δὲ αἱ τε ἀρχαιρεσίαι προεπηγγελμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτ' οὐδὲν προνομοθετηθῆναι πρὸ αὐτῶν ἐξῆν, καὶ οἱ σπουδαρχιῶντες πολλὰ καὶ κακὰ ἐν τῷ διακένῳ τοῦτῳ ἐποιοῦν, ὥστε καὶ σφαγὰς γίγνεσθαι, τὸν τε νόμον ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ πρὸ ἐκείνων ἐσενεχθῆναι καὶ [2] φρουρὰν τοῖς ὑπάτοις δοθῆναι. ἀγανακτήσας οὖν ἐπὶ τοῦτοις ὁ Κορνήλιος γνώμην ἐποίησατο μὴ ἐξεῖναι τοῖς βουλευταῖς μήτε ἀρχὴν τινι ἔξω τῶν νόμων αἰτήσαντι διδόναι μήτ' ἄλλο μηδὲν τῶν τῷ δήμῳ προσηκόντων ψηφίζεσθαι: τοῦτο γὰρ ἐννομοθέτητο μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου, οὐ [3] μέντοι καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ ἐτρεῖτο. θορύβου τε ἐπ' αὐτῷ πολλοῦ συμβάντος 'καὶ γὰρ ἀντέπρασσον τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας συχνοὶ καὶ ὁ Πίσων' τὰς τε ῥάβδους αὐτοῦ ὁ ὄχλος συνέτριψε καὶ αὐτὸν διασπᾶσθαι ἐπεχείρησεν. [p. 66] [4] ἰδὼν οὖν τὴν ὀρμὴν αὐτῶν ὁ Κορνήλιος τότε μὲν, πρὶν ἐπιψηφίσει τι, διαφῆκε τὸν σύλλογον, ὕστερον δὲ προσέγραψε τῷ νόμῳ τὴν τε βουλὴν πάντως περὶ αὐτῶν προβουλεύειν καὶ τὸν 40. δῆμον ἐπ' ἀναγκῆς ἐπικυροῦν τὸ προβούλευμα. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνόν τε διεννομοθέτησε καὶ ἕτερον τοιόνδε. οἱ στρατηγοὶ πάντες τὰ δίκαια καθ' ἃ δικάσειν ἔμελλον, αὐτοὶ συγγράφοντες ἐξετίθεσαν: οὐ γὰρ πῶ πάντα τὰ δικαιώματα τὰ περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια [2] διετέτακτο. ἐπεὶ οὖν οὕτε ἐσάπαξ τοῦτ' ἐποιοῦν οὔτε τὰ γραφέντα ἐτήρουν, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις αὐτὰ μετέγραφον καὶ συχνὰ ἐν τοῦτῳ πρὸς χάριν ἢ καὶ κατ' ἔχθραν τινῶν, ὥσπερ εἰκός, ἐγίγνετο, ἐσηγήσατο κατ' ἀρχὰς τε εὐθύς αὐτοὺς τὰ δίκαια οἷς χρήσονται προλέγειν, καὶ μηδὲν ἀπ' [3] αὐτῶν παρατρέπειν. τὸ τε σὺμπαν οὕτως ἐπιμελὲς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνῳ τὸ μηδὲν δωροδοκεῖσθαι ἐγένετο ὥστε πρὸς τῷ τοὺς ἐλεγχομένους κολάζειν καὶ τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας αὐτῶν ἐτίμω. τοῦ γοῦν Κόττου τοῦ Μάρκου τὸν μὲν ταμίαν Πούπλιον Ὀππιον ἐπὶ τε δώροις καὶ ἐπὶ ὑποψίᾳ ἐπιβουλῆς ἀποπέμψαντος, αὐτοῦ δὲ [4] πολλὰ ἐκ τῆς Βιθυνίας χρηματισαμένου, Γάιον Κάρβωνα τὸν κατηγορήσαντα αὐτοῦ τιμαῖς ὑπατικάις καίπερ δεδημαρχηκότα μόνον, ἐσέμνυναν. καὶ οὗτος μὲν τῆς τε Βιθυνίας καὶ αὐτὸς ὕστερον ἄρξας, καὶ μετριώτερον οὐδὲν τοῦ Κόττου πλημμελήσας, ἀντικατηγορήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱέος αὐτοῦ καὶ [5] ἀνθεάλῳ: πολλῷ γὰρ πῶ ῥᾶον ἄλλοις ἐπιτιμῶσί [p. 68] τινες ἢ ἑαυτοῖς παραινοῦσι, καὶ προχειρότατά γε ἐφ' οἷς τιμωρίας ἀξίους τοὺς πέλας εἶναι νομίζουσιν αὐτοὶ ποιοῦσιν, ὥστε μηδεμίαν πίστιν ἐξ ὧν ἑτέροις ἐγκαλοῦσιν, ὅτι καὶ μισοῦσιν αὐτά, λαμβάνειν: 41. Λούκιος δὲ δὴ Λούκουλλος τὴν μὲν στρατηγίαν τὴν οἴκοι διῆρξε, τῆς δὲ δὴ Σαρδοῦς ἄρξαι μετ' αὐτὴν λαχὼν οὐκ ἠθέλησε, μισήσας τὸ πρᾶγμα διὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τοὺς οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι δρῶντας. ὅτι γὰρ ἐπεικὴς ἦν, ἱκανώτατα [2] διέδειξεν: τοῦ γὰρ Ἀκιλίου συντριβῆναι τὸν δίφρον αὐτοῦ, ἐφ' οὗ ἔδικαζε, κελεύσαντος ὅτι παριόντα ποτὲ αὐτὸν ἰδὼν οὐκ ἐξανέστη, οὗτ' ὀργῇ ἐχρήσατο καὶ ὀρθοστάδην μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ συνάρχοντες αὐτοῦ δι' ἐκεῖνον διεδίκασαν. 42. Ἐσήνεγκε μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁ Ῥώσκιος νόμον, ἐσήνεγκε δὲ καὶ ὁ Γάιος ὁ Μάλλιος, ὅτε ἐδημάρχησεν. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν 'τὰς γὰρ τῶν ἱππέων τὰς ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἔδρας ἀκριβῶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων [2] ἀφώρισέ καὶ ἔπαινον ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔλαβεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Μάλλιος καὶ δίκην ὀλίγου ὑπέσχε: τῷ γὰρ ἔθνει

τῷ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἔν τε τῇ ἐσχάτῃ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρᾳ καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέραν, παρασκευάσας τινὰς ἐκ τοῦ ὁμίλου, ψηφισάσθαι μετὰ τῶν ἐξελευθερωσάντων ^[3] σφᾶς ἔδωκεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ βουλὴ εὐθύς τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ νομηνίᾳ ἐν ἧ Λούκιος τε Τούλλιος καὶ Αἰμίλιος Λέπιδος ὑπατεύειν ἤρξαντο, τὸν νόμον αὐτοῦ ἀπεψηφίσατο, φοβηθεὶς, ^[p. 70] ἐπειδὴ τὸ πλῆθος δεινῶς ἠγανάκτει, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἔς τε τὸν Κράσσον καὶ ἔς ἄλλους τινὰς τὴν γνώμην ^[4] ἀνῆγεν, ὥς δ' οὐδεὶς ἐπίστευέν οἱ, τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ ἀπόντα ἐκολάκευσεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι τὸν Γαβίνιον πλεῖστον παρ' αὐτῷ δυνάμενον ἦσθετο: τὸν τε γὰρ τοῦ Τιγράνου καὶ τὸν τοῦ Μιθριδάτου πόλεμον, τὴν τε Βιθυνίαν καὶ τὴν Κιλικίαν ἅμα 43. ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ προσέταξεν. ἀγανάκτησις μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀντιλογία καὶ τότε παρὰ τῶν δυνατῶν, διὰ τε τᾶλλα καὶ διότι ὁ τε Μάρκιος καὶ ὁ Ἀκίλιος πρὶν τὸν χρόνον σφίσι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξήκειν κατελύοντο, ^[2] ἐγένετο: ὁ δὲ ὁμίλος, καίτοι μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς καταστήσαντας τὰ ἐαλωκότα, ὥς καὶ διαπεπολεμηκῶς ἐξ ὧν σφίσιν ὁ Λούκουλλος ἐπεστάλκει, πέμψας, ὅμως ἐψηφίσατο αὐτά, ἐναγόντων σφᾶς ἔς τὰ μάλιστα τοῦ τε Καίσαρος καὶ τοῦ Κικέρωνος τοῦ Μάρκου. ^[3] οὗτοι γὰρ αὐτοῖς συνηγωνίσαντο οὐχ ὅτι καὶ συμφέρειν αὐτὰ τῇ πόλει ἐνόμιζον, οὐδ' ὅτι τῷ Πομπηίῳ χαρίσασθαι ἠθελον: ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὥς γενήσεσθαι ἔμελλε, Καῖσαρ μὲν τὸν τε ὄχλον ἅμα ἐθεράπευσεν ἅτε καὶ ὁρῶν ὅσῳ τῆς βουλῆς ^[4] ἐπικρατέστεροι ἦσαν, καὶ ἑαυτῷ τὸ τι τῶν ὁμοίων ψηφισθῆναι ποτε παρεσκεύασε, κἂν τούτῳ καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ ἐπιφθονώτερον καὶ ἐπαχθέστερον ἐκ τῶν διδομένων οἱ ποιῆσαι, ὅπως σφίσι πρὸς κόρου θᾶσσον γένηται, ἠθέλησε, Κικέρων δὲ τὴν τε πολιτείαν ἄγειν ἠξίου, καὶ ἐνεδείκνυτο καὶ τῷ ^[p. 72] πλήθει καὶ τοῖς δυνατοῖς ὅτι, ὅποτέροις ἂν σφω ^[5] πρόσθεται, πάντως αὐτοὺς ἐπαυξήσει. ἐπημφοτέριζε τε γὰρ καὶ ποτὲ μὲν τὰ τούτων ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων, ἴν' ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων σπουδάζεται, ἔπραττε. τοὺς γοῦν βελτίους πρότερον προαιρεῖσθαι λέγων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀγορανομῆσαι μᾶλλον ἢ δημαρχῆσαι ἐθελήσας, τότε πρὸς τοὺς 44. συρφετῶδεις μετέστη. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δίκης τέ τινος τῷ Μαλλίῳ πρὸς τῶν δυνατῶν παρασκευασθείσης, καὶ ἐκείνου χρόνον τινὰ ἐμποιῆσαι αὐτῇ σπουδάζοντος, τὰ τε ἄλλα κατ' αὐτοῦ ἔπραττε, καὶ μόλις αὐτόν ἐστρατήγει γὰρ καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ δικαστηρίου εἶχεν' ἔς τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἀνεβάλετο, πρόφασιν ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τὸ ἔτος εἶναι ποιησάμενος. ^[2] κἂν τούτῳ δυσχεράναντος τοῦ ὁμίλου ἐσῆλθέ τε ἔς τὸν σύλλογον αὐτῶν, ἀναγκασθεὶς δῆθεν ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων, καὶ κατὰ τε τῆς βουλῆς κατέδραμε καὶ συναγορεύσειν τῷ Μαλλίῳ ὑπέσχετο. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τούτου τὰ τε ἄλλα κακῶς ἤκουε καὶ αὐτόμολος ὠνομάζετο, τάραχος δὲ τις εὐθύς ἐπιγενόμενος ἐκώλυσε τὸ δικαστήριον συναχθῆναι. ^[3] Πούπλιός τε γὰρ Παῖτος καὶ Κορνήλιος Σύλλας, ἀδελφιδοὺς ἐκείνου τοῦ πάνυ Σύλλου, ὕπατοί τε ἀποδειχθέντες καὶ δεκάσμοϋ ἁλόντες ἐπεβούλευσαν τοὺς κατηγορησαντάς σφω Κότταν τε καὶ Τορκουᾶτον Λουκίους, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῖ ^[4] ἀνθρῆθησαν, ἀποκτεῖναι. καὶ παρεσκευάσθησαν μὲν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Γναῖος Πίσων καὶ Λούκιος Κατιλίνας ἀνὴρ θρασύτατος ἥτήκει δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ^[p. 74] τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὀργὴν ἐποιεῖτό, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἡδυνήθησάν τι

δρᾶσαι διὰ τὸ τὴν τε ἐπιβουλὴν προμηνυθῆναι καὶ φρουρὰν τῷ τε Κόττι καὶ τῷ Τορκουάτῳ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ^[5] δοθῆναι: ... δόγμα τι κατ' αὐτῶν γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ δῆμαρχός τις ἦναντιώθη. ἔπει δ' οὖν καὶ ὡς ὁ Πίσων ἐθρασύνετο, ἐφοβήθη τε ἡ γερουσία μὴ τι συνταράξῃ, καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτὸν ἐς Ἴβηριαν, πρόφασιν ὡς καὶ ἐπ' ἀρχὴν τινα, ἔπεμψε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἀδικήσας 45. τι αὐτοῦς, ἐσφάγη: Πομπήιος δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Κρήτην τὸν τε Μέτελλον πλεουσούμενος ἡτοιμάζετο, μαθὼν δὲ τὰ δεδογμένα προσεποιεῖτο μὲν ἄχθεσθαι ὡς καὶ πρότερον, καὶ τοῖς ἀντιστασιώταις ὡς καὶ πράγματα αἰεὶ ποτε αὐτῷ, τοῦ καὶ παῖσαι τι, παρέχουσιν ἐπεκάλει, ^[2] ἄσμεναίτατα δὲ αὐτὰ ἀναδεξάμενος Κρήτην μὲν καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, εἰ ποῦ τι ἀδιοίκητον κατελέλειπτο, παρ' οὐδὲν ἔτ' ἦγαγε, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὸν τῶν βαρβάρων πόλεμον παρεσκευάζετο. κἂν τοῦτῳ βουλευθεὶς τῆς τοῦ Μιθριδάτου διανοίας πειρᾶσθαι, πέμψει τὸν Μητροφάνη ^[3] φιλίους 100 αὐτῷ λόγους φέροντα. καὶ ὅς τότε μὲν ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ αὐτὸν ἐποίησατο 'τοῦ γὰρ Ἀρσάκου τοῦ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλέως ἀποθανόντος ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τοῦτῳ Φραάτην τὸν διάδοχον αὐτοῦ προσεδόκησεν οἰκειώσεσθαι, ἔπει δ' ὁ Πομπήιος τὴν φιλίαν τῷ Φραάτῃ διὰ ταχέων ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς προσυνέθετο καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν αὐτὸν τὴν τοῦ Τιγράνου προεμβαλεῖν ἀνέπεισε, πυθόμενος ^[p. 76] τοῦτο κατέδεισε, καὶ πρεσβευσάμενος εὐθὺς ^[4] σύμβασιν ἔπραττε. κελεύσαντος δὲ 101 αὐτῷ τοῦ Πομπηίου τὰ τε ὅπλα καταθέσθαι καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους ἐκδοῦναι οὐκ ἔσχε καιρὸν βουλεύσασθαι: ἀκούσαντες γὰρ ταῦτα οἱ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτοῦ ὄντες, καὶ φοβηθέντες οἳ τε αὐτόμολοι (πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν) μὴ ἐκδοθῶσι, καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι μὴ ἄνευ ἐκείνων πολεμεῖν ἀναγκασθῶσιν, ἐθορύβησαν. 102 ^[5] κἂν ἐξεργάσαντό τι τὸν Μιθριδάτην, εἰ μὴ ψευσάμενος ὅτι οὐκ ἐπὶ σπονδαῖς ἀλλ' ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων παρασκευῆς τοὺς πρέσβεις ἔπεμψε, μόλις αὐτοὺς κατέσχευεν. 46. ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος ἐπειδὴ πολεμητέα οἱ ἔγνω εἶναι, τὰ τε ἄλλα παρεσκευάσατο καὶ τοὺς Οὐαλεριεῖους προσκατελέξατο. καὶ αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ἦδη ὄντι ὁ Λούκουλλος ἀπαντήσας διαπεπολεμῆσθαι τε πάντα ἔφη καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι στρατείας δεῖσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς πρὸς τὴν διοίκησιν αὐτῶν ^[2] πεμφθέντας ἦδη παρῆναι. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐπέισθη ἐπαναχωρῆσαι, πρὸς λοιδορίας ἐτράπετο, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ πολυπράγμονα καὶ φιλοπόλεμον καὶ φιλαρχοῦντα αὐτὸν ἀποκαλῶν. ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος βραχὺ αὐτοῦ φροντίσας ἀπεῖπε μηδένα ἔτ' αὐτῷ πειθαρχῆσαι, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἠπειχθη, σπουδὴν ἔχων ὅτι τάχιστα οἱ συμμῖξαι. 47. καὶ ὅς τέως μὲν ἔφυγε 'ταῖς γὰρ δυνάμεσιν ἡλαττοῦτό καὶ τὴν τε ἐν ποσὶν αἰεὶ ἔκειρε, καὶ ἐπλάνα τε αὐτὸν 103 ἅμα καὶ ἐπιδεῖσθαι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐποίει: ἔπει δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν διὰ ^[p. 78] τε τοῦτο καὶ ὡς ἐρήμην αὐτὴν αἰρήσων ἐνέβαλεν, ^[2] οὕτω δὴ δέισας μὴ προκαταληφθῇ ἥλθε τε ἐς αὐτήν, καὶ λόφον ἀντικαταλαβὼν ὄχυρόν τῳ μὲν παντὶ στρατῷ ἡσύχαζεν, ἐλπίζων τοὺς μὲν Ῥωμαίους ἀπορίᾳ τῶν τροφῶν ἐκτρυχῶσιν 'αὐτὸς γὰρ ἅτε ἐν ὑπηκῳ χώρᾳ πολλαχόθεν αὐτῶν εὐπόρεϊ, τῶν δὲ δὴ ἱππέων αἰεὶ τινὰς ἐς τὸ πεδῖον φιλὸν ὃν καταπέμπων τοὺς τε προστυγχάνοντάς σφισιν ἐκάκου, καὶ ἐξαυτομολοῦντας ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ ^[3] συχνοὺς ἐδέχετο. ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος ἐνταῦθα

μὲν οὐκ ἐθάρσυσεν αὐτοῖς συμβαλεῖν, μεταστρατοπεδευσάμενος δὲ ἐτέρωσε, ὅθεν ὑλῶδους τοῦ πέριξ χωρίου ὄντος ἦττον ὑπὸ τε τοῦ ἵππικοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ τοξικοῦ τοῦ τῶν ἐναντίων λυπηθήσεσθαι ^[4] ἔμελλεν, ἐλόχισεν ἥ καιρὸς ἦν, καὶ ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν βαρβάρων προσμίξας ἐτάραξέ τε αὐτούς, καὶ ὑπαγαγὼν ἐς ὃ ἐβούλετο 104 πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινε. θαρσήσας τε ἐκ τούτου καὶ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἄλλους ἄλλη ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔπεμπεν. 48. ὁ οὖν Μιθριδάτης, ἐπειδὴ ταῦτά τε ἀσφαλῶς ἐπορίζετο, καὶ τὴν Ἀναΐτιν 105 χώραν τῆς τε Ἀρμενίας οὔσαν καὶ θεῶ τινι ἐπωνύμῳ ἀνακειμένην ^[2] διὰ τινων ἐχειρώσατο, κάκ τούτου καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέκλινον, καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ τοῦ Μαρκίου στρατιῶται προσεγένοντο, ἐφοβήθη καὶ οὐκέτι κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινεν, ἀλλ' αὐτίκα τε τῆς νυκτὸς ἄρας ἔλαθε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα νυκτοπορῶν ^[3] ἐς τὴν τοῦ Τιγάνου Ἀρμενίαν προῆι. καὶ οἱ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπηκολούθει μὲν ἐπιθυμῶν διὰ ^[p. 80] μάχης ἐλθεῖν, οὐ μὲντοι καὶ πρότερον οὔτε μεθ' ἡμέραν 'οὐ γὰρ ἐξήεσαν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου οὔτε νύκτωρ ἐτόλμησε τοῦτο ποιῆσαι 'τὴν γὰρ ἀγνωσίαν τῶν χωρίων ἐδεδίει πρὶν σφας πρὸς τῇ μεθορίᾳ γενέσθαι: τότε γὰρ εἰδὼς αὐτοὺς διαφεύγειν μέλλοντας ἠναγκάσθη νυκτομαχῆσαι. ^[4] γνοὺς οὖν τοῦτο προαπῆρε, μεσημβριάζοντας τοὺς βαρβάρους λαθὼν, ἥ πορεύεσθαι ἔμελλον: καὶ ἐντυχὼν τινι χωρίῳ κοίλῳ μεταξὺ γηλόφων τινῶν ὄντι, ἐνταῦθα τὸ τε στράτευμα ἐπὶ τὰ μετέωρα ^[5] ἀνεβίβασε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπέμεινεν. ἐπειδὴ τε ἐκεῖνοι μετὰ τε ἀδειας καὶ ἄνευ προφυλακῆς, ἅτε μήτε 106 ἔμπροσθε δεινὸν τι πεπονθότες καὶ τότε ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἤδη προχωροῦντες ὥστε μηδὲ ἐφέψεσθαι σφισιν ἔτι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐλπίζειν, ἐς τὸ κοῖλον ἐσῆλθον, ἐπέθετο αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ σκοτῶ: οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλο τι φῶς εἶχον οὔτε ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τι ἔλαμπεν. 49. ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ μάχη τοιάδε. πρῶτον μὲν οἱ σαλπικταὶ πάντες ἅμα τὸ πολεμικὸν ἀπὸ συνθήματος ἐβόησαν, ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ τε στρατιῶται καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς ὄχλος πᾶς ἐπηλάλαξε, καὶ οἱ μὲν τὰ δόρατα πρὸς τὰς ἀσπίδας, οἱ δὲ καὶ λίθους πρὸς ^[2] τὰ χαλκᾶ σκεὺ προσεπέκρουσαν. καὶ σφων τὴν ἡχὴν τὰ ὄρη ἐγκοίλα ὄντα καὶ ὑπεδέξατο καὶ ἀνταπέδωκε φρικωδεστάτην, ὥστε τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐξαπναιῶς ἐν τε τῇ νυκτὶ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἑρηνίᾳ αὐτῶν ἀκούσαντας δεινῶς ἐκπλαγῆναι ὥς καὶ ^[3] δαιμονίῳ τινὶ πάθει περιπεπτωκότας. κὰν τούτῳ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πανταχόθεν ἀπὸ τῶν μετεώρων λίθοις τοξεύμασιν ἀκοντίοις βάλλοντες πάντως γέ τινας ^[p. 82] ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους αὐτῶν ἐτίτρωσκον καὶ ἐς πᾶν κακοῦ σφας κατέστησαν: οὔτε γὰρ ἐς παράταξιν ἀλλ' ἐς πορείαν ἐσταλμένοι, καὶ ἐν ταύτῳ τοῖς τε ἵπποις καὶ ταῖς καμήλοις καὶ παντοδαποῖς σκεύεσι 107 καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἀναστρεφόμενοι, ^[4] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ κελήτων, οἱ δὲ ἐφ' ἀρμάτων τῶν τε καμαρῶν καὶ τῶν ἀρμαμαξῶν ἀναμιξ ὀχοῦμενοι, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἤδη τιτρωσκόμενοι, οἱ δὲ προσδεχόμενοι τρωθήσεσθαι, ἐταράσσοντο, κάκ τούτου ῥᾶον, ἅτε καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐμπελαζόμενοι, ἐφθείροντο. ^[5] καὶ ταῦτα μὲν, ἕως ἂπωθεν ἐβάλλοντο, ἔπασχον: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξαναλώσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν πόρρωθεν ἀλκὴν ἐπικατέδραμόν 108 σφισιν, ἐφονεύετο μὲν τὰ περιέσχατα 'καὶ ἐξήρκει πρὸς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῖς μία πληγὴ ἅτε καὶ ψιλοῖς οὔσι τοῖς πλειοῖς,

συνεπιέζετο δὲ τὰ μέσα, πάντων ἐπ' αὐτὰ 109 ὑπὸ τοῦ πέριξ δέους
χωρούντων. [6] καὶ οὕτω καὶ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ὠθοῦμενοι καὶ συμπατοῦμενοι
διώλλυντο, οὐδ' εἶχον οὐδὲν οὔτε ἑαυτοῖς ἐπαρκέσαι οὔτε ἐς τοὺς
πολεμίους τολμῆσαι: ἱππῆς γὰρ καὶ τοξόται τὸ πλεῖστον ὄντες ἄποροι μὲν
ἐν τῷ σκοτῷ προιδέσθαι τι, ἄποροι δὲ ἐν τῇ στενοχωρίᾳ μηχανήσασθαι
ἐγίνοντο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ σελήνη ἀνέτειλεν, οἱ μὲν ἔχαιρον ὥς καὶ ἐν τῷ φωτὶ
πάντως τινὰς 110 [7] ἀμυνόμενοι. κἂν ὠφελήθησάν τι, εἰ μὴ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι
κατόπιν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες, πολλὴν σφισι πλάνην, τοτὲ μὲν τῇ τοτὲ δὲ τῇ
προσπίπτοντες, καὶ ἐν τῇ ὄψει καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐνεποιοῦν. πάμπολλοὶ [p. 84] τε
γὰρ ὄντες καὶ ἐπὶ βαθύτατον κοινῇ πάντες ἀποσκιάζοντες ἔσφαλλον αὐτοὺς,
ἐν ᾧ γε 111 οὕπω 112 [8] προσέμισγόν σφισιν: ἐς γὰρ τὸ κενὸν οἱ βάρβαροι,
ὥς καὶ ἐγγὺς αὐτῶν ὄντων, μάτην ἔπαιον, καὶ ὁμοσε χωρήσαντες ἐν τῇ
σκιᾷ μὴ προσδεχόμενοι ἐπιτρώσκοντο. καὶ οὕτως ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν πολλοὶ
καὶ ἐάλωσαν οὐκ ἐλάττους. συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ διέφυγον, ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ
Μιθριδάτης. 50. καὶ τότε μὲν πρὸς τὸν Τιγράνην ἠπειγετο: ἐπεὶ δὲ
προπέμφας πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδὲν φίλιον εὔρετο, ὅτι τοῦ υἱέος αὐτῷ Τιγράνου
στασιάσαντος ἐκείνον μὲν πάππον αὐτοῦ ὄντα αἵτιον τῆς διαφορᾶς
ὑπετόπησε γεγονέναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐχ ὅπως αὐτὸν ἐδέξατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τοὺς προπεμφθέντας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συνέλαβε καὶ κατέδρασε, διαμαρτῶν ὧν 113
ἤλπισεν [2] ἐς τε τὴν Κολχίδα ἀπετράπετο, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν περὶ πρὸς τε τὴν
Μαιώτιν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Βόσπορον, τοὺς μὲν πείθων, τοὺς δὲ καὶ βιαζόμενος,
ἀφίκετο, καὶ τὴν τε χώραν ἐκομίσατο, τὸν Μαχάρην τὸν παῖδα τὸν τὰ τῶν
Ῥωμαίων ἀνθελόμενον καὶ τότε αὐτῆς κρατοῦντα καταπλήξας ὥστε μηδὲ ἐς
ὄψιν αὐτῷ ἐλθεῖν, καὶ ἐκείνον διὰ τῶν συνόντων οἱ, τὴν τε ἁδειαὶν σφισι καὶ
χρήματα δώσειν ὑπισχνούμενος, [3] ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίνετο, ὁ
Πομπήιος ἔπεμψε μὲν 114 τοὺς ἐπιδιώξοντας 115 αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔφθη ὑπὲρ
τὸν Φᾶσιν ἐκδράς, πόλιν ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἐν ᾧ ἐνενικήκει συνώκισε, τοῖς
τραυματίαις καὶ τοῖς ἀφηλικεστέροις τῶν [p. 86] στρατιωτῶν αὐτὴν δούς. καὶ
σφισι καὶ τῶν περιχώρων ἐθελονταὶ πολλοὶ 116 συνώκησαν, 117 καὶ εἰσὶ
καὶ νῦν, Νικοπολῖται τε ὠνομασμένοι καὶ ἐς τὸν Καππαδοκικὸν νομὸν
συντελοῦντες. 51. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἐποίει: ὁ δὲ δὴ Τιγράνης ὁ τοῦ Τιγράνου
παῖς παραλαβὼν τινὰς τῶν πρώτων, ἐπεὶ οὐ 118 καθ' ἡδονὴν αὐτοῖς ὁ
γέρων ἦρχε, πρὸς τε τὸν Φραάτην κατέφυγε, καὶ περισκοποῦντα αὐτὸν διὰ
τὰς συνθήκας τὰς πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον γενομένας ὅ τι χρή πρᾶξαι, ἐς τὴν [2]
Ἀρμενίαν ἐμβαλεῖν ἀνέπεισε. καὶ ἦλθον μὲν μέχρι τῶν Ἀρταξάτων, πᾶσαν
τὴν ἐν ποσὶ χειρούμενοι, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις προσέβαλον: ὁ γὰρ Τιγράνης ὁ
γέρων ἐς τὰ ὄρη φοβηθεὶς σφας ἀνέφυγεν: ἐπεὶ μέντοι χρόνου τε τῇ
προσεδρεῖα δεῖν ἔδοξε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Φραάτης μέρος τι τῆς δυνάμεως τῷ
παιδὶ αὐτοῦ καταλιπὼν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀνεχώρησεν, ἀντεπῆλθε τε ἐνταῦθα
ὁ [3] πατήρ αὐτῷ μονωθέντι καὶ ἐνίκησε. φυγῶν οὖν ἐκεῖνος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
πρὸς τὸν Μιθριδάτην τὸν πάππον ὥρμησεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθεν αὐτὸν
ἡττημένον καὶ βοηθείας μᾶλλον δεόμενον ἢ τι ἐπικουρῆσαι δυνάμενον,
προσεχώρησε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Πομπήιος ἡγεμόνι χρησάμενος ἐς
τε τὴν Ἀρμενίαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἐστράτευσεν. 52. καὶ ὅς μαθὼν

τοῦτο καὶ καταδείσας ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο τε εὐθὺς αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς τοῦ Μιθριδάτου ἐξέδωκεν. ἐπειδὴ τε, ἐναντιωθέντος οἱ τοῦ υἱέος, οὐδενὸς μετρίου ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ [p. 88] καὶ ὡς ὁ Πομπήιος τὸν τε Ἀράξην διέβη καὶ [2] τοῖς Ἀρταξάτοις ἐπλησίασεν, οὕτω δὴ τὴν τε πόλιν αὐτῷ παρέδωκε καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ ἐθελοντῆς ἦκεν, ἐν μέσῳ ἑαυτὸν ὅτι μάλιστα τοῦ τε προτέρου ἀξιώματος καὶ τῆς τότε ταπεινότητος σκευάσας, ὅπως αἰδέσεώς τε καὶ [3] ἐλέου ἅμα ἄξιος αὐτῷ φανεῖη: τὸν μὲν γὰρ χιτῶνα τὸν μεσόλευκον καὶ τὸν κἀνδυν τὸν ὀλοπόρφυρον ἐξέδου, τὴν δὲ δὴ τιάραν τὸ τε ἀνάδημα εἶχε. Πομπήιος δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ ἵππου κατεβίβασεν αὐτόν, ῥαβδοῦχόν τινα πέμψας ἑποσῆλαυνε γὰρ ὡς καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ ἔρυμα κατὰ τὸ σφέτερον ἔθος ἵππεύσων, ἐσελθόντα δὲ αὐτοποδία καὶ τὸ τε διάδημα ἀπορρίψαντα καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν [4] πεσόντα προσκυνοῦντά τε ἰδὼν ἠλέησε, καὶ ἀνασθηδύσας ἐξάνεστησέ τε αὐτόν, καὶ ταινιώσας τῷ ἀναδήματι ἕς τε τὴν πλησίαν ἔδραν ἐκάθισε καὶ παρεμυθήσατο, εἰπὼν ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι οὐ τὴν τῶν Ἀρμενίων βασιλείαν ἀπολωλεκώς ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων φιλίαν προσειληφώς εἶη. καὶ ὁ μὲν τούτοις τε αὐτόν ἀνεκτήσατο καὶ ἐπὶ 53. δεῖπνον ἐκάλεσεν: ὁ δὲ υἱὸς ἑκάθητο δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ Πομπηίου οὐθ' ὑπανεῴστη τῷ πατρὶ οὐτ' ἄλλο τι αὐτόν ἐδεξιώσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον κληθεὶς οὐκ ἀπήντησεν. ὅθεν ὑπὸ γε 119 τοῦ Πομπηίου μάλιστα ἐμισήθη. [2] τῇ γοῦν ὑστεραίᾳ διακούσας αὐτῶν τῷ μὲν πρεσβυτέρῳ τὴν πατρῴαν πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν ἀπέδωκε: τὰ γὰρ προσκτηθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἦν δὲ ἄλλα τε καὶ τῆς Καππαδοκίας τῆς τε Συρίας μέρη, ἣ [p. 90] τε Φοινίκη καὶ ἡ Σωφανηνή χώρα τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις πρόσορος οὐ σμικρὰ παρείλετο αὐτοῦ, καὶ προσέτι καὶ χρήματα αὐτόν ἦρτησεν: τῷ δὲ νεωτέρῳ 120 [3] τὴν Σωφανηνὴν μόνην ἀπένειμε. καὶ ἔτυχον γὰρ οἱ θησαυροὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ὄντες, ἡμφεσβήτησέ τε περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ νεανίσκος, καὶ ἁμαρτῶν ὅς γὰρ εἶχεν ὁ Πομπήιος ὁπόθεν ἄλλοθεν τὰ ὠμολογημένα κομίσηται ἠγανάκτησε καὶ δρασμὸν ἐβουλεύσατο. ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος προμαθὼν τοῦτο ἐκεῖνόν τε ἐν φυλακῇ ἀδέσμῳ ἐποίησατο, καὶ πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς τὰ χρήματα φυλάττοντας τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ [4] πάντα σφᾶς δοῦναι ἐκέλευσεν. ἐπειδὴ τε μήθ' ὑπήκουσαν, λέγοντες τὸν νεανίσκον, οὐπὲρ ἡ χώρα ἤδη ἐνομιζέτο, χρῆναι σφισι τοῦτο προστάξει, ἔπεμψεν 121 αὐτόν πρὸς τὰ φρούρια. καὶ ὁ μὲν κεκλειμένα αὐτὰ εὐρὼν προσῆλθέ τε ἐγγὺς, καὶ ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἄκων αὐτὰ ἀνοιχθῆναι: ὡς δ' οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐπειθοντο, προῖσχομενοι ὅτι μὴ ἐκούσιος ἀλλ' ἀναγκαστὸς τὴν πρόσταξιν ἐποιεῖτο, ἐχαλέπηεν ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ ἔδρησε τὸν Τιγράνην. [5] καὶ οὕτως ὁ τε γέρων τοὺς θησαυροὺς παρέλαβε, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τε τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ Ἀναίτιδι 122 καὶ πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Κυρνῷ τριχῇ νείμας τὸν στρατὸν παρεχέμασε, τὰ τε ἄλλα παρὰ τοῦ Τιγράνου συχνὰ καὶ χρήματα πολλῶν πλείω τῶν [6] ὁμολογηθέντων λαβὼν. ἀφ' οὐπὲρ οὐχ ἦκιστα καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἕς τε τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους οὐ 123 πολλῶ ὑστερον ἐσέγραψε, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην μετὰ φρουρᾶς ἐσήγαγεν. [p. 92] 54. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ διεχείμασεν. Ὅροίσης γὰρ Ἀλβανῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κύρνου οἰκούντων βασιλεὺς, τὸ 124 μὲν τι καὶ τῷ Τιγράνῃ τῷ νεωτέρῳ φίλῳ οἱ ὄντι χαρίσασθαι βουληθεῖς, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλείστον δείσας μὴ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀλβανίδα οἱ

Ῥωμαῖοι ἐσβάλωσι, καὶ νομίσας ὅτι, ἂν ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι ἀδοκῆτοῖς σφίσι καὶ μὴ καθ' ἓν στρατοπεδευόμενοις προσπέσῃ, πάντως τι ἐξεργάσεται, ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ Κρόνια, ^[2] καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ Μέτελλον Κέλερα, παρ' ᾧ ὁ Τιγράνης ἦν, ἤλασεν, ἄλλους δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ ἄλλους ἐπὶ Λούκιον Φλάκκον τὸν τῆς τριτημοριδὸς ἄρχοντα ἐπεμψεν, ὅπως πάντες ἅμα ^[3] ταραχθέντες μὴ συμβοηθήσωσιν ἀλλήλοις. οὐ μὴν καὶ διεπράξατο οὐδαμόθι οὐδέν· ἐκεῖνόν τε γὰρ ὁ Κέλερ ἰσχυρῶς ἀπεκρούσατο, καὶ ὁ Φλάκκος ἐπειδὴ πολὺν τὸν περίβολον τῆς ταφρείας ὄντα ἀδύνατος ἦν ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους σῶσαι, ἑτέραν ἔνδοθεν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ δόξαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ὥς καὶ φοβηθεὶς ἐμβαλὼν, ἐπεσπάσατο ^[4] αὐτοὺς εἰσω τῆς ἔξωθεν τάφρου, κάνταῦθα μὴ προσδεχομένοις σφίσιν ἐπεκδραμῶν πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν χερσί, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ φεύγοντας ἐφόνευσε. κἂν τούτῳ ὁ Πομπήιος προμαθὼν τε τὴν 125 πείρασιν τῶν βαρβάρων ἦν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπεποίηντο, προαπῆντησε τοῖς ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπιούσιν 126 ἀπροσδόκητος, καὶ κρατήσας ἐπὶ τὸν Ὀροῖσιν εὐθύς ὥσπερ εἶχεν ἠπείχθη. καὶ ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὐ κατέλαβεν ἄπωσθεις τε γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κέλερος καὶ μαθὼν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων πταίσματα ^{[p. 94] [5]} ἔφυγέ, τῶν μέντοι Ἀλβανῶν συχνοὺς περὶ τὴν τοῦ Κύρνου διάβασιν συλλαβῶν ἔφθειρε. καὶ τοῦτου δεηθεῖσιν αὐτοῖς ἐσπείσατο· ἄλλως μὲν γὰρ καὶ σφόδρα ἐπεθύμει ἐς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἀντεμβαλεῖν, διὰ δὲ δὴ τὸν χειμῶνα ἡδέως τὸν πόλεμον ἀνεβάλετο.

BOOK 37

τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τριακοστῷ ἐβδόμῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ρωμαϊκῶν

α. ὡς ὁ Πομπήιος πρὸς Ἰβηρας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἐπολέμησεν.

β. ὡς Πομπήιος τὸν Πόντον τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ προσένειμεν.

γ. ὡς Πομπήιος τὴν τε Συρίαν καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην ὑπηγάγετο.

δ. ὡς Μιθριδάτης ἀπέθανε.

ε. περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

ς. ὡς Πομπήιος καταστησάμενος τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπανῆλθε.

ς. περὶ Κικέρωνος καὶ Κατιλίνου καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῶν πραχθέντων.

η. περὶ Καίσαρος καὶ Πομπηίου καὶ Κράσσου καὶ τῆς συνωμοσίας αὐτῶν.

χρόνου πλῆθος ἔτι ἕξ, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἶδε ἐγένοντο

λ. Αὐρήλιος Μ. υἱ. Κόττας

λ. Μάλλιος Λ. υἱ. Τορκουᾶτος ὑπ.

λ. Ἰούλιος Λ. υἱ. καῖσαρ

γ. Μάρκιος Γ. υἱ. Φίγουλος ὑπ.

μ. Τούλλιος Μ. υἱ. Κικέρων

γ. Ἀντώνιος Μ. υἱ. ὑπ.

Δέκιμος Ἰούνιος Μ. υἱ. Σιλανός

λ. Λικίνιος Λ. υἱ. Μουρήνας ὑπ.

μ. Πούπιος μ. υἱ. Πίσων

μ. Οὐαλέριος μ. υἱ. Μεσσάλας Νιγρός ὑπ.

κ. Καικίλιος Κ. υἱ. Μέτελλος Κέλερ ὑπ.

1. τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔπραξε, τῷ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένῳ ἔτει, τοῦ τε Κόττου τοῦ Λουκίου καὶ τοῦ Τορκουάτου τοῦ Λουκίου ὑπατευόντων, ἐπολέμησε μὲν καὶ τοῖς Ἀλβανοῖς, ἐπολέμησε δὲ καὶ τοῖς [p. 98] Ἰβηρσι. καὶ προτέροις γε τούτοις καὶ παρὰ [2] γνώμην ἡναγκάσθη συνενεχθῆναι: Ἀρτώκης γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν ἔννομοντα δὲ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα τοῦ Κύρνου, τῇ μὲν τοῖς Ἀλβανοῖς, τῇ δὲ τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις πρόσφοροί φοβηθεῖς μὴ καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν τράπηται, πρέσβεις μὲν ὥς καὶ ἐπὶ φιλίας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔπεμψε, παρεσκευάζετο δὲ ὅπως ἐν τῷ θαρσοῦντι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀνελπίστῳ οἱ ἐπιθήται. [3] προμαθὼν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο ὁ Πομπήιος ἕς τε τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ προενέβαλε, πρὶν ἱκανῶς τε αὐτὸν ἐτοιμάσασθαι καὶ τὴν ἐσβολὴν δυσχερεστάτην οὔσαν προκατασχεῖν, καὶ ἔφθη καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν ὠνομασμένην προχωρήσας, [4] πρὶν καὶ αἰσθέσθαι τὸν Ἀρτώκην ὅτι παρείη. ἦν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς στενοῖς, ἔνθεν μὲν ... τοῦ Καυκάσου παρατεινοντος, οὗ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ τῶν ἐσβολῶν ὠχύρωτο. ὁ τε οὖν Ἀρτώκης ἐκπλαγείς οὐδένα καιρὸν ὥστε συντάξασθαι ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ διαβάς τὸν ποταμὸν τὴν γέφυραν [5] κατέπρησε, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ τεῖχει πρὸς τε τὴν φυγὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἅμα καὶ μάχῃ νικηθέντες, ἐνέδοσαν. κρατήσας οὖν τῶν διόδων ὁ Πομπήιος φρουράν τε ἐπ' αὐταῖς κατεστήσατο, καὶ ἐκέϊθεν ὀρμώμενος πᾶσαν τὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατεστρέψατο. 2. μέλλοντος δ' αὖ καὶ τὸν Κύρνον διαβήσεσθαι, πέμπει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀρτώκης εἰρήνην τε αἰτῶν, καὶ γέφυραν τὰ τε ἐπιτήδεια ἐκὼν οἱ παρέξειν [2] ὑποσχοῦμενος. καὶ ἐποίησε μὲν ἑκάτερον ὥς καὶ συμβησόμενος, δείσας δέ, ἐπειδὴ εἶδεν αὐτὸν διαβεβηκότα, πρὸς τὸν Πέλωρον, ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ [p. 100] ἐκεῖνον τῇ αὐτοῦ ῥέοντα, ἀπέφυγεν: ὃν γὰρ ἐξῆν αὐτῷ κωλύσαι διαβῆναι, τοῦτον ἐπισπασάμενος [3] ἀπεδίδρασκεν. ἰδὼν οὖν τοῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπεδιώξεν τε αὐτὸν καὶ καταλαβὼν ἐνίκησε: δρόμῳ γάρ, καὶ πρὶν τοὺς τοξότας αὐτοῦ τῇ σφετέρᾳ τέχνῃ χρήσασθαι, ὁμόσε σφίσιν ἐχώρησε καὶ δι' [4] ἐλαχίστου αὐτοὺς ἐτρέψατο. γενομένου δὲ τούτου Ἀρτώκης μὲν τὸν τε Πέλωρον διαβάς καὶ τὴν γέφυραν καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου καύσας ἔφυγε, τῶν δ' ἄλλων οἱ μὲν ἐν χερσίν, οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν [5] περὶ περαιούμενοι ἀπέθανον: συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ὕλας σκεδασθέντες ἡμέρας μὲν τινὰς ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων ὑπερυψηλῶν ὄντων ἀποτοξεύοντες διεγένοντο, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑποτμηθέντων τῶν δένδρων ἐφθάρησαν. καὶ οὕτω καὶ ὁ Ἀρτώκης ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο μὲν αὐτῷ Πομπήϊῳ καὶ δῶρα [6] ἔπεμψεν: ἐκείνου δὲ δὴ ταῦτα μὲν, ὅπως τὰς σπονδὰς ποιήσεσθαι ἐλπίσας μὴ περαιτέρω ποι προχωρήσῃ, λαβόντος, τὴν δ' εἰρήνην οὐχ ὁμολογήσαντος δώσειν ἂν μὴ τοὺς παῖδας οἱ ὀμήρους [7] προαποστείλῃ, χρόνον τινὰ ἐπέσχε, μέχρις οὗ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τὸν Πέλωρον διαβατόν πῃ τοῦ θέρους γενόμενον οὐ χαλεπῶς, ἄλλως τε καὶ μηδενὸς κωλύοντος, ἐπεραιώθησαν. οὕτω δὲ δὴ τοὺς τε παῖδας αὐτῷ ἔπεμψε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ συνηλλάγη. 3. καὶ τοῦτο μαθὼν ὁ

Πομπήιος οὐ πόρρω τὸν Φᾶσιν ὄντα, καὶ νομίσας ἕς τε τὴν Κολχίδα παρ' αὐτὸν καταβήσεσθαι καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἕς τὸν Βόσπορον πορεύσεσθαι, προΐηι ^[p. 102] ^[2] μὲν ἧ διενεοίτο, καὶ τοὺς τε Κόλχους καὶ τοὺς προσχώρους σφίσι, τὰ μὲν πειθων, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκφοβῶν, διήλθε: αἰσθόμενος δὲ ἐνταῦθα ὅτι ἢ τε ἐπὶ τῆς ἡπείρου κοιμίδῃ διὰ πολλῶν καὶ ἀγνώστων καὶ πολεμικῶν ἔθνων, καὶ ἢ διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης χαλεπωτέρα διὰ τε τὸ ἀλίμενον τῆς ^[3] χώρας καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας αὐτὴν εἴη, τῷ μὲν Μιθριδάτῃ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐφορμεῖν ἐκέλευσεν ὥστε ἐκεῖνόν τε τηρῆσαι μηδαμόσε ἐκπλεῦσαι καὶ τὴν ἐπαγωγὴν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀφελέσθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀλβανοὺς οὐ τὴν συντομωτάτην, ὅπως σφᾶς καὶ ὑπὸ τούτου πρὸς ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἀνελπίστους καταλάβῃ, ἀλλ' ἕς ^[4] τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐπανελθὼν ἐτράπετο. καὶ τὸν τε Κῦρνον, ἧ πορεύσιμος ὑπὸ τοῦ θέρους ἐγεγόνει, πεζῇ διέβη, τὴν τε ἵππον κατὰ τὸν ῥοῦν καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα ἐξῆς, εἴτα τοὺς πεζοὺς διένειμι κελεύσας, ἴν' οἱ τε ἵπποι τὸ σφοδρὸν αὐτοῦ τοῖς σώμασι σφων διαχέωσι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν σκευοφόρων εἴ ποῦ τι καὶ ὥς περιτραπείη, ἕς τε τοὺς ἐπὶ θάτερα παρακολουθοῦντας ἐμπίπτῃ καὶ μὴ περαιτέρω καταφέρηται: ^[5] κἀντεῦθεν πρὸς τὸν Καμβύσιν πορευόμενος ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πολεμίων οὐδὲν δεινὸν ἔπαθεν, ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τοῦ καύματος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ δίψους ἰσχυρῶς μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ, καίτοι νυκτὸς τὸ πολὺ τῆς ὁδοῦ διελθὼν, ἐταλαιπώρησεν: οἱ γὰρ ἀγωγοὶ σφων, ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὄντες, ^[6] οὐ τὴν ἐπιτηδαιοτάτην αὐτοὺς ἤγαγον. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ὁ ποταμὸς ἐν δέοντι σφισιν ἐγένετο: ψυχρότατόν ^[p. 104] τε γὰρ τὸ ὕδωρ ὄν, καὶ ἀθρόον ὑπ' αὐτῶν ποθέν, συχνοῖς ἐλυμήνατο. ὥς δ' οὖν οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα ἀντίπαλόν τι αὐτοῖς ὤφθη, πρὸς τὸν Ἀβαντα προσεχώρησαν, ὕδωρ μόνον ἐπιφερόμενοι: τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα παρ' ἐκόντων τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐλάβανον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδ' ἐκακούργουν οὐδέν. 4. καὶ σφισι διαβεβηκόσιν ἤδη τὸν ποταμὸν ὁ Ὀροΐσης προσιῶν ἠγγέλθη. ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος βουλευθεὶς αὐτόν, πρὶν τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πλῆθος γινῶναι, ἕς μάχην ὑπαγαγέσθαι, μὴ καὶ αἰσθόμενος ^[2] αὐτοῦ ἀναχωρήσῃ, τοὺς τε ἵππεας προέταξε, προειπὼν σφισιν ἃ ποιήσουσι, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ὀπισθεν αὐτῶν ἕς τε τὰ γόνατα κεκλιμένους καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι συγκεκαλυμμένους ἔχων ἀτρεμεῖν ἐποίησεν, ὥστε τὸν Ὀροΐσιν μὴ πρότερον μαθεῖν ^[3] αὐτοὺς παρόντας πρὶν ἐν χεροῖν γενέσθαι. κἀκ τούτου ἐκεῖνός τε τῶν ἵππεων ὥς καὶ μόνων ὄντων καταφρονήσας συνέμιξε σφισι, καὶ δι' ὀλίγου τραπέντας ἐξεπίτηδες ἀνὰ κράτος ἐπεδίωξε: καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ ἀναστάντες ἐξαίφνης καὶ διαστάντες τοῖς μὲν σφετέροις ἀσφαλῇ τὴν φυγὴν διὰ μέσου σφῶν παρέσχον, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἀπερισκέπτως τῇ διώξει χρωμένους ἐσοδεξάμενοι συχνοὺς ἐκυκλώσαντο. ^[4] καὶ οὗτοι τε τοὺς ἔνδον ἔκοπτον, καὶ οἱ ἱππῆς, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα αὐτῶν περιελθόντες, κατὰ νώτου τοῖς ἔξω τῆς κυκλώσεως προσέπεσον. καὶ ἐκεῖ τε πολλοὺς ἐφόνευσαν ἕκαστοι, καὶ ἑτέρους ἕς τὰς ὕλας καταφυγόντας ^[p. 106] κατέπρησαν, 'ὧς Κρόνια 17' πρὸς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν σφων τὴν τότε γενομένην ἐπiléγοντες. 5. πράξας δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπιδραμὼν τοῖς τε Ἀλβανοῖς εἰρήνην ἔδωκε, καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ τῶν παρὰ τὸν Καύκασον μέχρι τῆς Κασπίας θαλάσσης, ἕς ἣν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πόντου τὸ ὄρος ἀρξάμενον τελευτᾷ,

κατοικούντων ἐπικηρυκευσαμένοις [2] ἔσπευσαντο. Φραάτης δὲ ἔπεμψε μὲν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνανεώσασθαι τὰς συνθήκας ἐθέλων: ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνον τε οὕτω φερόμενον ἑώρα, καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας τοῦ τε Πόντου τοῦ ταύτη οἱ ὑποστράτηγιοι αὐτοῦ τὰ λοιπὰ προσκατεστρέφοντο, ὃ τε Γαβίνιος καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν Εὐφράτην μέχρι τοῦ Τιγρίδος προεχώρησεν, ἐφοβήθη τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν σύμβασιν βεβαιώσασθαι ἐπεθύμησεν: οὐ μέντοι καὶ [3] διεπράξατό τι. ὁ γὰρ Πομπήιος πρὸς τε τὰ παρόντα καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐλπίδας κατεφρόνησεν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα ὑπερφρόνως τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἐλάλησε, καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν Κορδουηνήν, ὑπὲρ ἧς πρὸς τὸν Τιγράνην διεφέρετο, [4] ἀπῆρτησεν. ἐπειδὴ τε ἐκεῖνοι μηδὲν, ἅτε μηδὲ ἐπεσταλμένοι τι περὶ αὐτῆς, ἀπεκρίναντο, ἔγραψε μὲν τινα τῷ Φραάτῃ, οὐκ ἀνέμεινε δὲ ἀντιπεμφθῆναι τι, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν χώραν τὸν Ἀφράνιον παραχρῆμα ἔστειλε, καὶ κατασχὼν αὐτὴν ἀμαχεί [5] τῷ Τιγράνῃ ἔδωκε. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀφράνιος διὰ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἐς τὴν Συρίαν παρὰ τὰ συγκείμενα πρὸς τὸν Πάρθον κομιζόμενος ἐπλανήθη, καὶ πολλὰ ὑπὸ τε τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς σπάνεως τῶν τροφῶν ἐκακώθη: κἂν ἀπώλοντο, εἰ μὴ [p. 108] Καρραῖοι, Μακεδόνων τε ἄποικοι ὄντες καὶ ἐνταῦθα που οἰκοῦντες, ὑπέλαβόν τε αὐτὸν καὶ παρέπεμψαν. 6. ταῦτά τε πρὸς τὸν Φραάτην ἀπὸ τῆς παρούσης οἱ δυνάμεως ἔπραξε, σαφέστατα τοῖς πλεονεκτεῖν βουλομένοις ἐπιδειξας ὅτι πάντα ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων ἡρτηται, καὶ ὁ ἐν αὐτοῖς κρατῶν νομοθέτης ὣν βούλεται ἀναγκαῖος γίγνεται, καὶ προσέτι καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐπικλήσιν αὐτοῦ ὕβρισεν, ἥπερ πρὸς τε τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ἠγάλλετο καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, οὗτοι τε αὖ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀείποτε [2] ἐκέχρητο. βασιλέως γὰρ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων καλουμένου, τὸ τε τῶν βασιλέων ὄνομα περιέκοψε καὶ βασιλεῖ αὐτῷ μόνον ἐπιστελλῶν ἔγραψε, καίτοι τῷ Τιγράνῃ τῷ αἰχμαλώτῳ καὶ τοῦτο παρὰ τὸ νομιζόμενον αὐτὸς δούς, ὅτε τὰ ἐπινίκια αὐτοῦ [3] ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἔπεμψεν. ὁ οὖν Φραάτης καίπερ δεδιώς τε αὐτὸν καὶ θεραπεύων, ἠγανάκτησεν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὡς καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἔστερηνόμενος, καὶ πέμψας πρέσβεις πάντα τε ὅσα ἡδίκητο ἐπεκάλει οἱ, καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἀπηγόρευε μὴ διαβαίνειν. [4] ἐπειδὴ τε οὐδὲν μέτριον ἀπεκρίνατο, εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὸν Τιγράνην μετὰ τοῦ υἱέος αὐτοῦ, ᾧ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐδεδώκει, ἐστράτευσεν, ἐν τῷ ἥρῃ ἐν ᾧ Λούκιός τε Καῖσαρ καὶ Γάιος Φίγουλος ὑπάτευν: καὶ νικηθεὶς μάχῃ ἔπειθ' ὕστερον ἀντεπεκράτησε. [p. 110] [5] τοῦ τε Τιγράνου τὸν Πομπήιον ἐν Συρίᾳ ὄντα ἐπικαλεσαμένου, πρέσβεις τε αὖθις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέστειλε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐκεῖνου κατηγόρησε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑπεσήμενεν, ὥστε τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ αἰσχυνθῆναι καὶ καταπλαγῆναι. 7. οὐκ οὐτε τῷ Τιγράνῃ ἐπεκούρησεν οὐτε πρὸς τὸν Φραάτην πολέμιόν τι ἔτ' ἔπραξε, πρόφασιν ποιησάμενος τὸ μήτε ἐκείνην οἱ τὴν στρατείαν προστετάχθαι καὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἐν ὅπλοις ἔτ' εἶναι. ἀρκεῖσθαι τε τοῖς κατειργασμένοις ἔφασκε, καὶ οὐκ ἐβούλετο. ... μὴ πλείονων ὀρεγόμενος καὶ περὶ ἐκείνοις, ὥσπερ που καὶ [2] ὁ Λούκουλλος, ππαισι. τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἐφιλοσόφει, καὶ τὸ τε πλεονεκτεῖν δεινὸν καὶ τὸ τῶν ἄλλοτριῶν ἐφίεσθαι ἄδικον εἶναι τότε ἔλεγεν ὅτ' οὐκέτ' αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι ἐδύνατο. τὰς τε γὰρ τοῦ Πάρθου δυνάμεις δείσας, καὶ τὸ ἀστάθμητον τῶν πραγμάτων φοβηθεῖς, οὐτε τὸν πόλεμον καίτοι πολλῶν ἐναγόντων ἀνείλετο,

καὶ τὰ ἐγκλήματα ^[3] τοῦ βαρβάρου ἐφάυλισεν, ἀντειπὼν μὲν οὐδέν, φήσας δὲ ὑπὲρ ὁρίων πινῶν τὴν διαφορὰν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Τιγράνην εἶναι, περὶ ὧν δικάσειν σφίσιιν ἄνδρας τρεῖς. οὓς καὶ ἔπεμψεν: καὶ αὐτοὺς ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐκεῖνοι διαιτητὰς ἐπιγραφάμενοι πάντα τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐγκλήματα διελύσαντο, ὀργιζόμενος μὲν ὁ Τιγράνης ὅτι τῆς ἐπικουρίας οὐκ ^[4] ἔτυχε, βουλούμενος δὲ ὁ Φραάτης περιεῖναι τὸν Ἀρμένιον, ὅπως καὶ συμμάχῳ ποτὲ αὐτῷ, εἰ δεηθεῖη, κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων χρήσαιτο. καὶ γὰρ εὖ ἠπίσταντο ἀμφοτέροι ὅτι, ὁπότερος ἂν αὐτῶν τοῦ ἐτέρου κρατήσῃ, τῶν τε πραγμάτων τοῖς ^[p. 112] Ῥωμαίοις προκόψει καὶ αὐτὸς εὐχειρωτότερός σφισι γενήσεται. ^[5] ἐκεῖνοι μὲν δὴ διὰ ταῦτα κατηλλάγησαν, Πομπήιος δὲ ἔν τε τῇ Ἀσπίδι καὶ τότε ἐχείμασε, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ ἔτ' ἀνθιστάμενα προσηγάγετο, καὶ Συμφόριον τεῖχος Στρατονίκης οἱ προδοῦσης ἔλαβεν. αὕτη δὲ γυνή τε τοῦ Μιθριδάτου οὔσα, καὶ ὀργὴν αὐτῷ ὅτι ἐγκατελείφθη ἔχουσα, τοὺς τε φρουροὺς ἐς παρασκευὴν δὴ τροφῆς ἐξέπεμψε καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐδέξατο, καίτοι παιδὸς αὐτῆς παρὰ ...

“ 7α. ὑποστρέψας δὲ ἐξ Ἀρμενίας, καὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι καὶ τοῖς δυνάσταις τοῖς προσιοῦσιν αὐτῷ διαιτήσας καὶ χρηματίσας, καὶ τοῖς μὲν τὰς βασιλείας βεβαιώσας, τοῖς δὲ τὰς δυναστείας ἐπαυξήσας, τῶν δὲ καὶ τὰς ὑπεροχὰς κολούσας καὶ ταπεινώσας, τὴν τε κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην ἄρτι τε βασιλέων ἀπηλλαγμένας καὶ ὑπὸ τε τῶν Ἀραβίων καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιγράνου κεκακωμένας συνεστήσατο. ἐτόλμησε μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἀπαιτῆσαι αὐτάς, οὐκ ἀπέλαβε δέ, ἀλλ' ἔς τε ἀρχὴν μίαν συνετάχθησαν καὶ νόμους ἔλαβον ὥστε τὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων τρόπον πολιτεύεσθαι.” Xiphil. p. 6, 26-7, Dind. “ “ 8. ... τοῦτο μόνον ἐν τῇ αγορανομίᾳ ἐπηνέθη, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαῖα καὶ τὰ Μεγαλήσια πολυτελέστατα ἐποίησεν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ μονομάχων ἀγῶνας ^[p. 114] ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ μεγαλοφρονέστατα διέθηκεν. ἐγένετο μὲν γὰρ τῶν δαπανηθέντων ἐς αὐτὰ τὰ μὲν κοινῇ. αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν συνάρχοντα Μάρκον Βίβουλον, ^[2] τὰ δὲ καὶ ἰδίᾳ: τοσοῦτον δὲ δὴ ἐν τούτοις ὑπερῆρεν ὥστε καὶ τὴν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις δόξαν σφετερίσασθαι καὶ δοκεῖν ἅπαντα αὐτὸς ἀνηλωκέναί. ὁ οὖν Βίβουλος αὐτὸς ἐπισκώπτων ἔλεγεν ὅτι τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ Πολυδεύκει πεπονθῶς εἶη: τοῦ γὰρ τοι ναοῦ κοινοῦ οἱ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Κάστορα ὄντος, ἐπ' ἐκείνου μόνου ἢ ἐπωνυμία αὐτοῦ γίγνεται. 9. ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τούτοις ἔχαιρον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, τὰ δὲ δὴ τέρατα καὶ πάνυ αὐτοὺς ἐθορύβει. ἐν γὰρ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἀνδριάντες τε πολλοὶ ὑπὸ κεραυνῶν συνεχωνεύθησαν καὶ ἀγάλματα ἄλλα τε καὶ Διὸς ἐπὶ κίονος ἰδρυμένον, εἰκὼν τέ τις λυκαίνης σὺν τε ^[2] τῷ Ῥώμῳ καὶ σὺν τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ ἰδρυμένη ἔπεσε, τὰ τε γράμματα τῶν στηλῶν ἐς ἅς οἱ νόμοι ἐσεγράφοντο συνεχύθη καὶ ἀμυδρὰ ἐγένετο. τὰ τε οὖν ἄλλα ἐξεθύνοντο τοῖς μάντεσι πειθόμενοι, καὶ τῷ Διὶ ἄγαλμα μεῖζον, πρὸς τε τὰς ἀνατολὰς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀγορὰν βλέπον, ὅπως αἱ συνωμοσίαι ὑφ' ὧν ἐταράττοντο ἐκφανείεν, ἰδρυθῆναι ἐψηφίσαντο. ^[3] ταῦτά τε ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἔτει συνέβη, καὶ οἱ τιμηταὶ περὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἡριδανὸν οἰκούντων διενεχθέντες τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτοὺς ἐσάγειν ἐδόκει, τῷ δὲ οὐ' οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ^[4] ἔπραξαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπεῖπον. καὶ διὰ

τοῦτο καὶ οἱ διάδοχοι αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ὑστέρω ἔτει οὐδὲν ἐποίησαν, ἐμποδισάντων σφᾶς τῶν [p. 116] δημάρχων πρὸς τὸν τῆς βουλῆς κατάλογον, δέει [5] τοῦ μὴ τῆς γερουσίας αὐτοὺς ἐκπεσεῖν. κὰν τοῦτῳ πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διατρίβοντες, πλὴν τῶν τὴν νῦν Ἰταλίαν οἰκούντων, ἐξέπεσον Γαίου τινὸς Παπίου δημάρχου γνώμη, ἐπειδὴ ἐπεπόλαζον καὶ οὐκ ἐδόκουν ἐπιτήδαιοι σφισιν εἶναι συνοικεῖν. 10. τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει, τοῦ τε Φιγούλου καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ Λουκίου ἀρχόντων, βραχέα μὲν, μνήμης δ' οὖν ἄξια πρὸς τοὺς τῶν ἀνθρωπείων [2] πραγμάτων παραλόγους συνηνέχθη. ὃ τε γὰρ τὸν Λουκρήτιον ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Σύλλου προστάξεως ἀποκτείνας, καὶ ἕτερός τις συχνοὺς τῶν ἐπικηρυχθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φονεύσας, καὶ κατηγορήθησαν ἐπὶ ταῖς σφαγαῖς καὶ ἐκολάσθησαν, τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ Ἰουλίου τοῦθ' ὅτι μάλιστα παρασκευάσαντος. [3] οὕτω καὶ τοὺς πάνυ ποτὲ δυνηθέντας ἀσθεनेστάτους αἱ μεταβολαὶ τῶν πραγμάτων πολλακίς ποιοῦσι. τοῦτο τε οὖν παρὰ δόξαν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐχώρησε, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ὁ Καπιλίνας ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις αἰτίαν πολλοὺς γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν ὁμοίων ἀπεκτόνεί λαβὼν ἀπελύθη. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκ τούτου χείρων τε πολὺ [4] ἐγένετο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀπώλετο: τοῦ γὰρ δὴ Κικέρωνος τοῦ Μάρκου μετὰ Γαίου Ἀντωνίου ὑπατεύσαντος, ὅτε Μιθριδάτης οὐδὲν ἔτι δεινὸν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εἰργάσατο ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐαυτὸν διέφθειρεν, ἐπεχείρησεν ἐκεῖνος τὴν τε πολιτείαν νεωτερίζειν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐπ' αὐτῇ συνιστὰς ἐς φόβον σφᾶς οὐ σμικροῦ πολέμου ἐνέβαλεν. ἐπράχθη δὲ ὧδε ἐκάτερον. 11. ὁ Μιθριδάτης αὐτὸς μὲν οὐχ ὑπέϊκε ταῖς [p. 118] συμφοραῖς, ἀλλὰ τῇ βουλήσῃ πλέον ἢ τῇ δυνάμει νέμων ἐνενόει, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ διέτριβε, πρὸς τε τὸν Ἰστρον διὰ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἐλθεῖν, κάντεϋθεν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν [2] ἐσβαλεῖν: φύσει τε γὰρ μεγαλοπράγμων ὢν, καὶ πολλῶν μὲν πταισμάτων, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ εὐτυχημάτων πεπειραμένος, οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀτόλμητον οὔτε ἀνέλπιστόν οἱ εἶναι ἐνόμιζεν. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ σφαλεῖη, συναπολέσθαι τῇ βασιλείᾳ μετὰ ἀκεραίου τοῦ φρονήματος μᾶλλον ἢ στερηθεὶς αὐτῆς ἐν τε ταπεινότητι καὶ ἐν ἀδοξίᾳ ζῆν ἠθέλεν. [3] αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔρρωτο: ὅσῳ γὰρ τῇ τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενείᾳ ἀπεμαραίνετο, τοσοῦτῳ τῇ τῆς γνώμης ῥώμῃ ἰσχυρίζετο, ὥστε καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου ἀρρωστίαν τοῖς ταύτης λογισμοῖς ἀναλαμβάνειν: [4] οἱ δ' ἄλλοι οἱ συνόντες αὐτῷ, ὡς τὰ τε τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἰσχυρότερα καὶ τὰ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου ἀσθενέστερα αἰεὶ ἐγίνετο τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ὁ σεισμὸς μέγιστος δὴ τῶν πώποτε συνενεχθεὶς αὐτοῖς πολλὰς τῶν πόλεων ἔφθειρεν, ἡλλοιοῦντο, καὶ τὰ τε στρατιωτικὰ ἐκινεῖτο, καὶ παῖδάς τινες αὐτοῦ συναρπάσαντές τινες πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον ἐκόμισαν. 12. Ἐπ' οὖν τούτοις τοὺς μὲν ἐφώρα καὶ ἐκόλαζε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὑποφίας ὀργῇ προκατελάμβανε, καὶ ἦν πρὸς οὐδένα ἔτι πιστός, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τέκνων ὑποτοπῆσας τινὰ ἀπέσφαξεν. ἰδὼν οὖν ταῦτα υἱὸς τις αὐτοῦ Φαρνάκης, καὶ ἐκεῖνόν τε ἅμα φοβηθεὶς καὶ παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἥδη ἦν λήψεσθαι [2] προσδοκήσας, ἐπεβούλευσεν αὐτῷ. φωραθεὶς δὲ πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ φανερώς καὶ λάθρᾳ πάντα τὰ [p. 120] πραττόμενα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπολυπραγμόνουν εὐθύς ἄν, εἴπερ τι καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον εὐνοίας οἱ δορυφόροι τῷ γέροντι εἶχον, ἐδικαιώθη: νῦν δὲ

καίτοι σοφώτατος ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐς πάντα τὰ βασιλικὰ γενόμενος, οὐκ ἔγνω ὅτι οὐδὲν οὐδενὶ οὔτε τὰ ὄπλα οὔτε τὰ πλήθη τῶν ὑπηκόων ἄνευ τῆς παρ' αὐτῶν φιλίας ἰσχύει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσω τις ἂν πλείω, μὴ μέντοι καὶ πιστὰ αὐτὰ ἔχη, χαλεπώτερα ^[3] αὐτῷ γίγνεται. ὁ γοῦν Φαρνάκης μετὰ τε τῶν προπαρεσκευασμένων καὶ μετὰ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς τὴν σύλληψιν αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντων ῥᾶστα γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὤκειώσατό καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἄντικρυς τὸν πατέρα ἠπείχθη. πυθόμενος δὲ τοῦτο ὁ γέρων ἦν δὲ ἐν Παντικαπαίῳ στρατιώτας τινὰς ἐπὶ τὸν υἱόν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφεσόμενός σφισι, ^[4] προέπεμψε. καὶ τούτους τε ἐκεῖνος διὰ βραχέος, ἅτε μὴδ' αὐτοὺς φιλοῦντας τὸν Μιθριδάτην, ἀπετρέψατο, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκουσίαν ἔλαβε, τὸν τε πατέρα ἐς τὸ βασιλεῖον καταφυγόντα ἀπέκτεινεν. 13. ἐπεχείρησε μὲν γὰρ ἑαυτὸν διαχρήσασθαι, καὶ τὰς τε γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς λοιποὺς φαρμάκῳ προαπαλλάξας τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξέπιεν, οὐ μέντοι οὔτε δι' ἐκείνου οὔτε διὰ ξίφους αὐτοχειρίᾳ ^[2] ἀποφθαρῆιαν ἠδυνήθη. τὸ τε γὰρ φάρμακον, καίτοι θανάσιμον ὄν, οὐ συνεῖλεν αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ πολλῇ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν προφυλακῇ ἁλεξιφαρμάκων ἐκεκράτυντο: καὶ ἡ τοῦ ξίφους πληγὴ διὰ τε τὴν τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τε τῆς ἡλικίας καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν περιστηκόντων ἀσθένειαν ^[p. 122] καὶ διὰ τὴν φαρμάκου ὁποιοδηποτοῦν λῆψιν ^[3] ἀπημβλύνθη. ὡς οὖν οὔτε δι' ἑαυτοῦ ἀνῆλίσκετο καὶ πέρα τοῦ καιροῦ χρονίζειν ἐδόκει, προσέπεσόν τε αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνοι οὓς ἐπὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπεπόμεναι, καὶ συνετάχυναν τοῖς ξίφεσι καὶ ταῖς λόγχαις τὸν ^[4] ὀλεθρον. Μιθριδάτης μὲν δὴ ποικιλωτάτῃ ἀεὶ καὶ μεγίστῃ τῇ τύχῃ χρυσάμενος, οὐδὲ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου ἀπλῆν ἔσχεν: ἐπεθύμησέ τε γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν μὴ βουλόμενος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀποκτείνειν σπουδάσας οὐκ ἠδυνήθη, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν φαρμάκῳ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ξίφει αὐθέντης τε ἅμα 14. ἐγένετο καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπεσφάγη: Φαρνάκης δὲ τὸ τε σῶμα αὐτοῦ τῷ Πομπηίῳ ταριχεύσας, ἔλεγχον τοῦ πεπραγμένου, ἔπεμψε, καὶ ἑαυτὸν τὴν τε ἀρχὴν παρέδωκε. καὶ ὅς τῷ μὲν Μιθριδάτῃ οὐδὲν ἐλυμήνατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πατρώοις ἡρίοις ταφῆναι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε: τὸ γὰρ πολέμιον αὐτοῦ συναποσβηκέναι τῇ ψυχῇ νομίζων οὐδὲν ^[2] ἔτι τῷ νεκρῷ μάτην ὠργίζετο: τὴν μέντοι βασιλείαν τοῦ Βοσπόρου μισθὸν τῷ Φαρνάκῃ τῆς μισαιφονίας ἐχαρίσατο, καὶ ἔς γε τοὺς φίλους τοὺς τε συμμάχους αὐτὸν ἀνέγραψεν. ^[3] ὡς οὖν ἐκεῖνός τε ἀπωλώλει καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ πάντα πλὴν ὀλίγων κατέστραπτο 'τεῖχη γὰρ τινα φρουροὶ ἔξω τοῦ Βοσπόρου ἔτι καὶ τότε ἔχοντες οὐκ εὐθὺς ὠμολόγησαν, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἀνθίστασθαι οἱ διεννοοῦντο, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ τὰ χρήματα, ἃ ἐφύλασσον, προδιαρπάσαντές τινες ἐκείνοις τὴν αἰτίαν προσθῶσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀνέμενον, αὐτῷ βουλόμενοι τῷ Πομπηίῳ πάντα 15. ἐπιδεῖξαι, ὡς οὖν τὰ τε ἐνταῦθα κατείργαστο καὶ ^[p. 124] ὁ Φραάτης ἡσυχίαν ἤγεν, ἢ τε Συρία καὶ ἡ Φοινίκη καθειστήκει, τρέπεται πρὸς Ἀρέταν. οὗτος δὲ Ἀραβίων μὲν τῶν νῦν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις δουλευόντων μέχρι τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης ἐβασίλευε, πλεῖστα δὲ δὴ τὴν Συρίαν πρότερον λυτήσας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μάχῃ πρὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀμυνόντων αὐτῇ νικηθεὶς, ὅμως καὶ τότε ἔτ' ^[2] ἐπολέμει. ἐπ' οὖν τοῦτον τοὺς τε πλησιοχώρους αὐτῷ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐλάσας ἀκονιτὶ τε αὐτοὺς προσηγάγετο καὶ φρουρᾷ παρέδωκε. κάντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Συρίαν τὴν

Παλαιστίνην ὡς καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην κακώσαντας, ὥρμησεν. ἤρχον δὲ αὐτῶν Ὑρκανός τε καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος ἀδελφοί, καὶ ἐτύγγανον ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ σφετέρου θεοῦ, ὅστις ποτὲ οὗτός ἐστιν, ἱερωσύνης· οὕτω γὰρ τὴν βασιλείαν σφῶν ὠνόμαζον· αὐτοὶ τε διαφερόμενοι ^[3] καὶ τὰς πόλεις στασιάζοντες. ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος Ὑρκανὸν μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἀξιοχρεῶν ἰσχὺν ἔχοντα ἀμαχεῖ εὐθὺς προσέθετο, Ἀριστόβουλον δὲ ἐς χωρίον τι κατακλείσας ὁμολογῆσαι οἱ ἠνάγκασε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μήτε τὰ χρήματα μήτε τὸ φρούριον παρεδίδου, ἔδυσεν αὐτόν. κακὸν τοῦτου τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ῥᾶον προσεποιήσατο, τὰ δὲ Ἱεροσόλυμα 16. πολιορκῶν πράγματα ἔσχε. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλην πόλιν, ἐσδεξαμένων αὐτὸν τῶν τὰ τοῦ Ὑρκανοῦ φρονούντων, ἀπραγμόνως ἔλαβεν, αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν προκατασχόντων τῶν ἐτέρων οὐκ ἀπόνως εἶλεν· ^[2] ἐπὶ τε γὰρ μετεώρου ἦν καὶ περιβόλῳ ἰδίῳ ὠχύρωτο. καὶ εἴ γε ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἡμέραις ὁμοίως ἡμύνοντο, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸ ἐχειρώσατο· νῦν δὲ τὰς τοῦ Κρόνου δὴ ὠνομασμένας διαλείποντες, καὶ ^[p. 126] οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἐν αὐταῖς δρῶντες, παρέδωκαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καιρὸν ἐν τῷ διακένῳ τοῦτω τὸ ^[3] τεῖχος διασεῖσαι. μαθόντες γὰρ τὴν πτόησιν αὐτῶν ταύτην τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον οὐδὲν σπουδῇ ἔπραττον, ταῖς δὲ δὴ ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ὅποτε ἐκ τῆς περιτροπῆς ἐπέλθοιεν, ἐντονώτατά ^[4] οἱ προσέβαλλον. καὶ οὕτως ἐάλωσάν τε ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κρόνου ἡμέρᾳ μηδ' ἀμυνόμενοι, καὶ πάντα τὰ χρήματα διηρπάσθη. ἢ τε βασιλεία τῷ Ὑρκανῷ ἐδόθη, καὶ ὁ Ἀριστόβουλος ἀνενέχθη. ^[5] ταῦτα μὲν τότε ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ ἐγένετο· οὕτω γὰρ τὸ σύμπαν ἔθνος, ὅσον ἀπὸ τῆς Φοινίκης μέχρι τῆς Αἰγύπτου παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ἔσω παρήκει, ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ κέκληται. ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ ἕτερον ὄνομα ἐπικτητον· ἢ τε γὰρ χώρα 17. Ἰουδαία καὶ αὐτοὶ Ἰουδαῖοι ὠνομάδασαι· ἢ δὲ ἐπὶ κλησις αὕτη ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅθεν ἤρξατο γενέσθαι, φέρει δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ὅσοι τὰ νόμιμα αὐτῶν, καίπερ ἄλλοεθνεῖς ὄντες, ζηλοῦσι. καὶ ἔστι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τὸ γένος τοῦτο, κολουσθὲν μὲν πολλάκις, αὐξηθὲν δὲ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ὥστε καὶ ἐς παρρησίαν τῆς ^[2] νομίσεως ἐκνικῆσαι. κεχωρίδαται δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔς τε τὰ ἅλλα τὰ περὶ τὴν δίαίταν πάνθ' ὡς εἰπεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα· ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἄλλων θεῶν οὐδένα τιμῶσιν, ἕνα δὲ τινα ἰσχυρῶς σέβουσιν. οὐδ' ἄγαλμα οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἐν αὐτοῖς ποτε τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἔσχον, ἄρρητον δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀειδῇ αὐτὸν νομίζοντες εἶναι περισσότατα ἀνθρώπων ^[3] θρησκεύουσι. καὶ αὐτῷ νεῶν τε μέγιστον ^[p. 128] καὶ περικαλλέστατον, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον ἀχανές τε καὶ ἀνώροφος ἦν, ἐξεποίησαν, καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν τοῦ Κρόνου καλουμένην ἀνέθεσαν, καὶ ἄλλα τε ἐν αὐτῇ ἰδιαίτατα πολλὰ ποιοῦσι, καὶ ἔργου οὐδενὸς σπουδαίου προσάπτονται. ^[4] καὶ τὰ μὲν κατ' ἐκείνον, τίς τε ἔστι καὶ ὅθεν οὕτως ἐπιμήθη, ὅπως τε περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπτόηται, πολλοῖς τε εἴρηται καὶ οὐδὲν τῇδε τῇ ἱστορίᾳ 18. προσήκει· τὸ δὲ δὴ ἐς τοὺς ἀστέρας τοὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς πλάνητας ὠνομασμένους τὰς ἡμέρας ἀνακεῖσθαι κατέστη μὲν ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων, πάρεστι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους, οὐ πάλαι ποτὲ ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν ἀρξάμενον· οἱ γοῦν ἀρχαῖοι Ἑλλήνες ^[2] οὐδαμῇ αὐτό, ὅσα γε ἐμὲ εἰδέναι, ἠπίσταντο. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ πάνυ νῦν τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἅπασι καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιχωριάζει, καὶ ἥδη καὶ τοῦτο σφίσι πάτριον τρόπον τινὰ ἐστὶ, βραχὺ τι περὶ αὐτοῦ

διαλεχθῆναι βούλομαι, πῶς τε καὶ τίνα τρόπον οὕτω τέτακται. ἤκουσα δὲ δύο λόγους, ἄλλως μὲν οὐ χαλεποὺς γνωσθῆναι, θεωρίας δὲ ^[3] τινος ἐχομένους. εἰ γὰρ τις τὴν ἁρμονίαν τὴν διὰ τεσσάρων καλουμένην, ἥπερ που καὶ τὸ κύρος τῆς μουσικῆς συνέχειν πεπίστευται, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄστέρους τούτους, ὑφ' ὧν ὁ πᾶς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κόσμος διείληπται, κατὰ τὴν τάξιν καθ' ἣν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν περιπορεύεται ἐπαγάγοι, καὶ ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξω περιφορᾶς τῆς τῷ Κρόνῳ δεδομένης, ^[4] ἔπειτα διαλιπὼν δύο τὰς ἐχομένας τὸν τῆς τετάρτης δεσπότην ὀνομάσειε, καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν δύο αὖ ἐτέρας ὑπερβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐβδόμην ἀφίκοιτο, κἂν ^[p. 130] τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ τρόπῳ αὐτάς τε ἐπανιών καὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους σφῶν θεοὺς ἀνακυκλῶν ἐπιλέγοι ταῖς ἡμέραις, εὐρήσει πάσας αὐτάς μουσικῶς πως 19. τῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ διακοσμήσει προσηκούσας. εἷς μὲν δὴ οὗτος λέγεται λόγος, ἕτερος δὲ ὁδε. τὰς ὥρας τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἀρξάμενος ἀριθμεῖν, καὶ ἐκείνην μὲν τῷ Κρόνῳ διδούς, τὴν δὲ ἔπειτα τῷ Δίῳ, καὶ τρίτην Ἄρει, τετάρτην ἡλίῳ, πέμπτην Ἀφροδίτῃ, ἕκτην Ἑρμῇ, καὶ ^[2] ἐβδόμην σελήνῃ, κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τῶν κύκλων καθ' ἣν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι αὐτὴν νομίζουσι, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ αὐθις ποιήσας, πάσας τε οὕτω τὰς τέσσαρας καὶ εἴκοσιν ὥρας περιελθὼν, εὐρήσεις τὴν πρώτην τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας ὥραν ἐς τὸν ἥλιον ἀφικνουμένην. ^[3] καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνων τῶν τεσσάρων καὶ εἴκοσιν ὥρῶν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῖς πρόσθε λόγον πράξας, τῇ σελήνῃ τὴν πρώτην τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας ὥραν ἀναθήσεις, κἂν οὕτω καὶ διὰ τῶν λοιπῶν πορεύῃ, τὸν προσήκοντα ἑαυτῇ θεὸν ἐκάστη ἡμέρα λήψεται. 20. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω παραδέδοται: Πομπήιος δὲ ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνα κατέπραξεν, πρὸς τε τὸν Πόντον αὐθις ἦλθε, καὶ παραλαβὼν τὰ τείχη ἕς τε τὴν Ἀσίαν κἀντεῦθεν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὴν τε Ἰταλίαν ^[2] ἐκομίσθη. πολλὰς μὲν δὴ οὖν μάχας ἐνίκησε, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ δυνάστας καὶ βασιλέας τοὺς μὲν προσεπολεμώσατο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὁμολογία πρὸς ^[p. 132] ¹⁻ ἐποιήσατο, πόλεις τε ὀκτὼ ἀπώκισε, καὶ χώρας προσόδους τε συχνὰς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέδειξε, τὰ τε πλείω ἔθνη τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τῇ ἡπείρῳ τότε αὐτοῖς ὄντων νόμοις τε ἰδίοις καὶ πολιτείαις κατεστήσατο καὶ διεκόσμησεν, ὥστε καὶ δεῦρο αὐτοὺς ^[3] τοῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνου νομισθεῖσι χρῆσθαι. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, καίπερ μεγάλα τε ὄντα καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν πρόσθε Ῥωμαίων πραχθέντα, καὶ τῇ τύχῃ καὶ τοῖς συστρατευσαμένοις οἱ ἀναθεῖη ἂν τις: ὁ δὲ δὴ μάλιστα αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ Πομπηίου ἔργον ἐγένετο καὶ θαυμάσαι διὰ πάντων ἄξιόν ἐστι, τοῦτο ^[4] νῦν ἤδη φράσω. πλείστην μὲν γὰρ ἰσχὺν καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἔχων, πλείστα δὲ χρήματα ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων πεπορισμένος, δυνάσταις τε καὶ βασιλεῦσι συχνοῖς ὤκειωμένος, τοὺς τε δήμους ὧν ἦρξε πάντας ὥς εἰπεῖν δι' ^[5] εὐνοίας εὐεργεσίαις κεκτημένος, δυνηθεὶς τ' ἂν δι' αὐτῶν τὴν τε Ἰταλίαν κατασχεῖν καὶ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κράτος πᾶν περιποιήσασθαι, τῶν μὲν πλείστων ἐθελοντὶ ἂν αὐτὸν δεξαμένων, εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀντέστησάν τινες, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀσθενείας γε πάντως ἂν ὁμολογησάντων, οὐκ ἠβουλήθη τοῦτο ^[6] ποιῆσαι, ἀλλ' εὐθύς, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐπεραιώθη, τὰς δυνάμεις πάσας αὐτεπάγγελτος, μήτε τῆς βουλῆς μήτε τοῦ δήμου ψηφισαμένου τι περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀφῆκεν, οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τοῦ ἐς τὰ νικητήρια αὐταῖς χρήσασθαι

φροντίσας. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὰ τε τοῦ Μαρίου καὶ τὰ τοῦ Σύλλου ἐν μίσει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἠπίστατο ὄντα, οὐκ ἠθέλησε φόβον τινὰ αὐτοῖς οὐδ' ἐπ' ὀλίγας [p. 134] ἡμέρας, ὅτι τι τῶν ὁμοίων πείσονται, παρασχεῖν. 21. οὐκουν οὐδ' ὄνομα οὐδέν, καίτοι πολλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν κατειργασμένων λαβεῖν ἂν δυνηθείς, προσεκτήσατο. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐπινίκια, λέγω δὴ τὰ μείζω νομιζόμενα, καίπερ οὐχ ὅσιον ὃν ἔκ γε τῶν πάνυ πατρίων ἄνευ τῶν συννικησάντων τινὶ πεμφθῆναι, [2] ὁμως ψηφισθέντα ἐδέξατο. καὶ αὐτὰ μὲν ἅπαξ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν πολέμων ἦγαγε, τρόπαια δὲ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ καλῶς κεκοσμημένα καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν ἔργων καὶ τὸ βραχυτάτον ἔπεμψε, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐν μέγα, πολυτελῶς τε κεκοσμημένον καὶ γραφὴν ἔχον ὅτι τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐστίν. [3] οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπωνυμίαν τινὰ προσεπέθετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ μόνη τῇ τοῦ Μάγνου, ἥνπερ που καὶ πρὸ ἐκείνων τῶν ἔργων ἐκέκτητο, ἠρκέσθη. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἄλλην τινὰ τιμὴν ὑπέρογκον λαβεῖν διεπράξατο, ἢ τοῖς γε ψηφισθεῖσιν ἀπόντι οἱ πλὴν [4] ἅπαξ ἐχρήσατο. ἦν δὲ ταῦτα δαφνηφορεῖν τε αὐτὸν κατὰ πάσας αἰεὶ τὰς πανηγύρεις, καὶ τὴν στολὴν τὴν μὲν ἀρχικὴν ἐν πάσαις αὐταῖς, τὴν δὲ ἐπινίκιον ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἵππων ἀγῶσιν ἐνδύνειν. ταῦτα γὰρ αὐτῷ, συμπράσσοντος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Κάτωνος τοῦ Μάρκου γνώμην, ἐδόθη. 22. καὶ περὶ μὲν ἐκείνου, ὅστις τε ἦν καὶ ὅτι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐθεράπευε, τὸν τε Πομπήιον ἄλλως μὲν καθήρει, δι' ὧν δὲ δὴ τῷ τε ὁμίλῳ χαριεῖσθαι καὶ [p. 136] αὐτὸς ἰσχύσειν ἔμελλε προσεποιεῖτο, προεῖρηται: ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάτων οὗτος ἦν ἐκ τοῦ τῶν Πορκίων γένους καὶ τὸν Κάτωνα τὸν πάνυ ἐξήλου, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον παιδεία Ἑλληνικὴ μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ [2] ἐκέχρητο. ἦσκει δὲ τὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἀκριβῶς, καὶ ἕνα μὲν ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα ἐθαύμαζε, τὸ δὲ δὴ κοινὸν ὑπερηγάπα, καὶ πᾶν μὲν τὸ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους πεφυκὸς ὑποψία δυναστείας ἐμίσει, πᾶν δὲ τὸ δημοτικὸν ἐλέω τῆς ἀσθενείας ἐφίλει. [3] καὶ δημεραστὴς τε ὡς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἐγίνετο, καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίου παρρησίαν καὶ μετὰ κινδύνων ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι πάντα οὔτε πρὸς ἰσχὺν οὔτε πρὸς δόξαν ἢ τιμὴν τινά, ἀλλ' αὐτῆς ἕνεκα τῆς τε αὐτονόμου καὶ τῆς ἀτυραννεύτου [4] διαίτης ἔπραττε. τοιοῦτος οὖν δὴ τις ὧν ἔς τε τὸ κοινὸν τότε πρῶτον παρῆλθε καὶ πρὸς τὰ ψηφιζόμενα, καίπερ μηδεμίαν τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἔχθραν ἔχων, ἀλλ' ὅτι γε ἔξω τῶν πατρίων ἦν, ἀντεῖπεν. 23. ἀπόντι μὲν δὴ οὖν αὐτῷ ταῦτ' ἔδοσαν, ἐλθόντι δὲ οὐδέν, πάντως ἂν που καὶ ἕτερα προσθέντες, εἴπερ ἠθελήκει: ἄλλοις γοῦν τισιν ἐν ἐλάττονι αὐτοῦ κράτει γενομένοις πολλὰ καὶ ὑπέρογκα πολλακίς ἔνειμαν. καὶ ὅτι γε καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἄκοντες [2] ἔπραξαν, δῆλόν ἐστιν. ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι πάνθ' ὅσα ἐν ταῖς δυναστείαις τοῖς ἰσχύουσι τι παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν γίγνεται, τὴν τε ὑπόνοιαν, κἂν τὰ μάλιστα ἐθελούσιοι τι ψηφίσωνται, ὡς καὶ κατὰ βίαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν κρατούντων παρασκευῆς διδόμενα ἔχει, καὶ δόξαν οὐδεμίαν τοῖς [p. 138] λαβοῦσιν αὐτά, ὡς καὶ μὴ παρ' ἐκόντων ἀλλὰ ἀναγκασθέντων, μηδ' ἀπ' εὐνοίας ἀλλ' ἐκ κολακείας ὑπάρξαντά σφισι φέρει, οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν [3] ἀρχὴν οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν ἐσηγήσασθαι. καὶ πολὺ γε τοῦτο βέλτιον εἶναι ἔλεγεν ἢ ψηφισθέντα μὴ προσίεσθαι: ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ μῖσός τε ἐπὶ τῇ δυναστείᾳ ὑφ' ἧς ἐγινώσκετο, καὶ ὑπερηφανίαν καὶ ὕβριν τῷ μὴ δέχεσθαι τὰ διδόμενα παρὰ τῶν κρειττόνων δῆθεν ἢ πάντως γε

τῶν ὁμοίων ἐνεῖναι, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ τὸ δημοτικὸν ὄντως καὶ ὄνομα καὶ ἔργον, οὐκ ἀπ' ἐνδειξεως ἀλλ' ^[4] ἐξ ἀληθείας, ὑπάρχειν. τὰς γὰρ τοὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἔξω τῶν πατριῶν ὀλίγου πάσας λαβὼν, τὰ γοῦν ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, ἐξ ὧν μήτε ὠφελῶν τινα μήτε ὠφελούμενος φθόνον ἄλλως καὶ μῖσος καὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν διδόντων αὐτὰ σχήσειν ἔμελλεν, οὐκ ἐδέχeto.

24. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐγένeto, τότε δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πολέμων ἀνάπαυσιν τὸν λοιπὸν τοῦ ἔτους χρόνον ἔσχον, ὥστε καὶ τὸ οἰώνισμα τὸ τῆς ὑγείας ὠνομασμένον διὰ πάνυ πολλοῦ ποιῆσαι. τοῦτο δὲ δὴ μαντείας τις τρόπος ἐστὶ, πύστιν τινὰ ἔχων εἰ ἐπιτρέπει σφίσις ὁ θεὸς ὑγίαιαν τῷ δήμῳ αἰτῆσαι, ὥς οὐχ ὅσιον ὄν οὐδὲ αἴτησιν αὐτῆς, πρὶν συγχωρηθῆναι, γενέσθαι. ^[2] καὶ ἐτελεῖτο κατ' ἔτος ἡμέρᾳ, ἐν ἣ μὴδὲν στρατόπεδον μήτε ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἐξῆι μήτ' ἀντιπαρετάττετο πῖσι μήτε ἐμάχετο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς συνεχέσι κινδύνοις, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις, οὐκ ἐποιεῖτο: ἄλλως τε γὰρ παγχάλεπόν ^[p. 140] σφίσις ἦν καθαρὰν ἀπὸ πάντων αὐτῶν ^[3] ἡμέραν ἀκριβῶς τηρῆσαι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἀτοπώτατον, κακὰ αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς στάσεσιν ἐκουσίους ἀμύθητα ἀλλήλοις παρέχοντας, καὶ μέλλοντας, ἂν τε ἡττηθῶσιν ἂν τε καὶ νικήσωσι, κακοῦσθαι, ἔπειτα σωτηρίαν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ προσαιτεῖν.

25. ἀμέλει καὶ τότε ἡδυνήθη μὲν πως τὸ οἰώνισμα ἐκεῖνο ποιηθῆναι, οὐ μὲντοι καὶ καθαρὸν ἐγένeto. ἔξεδροι γὰρ τινες ὄρνιθες ἐπέπταντο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἀνεμαντεύσαντο. καὶ ἄλλα τε αὐτοῖς ^[2] σημεῖα οὐκ αἴσια συνηνέχθη: κεραυνοὶ τε γὰρ ἐν αἰθρίᾳ πολλοὶ ἔπεσον, καὶ ἡ γῆ ἰσχυρῶς ἐσεισθη, εἰδωλὰ τε πολλαχόθι ἀνθρώπων ἐφαντάσθη, καὶ λαμπάδες ἀνεκὰς ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπὸ τῶν δυσμῶν ἀνέδραμον, ὥστε πάντα τινὰ καὶ ἰδιώτην τὰ σημαινόμενα ἀπ' αὐτῶν προγνῶναι. ^[3] οἱ γὰρ δήμαρχοι τὸν Ἀντώνιον τὸν ὕπατον ὁμοιοτροπώτατον σφίσις ὄντα προσλαβόντες, ὁ μὲν τις τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλου ἐκπεσόντων πρὸς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἦγεν, ὁ δὲ τῷ τε Παίτῳ τῷ Πουπλίῳ καὶ τῷ Σύλλᾳ τῷ Κορνηλίῳ τῷ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀλόντι τὸ τε βουλευεῖν καὶ τὸ ἄρχειν ^[4] ἐξεῖναι ἐδίδου. ἄλλος χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς, ἄλλος κληρουχίας καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑπηκῷ γενέσθαι ἐσηγεῖτο. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν πρὸς τε τοῦ Κικέρωνος καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὁμογνωμονούντων οἱ προκαταληφθέντα, πρὶν ἔργον τι ἀπ' αὐτῶν συμβῆναι,

26. ἐπαύθη: Τίτος δὲ δὴ Λαβιῆνος Γάιον Ῥαβίριον ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Σατουρνίνου φόνῳ γραψάμενος πλεῖστον σφίσι τάραχον παρέσχεν. ὁ τε γὰρ ^[p. 142] Σατουρνίνος πρὸ ἕξ πού καὶ τριάκοντα ἐτῶν ἐτεθνήκει, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ ὕπατοι τότε παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς προσετετάχατο, ὥστε ἡ γερουσία ἄκυρος ἐκ τοῦ δικαστηρίου ἐκείνου ^[2] τῶν ψηφισμάτων ἐγίγνετο. καὶ τοῦτου πᾶς ὁ κόσμος τῆς πολιτείας ἐταράττετο. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ῥαβίριος οὐδ' ὠμολογεῖ τὸν φόνον, ἀλλ' ἄπαρνος ἦν: οἱ δὲ δήμαρχοι τὴν τε ἰσχὺν καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν τῆς βουλῆς καταλῦσαι παντελῶς ἐσπούδαζον, καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἑαυτοῖς τοῦ πάνθ' ὅσα βούλοιντο ^[3] ποιεῖν προπαρεσκευάζον: διὰ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ τὰ τε τῷ συνεδρίῳ δόξαντα καὶ τὰ πρὸ τοσοῦτων ἐτῶν πραχθέντα εὐθύνεσθαι τοῖς τέ τι τῶν ὁμοίων ἐπιχειροῦσι ἄδεια ἐδίδοδο καὶ αἱ τιμωρίαι αὐτῶν ἐκολούοντο. ἡ οὖν γερουσία δεινὸν μὲν καὶ ἄλλως ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι ἄνδρα βουλευτὴν μήτ' ἀδικοῦντά τι καὶ ἐς γῆρας ἦδη

προεληλυθότα ἀπολείσθαι, πολλῶ δὲ δὴ μᾶλλον ἡγανάκτει ὅτι τὸ τε πρόσχημα τῆς πολιτείας διεβάλλετο καὶ τὰ πράγματα 27. τοῖς φανυλοτάτοις ἐπετρέπετο. σπουδαί τε οὖν ταραχώδεις καὶ φιλονεικίαι ἀφ' ἑκατέρων περὶ τοῦ δικαστηρίου, τῶν μὲν ὅπως μὴ συναχθῇ, τῶν δὲ ἵνα καθιζήσῃ δικαιοῦντων, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο διὰ τε τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ δι' ἄλλους τινὰς ἐνίκησε, περὶ γε τῆς κρίσεως αὐθις συνέβησαν. [2] καὶ ἦν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ Λουκίου δικάζων 'οὐ γὰρ ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον περδουελλίωνος ὁ Ῥαβίριος ἐκρίθη, κατεψηφίσαντο αὐτοῦ, καίτοι μὴ πρὸς τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, ἀλλὰ πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ [p. 144]

[3] οὐκ ἐξὸν αἰρεθέντες. καὶ ἐφῆκε μὲν ὁ Ῥαβίριος, πάντως δ' ἂν καὶ παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ ἔαλω, εἰ μὴ ὁ Μέτελλος ὁ Κέλερ οἰωνιστὴς τε ὢν καὶ στρατηγῶν ἐνεπόδισεν: ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐτε ἄλλως ἐπειθοντό οἱ, οὐθ' ὅτι παρὰ τὰ νενομισμένα ἢ κρίσις ἐγγέγονει ἐνεθυμοῦντο, ἀνέδραμεν ἐς τὸ Ἰανίκουλον πρὶν καὶ ὅτιοῦν σφας ψηφισασθαι, καὶ τὸ σημεῖον τὸ στρατιωτικὸν κατέσπασεν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἔτ' αὐτοῖς ἐξεῖναι διαγνῶναι. 28. τοῦτο δέ, τὸ κατὰ τὸ σημεῖον, τοιόνδε τί ἐστι. πολλῶν τὸ ἀρχαῖον πολεμίων τῇ πόλει προσοικούντων, φοβούμενοι μὴ ποτε ἐκκλησιαζόντων σφῶν κατὰ τοὺς λόχους ἐπιθωνταί τινες τῇ πόλει τὸ Ἰανίκουλον καταλαβόντες, ἐνόμισαν μὴ πάντες ἅμα ψηφίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τινὰς αἰεὶ ἐνόπλους τὸ [2] χωρίον ἐκεῖνο ἐκ διαδοχῆς φυλάττειν. καὶ αὐτό, ἕως μὲν ἡ ἐκκλησία ἦν, ἐφρουροῦν, ὅποτε δὲ διαλυθῆσεσθαι ἔμελλε, τὸ τε σημεῖον καθηρεῖτο καὶ οἱ φύλακες ἀπηλλάσσοντο: οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν μὴ φρουρουμένου τοῦ χωρίου ἐκείνου οὐδὲν ἔτι χρηματισθῆναι. [3] τοῦτο δὲ ἐν μόναις ταῖς κατὰ τοὺς λόχους ἀθροιζομέναις ἐκκλησίαις ἐγίνετο, ὅτι τε ἔξω τοῦ τείχους, καὶ ὅτι πάντες οἱ τὰ ὄπλα ἔχοντες ἀνάγκην εἶχον ἐς αὐτὰς συνιέναι: καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὅσας ἔνεκα ποιεῖται. [4] οὕτω μὲν δὴ τότε ἡ τε ἐκκλησία καθαιρεθέντος τοῦ σημείου διελύθη καὶ ὁ Ῥαβίριος ἐσώθη: ἐξῆν μὲν γὰρ τῷ Λαβιήνῳ καὶ αὐθις δικάσασθαι, οὐ 29. μέντοι καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτό: ὁ δὲ δὴ Κατιλίνας ὧδέ τε καὶ διὰ τὰδε ἀπώλετο. ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ, τὴν τε ὑπατείαν καὶ τότε [p. 146] αἰτήσαντος αὐτοῦ καὶ πᾶν ὅτιδῆποτε ἐνεδέχετο ὅπως ἀποδειχθῇ μηχανωμένου, δέκα ἐτῶν φυγὴν, τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐνάγοντος, τοῖς ἐπιτιμίοις τοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ δεκάσμῳ τεταγμένοις προσνομοθετῆσαι. [2] τοῦτ' οὖν καὶ ἐκεῖνος δι' ἑαυτὸν, ὅπερ που καὶ ἀληθὲς ἦν, ἐγνώσθαι νομίσας ἐπεχείρησε μὲν, χεῖρά τινα παρασκευάσας, τὸν Κικέρωνα καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν πρώτων ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς ἀρχαιρεσίαις, ἵν' ὑπατος εὐθὺς χειροτονηθῇ, [3] φονεῦσαι, οὐκ ἡδυνήθη δέ. ὁ γὰρ Κικέρων προμαθὼν τὸ ἐπιβούλευμα τῇ τε γερουσίᾳ ἐμήνυσεν αὐτὸ καὶ κατηγορίαν αὐτοῦ πολλὴν ἐποίησατο: ἐπειδὴ τε οὐκ ἔπεισε σφας ψηφισασθαι τι ὧν ἡξίου 'οὔτε γὰρ πιθανὰ ἐξηγγελκέναι καὶ διὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἔχθραν καταψεύδεσθαι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὑπωπτευθῇ, ἐφοβήθη ἅτε καὶ προσπαρωξυγκῶς [4] τὸν Κατιλίαν, καὶ οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν ἀπλῶς ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐσελθεῖν ὥσπερ εἴωθει, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τε ἐπιτηδεῖους συνεπηγάγετο παρεσκευασμένους ἀμῦναι οἱ εἴ τι δεινὸν γένοιτο, καὶ θώρακα, τῆς τε ἑαυτοῦ ἀσφαλείας καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων διαβολῆς ἔνεκα, ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν ἐσθῆτα, παραφαίνων δ' αὐτὸν [5] ἐξεπίτηδες, ἐνεδύσατο. ἐκ τε οὖν

τούτου, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἄλλως φήμη τις ἐγένετο ὅτι ἐπιβουλεύεται, ὃ τε δῆμος δεινῶς ἠγανάκτησε καὶ οἱ συνομωμοκότες τῷ Κατιλίῳ φοβηθέντες αὐτὸν ἠσύχασαν. 30. καὶ οὕτως ὕπατοί τε ἕτεροι ἠρέθησαν, καὶ ἐκεῖνος οὐκέτι λάθρα, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα τοὺς τε σὺν αὐτῷ μόνους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶν τὸ ^[2] κοινὸν τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν συνίστη. ἐκ γὰρ τῆς ^[p. 148] Ῥώμης αὐτῆς τοὺς τε κακίστους καὶ καινῶν αἰεὶ ποτε πραγμάτων ἐπιθυμητάς, καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ὥς ὅτι πλείστους, χρεῶν τε ἀποκοπὰς καὶ γῆς ἀναδασμούς, ἀλλὰ τε ἐξ ὧν μάλιστα δελεάσειν αὐτοὺς ^[3] ἤμελλεν, ὑποσχομένους σφισι συνῆγε. καὶ τοὺς γε πρώτους αὐτῶν καὶ δυνατωτάτους ἦσαν δὲ ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀντώνιος ὁ ὕπατος· καὶ ἐς ἀθεμίτων ὀρκωμοσιῶν ἀνάγκην προήγαγε· παῖδα γὰρ τινα καταθύσας, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σπλάγχχνων αὐτοῦ τὰ ὄρκια ποιήσας, ἔπειτ' ἐσπλάγχχνευσεν αὐτὰ μετὰ ^[4] τῶν ἄλλων. συνέπραπτον δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ μάλιστα τὰ μὲν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὃ τε ὕπατος καὶ ὁ Λέντουλος ὁ Πούπλιος ὁ μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας ἐκπεσῶν ἔστρατήγει γὰρ ὅπως τὴν βουλείαν ἀναλάβῃ, τὰ δὲ ἐν ταῖς Φαισούλαις, ἐς ἃς οἱ ^[5] στασιῶται αὐτοῦ συνελέγοντο, Γαίος τις Μάλλιος, τῶν τε πολεμικῶν ἐμπειρότατος· μετὰ γὰρ τῶν τοῦ Σύλλου λοχαγῶν ἐστράτευτο· καὶ πολυδαπανώτατος ὢν· σὺμπαντα γοῦν ὅσα τότε ἐκτήσατο, καίπερ ἀμύπολλα ὄντα, κακῶς καταναλώσας ἐτέρων ἔργων ὁμοίων ἐπεθύμει. 31. παρασκευαζομένων οὖν ταῦτα αὐτῶν, μηνύεται τῷ Κικέρωνι πρότερα μὲν τὰ ἐν τῷ ἄστει γιγνόμενα διὰ γραμμάτων τινῶν, ἃ τὸν μὲν γράψαντα οὐκ ἐδήλου, τῷ δὲ δὴ Κράσσῳ καὶ ἄλλοις πιστὶ τῶν δυνατῶν ἐδόθη, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς δόγμα ἐκυρώθη, ταραχὴν τε εἶναι καὶ ζητησιν τῶν αἰτίων αὐτῆς ^[2] γενέσθαι· δεύτερα δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς Τυρσηνίδος, καὶ προσεψηφίσαντο τοῖς ὑπάτοις τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς ^[p. 150] πόλεως καὶ τῶν ὄλων αὐτῆς πραγμάτων, καθάπερ εἴωθεσαν· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτω τῷ δόγματι προσεγράφη τὸ διὰ φροντίδος αὐτοὺς σχεῖν ὥστε ^[3] μηδεμίαν ἀποτριβὴν τῷ δημοσίῳ συμβῆναι. γενομένου δὲ τούτου καὶ φρουρᾶς πολλαχόθι καταστάσης τὰ μὲν ἐν τῷ ἄστει οὐκέτ' ἐνεωτερίσθη, ὥστε καὶ ἐπὶ συκοφαντίᾳ τὸν Κικέρωνα διαβληθῆναι, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν Τυρσηνῶν ἀγγελλόμενα τὴν τε αἰτίαν ἐπιστώσατο καὶ βίας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς γραφὴν τῷ Κατιλίῳ παρεσκεύασε. 32. καὶ ὃς τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καὶ πάνυ αὐτὴν ἐτοιμῶς, ὥς καὶ ἀπὸ χρηστοῦ τοῦ συνειδότος, ἐδέξατο, καὶ πρὸς τε τὴν δίκην δῆθεν ἡτοιμάζετο, καὶ τῷ Κικέρωνι αὐτῷ τηρεῖν ἑαυτόν, ὅπως δὴ μὴ φύγῃ που, ^[2] παρεδίδου. μὴ προσδεξαμένου δὲ ἐκείνου τὴν φρουρὰν αὐτοῦ, παρὰ τῷ Μετέλλῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ τὴν δίαίταν ἐκούσιος ἐποίητο, ἵν' ὥς ἥκιστα ὑποπτειθῇ νεωτερίζειν τι, μέχρις ἂν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ^[3] αὐτόθε συνωμοτῶν ἰσχυρόν τι προσλάβῃ. ὥς δ' οὐδὲν οἱ προεχώρει ὃ τε γὰρ Ἀντώνιος φοβηθεὶς ὑπεστέλλετο καὶ ὁ Λέντουλος ἥκιστα δραστήριος ἦν, προεῖπεν αὐτοῖς νυκτὸς ἐς οἰκίαν τινὰ συλλεγῆναι, καὶ λαθὼν τὸν Μετέλλον ἥλθῃ τε πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπετίμησέ σφισιν ἐπὶ τε τῇ ἀτολμίᾳ ^[4] καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ μαλακίᾳ. καὶ τούτου διεξελθὼν ὅσα τε πείσοιντο φωραθέντες καὶ ὅσων τεύξοιντο κατορθώσαντες, οὕτως αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπέρρωσε καὶ παρῶξυνεν ὥσθ' ὑποσχέσθαι δύο τινὰς ἔς τε τὴν τοῦ Κικέρωνος οἰκίαν ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐσφάζειν 33. κάνταῦθα αὐτὸν φονεύσειν. ὥς δὲ καὶ τοῦτο προεμνηνύθη ὃ γὰρ

Κικέρων πολὺ δυνάμενος, ^[p. 152] συχνούς τε ἐκ τῶν συνηγορημάτων τοὺς μὲν οἰκείουμενος, τοὺς δὲ ἐκφοβῶν, πολλοὺς τοὺς διαγγέλλοντάς οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔσχέ, μεταστῆναι ἢ γερουσία τὸν Καπιλίαν ἐψηφίσατο. ^[2] καὶ ὃς ἀσμένως τε ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ ἐξεχώρησε, καὶ πρὸς τὰς Φαισούλας ἐλθὼν τὸν τε πόλεμον ἀντικρυς ἀνείλετο, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὴν σκευὴν τῶν ὑπάτων λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς προσυνειλεγμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαλλίου συνεκρότει, κὰν τοῦτῳ καὶ ἄλλους τινάς, πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἐλευθέρων, ^[3] ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν δούλων, προσεποιεῖτο. ὅθενπερ καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν τε βίαν αὐτοῦ κατεψηφίσαντο, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, ἀγνοοῦντές που τὴν συνωμοσίαν σφῶν, ἔστειλαν, αὐτοὶ τε τὴν ἐσθῆτα μετέβαλον. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ^[4] καὶ ὁ Κικέρων κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινεν: εἰλήχει γὰρ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἄρξαι, οὔτε δὲ ἐς ἐκείνην ἑτῷ γὰρ συνάρχοντι αὐτῆς διὰ τὴν περὶ τὰς δίκας σπουδὴν ἐξέσθῃ οὔτε ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν πλησίον, ἣν ἀντέλαβε, διὰ τὰ παρόντα ἐξήλασεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν τὴν πόλιν διὰ φυλακῆς ἐποίησατο, ἐς δὲ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὸν Μέτελλον, ὅπως μὴ καὶ ὁ Καπιλίνας αὐτὴν σφετερισθῇ, ἔπεμψε. 34. καὶ ἐν καιρῷ γε ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις κατέμεινε. παρασκευαζομένου γὰρ τοῦ Λεντούλου καταπρῆσαι τέ τινας καὶ σφαγὰς ἐργάσασθαι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συνομωμοκότων καὶ μετὰ Ἀλλοβριγῶν, οὓς κατὰ πρεσβείαν παρόντας ^[p. 154] ^[2] ἀνέπεισε συμφρονῆσαι τε αὐτῷ ... καὶ συλλαβὼν τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτὴν σταλέντας ἔς τε τὸ βουλευτήριον μετὰ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐσήγαγε, καὶ ἄδειαν αὐτοῖς δοὺς πᾶσαν οὕτω τὴν συνωμοσίαν ἤλεγξε. κὰκ τούτου ὁ Λέντουλος ἀπειπεῖν τὴν στρατηγίαν ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας ἀναγκασθεὶς ἐν φρουρᾷ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συλληφθέντων ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ^[3] ἀνεζητοῦντο. καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ὁμοίως ἤρεσε, καὶ μάλιστα ἔπειδῃ, τοῦ Κικέρωνος δημηγοροῦντος τι περὶ αὐτῶν, τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἔς τε τὸ Καπιτώλιον παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνιδρύθη καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑφήγησιν τῶν μάντεων πρὸς τε τὰς ἀνατολάς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀγορὰν ^[4] βλέπον ἀνετέθη. ἐπειδῇ γὰρ ἐκείνοι τε συνωμοσίαν τινὰ ἐξελεγχθήσεσθαι ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἀγάλματος στάσεως εἰρήκεσαν, καὶ ἡ ἀνάθεσις αὐτοῦ τοῖς φωραθεῖσι συνέβαινε, τό τε θεῖον ἐμεγάλυνον καὶ τοὺς τὴν αἰτίαν λαβόντας δι' ὀργῆς μᾶλλον ἐποιοῦντο. 35. διῆλθε μὲν οὖν λόγος ὅτι καὶ ὁ Κράσσος ἐν αὐτοῖς εἶη, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τῶν συλληφθέντων τις ἐμήνυσεν, οὐ μέντοι πολλοὶ ἐπίστευσαν: οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχὴν οὐδ' ἤξιουν τοιοῦτό τι ἐς αὐτὸν ὑποπτέειν, ^[2] οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαιτίων ὑπετόπουν αὐτό, ὅπως βοηθείας τινὸς διὰ τοῦτο παρ' αὐτοῦ, ὅτι πλεῖστον ἐδύνατο, τύχῳσι, λογοποιεῖσθαι. εἰ δ' οὖν τισι καὶ πιστὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι, ἀλλ' οὔτι γε ἐδικαίουν ἄνδρα τε ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις σφῶν ὄντα ἀπολέσαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐκταράξαι. ^[3] ὥστε τοῦτο μὲν παντελῶς διέπεσε: παρασκευαζομένων δὲ δὴ πολλῶν καὶ δούλων καὶ ^[p. 156] ἐλευθέρων, τῶν μὲν ὑπὸ δέους, τῶν δὲ καὶ οἰκτῷ τοῦ τε Λεντούλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐξαρπάσαι πάντας αὐτοὺς ὅπως μὴ ἀποθάνωσι, προπυθόμενος τοῦθ' ὁ Κικέρων τὸ τε Καπιτώλιον καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ^[4] τῆς νυκτὸς φρουρᾷ προκατέσχε, καὶ τινα παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου χρηστὴν ἐλπίδα ἅμα τῇ ἔω λαβὼν, ὅτι ἱερῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀειπαρθένων ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου ποιηθέντων τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ

μακρότατον παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἦρθη, τὸν μὲν δῆμον τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ὀρκῶσαι ἐς τὸν κατάλογον, εἰ δὴ τις χρεια στρατιωτῶν γένοιτο, ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὴν βουλὴν ἡθορισε, καὶ σφας συνταράξας τε καὶ ἐκφοβήσας ἔπεισε θάνατον τῶν συνειλημμένων καταγνῶναι. 36. ἐγένοντο μὲν γὰρ ἀμφίβολοι, καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον αὐτοὺς ἀπέλυσαν. ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ, πάντων τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ψηφισαμένων ἀποθανεῖν σφας, γνώμην ἔδωκε διῆσαι τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐς πόλεις ἄλλους ἄλλῃ ^[2] καταθέσθαι, τῶν οὐσιῶν ἐστερημένους, ἐπὶ τῷ μῆτε περὶ ἀδειας ἔτι αὐτῶν χρηματισθῆναι τί ποτε, κἂν διαδρᾷ τις, ἐν πολεμίων μοίρα τὴν πόλιν ἐξ ἧς ἂν φύγῃ εἶναι: καὶ τοῦτο πάντες οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀποφηνάμενοι μέχρι τοῦ Κάτωνος ἐψηφίσαντο, ὥστε καὶ τῶν προτέρων τινὰς ^[3] μεταγνῶναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὗτος αὐτὸς τε τὸν θάνατον αὐτῶν κατεδίκασε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντας ὁμοψήφους ἐποίησατο, οὕτω δὴ ἐκεῖνοι τε ἐκ τῆς νικώσης ἐκολάσθησαν, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ θυσία ^[p. 158] καὶ ἱερομηνία ἐψηφίσθη, ὃ μηπώποτε ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ τινὶ ἐγεγόνει: καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ μηνυθέντες ἐζητοῦντο, καὶ τινες καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μελλῆσαι συμφρονήσειν ^[4] αὐτοῖς ὑποπτουθέντες εὐθύνοντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οἱ ὕπατοι διώκουν, Αὐλὸν δὲ Φούλουιον ἄνδρα βουλευτὴν αὐτὸς ὁ πατὴρ ἀπέσφαξεν, οὐτι γε καὶ μόνος, ὥς γέ τισι δοκεῖ, τοῦτ' ἐν ἰδιωτεία ποιήσας: συχνοὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι, οὐχ ὅτι ὕπατοι ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰδιῶται, παῖδας σφῶν ἀπέκτειναν. 37. τότε μὲν δὴ τόδε ἐγένετο, καὶ τὰς αἱρέσεις τῶν ἱερέων, γράψαντος μὲν τοῦ Λαβιήνου, σπουδάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἐς τὸν δῆμον αὐθις ὁ ὁμιλος παρὰ τὸν τοῦ Σύλλου νόμον ἐπανήγαγεν, ἀνανεωσάμενος τὸν τοῦ Δομιτίου. ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ τοῦ Μετέλλου τοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς τελευτήσαντος τῆς τε ἱερωσύνης αὐτοῦ, καίτοι καὶ νέος καὶ μηδέπω ^[2] ἐστρατηγηκώς, ἐπεθύμησε, καὶ ἐν τῷ πλήθει τὴν ἐλπίδα αὐτῆς, διὰ τε τᾶλλα καὶ ὅτι τῷ τε Λαβιήνῳ κατὰ τοῦ Ραβιρίου συνηγώνιστο καὶ τὸν Λέντουλον ἀποθανεῖν οὐκ ἐψήφιστο, λαβὼν τοῦτ' οὐκ ἔπραξε, καὶ ἀρχιέρεως. τῶν ποντιφίκων, καίπερ ἄλλων τε τῆς τιμῆς πολλῶν καὶ τοῦ Κατούλου μάλιστα ἀντιποιοιμένων, ἀπεδείχθη. ^[3] καὶ γὰρ θεραπεῦσαι καὶ κολακεῦσαι πάντα τινὰ καὶ τῶν τυχόντων ἐτοιμότητος ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐτε λόγου οὐτε ἔργου οὐδενὸς ἐς τὸ κατατυχεῖν ὧν ἐσπούδαζεν ἐξίστατο: οὐδὲ ἔμελεν οἱ τῆς αὐτίκα ταπεινότητος πρὸς τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἔπειτα ἰσχύν, ἀλλ' ^[p. 160] ὧν ἐπεχείρει πρωτεῦσαι, τούτους ὡς καὶ κρείττονας ὑπῆρχετο. 38. τῷ μὲν οὖν Καίσαρι διὰ ταῦθ' οἱ πολλοὶ προσφιλεῖς ἦσαν, τὸν δὲ δὴ Κικέρωνα ἐν ὀργῇ ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν πολιτῶν θανάτῳ ποιοῦμενοι τὰ τε ἄλλα ἡχθαιρον, καὶ τέλος ἀπολογεῖσθαι τε καὶ καταλέξει πάνθ' ὅσα ἐν τῇ ὑπατείᾳ ἐπεποιήκει τῇ ^[2] τελευταίᾳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡμέρᾳ ἐθελήσαντα 'πάνυ γάρ που ἡδέως οὐχ ὅπως ὕφ' ἐτέρων ἐπηνεῖτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐνεκωμιάζεν' ἐσίγασαν, οὐδὲ ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτῷ ἔξω τι τοῦ ὅρκου φθέγγασθαι, συναγωνιστῇ Μετέλλῳ Νέπωτι δημαρχοῦντι χρῆσάμενοι, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον ἀντιφιλονεικίᾳς προσεπώμοσεν ὅτι σεσωκώς τὴν πόλιν εἶη. 39. καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ ἐκ τούτου πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐμισήθη, Καπιλίνας δὲ ἐν ἀρχῇ εὐθὺς τοῦ ἔτους ἐν ᾧ Ἰουνίος τε Σιλανὸς καὶ Λούκιος Λικίνιος ἦρξαν ἀπεφθάρη. τῶς μὲν γὰρ καίπερ δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγην ἔχων ἐκαραδόκει τὰ τοῦ Λεντούλου καὶ διέμελλεν

ἐλπίζων, ἂν φθάσωσιν ὃ τε Κικέρων καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ σφαγέντες, ῥαδίως τὰ λοιπὰ ^[2] προσκατεργάσεσθαι: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνόν τε ἀπολωλότα ἐπύθετο καὶ τῶν συνόντων οἱ συχνοὺς μεθισταμένους διὰ τοῦτ' ἦσθετο, ὃ τε Ἀντώνιος καὶ ὁ Μέτελλος ὁ Κέλερ πρὸς ταῖς Φαισούλαις προσεδρεύοντες οὐδαμῇ προελθεῖν αὐτῷ ἐπέτρεπον, ἀποκινδυνεῦσαι ἡναγκάσθη, καὶ ἦσαν γὰρ διχα ἐστρατοπεδευμένοι πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐτράπετο, ^[p. 162] καίπερ τῷ ἀξιώματι προέχοντα τοῦ Μετέλλου ^[3] καὶ δύναμιν πλείω περιβεβλημένον. αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι ἐλπίδα αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ συνώμοτον ἐθελοκακῆσεν ἔσχεν. ὑποπτεύσας οὖν τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνος, καὶ μήτε δι' εὐνοίας ἔτ' αὐτῷ ἄτε ἀσθενεῖ ὄντι ὦν 'πρὸς τε γὰρ τὰς δυνάμεις τινῶν καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἑαυτῶν συμφέροντα καὶ τὰς ἐχθρας τὰς τε φιλίας ^[4] οἱ πολλοὶ ποιοῦνται, καὶ προσκαταδείσας μὴ πως προθύμως σφᾶς ἀγωνιζομένους ἰδὼν ἐξονειδίση τι καὶ προενέγκη οἱ τῶν ἀπορρήτων, αὐτὸς μὲν νοσεῖν προεφασίσατο, Μάρκῳ δὲ Πετρεῖῳ τὴν 40. μάχην ἐπέτρεψε. συμβαλὼν οὖν οὗτός σφισι τὸν Κατιλίαν καὶ ἄλλους τρισχιλίους προθυμώτατα ἀγωνιζομένους οὐκ ἀναιμωτῇ κατέκοψεν: οὔτε γὰρ ἔφυγεν αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς, καὶ ἐν χώρᾳ πάντες ἔπεσον, ὥστε καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς κρατήσαντας πολὺ τῶν κοινῶν ὀδύρασθαι, ὅτι καὶ τοιοῦτους καὶ τοσοῦτους, εἰ καὶ δικαίως, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολίτας ^[2] τε καὶ συμμάχους ἀπωλωλέκεσαν. ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀντώνιος τὴν τε κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, ὅπως πιστεύσαντες αὐτὸν τετελευτηκέναι μηδὲν ἔτι δεδίωσιν, ἔπεμψε, καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ, καίτοι τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν πεφονευμένων ἐλάττονος παρὰ τὸ νενομισμένον ὄντος, ἐπεκλήθη. βουθυτηθῆναι τε ἐψηφίσθη, καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ὡς καὶ πάντων τῶν δεινῶν ἀπηλλαγμένοι μετέβαλον. 41. οὐ μὴν οἱ γε σύμμαχοι οἱ μετασχόντες τῷ Κατιλίᾳ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τότε ἔτι περιόντες ἡσύχαζον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δέει τῆς τιμωρίας ἐταράττοντο. ^[p. 164] καὶ ἐκείνους μὲν στρατηγοὶ καθ' ἑκάστους πεμφθέντες προκατέλαβον τρόπον τινὰ ἐσκεδασμένους ^[2] καὶ ἐτιμωρήσαντο: ἕτεροι δὲ τῶν λανθανόντων μηνύσει Λουκίου Οὐεττίου ἀνδρὸς ἱππέως, συγκοινωνήσαντος μὲν σφισι τῆς συνωμοσίας, τότε δὲ ἐπ' ἀδείᾳ αὐτοὺς ἐκφαίνοντος, ἐλεγχόμενοι ἐδίκαιοῦντο, μέχρις οὗ ἐσαγγελίας τινὰς τὰ τε ὀνόματα αὐτῶν ἐς δελτίον ἐγγράψας ὕστερον καὶ ἄλλους ^[3] συχνοὺς προσεγγράφαι ἠθέλησεν. ὑποπτεύσαντες γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ βουλευταὶ μηδὲν ὑγιὲς πράττειν, τὸ μὲν γραμματεῖον οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ ἔδωκαν, μὴ καὶ ἀπαλείψῃ τινὰς, εἰπεῖν δὲ ἀπὸ γλώσσης ἐκέλευσαν ὅσους παραλελοιπέναι ἔφασκε. καὶ οὕτως αἰδεσθεῖς καὶ φοβηθεῖς οὐκέτι πολλοὺς ^[4] ἐνέδειξε. θορύβου δ' οὖν καὶ ὥς ἔν τε τῇ πόλει καὶ παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν ὀνομασμένων ὄντος, καὶ τῶν μὲν περὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς μάτην θορυβουμένων, τῶν δὲ καὶ ἐς ἐτέρους οὐκ ὀρθῶς ὑποπτευόντων, ἔδοξε τῇ γερουσίᾳ τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν ἐκτεθῆναι. κάκ τούτου οἱ τε ἀναίτιοι κατέστησαν καὶ τοῖς ὑπευθύνοισι δίκαι ἐγένοντο. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν παρόντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐρήμην ὤφλον. 42. Κατιλίνας μὲν ταῦτ' ἐποίησε καὶ οὕτω κατελύθη, καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον γε τῆς τῶν πραχθέντων ἀξίας ὄνομα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Κικέρωνος δόξαν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους τοὺς κατ' αὐτοῦ λεχθέντας ἔσχε: Κικέρων δὲ ὀλίγου μὲν καὶ παραχρῆμα ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Λεντούλου τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν δεθέντων ^[2] σφαγῇ ἐκρίθη. τὸ δὲ ἔγκλημα τοῦτο λόγῳ μὲν ἐκείνῳ ἐπεφέρετο, ἔργῳ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ

βουλῇ κατεσκευάζετο: [p. 166] ὥς γάρ οὐκ ἔξόν σφισιν ἄνευ τοῦ δήμου θάνατον πολίτου τινὸς καταψηφίσασθαι, πολλὴν καταβολὴν ἐν τῷ ὁμίλῳ πρὸς τοῦ Μετέλλου [3] τοῦ Νέπωτος ὅτι μάλιστα εἶχον. οὐ μὴν καὶ ὦφλε τότε οὐδέν: τῆς γὰρ γερουσίας ἄδειαν πᾶσι τοῖς διαχειρίσασι τὰ τότε πραχθέντα δούσης, καὶ προσέτι καὶ προειποῦσης ὅτι, κἂν αὐθις τις εὐθύναι τινα αὐτῶν τολμήσῃ, ἐν τε ἐχθροῦ καὶ ἐν πολεμίου μοίρᾳ ἔσται, ἐφοβήθη τε ὁ Νέπῳς καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτ' ἐκίνησεν. 43. ἐν τε οὖν τούτῳ ἡ βουλὴ ἐπεκράτησε, καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ ὅτι τὸν Πομπήιον τοῦ Νέπωτος μεταπεμφθῆναι σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι 'ἐν γὰρ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἔτ' ἦν' προφάσει μὲν τοῦ τὰ παρόντα κατασταθῆναι, ἐλπίδι δὲ τοῦ δι' αὐτοῦ, ἅτε τὰ τοῦ πλήθους φρονοῦντος, ἰσχύσειν ἐν οἷς ἐτάρασσεν, ἐσηγησαμένου, διεκώλυσαν αὐτὸ κυρωθῆναι. [2] τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτα ὅ τε Κάτων καὶ Κύνιος Μινούκιος δημαρχοῦντες ἀντέλεγον τοῖς γραφεῖσι, καὶ τὸν τε γραμματεῖα τὸν ἀναγιγνώσκοντα τὴν γνώμην ἐπέσχον, καὶ τοῦ Νέπωτος τὸ γραμματεῖον, ὅπως αὐτὸς ἀναλέξει, λαβόντος ἐξήρπασαν, ἐπειδὴ τε καὶ ὥς ἀπὸ γλώσσης τινὰ εἰπεῖν [3] ἐπεχείρησε, τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ἐπέλαβον. μάχης δὲ ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐκείνων καὶ ἄλλων πινῶν ἑκατέροις βοηθησάντων ξύλοις καὶ λίθοις, ἔπι δὲ καὶ ξίφεσι γενομένης, οἱ βουλευταὶ συνῆλθον αὐθημερὸν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον, καὶ τὰ τε ἱμάτια ἠλλάξαντο καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς [p. 168] πόλεως, ὥστε μηδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀποτριβῆναι, [4] ἐπέτρεψαν. φοβηθεὶς οὖν καὶ τότε ὁ Νέπῳς ἐκ τε τοῦ μέσου εὐθύς ἐξεχώρησε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο γραφὴν τινα κατὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐκθεὶς πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον ἀφώρμησε, καίτοι μηδεμίαν αὐτῷ νύκτα ἀπαυλισθῆναι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔξον. 44. γενομένου δὲ τούτου οὐδ' ὁ Καῖσαρ 'ἐστρατήγει δέ' οὐδὲν ἔτ' ἐνεωτέρισεν. ἔπραττε μὲν γὰρ ὅπως τὸ μὲν τοῦ Κατοῦλου ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ἀφαιρεθεῖν 'κλοπῆς τε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἠϋθυνε, καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν τῶν ἀνηλωμένων χρημάτων ἀπῆτεί, τῷ δὲ δὴ Πομπήιῳ τὰ λοιπὰ [2] προσεξεργάσασθαι ἐπιτραπείη. ἦν γὰρ τινα, ὥς ἐν τηλικούτῳ καὶ τοιούτῳ ἔργῳ, ἡμιτέλεστα: ἡ ἐκεῖνός γε ἐπλάττετο εἶναι, ὅπως ὁ Πομπήιος τὴν τε δόξαν τῆς ἐκποίησεως αὐτοῦ λάβῃ καὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ ὄνομα ἀντεπιγράψῃ. οὐ μὴν οὕτω γε χαρίζεσθαι αὐτῷ ἠθέλεν ὥστε καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ διὰ τοῦτο ψηφισθῆναι τι τοιοῦτον, οἷον ἐπὶ τῷ Νέπωτι ἐδέδοκτο, ὑπομεῖναι. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐκείνου ἔνεκα ταῦτ' ἐποίει, ἀλλ' ἵνα αὐτὸς καὶ διὰ [3] τούτων τὸ πλῆθος σφετερίσῃται: καίπερ οὕτω πάντες τὸν Πομπήιον ἐδέδισαν 'οὐδέπω γὰρ τὰ στρατεύματα ἀφήσων δηλὸς ἦν' ὥστε, ἐπειδὴ Μάρκον Πίσωνα ὑποστράτηγον πρὸς αἰτησιν ὑπατείας προὔπεμψε, τὰς τε ἀρχαιρεσίας, ὅπως ἀπαντήσῃ ἐς αὐτάς, ἀναβαλέσθαι, καὶ παρόντα αὐτὸν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀποδεῖξαι. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς φίλοις ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς συνέστησεν αὐτόν. [p. 170] 45. κἂν τούτῳ ὁ Καῖσαρ, τοῦ Κλωδίου τοῦ Πουπλίου τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἐν τε τῇ οἰκίᾳ καὶ παρὰ τὴν ποιήσιν τῶν ἱερῶν, ἅπερ αἱ ἀειπαρθένοι παρὰ τε τοῖς ὑπάτοις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἄγνωστα ἐκ τῶν πατρίων ἐς πᾶν τὸ ἄρρεν ἐπετέλουν, αἰσχύναντος, ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐδὲν ἐνεκάλεσεν 'καὶ γὰρ εὖ ἠπίστατο ὅτι οὐχ ἀλώσεται διὰ τὴν [2] ἑταιρείαν', τὴν δὲ δὴ γυναῖκα ἀπεπέμψατο, εἰπὼν ἄλλως μὲν μὴ πιστεῦειν τῷ λεγομένῳ, μὴ μέντοι καὶ συνοικῆσαι ἔτ' αὐτῇ δύνασθαι, διότι καὶ

ὕπωπτευθη ἀρχὴν μεμοιχεῦσθαι: τὴν γὰρ σὺφφρονα χρῆναι μὴ μόνον μηδὲν ἁμαρτάνειν, ἀλλὰ μηδ' ἐς ὑποψίαν αἰσχροῦν ἀφικνεῖσθαι. [3] τότε μὲν ταῦτά τε ἐγένετο, καὶ ἡ γέφυρα ἡ λιθινὴ ἡ ἐς τὸ νησιδίον τὸ ἐν τῷ Τιβέριδι ὄν φέρουσα 46. κατεσκευάσθη, Φαβρικία κληθεῖσα: τῷ δὲ ἐξῆς ἔτει ἐπὶ τε Πισωνος καὶ ἐπὶ Μάρκου Μεσσάλου ὑπάτων μισοῦντές τε ἄλλως οἱ δυνατοὶ τὸν Κλωδίον, καὶ ἅμα καὶ τὸ μῖσος αὐτοῦ ἀποδιοπομπούμενοι, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ποντίφικες ἀνατυθῆναι τὰ ἱερὰ ὡς οὐχ ὁσίως διὰ τοῦτο τελεσθέντα [2] ἔγνωσαν, δικαστηρίῳ αὐτὸν παρέδωκαν, καὶ κατηγορήθη μὲν τῆς τε μοιχείας, καίπερ τοῦ Καίσαρος σιωπῶντος, καὶ τῆς μεταστάσεως τῆς περὶ Νισιβιν, 100 καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὅτι τῇ ἀδελφῇ συγγίγνοιτο, ἀφείθη δέ, καίτοι τῶν δικαστῶν φρουρὰν παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς, ὅπως μηδὲν κακὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πάθωσι, καὶ αἰτησάντων καὶ λαβόντων. [3] ἐφ' ᾧ περ καὶ ὁ Κάτουλος ἐπισκώπτων ἔλεγεν [p. 172] ὅτι τὴν φυλακὴν ἤτησαν οὐχ ἵνα ἀσφαλῶς τοῦ Κλωδίου καταψηφίσωνται, ἀλλ' ἵνα αὐτοὶ τὰ χρήματα ἃ ἐδεδωροδοκῆκεσαν διασώσωνται. καὶ ὁ μὲν διαφανέστατα τῶν πώποτε τὸ δημόσιον αἰεὶ πρὸ παντὸς προτιμήσας ἐτελεύτησεν οὐ πολλῷ [4] ὕστερον: ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ οἱ τε τιμηταὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς γενομένους ἐς τὸ βουλευτικὸν καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐσέγραψαν, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀπαυστὶ μέχρι τότε τὰς ὀπλομαχίας θεώμενος ἐξανέστη τε μετὰ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ ἄριστον εἵλετο. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκεῖθεν ἀρξάμενον καὶ νῦν, ὁσάκις ἂν ὁ τὸ κράτος ἔχων ἀγωνοθετῇ, γίγνεται. 47. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ πόλει ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐπράχθη, τῶν δὲ Ἀλλοβριγῶν τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν περὶ Νάρβωνα πορθούντων Γάιος Πομπήιος ὁ ἄρχων αὐτῆς τοὺς μὲν ὑποστρατήγους ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν ἐπιτηδεῖῳ ἰδρυθεὶς ἐπετήρει τὰ γινόμενα, ὅπως κατὰ καιρὸν πρὸς τὸ αἰεὶ χρήσιμον καὶ γνώμην σφίσι διδόναι καὶ [2] ἐπαμύνειν δύνηται. καὶ Μάλλιος μὲν Λεντίνος ἐπὶ Οὐαλεντίαν 101 πόλιν στρατεύσας οὕτως αὐτοὺς κατέπληξεν 102 ὥστε τοὺς πλείους ἐκδρᾶναι καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης πρεσβεύασθαι. κἂν τούτῳ συμβοηθησάντων τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ὄντων καὶ προσπεσόντων αἰφνιδίως τοῦ μὲν τεῖχους ἀπεώσθη, 103 τὴν δὲ δὴ χώραν ἀδεῶς ἔλεηλάτει, [3] μέχρις οὔ ὃ τε Κατουγνάτος 104 ὁ τοῦ παντὸς αὐτῶν ἔθνος στρατηγὸς καὶ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν παρὰ [p. 174] τὸν Ἰσαρα οἰκούντων ἐπεκούρησάν σφισι. τότε γὰρ οὐκ ἐτόλμησε μὲν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν πλοίων περαιωθῆναι κωλύσαι, μὴ καὶ συστραφῶσιν ἰδόντες σφᾶς ἀντιπαρατεταγμένους, [4] ὑλῶδους δὲ τοῦ χωρίου μετὰ τὸν ποταμὸν εὐθύς ὄντος, ἐνέδρας ἐν αὐτῷ ἐποιήσατο, καὶ τοὺς αἰεὶ διαβαίνοντας ὑπολαμβάνων ἐφθειρε. φεύγουσὶ τέ τισιν ἐπισπόμενος περιέπεσεν αὐτῷ Κατουγνάτῳ: κἂν πασσοῦ διώλετο, εἰ μὴ χειμῶν σφοδρὸς ἐξαίφνης ἐπιγενόμενος ἐπέσχε τοὺς βαρβάρους 48. τῆς διώξεως. καὶ ὁ μὲν μετὰ τοῦτο, τοῦ Κατουγνάτου πόρρῳ ποι ἀφορμήσαντος, τὴν τε χώραν αὐθις κατέδραμε καὶ τὸ τεῖχος παρ' ᾧ ἐδυστύχησεν ἐξεῖλε: Λούκιος δὲ δὴ Μάριος καὶ Σέρουιος Γάλλας τὸν τε Ῥοδανὸν ἐπεραιώθησαν, καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἀλλοβριγῶν λυμηνάμενοι τέλος πρὸς [2] Σολώνιον πόλιν ἦλθον, καὶ χωρίον μὲν τι 105 ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἰσχυρὸν κατέλαβον, μάχῃ τε τοὺς ἀντιστάοντας σφίσιν ἐνίκησαν, καὶ τινα καὶ τοῦ πολισματος ξυλίνου πη ὄντος ἐνέπρησαν, οὐ

μέντοι καὶ εἶλον αὐτό: ὁ γὰρ Κατουγνάτος ἐπελθὼν ἐκώλυσε. μαθὼν οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπεστράτευσέ τε ἐπ' αὐτὸ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ πολιορκήσας σφᾶς ἐχειρώσατο πλὴν τοῦ Κατουγνάτου. 49. καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ῥᾶον ἐκ τούτου προσκατεστρέψατο, Πομπήιος δὲ ἦλθε μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ, καὶ τὸν τε Ἀφράνιον τὸν Λούκιον καὶ τὸν Μέτελλον τὸν Κέλερα ὑπάτους ἀποδειχθῆναι ἐποίησεν, ἐλπίσας δι' αὐτῶν [2] μάτην πάνθ' ὅσα ἐβούλετο καταπράξειν. ἤθελε [p. 176] μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τε καὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα χώραν τέ τινα τοῖς συνεστρατευμένοις οἱ δοθῆναι καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα αὐτῷ πάντ' ἐπικυρωθῆναι, διήμαρτε δὲ σφῶν τότε. οἱ τε γὰρ δυνατοί, μὴδὲ 106 ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν αὐτῷ ἀρεσκόμενοι, διεκώλυσαν αὐτὰ ψηφισθῆναι: [3] καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ὑπᾶτων Ἀφράνιος μὲν ὀρχεῖσθαι γὰρ βέλτιον ἢ τι διαπράσσειν ἡπίστατό πρὸς οὐδὲν αὐτῷ συνήρατο, Μέτελλος δὲ ὀργῇ, ὅτι τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ, καίτοι παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔχων, ἀπεπέπεμπτο, 107 καὶ πάνυ πρὸς πάντα [4] ἀντέπραξεν. ὃ τε Λούκουλλος ὁ Λούκιος, ὃ ποτε ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐντυχὼν ὑπερφρόνως ἐκέχρητο, πολὺς τε αὐτῷ ἐνέκειτο, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἰδίᾳ καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ὧν ἔπραξεν ἐπεξελεῖν καὶ μὴ πᾶσιν ἅμα αὐτοῖς τὴν κύρωσιν [5] αἰτεῖν. ἄλλως τε γὰρ δίκαιον εἶναι ἔλεγε μὴ πάντα ἀπλῶς ὅσα ἐπεποιήκει, καὶ ἅ μηδεὶς σφῶν ἡπίστατο ὅποια ἦν, 108 βεβαιωθῆναι ὥσπερ ὑπὸ δεσπότου τινὸς γεγεννημένα: καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἔργων κατελελύκει τινὰ, ἥξιου ἐξετασμὸν ἐκατέρων ἐν τῇ βουλῇ γενέσθαι, ἴν' ὁπότερ' ἂν 109 50. αὐτοῖς ἀρέσῃ κυρώσωσι. καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Κάτων ὃ τε Μέτελλος οἱ τε ἄλλοι οἱ τὰ αὐτὰ σφίσι βουλόμενοι ἰσχυρῶς συνεμάχουν. τοῦ γοῦν δημάρχου, τοῦ τὴν γῆν τοῖς τῷ Πομπηίῳ συνεξητασμένοις κατανεῖμαι ἐσηγουμένου, προσγράψαντος τῇ γνώμῃ τὸ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς πολίταις, ὅπως τοῦτο τε αὐτὸ ῥᾶον ψηφίσωνται καὶ τὰ πραχθέντα αὐτῷ βεβαιώσωσι, κλήρους τινὰς δοθῆναι, ἐπὶ πᾶν ὁ Μέτελλος ἀνθιστάμενος ἐπεξῆλθεν, ὥστε [p. 178] καὶ ἐς τὸ οἴκημα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐμβληθῆναι καὶ τὴν [2] γερουσίαν ἐνταῦθα ἀθροῖσαι ἐθελῆσαι. ἐπεὶ τε ἐκεῖνος Λούκιος δὲ δὴ Φλαουίος ὠνομάζετο τὸ τε βάθρον τὸ δημαρχικὸν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐσόδῳ αὐτοῦ ἔθηκε, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ καθεζόμενος ἐμποδῶν ὥστε μηδὲν ἐσιέναι ἐγίγνετο, τὸν τε τοῖχον τοῦ δεσμοτηρίου διακοπῆναι ἐκέλευσεν ὅπως δι' αὐτοῦ ἡ βουλὴ ἐσέλθῃ, καὶ ὡς νυκτερεύσων κατὰ χώραν [3] παρεσκευάζετο. μαθὼν οὖν τοῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος, καὶ αἰσχυνθεὶς τε ἅμα καὶ δέσας μὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀγανακτήσῃ, προσέταξε τῷ Φλαουίῳ ἀπαναστῆναι. ἔλεγε μὲν γὰρ ὡς τοῦ Μετέλλου τοῦτ' ἀξιώσαντος, οὐ μὴν ἐπιστεύετο: τὸ γὰρ φρόνημα [4] αὐτοῦ κατὰδηλον πᾶσιν ἦν. ἀμέλει τῶν ἄλλων δημάρχων ἐξελεῖσθαι αὐτὸν βουλευθέντων οὐκ ἠθέλησεν. οὐκουν οὐδ' αὐθις ἀπειλήσαντι τῷ Φλαουίῳ μὴδὲ ἐς τὸ ἔθνος ὃ ἐπεκεκλήρωτο ἐπιτρέψειν αὐτῷ, εἰ μὴ συγχωρήσειεν οἱ διανομοθετῆσαι, ἐξελεῖν, ὑπεῖξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ ἄσμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει κατέμεινεν. [5] ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν διὰ τε τὸν Μέτελλον καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἄλλους διεπράξατο, ἔφη μὲν φθονεῖσθαι τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῷ πλήθει τοῦτο δηλώσειν, φοβηθεὶς δὲ μὴ καὶ ἐκείνου διαμαρτῶν μείζω αἰσχύνῃν ὄφλῃ, 110 κατέβαλε τὴν ἀξίωσιν. [6] καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω γνοὺς ὅτι μηδὲν ὄντως 111 ἴσχυεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ὄνομα καὶ τὸν

φθόνον ἐφ' 112 οἷς ἡδυνήθη ποτὲ εἶχεν, ἔργῳ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀπώνητο, μετεμέλετο ὅτι τὰ τε στρατόπεδα προαφῆκε 51. καὶ ἑαυτὸν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐξέδωκε: Κλώδιος δὲ ἐπεθύμησε [p. 180] μὲν διὰ ... τοὺς δυνατοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ δίκῃ δημαρχῆσαι, καὶ τινὰς τῶν δημαρχούντων προκαθῆκεν ἐσηγήσασθαι τὸ 113 καὶ τοῖς εὐπατρίδαις τῆς ἀρχῆς μεταδίδοσθαι, ὥς δ' οὐκ ἔπεισε, τὴν τε εὐγένειαν ἐξωμόσατο καὶ πρὸς τὰ τοῦ πλήθους δικαιώματα, ἐς αὐτὸν σφῶν τὸν σύλλογον ἐσελθὼν, [2] μετέστη. καὶ ἦτησε μὲν εὐθύς τὴν δημαρχίαν, οὐκ ἀπεδείχθη δὲ ἐναντιωθέντος οἱ τοῦ Μετέλλου: ἐν γένει τε γὰρ αὐτῷ ἦν, καὶ τοῖς πραττομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἡρέσκετο. πρόφασιν δὲ ἐποίησατο ὅτι μὴ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἢ ἐκποίησις αὐτοῦ ἐγεγόνει: ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἐσφορᾷ τοῦ φρατριατικοῦ νόμου μόνως ἐξῆν τοῦτο γίνεσθαι. [3] ταῦτά τε οὖν οὕτως ἐπράχθη, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὰ τέλη δεινῶς τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν ἐλύπει, ὁ μὲν νόμος ὁ καταλύσας αὐτὰ πᾶσιν ἀρεστὸς ἐγένετο, τῷ δὲ στρατηγῷ τῷ ἐσπενεγκόντι αὐτὸν ἀχθόμενοι οἱ βουλευταὶ ὁ γὰρ Μέτελλος ὁ Νέπως ἦν' ἡθέλησαν τὸ τε ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἀπαλεῖψαι ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ ἕτερον ἀντεγγράψαι. [4] καὶ οὐκ ἐπράχθη μὲν τοῦτο, καταφανὲς μέντοι πᾶσιν ἐγένετο ὅτι μὴδὲ τὰς εὐεργεσίας παρὰ τῶν φαύλων ἀνδρῶν ἡδέως ἐδέχοντο. κἂν τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ χρόνῳ Φαῦστος ὁ τοῦ Σύλλου παῖς ἀγῶνά τε μονομαχίας ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ ἐποίησε, καὶ τὸν δῆμον λαμπρῶς εἰσίσιασε, τὰ τε λουτρά καὶ τὸ 114 ἔλαιον προῖκα αὐτοῖς παρέσχε. 52. ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ πόλει ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ τῆς τε Λυσιτανίας μετὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἦρξε, καὶ δυνηθεὶς ἂν τὰ ληστικά, ἅπερ πού ἄει παρ' αὐτοῖς ἦν, ἄνευ μεγάλου τινὸς πόνου [p. 182] καθήρας 115 ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν, οὐκ ἡθέλησε: δόξης τε γὰρ ἐπιθυμῶν, καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ μέγα ποτὲ δυνηθέντας [2] ζηλῶν, οὐδὲν ὀλίγον ἐφρόνει, ἀλλ' ἥλπιζεν, ἂν τι τότε κατεργάσεται, ὑπατός τε εὐθύς αἰρεθῆσεσθαι καὶ ὑπερφυᾶ ἔργα ἀποδείξεσθαι, διὰ τε τᾶλλα καὶ ὅτι ἐν τοῖς Γαδείροις, ὅτε ἐταμίευε, τῇ μητρὶ συγγίγνεσθαι ὄναρ ἔδοξε, καὶ παρὰ τῶν μάντεων ἔμαθεν ὅτι ἐν μεγάλῃ δυνάμει ἔσται. ὅθεν περ καὶ εἰκόνα Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλέους ἀνακειμένην ἰδὼν ἀνεστέναξε, καὶ κατωδύρατο ὅτι μὴδὲν πῶ μέγα ἔργον ἐπεποιήκει. [3] Ἀπ' οὖν τούτων, ἐξὸν αὐτῷ εἰρνεῖν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τὸ Ἑρμίνιον ἐτράπετο καὶ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς οἰκήτορας αὐτοῦ ἐς τὰ πεδινὰ μεταστῆναι, πρόφασιν μὲν ὅπως μὴ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρυμνῶν ὀρμώμενοι ληστεύωσιν, ἔργῳ δὲ εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποτε αὐτὸ ποιήσειαν, κἂκ τούτου πολέμου τινὰ [4] ἀφορμὴν λήψεται. ὃ καὶ ἐγένετο. τούτους τε οὖν ἐς ὅπλα ἐλθόντας ὑπηγάγετο: καὶ ἐπειδὴ τῶν πλησιοχώρων τινές, δεῖσαντες μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς ὀρμήσῃ, τοὺς τε παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ τιμιώτατα ὑπὲρ τὸν Δώριον ὑπεξέθεντο, τὰς πόλεις σφῶν ἐν ᾧ τοῦτ' ἔπραττον προκατέσχε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐκείνοις προσέμιξε. [5] προβαλλομένων τε τὰς ἀγέλας αὐτῶν, ὅπως σκεδασθεῖσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς τὴν τῶν βοσκημάτων ἀρπαγὴν ἐπιθῶνται, τὰ τετράποδα 116 53. παρῆκε καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπολαβὼν ἐνίκησε. κἂν τούτῳ [p. 184] μαθὼν τοὺς τὸ Ἑρμίνιον οἰκοῦντας ἀφεστηκέναι τε καὶ ἐπανιόντα αὐτὸν ἐνεδρεῦειν μέλλειν, τότε μὲν ἑτέραν ἀνεχώρησεν, αὐθις δὲ ἐπεστράτευσέ σφισιν, καὶ κρατήσας πρὸς τὸν

ὤκεανόν φεύγοντας^[2] αὐτοὺς κατεδίωξεν. ἔπειδ᾽ ἡ τε τὴν ἡπειρον ἐκλιπόντες ἐς νῆσόν τινα ἐπεραιώθησαν, αὐτὸς μὲν ὁ 117 γάρ που πλοίων εὐπὸρεί κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινε, σχεδίας δὲ συμπήξας μέρος τι τοῦ στρατοῦ δι' αὐτῶν ἔπεμψε, καὶ συχνοὺς ἀπέβαλε: χηλῇ 118 γάρ τινι πρὸς τῇ νήσῳ οὖση προσσχὼν 119 ὁ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν σφῶν ἔχων, καὶ ὡς 120 καὶ πεζῇ διαβαδίσοντας αὐτοὺς ἐκβιβάσας, ἔπειτα αὐτὸς τε ὑπὸ 121 τῆς ἀναρροίας ἐκβιασθεὶς ἐξανήχθη καὶ ἐκείνους^[3] ἐγκατέλιπε, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι γενναίως ἀμυνόμενοι ἔπεσον, Πούπλιος δὲ δὴ Σκαίουιος μόνος τε περιλειφθεὶς καὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος στερηθεὶς πολλὰ τε τραυματισθεὶς ἔς τε τὸ ὕδωρ ἐσεπήδησε^[4] καὶ διενήξατο. τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐγένετο: ὕστερον δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ πλοῖα ἀπὸ Γαδεΐρων μεταπεμφάμενος ἐς τὴν νῆσον παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπεραιώθη, καὶ ἀκονιτὶ αὐτοὺς, κακῶς ὑπὸ σιτοδείας ἔχοντας, παρεστήσατο. κάντεϋθεν ἐς Βριγάντιον πόλιν Καλλαικίας παραπλεύσας τῷ τε ῥοθίῳ 122 σφᾶς τοῦ πρόσπλου, οὐπῶποτε ναυτικὸν ἐορακότας, ἐξεφόβησε καὶ κατεστρέψατο. 54. πράξας δὲ ταῦτα καὶ νομίσας ἱκανὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπιβασίαν 123 πρὸς τὴν ὑπατείαν εἰληφέναι σπουδῇ πρὸς τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας, καὶ πρὶν τὸν διάδοχον ἔλθειν, ὥρμησε, καὶ ἡξίου καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πέμψαι τὰ^[p. 186] ἐπινίκια, ἔπειδ᾽ ἡ μὴ οἷα τε προδιορτασθῆναι ἦν,^[2] αἰτῆσαι αὐτήν. μὴ τυχὼν δέ, τοῦ Κάτωνος ὅτι μάλιστα ἐναντιωθέντος, ἐκεῖνα μὲν εἶασε: καὶ γὰρ ἥλπιζε πολὺ πλείω καὶ μεῖζω ὕπατος ἀποδειχθεὶς καὶ ἔργα πράξειν καὶ ἐπινίκια πέμψειν. πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς εἰρημένοις, ἐφ' οἷς μέγα αἰέποτε ἐφρόνει, ἵππος τις αὐτῷ διαφυγὰς ἐν ταῖς τῶν προσθίων ποδῶν ὀπλαῖς 124 ἔχων ἐγεννήθη, καὶ ἐκεῖνον μὲν γαυρούμενος ἔφερεν, ἄλλον δὲ ἀναβάτην οὐδένα^[3] ἀνεδέχετο. ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου μικρὸν οὐδὲν προσδοκῶν τὰ μὲν νικητήρια ἐκὼν ἀφῆκεν, ἐς δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθὼν καὶ ἐπαγγεिलाμένος τὴν ἀρχὴν οὕτω τοὺς τε ἄλλους καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον τὸν τε Κράσσον ἐξεθεράπευσεν, ὥστε δι' ἔχθρας ἀλλήλοις ἔτι καὶ τότε αὐτοὺς ὄντας καὶ τὰς ἐταιρείας ἔχοντας, καὶ πρὸς πάνθ' ὅσα ὁ ἕτερος τὸν ἕτερον ἐθέλοντα αἰσθοίτο ἀντιστασιάζοντας, προσποιήσασθαι, καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων αὐτῶν ὁμοθυμαδὸν^[4] ἀποδειχθῆναι. καίτοι τοῦτο τὴν σοφίαν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα αὐτοῦ τεκμηριοῖ, ὅτι τὸν τε καιρὸν καὶ τὸ μέτρον τῆς θεραπείας αὐτῶν καὶ ἔγνω καὶ διέθετο οὕτως ὥστ' ἀμφοτέρους ἅμα καίπερ 125 ἀντιπράττοντάς σφισι προσθέσθαι. 55. καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτ' αὐτῷ ἀπέχρησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους συνήλλαξεν, οὐχ ὅτι συνενεχθῆναι σφας ἠθελεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι δυνατωτάτους τε ἑώρα ὄντας, καὶ εὖ ἡπίστατο ὅτι οὔτε χωρὶς τῆς παρ' ἐκείνων ἀμφοτέρων ἢ καὶ θατέρου βοηθείας μέγα τι ἰσχύσει, 126 κἂν τὸν ἕτερον ὅποτερονοῦν αὐτῶν προσεταιρίσῃται, ἀνταγωνιστὴν τε διὰ τοῦτο τὸν^[p. 188] ἕτερον ἔξει καὶ πλέον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σφαλῆσεται ἢ^[2] ὑπὸ τοῦ συναιρομένου οἱ κατεργάσεται. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ προθυμότερον ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄνθρωποι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀντιπράττειν ἢ συναγωνίζεσθαι τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύουσιν, οὐ κατ' ἐκεῖνο μόνον ὅτι ἢ τε ὀργὴ καὶ τὸ μῖσος σφοδρότερας τὰς σπουδὰς πάσης φιλίας ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι ὁ μὲν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ ὁ δὲ ὑπὲρ ἑτέρου πράττων τὴν τε ἡδονὴν κατορθώσας καὶ τὴν λύπην σφαλὲς οὐχ ὁμοίας^[3] ἔχουσιν: τοῦτο δὲ προχειρότερον ἐμποδίζειν τέ τινας καὶ κωλύειν

μηδεμίαν αὐξήσιν λαβεῖν ἢ ἐπὶ μέγα προάγειν ἐθέλειν, διὰ τε τᾶλλα καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι ὁ μὲν οὐκ ἔων τινα αὐξηθῆναι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἅμα καὶ ἑαυτῷ χαρίζεται, ὁ δὲ ἐξαιρῶν τινὰ ἐπαχθῇ αὐτὸν ἀμφοτέροις σφίσι ποιεῖ. 56. τούτων δὴ οὖν ἔνεκα καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τότε τε 127 αὐτοὺς ὑπῆλθε καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀλλήλοις κατήλλαξεν. οὔτε γὰρ διχα τούτων δυνήσεσθαι τι αἰεὶ καὶ οὐκ ἂν θατέρῳ ποτὲ αὐτῶν προσκροῦσαι ἐνόμιζεν, οὔτ' αὖ ἐφοβήθη μὴ καὶ συμφρονήσαντες κρείττους αὐτοῦ 128 γένωνται: πάνυ γὰρ εὖ ἠπίστατο ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἄλλων εὐθὺς διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων φιλίας, αὐτῶν δ' οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον δι' ἀλλήλων κρατήσοι. [2] καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως. 129 καὶ γὰρ ὁ Πομπήιος ὁ τε Κράσσος ὡς ἀπ' οἰκείας καὶ αὐτοὶ αἰτίας πρὸς τε ἀλλήλους, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ὥρμησαν, κατελύσαντο καὶ ἐκείνον ἐς τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν πραγμάτων [3] προσέλαβον. Πομπήιος 130 μὲν γὰρ οὔτ' αὐτὸς [p. 190] ὅσον 131 ἥλπισεν ἰσχύων, καὶ τὸν Κράσσον ἐν δυνάμει ὄντα τὸν τε Καίσαρα αὐξανόμενον ὁρῶν, καὶ ἔδεισε μὴ παντάπασιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν καταλυθῆ, καὶ ἐπῆλπισε, προσκοινωνήσας σφίσι τῶν παρόντων, τὴν ἀρχαίαν δι' αὐτῶν ἐξουσίαν ἀναλήψεσθαι: [4] Κράσσος δὲ ἡξίου τε πάντων ἀπὸ τε τοῦ γένους καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοῦτου περιεῖναι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τοῦ τε Πομπηίου παρὰ πολὺ ἡλαττοῦτο καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπὶ μέγα ἀρθῆσεσθαι ἐνόμιζεν, ἐς ἀντίπαλον αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις καταστῆσαι ἠθέλησεν, ὅπως μηδέτερός 132 σφων ὑπέρσχη, προσδοκήσας ἐκείνους τε ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἰσοκρατεῖς ἔσεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τούτῳ τὴν τε ἐκατέρου φιλίαν ἐκκαρπώσεσθαι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρους τιμηθῆσεσθαι. [5] ἀκριβῶς μὲν γὰρ οὔτε τὰ τοῦ πλήθους οὔτε τὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπολίτευεν, τῆς δὲ ἰδίας αὐτοῦ δυναστείας ἔνεκα πάντ' ἔπραττε, καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' ὑπῆρχετο τε ἀμφοτέρους σφᾶς ὁμοίως καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἐκατέρους ἔχθραν ἐξέκλινεν, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐν τῷ μέρει κεχαρισμένα ἀμφοῖν σπουδάζων ἐφ' ὅσον ἡμελλε τοῦ μὲν καταθυμίου παντὸς ἐκατέροις αἰτιαθῆσεσθαι, τῶν δὲ δυσχερεστέρων 133 μὴ μεταλήψεσθαι. 57. οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ διὰ ταῦτα οἱ τρεῖς τὴν τε φιλίαν συνέθεντο, καὶ ὄρκους αὐτὴν πιστωσάμενοι τὰ τε κοινὰ δι' ἑαυτῶν ἐποίησαντο, κάκ τούτου καὶ ἀντεδιδούσαν σφίσι καὶ ἀντελάμβανον παρ' ἀλλήλων ὅσα ἔν τε ἐπιθυμία εἶχον καὶ πρὸς τὰ [2] παρόντα ἡρμοττεν αὐτοῖς πράττεσθαι. 134 συμ- [p. 192] φρονησάντων δὲ ἐκείνων καὶ τὰ ἐταιρικά σφων ὠμολόγησαν, καὶ ἐποιοῦν καὶ οὗτοι μετὰ ἀδείας ὅσα ἠθέλον, ἡγεμόσι πρὸς πάντα αὐτοῖς χρώμενοι, ὥστε τὸ σωφρονοῦν ὀλίγον ἐν τε τῷ Κάτωνι, καὶ εἰ δὴ τις ἄλλος τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτῷ φρονεῖν δοκεῖν [3] ἐβούλετο, 135 καταλειφθῆναι. καθαρῶς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄνευ τινὸς ἰδίας πλεονεξίας οὐδεὶς τῶν τότε τὰ κοινὰ πλὴν τοῦ Κάτωνος ἔπραττεν: αἰσχυνόμενοι δὲ τινες τοῖς δρωμένοις, καὶ ἕτεροι καὶ ζηλοῦν αὐτὸν ἐφιέμενοι, προσήπτοντο μὲν πῃ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τι τῶν ὁμοίων οἱ διεδείκνυντο, οὐ μὴν καὶ διαρκεῖς, 136 ἅτε ἐξ ἐπιτηδεύσεως ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς ἐμφύτου ὁρμώμενοι, ἦσαν. 58. ἐς τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τότε τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πράγματα οἱ ἄνδρες ἐκείνοι προήγαγον, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὅσον τὴν συνωμοσίαν σφῶν ἀποκρυψάμενοι. ἐποιοῦν μὲν γὰρ ὅσα ἐδέδοκτο σφίσι, ἐσχηματίζοντο δὲ καὶ προεβάλλοντο τὰ ἐναντιώτατα, ὅπως ἔτ' ἐπὶ μακρότατον διαλάθωσι, μέχρις ἂν ἱκανῶς παρασκευάσωνται. [2] οὐ μέντοι

καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον τὰ πραπτόμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἡγνόμε, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ τοῖς τι
συνεῖναι τῶν τοιούτων δυναμένοις εὐθύς τότε πάντα τὰ ἔπειτα ἀπ' αὐτῶν
ἐσόμενα ἐξέφηνε: χειμῶν τε γὰρ τοιοῦτος ἐξαίφνης τὴν τε πόλιν ^[3] ὅλην καὶ
τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν κατέσχευ ὥστε πάμπολλα μὲν δένδρα πρόρριζα
ἀνατραπῆναι, πολλὰς δὲ οἰκίας καταρραγῆναι, τὰ τε πλοῖα τὰ ἐν τῷ Τιβέριδι
καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄστρ 137 καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐκβολὰς αὐτοῦ ναυλοχοῦντα
βαπτισθῆναι, καὶ τὴν γέφυραν ^{[p. 194] [4]} τὴν ξυλίνην διαφθαρεῖν, καὶ τι καὶ
θέατρον πρὸς πανήγυριν τινα ἐκ θυρῶν 138 ὠκοδομημένον ἀνετράπη, καὶ
ἄνθρωποι παρὰ πάντα ταῦτα παμπληθεῖς ἀπώλοντο. ἐκεῖνα μὲν δὴ οὖν
καθάπερ εἰκὼν τῶν μελλόντων σφίσι καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι
συμβῆσεσθαι προεδείχθη.

τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τριακοστῷ ὁγδόῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν α. ὡς ἐστασίασαν Καῖσαρ καὶ Βίβουλος. β. ὡς Κικέρων ἔφυγεν. γ. ὡς Κικέρωνα ἐπὶ τῇ φυγῇ Φιλίσκος παρεμυθήσατο. δ. ὡς Καῖσαρ Ἑλουητίους καὶ Ἀριοουίστω ἐπολέμησεν. χρόνου πλήθος ἔτι δύο, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἶδε ἐγένοντο Γ. Ἰούλιος Γ. υἱ. Καῖσαρ Μ. Καλπούρνιος Γ. υἱ. Βίβουλος ὑπ. λ. Καλπούρνιος λ. υἱ. Πίσων Αὐλ. Γαβίνιος Αὐλ. υἱ. ὑπ.

1. τῷ δὲ ἐξῆς ἔτει ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸ σὺμπαν θεραπεῦσαι πλήθος ἠθέλησεν, ὅπως σφᾶς ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον σφετερισθῇ. βουλευθεὶς δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν δυνατῶν δοκεῖν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ δι' ἀπεχθείας αὐτῷ ᾧσι, πράττειν, εἰπέ σφισι πολλάκις ὅτι οὔτε ^[2] γράφοι τι ὃ μὴ καὶ ἐκείνοις συνοίσει· καὶ δὴ γνώμην τινὰ περὶ τῆς χώρας, ἣν παντὶ τῷ ὁμίλῳ κατένειμεν, οὕτω συνέγραψεν ὥστε μὴδὲ μικρόν τι αὐτῆς αἰτιαθῆναι· καὶ οὐδὲ ταύτην μέντοι ἐσοίσειν, εἰ μὴ βουλομένοις σφισιν εἶη, ἐπλάττετο. τοῦ μὲν δὴ οὖν νόμου ἕνεκα οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ οὐδὲν ἐπικαλέσαι ἐδύνατο· τὸ τε γὰρ πλήθος τῶν ^[3] πολιτῶν ὑπέρογκον ὄν, ἀφ' οὐπὲρ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ^[p. 198] ἐστασίαζον, πρὸς τε τὰ ἔργα καὶ πρὸς γεωργίας ἐτρέπετο, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς Ἰταλίας ἡρημωμένα αὐθις συνωκίζετο, ὥστε μὴ μόνον τοὺς ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις τεταλαιπωρημένους ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας διαρκῆ τὴν τροφήν ἔχειν μήτε τῆς πόλεως οἰκοθέν τι δαπανωμένης μήτε τῶν δυνατῶν ζημιουμένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμὴν καὶ ^[4] ἀρχὴν πολλῶν προσλαμβανόντων. τὴν δὲ χώραν τὴν τε κοινὴν ἅπασαν πλὴν τῆς Καμπανίδος ἔνεμε· ταύτην γὰρ ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ ἐξαίρετον διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν συνεβούλευσεν εἶναι, καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν οὔτε παρὰ ἄκοντός τινος οὐτ' αὖ ὅσου ἂν οἱ γεωνόμοι βουλευθῶσιν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν παρ' ἐκόντων, ἔπειτα δὲ τοσοῦτου ὅσου ἐν ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς ^[5] ἐτετίμητο, ἀγορασθῆναι ἐκέλευσε. χρήματά τε γὰρ πολλὰ ἀπὸ τε τῆς λείας ἣν ὁ Πομπήιος εἰλήφει καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν φόρων τῶν τε τελῶν τῶν προσκαταστάντων περιεῖναι σφισιν ἔλεγε, καὶ χρῆναι αὐτά, ἅτε καὶ τοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν κινδύνοις πεπορισμένα, ἐς αὐτοὺς ^[6] ἐκείνους ἀναλωθῆναι. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τοὺς γεωνόμους οὐτ' ὀλίγους, ὥστε καὶ δυναστεία τινὶ ἐοικέναι, οὐτ' ἐξ ὑπευθύνων, ὥστε τινὰ δυσχερᾶναι, καθίστη, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ συχνοῦς τῆς τιμῆς μετασχεῖν εἴκοσιν, ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς ^[7] ἐπιτηδαιοτάτους, πλὴν ἑαυτοῦ. πάνυ γὰρ τι τοῦτο προδιωμολογήσατο, ὅπως μὴ δι' ἑαυτὸν τι γράφειν νομισθῇ· αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ τῇ τε εὐρήσει ^[p. 200] καὶ τῇ ἐσηγήσει τοῦ πράγματος ἠρκεῖτο, ὥς γε ἔλεγε, τῷ δὲ δὴ Πομπηίῳ καὶ τῷ Κράσσῳ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις φανερώς ἐχαρίζετο. 2. > ἕνεκα μὲν οὖν τῶν γραφέντων ἀναίτιος ἦν, ὥστε μὴδὲ διᾶραι τὸ στόμα ὑπεναντίον οἱ μηδένα τολμῆσαι· καὶ γὰρ προανέγνω αὐτὰ ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, καὶ ὀνομαστὶ ἓνα ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἀνακαλῶν ἐπηρώτησε μὴ τί τις αἰτιᾶται, μεταγράψειν ἢ καὶ παντελῶς ἀπαλείψειν, εἰ γέ τω μὴ ἀρέσειέ τι, ^[2] ὑποσχόμενος. τὸ δὲ δὴ σὺμπαν καὶ πάνυ πάντες οἱ δυνατοὶ οἱ γε ἔξω τῆς συνωμοσίας ὄντες ἐδυσχέραινον. καὶ αὐτὸ γε τοῦτο αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα

ἐλύπει, ὅτι τοιαῦτα συγγεγραφῶς ἦν ὥστε μήτε τινὰ αἰτίαν δύνασθαι λαβεῖν καὶ ^[3] πάντας σφᾶς βαρύνειν: ὑπώπτευν γὰρ αὐτόν, ἐφ' ᾧπερ που καὶ ἐγίγνετο, τὸ τε πλῆθος ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀναρτήσεσθαι καὶ ὄνομα καὶ ἰσχὺν καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἔξειν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, εἰ καὶ μηδεὶς οἱ ἀντέλεγεν, ἀλλ' οὐτι γέ καὶ συνεπῆγουν. τοῖς μὲν δὴ οὖν ἄλλοις ἐξήρκει τοῦτο, καὶ ἐπηγγέλλοντο μὲν αἰεὶ αὐτῷ προβουλεύσειν, ἐποιοῦν δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ διατριβαὶ καὶ ἀναβολαὶ τὴν 3. ἄλλως ἐγίγνοντο: ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάτων ὁ Μάρκος ἦν δὲ ἄλλως μὲν ἐπεικῆς καὶ οὐδενὶ νεοχμῶ ἀρεσκόμενος, οὐ μὴν καὶ ῥώμην τινὰ οὔτε ἐκ φύσεως οὔτε ἐκ παιδείας ἔχων' τοῖς μὲν γεγραμμένοις οὐδέν οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἐπεκάλει, τὸ δ' ὅλον ἡξίου τῇ τε παρούσῃ σφᾶς καταστάσει χρῆσθαι καὶ μηδὲν ἔξω αὐτῆς ^[2] ποιεῖν. καὶ ἐμέλλησε μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Καῖσαρ ^[p. 202] ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον τὸν Κάτωνα ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐξελκύσας ἐμβαλεῖν: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνός τε ἐτοιμότατα ἑαυτὸν ἀπάγεσθαι ἐπέδωκε, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ ὀλίγοι οἱ ἐφέσποντο, καὶ τις αὐτῶν Μάρκος Πετρέιος ἐπιτιμηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὅτι μηδέπω διαφειμένης τῆς βουλῆς ἀπαλλάττοιο, ἔφη ὅτι μετὰ Κάτωνος ἐν τῷ οἰκῆματι μᾶλλον ἢ μετὰ ^[3] σοῦ ἐνταῦθα εἶναι βούλομαι, κατηδέσθη, καὶ τὸν τε Κάτωνα ἀφῆκε καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν ἀπῆλλαξε, τοσοῦτον μόνον ὑπειπὼν ὅτι ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς καὶ δικαστὰς τοῦ νόμου καὶ κυρίους ἐποιησάμην, ὅπως, εἴ τι μὴ ἀρέσειεν ὑμᾶς, μηδ' ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐσενεχθεῖη: ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐθέετε προβουλεύσαι, ἐκείνος αὐτὸς αἰρήσεται. 4. κάκ τούτου οὐδ' ἄλλο τι τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ταύτῃ ἐπεκοινώνησεν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν δῆμον ^[2] ἄντικρυς πάνθ' ὅσα ἐβούλετο ἐσέφερεν. ἐθελήσας δ' οὖν καὶ ὡς ὁμογνώμονας τῶν πρώτων τινὰς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ λαβεῖν 'καὶ γὰρ ἡλπίζε μετεγνώκηναι τε αὐτοὺς καὶ πῃ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος φοβηθήσεσθαι ἥρξατο ἀπὸ τοῦ συνάρχοντος, καὶ ἐπύθετο αὐτοῦ ^[3] εἰ τὰ τοῦ νόμου μέμφοιτο. ἐπεὶ τ' ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο πλὴν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἀνάσχοιτο ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῇ νεωτερισθῆναι τι, αὐτὸς τε πρὸς ἱκετείαν αὐτοῦ ἐτράπετο καὶ τὸν ὁμίλον συνδεσθῆναι οἱ ἔπεισεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι ἔξετε τὸν νόμον ἂν οὗτος ἐθελήσῃ. ὁ οὖν Βιβουλὸς μέγα ἀναβοήσας 'οὐχ ἔξετε,' ἔφη, 'τὸν νόμον τοῦτον ἐν τῷ ἔτει τούτῳ, οὐδ' ἂν πάντες ἐθελήσητε.' ^[4] καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀπηλλάγη: ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὄντων ^[p. 204] οὐδένα ἔτι διήρετο, δεῖσας μὴ καὶ ἐκείνων τις ἐναντιωθῇ οἱ, τὸν δὲ δὴ Πομπήιον τὸν τε Κράσσον καίπερ ἰδιωτεύοντας παραγαγὼν ἐκέλευσε γνώμην ^[5] περὶ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἀποφήνασθαι, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἠπίστατο τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν 'σύμπαντα γὰρ κοινῇ ἔπραττον' ἀλλ' ἵνα αὐτοῖς τε ἐκείνοις τιμῇ, ὅτι καίτοι μηδεμίαν ἀρχὴν ἔχουσιν συμβούλοις περὶ τοῦ νόμου χρῶτο, προσθεῖη, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσκαταπλήξῃ, ὁμογνώμονας τοὺς πρώτους τε ὁμολογουμένως ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε ὄντας καὶ μέγιστον παρὰ πάντας δυναμένους ^[6] λαβὼν, τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο χαρίσαιο, τεκμηριῶν ὅτι μήτ' ἀτόπου μήτ' ἀδίκου τινὸς ὀρέγοιντο, ἀλλ' ὧν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ δοκιμασταὶ καὶ ἐπαινέται γίγνονται. 5. ὁ τε οὖν Πομπήιος μάλα ἀσμένως 'οὐκ ἐγώ,' ἔφη, 'μόνος, ᾧ Κυριῖται, τὰ γεγραμμένα δοκιμάζω, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη βουλή πᾶσα, δι' ὧν οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς μετ' ἐμοῦ ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς μετὰ τοῦ Μετέλλου συστρατευσαμένοις ποτὲ γῆν δοθῆναι

ἐψηφίσατο. [2] τότε μὲν οὖν 'οὐ γὰρ ἡὐπόρει τὸ δημόσιον' εἰκότως ἢ δόσις αὐτῆς ἀνεβλήθη: ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ παρόντι 'παμπλοῦσιον γὰρ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γέγονέ προσήκει καὶ ἐκείνοις τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὴν ἐπικαρπίαν τῶν κοινῶν πόνων ἀποδοθῆναι.' [3] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπεξῆλθέ τε καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν γεγραμμένων, καὶ πάντα αὐτὰ ἐπῆνεσεν, ὥστε τὸν ὄμιλον ἰσχυρῶς ἡσθῆναι. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ ἰδὼν τοῦτο ἐκείνόν τε ἐπῆρετο εἰ βοηθήσοι οἱ προθύμως ἐπὶ τοὺς τάναντία σφίσι πράττοντας, καὶ τῷ πλήθει παρήνεσε προσδεθῆναι πρὸς τοῦτο [4] αὐτοῦ. γενομένου δὲ τούτου ἐπαρθεῖς ὁ Πομπήιος, [p. 206] ὅτι τῆς παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐπικουρίας, καίπερ μηδεμίαν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντας, καὶ ὁ ὕπατος καὶ ὁ ὄμιλος ἔχρηζεν, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἀνατιμῶν τε καὶ ἀποσεμνύνων ἑαυτὸν διελέξατο, καὶ τέλος εἶπεν ὅτι, ἂν τις τολμήσῃ ξίφος ἀνελέσθαι, [5] καὶ ἐγὼ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀναλήψομαι. ταῦθ' οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου λεχθέντα καὶ Κράσσος ἐπῆνεσεν. ὥστ' εἰ καὶ τισι τῶν ἄλλων μὴ ἤρεσκεν, ... οἱ ἄλλως τε ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ νομιζόμενοι καὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐχθρῶς, ὥς γε καὶ ἐδόκουν σφίσιν, ἔχοντες 'οὐ γὰρ πῶ ἢ καταλλαγὴ αὐτῶν ἐκδηλος ἦν' συνήνουν οἷς ἐγεγράφει, πρόθυμοι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ νόμου κύρωσιν ἐγένοντο. 6. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὁ Βίβουλος ἐνεδίδου, ἀλλὰ τρεῖς δημάρχους συναγωνιστὰς προσθέμενος ἐκώλυσε τὸ νομοθέτημα, καὶ τέλος, ἐπειδὴ μηκέτ' αὐτῷ μηδεμία ἄλλη σκῆψις ἀναβολῆς ὑπελείπετο, ἱερομνηνίαν ἐς πάσας ὁμοίως τὰς λοιπὰς τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρας, ἐν αἷς οὐδ' ἐς ἐκκλησίαν ὁ δῆμος ἐκ τῶν [2] νόμων συνελθεῖν ἐδύνατο, προηγόρευσε. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ τε Καῖσαρ βραχὺ αὐτοῦ φροντίσας ῥητὴν τινα ἡμέραν προεῖπεν ἵν' ἐν αὐτῇ νομοθετήσῃ, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος νυκτὸς τὴν ἀγορὰν προκατέλαβεν, ἐπῆλθε μετὰ τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὸ Διοσκόρειον, ἀφ' οὗπερ ἐκεῖνος ἐδημηγόρει, διέπεσεν, τὰ μὲν αἰδοῖ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπεικόντων [3] οἱ, τὰ δὲ καὶ νομιζόντων αὐτὸν μὴ καὶ ἐναντιωθήσεσθαι σφίσιν, ὥς δὲ ἄνω τε ἐγένετο καὶ ἀντιλέγειν ἐπειρᾶτο, αὐτὸς τε κατὰ τῶν ἀναβασμῶν [p. 208] ἐώσθη καὶ αἱ ῥάβδοι αὐτοῦ συνετριβήσαν, πληγὰς τε καὶ τραύματα ἄλλοι τε καὶ οἱ δῆμαρχοι ἔλαβον. [4] καὶ ὁ μὲν νόμος οὕτως ἐκυρώθη, Βίβουλος δὲ τότε μὲν ἀγαπητῶς ἐσώθη, τῇ δ' ὕστεραια ἐπέiraσε μὲν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ αὐτὸν λῦσαι, ἐπέρανε δ' οὐδέν: τῇ γὰρ τοῦ πλήθους σπουδῇ δεδουλωμένοι [5] πάντες ἡσύχαζον. ἀνεχώρησέ τε οὖν οἴκαδε, καὶ οὐκέτι τὸ παράπαν ἐς τὸ κοινὸν μέχρι τῆς τελευταίας τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρας παρῆλθεν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ καταμένων ἀεὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, ὁσάκις γε ἐνεωτέριζε τι, ἐνετέλλετο διὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ὅτι ἱερομνηνία τε εἴη καὶ οὐδὲν ὁσίως ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἐν [6] αὐτῇ δύναιτο δρᾶσθαι. ἐπεχείρησε μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τούτοις Πούπλιος τις Οὐατίνιος δῆμαρχος ἐς τὸ οἶκημα καταθέσθαι, τῶν δὲ συναρχόντων οἱ ἐναντιωθέντων οὐκ ἐνέβαλεν, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνός τε οὕτω τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐξέστη καὶ οἱ δῆμαρχοι οἱ συνεξετασθέντες αὐτῷ οὐκέτ' οὐδὲν δημόσιον ἔπραξαν. 7. ὁ δ' οὖν Μέτελλος ὁ Κέλερ ὃ τε Κάτων, καὶ Μᾶρκός τις δι' αὐτὸν Φαουώνιος, ζηλωτῆς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα αὐτοῦ ὦν, τέως μὲν οὕτ' ὥμοσαν περὶ τοῦ νόμου 'τοῦτο γὰρ ἀρξάμενόν ποτε, ὥσπερ εἶπον, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀτόπων ἐγίγνετό καὶ ἀπισχυρίζοντο, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὁ Μέτελλος ἐς τὸν Νουμιδικὸν ἀναφέρων, μηδέποτε [2] αὐτὸν συνεπαινέσειν: ὥς μέντοι ...

ἡμέρα ἦ καὶ ἔμελλον τὰ τεταγμένα ἐπιτίμια ὀφλήσειν, [p. 210] ὤμοσαν, ἦτοι κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον, ὅψ' οὗ πολλοὶ ὑποσχοῦνται τέ τι καὶ ἀπειλοῦσι ῥᾶον ἢ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ ἐπεξίσιν, ἢ καὶ ὅτι μάτην ζημιωθήσεσθαι ἔμελλον, μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς ἰσχυρογνωμοσύνης [3] σφῶν τὸ κοινὸν ὠφελήσαντες. ὁ τε οὖν νόμος οὕτως ἐκυρώθη, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἡ τῶν Καμπανῶν γῆ τοῖς τρία τε πλείω τε ἔτι τέκνα ἔχουσιν ἐδόθη. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀποικὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡ Καπύη τότε πρῶτον ἐνομήσθη. [4] τὸ μὲν οὖν πλῆθος ἐκ τούτων ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀνηρτήσατο, τοὺς δ' ἱππέας τὸ τριτημόριον σφισι τῶν τελῶν ἃ ἐμεμίσθωντο ἀφείκε· πᾶσαι τε γὰρ αἱ τελωνίαι δι' αὐτῶν ἐγίνοντο, καὶ πολλάκις τῆς βουλῆς δεηθέντες ὅπως ἐκδικίας τινὸς τύχῳσιν οὐχ εὖροντο, ἄλλων τε καὶ τοῦ Κάτωνος [5] ἀντιπραξάντων. ὥς δ' οὖν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος μηδ' ἀντειπόντος τινὸς ὠκείωσατο, πρῶτον μὲν τὰ πραχθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου πάντα, μήτε τοῦ Λουκούλλου μήτ' ἄλλου τινὸς ἀντιστάντος, ἐβεβαίωσεν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ διενομοθέτησε [6] μηδενὸς ἐναντιουμένου. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ὁ Κάτων ἀντεῖπε τι, καίπερ ἐν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ, ἣν μετὰ ταῦτα οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἔσχε, μηδαμοῦ τῆς τῶν νόμων αὐτοῦ προσηγορίας, ὥς καὶ Ἰουλίῳ ἐπικαλουμένων, ἐπιμνησθεῖς· τὰ γὰρ δικαστήρια κατ' αὐτοὺς ἀποκληρῶν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῶν γελοιότατα ἀπεκρύπτετο. τούτους μὲν οὖν, ὅτι πάμπολλοι τέ εἰσι καὶ [p. 212] οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν τῇδε τῇ συγγραφῇ συμβάλλονται, 8. παραλείψω· Κύντος δὲ δὴ Φούφιος Καλῆνος ἀναμίξ πάντων τὰς ψήφους ἔν γε ταῖς φιλονεικίαις 'τά τε κρείττω πρὸς σφᾶς ὥς ἐκάστου τῶν γενῶν ἄγοντος καὶ τὰ ἀτοπώτερα ἐς ἑτέρους ἀπωθοῦντος' οὕσας εὐρών, ἐνομοθέτησε στρατηγῶν χωρὶς αὐτοὺς ὥς ἐκάστους ψηφίζεσθαι, 'ὦν εἰ μὴ καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα, τῷ κρύφα σφᾶς τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὰ γε ἔθνη αὐτῶν ἐκδηλα ὅπως φρονοῖ γίγνοιτο. [2] τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ἐσηγεῖτο καὶ συνεβούλευε καὶ διέταπτε πάντα καθάπαξ τὰν τῇ πόλει, ὥς καὶ μόνος αὐτῆς ἄρχων· ὅθεν περ χαριεντιζόμενοι τινες τὸ μὲν τοῦ Βιβούλου ὄνομα παντάπασιν ἀπεσιώπων, τὸν δὲ δὴ Καίσαρα δις καὶ ὠνόμαζον καὶ ἔγραφον, Γαῖόν τε Καίσαρα [3] καὶ Ἰούλιον Καίσαρα ὑπατεύειν λέγοντες· τὰ δὲ δὴ καθ' ἑαυτὸν δι' ἑτέρων διῆγε. τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ καὶ πάνν ἰσχυρῶς ἐφυλάξατο, μηδὲν αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ δοῦναι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ῥᾶον πάνθ' ὅσων ἐπεθύμει κατειργάσατο. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ οὐδενὸς προσδεῖσθαι ἔλεγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα τοῖς παροῦσιν [4] ἀρκεῖσθαι ἐσκήπτετο· ἕτεροι δέ, ὥς καὶ ἀναγκαίου καὶ χρησίμου τοῖς πράγμασιν αὐτοῦ ὄντος, καὶ ἐσηγῆσαντο ὅσα ἠθέλησε καὶ κυρωθῆναι ἐποίησαν, οὐκ ἐν τῷ πλήθει μόνον ἀλλὰ [5] καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ γερουσίᾳ. ὁ τε γὰρ ὁμιλος τοῦ τε Ἰλλυρικοῦ καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας τῆς ἐντὸς τῶν Ἀλπεων ἄρξει αὐτῷ μετὰ τριῶν στρατοπέδων [p. 214] ἐπὶ ἔτη πέντε ἔδωκε, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τὴν τε Γαλατίαν τὴν ἐπέκεινα τῶν ὁρῶν καὶ στρατόπεδον ἕτερον προσεπέτρεψε. 9. φοβηθεὶς δ' οὖν καὶ ὥς μή τι ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ, ἐπειδὴ ὁ Γαβίνιος ὁ Αὔλος ὑπατεύσειν ἔμελλε, νεωτερίσῃ, ἐκεῖνόν τε ἅμα καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ὑπατον Λούκιον Πίσωνα συγγενείας ἀνάγκῃ προσηταιρίσατο· τῷ μὲν γὰρ Πομπηίῳ τὴν θυγατέρα καίπερ ἄλλῳ τινὶ ἡγγυηκῶς συνώκισε, [2] καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν τοῦ Πίσωνος ἔγχε. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω πανταχόθεν ἐκρατύνθη, Κικέρων δὲ καὶ Λούκουλλος οὐκ

ἀρεσκόμενοι τούτοις ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν τε Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον διὰ Λουκίου τινὸς Οὐέττιου ἐπεχείρησαν μὲν, οὐκ ἡδυνήθησαν δέ, ἀλλ' ὀλίγου καὶ αὐτοὶ προσαπώλοντο. προμηνυθεὶς γὰρ ἐκεῖνος καὶ συλληφθεὶς πρὶν τι δρᾶσαι, ^[3] κατεῖπεν αὐτῶν: καὶ εἶγε μὴ καὶ τὸν Βίβουλον ὥς καὶ συνεπιβουλευόντά σφισιν ἐσηγγέλκει, πάντως ἂν τι δεινὸν ἐπεπόνθησαν: νῦν δέ, ὅτι τοῦτον τῷ Πομπήϊῳ τὸ πραττόμενον δηλώσαντα ἀμυνόμενος ἦπιατο, ὑπωπτεύθη μηδὲ ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀληθεύειν, ἀλλ' ἐκ κατασκευασμοῦ τινος πρὸς συκοφαντίαν τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν σφω^[4]ν παρεσκευάσθαι. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἄλλοι ἄλλα διεθρύλουν: οὐ γὰρ που καὶ διηλέγχθη τι, ἀλλὰ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ὁ Οὐέττιος ἐσαχθεὶς, καὶ μόνους οὕς εἶπον ὀνομάσας, ἔς τε τὸ οἴκημα ἐσέπεσε, κάνταυθα οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐδολοφονήθη: 10. Ὑποπτὸς τε οὖν ἐκ τούτων ὁ Κικέρων τῷ τε Καίσαρι καὶ τῷ Πομπήϊῳ γενόμενος ἐβεβαιώσατο τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἐν τῇ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἀπολογία. ^[p. 216] Οὗτος γὰρ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ δεινὰ καὶ τὸ ὑπήκοον τὸ ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ, ἄρξας αὐτῆς, καὶ τὸ ἐνσπονδον ^[2] εἰργάσατο, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀντέπαθε. τὰ τε γὰρ τῶν Δαρδάνων καὶ τὰ τῶν πλησιοχώρων σφίσι πορθήσας οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν ἐπιόντας αὐτοὺς ὑπομεῖναι, ἀλλ' ὥς καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων ὑποχωρήσας ἔφυγεν, καὶ οὕτω τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐκεῖνοι περισχόντες ἔκ τε τῆς χώρας βιαίως ἐξήλασαν ^[3] καὶ τὴν λείαν προσαφείλοντο. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ τοὺς συμμάχους τοὺς ἐν τῇ Μυσίᾳ ποιήσας ἡττήθη πρὸς τῇ τῶν Ἰστριανῶν πόλει πρὸς τῶν Σκυθῶν τῶν Βασταρνῶν, ἐπιβοηθησάντων αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀπέδρα. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις αἰτίαν ἔσχεν, ἀλλ' ἐγράφη μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Κατιλίνου συνωμοσίᾳ, ἐάλω δὲ δι' ἐκεῖνα, καὶ συνέβη αὐτῷ, ὦν μὲν ἐκρίνετο, μὴ ἐλεγχθῆναι, ὦν ^[4] δ' οὐκ ἠτιάζετο, κολασθῆναι. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἀπήλλαξεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κικέρων ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τότε, ἅτε καὶ συνάρξαντός οἱ, ὑπερδικῶν, πλείστην κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὥς καὶ αἰτίου τῆς δίκης αὐτῷ γεγεννημένου καταδρομὴν ἐποίησατο, καὶ τινα αὐτὸν καὶ προσελιοδόρησεν. 11. ὁ δ' ἦχθετο μὲν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, οὐ μὴν οὕτ' εἶπεν οὕτ' ἔπραξεν ὑβριστικὸν ἐς αὐτὸν οὐδέν, καίπερ ὑπατεύων. τοὺς γὰρ πολλοὺς ἔλεγε συχνὰ καὶ μάταια ἐξεπίτηδες ἐς τοὺς κρείττονάς σφω^[4]ν ἐς φιλονεικίαν αὐτοὺς ὑπάγοντας Ἴν' ἴσοι σφίσι καὶ ὅμοιοι, ἂν γέ τι ὁμοιοτρόπον ^[p. 218] ἀντακούσωσι, δόξωσιν εἶναι: καὶ οὐκ ἡξίου ἀντίπαλον ^[2] ἐκ τούτου οὐδένα ἑαυτῷ ποιεῖν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς τε ἄλλοις τοῖς τι προπηλακίζουσιν αὐτὸν οὕτω προσεφέρετο, καὶ τότε τὸν Κικέρωνα ὀρῶν οὐχ ἑαυτῷ τι τοσοῦτον λιοδορήσασθαι ἐθέλοντα ὅσον ἀντακοῦσαι τι τῶν ὁμοίων, ὥστε καὶ παρισωθῆναι οἱ, ἐπιθυμοῦντα, βραχὺ τε αὐτοῦ ἐφρόντισε καὶ οὐδὲν ὦν ἔλεγε προσεποιήσατο, ἀλλ' εἶα αὐτὸν ἀφθόνως, καθάπερ τισὶν ^[3] ἐπαίνοις ἑαυτοῦ, ταῖς λιοδορίαις χρῆσθαι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ παντάπασιν ὀλιγώρως αὐτοῦ ἔσχεν. ἐπεικεστέραν μὲν γὰρ ὄντως φύσιν εἰλήχει, καὶ οὐ πάνυ ῥαδίως ἐθυμοῦτο: συχνοὺς δ' οὖν, ἅτε καὶ ἐν τοσοῦτοις πράγμασιν, ἐδικαίου, οὐ μὴν ὥστε καὶ δι' ὀργῆς ἢ καὶ παραχρῆμα πάντως αὐτὸ ^[4] ποιεῖν. θυμῷ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν ἐχαρίζετο, τοῦ δὲ δὴ καιροῦ διεσκόπει, καὶ τοὺς γε πλείους οὐδὲ αἰσθανομένους μετῆει. οὐ γὰρ ὅπως δόξειεν ἀμύνεσθαι τινὰς ἔπρασεν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ὅτι ἀνεπιφθονώτατα πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ἑαυτῷ

πάντα διοικήσειε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀδήλως, καὶ ἐν οἷς [5] ἥκιστα ἂν τις προσεδόκησε, τὰς τιμωρίας ἐπῆγε, τῆς τε φήμης ἔνεκα, τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ὀργίλως ἔχειν, καὶ τοῦ μὴ τινα προαισθανόμενον προφυλάξασθαι ἢ καὶ προποιεῖσθαι τι δεινὸν αὐτόν, πρὶν παθεῖν, ἐπιχειρήσαι. οὐ γὰρ τῶν ἤδη γεγονότων μᾶλλον τι αὐτῷ ἔμελεν ἢ ἵνα τὰ μέλλοντα κωλυθεῖ. [6] καὶ τοῦτου πολλοῖς μὲν καὶ τῶν μεγάλα αὐτὸν λυπησάντων συνεγίνωσκεν ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ βραχὺ [p. 220] ἐπέξει, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔτι κακουργήσιν αὐτοὺς ἐπίστευε: πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον τοῦ καθήκοντος ἐς ἀσφάλειαν ἐτιμωρεῖτο, λέγων ὅτι τὸ μὲν ... οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἀγέννητον ... τῆς κολάσεως ὑπερβολῇ πάντως τι δεινὸν πείσεται. 12. ἐξ οὗν τούτων τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ τότε αὐτὸς μὲν τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἦγε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Κλώδιον ἀντιχαρίσασθαι τι αὐτῷ, ὅτι τῆς μοιχείας αὐτοῦ οὐ κατηγόρησε, βουλόμενον αἰσθόμενος παρεσκεύασε [2] κρύφα κατὰ τοῦ Κικέρωνος. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐς τὰ τοῦ πλήθους δικαιώματα αὐτίς αὐτόν, ὅπως νομίμως ἐκποιηθῇ, συμπράττοντος αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου μετέστησεν, ἔπειτα δὲ δῆμαρχον εὐθύς [3] ἀποδειχθῆναι διεπράξατο. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Κλώδιος ἐπεστόμισε μὲν καὶ τὸν Βίβουλον ἐσελθόντα τε ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ διανοοῦμενον μετὰ τῆς τοῦ ὄρκου πιστώσεως καὶ περὶ τῶν παρόντων δημηγορήσαι, ἐπέθετο δὲ καὶ τῷ [4] Κικέρωνι. καὶ ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἐδόκει οἱ ῥάδιον εἶναι ἄνδρα ἀάμπολυ ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ διὰ τὴν τῶν λόγων δεινότητα δυνάμενον καταλῦσαι, τρέπεται πρὸς οἰκείωσιν οὐχ ὅτι τοῦ πλήθους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τῆς τε βουλῆς, παρ' οἷσπερ που καὶ ὁ Κικέρων πλεῖστος ἐφέρετο, ἐλπίσας, ἂν τούτους σφετερισηται, ῥαδίως αὐτόν, ἅτε καὶ διὰ φόβον μᾶλλον ἢ δι' εὐνοίαν ἰσχύοντα, καθαιρήσειν. [5] παμπληθεῖς γὰρ ἐκ τῶν λόγων ἐλύπει, καὶ οὐκ ἐς τοσοῦτον οἷ τι ὠφελοῦμενοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὥκειοῦντο ἐς ὅσον οἱ βλαπτόμενοι ἡλλοτριοῦντο. πρὸς γὰρ τοι τῷ τοὺς πλείους τῶν ἀνθρώπων προχειρότερον ἐπὶ τοῖς δυσχερεστέροις ἀγανακτεῖν ἢ τῶν ἀμεινόνων χάριν ποῖν ἔχειν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν [p. 222] συναγορεύεσσι σφισιν ἀποδεδωκέναι τὸν μισθὸν νομίζειν, τοὺς δ' ἀντιδικήσαντας ἀμύνεσθαι τρόπον [6] τινὰ προαιρεῖσθαι, πικροτάτους ἐχθροὺς ἑαυτῷ ἐποiei περιεῖναι τε καὶ τῶν κρατίστων ἀεὶ ποτε ἐπιχειρῶν καὶ τῇ παρρησίᾳ πρὸς πάντας ὁμοίως ἀκράτῳ καὶ κατακορεῖ χρώμενος, ἅτε καὶ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ δύνασθαι συνεῖναι τε καὶ εἰπεῖν ἃ μηδεὶς ἄλλος, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ χρηστὸς εἶναι δοκεῖν, [7] θηρώμενος. ἔκ τε οὗν τούτου, καὶ διότι μέγιστόν τε ἀνθρώπων ἡὔχει καὶ οὐδένα ἐξ ἴσου ἑαυτῷ ἦγεν, ἀλλὰ ἔν τε τοῖς λόγοις ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν τῷ βίῳ πάντας τε ὑπερεφρόνει καὶ ἰσοδιαίτος οὐδενὶ ἡξίου εἶναι, φορτικός τε καὶ ἐπαχθῆς ἦν, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων οἷς ἤρεσκε, καὶ ἐφθονεῖτο καὶ ἐμισεῖτο. 13. ὁ οὖν Κλώδιος ἐλπίσας αὐτόν διὰ ταῦτα, ἂν τὴν τε βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας τὸν τε ὅμιλον προπαρασκευάσεται, ταχὺ κατεργάσεσθαι, τὸν τε σῆτον προῖκα εὐθύς διένειμε 'τὸ γὰρ μετρεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀπόροις, τοῦ τε Γαβινίου ἤδη καὶ τοῦ [2] Πίσωνος ὑπατευόντων, ἐσηγήσατό καὶ τὰ ἐταιρικά, κολληγία ἐπιχωρίως καλούμενα, ὄντα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχαίου, καταλυθέντα δὲ χρόνον τινά, ἀνενεώσατο: τοῖς τε τιμηταῖς ἀπηγόρευσε μὴτ' ἀπαλείφειν ἔκ τινος τέλους μὴτ' ἀτιμάζειν μηδένα, χωρὶς ἢ εἴ τις παρ' ἀμφοτέροις σφίσι κριθεὶς ἀλοίῃ. [3]

τούτοις οὖν αὐτοὺς δελεάσας καὶ ἕτερόν τινα νόμον ἔγραψε, περὶ οὗ διὰ πλείονων ἀναγκαῖον [p. 224] ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, ὅπως σαφέστερος τοῖς πολλοῖς γένηται. τῆς γὰρ μαντείας τῆς δημοσίας ἔκ τε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων τινῶν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ποιουμένης, τὸ μέγιστον κύρος ἢ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἶχεν, οὕτως ὥστε τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οἰωνίσματα πολλὰ καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην πρᾶξιν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἐσάπαξ [4] ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ γίνεσθαι. τοῦτό τε οὖν ἰδιώτατον ἐν αὐτῷ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἢ ἐπέτρεπε πραχθῆναι τινα, καὶ ἐγίνετο μηδενὸς ἔτι καθ' ἕκαστον οἰωνίσματος ἐπαγομένου, ἢ ἐκώλυε, καὶ ἀνεχειρίζετο τι, τὰς δὲ δὴ τοῦ δήμου διαψηφίσεις πάντως ἐπίσχευεν, καὶ ἦν πρὸς αὐτὰς αἰὲ διουσιμία, εἴτε ἐναίσιον εἴτε [5] ἐξαισίον ἐγένετο. καὶ τὸ μὲν αἴτιον τῆς νομίσεως ταύτης οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι, γράφω δὲ τὰ λεγόμενα. ἐπεὶ οὖν πολλοὶ ἐμποδίζουσιν ἢ νόμων ἐσφορὰς ἢ ἀρχόντων καταστάσεις ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐσαγομένας βουλόμενοι προεπηγγέλλον ὥς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην μαντευσόμενοι, ὥστε μηδεμίαν [6] ἐν αὐτῇ κύρωσιν τὸν δῆμον σχεῖν, φοβηθεὶς ὁ Κλώδιος μὴ γραψαμένου αὐτοῦ τὸν Κικέρωνα ἀναβολὴν τέ τινες ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτου καὶ τριβὴν τῇ δίκῃ ἐμποιήσωσιν, ἐσήνεγκε μηδὲνα τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐν αἷς ψηφισασθαι τι τὸν δῆμον ἀναγκαῖον εἶη, τὰ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ γιγνόμενα παρατηρεῖν. 14. τοιαῦτα μὲν τότε ἐπὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα συνέγραψε. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνος, συνεὶς τὸ γιγνόμενον, Λούκιον Νιννιον Κουαδρᾶτον δημαρχοῦντα ἐναντιωθῆναι πᾶσι σφισιν ἀντιπαρεσκεύασεν, ἔδεισε μὴ καὶ [p. 226] θόρυβος ἐκ τούτου καὶ διατριβὴ τις γένηται, καὶ [2] ὑπῆλθεν αὐτὸν ἀπατήσας. προδιομολογησάμενος γὰρ αὐτῷ μηδ' ὅτιοῦν, ἂν μηδὲν τῶν νομοθετουμένων ἐμποδίσῃ, κατ' αὐτοῦ γράψειν, ἔπειτα τὴν ἡσυχίαν καὶ ἐκείνου καὶ τοῦ Νιννίου ἄγοντος διενομοθέτησεν αὐτά, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῷ [3] Κικέρωνι ἐπεχείρησεν. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω, καίτοι φρονιμώτατος ἀξιῶν εἶναι, τότε ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλωδίου, εἴ γε ἐκεῖνον ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸν Καίσαρα τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς μετ' αὐτῶν συνεστηκότας δεῖ λέγειν, [4] ἠπατήθη: ὁ δὲ δὴ νόμος ὃν μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Κλώδιος ἐσήνεγκεν, ἄλλως μὲν οὐκ ἐδόκει ἐπ' αὐτῷ τίθεσθαι 'οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ εἶχεν ἀλλὰ κατὰ πάντων ἀπλῶς τῶν πολίτην τινὰ ἄνευ τῆς τοῦ δήμου καταγνώσεως ἀποκτενοῦντων ἢ καὶ ἀπεκτονότων ἐσήγετό, ἔργῳ δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὅτι [5] μάλιστα συνεγράφετο. ἔφερε μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν βουλήν, ὅτι τοῖς τε ὑπάτοις τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως, δι' ἧσπερ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα σφισι ποιεῖν ἐξὸν ἐγίνετο, προσετέταχαι, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ Λεντούλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων [6] τῶν τότε θανατωθέντων κατεψήφιστο: οὐ μέντοι ἀλλ' ὁ Κικέρων, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐσηγγέλκει περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐσήγετο αἰὲ καὶ ἐπεψηφίκει καὶ τέλος καὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν σφῶν διὰ γε τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπηρετούντων ἐπεποιήτο, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν μόνος ἢ [7] καὶ μάλιστα ἔσχε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰ τε ἄλλα ἰσχυρῶς αὐτῷ ἀντέπρασσε, καὶ τὴν βουλευτικὴν ἐσθῆτα ἀπορρίψας ἐν τῇ ἱππᾷδι περιενόστει, πάντας τε τοὺς τι δυναμένους, οὐχ ὅπως τῶν [p. 228] ἐπιτηδείων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν, καὶ μάλιστα τὸν τε Πομπήιον καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἅτε μηδὲ τὴν ἔχθραν αὐτοῦ προσποιούμενον, καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ὁμοίως περιῶν ἐθεράπευε. 15. καὶ ἐβούλοντο γὰρ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μήτε

τὸν Κλωδίων αὐτοὶ παρεσκευακέναι μήτε τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀρέσκεσθαι δοκεῖν, τοιάνδε τινὰ ἐπὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα ἀπάτην, σφίσι μὲν εὐπρεπῆ [2] ἐκείνῳ δὲ δὴ ἀφανῆ, προσεξεῦρον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Καῖσαρ ὑπέκειν αὐτῷ συνεβούλευε, μὴ καὶ κατὰ χώραν μείνας ἀπόληται· καὶ ἵνα γε καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπ' εὐνοίας τοῦτο ποιεῖν πιστευθῇ, ὑποστρατήγῳ οἱ χρῆσεσθαι ὑπισχνεῖτο, ὅπως μὴ μετ' ὀνειδους ὥς καὶ ὑπεύθυνος ὢν, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τε ἀρχῆς καὶ μετὰ [3] τιμῆς ἐκποδὼν δὴ τῷ Κλωδίῳ γένηται. ὁ δὲ δὴ Πομπήιος τοῦτου μὲν αὐτόν, τὸ τε πρᾶγμα ἀπόδρασιν ἄντικρυς ὀνομάζων, καὶ ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ὥστε καὶ κατ' ἔχθραν οὐκ ἐπιτηδεῖως οἱ συμβουλευόντα ὑποσημαίνων, ἀπέτρεπε, γνώμην δὲ ἐδίδου καταμεῖναι καὶ ἑαυτῷ τε ἅμα καὶ τῇ βουλῇ μετὰ παρρησίας βοηθῆσαι, τὸν τε Κλωδίων εὐθύς ἀμύνασθαι· [4] οὔτε γὰρ διαπράξασθαι τι αὐτόν παρόντος τε ἐκείνου καὶ ἐναντιουμένου δυνήσεσθαι ἔλεγε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ δίκην δώσειν καὶ ἑαυτοῦ τι πρὸς τοῦτο συμπράξαντος. τοιοῦτους αὐτῶν λόγους λεγόντων οὐχ ὅτι ἐναντία ἀλλήλοις ἐγίγνωσκον ἀλλ' ἵν' ἐκείνον ἀνυπόπτως ἀπατήσωσι, [5] τῷ Πομπηίῳ προσέθετο. οὔτε γὰρ προϋπώπτευνέ τι ἐς αὐτόν, καὶ ἐπίστευε πάντως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σωθήσεσθαι. τῶν τε γὰρ ἄλλων πολλοὶ καὶ ἡδοῦντο [p. 230] αὐτόν καὶ ἐτίμων ὥστε καὶ κινδυνεύοντας συχνοὺς τοὺς μὲν παρὰ τῶν δικαστῶν τοὺς δὲ καὶ παρ' [6] αὐτῶν τῶν κατηγορῶν ῥυόμενον· καὶ ὁ Κλωδῖος, ἅτε καὶ ἐν γένει ποτὲ αὐτῷ γενόμενος καὶ συστρατεύσας ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον, οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐ κατὰ γνώμην αὐτοῦ ἐδόκει ποιήσῃν. τὸν τε Γαβίνιον ἄντικρυς, ἅτε καὶ πάνυ φίλον αὐτῷ ὄντα, καὶ τὸν Πίσωνα ἀπὸ τε τῆς ἐπεικειας καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος συγγένειαν ὑπάρξῃν οἱ προσεδόκησε. 16. τούτοις τε οὖν τοῖς λογισμοῖς κρατήσῃν ἐλπίσας 'καὶ γὰρ ἐθάρσει παρὰ λόγον ὥσπερ ἀνεξετάστως ἐδεδείξαι, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἐκ πονηροῦ συνειδότος τὴν ἀποδημίαν πεποιῆσθαι δόξῃ, τῷ μὲν Καίσαρι χάριν δὴ τινα ἔχειν ἔλεγε, τῷ δὲ δὴ Πομπηίῳ ἐπέισθη. [2] καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἀπατηθεὶς παρεσκευάζετο ὥς καὶ πολὺ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑπεροίσων. πρὸς γὰρ δὴ τοῖς εἰρημένοις, οἳ τε ἱππῆς συνελθόντες ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον πρέσβεις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τε τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν, ἄλλους τέ τινας ἐκ [3] σφῶν καὶ βουλευτὰς τὸν τε Ὀρτήσιον τὸν Κύνιντον καὶ Γάιον Κουρίωνα, ἔπεμψαν· καὶ ὁ Νίνιος τὰ τε ἄλλα αὐτῷ συνήρετο, καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα τῷ πλήθει ὥς καὶ ἐπὶ τινι κοινῇ συμφορᾷ μεταβαλεῖν παρήνευσε. καὶ πολλοὶ τοῦτο καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐποίησαν, καὶ οὐ πρότερόν γε μετεβάλλοντο πρὶν τοὺς ὑπάτους σφίσι διὰ προγραφῆς ἐπιτιμῆσαι. [4] Ἄλλ' ἦν γὰρ τὰ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν αὐτοῦ [p. 232] δυνατώτερα, οὔτε ὁ Κλωδῖος χρηματίσασθαι τι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τῷ Νιννίῳ ἐπέτρεψεν, οὔτε Γαβίνιος τὴν πρόσοδον τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἔδωκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἓνα τινὰ αὐτῶν, ὥς πολὺς ἐνέκειτο, καὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξήλασε, τῷ τε Ὀρτησίῳ καὶ τῷ Κουρίωνι, ὅτι καὶ ἀθροισθεῖσι σφίσι συνεγένοντο [5] καὶ τὴν πρεσβείαν ὑπέστησαν, ἐπεκάλει. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Κλωδῖος ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἐσαγαγὼν πληγαῖς ἐπὶ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ διὰ τινων προπαρασκευασμένων συνέκοψε. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ τε Πίσων, καίπερ εὐνοϊκῶς τῷ Κικέρωνι δοκῶν ἔχειν, καὶ συμβουλευσας γε αὐτῷ, ὥς ἑώρα ἀδύνατον ὄν ἄλλως αὐτόν σωθῆναι, προὔπεξέχειν, ὅμως ἐπειδὴ διὰ [6] τοῦτο

ἐκεῖνος ὠργίσθη, παρήλθεν ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὅτε πρῶτον ἡδυνήθη τὰ γὰρ πολλὰ ἡρρώστει, καὶ πυθομένου τοῦ Κλωδίου τίνα γνώμην περὶ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἔχοι, εἶπεν ὅτι οὐδὲν μοι οὐτ' ὦμόν οὔτε σκυθρωπὸν ἔργον ἀρέσκει· καὶ ὁ Γαβίνιος ἐρωτηθεὶς τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὐχ ὅπως ἐκεῖνον ἐπήνεσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τῆς τε βουλῆς προσκατηγόρησεν. 17. ὁ μέντοι Καῖσαρ ἔξω γὰρ τοῦ τείχους ὁ Κλώδιος δι' αὐτόν, ἐπειδήπερ ἐξεστράτευτο, τὸν ὁμίλον συναγαγὼν καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐπγνώμονα τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐποιήσατό τὴν μὲν παρανομίαν τῶν περὶ τὸν Λέντουλον πραχθέντων κατεψηφίσατο, [2] τὴν μέντοι τιμωρίαν τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς γραφομένην οὐκ ἔδοκίμασεν· ὅσα μὲν γὰρ περὶ [p. 234] τῶν τότε γενομένων ἐφρόνησε, πάντας εἰδέναι ἔφη τὴν γὰρ σῶζουσάν σφας ψῆφον δεδωκώς ἦν, οὐ μὴν καὶ προσήκειν ἐπὶ τοῖς παρεληλυθόσι τοιοῦτόν [3] τίνα νόμον συγγράφεσθαι. Καῖσαρ μὲν ταῦτ' εἶπε, Κράσσος δὲ διὰ μὲν τοῦ υἱέος βοήθειάν τινα τῷ Κικέρωνι ἐνεδείκνυτο, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἔπρασσε. καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ὑπισχνεῖτο μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπικουρίαν, σκῆψεις δὲ τινὰς ἄλλοτε ἄλλας ποιούμενος καὶ ἀποδημίας συχνὰς ἐπιτήδες στελλόμενος οὐκ ἐπήμυνε. [4] ἰδὼν οὖν ταῦθ' ὁ Κικέρων καὶ φοβηθεὶς αὐθις ἐπεχείρησε μὲν ὅπλα ἄρασθαι τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον φανερώς προεπηλάκιζε, κωλυθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Κάτωνος καὶ τοῦ Ὀρτησίου, μὴ καὶ ἐμφύλιος ἐκ τούτου πόλεμος γένηται, τότε δὴ καὶ ἄκων μετὰ τε αἰσχύνῃ καὶ μετὰ κακοδοξίας, ὥς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ συνειδότες ἐθελοντῆς [5] πεφευγώς, μετέστη. πρὶν δὲ δὴ ἀφορμῆσαι, ἔς τε τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνέβη καὶ ἀγαλμάτιον τι Ἀθηνᾶς ἀνέθηκε, Φυλακίδα αὐτὴν ὀνομάσας. ὑπεξῆλθε δὲ ἐς Σικελίαν· προστάτης τε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐγεγόνει, καὶ ἐλπίδα πολλὴν ἔν τε τοῖς δήμοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἰδιώταις τῷ τε ἄρχοντι αὐτῶν εἶχε τιμηθῆσθαι. [6] φυγόντος δ' αὐτοῦ ὁ νόμος τὸ κῦρος, οὐχ ὅπως οὐκ ἐναντιωθέντος τινός, ἀλλὰ καὶ σπουδασάντων ἄλλων τε καὶ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων οἵπερ τὰ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀνὰ πρῶτους πράττειν ἐδόκουν, ἐπειδήπερ ἅπαξ ἐκποδὼν ἐγεγόνει, ἔλαβε· καὶ ἡ τε οὐσία αὐτοῦ ἐδημεύθη, καὶ ἡ οἰκία ὥσπερ τινὸς πολεμίου κατεσκάφη, τὸ τε ἔδαφος αὐτῆς ἐς νεῶν [7] ἐλευθερίας ἀνέθηκαν. αὐτῷ τε ἐκείνῳ ἢ τε φυγῇ [p. 236] ἐπετιμήθη καὶ ἡ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ διατριβὴ ἀπερρήθη· τρισχιλίους τε γὰρ καὶ ἑπτακοσίους καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίους ὑπὲρ τὴν Πώμην ὑπερωρίσθη, καὶ προσεπεκηρύχθη ἴν' εἰ δὴ ποτε ἐντὸς αὐτῶν φανείη, καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ὑποδεξάμενοι αὐτὸν ἀνατὶ διόλωνται. 18. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν διὰ τοῦτο μετέστη καὶ ἐκεῖ διέτριβεν ὀδυρόμενος· ἐντυχὼν δ' αὐτῷ Φιλίσκος τις ἀνὴρ ἐν τε ταῖς Ἀθήναις συγγεγονώς οἱ καὶ τότε κατὰ τύχην συντυχόν, 'οὐκ αἰσχυνῇ,' ἔφη, 'ὦ Κικέρων, θρηνῶν καὶ γυναικείως διακείμενος ; ὥς ἔγωγε οὐποτ' ἂν σε προσεδόκησα οὕτω μαλακισθῆσθαι, πολλῆς μὲν παιδείας καὶ παντοδαπῆς μετεσχηκότα, πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ συνηγορηκότα.' [2] καὶ ὅς ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν, 'ἀλλ' οὐδὲν τοι ὁμοίον ἐστίν, ὦ Φιλίσκε, ὑπὲρ ἄλλων τέ τινα λέγειν καὶ ἑαυτῷ συμβουλευεῖν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλοτρίων λεγόμενα, ἀπὸ ὀρθῆς καὶ ἀδιαφθόρου τῆς γνώμης προῖόντα, καιρὸν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα λαμβάνει· ὅταν δὲ δὴ πάθημά τι τὴν ψυχὴν καταλάβῃ, θολοῦται καὶ σκοτοῦται καὶ οὐδὲν δύναται καίριον ἐννοῆσαι. ὅθεν που πάνυ καλῶς

εἴρηται ὅτι ῥῆον παραινέσαι ἑτέροις ἔστιν ἢ αὐτὸν παθόντα καρτερῆσαι.’ [3]

‘λέγεις μὲν τι,’ ἔφη ὁ Φιλίσκος, ‘ἀνθρώπινον: οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἡξίου σε, τοσαύτῃ μὲν φρονήσει κεχρημένον τοσαύτην δὲ σοφίαν ἡσκηκότα, μὴ οὐ προπαρεσκευάσθαι πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, ἴν’ εἴ τι καὶ παράλογόν σοι προσπέσοι, μῆτι γε [p. 238] [4] καὶ ἄφρακτόν σε εὖροι. ἐπεὶ δ’ οὖν ἐν τούτῳ καθέστηκας, ... καὶ γὰρ ἂν τι ὠφελήσαιμι σε διαλεξάμενός τι τῶν προσφόρων, ἴν’ ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ φορτία συναιρόμενοί τισιν ἐπικουφίζουσιν αὐτούς, καὶ ἐγὼ σοι τὸ πάθος τοῦτο ἐπελαφρύναιμι, τοσοῦτῳ ῥῆον ἐκείνων ὅσῳ μὴδὲ [5] τὸ βραχύτατον αὐτοῦ μεταλήψομαι. οὐ γὰρ που καὶ ἀπαξιώσεις παραμυθίου τινὸς παρ’ ἑτέρου τυχεῖν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτάρκης ἑαυτῷ ἦσθα, οὐδὲν ἂν ἡμῖν τῶν λόγων τούτων ἔδει: νῦν δ’ ὅμοιον πέπονθας ὥσπερ εἰ Ἱπποκράτης ἢ Δημοκίδης ἢ καὶ ἄλλος τις τῶν πάνυ ἱατρῶν νοσήματι δυσιάτῳ περιπεσὼν ἀλλοτρίας χειρὸς πρὸς τὴν ἄκessin αὐτοῦ προσεδεθήη. 62’ 19.

‘Ἄλλ’ εἴ γέ τινα,’ ἔφη ὁ Κικέρων, ‘τοιοῦτον ἔχεις λόγον ὥστε τὴν ἀχλὺν μου ταύτην ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀφελεῖν καὶ ἐς τὸ ἀρχαῖόν με φῶς ἐπαναγαγεῖν, ἐτοιμότατός εἰμι ἀκούειν. ὥσπερ γὰρ τῶν φαρμάκων, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τῶν λόγων καὶ διαφοραὶ πολλαὶ καὶ δυνάμεις ποικίλαι εἰσίν, ὥστ’ οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν εἰ καὶ ἐμὲ τὸν λαμπρὸν ἐν τε τῇ γερούσιᾳ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῖς τε δικαστηρίοις σοφίᾳ τινὶ καταιονήσεις.’ [2]

‘φέρε οὖν,’ εἶπεν ὁ Φιλίσκος, ‘ἐπειδὴ περ ἀκούειν ἔτοιμος εἶ, σκεψώμεθα πρῶτον μὲν εἰ κακὰ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἔστι ταῦτα τὰ περιεστηκότα σε, ἔπειτα δὲ τίνα τρόπον αὐτὰ ἀκεσόμεθα. ἐγὼ τοίνυν πρῶτον μὲν ἀπάντων ὁρῶ σε ὑγιαίνοντα τῷ σώματι καὶ εὖ μάλα ἐρρωμένον, ὅπερ που πρῶτον κατὰ φύσιν ἀγαθὸν ἔστιν ἀνθρώποις, ἔπειτα δὲ τὰ [p. 240] [3] ἐπιτήδεια αὐτάρκη κεκτημένον, ὥστε μῆτε πεινῆν μῆτε διψῆν ἢ ῥίγοῦν ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι ἄτοπον ὑπ’ ἀπορίας ὑπομένειν, ὃ δὴ καὶ δεύτερον εἰκότως ἂν τις ἀγαθὸν ἀνθρώπῳ φύσει τιθεῖ. ὅταν γὰρ τινι ἢ τε τοῦ σώματος σύστασις εὖ ἔχῃ καὶ διαρκεῖν ἀφροντιστῶν δύνηται, πάντα τὰ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ἐπιβάλλοντα καρποῦται.’ 20. ὁ οὖν Κικέρων ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη, ‘ἄλλ’ οὐδὲν τῶν τοιούτων ὀφελὸς ἔστιν, ὅταν του τὴν ψυχὴν λυπῇ τι καὶ δάκνη: πολλῷ γὰρ πλεῖον αἰ ἐκείνης φροντίδες ταλαιπωροῦσί τινα ἢ αἰ τοῦ σώματος εὐπάθειαι τέρπουσιν. ὥσπερ καὶ ἐγὼ νῦν οὐδὲν οὔτε τῆς τοῦ σώματος ὑγείας προτιμῶ, νοσῶν γε τὴν γνώμην, οὔτε τῆς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων εὐπορίας: πολλῶν γὰρ ἀπεστέρημαι.’ [2] καὶ ὅς, ‘καὶ τοῦτό σε,’ ἔφη, ‘λυπεῖ; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐνδεήσεσθαι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἔμελλες, λόγον ἂν τίνα εἶχεν ἄχθεσθαι σε τοῖς ἀπολωλόσιν: εἰ δὲ ἔκπλεα σοι πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ὑπάρχει, τί ἀνιᾷ ὅτι μὴ καὶ πλείω κέκτησαι; πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ὑπὲρ τὴν χρεῖαν τινὶ ὄν περιττόν ἐστι, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ καὶ [3] παρὸν καὶ ἀπὸν καθέστηκεν, ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ πρότερον οὐδὲν δήπου τοῖς μὴ ἀναγκαίοις ἐχρῶ, ὥστε καὶ τότε μὴ εἶναι ὦν μὴ ἐχρηζες ἢ καὶ νῦν εἶναι ὦν μὴ δεῖν νόμιζε. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ πατρῷά σοι τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν γέγονεν, ὥστε σε σπουδῇν

ἰδιωτέραν περὶ αὐτὰ ποιεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ τε τῆς γλώττης καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων σου πεπόρισται, δι' οὓς καὶ ^[4] ἀπόλωλεν. οὐκ οὐκ ἀγανακτεῖν προσήκει εἰ καθά- ^[p. 242] περ ἐκτῆθη τινά, οὕτω καὶ ἀπεβλήθη. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' οἱ ναύκληροι πάνυ χαλεπῶς φέρουσι πολλὰ ζημιούμενοι: λογιζεσθαι γάρ, οἶμαι, φρονίμως ἐπίστανται ὅτι ἡ θάλαττα ἢ διδοῦσά σφισιν αὐτὰ καὶ ἀφαιρεῖται. 21.

καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἱκανά: ἀποχρῆν τε γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν τὸ τὰ ἀρκοῦντα κεκτῆσθαι καὶ μηδενὸς ὦν τὸ σῶμα χρήζει προσδεῖσθαι νομίζω, καὶ πᾶν τὸ περιττὸν καὶ φροντίδας ^[2] καὶ πράγματα καὶ φθόνους ἔχειν ἡγοῦμαι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔφησθα ὅτι οὐδεμία ἀπόλαυσις τῶν τοῦ σώματος ἀγαθῶν ἐστίν, ἂν μὴ καὶ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς προσυπάρχη τινί, ἔστι μὲν ἀληθὴς ὁ λόγος 'ἀδύνατον γάρ, κακῶς αὐτῆς ἐχούσης, μὴ οὐ καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτῇ συννοσεῖν', ἐγὼ μέντοι πολλῷ ῥᾶον οἶομαι εἶναι τῆς εὐεξίας τῆς γνώμης ἐπιμεληθῆναι ^[3] τινὶ ἢ τῆς τοῦ σώματος. τοῦτο μὲν γάρ, ἅτε καὶ σάρκινον ὄν, πολλὰ μὲν ἄτοπα ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχει, πολλῆς δὲ ἐπικουρίας παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου δεῖται: ἐκείνη δὲ δὴ, οἷα θειοτέρας φύσεως οὔσα, καὶ ῥυθμιζεσθαι καὶ νουθετεῖσθαι ῥαδίως δύναται. οὐκοῦν κἀνταῦθα ἴδωμεν τί τέ σοι τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγαθῶν ἀπέστη, καὶ τί τῶν κακῶν προσγενόμενον οὐκ ἂν ἀποτριψάμεθα. 22.

ὁρῶ τοίνυν ἔγωγε πρῶτον μὲν φρονιμώτατόν σε ἀνθρώπων ὄντα: τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι πλεῖστα μὲν καὶ τὴν βουλήν καὶ τὸν δῆμον, ἐν οἷς συνεβούλευσάς τι αὐτοῖς, ἔπεισας, πλεῖστα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἰδιώτας, ἐν οἷς συνηγόρησάς σφισιν, ὠφέλησας: ^[2] ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ δικαιοτάτον: πανταχοῦ γοῦν ὑπὲρ τε τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τῶν φίλων ἀνταγωνιζόμενος τοῖς ἐπιβουλευούσιν αὐτοῖς ἐξήτασαι: καὶ αὐτὰ ^[p. 244] γε ταῦτα ἃ νῦν πέπονθας, οὐ δι' ἄλλο τι συμβέβηκε σοι ἢ ὅτι πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς ^[3] πολιτείας καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων διετέλεις. καὶ μὴν ὅτι καὶ σωφροσύνης ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ἀνήκεις, αὐτὸ τὸ ἐπιτήδευμά σου δηλοῖ: οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τ' ἐστὶ δουλεύοντά τινα ταῖς τοῦ σώματος ἡδοναῖς ἐν μέσῳ τε αἰεὶ φαίνεσθαι καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀναστρέφεσθαι, μαρτύρια τὰ ἡμερινὰ ἔργα τῶν νυκτερινῶν ^[4] ποιούμενον. οὕτω δὲ δὴ τούτων ἐχόντων ἐγὼ μὲν σε καὶ ἀνδρειότατον ὦμην εἶναι, τοσαύτη μὲν ῥώμῃ διανοίας τοσαύτη δὲ καὶ ἰσχύϊ λόγων χρώμενον: σὺ δέ, ὡς ἔοικας, αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ ἐκπλαγεῖς ὅτι παρὰ τε τὴν ἐλπίδα καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἔπταισας, παρήρησαι τι τοῦ σφόδρα ἀνδρείου. ^[5] ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπολήψῃ: τοιούτων δὲ τῶν κατὰ σέ ὄντων, καὶ εὖ μὲν ἤκοντος τοῦ σώματος εὖ δὲ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, οὐχ ὁρῶ τί τὸ λυποῦν ἐστὶ σε.

‘ 23. ταῦτα αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος ὁ Κικέρων ἔφη ‘οὐ δοκεῖ οὖν σοι μέγα κακὸν εἶναι ἀτιμία καὶ φυγή, καὶ τὸ μῆτ' οἴκοι διατριβεῖν μήτε μετὰ τῶν φίλων εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος μεθ' ὕβρεως ἐκπεπτωκότα ζῆν ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ γῇ καὶ ἀλᾶσθαι, φυγάδα προσαγορευόμενον, καὶ γέλωτα μὲν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς αἷσχος δὲ τοῖς οἰκείοις παρέχοντα;’ ^[2]

‘οὐδαμῇ ἔμοιγε’ εἶπεν ὁ Φιλίσκος. ‘δύο γὰρ τούτων ὄντων ἐξ ὧν συνεστήκαμεν, ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος, καὶ ῥητῶν ἑκατέρω παρ’ αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως καὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν δεδομένων, εἰ μὲν τι περὶ ταῦθ’ ἀμαρτάνοιτο, καὶ βλαβερὸν ἂν [p. 246] εἰκότως καὶ αἰσχροὺς νομιζοίτο, εἰ δ’ ὀρθῶς ἔχοι, [3] καὶ μᾶλλον ἂν ὠφέλιμον εἴη. ὁ καὶ σοὶ νῦν ὑπάρχει. τὰ γὰρ δὴ ἄλλ’ ἐκεῖνα, αἱ φυγαὶ καὶ αἱ ἀτιμιαί, καὶ εἰ δὴ τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερον, νόμῳ τε καὶ δοκήσει τινὶ καὶ αἰσχροὶ καὶ κακὰ ἐστί, καὶ οὐδὲν οὔτε τῷ σώματι οὔτε τῇ ψυχῇ λυμαίνεται. ποῖον μὲν γὰρ ἂν σῶμα εἴπειν ἔχοις νενοσηκὸς ἢ καὶ ἀπολωλὸς, ποῖαν δὲ ψυχὴν ἀδικωτέραν ἢ καὶ ἀμαθεστέραν γεγонуῖαν ὑπ’ ἀτιμίας καὶ φυγῆς ἢ καὶ ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν τοιούτων; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ [4] οὐχ ὀρώ. τὸ δὲ αἷτιον ὅτι οὐδὲν σφον φύσει κακὸν ἐστίν, ὥσπερ οὐδ’ ἡ ἐπιτιμία οὐδ’ ἡ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι διατριβὴ φύσει χρηστή, ἀλλ’ ὅποιά ποτ’ ἂν τις ἕκαστος ἡμῶν περὶ αὐτὰ δοξάσῃ, τοιαῦτα [5] καὶ δοκεῖ εἶναι. αὐτίκα τὴν ἀτιμίαν οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς παντελῶς ἀνθρωποὶ νομίζουσιν, ἀλλ’ ἐστὶν ἃ τῶν ἔργων ἐπαίτια παρὰ τισὶν ὄντα παρ’ ἄλλοις ἐπαινέται, καὶ ἕτερα πρὸς τινῶν τιμώμενα πρὸς ἑτέρων κολάζεται: εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν [6] οὔτε τὸ ὄνομα οὔτε τὸ ἔργον αὐτῆς ἴσασιν. καὶ πάνυ εἰκότως: ὅσα γὰρ μὴ προσάπτεται τῶν τῇ φύσει τοῦ ἀνθρώπου προσηκόντων, οὐδ’ ἀνήκειν ἐς αὐτὸν νομίζεται. ὥσπερ ἂν οὖν, εἰ κρίσις τις ἢ καὶ ψήφισμά τι ἐγένετο τὸν δεῖνα νοσεῖν ἢ τὸν δεῖνα αἰσχροὺς εἶναι, γελοιοτάτον ἂν δῆπουθεν ἦν, οὕτω καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀτιμίας ἔχει. 24.

τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ τὴν φυγὴν ἔγωγε ὀρώ ὄν. ἀποδημία γὰρ τις ἄτιμός ἐστιν, ὥστ’ εἴπερ αὕτη καθ’ αὐτὴν ἡ ἀτιμία μηδεμίαν κακίαν [p. 248] ἔχει, οὐδὲ τῇ φυγῇ δῆπου προστρίψασθαι τι [2] κακὸν δύναται, ἐπεὶ τὴν γε ἄλλως συχνοὶ πλείστον ὅσον χρόνον οἱ μὲν ἄκοντες οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκόντες ἀποδημοῦσι, καὶ τινες καὶ πάντα τὸν βίον καταναλίσκουσι περινοστοῦντες, ὥσπερ αἰεὶ πανταχόθεν ἐξελαυνόμενοι, καὶ οὐδὲν μέντοι παρὰ τοῦτο [3] βλάπτεσθαι νομίζουσιν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ διαφέρει τι ἐκούσιόν τινα ἢ μὴ τοῦτο ποιεῖν: οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ’ ὁ ἄκων σωμασκῶν ἡττόν τι ἔρρωται τοῦ ἐθέλοντι αὐτὸ δρῶντος, οὐδ’ ὁ ἄκων ναυτιλλόμενος ἡττω τινὰ ὠφελίαν τοῦ ἑτέρου κτᾶται. καὶ αὐτὸ γε τοῦτο τὸ ἀκούσιον οὐχ ὀρώ δυνάμενον ἀνδρὶ [4] φρονίμῳ συμβῆναι. ὥστ’ εἴπερ ἐν τούτῳ τὸ διάφορον τοῦ τε εὔ καὶ τοῦ κακῶς πράττειν ἐστὶν ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἐθέλονται ἐτοίμως τὰ δ’ ἄκοντες χαλεπῶς ποιοῦμεν, εὐθεράπευτον: ἐὰν γὰρ τοι πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἐκούσιοι ὑπομένωμεν καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν αὐτῶν ἡττώμεθα, συνανήρηται πάντα [5] κάκεῖνα, ὅσα ἂν ἐν τῷ ἀκουσίῳ θῇ τις εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ που καὶ ἀρχαῖος λόγος καὶ μάλα εὔ ἔχων ἐστὶν ὅτι δεῖ ἡμᾶς μὴ ὅσα ἂν βουλώμεθα ἀξιοῦν γίγνεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ὅσα ἂν ἐκ τινος ἀνάγκης γίγνηται βούλεσθαι. οὔτε γὰρ αὐθαίρετον τὸν τοῦ βίου τρόπον ἔχομεν οὐθ’ αὐτῶν ἐσμέν: ἀλλ’ ὅπως ἂν [6] τῇ τύχῃ δόξῃ, καὶ ὅποιος ἂν ἐκάστω ἡμῶν δαίμων ἐκπληρωτῆς τοῦ τεταγμένου δοθῇ, τοιοῦτον ἀνάγκη καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἡμᾶς ποιεῖσθαι. 25.

ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτά ἐστιν, ἂν τ' ἐθέλωμεν ἄν [p. 250] τε καὶ μή: εἰ δέ σε οὐχὶ ἡ ἀτιμία αὐτῇ οὐδ' ἡ φυγὴ αὐτῇ λυπεῖ, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ μόνον μηδὲν ἡδικηκῶς τὴν πατρίδα ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὰ εὐηργετηκῶς ἡτίμωσαι τε καὶ ἐξεληλάσαι, λόγισαι τοῦθ', ὅτι ἐπειδὴ περ ἅπαξ ἐπέπρωτό σοι τοιοῦτό τι παθεῖν, κάλλιστον δῆπου καὶ ἄριστον συμβέβηκε [2] τὸ μηδὲν ἀδικήσαντά σε ἐπηρεάσθαι. σὺ μὲν γὰρ πάντα τὰ καθήκοντα τοῖς πολίταις συνεβούλευσας καὶ ἐπραξας, οὐκ ἰδιωτεύων ἀλλ' ὑπατεύων, οὐδ' ἰδίᾳ τι πολυπραγμονῶν ἀλλὰ τοῖς τῆς βουλῆς δόγμασι πειθόμενος, οὐ κατὰ στάσιν ἀλλ' [3] ἐπὶ τῷ βελτίστῳ γενομένοις: ὁ δεῖνα δὲ καὶ ὁ δεῖνα ἐκ δυναστείας καὶ ἐπηρείας πάντα κατὰ σοῦ συνεσκεύασαντο, ὥστ' ἐκείνοις μὲν καὶ ἄχθεσθαι καὶ λυπεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ ἀδικίᾳ προσήκει, σοὶ δὲ δὴ ἀνδρείως φέρειν τὰ δόξαντα τῷ δαίμονι καὶ [4] καλὸν καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἐστίν. οὐ γὰρ που μᾶλλον ἂν ἐθέλησας τῷ τε Κατιλίνῳ συμπράξας καὶ τῷ Λεντούλῳ συνομόσας, καὶ πάντα μὲν τάναντία τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πατρίδι παραινέσας, μηδὲν δὲ τῶν προσταχθέντων σοι ὑπ' αὐτῆς ποιήσας, οἴκοι μένειν ἀδικήσας ἢ κατορθώσας φυγεῖν. [5] οὐκοῦν εἰ καὶ τῆς δόξης σοι μέλει, πολλῶν που αἰρετώτερόν ἐστι μηδὲν ἀδικήσαντά σε ἐκπεπτωκέναι ἢ κακουργήσαντά τι οἴκοι μεμενηκέναι: τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ἡ αἰσχὺν τῶς ἀδίκως ἐκβαλοῦσί τινα, ἀλλ' οὐ τῷ κατ' ἐπῆρειαν ἐξελαθέντι προσγίγνεται. [p. 252] 26.

καίτοι ἔγωγε ἀκούω τοῦθ', ὅτι οὐκ ἄκων οὐδ' ἄλοῦς μετέστης, ἀλλ' ἐθέλοντῆς ἐμίσησας τὸν μετ' αὐτῶν βίον, ἅτε μήτε βελτίους σφᾶς ποιῆσαι δυνάμενος μήτε συναπολέσθαι σφίσιν ὑπομένων, καὶ ἔφυγες οὐ τὴν πατρίδα ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπibουλεύοντας αὐτῇ. ὥστ' ἐκείνοι μὲν καὶ ἄτιμοι καὶ ἐξόριστοι εἶεν ἂν, πάντα τάγαθὰ ἐκ τῶν ψυχῶν [2] ἐκβεβληκότες, σὺ δὲ ἐπίτιμος καὶ εὐδαίμων, μήτ' ἀτόπως τινὶ δουλεύων καὶ πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα ἔχων, ἂν τε ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἂν τε ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ ἂν τε καὶ ἄλλοθι που τῆς οἰκουμένης ζῆν ἐθέλησῃς. οὐ γὰρ δῆπου τὰ χωρία οὔτε εὐτυχίαν οὔτε κακοδαμονίαν τινὰ δίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος αὐτῷ καὶ πατρίδα καὶ εὐδαιμονίαν ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ [3] ποιεῖ. καὶ ταῦθ' ὁ Κάμιλλος ἐννοήσας ἠδέως ἐν Ἀρδέᾳ κατώκησε, ταῦθ' ὁ Σκιπίων λογισάμενος ἁλύπως ἐν Λιτέρνῳ κατεβίω. τί γὰρ δεῖ τὸν Ἀριστείδην, τί δὲ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα λέγειν, οὓς ἐνδοξοτέρους ἢ φυγὴν ἐποίησεν, τί τὸν Ἄννι ... τί τὸν Σόλωνα, ὃς ἐκὼν ἔτη δέκα ἀπεξενώθη; [4]

μὴ οὖν μηδὲ σὺ μήτε χαλεπὸν τι τῶν τοιούτων, ἃ μήτε τῇ τοῦ σώματος μήτε τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν φύσει προσήκει, νόμιζε εἶναι, μήτ' ἀγανάκτει τοῖς προσπεπτωκόσιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' αἴρεσίς τις ἔστιν ἡμῖν τοῦ ζῆν ὅπως ἂν ἐθέλῃσωμεν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἀλλὰ ἀνάγκη πᾶσα ὑπομένειν [5] ἡμᾶς τὰ δοκοῦντα τῷ δαιμονίῳ. τοῦτο δὲ ἂν μὲν ἐθέλονται ποιῶμεν, οὐ λυπησόμεθα, ἂν δὲ [p. 254] ἀκόντως, οὔτε ἐκφευξόμεθα τι τῶν πεπρωμένων, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον τῶν κακῶν προσεπικτησόμεθα, [6] τὸ μάτην ἀνιᾶσθαι. τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι οἱ μὲν καὶ τὰ ἀτοπώτατα εὐκόλως φέροντες ἐν οὐδενὶ δεινῷ καθεστηκέναι νομίζουσιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐλαφροτάτοις βαρυνόμενοι πάντα τὰ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων κακὰ ἔχειν ὑποπτεύουσι: καὶ ἕτεροι, οἱ μὲν καὶ τὰ

ἀμείνω κακῶς οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰ χεῖρω καλῶς μεταχειριζόμενοι, τοιαῦτα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκάτερα δοκεῖν εἶναι ποιοῦσιν οἷα αὐτοῖς εἶναι παρασκευάζουσι. 27. καὶ σὺ οὖν ταῦτα λογιζόμενος μήτε τοῖς παροῦσιν ἄχθου, μήτ', ἂν τοὺς ἐκβαλόντας σε εὐτυχοῦντας πυνθάνῃ, λυποῦ. κουφαὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐφήμεροι καὶ ἄλλως αἱ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐπραγίαι εἰσὶ, καὶ ὅσω ἂν μᾶλλον τις ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπαύξη, ῥᾶον ὥσπερ πνεῦμα πίπτει, μάλιστα [2] δὲ ἐν ταῖς στάσεσιν. ἅτε γὰρ ἐν τεταραγμένοις καὶ ἀκαταστάτοις πράγμασι φερόμενοι μικρόν, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδέν, τῶν χειμαζομένων διαφέρουσιν, ἀλλ' ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω, τοτὲ μὲν δεῦρο τοτὲ δὲ ἐκεῖσε, ἄττουσι: κἂν ἄρα τι καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον [3] σφαλῶσι, παντελῶς βαπτίζονται. καὶ ἵνα γε μήτε τὸν Δροῦσον μήτε τὸν Σκιπίωνα μήτε τοὺς Γράκχους ἢ καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς εἴπω, μέμνησο μὲν ὅπως ὁ Κάμιλλος ὁ φυγὰς ἄμεινον τοῦ Καπιτωλίνου μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπήλλαξε, μέμνησο 100 δὲ ὅσον Ἀριστείδης τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ὕστερον διήνεγκεν. [4]

ὥστε καὶ σὺ μάλιστα μὲν ἔλπιζε καὶ καταχθήσεσθαι οὔτε γὰρ ἐξ ἀδικίας ἐξεληλάσαι, καὶ [p. 256] ἐπιζητήσουσι μὲν σε, ὡς πυνθάνομαι, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἐκβεβληκότες, ποθήσουσι δὲ πάντες: ἂν δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐμμείνῃς, μήτι γε 101 καὶ 28. ἀνιαθῇς παρὰ τοῦτο μηδέν. ἂν μὲν γὰρ μοι πεισθῇς, καὶ πάνυ ἀγαπήσεις χωρίον τέ τι παραθαλασσιδίον ἔξω πάτου ἐκλεξάμενος, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ γεωργῶν τε ἅμα καὶ συγγράφων τι, ὡς Ξενοφῶν, [2] ὡς Θουκυδίδης. τὸ τε γὰρ εἶδος τοῦτο τῆς σοφίας διαρκέστατόν ἐστι καὶ παντὶ μὲν ἀνδρὶ πάσῃ δὲ πολιτεῖα ἄρμοδιώτατον, καὶ ἡ φυγὴ φέρει τινὰ σχολὴν γονιμωτέραν. ὥστ' εἴτερ ὄντως ἀθάνατος καθάπερ ἐκείνοι γενέσθαι ἐθέλεις, ζηλῶσον αὐτούς. [3] τὰ τε γὰρ ἐπιτήδεια ἀρκοῦντα ἔχεις καὶ οὐτ' ἀξιώματός τινος προσδέῃ. εἰ γὰρ τι καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἀγαθόν ἐστιν, ὑπάτευκας: καὶ πλεον οὐδὲν τοῖς καὶ δεῦτερον καὶ τρίτον ἢ καὶ τέταρτον ἄρξαι, πλὴν γραμμάτων ἀριθμοῦ κενῶν, ὑπάρχει, ἃ μήτε ζῶντα μήτ' ἀποθανόντα τινὰ ὠφελεῖ. [4] οὐκ οὖν ἂν ἔλοιο οὔτε Κορουῖνος οὔτε Μάριος ὁ ἐπτάκις ὑπατεύσας μᾶλλον ἢ Κικέρων εἶναι. οὐτ' αὖ ἡγεμονίας τινὸς ἐπιθυμεῖς, ὅς γε καὶ τὴν δοθεῖσάν σοι ἐξέστης, καταφρονήσας μὲν τῶν ἀπ' αὐτῆς κερδῶν, καταφρονήσας δὲ καὶ τῆς ὀλιγοχρονίου τε καὶ ὑπευθύνου πᾶσι τοῖς συκοφαντεῖν [5] ἐθέλουσιν ἐξουσίας. καὶ ταῦτ' εἶπον οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἀναγκαῖόν τι 102 αὐτῶν πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς, ἐπεὶπερ ἐχρῆν, ἱκανῶς ἐξήτασαι, ἵνα καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνων τὸ διάφορον τῶν βίων μαθὼν τὰ μὲν ἔλῃ τὰ δὲ ἀπώσῃ 103 καὶ τὰ μὲν διώξῃς τὰ δὲ φύγῃς. σμικρὸς γὰρ ὁ βίος [p. 258] ἡμῶν, καὶ δεῖ σε μὴ πάντα αὐτὸν ἄλλοις βιῶναι, [6] ἀλλ' ἤδη τι καὶ σεαυτῷ χαρίσασθαι. σκέψαι δὲ ὅσον ἢ τε ἡσυχία τῆς ταραχῆς καὶ ἡ εὐροια 104 τῶν θορύβων ἢ τε ἐλευθερία τῆς δουλείας καὶ ἡ ἀσφάλεια τῶν κινδύνων διαφέρει, ἵν' ἐπιθυμήσῃς ζῆσαι ὡς ἐγὼ σοι παραινῶ.

οὕτω μὲν γὰρ εὐδαιμονήσεις, καὶ σου μέγα ὄνομα καὶ 105 τοῦτο ἀεὶ καὶ ζῶντος ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ 29. τελευτήσαντος ἔσται: ἂν δὲ δὴ τὴν τε κάθοδον σπουδάσῃς καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ πολιτεῖα λαμπρότητα ζηλώσῃς, δυσχερὲς μὲν

οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν βούλομαι, φοβοῦμαι δέ, ἕς τε τὰ πράγματα ἀποβλέπων καὶ τὴν σὴν παρρησίαν ἐννοῶν, τὴν τε δύναμιν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν σου θεωρῶν, [2] μήποτε τι καὶ αὐθις σφαλῇς. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐν φυγῇ γένοιο, μεταγνώσῃ μόνον, 106 εἰ δέ τι ἕτερον ἀνῆκεστον πάθοις, οὐδὲ μετανοῆσαι δυνήσῃ. καίτοι πῶς μὲν οὐ δεινόν, πῶς δ' οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ἀποτμηθῆναι τέτινος τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν τεθῆναι, κἂν οὕτω τύχῃ, καὶ ἄνδρα τινὰ αὐτῇ [3] καὶ γυναῖκα 107 ἐνυβρίσαι; καὶ με μὴ ὥς φαῦλά σοι οἰωνιζόμενον μισήσῃς, ἀλλ' ὥς διοσημίαν τινὰ προδεικνύντα φύλαξαι. μηδὲ σε ἐξαπατάτω 108 τοῦθ', ὅτι καὶ φίλους τινὰς τῶν δυνατῶν ἔχεις: οὐδὲν γὰρ σε ὠφελήσουσιν οἱ δοκοῦντες φιλεῖν πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθρῶς 109 διακειμένους, ὥσπερ [4] που καὶ πεπειρασαι. οἱ γὰρ δυναστείας ἐρῶντες παρ' οὐδὲν 110 πάντα τᾶλλα πρὸς τὸ τυχεῖν ὦν [p. 260] βούλονται τίθενται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς φιλτάτους καὶ τοὺς συγγενεστάτους πολλὰκις ἀντὶ τῶν ἐχθίστων ἀντικαταλλάσσονται.

‘ 30. καὶ Κικέρων μὲν ταῦτα ἀκούσας ῥάων 111 πως ἐγένετο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐφυγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Πομπηίου τοῦ μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἐκβαλόντος κατήχθη. αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι ὁ Κλώδιος τὸν τε Τιγράνην τὸν νεώτερον, ἐν δεσμοῖς ἔτι καὶ [2] τότε παρὰ Λουκίῳ Φλαουίῳ ὄντα, πεισθεὶς ὑπὸ χρημάτων ἐξήρπασε καὶ ἀφῆκε, καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον τὸν τε Γαβίνιον ἀγανακτήσαντας ἐπὶ τούτῳ περιύβρισε, τοῖς τε ἀμφ' αὐτοὺς οὖσι καὶ πληγὰς καὶ τραύματα ἔδωκε, καὶ τοῦ ὑπάτου τάς τε ῥάβδους συνέντριψε καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν καθιέρωσεν. [3] ὀργισθεὶς γὰρ διὰ ταῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι τῇ 112 ἐξουσίᾳ, ἣν αὐτὸς τοῖς δημάρχοις ἀπεδεδώκει, κατ' αὐτοῦ ὁ Κλώδιος ἐκέχρητο, ἀνακαλέσασθαι τὸν Κικέρωνα ἠθέλησε, καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν κάθοδον εὐθύς διὰ τοῦ Νιννίου πράττειν ἡρξάτο. [4] καὶ ὃς ἐσήνεγκε μὲν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γνώμην, ἀπόντα τὸν Κλώδιον τηρήσας: ἀντιστάντος δὲ οἱ ἑτέρου τινὸς δημάρχου, ἐκείνην τε ὥς καὶ τῷ πλήθει κοινώσων ἐξέθηκε, καὶ τῷ Κλωδίῳ πρὸς πάντα καθάπαξ ἦναντιοῦτο. καὶ τούτου καὶ φιλονεικίαι καὶ τραύματα ἀπ' αὐτῶν [5] πολλὰ ἐκατέροις ἐγένετο. πρὶν δὲ ἢ ἐς τοῦτο ἀφικέσθαι, βουλευθεὶς ὁ Κλώδιος τὸν τε Κάτωνα ἐκποδῶν, ὅπως ῥᾶον ὅσα ἔπραπτε κατορθώσῃ, ποιήσασθαι, καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον τὸν 113 τότε τὴν Κύπρον ἔχοντα ἀμύνασθαι ὅτι αὐτὸν παρὰ τῶν [p. 262] καταποντιστῶν οὐκ ἐλύσατο, τὴν τε νῆσον ἐδήμοσίωσε καὶ πρὸς τὴν διοίκησιν αὐτῆς τὸν Κάτωνα καὶ μάλα ἄκοντα ἀπέστειλε. 31. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν 114 τῇ πόλει ἐγένετο: Καῖσαρ δὲ εὗρε μὲν οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ πολέμιον, ἀλλὰ ἀκριβῶς πάντα ἡσύχαζεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ διεγένετο, ἀλλὰ αὐτομάτου τὸ πρῶτον πολέμου τινὸς αὐτῷ συμβάντος ἕτερος συνηνέχθη, ὥστ' αὐτόν, ὅπερ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπεθύμει, πάντα ... [2] καὶ πολεμῆσαι καὶ κατορθῶσαι. Ἐλουήτιοι γὰρ πλήθει τε ἀκμάζοντες καὶ χώραν οὐκ αὐτάρκη τῇ πολυανθρωπίᾳ σφῶν ἔχοντες, μέρος μὲν τι ἐκπέμψαι ἐς ἀποικίαν οὐκ ἠθέλησαν, μὴ καὶ διασπασθέντες εὐεπιβουλευτότεροι τοῖς λυπηθεῖσι ποτε ὑπ' αὐτῶν γένωνται, πάντες δὲ δὴ ἀπαναστῆναι βουλευθέντες, ὥς καὶ ἐς ἑτέραν τινὰ καὶ πλείω καὶ βελτίω χώραν

μετοικισθησόμενοι, τὰς τε κώμας καὶ τὰς πόλεις σφῶν ἀπάσας ἔκαυσαν ὥστε μηδένα ^[3] μετὰμελον τῆς ἀναστάσεως ποιήσασθαι. καὶ τινας 115 καὶ ἑτέρους τῶν αὐτῶν δεομένους προσλαβόντες ἀπῆραν, Ὅρκετόριγος σφισιν ἡγουμένους, ἐν νῶ 116 ἔχοντες τὸν τε Ῥοδανὸν διαβῆναι καὶ πρὸς ταῖς Ἄλπεσι που κατοικισθῆναι. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὴν τε γέφυραν διέκοψε καὶ τᾶλλα ὡς κωλύσων αὐτοὺς διαβῆναι ἡτοιμάζετο, ἔπεμψαν πρὸς αὐτὸν διοδὸν τε αἰτοῦμενοι καὶ προσυπισχνοῦμενοι μηδὲν τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων γῆν κακῶσειν. ^[4] καὶ ὅς, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα μήτε ἐπίστευεν 117 αὐτοῖς μήτε προχωρῆσαι ποι ἐπιτρέψειν ἔμελλεν, ἀλλ' ^[p. 264] ὅτι γε οὐδέπω καλῶς παρεσκεύαστο, βουλεύσεσθαι τε 118 ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡξιοῦν μετὰ τῶν ὑποστρατῆγων ἔφη καὶ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἐν ῥητῇ τινι ἡμέρᾳ δώσειν. καὶ τι καὶ ἐλπίδος, ὡς καὶ ἐπιτρέψων σφισι τὴν διοδον, ὑπετείναιο. κὰν τούτῳ τὰ ἐπικαιρότατα διετάφρευσε καὶ ἀπετείχισεν, ὥστ' ἄπορον αὐτοῖς τὴν ὁδὸν γενέσθαι. 32. οἱ οὖν βάρβαροι χρόνον μὲν τινα ἐπέσχον, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἤκουσαν κατὰ τὸ συγκείμενον, ἄραντες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διὰ τῶν Ἀλλοβριγῶν ἐπορεύοντο ἥπερ ὠρμηντο, ἔπειτ' ἐντυχόντες τοῖς ^[2] κωλύμασιν ἐς Σηκουανοὺς ἀπετράποντο, καὶ διὰ τε τούτων καὶ διὰ τῶν Αἰδούων ἐθελοντί σφισι τὴν διοδον, ἐφ' ᾧ μηδὲν ἀδικηθῶσι, παρεχόντων διόντες οὐκ ἐνέμειναν τοῖς ὠμολογημένοις, ἀλλὰ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐλεηλάτουν. πέμψαντες οὖν οἱ τε Σηκουανοὶ καὶ οἱ Αἰδουοὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπικουρίαν τε παρ' αὐτοῦ ἦτουν, καὶ ἐδέοντο μὴ ^[3] σφας περιδεῖν ἀπολομένους. 119 καὶ ἔλεγον μὲν οὐδὲν ὅμοια οἷς ἔπραξαν, ἔτυχον δ' οὖν ὁμως ὧν ἡξιοῦν: ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Τόλοσαν οἱ Ἑλουήτιοι τράπωνται, εἴλετο μετ' ἐκείνων αὐτοὺς ἀμύνασθαι μᾶλλον ἢ συμφρονήσασί σφισιν, ὅπερ εὐδηλον ἦν ἐσόμενον, πολεμῆσαι. ^[4] προσπεσὼν οὖν διὰ ταῦτα τοῖς Ἑλουητίοις τὸν Ἄραριν διαβαίνουσι, τοὺς μὲν τελευταίους ἐπακολουθοῦντας ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πόρῳ διέφθειρε, τοὺς δὲ προκεχωρηκότας ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τάχους τῆς διώξεως καὶ ἐκ 120 τῆς πύστεως τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἐξέπληξεν ὥστε ἐς ὁμολογίαν ^[p. 266] 33. ἐπὶ χώρᾳ τινὶ ἐθελῆσαι ἐλθεῖν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ συνέβησαν: ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁμήρους ἠτήθησαν, ἡγανάκτησαν οὐχ ὅτι ἠπιστοῦντο, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἀπηξιοῦν ὁμήρους πισὶ δοῦναι. καὶ τῶν μὲν σπονδῶν κατεφρόνησαν, προχωροῦντες δὲ αὐθις τὴν τε ἵππον τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀπὸ τε τοῦ πεζοῦ πολὺ προδραμοῦσαν καὶ τοὺς ὀπισθοφυλάκας αὐτῶν παραλυποῦσαν, ὑποστάντες ^[2] τῷ ἱππικῷ ἐνίκησαν, κὰκ τούτου αὐτοὶ τε φρόνημα λαβόντες καὶ ἐκείνον φυγεῖν διὰ τε τὴν ἐλάττωσιν, καὶ ὅτι σπανίσας τῶν ἐπιτηδείων πρὸς πόλιν τινὰ ἔξω τῆς ὁδοῦ οὔσαν ἐξετράπετο, νομίσαντες, ^[3] τοῦ τε πρόσω ἀφείντο καὶ ἐπεδίωξαν αὐτόν. ἰδὼν οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Καῖσαρ, καὶ φοβηθεὶς τὴν τε ὁρμὴν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος, τῷ μὲν πεζῷ πρὸς μετέωρόν τι ὠρμησε, τοὺς δὲ ἱππέας προεβάλετο 121 προκινδυνεῦσαι σφισιν, ἕως ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ παρατάξῃ. τρεψαμένων τε αὐθις αὐτοὺς ἐκείνων, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ ὄρθιον θυμῷ φερομένων, ἐπικατέδραμέ σφισιν ἐξαίφνης, καὶ ἅτε συντεταγμένος σποράδας ^[4] ἐξ ὑπερδεξιῶν οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπέωσατο. τραπομένων δὲ τούτων, ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν μὴ μαχομένων ὑπὸ τε γὰρ τοῦ

πλήθους καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς σπουδῆς οὐ πάντες ἅμα παρεγένοντο προσέμιξαν
ἐξαίφνης κατὰ νώτου τοῖς ἐπιδιώκουσι σφας, καὶ ἐθορύβησαν ^[5] μὲν αὐτούς,
πλεῖον δὲ οὐδὲν ἔσχον· ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ τοῖς ἱππεῦσι τοὺς φεύγοντας
προστάξας αὐτὸς τῷ ὀπλιτικῷ πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐτράπετο, καὶ κρατήσας πρὸς
τε τὰς ἀμάξας ἀμφοτέροις σφίσι συγκαταφυγοῦσιν ἐφέσπετο, κἀνταῦθα
αὐθις ἰσχυρῶς ^[p. 268] ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀμυνομένους σφᾶς ἐνίκησε. παθόντες ^[6] δὲ
ταῦθ' οἱ βάρβαροι διχα διηρέθησαν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὠμολόγησαν αὐτῷ καὶ ἔς τε
τὴν οἰκείαν ὅθεν ἐξανέστησαν ἐπανήλθον, κἀνταῦθα τὰς πόλεις
ἀνορθώσαντες ὥκησαν· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐθέλησαντες τὰ ὅπλα παραδοῦναι πρὸς
τὸν Ῥῆνον, ὥς καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀρχαίαν σφῶν γῆν ἐпанελθεῖν δυνάμενοι,
ὥρμησαν, καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ σύμμαχοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων δι' ὧν διήεσαν ῥαδίως,
ἅτε καὶ ὀλίγους καὶ νενικημένους, ἔφθειραν. 34. οὕτω μὲν δὴ τὸν πρῶτον
πόλεμον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπολέμησεν, ἀρξάμενος δὲ ἐκεῖθεν οὐχ ἡσύχασεν, ἀλλ'
αὐτὸς τε τὸ ἑαυτοῦ βούλημα 122 ἅμα ἀπεπλήρωσε καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις
ἐχαρίσατο. οἱ τε γὰρ Σηκουανοὶ καὶ οἱ Αἰδουοὶ τὴν τε ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτοῦ
ιδόντες καὶ τὰ ἔργα ὁμολογοῦντα ταῖς ἐλπίσιν αἰσθόμενοι, ἐκείνῳ τε
εὐεργεσίαν ἅμα καταθέσθαι καὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς τοὺς ὁμοχώρους σφίσι
τιμωρήσασθαι ^[2] ἠθέλησαν· τὸν γὰρ Ῥῆνον πάλαι ποτὲ διαβάντες τῆς τε
χώρας αὐτῶν τινα παρετέμνητο καὶ αὐτοὺς 123 ὑποτελεῖς ἐπεποιήντο,
ὁμήρους σφῶν ἔχοντες. καὶ ἐτύγχανον γὰρ δεόμενοι ὧν ὠρέγετο, ῥαδίως
αὐτὸν ἀνέπεισαν ἐπικουρῆσαι σφίσιν. ^[3] ἦρχε μὲν γὰρ Ἀριόουιστος τῶν
Κελτῶν ἐκείνων, καὶ τὴν τε κύρωσιν τῆς βασιλείας παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων
εἰλήφει, καὶ ἐς τοὺς φίλους τοὺς τε συμμάχους αὐτῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ
Καίσαρος ὑπατεύοντος ἐσεγγράπτο· 124 πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου
δόξαν καὶ τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῆς 125 ἰσχὺν οὐδὲν ^[p. 270] τούτων ἐφρόντισε, πλὴν
καθ' ὅσον παρὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου πρόφασιν τῆς διαφορᾶς, μὴ καὶ προϋπάρχειν
^[4] τι ἐς αὐτὸν νομισθῇ, λαβεῖν ἠθέλησε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μετεπέμψατο αὐτὸν
ὥς καὶ διαλεχθῆναι τι αὐτῷ δεόμενος. ἐπειδὴ τε οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ἔφη ὅτι 'εἴ τι μοι βούλεται Καῖσαρ εἰπεῖν, αὐτὸς πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐλθέτω· οὔτε γὰρ
ἄλλως καταδεέστερος αὐτοῦ εἰμι, καὶ τὸν χρεῖαν τινὸς ἔχοντα ^[5] αὐτὸν πρὸς
ἐκείνον ἀφικνεῖσθαι δεῖ,' ὀργὴν τε ὥς καὶ πάντας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους
προπεπηλακικότος αὐτοῦ ἐν τούτῳ ἐποιήσατο, καὶ παραχρῆμα τοὺς τε
ὁμήρους τῶν συμμάχων ἀπῆτησεν αὐτόν, καὶ προσαπηγόρευσεν αὐτῷ μήτε
τῆς χώρας σφῶν ἐπιβαίνειν μήτ' ἐπικουρίας οἴκοθεν ἐπάγεσθαι. ^[6] ταῦτα δὲ
ἔπραξεν οὐχ ὅτι καὶ καταπλήξειν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐξοργιεῖν κάκ τούτου
πρόφασιν τοῦ πολέμου καὶ μεγάλην καὶ εὐπρεπῇ λήψεσθαι ἤλπισεν. ὅπερ
ἐγένετο· ἀχθεσθεῖς γὰρ ὁ βάρβαρος τοῖς ἐπιτάγμασι πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ
ἀπεκρίνατο, ὥστε τὸν Καίσαρα λόγους μὲν μηκέτ' αὐτῷ ἀντιπέμψαι, τὸν δὲ
δὴ Οὐέσοντίωνα, τὴν τῶν Σηκουανῶν πόλιν, εὐθύς, καὶ πρὶν αἰσθέσθαι 126
τινὰ, προκατασχεῖν. 35. κἀν τούτῳ οἱ στρατιῶται, ἀγγελίας ἐλθούσης ὅτι τε
ὁ Ἀριόουιστος ἰσχυρῶς παρασκευάζεται, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἕτεροι τῶν Κελτῶν
πολλοὶ οἱ μὲν διαβεβήκασιν ἤδη τὸν Ῥῆνον ὥς ἐπὶ βοήθειαν αὐτοῦ, οἱ δὲ
καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ ποταμῷ συνειλέχεται 127 ὅπως ἐξαίφνης σφίσιν ἐπιθωνται,
δεινῶς ἠθύμησαν· ^[2] τὰ τε γὰρ μεγέθη αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ^[p. 272] τε

θράσος καὶ τὰς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προχείρους ἀπειλὰς ἐκπλαγέντες οὕτω διετέθησαν ὥς μηδὲ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους τινὰς ἀλλὰ πρὸς θηρία ἄπορα καὶ ἄγρια προσοισόμενοι. καὶ ἐθρύλουν ὅτι πόλεμον οὔτε προσήκοντα οὔτε ἐψηφισμένον διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν τοῦ Καίσαρος φιλοτιμίαν ἀναιροῖντο, καὶ προσεπηπείλουν ἐγκαταλείφειν αὐτόν, ἂν μὴ μεταβάλῃται. [3] μαθὼν οὖν ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνος τῷ μὲν πλήθει τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὐδὲν διελέξατο ὅύτε γὰρ καλὸν ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι τοιαῦτα πρὸς πολλοὺς λέγειν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους μέλλοντα ἐκφοιτήσιν, καὶ ἔδεισε μὴ πως ἀπειθήσαντες θορυβήσωσι καὶ κακὸν τι ἐξεργάσωνται, τοὺς δὲ δὴ ὑπάρχους καὶ τοὺς ὑπομείοντας ἀθροίσας τοιάδε ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔλεξεν. 36. 'οὐ τὸν αὐτόν, ὦ ἄνδρες φίλοι, τρόπον ἡγοῦμαι δεῖν ἡμᾶς περὶ τε τῶν ἰδίων καὶ περὶ τῶν κοινῶν βουλευέσθαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸν αὐτόν ὁρῶ σκοπὸν ἴδια τε ἐκάστω καὶ δημοσίᾳ ἅπασιν ὄντα. ἡμῖν μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἐπικεῖστατα καὶ ἀσφαλέστατα, τῷ δὲ δήμῳ τὰ κράτιστα καὶ προαιρεῖσθαι καὶ πράττειν [2] προσήκει. δεῖ μὲν γὰρ καὶ 128 ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις δραστηρίοις εἶναι: τὸ γὰρ ἐπικεῖς οὐκ ἐθέλει εἰ μὴ 129 καὶ ἐκ τούτου σώζεσθαι: οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ἀνὴρ μὲν ὅστις ἀπραγμονέστατος ἐστί, καὶ ἀσφαλέστατος εἶναι δοκεῖ, πόλις δέ, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀρχὴν ἔχουσα, τάχιστ' ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ τοιοῦτου καταλυθῇ. [3] ταῦτα γὰρ οὕτως οὐχ ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ταχθέντα ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως νομοθετηθέντα καὶ ἦν αἰεὶ καὶ ἔστι, καὶ ἔσται μέχρι περ ἂν καὶ τὸ θνητὸν γένος συνεστήκη. [p. 274]

τούτων οὖν οὕτως ἐχόντων, οὐδ' ὑμῶν οὐδένα χρή τὸ ἴδιον ἡδὺ καὶ ἀσφαλές ἐν τῷ παρόντι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ τοῖς πᾶσι Ῥωμαίοις καὶ εὐπρεπές [4] καὶ συμφέρον προσκοπεῖν. λογιζέσθε γὰρ τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅσα εἰκὸς ἐστί, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι δεῦρο ἤλθομεν αὐτοὶ τε τοσοῦτοι καὶ τοιοῦτοι ἔκ τε τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων ὄντες, καὶ πληθεὺς πολὺ στρατιωτῶν χρήματά τε ἄφθονα λαβόντες, [5] οὐχ ἵνα ῥαθυμῶμεν, οὐδ' ἵνα ἀμελῶμεν, ἀλλ' ὅπως τὰ τε τῶν ὑπηκόων ὁρθῶς διοικήσωμεν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐνοσπόνδων ἀσφαλῶς διασώσωμεν, τοὺς τε ἀδικεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντάς σφας ἀμυνώμεθα, καὶ [6] τὰ ἡμέτερα ἐπαυξήσωμεν. ὥς εἴ γε μὴ ταῦθ' οὕτω φρονοῦντες ἤλθομεν, τί ποτε καὶ ἀρχὴν ἐξεστρατεύσαμεν, ἀλλ' οὐ τρόπον γέ 130 τίνα οἴκοι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις κατεμείναμεν; καὶ γὰρ που καὶ ἄμεινον ἦν μὴδ' ὑποσπῆναι τὴν στρατείαν [7] ἢ προσταχθέντας αὐτὴν προδοῦναι. εἰ δ' οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων ἀναγκαζόμενοι τὸ προσταττόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος πράττειν, οἱ δὲ δὴ πλείους ἐθέλονται διὰ τε τὰς τιμὰς καὶ διὰ τὰς ὠφελίας τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν πολέμων περιγιγνομένας ἀρεσμεν, πῶς ἂν ἢ καλῶς ἢ ὁσίως ἡμῖν ἔχοι φεῦσασθαι καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐκπεμφάντων ἡμᾶς ἅμα καὶ τὰς [8] ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν ἐλπίδας; ἴδια μὲν γὰρ οὐδ' ἂν εἷς οὕτως εὖ πράξειεν ὥστε μὴ οὐ τῷ κοινῷ πταίσαντι συναπολέσθαι: τὸ δὲ δημόσιον εὐτυχοῦν πάσας καὶ τὰς ἐκάστου συμφορὰς ἀναφέρει. 37.

λέγω δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες ἐταῖροί τε καὶ φίλοι, τοὺς ἐνταῦθα ὄντας ὅύτε γὰρ ἄλλως ἀγνοεῖτε αὐτὰ ὥστε καὶ μαθεῖν δεῖσθαι, οὗτ' [p. 276] ὀλιγώρως αὐτῶν ἔχετε ὥστε καὶ προτροπῆς χρήζειν', ἀλλ' ὅτι τινὰς τῶν

στρατιωτῶν ἥσθηται αὐτοὺς τε θρυλοῦντας ὥς οὐ προσήκοντα τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἀνηγήμεθα, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσστασιάζοντας, ^[2] ἴν' αὐτοὶ τε βεβαιότεραν ἐκ τῶν παρ' ἑμοῦ λόγων τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος προθυμίαν ποιήσῃσθε, καὶ ἐκείνους πάνθ' ἃ προσήκει διδάξῃτε: πλείω γὰρ ἂν παρ' ὑμῶν ἴδια καὶ πολλάκις ἀκούοντες αὐτὰ ὠφεληθεῖεν ἢ παρ' ^[3] ἑμοῦ ἅπαξ πυθόμενοι. λέγετε τοίνυν αὐτοῖς ὅτι οἱ πρόγονοι ἡμῶν οὐκ οἴκοι μένοντες, οὐδὲ τὰς στρατείας ὀκνοῦντες, οὐδὲ τοὺς πολέμους φεύγοντες, οὐδὲ τὰς ῥαθυμίας διώκοντες τηλικαύτην τὴν πόλιν ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς γνώμαις πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα προχεῖρως τολμῶντες καὶ τοῖς σώμασι πάντα τὰ ἀρέσαντα προθύμως ἐκπονοῦντες, ^[4] καὶ τὰ μὲν ἴδια ὥς ἀλλότρια ἀεὶ ποτε παραβαλλόμενοι, τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν πέλας ὥς καὶ οἴκεῖα ἐτοιμῶς κτῶμενοι, καὶ μήτε εὐδαιμονίαν ἄλλο τι ἢ τὸ τὰ δέοντα πράττειν νομίζοντες, μήτε δυστυχίαν ἄλλο τι ἢ τὸ μετ' ἀπραξίας 131 ἡσυχάζειν ἡγούμενοι. ^[5]

τοιαροῦν ἐκ τούτων τῶν πολιτευμάτων αὐτοὶ τε, ὀλίγιστοι τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς γενόμενοι καὶ πόλιν οὐδεμίαν ἥς οὐκ ἐλάττω τὸ πρῶτον νεμόμενοι, Λατίνους ἐκράτησαν, Σαβίνους ἐνίκησαν, Τυρσηνοὺς Οὐδόσκους Ὀπικοὺς Λευκανοὺς Σαυνίτας ἐχειρώσαντο, πᾶσαν ἐνὶ λόγῳ 132 τὴν ἐντὸς τῶν Ἑλλέσπονδων γῆν κατεστρέψαντο, πάντας τοὺς ἄλλοφύλους 38. τοὺς ἐπελθόντας σφίσιν ἀπέωσαντο, καὶ ^[p. 278] αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ τε πατέρες ἡμῶν ζηλώσαντες οὐκ ἠρέκεσθησαν τοῖς παροῦσιν, οὐδ' ἡγάπησαν οἷς παρέλαβον, ἀλλ' ὄλεθρον μὲν αὐτῶν σαφεῖ τὴν ῥαστώνην, σωτηρίαν δὲ ἀκριβῆ τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν νομίσαντες εἶναι, καὶ φοβηθέντες μὲν μὴ μείναντα αὐτὰ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν 133 κατατριφθεῖν καὶ καταγῆράσειεν, αἰσχυνθέντες 134 δὲ εἰ τοσαῦτα παραδεξάμενοι μηδὲν ἐπικτήσαιτο, ^[2] πολλῶ πλείω καὶ μείζω προσκατειργάσαντο. τί γὰρ ἂν τις καθ' ἕκαστον λέγοι τὴν Σαρδῶ, τὴν Σικελίαν, τοὺς Μακεδόνας, τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς, τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τὴν Ἀσίαν τὴν περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν, Βιθυνοὺς, Ἰβήρας, Ἄφρους; καίτοι συχνὰ μὲν ἂν χρήματα ἔδοσαν αὐτοῖς Καρχηδόνιοι ὥστε μὴ ἐκεῖσε ἐκπλεῦσαι, συχνὰ δὲ Φίλιππος καὶ Περσεὺς ὥστε μὴ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεῦσαι, πολλὰ Ἀντίοχος, πολλὰ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔγγονοι ^[3] ὥστε ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης καταμεῖναι. ἀλλ' οὕτε ἐκεῖνοι πρὸ τε τῆς δόξης καὶ πρὸ τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀργεῖν τε ἀκλεῶς καὶ πλουτεῖν ἀδεῶς εἶλοντο, οὕτ' αὐτῶν ἡμῶν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι οἱ καὶ νῦν ἔτ' ὄντες, ἀλλ' ἅτε 135 εὖ εἰδότες ὅτι διὰ 136 τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ κτᾶται τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ σώζεται, πολλὰ μὲν ἐβεβαιώσαντο τῶν προὑπαρχόντων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ προσεκτήσαντο. ^[4] τί γὰρ δεῖ κἀνταῦθα καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπεξίεναι τὴν Κρήτην, τὸν Πόντον, τὴν Κύπρον, τὴν Ἰβηρίαν τὴν Ἀσιανήν, 137 τὴν Ἀλβανίαν τὴν ἐκεῖ, Σύρους ἀμφοτέρους, Ἀρμενίους ἑκατέρους, ^[p. 280] Ἀραβίους, Παλαιστίνους; ὧν οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα πρότερον ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες νῦν τῶν μὲν αὐτοῖ δεσπόζομεν, τὰ δὲ ἑτέροις ἐχαρισάμεθα, ὥστε ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ προσόδους καὶ δυνάμεις καὶ τιμὰς καὶ συμμαχίας προσεὶληφέναι. 39.

τοιαῦτα γοῦν ἔχοντες παραδείγματα, μήτε τὰ τῶν πατέρων ἔργα

καταισχύνητε μήτε τὴν ἀρχὴν μεγίστην ἤδη οὖσαν προῆσθε. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἀπ' ἴσης ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς μηδὲν τῶν ὁμοίων κεκτημένοις βουλευτέον ἐστίν. [2] ἐκείνοις μὲν γὰρ ἐξαρκεῖ ραστωνεῦειν καὶ μετὰ ἀσφαλείας ἄλλοις ὑποπεπτωκέναι, ἡμῖν δ' ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι καὶ πονεῖν καὶ στρατεῦσθαι καὶ μετὰ κινδύνων τὴν παροῦσαν εὐδαιμονίαν φυλάττειν. πολλοὶ 138 γὰρ ἐπιβουλευουσιν 139 αὐτῇ: πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ὑπεραῖρόν τινας καὶ ζηλοῦται καὶ φθονεῖται, καὶ τοῦτου πόλεμος αἰδιός ἐστιν ἅπασιν τοῖς καταδεεστέροις πρὸς τοὺς ἔν τινι [3] αὐτῶν ὑπερέχοντας. ἢ 140 οὖν ἀπὸ πρώτης ἐχρῆν μηδὲν διαφερόντως ἡμᾶς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἠϋξῆσθαι, ἢ, ἐπεὶ περ τηλικούτοι γεγόναμεν καὶ τοσαῦτα κεκτήμεθα, πέπρωται τε ἡ ἄρχειν τῶν ἄλλων ἐγκρατῶς ἢ καὶ αὐτοὺς παντελῶς ἀπολέσθαι 'τοῖς γὰρ ἕς τε ἀξίωμα τοσοῦτον καὶ ἕς δύναμιν τηλικαύτην προκεχωρηκόσιν ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν ἀκινδύνως ἰδιωτεῦσαί, πειθώμεθα τῇ τύχῃ, μηδὲ ἐκοῦσαν αὐτὴν καὶ αὐτεπάγγελτον τοῖς τε πατράσιν ἡμῶν ὑπάρξασαν καὶ ἡμῖν [4] παραμένουσας ἀπωσώμεθα. ἔσται δὲ τοῦτο οὐκ ἂν τὰ ὄπλα ῥίψωμεν, οὐδ' ἂν τὰς τάξεις ἐκλίπω- [p. 282] μεν, 141 οὐδ' ἂν διὰ κενῆς οἴκοι καθώμεθα 142 ἢ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις πλυνώμεθα, ἀλλὰ ἂν τὰ τε ὄπλα διὰ χειρὸς αἰεὶ ἔχωμεν 'οὕτω γὰρ μόνως εἰρήνη σῶζεται καὶ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ πολέμου διὰ κινδύνων ἀσκῶμεν 'οὕτω γὰρ μόνως οὐκ αἰεὶ πολεμήσομεν', [5] τοῖς τε δεομένοις τῶν συμμάχων ἀπροφασίστως ἐπικουρῶμεν 'οὕτω γὰρ πολὺ πλείους ἔξομεν' καὶ τοῖς αἰεὶ τι παρακινουσι τῶν πολεμίων 143 μὴ ἐπιτρέπωμεν (οὕτω γὰρ οὐδεῖς ἔθ' ἡμᾶς ἀδικεῖν ἐθέλησει) . 40.

εἰ μὲν γὰρ τις τῶν θεῶν ἐγγυητὴς ἡμῖν ἐγένετο ὅτι, κἂν ταῦτα μὴ 144 ποιῶμεν, οὐτε τις ἡμῖν ἐπιβουλεύσει καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα κεκτήμεθα ἀσφαλῶς αἰεὶ καρπωσόμεθα, αἰσχρὸν μὲν ἂν ἦν 145 εἰπεῖν ὅτι τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν ἐχρῆν, ὅμως δ' οὖν εἶχον ἂν τινα σκῆψιν εὐπρεπῇ οἱ μηδὲν τῶν δεόντων πράττειν [2] βουλόμενοι. εἰ δ' ἀνάγκη τε τοὺς κεκτημένους τινὰ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι, καὶ προσήκει τὰς ἐπιθέσεις αὐτῶν προκαταλαμβάνεσθαι, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἡσυχάζοντες καὶ περὶ τούτοις κινδυνεύουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐκ περιουσίας τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἁλλοτρίων 146 χρώμενοι καὶ ἐκεῖνα φυλάσσουν [3] 'οὐδεῖς γὰρ περὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ δεδιώς τῶν τοῦ πέλας ἐφίεται: ὁ γὰρ περὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων οἱ φόβος ἰσχυρῶς τοῦ πολυπραγμονεῖν τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα αὐτὸν ἀποτρέπει, τί τοῦτο λέγει τις, 147 ὡς οὐ χρὴ ἡμᾶς αἰεὶ τι προσκτᾶσθαι; [p. 284] [4]

οὐ μένησθε, τὰ μὲν ἀκηκοότες τὰ δὲ ἑορακότες, ὅτι οὐτε τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ γενῶν οὐδὲν πρότερον ἀπέσχετο τοῦ τῇ πατρίδι ἡμῶν ἐπιβουλεύειν πρὶν τοὺς πολέμους ἐν τῇ ἐκείνων χώρᾳ τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν ποιήσασθαι, οὐτε οἱ Ἑπειρῶται πρὶν ἕς τὴν [5] Ἑλλάδα αὐτοὺς περαιοθῆναι; οὐ Φίλιππος μελλήσας καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν στρατεύσειν, πρὶν φθάσαντας τὴν ἐκείνου κακῶς ποιῆσαι: οὐ Περσεύς, οὐκ Ἄντιοχος, οὐ Μιθριδάτης, πρὶν τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτοὺς ἐργάσασθαι. καὶ τί ἄλλα λέγοι τις ἄν; [6] ἀλλ' οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, τέως μὲν οὐδὲν δεινὸν ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ εἶχον, ἕς τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν

διέπλεον καὶ τὴν χώραν κατέτρεχον τὰς τε πόλεις ἐπόρθουν καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον καὶ τὸ ἄστυ αὐτὸ εἶλον, ἐπειδὴ δ' ἀντιπολεμεῖσθαι ἤρξαντο, παντάπασιν [7] ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἡμῶν ἐξέδρασαν. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τῶν Γαλατῶν καὶ Κελτῶν ἂν τις εἴπειν ἔχοι. καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι, μέχρι μὲν ἐντὸς τῶν Ἀλπεων ἐμένομεν, 148 πολλάκις αὐτὰς ὑπερέβησαν καὶ πολλὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπόρθησαν: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτολήσαμεν ποτε ἔξω τε τῶν ὄρων ἐκστρατεῦσαι καὶ τὸν πόλεμόν σφισι περιστῆσαι, καὶ τινα καὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν ἀπετεμόμεθα, οὐκέτ' οὐδένα πόλεμον ἅπ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, πλὴν ἅπαξ, εἶδομεν. [8] ὅταν οὖν τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων λέγῃ τις ὅτι οὐ χρὴ πολεμεῖν ἡμᾶς, οὐδὲν ἄλλο φησὶν ἢ ὅτι οὐ χρὴ πλουτεῖν, οὐ χρὴ ἐτέρων ἄρχειν, οὐκ ἐλευθέρους, [9] οὐ Ῥωμαίους εἶναι. ὥσπερ οὖν ἂν, εἴπερ τι τούτων εἴπε τις, οὐκ ἂν ἠνέσχεσθε ἀλλὰ κἂν ἐν χεροῖν αὐτὸν ἀπεκτείνετε, οὕτω καὶ νῦν, ὧ ἄνδρες ἐταῖροι, πρὸς τοὺς ἐκεῖνα λέγοντας διατίθεσθε, [p. 286] μὴ τοῖς ῥήμασι σφων ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἔργοις τὸν νοῦν τεκμαιρόμενοι.

οὐκοῦν ὅτι μὲν οὕτω χρὴ φρονεῖν, οὐδέν' ἂν 149 41. ἀντειπεῖν ὑμῶν 150 νομίζω: εἰ δ' ὅτι μήτε ἐξήτασται περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου παρὰ 151 τῇ βουλῇ καὶ παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ μὴ ἐψήφισται, διὰ τοῦτο τις ἦττον οἶεται δεῖν ἡμᾶς προθυμηθῆναι, λογισάσθω τοῦθ', 152 ὅτι πάντες οἱ πόλεμοι ὅσοι πῶποτε γεγόνασιν ἡμῖν, οἱ μὲν ἐκ παρασκευῆς καὶ προεπαγγέλσεως [2] οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ καιροῦ συμβεβήκασι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὅσα μὲν ἂν 153 οἴκοι τε μενόντων ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀγόντων κινήθῃ καὶ ἐκ πρεσβείας τινὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων λάβῃ, καὶ σκέψιν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ δεῖ καὶ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι γίνεσθαι καὶ ψῆφον ἐπάγεσθαι, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τοὺς τε ὑπάτους ἢ καὶ στρατηγοὺς προστάττεσθαι [3] σφισι καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκπέμπεσθαι: ὅσα δ' ἂν ἐξεληλυθότων ἤδη καὶ ἐξεστρατευμένων τινῶν ἐκφανῇ, ταῦτ' οὐκέτ' ἐς διαγνώμην ἄγεσθαι χρὴ, ἀλλ' ὥς καὶ δεδογμένα καὶ κεκυρωμένα ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς χρείας προκαταλαμβάνεσθαι πρὶν αὐξηθῆναι. [4]

ἢ τίνος μὲν ἔνεκα ὑμᾶς ἐνταῦθ' ὁ δῆμος ἐξέπεμψεν, τίνος δ' ἔνεκα ἐμὲ μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν εὐθύς ἔστειλε, τοῦτο μὲν ἐπὶ πέντε ἔτη καθάπαξ, ὃ μῆπω πρότερον ἐγεγόνει, ἄρχειν ἐλόμενος, τοῦτο δὲ τέσσαρσι στρατοπέδοις ὀπλίσας, εἰ μὴ καὶ [5] πολεμῆσαι πάντως ἡμᾶς δεήσειν ἐνόμιζεν; οὐ γὰρ που ἵνα μάτην τρεφώμεθα, οὐδ' ἵνα τὰς τε πόλεις [p. 288] τὰς συμμαχίδας καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν ὑπήκοον περιιόντες χαλεπώτεροι καὶ τῶν πολεμίων αὐτοῖς γινώμεθα, — οὐδ' ἂν εἷς ταῦτα φήσειεν, — ἀλλ' ἵνα τὴν οἰκείαν φυλάξωμεν, ἵνα 154 τὴν τῶν πολεμίων πορθήσωμεν, ἵν' ἄξιόν τι καὶ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ [6] τῶν ἀναλωμάτων ἐργασώμεθα. οὐκοῦν ἐν τούτῳ καὶ οὗτος ὁ πόλεμος καὶ πᾶς ὅστισοῦν ἄλλος καὶ ἐπιτέτραπται ἡμῖν καὶ ἐγκεχειρίσται. καὶ πάννυ γε φρονίμως ἐποίησαν ἐφ' ἡμῖν τὸ τίσι πολεμητέον εἶναι διαγνῶναι καταλιπόντες καὶ μὴ αὐτοὶ τὸν πόλεμον ψηφισάμενοι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὕτ' ἀκριβῶσαι τὰ τῶν συμμάχων τοσοῦτον 155 αὐτῶν ἀφεστηκότες ἠδυνήθησαν ἂν, καὶ πρὸς εἰδότας καὶ προπαρεσκευασμένους 156 τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἂν [7] ὁμοίως ἐπιτηδεῖως προσηνέχθησαν: ἡμεῖς δὲ δὴ κριταί

ἅμα καὶ λειτουργοὶ τοῦ πολέμου γιγνόμενοι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοφώρους τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τὰ ὄπλα εὐθύς ἐπιφέροντες, οὗτ' ἀνεξετάστως οὗτ' ἀδίκως οὗτ' ἀπροφυλάκτως αὐτὸν ποιησόμεθα. 42.

καὶ μοι εἴ τις ὑμῶν ἐκεῖνο ὑπολαμβάνει, τί δὴ τηλικοῦτον ὁ Ἀριόουιστος πεπλημμέληκεν ὥστ' ἀντὶ φίλου καὶ συμμαχοῦ πολέμιος ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, σκοπεῖτω τοῦθ', ὅτι τοὺς ἀδικεῖν τι ἐπιχειροῦντας οὐκ ἐφ' οἷς ποιοῦσι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐφ' οἷς φρονοῦσιν ἀμύνασθαι δεῖ, καὶ τὴν τε αὖξισιν αὐτῶν πρὶν καὶ βλαβῆναι τι προκαταλαμβάνειν, καὶ μὴ περιμεινάντας κακῶς ἔργω παθεῖν, τότε τιμωρεῖσθαι. [2] ὅτι τοίνυν καὶ ἐχθρὸς καὶ ἔχθιστός ἐστιν ἡμῖν, πῶς ἂν ἄλλως μᾶλλον ἐλεγχθεῖη ἢ ἐξ ὧν ἐποίησεν; πέμψαντος γάρ μου πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλικῶς [p. 290] ὅπως ἔλθῃ τε πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ κοινῇ μεθ' ἡμῶν βουλευέσθαι περὶ τῶν παρόντων, οὗτ' ἦλθεν [3] οὗθ' ἤξειν ὑπέσχετο. καίτοι τί μὲν ἐγὼ ἄδικον ἢ ἀνεπεικὲς ἢ φορτικὸν ἐποίησα μεταπεμφάμενος αὐτὸν ὡς φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον; τί δὲ ἐκεῖνος ὕβρεως καὶ ἀσελγείας, οὐκ ἐθελήσας ἐλθεῖν, ἐκκλέοιπεν; ἄρ' οὐ δυοῖν ἀνάγκη θάτερον, ἥτοι ὑπωπτευκότα αὐτόν τι κακὸν πείσεσθαι ἢ ὑπερπεφρονηκότα [4] ἡμᾶς τοῦτο πεπονηκέναι; οὐκοῦν εἴτε τι ὑποτετόπηκεν, σαφέστατα αὐτὸς ἐαυτὸν ἐξελέγχει ἐπιβουλευόντα ἡμῖν: οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἡμῖν μηδὲν δεινὸν παθῶν ὑποπτὸς ἐστιν, οὐδ' ἀπ' ὀρθῆς καὶ ἀδόλου τῆς γνώμης γίγνεται, ἀλλ' οἱ προπαρεσκευασμένοι τινὰς ἀδικῆσαι ἐτοίμην τὴν ὑποψίαν [5] κατ' αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ συνειδότος σφῶν ἔχουσιν: εἴτ' αὖ μηδενὸς τοιοῦτου ὑπόντος ὑπερεόρακέ τε ἡμᾶς καὶ λόγοις ὑπερηφάνοις ὕβρικε, τί 157 χρὴ τοῦτον, ἐπειδὴν ἔργου τινὸς ἐπιλάβηται, προσδοκῆσαι πράξειν; ὁ γὰρ ἐν οἷς μηδὲν κερδανεῖν ἔμελλε τοσαύτῃ ὑπεροψίᾳ κεχηρημένος πῶς οὐ πόρρωθεν ἐξελήλεγκται μηδὲν δίκαιον μήτε φρονῶν μήτε πράσσων;

οὐ τοίνυν ἀπέχρησεν αὐτῷ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμὲ ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν 158 ἐκέλευσεν, εἴπερ τι αὐτοῦ 43. δεοίμην. καὶ μὴ μοι μικρὰν τὴν προσθήκην ταύτην εἶναι νομίσητε: μεγάλη γάρ ἐστιν ἐπίδειξις τῆς διανοίας αὐτοῦ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν μὴ ἐθελῆσαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφικέσθαι τάχ' ἂν τις καὶ ὄκνῳ καὶ ἄρρωστίᾳ καὶ φόβῳ, ἀπολογούμενος [2] ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, ἀνέθηκε: τὸ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐμὲ μεταπέμψασθαι οὕτε σκῆψιν οὐδεμίαν ἐνδέχεται, καὶ [p. 292] προσεξελέγχει καὶ ἐκεῖνο αὐτὸν οὐ κατ' ἄλλο τι πεπονηκότα ἢ ὅτι οὗθ' ὑπακούειν ἐς οὐδὲν ἡμῖν καὶ προσέτι καὶ προσαντεπιτάττειν πάντα παρεσκεύασται. [3] καίτοι καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πόσης ὕβρεως καὶ πόσου προπηλακισμοῦ μεστόν ἐστιν; μεταπέμπεται τινα ὁ ἀνθύπατος ὁ Ῥωμαίων, καὶ ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἔρχεται: μεταπέμπεται τις 159 τὸν ἀνθύπατον τὸν 160 Ῥωμαίων Ἀλλόβριξ ὧν. μὴ γὰρ ὅτι ἐμοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος οὐκ ἐπείσθη, μηδ' ὅτι ἐμὲ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐκάλεσε, σμικρὸν τι τοῦτο καὶ [4] φαῦλον εἶναι νομίσητε. οὕτε γὰρ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν μετεπεμψάμην, ἀλλ' ὁ Ῥωμαῖος, ὁ ἀνθύπατος, αἱ ῥάβδοι, τὸ ἀξίωμα, τὰ στρατόπεδα, οὕτε ἐγὼ μετεπέμφθην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα. ἰδίᾳ μὲν γὰρ ἐμοὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἐστι συμβόλαιον: 161 κοινῇ δὲ δὴ πάντες καὶ εἴπομέν τι καὶ ἐποιήσαμεν καὶ

‘Ὡσθ’ ὅσω τις ἂν αὐτὸν ἔν τε τοῖς φίλοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις ἡμῶν ἀναγεγράφθαι φήσῃ, τοσοῦτω μᾶλλον ἀξιωμασίητον ὄντα ἀποδείξει. διὰ τί; ὅτι οἷα μηδὲ τῶν ἐχθίστων τις ὁμολογούντων ἡμῖν εἶναι ἐτόλμησέ ποτε ποιῆσαι, ταῦτ’ ἐκεῖνος ἔν τε τοῖς τῆς φιλίας καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῆς συμμαχίας ὀνόμασιν ἐξείργασται, καθάπερ ἐπ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεποιημένος αὐτάς, ἵν’ ἡμᾶς ἀδικεῖν ἀδεῶς ^[2] ἔχῃ. ἀλλ’ οὔτε τότε ἐπὶ τῷ προπηλακίζεσθαι καὶ ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι ἐσπεισάμεθα αὐτῷ, οὔτε νῦν αὐτοὶ τὰς σπονδὰς λύσομεν: ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ὡς πρὸς φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον ἔτ’ αὐτὸν ὄντα ἐπρεσβευσάμεθα, ^[p. 294] ὁ δ’ ὁρᾷτε ὅπως ἡμῖν κέχρηται: ^[3] ὥσπερ οὖν. ἡνίκα εὐεργετεῖν τε ἡμᾶς ἐβούλετο κάντ’ εὖ πάσχειν ἡξίου, δικαίως ἐκείνων ἐτύγχανεν, οὕτω καὶ νῦν, ἐπειδὴ τάναντία αὐτῶν πάντα ποιεῖ, δικαιοτάτα ἂν ἐν ἐχθροῦ μέρει νομισθεῖη. καὶ μὴ θαυμάσητε εἰ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ πρότερόν ποτε καὶ ἐν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ χρηματίσας ^[4] τινὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, εἶτα ταυτὶ νυνὶ λέγω. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔχω καὶ οὐ μεταβάλλομαι. τίς δὲ ἐστὶν αὕτη; τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς καὶ πιστοὺς καὶ τιμᾶν καὶ ἀμειβεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς καὶ ἀπίστους καὶ ἀτιμάζειν καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι. ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ μεταβαλλόμενος, ὁ μήτε καλῶς μήτε δεόντως τοῖς δοθεῖσιν αὐτῷ παρ’ ἡμῶν χρώμενος. 45.

‘Ὡσθ’ ὅτι μὲν δικαιοτάτα ἂν αὐτῷ πολεμήσαιμεν, οὐδένα ἀμφισβητήσῃν οἶομαι: ὅτι δὲ οὔτε ἄμαχος οὔτε δυσπολέμητός ἐστιν, ὁρᾷτε μὲν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὁμοφύλων αὐτῷ, οὓς πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον, ῥᾶστα δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐνίκησαμεν, λογιζέσθε δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὧν περὶ αὐτοῦ ^[2] ἐκείνου πυνθανόμεθα. οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως δύναμιν τινα οἰκείαν συνεστηκυῖαν καὶ συγκεκροτημένην ἔχει: νῦν τε, ἅτε μηδὲν δεινὸν προσδοκῶν, καὶ παντελῶς ἀπαράσκευός ἐστιν. οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ ἐκ τῶν ὁμοχώρων ἂν τις αὐτῷ 163 προθύμως, οὐδ’ εἰ ^[3] πάνυ ἐπαγγέλλεται, βοηθήσειε: τίς μὲν γὰρ ἂν ἔλοιτο ἐκείνῳ συμμαχήσας πολεμήσαι ἡμῖν, μηδὲν ὑφ’ ἡμῶν λελυπημένος; πῶς δ’ οὐκ ἂν μᾶλλον ἡμῖν πάντες ἢ ἐκείνῳ συναράμενοι τὴν τε τυραννίδα αὐτοῦ ὁμορὸν σφισιν οὔσαν καταλῦσαι καὶ ^[p. 296] τῆς χώρας μέρος τι παρ’ ἡμῶν προσλαβεῖν ἐθελήσειαν; ^[4] εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ συσταῖέν τινες, οὔτι γε καὶ κρείττους ἂν ἡμῶν γένοιτο. ἵνα γὰρ τᾶλλα ἐάσω, τὸ πλῆθος ἡμῶν, τὴν ἡλικίαν, τὴν ἐμπειρίαν, τὰ ἔργα, ἐκεῖνό γε τίς οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι ἡμεῖς μὲν κατὰ πᾶν 164 ὁμοίως τὸ σῶμα ὠπλίσμεθα, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ δὴ γυμνοὶ τὸ πλεῖστόν εἰσι, καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν καὶ λογισμῷ καὶ τάξει χρώμεθα, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ δὴ θυμῷ ^[5] πρὸς πάντα ἀσύντακτοι φέρονται; μὴ γὰρ τοι μήτε τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτῶν μήτε τὸ μέγεθος ἢ τῶν σωμάτων ἢ τῆς βοῆς φοβηθῆτε. φωνή τε γὰρ οὐδένα πώποτε ἀνθρώπων ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν δρᾶν μὲν οὐδὲν πλεον, ἅτε τὰς αὐτάς ἡμῖν χεῖρας ἔχοντα, πάσχειν δὲ πολὺ πλείω, ἅτε καὶ μεγάλα καὶ γυμνὰ ὄντα, δυνήσεται: ἢ τε ὁρμὴ ἄμετρος καὶ προπετὴς τὸ κατ’ ἀρχὰς οὔσα καὶ 46. ἐκκενουῖται ῥαδίως καὶ ἐπ’ ὀλίγον ἀνθεῖ. πεπειραμένοις δὲ πού ῶν λέγω καὶ νενικηκόσιν ὑμῖν τοὺς ὁμοίους αὐτοῖς ταυτὶ παραινῶ, ὥσθ’

ὕμᾱς μήτε τῷ λόγῳ δοκεῖν ὑπ' ἑμοῦ παράγεσθαι, καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ ἐχυρωτάτην τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς νίκης ἐκ [2] τῶν προκατειργασμένων ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τῶν Γαλατῶν αὐτῶν τῶν ὁμοίων σφίσι συχνοὶ ἡμῖν συμμαχήσουσιν, ὥστ' εἰ καὶ τι φοβερόν τὰ ἔθνη ταῦτα εἶχε, τοῦτο καὶ ἡμῖν καὶ ἐκεῖνοις 165 ὑπάρξει.

Ταῦτ' οὖν αὐτοὶ τε οὕτω λογιζέσθε καὶ τοὺς [3] ἄλλους διδάσκετε: ὥς εἴ γε καὶ ὑμῶν τινες ἄλλως πως φρονοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἔγωγε καὶ ὥς πολεμῆσω, οὐδὲ ἐγκαταλείψω ποτὲ τὴν τάξιν ἣν ἐτάχθην [p. 298] ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος. καὶ μοι 166 τὸ δέκατον στρατόπεδον ἀρκέσει: καὶ γὰρ εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι κἂν διὰ πυρὸς [4] δέῃ καὶ γυμνοὶ χωρήσουσι προθύμως. οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαγάγετε, μηδὲ μοι μάτην ἐνταῦθα τρύχεσθε, 167 τὰ τε κοινὰ εἰκῇ ἀναλίσκοντες καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων πόνων μεταποιούμενοι, τὴν τε λείαν τὴν 168 ὑφ' ἑτέρων κτωμένην σφετεριζόμενοι.

‘ 47. ταῦτα τοῦ Καίσαρος εἰπόντος οὐ μόνον οὐδεὶς ἀντεῖπεν, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα τινες 169 τάναντία σφίσιν ἐγίγνωσκον, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνήνεσαν πάντες, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα οἱ 170 δι' ὑποφίας αὐτῷ ὄντες, λογοποιοῦν ἃ ἥκουσαν. καὶ τοὺς γε 171 στρατιώτας οὐ χαλεπῶς ἔπεισαν πειθαρχῆσαι, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ προκεκρισθαι προθυμουμένους, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους [2] δι' ἐκείνους φιλοτιμουμένους. ἐξαιρετον δὲ δὴ τὸ δέκατον στρατεύμα ἐποιήσατο, ὅτι εὐνοϊάν πως αἰεὶ αὐτοῦ εἶχεν. οὕτω δὲ δὴ τὰ πολιτικὰ στρατόπεδα πρὸς τὴν τῶν καταλόγων τάξιν ὠνομάζετο: ὅθενπερ καὶ νῦν ὁμοίως τὰ νῦν ὄντα τὰς ἐπικλήσεις ἔχει. [3] ὠρμημένων οὖν αὐτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκέτι κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινε, μὴ καὶ χρονίσαντες ἀμβλύτεροι αὐθις γένωνται, ἀλλ' εὐθύς ἄρας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀριόουιστον ἦλασε. καὶ οὕτω γε 172 αὐτὸν τῷ αἰφνιδίῳ τῆς ἐφόδου κατέπληξεν ὥστε καὶ ἐς λόγους οἱ [4] ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης ἐλθεῖν κατηνάγκασεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ συνέβησαν: αὐτὸς τε γὰρ πάντα προστάξει καὶ ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲν ὑπακοῦσαι ἠθέλησεν. ὃ τε οὖν πόλεμος συνερρώγει, καὶ μετέωροι οὐ μόνον αὐτοὶ [p. 300] ἑκάτεροι ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι οἳ τε πολέμιοι σφων οἱ ἐκείνη πάντες ἦσαν, τὴν τε μάχην αὐτῶν ὅτι τάχιστα ἔσεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἅπαξ κρατήσασι [5] καὶ τᾶλλα δουλεῦσιν 173 νομίζοντες. προεῖχον δὲ οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ τοῖς μεγέθεσιν, οἱ δὲ δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ τε ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ ταῖς ὀπλίσεσι: καὶ πως καὶ πρὸς τὸν θυμὸν τῶν Κελτῶν, τὴν τε ἄκριτον καὶ προπετὴ αὐτῶν ὁρμήν, ἀντίρροπον τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος φρόνημα εὗρίσκετο, ὥστε ἰσοπαλεῖς ἐκ τούτων ὄντες καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας τὴν τε ἐπ' αὐταῖς προθυμίαν ἰσοστασίας ἐποιοῦντο. 48. ἀντικαθημένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἀλλήλοις, αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπηγόρευσάν σφίσι θειάσασαι μηδεμίαν πρὸ τῆς νέας σελήνης μάχην συνάψαι. [2] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Ἀριόουιστος ‘πάνυ γὰρ αὐταῖς προσεῖχεν ὅποτε τοιοῦτό τι ποιήσῃαν’ οὐχ ἀπάσῃ εὐθύς τῇ δυνάμει, καίτοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων προκαλουμένων σφᾶς, συνέμιξεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἵππεάς μετὰ τῶν συντεταγμένων σφίσι πεζῶν μόνους ἐκπέμπων ἰσχυρῶς αὐτοὺς ἐλύπει. κάκ τούτου καταφρονήσας χωρίον τι ὑπὲρ τοῦ ταφρεύματός σφων [3] καταλαβεῖν ἐπεχείρησε. καὶ κατέσχε μὲν αὐτό, ἀντικαταλαβόντων δὲ καὶ ἐκείνων ἕτερον, ἐς μὲν μάχην, καίπερ καὶ

μέχρι τῆς μεσημβρίας τὸν στρατὸν ἔξω τοῦ Καίσαρος παρατάξαντος, οὐχ ὥρμησεν, ἐπαναχωρήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἐπῆλθέ τε ἐξαπιναιῶς σφισι καὶ ὀλίγου καὶ ^[4] τὸ χαράκωμα αὐτῶν εἶλε. προχωροῦντων οὖν οὕτως οἱ τῶν πραγμάτων σμικρὸν τε ἔτι τῶν γυναικῶν ἐφρόντισε, καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ παραταξα ^[p. 302] μένων τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὅπερ που καθ' ἡμέραν ἐποιοῦντο, ἀντεπεξήγαγε. 49. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνοι προϊόντας ἐκ τῶν σκηνωμάτων ἰδόντες οὐχ ἡσύχασαν, ἀλλ' ἐξάξαντες οὔτε συντάξασθαι σφισιν ἀκριβῶς ἐπέτρεψαν, καὶ τὴν ἀκόντισιν αὐτῶν, ἐφ' ἣ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐθάρσουν, δρόμῳ μετὰ βοῆς προσπεσόντες ὑπετέμοντο, ^[2] καὶ οὕτω γε ὁμόσε αὐτοῖς ἐχώρησαν ὥστε σφᾶς μήτε τοῖς κοντοῖς μήτε τοῖς ξίφεσι τοῖς μακροτέροις χρῆσασθαι. ὠθίζοντό τε οὖν, καὶ τοῖς σώμασι τὸ πλεῖον ἢ τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐμάχοντο, ἀνατρέψαι τε τὸν προσκειμενον καὶ καταβαλεῖν τὸν ^[3] ἀνθεστηκότα ἀγῶνα ποιοῦμενοι. καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ τῆς τῶν βραχυτέρων ξιφῶν χρήσεως στερηθέντες ταῖς 174 τε χερσὶ καὶ τοῖς στόμασιν ἀντ' ἐκείνων ἡγωνίζοντο, κατασπῶντες τοὺς ἀντιπάλους, δάκνοντες, σπαράττοντες, ἅτε καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν σωμάτων ^[4] πολὺ αὐτῶν ὑπερέχοντες. οὐ μέντοι καὶ μεγάλα τινὰ ἐκ τούτου σφᾶς ἔβλαψαν: συμπλεκόμενοι γὰρ αὐτοῖς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἰσόρροποι πως τῇ τε ὀπλίσει καὶ τῇ τέχνῃ ἐγίγνοντο. καὶ τέλος ἐπὶ μακρότατον τοιοῦτοτρόπῳ μάχῃ χρησάμενοι ὅψε ποτε ἐπεκράτησαν: τὰ τε γὰρ ξιφίδια καὶ σμικρότερα τῶν Γαλατικῶν ὄντα καὶ τὰς προσβολὰς χαλυβδικὰς ^[5] ἔχοντα χρησιμώτατά σφισιν ἐγένετο, καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ αὐτῷ πόνῳ ἐπὶ πλεῖον συσθεθέντες μᾶλλον τῶν βαρβάρων ἀντήρκεσαν, ἅτε οὐχ ὅμοιον ταῖς ὀξύτησι τῶν ἐφόδων τὸ διαρκές σφων ἐχόντων. διὰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ἡττήθησαν ἐκεῖνοι, ^[p. 304] οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐτράποντο, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἠθέλησαν ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐκ ἡδυνήθησαν φυγεῖν ὑπ' ἀπορίας τε ^[6] ἅμα καὶ ἐκλύσεως. συστρεφόμενοι οὖν κατὰ τριακοσίους καὶ πλείους καὶ ἐλάττους, τὰς τε ἄσπιδας ἀπανταχόθεν σφῶν προεβάλλοντο, καὶ ὀρθοὶ ἰστάμενοι ἀπρόσμικτοι 175 μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλείσεως 176 δυσκίνητοι δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς πυκνότητος ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ οὔτε ἔδρων οὐδὲν οὔτε ἔπασχον. 50. οἱ οὖν Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπεὶ μήτε ἐκεῖνοι ἀντεπῆεσάν σφισιν ἢ καὶ ἔφευγον, ἀλλ' ἐν ταύτῳ μένοντες ὥσπερ ἐν πύργοις εἰστήκεσαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ τε δοράτια κατὰ πρῶτας εὐθύς ἅτε μηδεμίαν ^[2] χρῆσιν ἔχοντα ἀπετέθειντο, καὶ τοῖς ξίφεσιν οὐκ ἐδύναντο οὔτε συστάδην μάχεσθαι οὔτε τῶν κεφαλῶν αὐτῶν, ἥπερ καὶ μόνον ἄλωτοὶ οἷα που γυμναῖς αὐταῖς μαχόμενοι ἦσαν, ἐφικνεῖσθαι, τὰς τε ἄσπιδας ἀπέρριψαν, καὶ προσπίπτοντές σφισιν, οἱ μὲν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐγγύθεν, ἐνήλλοντο 177 ^[3] τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ἔκοπτον αὐτοὺς. καὶ τούτου πολλοὶ μὲν εὐθύς ἅτε καὶ μιᾶς ἐπικοπῆς ὄντες ἔπιπτον, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πρὶν πεσεῖν ἀπέθνησκον: ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς πυκνότητος τῆς συστάσεως καὶ ^[4] τεθνηκότες ὀρθοὶ ἀνείχοντο. τοῦ μὲν οὖν πεζοῦ τὸ πλεῖστον οὕτω καὶ ἐκεῖ καὶ πρὸς ταῖς ἀμάξαις, ὅσον γε καὶ ἐξωσθὲν ἐς αὐτὰς ἐτύγχανε, σὺν τε ταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ σὺν τοῖς παισὶν αὐτῶν ἐφθάρησαν: ὁ δὲ 178 Ἀριόουιστος μεθ' ἱππέων ... τὴν τε χώραν παραχρῆμα ἐξέλιπε, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ῥῆγον ^[p. 306] ^[5] ὁρμήσας 179 ἐπεδιώχθη μὲν, οὐ κατελήφθη δέ. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ πλοίου προεξέφυγε, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τοὺς μὲν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν

ἐσβαίνοντες 180 ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ὑπολαβὼν
ἀπήνεγκεν.

BOOK 39

τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τριακοστῷ ἐνάτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ρωμαϊκῶν.

α. ὡς Καῖσαρ Βελγικοῖς ἐπολέμησεν.

β. ὡς Κικέρων κατῆλθεν.

γ. ὡς Πτολεμαῖος ἐκπεσὼν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐς Ρώμην ἀνῆλθεν.

δ. ὡς Κάτων τὰ ἐν Κύπρῳ κατεστήσατο.

ε. ὡς Πομπήιος καὶ Κράσσος ὕπατοι ἡρέθησαν.

ζ. ὡς τὸ θέατρον τὸ Πομπηίου καθιερώθη.

η. ὡς Δέκιμος Βροῦτος Καίσαρος ὑποστράτηγος Οὐενετοὺς ναυμαχία ἐνίκησεν.

θ. ὡς Πούπλιος Κράσσος Καίσαρος ὑποστράτηγος Ἀκυῖτανοῖς ἐπολέμησεν.

ι. ὡς Καῖσαρ Κελτῶν τισι πολεμήσας τὸν Ῥήνον διέβη: καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ῥήνου.

κ. ὡς Καῖσαρ ἐς Βρεττανίαν ἐπεραιώθη: καὶ περὶ τῆς νήσου.

λ. ὡς Πτολεμαῖος ὑπὸ Γαβινίου ἐς Αἴγυπτον κατήχθη, καὶ ὡς ὁ Γαβίνιος ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐκρίθη.

χρόνου πλῆθος ἔτη τέτταρα ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἶδε ἐγένοντο

π. Κορνήλιος Π. υἱ. Λεντοῦλος Σπινθήρ

κ. Καικίλιος Κ. υἱ. Μέτελλος Νέπως ὕπ.

Γν. Κορνήλιος Π. υἱ. Λεντοῦλος Μαρκελλῖνος

λ. Μάρκιος λ. υἱ. Φίλιππος ὕπ.

Γν. Πομπήιος Γν. υἱ. Μάγνος τὸ Β

μ. Λικίννιος Π. υἱ. Κράσσοις τὸ Β ὑπ.

λ. Δομίτιος Γν. υἱ. Ἀηνόβαρβος 4

Ἀππ. Κλαύδιος Ἀππ. υἱ. Ποῦλχρος ὑπ.

1. οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνα διεπολεμήθη· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐν ὧ Κορνήλιος τε Σπινθήρ καὶ ὁ Μέτελλος ὁ Νέπως ὑπατεύειν ἤρξαντο [p. 310] διελθόντος, τρίτος τις πόλεμος αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο. οἱ γὰρ Βελγικοὶ τῷ τε Ῥήνῳ πολλοῖς καὶ συμμίκτοις [2] γένεσι προσοικοῦντες, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ὠκεανὸν τὸν κατὰ Βρεττανίαν καθήκοντες, ἐν μὲν τῷ πρὶν οἱ μὲν ἔνσπονδοι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἦσαν οἱ δὲ ἐφρόντιζον αὐτῶν οὐδέν, τότε δὲ τὸν Καῖσαρα εὖ φερόμενον ἰδόντες, καὶ δεισαντες μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς ὁρμήσῃ, συνεστράφησαν, καὶ κοινῷ πλὴν Ῥημῶν λόγῳ χρησάμενοι συνεβουλευσάντο τε ἐπὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ συνώμοσαν, Γάλβαν προστησάμενοι. [3] Ταῦτ' οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ παρὰ τῶν Ῥημῶν μαθὼν ἐν φρουρᾷ τε αὐτοὺς ἐποίησατο, κἀνταῦθα πρὸς τῷ Αὐξοῦννῳ ποταμῷ στρατοπεδευσάμενος ἡθροίζε τε ἅμα τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ ἐξήσκει. οὐδὲ ἐτόλμησε πρότερον τοῖς πολεμίοις, καίτοι τὴν χώραν σφῶν κατατρέχουσιν, ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, [4] πρὶν ὥς καὶ δεδιότος αὐτοῦ καταφρονήσαντες ἐπεχείρησαν τὴν τε γέφυραν καταλαβεῖν καὶ τὴν σιτοπομπίαν, ἣν δι' αὐτῆς παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐποιεῖτο, ἀφελέσθαι. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐξ αὐτομόλων προγνοὺς ἐσόμενον, ἔπεμψεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς νυκτὸς 2. τοὺς τε ψιλοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας, καὶ οἱ μὲν προσπεσόντες τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀπροσδόκητοι πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν, ὥστε πάντας τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ οἱ Αἰδουοὶ ἐσβεβληκότες ἐς αὐτὴν ἠγγέλλοντο, ἀπαναστῆναι· Καῖσαρ δὲ ἦσθετο μὲν τὸ γιγνόμενον, οὐκ ἐτόλμησε δὲ σφας εὐθύς, ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν [p. 312] [2] χωρίων, ἐπιδιῶξαι. ἀλλ' ἅμα ἔω τὴν τε ἵππον λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐπακολουθεῖν κελεύσας κατέλαβεν αὐτοὺς, καὶ ὑποστάντας ἐς μάχην ἔνομιζετο γὰρ σὺν μόνῃ τῇ ἵππῳ εἶναι διέτριψε μέχρις οὗ καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἦλθε, καὶ οὕτω παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ περισχῶν τοὺς τε πλείους κατέκοψε καὶ τοὺς περιλοιποὺς ὁμολογίᾳ παρεστήσατο. κάκ τούτου καὶ τῶν δῆμων τοὺς μὲν ἀμαχεῖ προσηγάγετο τοὺς δὲ πολέμῳ. 3. Νέρουιοι οὖν τῆς μὲν πεδιάδος ὅν γὰρ ἦσαν ἀξιόμαχοί ἐκόντες αὐτῷ ἐξέστησαν, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὰ ὄρη τὰ ὑλωδέστατα ἀνακομισθέντες, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐπικατέδραμον ἀνέλπιστοι, καὶ καθ' ὃ μὲν αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἦν ἐτράποντο καὶ ἐφυγον, τῷ δὲ δὴ πλείονι τοῦ στρατοῦ καθυπέρτεροι τε ἐγένοντο καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοβοεῖ εἶλον. [2] αἰσθόμενος δὲ τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνος ἔπροεκεχώρηκει γὰρ ἐπὶ τι τοὺς τετραμμένους διώκων ἀνέστρεψε, καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ ἐρύματι ἀρπαγὴν ποιουμένους περιεστοιχίσατο καὶ κατεφόνευσε. πράξας δὲ ταῦτα, οὐδὲν ἔτι μέγα ἔργον τοὺς λοιποὺς Νερούσιους χειρούμενος ἔσχε. 4. κἀν τούτῳ Ἀτουατικοί, πλησιόχωροί τε αὐτοῖς ὄντες καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ τε φρόνημα τὸ τῶν Κίμβρων ἔχοντες, ὥρμησαν μὲν ὥς καὶ βοηθήσοντές σφισιν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔφθησαν προαλόντες, ἀνεχώρησαν, καὶ πάντα τᾶλλα χωρία ἐκλιπόντες ἐς ἓν [2] τεῖχος

τὸ κράτιστον ἀνεσκευάσαντο. καὶ αὐτῷ ^[p. 314] τὸν Καίσαρα προσβαλόντα ἐπὶ
πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἀπεκρούσαντο, μέχρις οὗ πρὸς μηχανῶν ποιήσιν ἐτράπετο.
τότε γάρ, τῶς μὲν τὴν τε ὕλην τέμνοντας καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα συμπηγνύντας
τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐώρων, γέλωτα τῇ ἀπειρίᾳ τῶν γιγνομένων ^[3] ἐποιοῦντο,
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνά τε ἐξειργάσθη καὶ ὀπλῖται σφισι πανταχόθεν ἅμα ἐπ' αὐτῶν
προσῆγοντο, κατεπλάγησαν ἅτε μηπώποτε τοιοῦτό τι ἑορακότες, καὶ
διεκηρυκεύσαντο, τὰ τε ἐπιτήδεια τοῖς στρατιώταις πέμψαντες καὶ ὅπλα ^[4]
τινὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ῥίψαντες. ὥς μέντοι τὰ τε μηχανήματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν
γυμνωθέντα αὐθις εἶδον καὶ ἐκείνους πρὸς θυμηδῖαν οἷα ἐπὶ νίκῃ
τετραμμένους ἦσθοντο, μετέγνωσαν, καὶ ἀναθαρσῆσαντες τῆς νυκτὸς
ἐπέξοδον ὥς καὶ ἀνελπίστους σφᾶς κατακόφοντες ἐποίησαντο. περιπεσόντες
δὲ τοῖς προφύλαξιν ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ ἀκριβῶς πάντα αἰεὶ διώκει ἐσφάλησαν.
καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν λοιπῶν οὐδεὶς ἔτι συγγνώμης ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ πάντες
ἐπράθησαν. 5. ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὗτοι τε κατεστράφατο, καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ μὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
οἱ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑποστρατήγων συχνοὶ ἐκεχειρῶντο, ὃ τε χειμῶν ἐνέσθη,
ἀνεχώρησεν ἐς τὰ χειμάδια. μαθόντες δὲ ταῦθ' οἱ οἰκοὶ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐθαύμασαν
ὅτι ἔθνη τοσαῦτα, ὧν οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα πρότερον ἠκρίβουν, ἠρήκει, καὶ
ἐψηφίσαντο πεντεκαίδεκα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἡμέρας θῦσαι, ὅπερ οὐπω πρότερον
ἐγεγόνει. ^[p. 316] ^[2] κὰν τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ χρόνῳ Γάλβας ὁ Σέρουιος
ὑποστρατηγῶν αὐτῷ, μέχρι μὲν ἢ τε ὠραία ἦν καὶ τὸ στράτευμα συνεστὸς
εἶχεν, Οὐαράγγους παρά τε τῇ Λεμμάνῳ λίμνῃ καὶ πρὸς τοῖς Ἀλλόβριξι
μέχρι τῶν Ἄλπεων οἰκοῦντας, τοὺς μὲν βίᾳ τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὁμολογίᾳ
παρεστήσατο, ὥστε καὶ ^[3] χειμάσαι κατὰ χώραν παρασκευάσασθαι. ἐπεὶ
μέντοι οἱ πλείους τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὲν παρέμενοι οἷα μὴ πόρρω τῆς
Ἰταλίας ὄντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν ἄλλοσε ἀπεχώρησαν, καὶ αὐτῷ
ἀπροσδόκητοι κατὰ τοῦτο οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ^[4] ἐπέθεντο, πρὸς ἀπόνειαν ὑπ'
ἀπογνώσεως προήχθη, καὶ ἐκπηδήσας ἐκ τοῦ χειμαδίου ἄφνω τοὺς τε
προσκειμένους οἱ τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ τολμήματος ἐξέπληξε, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν
πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα διέπεσε. γενόμενος δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἡμύνατο μὲν αὐτοὺς
μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐδουλώσατο, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐχειμάσεν αὐτόθι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τὴν
τῶν Ἀλλοβρίγων μετέστη. 6. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ἐγένετο, Πομπήσιος δὲ
ἐν τούτῳ τὴν κάθοδον τῷ Κικέρωνι ψηφισθῆναι διεπράξατο. ὃν γὰρ διὰ τοῦ
Κλωδίου ἐξεληλάκει, τοῦτον ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκείνον ἐπανήγαγεν: οὕτω που τὸ
ἀνθρώπειον δι' ὀλίγου τε ἔστιν ὅτε μεταβάλλεται, καὶ ἀφ' ὧν ὠφελήσεσθαι
τινες ἢ καὶ βλαβήσεσθαι νομίζουσι, τὰ ἐναντιώτατα ^[2] ἀντιλαμβάνουσι.
συνέπραττον δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν δημάρχων ἄλλοι τε καὶ Τίτος
Ἄννιος Μίλων, οἵπερ που καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἐς τὸ ^[p. 318] πλῆθος ἐσήνεγκαν: ὁ
γὰρ Σπινθῆρ ὁ ὕπατος τὸ μὲν τι καὶ τῷ Πομπηίῳ χαριζόμενος, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐξ
ίδιᾳς ἔχθρας τὸν Κλώδιον ἀμυνόμενος, ὑφ' ἧς καὶ τὴν μοιχείαν αὐτοῦ
δικάζων κατεγνώκει, καὶ ^[3] ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἄλλοι τε τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὄντων
ὑπῆρχον καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀππίος Κλαύδιος στρατηγῶν, ὃ τε Νέπως ὁ ὕπατος
ἀπ' οἰκείας τινὸς 7. ἔχθρας τὸν Κικέρωνα μισῶν. οὗτοι τε οὖν ἐπὶ πλεον ἢ
πρὶν, ἅτε καὶ ἡγεμόνας τοὺς ὑπάτους ἔχοντες, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει
διαστάντες πρὸς ἐκατέρους ἐθορύβουν. καὶ ἄλλα τε ἐκ ^[2] τούτου οὐκ ἐν

κόσμῳ πολλὰ ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ διαψηφίσει ὁ Κλώδιος γνοὺς τὸ πλῆθος πρὸς τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἐσόμενον, τοὺς μονομάχους οὓς ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἀγῶνας ἐπιταφίους ἐπὶ τῷ Μάρκῳ τῷ συγγενεῖ προπαρεσκεύαστο λαβὼν ἐσεπηθήσεν ἐς τὸν σύλλογον καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν [3] ἔτρωσε πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἔκτεινεν. οὐτ' οὖν ἡ γνώμη ἐκυρώθη, καὶ ἐκείνοις ὡς δορυφόροις συνὼν φοβερός καὶ ἐς τὰλλα πᾶσιν ἦν, ἀγορανομίαν τε ἡτεὶ ὡς καὶ τὴν δίκην τῆς βίας, ἂν ἀποδειχθῇ, [4] διαφευξόμενος. ἐγράψατο γὰρ αὐτὸν ὁ Μίλων καὶ οὐκ ἐσήγαγε μὲν 'οὔτε γὰρ οἱ ταμίαι, δι' ὧν τὴν ἀποκλήρωσιν τῶν δικαστῶν γενέσθαι ἐχρῆν, ἤρηντο, καὶ ὁ Νέπως ἀπεῖπε τῷ στρατηγῷ μηδεμίαν πρὸ τῆς κληρώσεως αὐτῶν δίκην προσέσθαι: ἔδει δὲ ἄρα τοὺς ἀγορανόμους πρὸ τῶν ταμιῶν καταστῆναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὅτι μάλιστα 8. ἡ διατριβὴ ἐγένετό, μαχόμενος δὲ καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ [p. 320] τοῦτου πολλὰ ἐτάραττε, καὶ τέλος μονομάχους τινὰς καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ἄλλους τῶν τὰ αὐτὰ οἱ βουλομένων ἀθροίσας ἐς χεῖρας τῷ Κλωδίῳ συνεχῶς ἦει, καὶ σφαγαὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν ὡς εἰπεῖν τὴν πόλιν [2] ἐγίγνοντο. ὁ οὖν Νέπως φοβηθεὶς πρὸς τε τοῦ συνάρχοντος καὶ πρὸς τοῦ Πομπηίου τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν πρώτων μετεβάλετο, καὶ οὕτως ἢ τε γερουσία κατελθεῖν τὸν Κικέρωνα τοῦ Σπινθῆρος ἐσηγησαμένου προεβούλευσε, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ὑπᾶτων ἐσενεγκόντων ἐψηφίσατο. [3] ἀντέλεγε μὲν γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς Κλώδιος, ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ τε ὁ Μίλων ἀντέκειτο ὥστε μηδὲν βίαιον δρᾶσαι, καὶ τῷ νόμῳ ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος συνεῖπον ὥστε πολὺ κρείττους αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι. 9. κατῆλθέ τε οὖν ὁ Κικέρων καὶ χάριν τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, παρασχόντων αὐτῷ τῶν ὑπᾶτων καὶ τὸ συνέδριον καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἔγνω. τῷ τε Πομπηίῳ τὴν ἐχθραν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ φυγῇ μεθεὶς συνηλλάγη, καὶ τὴν γε εὐεργεσίαν παραχρῆμα [2] ἀπέδωκε: λιμοῦ γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἰσχυροῦ γενομένου, καὶ τοῦ ὁμίλου παντὸς ἕς τε τὸ θέατρον '% οἶω δὲ δὴ καὶ τότε ἔτι θεάτρῳ ἐς τὰς πανηγύρεις ἐχρῶντό καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐπὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς συνεδρεύοντας ἐσπηθήσαντος, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ἐν χερσὶν αὐτοὺς ἀποσφάξειν τοτὲ δὲ καὶ καταπρήσειν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ναοῖς ἀπειλοῦντος, [3] ἐπεισὲ σφας ἐπιμελητὴν τοῦ σίτου τὸν [p. 322] Πομπήιον προχειρίσασθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ ἀνθυπάτου καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ ἔξω ἐπὶ πέντε ἔτη δοῦναι. καὶ ὁ μὲν, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῖς καταποντισταῖς πρότερον οὕτω καὶ τότε ἐπὶ τῷ σίτῳ πάσης αὐθις τῆς οἰκουμένης τῆς ὑπὸ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τότε οὕσης ἄρξιν ἔμελλε: 10. Καῖσαρ δὲ καὶ Κράσσος ἄλλως μὲν ἤχθοντο τῷ Κικέρωνι, σπουδὴν δ' οὖν τινα αὐτοῦ ἔσχον, ἐπειδὴ πάντως καθήξοντα αὐτὸν ἦσθοντο 'καὶ γὰρ ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ἀπὼν εὖνοιάν τινα αὐτῷ ἐνεδείξατό, οὐ μέντοι καὶ χάριν οὐδεμίαν ἀντέλαβον. [2] ἐκεῖνος γὰρ τοῦτο τε οὐκ ἀπὸ γνώμης σφᾶς πεποηκότας εἰδώς, καὶ τῆς φυγῆς αἰτιωτάτους γεγονέναι νομίζων, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ προφανοῦς οὐ πάνυ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐθρασύνετο, ἅτε καὶ τῶν τῆς ἀκράτου παρρησίας ἐπικαρπιῶν νεωστὶ πεπειραμένος, βιβλίον μέντοι τι ἀπόρρητον συνέθηκε, καὶ ἐπέγραψεν αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ [3] βουλευμάτων ἀπολογισμὸν τινα ἔχοντι, πολλὰ δὲ δὴ καὶ δεινὰ ἐς αὐτὸ καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων καὶ περὶ ἄλλων τινῶν συνένησε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ζῶντος αὐτοῦ ἐκφοιτήσῃ, κατεσημήνατό τε

αὐτὸ καὶ παρέδωκε τῷ παιδί, προστάξας οἱ μήτ' ἀναγνῶναι μήτε δημοσιεῦσαι τὰ γεγραμμένα πρὶν ἂν μεταλλάξῃ. 11. Κικέρων μὲν οὖν αὖθις ἀνεβλάστανε, καὶ τὴν τε ἄλλην οὐσίαν καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος τῆς οἰκίας, καίτοι τῇ Ἐλευθερίᾳ ἀνειμένον, καὶ τοῦ Κλωδίου καὶ ἐπιθειάζοντος καὶ ἐς ἐνθυμίαν αὐτῷ προβάλλοντος, ^[p. 324] ^[2] ἐκομίσατο. τὴν γὰρ ἐσφορὰν τοῦ φρατριατικοῦ νόμου, παρ' ἣν ἐκ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἐπεποιήτο, διαβάλλων ὡς οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ὠρισμένοις ἐκ τῶν πατρίων χρόνοις ἐκτεθέντος αὐτοῦ, τὴν τε δημαρχίαν τοῦ Κλωδίου πᾶσαν, ἐν ἧ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐδέδοκτο, κατέλυε, λέγων οὐχ οἷόν τ' εἶναι, τῆς μεταστάσεως αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐς τὸν ὅμιλον παρανόμως γεγεννημένης, ὕγιές ^[3] τι τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πραχθέντων νομιζεσθαι, καὶ ἔπεισε διὰ τοῦτου τοὺς ποντίφικας τὸ ἔδαφος οἱ ὡς καὶ ὅσιον καὶ βέβηλον ὄν ἀποδοῦναι. καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἐκεῖνο καὶ χρήματα ἕς τε τὴν τῆς οἰκίας κατασκευὴν, καὶ εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ ἐλελύμαντο, ἔλαβε. 12. μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως ἔνεκα αὖθις ἐκινήθησαν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πολλὰ τισι τῶν Ῥωμαίων χρήματα, τὰ μὲν οἰκοθεν τὰ δὲ καὶ δανεισάμενος, ὅπως τὴν τε ἀρχὴν βεβαιώσεται καὶ φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος ὀνομασθῇ, καταναλῶκει, καὶ αὐτὰ παρὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βιαίως ἡργυρολόγει, ^[2] καὶ διὰ τε τοῦτο ἐχαλεπαίνεται καὶ ὅτι τὴν Κύπρον ἀπαιτῆσαι παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἢ καὶ τὴν φιλίαν τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπειτεῖν κελυόντων αὐτῶν οὐκ ἠθέλησε, καὶ οὕτε πείσαι σφας ἡσυχάζειν οὕτ' αὖ βιάσασθαι ἔ Xenikόν γὰρ οὐκ ^[3] εἶχεν ἡδυνήθη, διέδρα τε ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλθὼν κατηγόρησέ τε αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτὸν ἐκβεβληκότων, καὶ ἔτυχεν ὥστε ὑπὸ τοῦ Σπινθῆρος, ᾧ ἡ Κιλικία ^[p. 326] 13. ἐπετέτραπτο, καταχθῆναι. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγένετο, οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς τέως μὲν ἀγνοήσαντες ὅτι ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπηρκῶς ἦν, ἢ τεθνηκέναι αὐτὸν νομίσαντες, Βερενίκην τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ἀντικατέστησαν, ἔπειτα δὲ τάληθές μαθόντες ἄνδρας ἑκατὸν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔπεμψαν πρὸς τε τὰ ἐγκλήματα αὐτοῦ ἀπολογησομένους καὶ ἀντικατηγορήσοντας ὅσα ἡδίκηντο. ^[2] προμαθὼν οὖν ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνος ἔτι δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἦν ἐνήδρευσε τοὺς πρέσβεις, πρὶν ἐλθεῖν, ἄλλους ἄλλῃ διαπέμψας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλείους αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἔφθειρε, τῶν δὲ δὴ λοιπῶν τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ ἅστει αὐτῷ ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ καταφοβήσας ἐκ τούτων ἢ χρήμασι διαφθειράς ἔπεισε μήτε ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐστάλατο ἐντυχεῖν μήθ' ὅλως μνεῖαν τινὰ περὶ 14. τῶν ἀπολωλότων ποιήσασθαι. καίτοι τὸ πρᾶγμα οὕτω περιβόητον ἐγένετο ὥστε καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἀγανακτῆσαι δεινῶς, ἐνάγοντός σφας ὅτι μάλιστα Φαουωνίου τοῦ Μάρκου καθ' ἑκάτερον, ὅτι τε πολλοὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων πρέσβεις πεμφθέντες βιαίως ἀπωλώλεσαν, καὶ ὅτι συχνοὶ καὶ ^[2] τότε τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐδεδωροδοκῆκεσαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸν Δίωνα τὸν τῆς πρεσβείας αὐτοκράτορα 'περιῆν γάρ' μετεπέμψαντο ὡς καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν παρ' αὐτοῦ μαθησόμενοι: οὕτω δὲ ἄρα καὶ τότε ^[p. 328] ἔθ' ὁ Πτολεμαῖος τοῖς χρήμασι κατεκράτει ὥστε μήτε τὸν Δίωνα ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσελθεῖν μήτε μνήμην τινὰ τοῦ φόνου τῶν τεθνηκότων, ἕως γε ^[3] καὶ αὐτὸς παρῆν, γενέσθαι. καὶ μέντοι τοῦ Δίωνος μετὰ ταῦτα δολοφονηθέντος οὐδεμίαν οὐδ' ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ δίκην ἔδωκε: τὰ τε

γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος τῇ τε οἰκίᾳ αὐτὸν ὑπεδέδεκτο καὶ ^[4] ἰσχυρῶς οἱ
συνήρετο. τῶν γε μὴν ἄλλων τῶν αὐτόθεν ἐνεκλήθησαν μὲν ἐν ὑστέρω
συχνοί, ἐάλωσαν δὲ ὀλίγοι: τὸ τε γὰρ δεδωροδοκηκὸς πολὺ ἦν, καὶ ἀλλήλοις
διὰ τὸ ἴδιον ἕκαστος δέος συνεμάχουν. 15. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄνθρωποι τοιαῦτα
ὑπὸ τῶν χρημάτων ἐποιοῦν, τὸ δὲ δὴ θεῖον κεραυνῶ κατ' ἀρχὰς εὐθὺς τοῦ
ἐχομένου ἔτους τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἀλβανῶ ἰδρυμένου βαλὼν
τὴν κάθοδον τοῦ Πτολεμαίου χρόνον τινὰ ἐπέσχε. ^[2] τοῖς γὰρ Σιβυλλεῖσις
ἔπεσιν ἐντυχόντες εὖρον ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐγγεγραμμένον αὐτὸ τοῦτο 'ἂν ὁ τῆς
Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς βοήθειας τινὸς δεόμενος ἔλθῃ, τὴν μὲν φιλίαν οἱ μὴ
ἀπαρνήσασθαι, μὴ μέντοι καὶ πληθῇ τινὶ ἐπικουρήσῃτε: εἰ δὲ μὴ, καὶ ^[3]
πόνους καὶ κινδύνους ἔξετε.' καὶ τοῦτο τὴν συντυχίαν τῶν ἐπῶν πρὸς τὰ
τότε γενόμενα θαυμάσαντες ἀπεψηφίσαντο πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐγνωσμένα,
Γαίῳ Κάτωνι πεισθέντες δημάρχῳ. ταῦτα δὲ ἐχρήσθη μὲν οὕτως,
ἐδημοσιεῦθη δὲ 'οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν οὐδὲν τῶν Σιβυλλείων, εἰ μὴ ἡ βουλὴ
ψηφίσαιτο, ἐς τὸ πληθὸς ἐξαγγέλλεσθαι διὰ τοῦ ^[p. 330] ^[4] Κάτωνος. ἐπειδὴ
γὰρ τάχιστα ὁ νοῦς τῶν ἐπῶν διεθρυσθήκη, ὥσπερ εἴωθε γίγνεσθαι, ἔδεισε
μὴ συγκρυσθῇ, καὶ ἐς τε τὸν ὅμιλον τοὺς ἱερέας ἐσήγαγε, κἀνταῦθα, πρὶν
ὅτιοῦν τὴν γερουσίαν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς χρηματίσαι, ἐξεβιάσατό σφας ἐκλαλῆσαι
τὸ λόγιον: ὅσω γὰρ τοι μᾶλλον οὐκ ἐδόκει σφίσιν 16. ἐξεῖναι τοῦτο,...τὸ
πληθὸς ἔσχε. καὶ ἐκεῖνο μὲν ἔσχεν οὕτως, καὶ ἐς τὴν τῶν Λατίνων γλῶσσαν
μεταγραφὴν ἀνεκρύχθη: γνῶμας δὲ αὐτῶν μετὰ τοῦτο ποιουμένων, καὶ τῶν
μὲν ἄνευ στρατοῦ τῷ Σπινθήρι τὴν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου κάθοδον
προσταττόντων, τῶν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον μετὰ ^[2] ῥαβδούχων δύο
καταγαγεῖν αὐτὸν κελεύοντων 'ὅ τε γὰρ Πτολεμαῖος μαθὼν τὸ χρησθὲν
ἤξιωσε τούτου τυχεῖν, καὶ τὰ γράμματα αὐτοῦ Αὐλὸς Πλαῦτιος ἐς τὸ κοινὸν
δημαρχῶν ἀνέγνω, δέισαντες οἱ βουλευταὶ μὴ μεῖζων ἔθ' ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ
ἀπ' ἐκείνου γένηται, ἀντέπραξαν αὐτῷ τῇ τοῦ οἴτου προφάσει χρῆσάμενοι.
^[3] ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τε Λουκίου Φιλίππου καὶ ἐπὶ Γναίου Μαρκελλίνου ὑπάτων
ἐγένετο: καὶ αὐτὰ ὁ Πτολεμαῖος μαθὼν τὴν τε κάθοδον ἀπέγνω, καὶ ἐς
Ἐφεσον ἐλθὼν παρὰ τῇ θεῷ διητᾶτο. 17. τῷ δὲ δὴ προτέρῳ ἔτει καὶ
τοιόνδε τι, ἴδιον μὲν, φέρον δὲ πως ἐς τὴν συγγραφὴν, ἐπράχθη. τοῦ γὰρ
νόμου διαρρηδὴν ἀπαγορεύοντος μηδένας δύο ἅμα ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς συγγενείας
τὴν αὐτὴν ἱερατείαν ἔχειν, ὁ Σπινθήρ ὁ ὕπατος ἐπιθυμήσας Κορνῆλιον
Σπινθήρα τὸν υἱὸν ἐς τοὺς οἰωνιστὰς ἐσαγαγεῖν, ^[2] ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ ὁ Φαῦστος
ὁ τοῦ Σύλλου παῖς ἐκ ^[p. 332] τοῦ τῶν Κορνῆλιων φύλου ὦν προενεγέγραπτο,
ἐξεποίησεν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ Μαλλίου Τορκουάτου γένος, καὶ οὕτως ὁ νόμος ἐν
τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ῥήμασι μείνας ἔργῳ κατελύθη. 18. μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο ὁ Κλώδιος
ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐς τὴν ἀγορανομίαν ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ
Μαρκελλίνου παρεληλύθει 'πρὸς γὰρ τὴν ἀπόδρασιν τῆς δικῆς
παρακελευστὸς ἠρέθη, γραφὴν κατὰ τοῦ Μίλωνος τῆς τῶν μονομάχων
παρασκευῆς ἀπήνεγκε: ἃ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐπραττε καὶ ^[2] ἐφ' οἷς ἐκρίνετο, ταῦτ'
ἐκείνῳ ἀντενεκάλει. ἐποιοῖ δὲ τοῦτο οὐχ ὅτι τὸν Μίλωνα προσεδόκα
αἰρήσειν ἅτε καὶ συναγωνιστὰς ἰσχυροὺς ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα τὸν
τε Πομπήιον ἔχοντα, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ τῷ τε Μίλῳ

προσπολεμοίη 19. καὶ ἐκείνους ὑβρίζει. πρὸς γοῦν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοιόνδε τι ἐμεμηχάνητο: παρασκευάσας τοὺς ἑταίρους Ἴν', ὁπότε πύθοιτο αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς συλλόγοις 'τίς ὁ ποιῶν ἢ καὶ λέγων τοιόνδε τι ἦν, 56' συνεκβοῶν ὅτι Πομπήιος, ἐπηρώτα πολλάκις ἐξαίφνης πάνθ' ὅσα ἐπαίτια περὶ αὐτὸν ἢ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ἢ κατ' ἄλλο τι ἦν, ἰδίᾳ καὶ καθ' [2] ἕκαστον, ὡς οὐ περὶ ἐκείνου δὴ λέγων: κᾶκ τούτου τῶν μὲν ἐξαρχόντων τῶν δὲ συνεπηχούντων σφίσιν, οἷα φιλεῖ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις γίγνεσθαι, καὶ λεγόντων ὅτι Πομπήιος, χλευασία πολλὴ συνέβαινε, ὥστε ἐκείνον μῆτε τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν [p. 334] καρτεροῦντα μὴθ' ὁμοίον τι ποιεῖν αὐτῷ ὑπομένοντα περιοργῇ τε γίγνεσθαι καὶ ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ καθίστασθαι, καὶ λόγῳ μὲν τὸν Μίλωνα κατακρίνεσθαι, ἔργῳ δὲ αὐτὸν μὴδ' ἀπολογούμενον ἀλίσκεσθαι. [3] ὁ γὰρ Κλώδιος, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀποροίη, οὐκ εἶα τὸν φρατριατικὸν νόμον ἐσσενεχθῆναι: πρὶν γὰρ ἐκείνον τεθῆναι οὗτ' ἄλλο τι τῶν σπουδαίων ἐν τῷ κοινῷ πραχθῆναι οὔτε δίκην οὐδεμίαν ἐσαχθῆναι ἐξῆν. 20. τέως μὲν οὖν ὁ Μίλων τῶν λοιδοριῶν καὶ τῶν σφαγῶν πρόσχημα αὐτοῖς ἦν: τεράτων τέ τινων ἐν τούτῳ γενομένων 'ἐν τε γὰρ τῷ Ἀλβανῷ νεῶς Ἥρας βραχὺς ἐπὶ τραπέζης τινὸς πρὸς ἀνατολῶν ἰδρυμένος πρὸς τὴν ἄρκτον μετεστράφη, καὶ λαμπὰς ἀπὸ τῆς μεσημβρίας ὀρμηθεῖσα πρὸς βορέαν [2] διῆξε, λῦκος τε ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσῆλθε, καὶ σεισμὸς ἐγένετο, τῶν τε πολιτῶν τινες κεραυνοῖς ἐφθάρησαν, καὶ θόρυβος ἐν τῷ Λατίνῳ ὑπὸ γῆς ἐξηκούσθη: καὶ αὐτὰ οἱ μάντιες ἀκέσασθαι ἐθελήσαντες ὀργίζεσθαι σφισι δαιμόνιον τι ὡς καὶ ἱερῶν τινων ἢ χωρίων οὐχ ὁσίων ἐποικουμένων [3] ἔφασαν' ἐνταῦθα ὁ Κλώδιος τὸν Κικέρωνα μεταλαβὼν τῷ τε λόγῳ πολὺς ἐνέκειτο, ὅτι τὸ ἔδαφος τῆς οἰκίας ἱερωμένον τῇ Ἐλευθερίᾳ κατωκοδόμησε, καὶ ἐπῆλθέ ποτε ἐπ' αὐτὸ ὡς καὶ ἐκ θεμελίων αὐθις αὐτὴν ἀναιρήσων. καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησε μὲν 21. τοῦτο, ὁ γὰρ Μίλων ἐκώλυσεν: ὁ δ' οὖν Κικέρων ὡς καὶ παθὼν αὐτὸ ὀργὴν τε εἶχε καὶ κατηγορίας ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ τέλος τὸν τε Μίλωνα καὶ δημάρχους τινὰς παραλαβὼν ἀνῆλθέ τε ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον [p. 336] καὶ τὰς στήλας τὰς ἐπὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ φυγῇ ὑπὸ [2] τοῦ Κλωδίου σταθείσας καθεῖλε. καὶ τότε μὲν αὐτὰς ἐκείνου σὺν Γαίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ στρατηγοῦντι ἐπελθόντος ἀφηρέθη, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο φυλάξας ἐκδημοῦντα τὸν Κλώδιον ἀνέβη τε αὐθις ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὰς οἴκαδε ἀπεκόμισε. [3] γενομένου δὲ τούτου οὐδὲν ἔτ' ἀπώμοτον οὐδετέρῳ αὐτῶν ἦν, ἀλλὰ ἐλοιδοροῦν ἀλλήλους καὶ διέβαλλον ἄλλα τε ὅσα ἐδύναντο, μηδενὸς τῶν αἰσχίστων [4] ἀπεχόμενοι, καὶ ὁ μὲν τὴν τε δημαρχίαν τὴν τοῦ Κλωδίου ὡς καὶ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους γενομένην καὶ τὰ πραχθέντα ἐν αὐτῇ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ ἄκυρα ὄντα, ὁ δὲ τὴν τε φυγὴν τὴν τοῦ Κικέρωνος ὡς καὶ δικαίως ἐγνωσμένην καὶ τὴν κάθοδον αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ παρανόμως ἐψηφισμένην. 22. μαχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῦ Κλωδίου πολὺ τῇ στάσει ἐλαττουμένου, ὁ Κάτων ὁ Μᾶρκος ἐπελθὼν ἀνίσωσεν αὐτούς: τῷ τε γὰρ Κικέρωνι ἀχθόμενος, καὶ φοβηθεὶς ἅμα μὴ καὶ ὅσα αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ Κύπρῳ ἐπεποιήκει καταλυθεῖη, ὅτι πρὸς τοῦ Κλωδίου δημαρχοῦντος ἐπέπεμπτο, προθύμως [2] αὐτῷ συνήρατο. μέγα γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐφρόνει, καὶ περὶ παντὸς τὸ βεβαιωθῆναι αὐτὰ ἐποιεῖτο. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τὴν νῆσον τότε κατέχων, ἐπειδὴ τὰ τε ἐψηφισμένα ἦσθετο καὶ μὴτ' ἀντῆραι τοῖς

Ῥωμαίοις ἐτόλμησε μήτ' αὐτὸν στερηθεὶς τῆς [3] ἀρχῆς ζῆν ὑπέμεινε, φάρμακον
πιὼν ἀπέθανε, καὶ οἱ Κύπριοι τὸν Κάτωνα οὐκ ἀκουσίως, ἅτε καὶ [p. 338] φίλοι
καὶ σύμμαχοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀντὶ δούλων [4] ἔσσεσθαι προσδοκῆσαντες,
ἔσεδεξαντο: ὁ δὲ Κάτων ἐπὶ μὲν τούτοις οὐδὲν εἶχε σεμνύνεσθαι, ὅτι δὲ δὴ
τὰ τε ἄλλα ἄριστα διώκησε, καὶ δούλους καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ ἐκ τῶν
βασιλικῶν ἀθροίσας οὐδὲν ἠπιάθη ἀλλὰ ἀνεπικλήτως πάντα ἀπέδειξεν,
ἀνδραγαθίας οὐδὲν ἥττον ἢ εἰ πολέμῳ τινὶ ἐνενικῆκει μετεποιοεῖτο: ὑπὸ γὰρ
τοῦ πολλοῦ δωροδοκεῖν σπανιώτερον τὸ τῶν χρημάτων καταφρονεῖν τινα
τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων κρατεῖν ἐνόμιζε. 23. τότε οὖν ὁ Κάτων ἐν δόξῃ τινὶ
ἐπινικίων διὰ ταῦτ' αἰσίων ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ ὕπατοι γνώμην ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ
ἐποίησαντο στρατηγίαν αὐτῷ δοθῆναι καίπερ μηδέπω ἐκ τῶν νόμων
προσήκουσαν. καὶ οὐκ ἀπεδείχθη μὲν αὐτὸς γὰρ ἀντεῖλέ, τὴν δὲ δὴ [2]
εὐκλειαν καὶ ἐκ τούτου μείζονα ἔσχε. Κλῳδῖος δὲ ἐπεχείρησε μὲν τοὺς
οἰκέτας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Κύπρου ἀχθέντας Κλῳδίους, ὅτι αὐτὸς τὸν Κάτωνα
ἐκεῖσε ἐπεπόμφει, ὀνομόσαι, οὐκ ἠδυνήθη δὲ ἐναντιωθέντος αὐτοῦ. καὶ οἱ
μὲν Κύπριοι ἐπεκλήθησαν, καίτοι τινῶν Πορκίου σφᾶς προσειπεῖν
ἐθελήσαντων [3] ὅ γὰρ Κάτων καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκώλυσεν: ὀργῇ δ' οὖν ὁ Κλῳδῖος
τὴν ἐναντίωσιν αὐτοῦ φέρων, τὰ τε διοικηθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διέβαλλε καὶ
τοὺς λογισμοὺς τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπήτει, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ διελέγξαί τι αὐτὸν
ἀδικοῦντα ἐδύνατο, ἀλλ' ὅτι ὑπὸ ναυαγίας τὰ γράμματα σχεδὸν τι πάντα
διέφθαρτο, καὶ ἐδόκει κατὰ τοῦτο τι ἰσχύσειν. [4] ἐβοήθει δὲ καὶ τότε τῷ
Κλῳδίῳ ὁ Καῖσαρ καίτοι μὴ παρών, καὶ τὰς γε κατηγορίας αὐτῷ τὰς κατὰ
τοῦ Κάτωνος ἐπιστολιμαίους, ὥς γέ τινες φασιν, [p. 340] ἔπεμπε. ἐπεφέρετο δὲ
τῷ Κάτῳ ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι τὴν στρατηγίαν οἱ αὐτὸς τοὺς ὑπάτους πείσας,
ὥς γε ἔλεγον, ἐσηγήσασθαι, προσεποιήσατο ἐθελοντής, ἵνα καὶ μὴ ἄκων
ἀποτετυχηκέναι αὐτῆς δόξῃ, παρεῖσθαι. 24. οὗτοί τε οὖν ἐμάχοντο, καὶ ὁ
Πομπήιος ἔσχε μὲν καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ σίτου διαδόσει τριβὴν τινα: πολλῶν γὰρ
πρὸς τὰς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐλπίδας ἐλευθερωθέντων, ἀπογραφὴν σφῶν, ὅπως ἔν τε
κόσμῳ καὶ ἐν τάξει τινὶ σιτοδοτηθῶσιν, ἠθέλησε [2] ποιήσασθαι: οὐ μὴν
ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν τῇ τε ἑαυτοῦ σοφίᾳ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ σίτου ῥᾶν
πως διώκησε, τὴν δὲ δὴ ὑπατείαν αἰτῶν πράγματα ἔσχε καὶ αἰτίαν ἀπ'
αὐτοῦ ἔλαβεν. [3] ἐλύπει μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλῳδίου γιγνόμενα,
καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερεωρᾶτο ὣν διέφερε, διὰ τε τὸ
ἀξίωμα καὶ διὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ἰδιωτεῶν ὑπὲρ πάντας αὐτοῦς
τιμηθῆσεσθαι προσεδόκησεν ὑβριζόμενος. [4] ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ
κατεφρόνει: παραχρῆμα μὲν γὰρ κακῶς ἀκούων ἐδυσχέραινε, διαλιπὼν δὲ
καὶ ἐς ἀναλογισμὸν τῆς τε ἑαυτοῦ ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐναντίων κακίας
ἀφικνούμενος 25. οὐκέτ' αὐτῶν προετίμα: ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ αὐξανόμενος,
καὶ ὁ δῆμος τὰ τε κατειργασμένα αὐτῷ θαυμάζων ὥστε καὶ ἐκ [p. 342]
ἀποστεῖλαι, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐλπίδας ἐπαίρομενος ὥστε καὶ χρήματά
οἱ πολλὰ ψηφίσασθαι, [2] δεινῶς αὐτὸν ἠνία. ἐπεχείρησε μὲν γὰρ τοὺς
ὑπάτους ἀναπεῖσαι μήτε τὰς ἐπιστολάς αὐτοῦ εὐθὺς ἀναγιγνώσκειν, ἀλλὰ
καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, μέχρις ἂν αὐτόματος ἡ δόξα τῶν πραττομένων ἐκνικήσῃ,
συγκρῦπτειν, καὶ διάδοχόν τινα αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος καιροῦ

πέμψαι. [3] τοσαύτη γὰρ φιλοτιμίᾳ ἔχρητο ὥσθ' ὅσα αὐτὸς τῷ Καίσαρι συνέπραξε καὶ βασκαίνειν καὶ καταλῦειν, καὶ ἐκείνῳ τε ἄλλως τε μεγάλως ἐπαινουμένῳ καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ συσκιάζοντι ἄχθεσθαι, καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ ἐγκαλεῖν ὅτι αὐτὸν τε ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ ἐποιεῖτο καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ὑπερεσποῦδαξε. [4] τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ἡγανάκτει ὁρῶν αὐτοὺς τῶν τε προποιεθέντων τινὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον μνημονεύοντας ἐφ' ὅσον μηδὲν ἄλλο ἐπιγένοιτο, καὶ πρὸς τὸ αἰὲ καθιστάμενον, κἂν ἔλαττον τοῦ προτέρου ἦ, προχειρότατα τῷ τε τοῦ συνήθους κόρῳ καὶ τῇ τοῦ ξένου ἡδονῇ φερομένους, καὶ τὸ μὲν προευδοκιμοῦν πᾶν καταλύνοντας ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου, τὸ δ' ἄρτι προφαινόμενον συνεπαύξοντας 26. ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλπίδων. δι' οὖν ταῦτα δυσχεραίνων, καὶ μήτε τι διὰ τῶν ὑπάτων διαπράξασθαι δυνηθεὶς καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα μεῖζω τῆς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν πίστεως γιγνόμενον ὁρῶν, οὐκ ἐν ἐλαφρῷ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐποιήσατο. καὶ γὰρ ἐνόμιζε δύο τε [p. 344] εἶναι τὰ τὰς φιλίας τινῶν συγχέοντα, τὸ τε δέος καὶ τὸν φθόνον, καὶ ταῦτα ἀπ' ἀντιπάλου καὶ τῆς δόξης καὶ τῆς ἰσχύος μόνως μὴ συμβαίνειν: [2] ἕως μὲν γὰρ ἂν ἰσομοιρῶσί τινες αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐκείνας ἐρρῶσθαι, ἐπειδὴν δ' ὑπεράρῳσι τι οἱ ἕτεροι, ἐνταῦθα τὸ τε ἐλαττούμενον φθονῆσαν μισεῖν τὸν κρείττονα καὶ τὸ κρατοῦν καταφρονῆσαν ἐξυβρίζειν ἐς τὸν χείρονα, καὶ οὕτως ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων τὸν μὲν τῇ ἐλαττώσει ἀγανακτοῦντα τὸν δὲ τῇ πλεονεξίᾳ ἐπαιρόμενον, πρὸς τε διαφορὰς καὶ πρὸς πολέμους ἐκ τῆς πρὶν φιλίας [3] ἀφικνεῖσθαι. τοιοῦτοις οὖν δὴ τισι λογισμοῖς ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ὠπλίζετο. καὶ ἐδόκει γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ῥαδίως μόνος αὐτὸν καταλῦσαι, τὸν Κράσσον, ὥς καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ τοῦτο ποιήσων, ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἀνηρτήσατο. 27. συμφρονήσαντες οὖν ἄλλως μὲν οὐδὲν ἰδιωτεύοντες πράξειν ἤλπισαν, ἂν δ' ὑπατεύσωσι κἂκ τούτου καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ πράγματα τῇ ἐκείνου ζηλώσει διαλάβωσι, καὶ ἀντίρροποι οἱ ἔσεσθαι καὶ ταχὺ αὐτοῦ, ἅτε καὶ δύο ἐνός, περιγενήσεσθαι προσεδόκησαν. [2] καὶ οὕτω πᾶσαν τὴν προσποίησιν ἀφ' ἧς, εἰ καὶ τις τῶν ἐταίρων σφῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοὺς προῆγεν, ἀπληροῦντο μηκέτι βούλεσθαι ὑπατεῦσαι, ἀποθέμενοι, ἀντικρυς αὐτῆς, καίπερ ἑτέροις τισὶ πρότερον συναγωνιζόμενοι, μετεποιήσαντο. [3] ἐπειδὴ τε ἔξω τῶν χρόνων τῶν ἐν τοῖς [p. 346] νόμοις διειρημένων ἐπήγγειλαν αὐτήν, καὶ δῆλοι ἦσαν ἄλλοι τε καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ὑπατοὶ 'καὶ γὰρ τι καὶ ῥώμης ὁ Μαρκελλῖνος εἶχεν' οὐκ ἐπιτρέφοντές σφισιν ἀποδειχθῆναι, διεπράσσοντο τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐκείνῳ μὴ γενέσθαι, ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν Κάτωνα τὸν Γάιον ἐνιέντες, ἵνα μεσοβασιλέως αἰρεθέντος καὶ αἰτήσωσι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ λάβωσι. 28. καὶ ἐγίνετο γὰρ τοῦτο λόγῳ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν παρεσκευασμένων ἄλλοτε κατ' ἄλλην πρόφασιν, ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων 'τοῖς γοῦν ἐναντιουμένοις σφίσι φανερώς ἦχθοντό, δεινῶς ἡ γερουσία ἡγανάκτησεν, ὥστε ποτὲ μεταξὺ μαχομένων αὐτῶν [2] ἐξαναστῆναι. καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτω διελύθησαν, αὐθις δὲ ἐπειδὴ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐγίνετο, τὰς στολὰς καθάπερ ἐν συμφορᾷ τινι μετεκδῦναι ἐψηφίσαντο, καίτοι τοῦ Κάτωνος ἔκ τε τοῦ συνεδρίου, ἐπειδὴπερ ἀντιλέγων οὐδὲν ἤνυσεν, ἐκπηδήσαντος [3] ὅπως μηδὲν τελεσθεῖη: εἰ γὰρ τις τῶν μὴ βουλευόντων ἔνδον ἦν, οὐδεμία ψῆφος αὐτοῖς ἐδίδοτο. ἐκείνους τε γὰρ προαπαντήσαντες ἕτεροι δήμαρχοι

ἐκώλυσαν ἐσελθεῖν, καὶ οὕτω τοῦτο τε τὸ δόγμα ἐκυρώθη, καὶ ἐχρηματίζετο ὅπως καὶ ἐς τὴν πανηγυριν τὴν τότε οὕσαν οἱ βουλευταὶ μὴ θεωρήσωσιν. [4] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνο ὁ Κάτων ἀνθίστατο, ἐξεπήδησαν ἄνθρωποι, καὶ τὰ ἐσθήματα ἀλλαξάμενοι ἐπανήλθον ὥς καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' αὐτὸν καταπλήξοντες. καὶ ἐπειδὴ μὴδ' ὥς ἐμετρίαζεν, [p. 348] προήλθον ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἅμα πάντες, καὶ συνδραμόντος ἐπὶ τούτῳ τοῦ πλήθους ἐς πᾶν κατηφείας [5] αὐτοὺς κατέστησαν, δημηγορῶν μὲν ὁ Μαρκελλῖνος καὶ τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν ὁδυρόμενος, ἐπιδακρύοντες δὲ οἱ ἄλλοι καὶ ἐπιστένοντες, ὥστε μὴδὲν μὴδὲν ἀντιφθέγγασθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοῦτο πράξαντες ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον εὐθύς ἐσῆλθον, γνώμην ἔχοντες ἐς τοὺς ὑπαίτιους τὴν ὀργὴν 29. ἀφεῖναι: Κλώδιος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ μεταπηδήσας αὐθις πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον, καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου πάλιν ἀνθελόμενος ἐλπίδι τοῦ, εἴ τί οἱ τῶν τότε πραττομένων συγκατεργάσαιτο, πάνυ αὐτὸν ἰδιώσεσθαι, παρήλθε τε ἐς τὸν ὄμιλον ἐν τῇ καθηκούσῃ στολῇ, μὴδὲν αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸ δόγμα μεταλλάξας, καὶ κατὰ τε τοῦ Μαρκελλίνου καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐδημηγόρει. [2] πολλῆς οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀγανακτήσεως ὑπὸ τῶν βουλευτῶν γενομένης τὸ μὲν πλῆθος μεταξὺ λέγων ἐγκατέλιπε, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὸ συνέδριον ἄξας ὀλίγου διεφθάρη: τῆς γὰρ γερουσίας ἀπαντησάσης αὐτῷ εἴσω τε ἐσελθεῖν ἐκωλύθη, [3] κἂν τούτῳ ὑπὸ ἱππέων περιστοιχισθεὶς διεσπάσθῃ ἄν, εἰ μὴ ἀνακραγόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ὄμιλον ἐπιβοησαμένου προσέδραμον πολλοὶ πῦρ φέροντες, ὥς καὶ μετὰ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου σφᾶς καταπρήσοντες εἴ τι αὐτὸν ἐξεργάσαιτο. καὶ ὁ μὲν παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἐλθὼν ἀπολέσθαι 30. οὕτως ἐσώθη: Πομπήιος δὲ οὐδὲν τούτοις ἐκπλαγείς ἔς τε τὸ συνέδριόν ποτε ἐσεπήδησεν, ὑπεναντιούμενος αὐτῷ ψηφιεῖσθαι μέλλοντι, καὶ ἐκεῖνό τε κυρωθῆναι ἐκώλυσε, καὶ τοῦ Μαρκελλ- [p. 350] λίνου μετὰ τοῦτο πυθομένου δημοσίᾳ αὐτοῦ εἰ ὄντως ἐπιθυμεῖ ὑπατεῦσαι, ἐλπίδι τοῦ κατοκνήσειν αὐτὸν σπουδαρχεῖν ὁμολογῆσαι, τῶν μὲν δικαίων ἀνδρῶν ἔνεκα οὐδὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς δεῖσθαι ἔφη, διὰ δὲ δὴ τοὺς παραχῶδεις καὶ σφόδρα αὐτῆς [2] ἀντιποιεῖσθαι. ὥς οὖν τούτῳ φανερώς ἐνέκειτο, καὶ ὁ Κράσσος ἐρωτηθεὶς καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ αὐτὰ οὐχ ὡμολόγησε μὲν, οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἀπηνήσατο, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ εἰώθει διὰ μέσου ἐχώρησεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι πάνθ' ὅσα τῷ κοινῷ συμφέροι πράξεις, κατέδεισαν ὃ τε Μαρκελλῖνος καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τὴν τε παρασκευὴν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἀντίταξιν, καὶ οὐδὲ ἀπὴντων [3] ἔτι ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον. μὴ συλλεγομένου δὲ τοῦ καθήκοντος ἐκ τῶν νομίμων ἀριθμοῦ πρὸς τὸ ψηφισθῆναι τι περὶ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν, οὐδὲ χρηματισθῆναι τι ἀρχὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ἡδυνήθη, ἀλλὰ ὁ [4] ἐνιαντὸς οὕτω διέβη. οὐ μέντοι οὔτε τὴν ἐσθῆτα μετμηπίσχοντο οὔτε ἐς τὰς πανηγύρεις ἐφοίτων, οὐκ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ τῇ τοῦ Διὸς ἑορτῇ εἰσπιάθησαν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς τὰς Λατίνας, δευτέρον τότε ὑπὸ τινος οὐκ ὀρθῶς πραχθέντος ποιουμένας, ἐς τὸ Ἀλβανὸν ἀφίκοντο, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ δεδουλωμένοι, καὶ μὴτ' ἀρχὰς ἐλέσθαι μὴτ' ἄλλο τι πολιτικὸν πρᾶξαι ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντες, τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ἔτους διήγαγον. 31. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὃ τε Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Κράσσος ὕπατοι ἐκ μεσοβασιλείας ἀπεδείχθησαν, οὐτ' ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν προεπηγγελκότων ἀπαντήσαντος, καὶ Λουκίου Δομιτίου, ὃς μέχρι τῆς τελευταίας [p. 352] ἡμέρας ἐσπουδάρχησεν, ὀρμήσαντος μὲν πρὸς

τὴν ἐκκλησίαν οἴκοθεν ὑπὸ νύκτα, ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ παῖς ὁ τὸν λύχνον οἱ προφέρων ἐσφάγη, δέισαντος καὶ [2] μηκέτι περαιτέρω προχωρήσαντος. οὐτ' οὖν ἀντιστάντος τινὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν, καὶ προσέτι τοῦ Πουπλίου Κράσσου, ὃς υἱὸς τε τοῦ Μάρκου ἦν καὶ τότε τῷ Καίσαρι ὑπεστρατήγει, στρατιώτας ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀγαγόντος, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἠρέθησαν. 32. παραλαβόντες δ' 100 οὕτω τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τὰς λοιπὰς ἀρχὰς τοῖς ἐπιτηδεῖως 101 σφίσιν ἔχουσι δοθῆναι ἐποίησαν, τὸν Κάτωνα τὸν Μᾶρκον κωλύσαντες στρατηγὸν ἀποδειχθῆναι: ὑπόπτειόν τε γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαι τὰ γιγνόμενα, καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησαν ἰσχὺν αὐτῷ ἔννομον πρὸς τὰς ἀντιλογίας [2] προσθεῖναι. καὶ ἡ μὲν τῶν στρατηγῶν κατάστασις ὅ γὰρ Κάτων οὐδὲν βίαιον πρᾶξαι ἤξιωσεν· εἰρηναία ἐγένετο, περὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀγορανόμους τοὺς κουρουλίους σφαγαὶ συνέβησαν, ὥστε καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον πολλοῦ αἵματος ἀναπλησθῆναι. [3] οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μὲν, τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου αἱρουμένους, πρὸς τρόπον 102 σφίσιν 'αὐτοὶ γὰρ τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας ἐποιοῦν' ἀπέδειξαν, τοὺς τε ἀγορανόμους τοὺς ἑτέρους καὶ τῶν δημάρχων τοὺς πλείους προσηταιρίσαντο: δύο δὲ δήμαρχοι, 103 γαίος τε Ἀτέιος 104 Καπίτων καὶ Πούπλιος Ἀκύλιος 105 Γάλλος, οὐχ ὠμολόγησαν αὐτοῖς. 33. ὥς οὖν αἱ ἀρχαὶ κατέστησαν, εἶχοντο ὧν [p. 354] ἐφίεντο. καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν οὐδένα οὔτε ἐν τῇ βουλῇ οὔτε ἐν τῷ δήμῳ λόγον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐποιήσαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ ἐπλάττοντο μηδενὸς σφων προσδεῖσθαι: [2] Γάιος δὲ δὴ Τρεβώνιος δημαρχῶν ἔγραψε τῷ μὲν τὴν τε Συρίαν καὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα αὐτῆς, τῷ δὲ τὰς Ἰβηρίας 106 'καὶ γὰρ τι καὶ ἔναγχος ἐκεκίνητο 107' ἄρχειν ἐπὶ πέντε ἔτη δοθῆναι, στρατιώταις τε ὅσοις ἂν ἐθελήσωσι καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων χρωμένοις, καὶ πόλεμον καὶ εἰρήνην πρὸς οὓς ἂν βουλευθῶσι ποιουμένοις. [3] χαλεπῶς οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλῶν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος φίλων, ἐχόντων, ὅτι ἡμελλον ἐκεῖνοι, τυχόντες ὧν διωκοῦντο, τὸν Καίσαρα μηκέτ' ἐπὶ πολὺ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔξοντα καθεῖρξειν, καὶ παρασκευαζομένων διὰ τοῦτο ἀντειπεῖν τινων τοῖς γεγραμμένοις, φοβηθέντες οἱ ὑπατοὶ μὴ διαμάρτωσιν ὧν ἔπραττον, προσεποιήσαντο αὐτοὺς ὥστε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ ἐκείνῳ τρία ἔτη πλείω, ὥς γε [4] τάληθές εὐρίσκεται, μηκύναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς τὸν δῆμόν τι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐσήνεγκαν πρὶν τὰ σφέτερα βεβαιώσασθαι. οἱ τε γὰρ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπιτηδεῖοι προκαταληφθέντες οὕτως ἡσυχασαν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὸ μὲν πολὺ δουλωθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου ἡσυχίαν ἠγάγον, ἀγαπῶντες εἰ καὶ 34. ὥς περιωθεῖεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάτων καὶ ὁ Φαουώνιος ἠγαντιοῦντο μὲν πᾶσι τοῖς πρασσομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν, συνεργοὺς ἄλλους τέ τινας καὶ τοὺς δύο δημάρχους ἔχοντες, ἅτε δὲ ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς [2] ἀγωνιζόμενοι μάτην ἐπαρρησιάζοντο. καὶ ὁ μὲν Φαουώνιος μίαν ὥραν μόνην παρὰ τοῦ Τρεβωνίου [p. 356] πρὸς τὴν ἀντιλογίαν λαβὼν, κατέτριψεν αὐτὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς τοῦ καιροῦ στενοχωρίας εἰκῇ βοῶν: ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάτων ἔτυχε μὲν ἐν δύο ὥραις [3] δημηγορῆσαι, τραπόμενος δὲ πρὸς κατηγορίαν τῶν τε ἐν χερσὶ καὶ τῆς ὅλης καταστάσεως, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, κατανάλωσε τὸν καιρὸν πρὶν καὶ ὅτιοῦν τῶν προκειμένων εἰπεῖν, 108 οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἐνεδέχeto τι καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων λεχθῆναι, ἀλλ' ἵν' ἔτι τι δημηγορῆσαι δοκῶν ἔχειν ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Τρεβωνίου σιγασθῇ καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτὸ ἐγκαλῇ, ἐπεὶ εὖ γε

ἡπίστατο ὅτι οὐδ' εἰ πάσῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκέχρητο, πείσαι τι ὧν ἐβούλετο
ψηφισασθαι σφας ἐδύνατο. ^[4] οὐκοῦν οὕτε 109 παρακρήμα σιωπήσαι 110
κελευσθεὶς ἐπαύσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξωσθεὶς καὶ ἐλκυσθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ συλλόγου
ἐπανήλθε, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον καὶ ἐς τὸ οἴκημα ἐσαχθῆναι προσταχθεὶς οὐκ
ἐμετρίασεν. 35. καὶ ἐκείνῃ μὲν ἡ ἡμέρα οὕτω κατετρίβη ὥστε μὴδ' εἰπεῖν
ἀρχὴν μὴδὲν τοὺς δημάρχους δυνηθῆναι: ἐν γὰρ τοι ταῖς συνόδοις ταῖς 111
τοῦ δήμου, ἐν αἷς γε καὶ ἐβουλευόντο, πάσαις τοῖς 112 ἰδιώταις ^[2] πρὸ τῶν
τὰς ἀρχαῖς ἐχόντων ὁ λόγος ἐδίδοτο, τοῦ μὴδὲνα αὐτῶν, ὡς ἔοικε, τῇ τοῦ
κρείττονος γνώμῃ προκαταλαμβάνομενον ὑποστέλλεσθαι τι ὧν φρονοῖη,
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάσης παρρησίας τὰ δοκοῦντα ^[3] αὐτῷ λέγειν. φοβηθεὶς οὖν ὁ
Γάλλος μὴ τις αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐξείρξῃ ἢ καὶ δεινότερόν τι
ἐργάσῃται, ἔς τε τὸ συνέδριον ἀφ' ἐσπέρας ἐσῆλθε καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ
ἐνυκτέρευσε, τῆς τε ἀσφαλείας ἕνεκα τῆς παρὰ τοῦ χωρίου, καὶ ὅπως
ἐκεῖθεν ἅμα ^[p. 358] ^[4] ἔω πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ἐξέλθῃ. καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ὁ
Τρεβώνιος μάτην ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὴν νύκτα καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας τὸ πλεῖον
ἐνδιατρίψαι ἐποίησε, πάσας τὰς θύρας τοῦ βουλευτηρίου κλείσας: τὸν δὲ
Ἀτέιον τὸν τε Κάτωνα καὶ τὸν Φαουώνιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς μετ' αὐτῶν
ὄντας ἕτεροι, προκαταλαμβάνοντες τῆς νυκτὸς τὸ τοῦ συλλόγου χωρίον,
ἐξεῖργον. ^[5] καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ μὲν Φαουώνιος καὶ ὁ Νίνιος διαλαθόντες πως
ἐνδον ἐγένοντο, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάτων καὶ ὁ Ἀτέιος ἐπαναβάντες τισὶ τῶν
περιεστηκότων καὶ μετεωρισθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν διοσημίαν, ὡς καὶ
διαλύσοντές σφας, ἐπεφήμιζον, 113 τοὺτους μὲν ἐκατέρους οἱ ὑπηρεταὶ τῶν
δημάρχων ἐξήλασαν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς ὄντας
κατετραυμάτισαν, καὶ τινὰς καὶ ἀπέκτειναν. 36. κυρωθέντος δὲ οὕτω τοῦ
νόμου, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἀπαλλαττομένου ἡδὴ ἐκ τοῦ συλλόγου, παραλαβὼν
ὁ Ατέιος τὸν Γάλλον αἵματος ἀνάπλεων ἐκβιαζόμενος γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ
συνεδρίου ἐπλήγῃ παρήγαγέ τε ἐς τοὺς ἔτι παρόντας, καὶ ἐπιδείξας αὐτόν,
καὶ ἐπειπὼν ὅσα εἰκὸς ἦν, ^[2] δεινῶς σφας ἐξετάραξεν. αἰσθόμενοι οὖν τοῦθ'
οἱ ὕπατοι ἦλθόν τε διὰ ταχέων ἐγγύθεν γὰρ ποθεν τοῖς πραττομένοις
ἐφῆδρευν' καὶ καταφοβήσαντες αὐτούς, ἅτε καὶ χεῖρα οὐκ ὀλίγην ἔχοντες,
εὐθύς τε ἐκκλησίαν συνήγαγον καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπεψήφισαν,
ἀντειπεῖν μὲν καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνα τῶν αὐτῶν πειραθέντων, οὐ μέντοι καὶ
δυνηθέντων τι πρᾶξαι. 37. ταῦτά τε οὖν κυρωθῆναι ἐποίησαν, καὶ μετὰ
τοῦτο πικρότερα ἐπιτίμια τοῖς δεκάζουσι τινὰς ^[p. 360] ἐπέταξαν, ὥσπερ τι
αὐτοὶ ἔλαττον, ὅτι οὐ χρήμασιν ἀλλὰ βίᾳ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰλήφεσαν,
ἀμαρτόντες. ^[2] ἐπεχείρησαν μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἀναλώματα τὰ κατὰ τὴν 114
δίαιταν ἐπὶ μακρότατον προηγμένα 115 συστεῖλαι, καίπερ ἐς πᾶν αὐτοὶ καὶ
τρυφῆς καὶ ἀβρότῃτος προκεχωρηκότες, ἐκωλύθησαν δὲ ὑπὸ ^[3] αὐτοῦ
τούτου διανομοθετῆσαι. ὁ γὰρ Ὀρτήσιος φιλαναλωτῆς 116 ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα
ὧν ἔπεισεν αὐτούς, τὸ τε μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως ἐπεξιῶν, καὶ αὐτοῦς 117 ἐπὶ
τε τῇ οἴκῳ πολυτελείᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους μεγαλοφροσύνῃ ἐπαινῶν,
καταβαλεῖν 118 τὴν γνώμην, ἅτε καὶ συναγωνιστῇ 119 τῶν λόγων τῷ ^[4] βίῳ
σφῶν χρώμενος. τὴν τε γὰρ ἐναντίωσιν αἰδεσθέντες, καὶ προσέτι καὶ
κατοκνήσαντες φθόνῳ τινὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὧν αὐτοὶ ἐποίουν, 120 δοκεῖν

ἀπειργεῖν, ἐκόντες ἀφῆκαν τὴν ἐσθήγησιν. 38. κὰν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις ὁ Πομπήιος τὸ θέατρον, ᾧ καὶ νῦν λαμπρυνόμεθα, καθιέρωσε, καὶ ἔν τε ἐκείνῳ θεᾶν καὶ μουσικῆς καὶ ἀγῶνος γυμνασίου κὰν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ καὶ ἵππων ἄμιλλαν καὶ θηρίων πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν σφαγὰς [2] ἐποίησεν. λέοντες τε γὰρ πεντακόσιοι ἐν πέντε ἡμέραις ἀναλώθησαν, καὶ ἐλέφαντες ὀκτωκαίδεκα πρὸς ὀπλίτας ἐμαχέσαντο. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν παραχρῆμα ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον. ἡλεήθησαν γὰρ τινες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου γνώμην, ἐπειδὴ τραυματισθέντες [p. 362] [3] τῆς μάχης ἐπαύσαντο, καὶ περιόντες τὰς τε προβοσκίδας ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνέτεινον καὶ ὠλοφύροντο οὕτως ὥστε καὶ λόγον παρασχεῖν ὅτι οὐκ ἄλλως ἐκ συντυχίας αὐτὸ ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τε ὅρκους οἷς πιστεύσαντες ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης ἐπεπεραιώοντο ἐπιβώμενοι καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον πρὸς [4] τιμωρίαν σφῶν ἐπικαλοῦμενοι. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι οὐ πρότερον τῶν νεῶν ἐπέβησαν πρὶν πίστιν παρὰ τῶν ἀγόντων σφαῖς ἔνορκον λαβεῖν, ἥ μὴν μηδὲν κακὸν πείσεσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν εἶτ' ὄντως [5] οὕτως εἶτε καὶ ἄλλως πως ἔχει, οὐκ οἶδα· ἤδη γὰρ τινες καὶ ἐκεῖνο εἶπον, ὅτι πρὸς τῷ τῆς φωνῆς τῆς πατριώτιδος αὐτοὺς ἐπαῖειν 121 καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ γιγνομένων συνιασιν, ὥστε καὶ ἐν ταῖς νομηνιαῖς, πρὶν ἐς ὄψιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὴν σελήνην ἐλθεῖν, πρὸς τε ὕδωρ αἰείων 122 ἀφικνεῖσθαι [6] κἀνταῦθα καθαρμόν τινά σφων ποιεῖσθαι. ἤκουσα μὲν δὴ ταῦτα, ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι τὸ θέατρον τοῦτο οὐχ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Δημήτριός τις ἀπελεύθερος αὐτοῦ, ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων ὧν συστρατευόμενός οἱ ἐπέδωκε. ὅθεν περ καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τοῦ ἔργου δικαιοτάτα αὐτῷ ἀνέθηκεν, ἵνα μὴ μάτην 123 κακῶς ἀκοῇ ὅτι ἐξελεύθερος αὐτοῦ ἡγγυρολόγησεν ὥστε καὶ ἐς τηλικοῦτον ἀνάλωμα ἐξικέσθαι. 39. οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ἐν μὲν τούτοις οὐ σμικρὰ τῷ δήμῳ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐχαρίσατο, τοὺς δὲ δὴ καταλόγους μετὰ τοῦ Κράσσου πρὸς τὰ ἐψηφισμένα σφίσι ποιούμενος πλεῖστον αὐτοὺς ἐλύπησε. καὶ τότε δὴ οἱ πολλοὶ μετεμέλοντο καὶ τὸν τε Κάτωνα καὶ [p. 364] τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπῆνουν, ὥστε καὶ ἐκείνους διὰ τε [2] τοῦτο, καὶ ὅτι δίκη τις λόγῳ μὲν τοῖς ὑποστρατήγοις σφῶν, ἔργῳ δὲ αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὰ γινόμενα παρὰ δημάρχων τινῶν ἐπήχθη, βίαιον μὲν μηδὲν τολμῆσαι, τὴν δὲ ἐσθῆτα ὡς ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ μετὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς στασιωτῶν ἀλλάξασθαι. [3] καὶ ταύτην μὲν εὐθύς μεταγνόντες καὶ μηδὲ προφάσεώς τινος ἐπιλαβόμενοι μετεσκεύασαντο· τῶν δὲ δημάρχων τοὺς τε καταλόγους διαλύσαι καὶ τὰς στρατείας αὐτῶν ἀναψηφίσαι ἐπιχειρούντων [4] ὁ μὲν Πομπήιος οὐκ ἠγανάκτει· τοὺς τε γὰρ ὑπάρχους παραχρῆμα ἐξεπεπόμφει, καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ χώραν, ὡς καὶ κωλυόμενος ἐξελθεῖν, ἄλλως διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ σίτου παρεῖναι ὀφείλων, ἡδέως ἔμενεν, ἵνα τὰς τ' Ἰβηρίας 124 ἅμα δι' ἐκείνων κατάσχη καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ τῇ τε ἄλλῃ Ἰταλίᾳ δι' [5] ἑαυτοῦ ποιήσῃται, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κράστος, ἐπειδὴ μηδέτερον αὐτῷ τούτων ὑπῆρχεν, ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἰσχὺν ἐτράπετο. οἱ οὖν δήμαρχοι ἰδόντες ὅτι ἡ παρρησία αὐτῶν ἀσπλος οὔσα ἀσθενῆς πρὸς τὸ κωλύσαι τι πραχθῆναι ἦν, 125 ἄλλως μὲν ἐσιώπων, ἐπεφῆμιζον δὲ αὐτῷ πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα, ὥσπερ οὐ [6] καὶ 126 τῷ δημοσίῳ δι' ἐκείνου καταρώμενοι, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ τὰς εὐχὰς αὐτοῦ τὰς

νομιζόμενας ἐπὶ τῇ στρατείᾳ ποιουμένους 127 καὶ διοσημίας τινὰς καὶ τέρατα διεθρόουν, τοῦτο δὲ ἐξορωμένῳ οἱ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἐπηράσαντο. ἐπεχείρησε μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἀτίος καὶ ἐς τὸ δεσμοκτήριον ^[7] αὐτὸν ἐμβαλεῖν· ἀντιστάντων δὲ ἐτέρων δημάρχων ^[p. 366] μάχη τε αὐτῶν καὶ διατριβὴ ἐγένετο, κὰν τοῦτω ὁ Κράσος ἐξω τοῦ πωμηρίου ἐξῆλθε. καὶ ὁ μὲν, εἴτε ἐκ συντυχίας εἴτε καὶ ἐκ τῶν 40. ἀρῶν αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐσφάλη, ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Μαρκελλίνου τῇ τε Φιλίππου ὑπατείᾳ ἐπὶ Οὐενέτους ἐστράτευσεν. οἰκοῦσι δὲ πρὸς τῷ ὠκεανῷ, καὶ στρατιώτας τινὰς Ῥωμαίους πεμφθέντας ἐπὶ σῖτον συνέλαβον, 128 καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ἐλθόντας κατέσχον, ὅπως ἀντ' αὐτῶν τοὺς ὁμήρους σφῶν ἀπολάβωσιν. ^[2] ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ τούτους μὲν οὐκ ἀπέδωκε, διαπέμψας δὲ ἄλλους ἄλλῃ, τοὺς μὲν τὰ τῶν συναφεστηκότων αὐτοῖς πορθεῖν, ἵνα μὴ συμβοηθήσωσιν ἀλλήλοις, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐνσπόνδων, ^[3] μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ τι παρακινήσωσι, φρουρεῖν, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς Οὐενέτους ἦλασε, καὶ πλοῖα ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ, ἃ ἤκουεν ἐπιτήδεια πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ παλirroian εἶναι, κατασκευάσας διὰ τε τοῦ Λίγρου 129 ποταμοῦ κατεκόμισε, καὶ πᾶσαν ὀλίγου τὴν ^[4] ὠραίαν μάτην ἀνάλωσεν. αἱ τε γὰρ πόλεις ἐπ' ἐρυμνῶν χωρίων ἰδρυμέναι ἀπρόσιτοι ἦσαν, καὶ ὁ ὠκεανὸς πάσας ὡς εἰπεῖν αὐτάς περικλύζων ἄπορον μὲν τῷ πεζῷ ἄπορον δὲ καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ τὴν προσβολὴν, καὶ πλημυρῶν καὶ ἀναρρέων, 130 ἐν τε ^[5] τῇ ἀμπώτιδι καὶ ἐν τῇ ῥαχίᾳ ἐποίει, ὥστε ἐν παντὶ τὸν Καίσαρα γενέσθαι, μέχρις οὗ Δέκιμος 131 Βροῦτος ταχείαις οἱ ναυσὶν ἐκ τῆς ἔνδοθε θαλάσσης ἦλθεν. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκείναις τι πράξεων γνῶμην εἶχεν, οἱ δὲ δὴ βάρβαροι κατα- ^[p. 368] φρονήσαντες τῆς τε σμικρότητος καὶ τῆς ἀσθενείας 41. τῶν σκαφῶν ἡττήθησαν. ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ κουφότερον ὑπὲρ 132 τοῦ ταχυναυτεῖν ἐς τὸν τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν ναυτιλίας τρόπον ἐσκεύαστο, τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἅτε ἐν τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῆς τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ παλirroίας ἐπὶ τε τοῦ ξηροῦ πολλάκις ἴστασθαι καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω αὐτοῦ διαρροὴν ἀντικαρτερεῖν ὀφείλοντα, πλεῖστον σφῶν καὶ ^[2] τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῇ παχύτητι προεῖχεν. 133 δι' οὖν ταῦθ' οἱ βάρβαροι, οἷα μήπω πρότερον τοιοῦτου ναυτικοῦ πεπειραμένοι, πρὸς τε τὴν ὄψιν τῶν νεῶν καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποίησαντο, καὶ εὐθύς ναυλοχούσας 134 σφίσιν ἐπανάχθησαν ὡς καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου τοῖς κοντοῖς αὐτάς καταποντώσοντες. ἐφέροντο δὲ ἀνέμῳ καὶ πολλῷ καὶ σφοδρῷ· καὶ γὰρ ἰστία δερμάτινα εἶχον, ὥστε πᾶσαν τὴν 42. τοῦ πνεύματος ἰσχὺν ἀπλήστως ἐσδέχεσθαι. ὁ οὖν Βροῦτος, τέως μὲν ἐκεῖνο 135 ἐπέσπερχεν, οὐδ' ἀνταναχθῆναι αὐτοῖς διὰ τε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν νεῶν τὴν τε ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος φορὰν καὶ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν σφῶν ἐτόλμησεν, ἀλλὰ παρσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ τὰς προσβολὰς αὐτῶν ἀμυνόμενος καὶ τὰ σκάφη παντελῶς ἐκλείπων. ^[2] ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ τε ἄνεμος ἐξαπναιῶς ἔπεσε καὶ τὸ κύμα ἐστορέσθη, τὰ τε πλοῖα οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ὑπὸ τῶν κωπῶν ἐκινεῖτο, ἀλλ' ἅτε 136 καὶ καταβαρῆ ὄντα κατὰ χώραν τρόπον τινὰ εἰστήκει, τότε δὴ θαρσύνσας ἀντανήχθη, καὶ προσπεσὼν αὐτοῖς πολλὰ σφας καὶ δεινὰ ἀδεῶς καὶ περιπλέων καὶ ^[p. 370] ^[3] διεκπλέων, 137 καὶ τότε μὲν ἐμβάλλων τινὶ τότε δὲ ἀνακρουόμενος, ὅπῃ τε καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον ἤθελεν,

εἰργάσατο, πολλὰς τε πρὸς μίαν καὶ ἐτέρωθι ἴσαις πρὸς ἴσας, 138 ἔστι δ' ἢ καὶ ἐλάσσοσι πρὸς πλείονας ^[4] ἀσφαλῶς προσφερόμενος. ὅπου μὲν γὰρ κρείοττων αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ... προσηρτᾷτο 139 σφισι, καὶ τὰς μὲν κατέδυσεν ἀναρρηγνύς, ἐς δὲ τὰς πολλαχόθεν μετεκβαίνων ἕς τε χεῖρας τοῖς ἐπιβάταις ἦει καὶ πολλοὺς ἐφόνευεν: εἰ δὲ καὶ καθ' ὅτιοῦν ἐλαττοῖτο, ῥᾶστα ἀνεχώρει, ὥστε ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὴν πλεονεξίαν 43. αἰεῖ εἶναι. οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι μῆτε τοξεῖα χρώμενοι, μῆτε λίθους, 140 ὥς οὐδὲν αὐτῶν δεησόμενοι, προπαρασκευάσαντες, εἰ μὲν τίς σφισιν ὁμοσε ἐχώρησε, τρόπον τινὰ ἀπεμάχοντο, τοὺς δ' ὀλίγον σφῶν ἀφεστηκότας οὐκ εἶχον ὃ τι ποιήσωσιν. ^[2] αὐτοὶ τε οὖν ἐπιτρώσκοντο καὶ ἀπέθνησκον καὶ οἱ μὴδὲ ἀμύνασθαι τινα δυνάμενοι, καὶ τὰ σκάφη τὰ μὲν ἀνερρήγνυντο 141 ἐμβαλλόμενα τὰ δὲ κατεπίμπρατο 142 ὑφαπτόμενα: ἄλλα ἀναδούμενα 143 ὥσπερ ^[3] κενὰ ἀνδρῶν εἴλκετο. 144 ὀρῶντες δὲ ταῦθ' οἱ λοιποὶ ἐπιβάται οἱ μὲν ἀπεκτίννυσάν σφας, μὴ καὶ ζῶντες ἀλῶσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐξεπῆδων, ὥς καὶ δι' ἐκείνης ἦτοι τῶν πολεμίων νεῶν ἐπιβησόμενοι ἢ πάντως γε οὐχ 145 ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπολούμενοι. ^[4] προθυμίᾳ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τόλμῃ οὐδὲν αὐτῶν διέφερον, τῷ δὲ δὴ σταδίῳ τῶν σκαφῶν προδιδόμενοι δεινῶς ^[p. 372] ἥσχαλλον. ὅπως γὰρ δὴ μὴδ' αὐθῖς ποτε πνεῦμα τι ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπιγενόμενον κινήσειεν αὐτάς, δορυδρέπανα πόρρωθεν σφισιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπέφερον, καὶ τὰ τε σχοινία αὐτῶν διέτεμνον καὶ τὰ ἱστία ^[5] διέσχιζον. πεζομαχεῖν δὲ τρόπον τινὰ ἐν πλοίοις πρὸς ναυμαχοῦντας ἀναγκαζόμενοι πάμπολλοι μὲν αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ ἐφθάρησαν, πάντες δὲ οἱ περιλιπεῖς ἐάλωσαν: καὶ αὐτῶν τοὺς λογιμωτάτους ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀποσφάζας τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπώλησε. 44. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τε Μωρίνους καὶ ἐπὶ Μενάπιους ὁμόρους σφισιν ὄντας ἐστράτευσε, προσκαταπλήξειν τε αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν προκατειργασμένων καὶ ῥαδίως αἰρήσειν ἐλπίσας. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐχειρώσατο ^[2] τινας: οὔτε γὰρ πόλεις ἔχοντες ἀλλ' ἐν καλύβαις διατῶμενοι, καὶ τὰ τιμώτατα ἐς τὰ λασιώτατα τῶν ὀρῶν ἀνασκευασάμενοι, πολὺ πλείω τοὺς προσμιζαντάς σφισι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκάκωσαν ἢ αὐτοὶ ἔπαθον. ἐπεχείρησε μὲν γὰρ ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ τὰ ὄρη τὴν ὕλην τέμνων προχωρῆσαι, ἀπειπὼν δὲ διὰ τε τὸ μέγεθος αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ τὸ πρὸς χειμῶνα εἶναι ἀπανεστή. 45. ἔτι δ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Οὐνετιᾷ ὄντος Κύντος Τιτούριος Σαβῖνος ὑποστράτηγός τε ἐστάλη ἐπὶ Οὐνέλλους, 146 ὣν ἡγεῖτο Οὐριδοῦιξ, 147 καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καὶ πάνυ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν κατεπλάγη, ^[2] ὥστ' ἀγαπᾶν ἂν τὸ γε 148 ἔρυμα διασώσῃται, ἔπειτα δὲ αἰσθόμενός σφας θρασύτερον μὲν ἀπὸ τούτου διακειμένους, οὐ μὴν καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ δεινοὺς ὄντας, οἷα που οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς ^[p. 374] πᾶν τὸ φοβερόν διὰ κενῆς ἐπικομποῦσιν, ἀνεθάρσησε. καὶ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ προφανοῦς οὐδ' οὕτως ἐτόλμησέ σφισι συνεχεῖσθαι τῷ γὰρ πλήθει πολὺ ^[3] κατείργετό, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὸ τάφρευμα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μετέωρου 149 τοῦ χωρίου ὄντος ὑπηγάγετο αὐτοὺς ἀπερισκέπτως προσβαλεῖν: τῶν γὰρ συμμάχων τινὰ ὁμοφωνοῦντάς σφισιν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐσπέραν ὥς αὐτόμολον πέμψας, ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς ὅτι ὁ τε Καῖσαρ ^[4] ἐπταικῶς εἶη ... καὶ οὕτω 150 πιστεύσαντες ἀπερισκέπτως ἐκείνοι πάνυ γάρ τι 151 διακορεῖς καὶ τῆς τροφῆς καὶ τοῦ ποτοῦ ἦσαν' εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, μὴ καὶ

φθάσωσι σφας φυγόντες, ὥρμησαν, καὶ ἔδει γὰρ μὴδὲ πυρφόρον τῷ λόγῳ αὐτῶν σωθῆναι, φρύγανα καὶ ξύλα τὰ μὲν ἀράμενοι τὰ δὲ ἐφελκόμενοι ὡς καὶ καταπρήσοντες ^[5] αὐτούς, πρὸς τε τὸ ὄρθιον προσέβαλον καὶ σπουδῇ προσανέβαινον, μηδενὸς σφισιν ἐναντιούμενον: ὁ γὰρ Σαβῖνος οὐκ ἐκινήθη πρὶν ἐντὸς τῆς ἐπικρατείας αὐτοῦ τοὺς πλείους αὐτῶν γενέσθαι. τότε δὲ ἐπικατέδραμὲ σφισιν ἀπανταχόθεν ἅμα ἀπροσδόκητος, καὶ τοὺς πρώτους ἐκπλήξας κατήραξε ^[6] κατὰ τοῦ πρανοῦς ἅπαντας, κάνταῦθα αὐτούς ἐν τῇ ἀναστροφῇ περὶ τε ἀλλήλοις καὶ περὶ τοῖς ξύλοις 152 σφαλλομένους κατέκοψεν οὕτως ὥστε ^[7] μηδὲνα αὐτῶν μὴδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἔτ' ἀντᾶραι. ἅπληστοι γὰρ ἀλογίστως οἱ Γαλάται ἐς πάνθ' ὁμοίως ὄντες οὔτε τὸ θαρσοῦν σφων οὔτε τὸ δεδιὸς μετριάξουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἔκ τε τούτου 153 πρὸς δειλίαν ἀνέλ- ^[p. 376] πιστον καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου πρὸς θάρσος προπετές ἐκπίπτουσιν. 46. ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας καὶ ὁ Κράσσος ὁ Ποῦπλιος, τοῦ Κράσσου τοῦ Μάρκου παῖς, τὴν Ἀκυϊτανίαν ὀλίγου πᾶσαν κατεστρέψατο: Γαλάται γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὄντες τῇ τε Κελτικῇ 154 προσοικοῦσι καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Πυρηνάιον ἐς τὸν ὠκεανὸν ^[2] καθήκουσιν. ἐπ' οὖν τούτους ὁ Κράσος στρατεύσας Σωτιάτας 155 τε μάχῃ ἐκράτησε καὶ πολιορκίᾳ εἶλεν, ὀλίγους μὲν ἐν ὁμολογίᾳ τινὶ ἐξ ἀπάτης 156 ἀποβαλὼν, ἰσχυρῶς δὲ σφας καὶ περὶ ^[3] αὐτοῦ τούτου ἀμυνάμενος: 157 καὶ ἐτέρους τινὰς ἰδὼν ἡθροισμένους τε καὶ στρατιώτας ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας Σερτωριεῖους 158 ἔχοντας, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν στρατηγικώτερον ἢ προπετέστερον τῷ πολέμῳ χρωμένους, ὡς καὶ τῇ ἀπορίᾳ τῶν τροφῶν δι' ὀλίγου σφῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐκχωρησόντων, προσεποιήσατό τε αὐτούς δεδιέναι, καὶ καταφρονηθεὶς οὐχ ὑπηγάγετο μὲν οὐδ' ὡς ἐς χεῖράς οἱ ἐλθεῖν, ἀδεῶς δ' ἐς ὕστερον ἔχουσί σφισι προσέβαλεν ἐξαίφνης ἀνέλπιστος. ^[4] καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν ἥ προσέμιξεν οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο ἔπεκδραμόντες γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι ἰσχυρῶς ἡμύνοντό, ἐνταῦθα δὲ δὴ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῖς οὔσης περιέπεμψέ τινας ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ στρατοπέδου σφῶν, καὶ τοῦτό τε ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν κατέσχευεν, 159 καὶ τοῖς μαχομένοις δι' αὐτοῦ κατὰ νώτου ἐπεγένετο. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνοί τε πάντες ἐφθάρησαν, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πλὴν ὀλίγων ἀκονιτὶ ὠμολόγησαν. ^[p. 378] 47. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ θέρει ἐπράχθη, χειμαζόντων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ Τέγκτηροί τε καὶ Οὔσιπέται, Κελτικὰ γένη, τὸ μὲν τι καὶ πρὸς Σουήβων 160 ἐκβιασθέντες τὸ 161 δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῶν Γαλατῶν ἐπικληθέντες, τὸν τε Ῥῆνον διέβησαν ^[2] καὶ ἐς τὴν τῶν Τρηουήρων 162 ἐνέβαλον. κάνταῦθα τὸν Καίσαρα εὐρόντες καὶ φοβηθέντες ἔπεμψαν πρὸς αὐτὸν σπονδὰς τε ποιούμενοι καὶ χώραν αἰτοῦντες, ἢ σφίσι γε ἐπιτραπῆναι τινα ἀξιοῦντες λαβεῖν. ὡς δ' οὐδενὸς ἔτυχον, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐθελονταὶ 163 οἴκαδε ἐπανήξειν ὑπέσχοντο καὶ διοκωχὴν ^[3] ἤτήσαντο: ἔπειτα δὲ ἱππέας αὐτοῦ ὀλίγους προσιόντας ἰδόντες οἱ ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ σφῶν ὄντες κατεφρόνησάν τε αὐτῶν καὶ μετέγνωσαν, κάκ 164 τούτου ἐπισχόντες τῆς πορείας 165 ἐκείνους τε μὴ προσδεχομένους ἐκακώσαν, καὶ ἐπαρθέντες ἐπὶ 48. τούτῳ εἶχοντο τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καταγνόντες πρὸς τε τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ παρὰ τὴν γνώμην σφῶν ἦλθον, καὶ ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦ συγγνῶναι σφισι, τὴν αἰτίαν ἐς ὀλίγους τρέποντες. ὁ δὲ τούτους 166 μὲν ὡς καὶ ἀπόκρισιν τινα αὐτοῖς ^[2] οὐκ ἐς

μακρὰν δώσων κατέσχευεν, ὀρμήσας δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς ὄντας ἐπέστη τὲ σφισι μεσημβριάζουσι καὶ μηδὲν πολέμιον, ἅτε ἐκείνων παρ' αὐτῷ ὄντων, ὑποτοπουμένοις, καὶ ἐσπηδήσας ἐς αὐτὰς παμπληθεῖς τῶν πεζῶν, οὐδὲ τὰ ὄπλα ἀνελέσθαι φθάσαντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ 167 ταῖς ἀμάξαις ὑπὸ τε τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ^[p. 380] παιδῶν ἀναμιξ ὄντων ταραττομένους, 168 κατεφόνευσεν. ^[3] τοὺς τε ἱππέας ἀπόντας τότε, καὶ παραχρῆμα, ὡς ἐπύθοντο τὸ γεγονός, πρὸς τε τὰ οἰκεῖα ἦθη ὀρμήσαντας καὶ πρὸς Συγάμβρους ἀποχωρήσαντας, πέμψας ἐξήτησεν, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἐκδοθήσεσθαι σφας προσεδόκησεν 'οὐ γὰρ που οὕτως οἱ πέραν τοῦ Ῥήνου τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐφοβοῦντο ὥστε καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα αὐτῶν ἀκούειν', ἀλλ' ὅπως ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ^[4] ταύτῃ καὶ ἐκείνον διαβρίῃ. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ὁ μηδεὶς πω πρότερον τῶν ὁμοίων οἱ ἐπεποιήκει, δεινῶς πρᾶξαι ἐγλίχeto, καὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς πόρρωθεν ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας ἀνείρξειν, ἅτε καὶ ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν αὐτῶν ἐσβαλὼν, 169 προσεδόκησεν. ὡς οὖν οὔτε οἱ ἱππῆς ἐξεδίδοντο, καὶ οἱ Οὔβιοι 170 ὁμοροὶ τε τοῖς Συγάμβροις οἰκοῦντες καὶ διάφοροι αὐτοῖς ὄντες ἐπεκαλέσαντο αὐτόν, διέβη μὲν τὸν ποταμὸν ^[5] γεφυρώσας, εὐρὼν δὲ τοὺς τε Συγάμβρους ἐς τὰ ἐρυμνὰ ἀνακεκομισμένους καὶ τοὺς Σουήβους συστρεφομένους ὡς καὶ βοηθήσοντάς σφισιν ἀνεχώρησεν ἐντὸς ἡμερῶν εἴκοσιν. 49. ὁ δὲ δὴ Ῥήνος ἀναδίδωσι μὲν ἐκ τῶν Ἀλπεων τῶν Κελτικῶν, 171 ὀλίγον ἔξω τῆς Ραιτίας, προχωρῶν δὲ ἐπὶ δυσμῶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μὲν τὴν τε Γαλατίαν καὶ τοὺς ἐποικοῦντας αὐτήν, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἀποτεμένεται, καὶ τελευτῶν ἐς τὸν ὠκεανὸν ^[2] ἐμβάλλει. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ ὅρος, ἀφ' οὔ γε 172 καὶ ἐς τὸ διάφορον τῶν ἐπικλήσεων ἀφίκοντο, 173 δεῦρο αἰεὶ νομίζεται, ἐπεὶ 174 τὸ γε πάνυ ἀρχαῖον Κελτοὶ ^[p. 382] ἑκάτεροι οἱ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα τοῦ ποταμοῦ οἰκοῦντες ὠνομάζοντο. 50. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ τὸν τε Ῥήνον πρῶτος τότε Ῥωμαίων διέβη, καὶ ἐς Βρεττανίαν μετὰ ταῦτα, τοῦ τε Πομπηίου καὶ τοῦ Κράσσου ὑπατευσόντων, ^[2] ἐπεραιώθη. ἡ δὲ δὴ χώρα αὕτη ἀπέχει 175 μὲν τῆς ἡπείρου τῆς Βελγικῆς 176 κατὰ Μωρίνους σταδίους πεντήκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίους τὸ συντομώτατον, παρήκει δὲ παρὰ τε τὴν λοιπὴν Γαλατίαν καὶ παρὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ὀλίγου πᾶσαν, ἐς τὸ 177 πέλαγος ^[3] ἀνατείνουσα. καὶ τοῖς μὲν πάνυ πρώτοις καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ῥωμαίων οὐδ' ὅτι ἔστιν ἐγινώσκετο, τοῖς δὲ ἔπειτα ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν εἴτε ἡπειρος εἴτε καὶ νῆσος εἴη ἀφίκετο: καὶ πολλοῖς ἐφ' ἑκάτερον, εἰδόσι μὲν οὐδὲν ἅτε μήτ' αὐτόπταις μήτ' αὐτηκόοις τῶν ἐπιχωρίων γενομένοις, τεκμαιρομένοις δὲ ὡς ἕκαστοι 178 σχολῆς ἢ καὶ φιλολογίας εἶχον, ^[4] συγγέγραπται. προϊόντος δὲ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου πρότερόν τε ἐπ' Ἀγρικόλου ἀντιστρατήγου καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Σεουήρου αὐτοκράτορος νῆσος οὕσα σαφῶς ἐλήλεγκται. 51. ἐς ταύτην οὖν τότε ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἐπειδὴ τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ τῶν Γαλατῶν ἡσύχαζε καὶ τοὺς Μωρίνους προσεποιήσατο, ἐπεθύμησε διαβῆναι. καὶ τὸν μὲν διάπλουν καθ' ὃ μάλιστα ἐχρῆν μετὰ τῶν πεζῶν ἐποιήσατο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἥ ἔδει προσέσχευεν: οἱ γὰρ Βρεττανοὶ τὸν ἐπίπλουν αὐτοῦ προπυθόμενοι τὰς κατάρσεις ἀπάσας τὰς πρὸς τῆς ἡπείρου ^[2] οὕσας προκατέλαβον. ἄκραν οὖν τινα προέχουσιν ^[p. 384] περιπλεύσας ἐτέρωσε παρεκομίσθη: κάνταῦθα τοὺς προσμιζαντάς οἱ ἐς τὰ τεναγὴ ἀποβαίνοντι νικήσας, ἔφθη τῆς γῆς κρατήσας

πρὶν τὴν πλείω συμβοήθειαν ἐλθεῖν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐκείνους [3] προσβαλόντας ἀπέωσατο. καὶ ἔπιπτον μὲν οὐ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄρματιλάται τε γὰρ ὄντες καὶ ἱππῆς ῥαδίως τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, μηδέπω τοῦ ἱππικοῦ αὐτοῖς παρόντος, διέφυγον, ἐκπλαγέντες δὲ πρὸς τε τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου περὶ αὐτῶν ἀγγελλόμενα, καὶ ὅτι περαιωθῆναι τε ὅλως ἐτόλμησαν καὶ ἐπιβῆναι τῆς χώρας ἡδυνήθησαν, πέμπουσι πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα τῶν Μωρίνων τινάς, φίλων σφίσιν ὄντων, ἐπικηρυκεύμενοι. καὶ τότε μὲν 52. ὁμήρους αἰτήσαντι αὐτῷ δοῦναι ἠθέλησαν, πονησάντων δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπὸ χειμῶνος καὶ τῷ παρόντι ναυτικῷ καὶ τῷ ἀφικνουμένῳ καὶ μετέγνωσαν, καὶ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ προφανοῦς οὐκ ἐπέθεντο αὐτοῖς τὸ γὰρ στρατόπεδον ἰσχυρῶς ἐφυλάσσετό, [2] δεξάμενοι δὲ τινας ὡς καὶ ἐς φιλίαν τὴν χώραν σφῶν πρὸς κοιμίδην τῶν ἐπιτηδείων πεμφθέντας, αὐτοὺς 179 τε πλὴν ὀλίγων ἔφθειραν ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ διὰ ταχέων τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπήμυνε καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ ἔρυμα αὐτῶν προσέβαλον. καὶ ἔπραξαν μὲν οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κακῶς ἀπήλλαξαν: οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς ὁμολογίαν ἦλθον [3] πρὶν πολλάκις σφαλῆναι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἄλλως μὲν οὐκ εἶχε γνώμην σπείσασθαι σφίσιν: ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ τε χειμῶν προσῆι, καὶ οὐχ ἱκανὴν τὴν παροῦσαν δύναμιν περιεβέβλητο ὥστε καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ πολεμῆσαι, ἣ τε κοιμιζομένη ἔσφαλτο, καὶ οἱ Γαλάται πρὸς τὴν ἀπουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἐνεωτέρισαν, [p. 386] καὶ ἄκων αὐτοῖς συνηλλάγη, ὁμήρους καὶ τότε πλείους αἰτήσας μὲν, λαβὼν δὲ ὀλίγους. 53. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον ἀναπλεύσας τὰ ταραχθέντα καθίστατο, μηδὲν 180 ἐκ τῆς Βρεττανίας μήτε ἑαυτῷ μήτε τῇ πόλει προσκτησάμενος πλὴν τοῦ ἐστρατευκέναί ἐπ' αὐτοὺς 181 δόξαι. τούτῳ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἰσχυρῶς ἐσεμνύνετο καὶ οἱ οἴκοι Ῥωμαῖοι [2] θαυμαστῶς ἐμεγαλύνοντο: ἐμφανῆ τε γὰρ τὰ πρὶν ἄγνωστα καὶ ἐπιβατὰ τὰ πρόσθεν ἀνήκουστα ὀρῶντές σφισι γεγονότα, τὴν τε μέλλουσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐλπίδα ὡς καὶ παροῦσαν ἔργῳ ἐλάμβανον, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα καταπράξειν 182 προσεδέχοντο ὡς καὶ ἔχοντες ἤδη ἡγάλλοντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν διὰ ταῦτα ἱερομηνίας ἐπὶ εἴκοσιν 54. ἡμέρας ἀγαγεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο: ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἐκεῖνα ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἡ Ἰβηρία ἐκινήθη, διὸ καὶ τῷ Πομπηίῳ προσετάχθη. ἐπαναστάντες 183 γὰρ τινες καὶ Οὐακκαίους προστησάμενοι μάχῃ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Νέπωτος τοῦ Μετέλλου, ἀπαράσκευοι ἔτ' ὄντες, ἡττήθησαν, [2] πολιορκοῦντι δ' αὐτῷ Κλουνίαν ἐπελθόντες ἀμείνους ἐγένοντο, καὶ ἐκείνην μὲν περιεποιήσαντο, ἐτέρωθι δὲ ἐσφάλησαν, οὐ μὴν ὥστε καὶ δι' ὀλίγου δουλωθῆναι. τῷ γὰρ πλήθει πολὺ τῶν ἐναντίων περιῆσαν, ὥστε τὸν Νέπωτα ἀγαπᾶν ἂν τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀκινδύνως ἄγῃ. 55. κατὰ δὲ δὴ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον καὶ ὁ Πτολεμαῖος, καίτοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὴν τε ἐπικουρίαν ἀπεψηφισμένων καὶ πρὸς τὰς δωροδοκίας τὰς ὑπ' 184 αὐτοῦ γενομένας δεινῶς ἔτι καὶ τότε διακειμένων, [p. 388] κατήχθη καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκομίσαστο. [2] ἔπραξαν δὲ τοῦτο ὁ τε Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Γαβίνιος: τοσοῦτον γὰρ αἶ τε δυναστεῖται καὶ αἱ τῶν χρημάτων περιουσίαι καὶ παρὰ τὰ ψηφίσματα τὰ τε [3] τοῦ δήμου καὶ τὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἰσχυσαν, ὥστε ἐπιστεῖλας μὲν ὁ Πομπήιος τῷ Γαβινίῳ τῆς Συρίας τότε ἄρχοντι, στρατεύσας δὲ ἐκεῖνος, ὁ μὲν τῇ χάριτι ὁ δὲ τῇ δωροληψίᾳ καὶ ἄκοντος αὐτὸν τοῦ κοινοῦ κατήγαγον, μηδὲν μήτε

ἐκείνου μήτε ^[4] τῶν τῆς Σιβύλλης χρησμῶν φροντίσαντες. καὶ ἐκρίθη μὲν ὕστερον ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁ Γαβίνιος, οὐχ ἑάλω δὲ διὰ τε τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ διὰ τὰ χρήματα: οὕτω γάρ που τὰ πράγματα τοῖς τότε Ῥωμαίοις συνεκέχυτο 185 ὥστε ἀπὸ πολλῶν ὧν ἐδωροδόκησε σμικρὰ ἅττα τῶν τε ἀρχόντων τινὲς καὶ τῶν δικαστῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντες οὐτε τοῦ προσήκοντός τι προετίμησαν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους κακουργεῖν ὑπὲρ 186 χρημάτων ἐξεδίδαξαν ὡς καὶ ^[5] τὴν τιμωρίαν ῥαδίως ἐξωνεῖσθαι δυναμένους. τότε μὲν οὖν διὰ ταῦτα ἀφείθη, αὐθις δὲ ἐπὶ τε ἐτέροις πσι, καὶ ὅτι πλέον ἢ μυρίας ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς μυριάδας ἥρπασε, κριθεῖς ἑάλω. καὶ ἐκείνῳ τε τοῦτο παραδοξότατον συνέβη 'τῆς τε γὰρ προτέρας δίκης διὰ τὰ χρήματα ἀπελύθη, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις δι' ^[6] ἐκείνην ὅτι μάλιστα κατεδικάσθη 187' καὶ τῷ Πομπηίῳ, ὅτι τὸ μὲν πρότερον, καίτοι πόρρω που ὦν, ἐρρύσατο τὸν Γαβίνιον διὰ τῶν ἐταίρων, τότε δὲ ἔν τε τῷ προαστείῳ ὦν καὶ τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ αὐτῷ παρῶν οὐδὲν ἥνυσεν. ^[p. 390] 56. ἔσχε δὲ ὧδε. ὁ Γαβίνιος πολλὰ μὲν καὶ τὴν Συρίαν ἐκάκωσεν, ὥστε καὶ τῶν ληστικῶν, ἃ καὶ τότε ἤκμαζε, πολὺ πλείω σφίσι λυμῆνασθαι, πάντα δὲ διὰ τὰ αὐτόθεν λήμματα ἐλάχιστα εἶναι νομίσας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐνόει 188 καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους τὸν τε πλοῦτον αὐτῶν ^[2] στρατεύσων. τοῦ γὰρ Φραάτου ὑπὸ τῶν παιδῶν δολοφονηθέντος Ὀρώδης τὴν τε βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ διεδέξατο, καὶ Μιθριδάτην τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐκ τῆς Μηδίας, ἧς ἥρχεν, ἐξέβαλε. καὶ ὅς καταφυγὼν πρὸς τὸν Γαβίνιον ἀνέπεισεν αὐτὸν συμπράξαι οἱ ^[3] τὴν κάθοδον. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ὁ Πτολεμαῖος μετὰ τῶν τοῦ Πομπηίου γραμμάτων ἦλθε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν αὐτῷ πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῷ στρατῷ χρήματα τὰ μὲν ἤδη παρέξιεν, τὰ δ' ἂν καταχθῇ δώσειν ὑπέσχετο, τὰ τε τῶν Πάρθων εἴασε καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ^[4] ἡπείχθη, καίπερ ἀπαγορεύοντος μὲν τοῦ νόμου μήτε ἐς τὴν ὑπερορίαν τοὺς ἄρχοντας τινῶν ἀποδημεῖν μήτε πολέμους ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἀναιρεῖσθαι, ἀπειρηκότος δὲ καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῆς τε Σιβύλλης μὴ καταχθῆναι τὸν ἄνδρα. ἀλλ' ὅσω γὰρ ἐκεκώλυτο ^[5] ταῦτα, τόσω πλείονος αὐτὰ ἀπημπόλησε. καταλιπὼν οὖν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ Σισένναν τε τὸν υἱὸν κομιδῇ νέον ὄντα καὶ στρατιώτας μετ' αὐτοῦ πάνυ ὀλίγους, τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἐφ' ἧς ἐτέτακτο τοῖς λησταῖς ^[6] ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Παλαιστίνην ἐλθὼν τὸν τε Ἀριστόβουλον 'διαδρὰς γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ὑπετάραπτε τί συνέλαβε καὶ τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἔπεμψε, καὶ φόρον τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐπέταξε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐνέβαλε. ^[p. 392] 57. ἦρχε δὲ τότε τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἡ Βερενίκη, καὶ ἐπεικὲς μὲν οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν. ... καίτοι φοβουμένη τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ἔπραξε, Σέλευκον δὲ τινα, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου γένους τοῦ ποτε ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ἀνθήσαντος ὄντα, μεταπέμψασα ἄνδρα τε ἐπεγράψατο καὶ κοινωνὸν τῆς τε βασιλείας καὶ ^[2] τοῦ πολέμου ἐποιήσατο. ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐν οὐδενὸς μοῖρα ὦν ἐωρᾶτο, τοῦτον μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν, Ἀρχέλαον δὲ τὸν τοῦ Ἀρχελάου τοῦ πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν αὐτομολήσαντος, δραστήριόν τε ὄντα καὶ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ τὴν δίκαιαν ἔχοντα, ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπηγάγετο. 189 ὁ γὰρ Γαβίνιος ἐδύνατο μὲν ἀρχόμενον τὸ δεινὸν παῦσαι 'τὸν γὰρ Ἀρχέλαον προὔποτοπῆσας συνέλαβε, καὶ ἔμελλεν ἐκ τούτου μηδὲν ἔτ' ^[3] ἔργον ἔξειν', φοβηθεὶς δὲ μὴ καὶ ἐλάττω διὰ τοῦτο παρὰ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τῶν ὠμολογημένων οἱ χρημάτων, ὡς οὐδὲν

ἀξιόλογον πεποικῶς, λαβοί, καὶ ἐλπίσας ἔτι καὶ πλείω πρὸς τε τὴν δεινότητα καὶ πρὸς τὴν δόξαν τὴν τοῦ Ἀρχελαίου χρηματιεῖσθαι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἄλλα παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου συχνὰ λαβών, ἐθελοντῆς αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ διαδράντα 58. ἀφῆκε. καὶ οὕτως 190 ἕς 191 μὲν τὸ Πηλοῦσιον ἀφίκετο μηδενὸς ἐναντιουμένου, προῖων δὲ ἐντεῦθεν διχα διηρημένῳ τῷ στρατῷ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἀπαντήσαντάς οἱ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐνίκησε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' αὐθις ἔν τε τῷ ποταμῷ ναυσὶ κὰν τῇ γῇ ἐκράτησεν: οἱ γὰρ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς θρασύνασθαι μὲν πρὸς πάντα ἱκανώτατοι καὶ ἐκκαλῆσαι πᾶν ὃ τι ποτ' ἂν ἐπέλθῃ σφίσι προπετέστατοι πεφύκασι, [2] πρὸς δὲ δὴ πόλεμον τὰ τε δεινὰ αὐτοῦ φλαυρότα- [p. 394] τοί εἰσι, καίπερ ἐν ταῖς στάσεσι, πλείσταις δὴ καὶ μεγίσταις παρ' αὐτοῖς γιγνομέναις, διὰ φόνων τε αἰεὶ χωροῦντες καὶ τὸ ζῆν παρ' οὐδὲν πρὸς τὴν αὐτίκα φιλονεικίαν τιθέμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥσπερ τι τῶν ἀρίστων ἢ ἀναγκαιοτάτων 192 τὸν ἐν αὐταῖς [3] ὄλεθρον διώκοντες, νικήσας οὖν αὐτοὺς ὁ Γαβίνιος, καὶ ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν Ἀρχέλαον φονεύσας, ἐγκρατὴς τε τῆς Αἰγύπτου πάσης παραχρῆμα ἐγένετο καὶ τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ αὐτὴν παρέδωκε. καὶ ὁ μὲν τὴν τε θυγατέρα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς πρώτους καὶ πλουσιωτάτους, ἅτε καὶ χρημάτων 59. πολλῶν δεόμενος, ἀπέκτεινε: Γαβίνιος δὲ ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὕτω κατήγαγεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ οἴκαδε περὶ τῶν πραχθέντων ἐπέστειλεν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ αὐτάγγελός 193 σφισιν ὦν παρηνομήκει γένηται. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τε ἦν τηλικούτο πρᾶγμα κρυφθῆναι, εὐθύς τε αὐτὸ 194 ὁ δῆμος ἐπύθετο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ οἱ Σύροι [2] πολλὰ τοῦ Γαβινίου, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ δεινῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ληιστῶν κακωθέντες, κατεβόησαν, οἳ τε τελῶναι μὴ δυνηθέντες τὰ τέλη δι' αὐτοὺς ἐσπρᾶξαι συχνὰ ἐπωφείλῃσαν, ὠργίζοντο καὶ γνώμας τε ἐποιοῦντο καὶ ἐτοιμῶς εἶχον καταψηφίσασθαι [3] αὐτοῦ. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κικέρων τὰ τε ἄλλα ἰσχυρῶς ἐνήγε, καὶ συνεβούλευε σφίσι τὰ Σιβύλλεια ἔπη αὐθις ἀναγνῶναι, προσδοκῶν ἐγγεγράφθαι τινὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς τιμωρίαν ἂν τι 195 παραβαθῇ. 196 60. ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος ὃ τε Κράσσος ὑπάτευόν τε ἔτι, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἑαυτῷ βοηθῶν, ὁ δὲ τὴν τε ἐκείνου [p. 396] χάριν καὶ ἅμα καὶ χρήματα παρὰ τοῦ Γαβινίου πεμφθέντα οἱ λαβών, ἔκ τε τοῦ προφανοῦς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διεδικαίουν, καὶ ἄλλα τε καὶ φυγάδα τὸν Κικέρωνα ἀποκαλοῦντες οὐδὲν ἐπεψήφισαν. [2] ὡς μέντοι ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπηλλάγησαν καὶ αὐτοὺς ὃ τε Δομίτιος ὁ Λούκιος καὶ Ἀππίος Κλαύδιος διεδέξαντο, γνώμαι αὐθις πολλαὶ ἐλέχθησαν, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Γαβινίου αἱ πλείους ἐγένοντο: [3] ὃ τε γὰρ Δομίτιος ἐχθρὸς τῷ Πομπηίῳ διὰ τε τὸ σπουδαρχῆσαι καὶ διὰ 197 τὸ παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῦ ἀποδειχθῆναι ὦν, καὶ ὁ Κλαύδιος, καίπερ προσήκων οἱ, ὅμως 198 τοῖς τε πολλοῖς χαρίσασθαι τι ὑπὸ δημαγωγίας ἐθελήσας, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Γαβινίου δωροδοκῆσαι, ἂν γέ τι συνταράξῃ, [4] προσδοκῆσας, πάντα ἐπ' 199 αὐτῷ ἔπραξαν. καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκεῖνο δεινῶς ἐπίεσεν, 200 ὅτι προπεμφθέντα τινὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κράσσου ὑποστράτηγον ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ διαδοχῇ οὐκ ἐδέξατο, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀθάνατον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἰληφῶς κατεῖχεν αὐτήν. ἔδοξεν οὖν σφίσι τὰ τῆς Σιβύλλης ἔπη ἀναγνωσθῆναι, καίπερ 201 ἀντειπόντος 202 τοῦ Πομπηίου. 61. κὰν τούτῳ ὁ Τίβερις, εἴτ' οὖν ὁμβρων ἄνω που ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ἐξαισιῶν γενομένων, εἴτε καὶ σφοδροῦ πνεύματος

ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης τὴν ἐκροὴν αὐτοῦ ἀνακόψαντος, εἴτε καὶ μᾶλλον, ὡς ὑπωπτεύετο, ἐκ παρασκευῆς δαιμονίου τινός, τοσοῦτος 203 ἔξαπιναίως ἐρρῦν ὥστ' ἐν πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς πεδίοις [p. 398] τοῖς ἐν τῷ ἄστει οὖσι πελαγίσαι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ [2] τῶν μετεωροτέρων καταλαβεῖν. αἱ τε οὖν οἰκίαι 204 ἔκ πλινθων γὰρ συνωκοδομημέναι ἦσαν' διάβροχοι τε ἐγένοντο καὶ κατερράγησαν, καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια πάντα ὑποβρύχια ἐφθάρη. τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων ὅσοι μὴ ἐφθησαν πρὸς τὰ πάνυ ὑψηλὰ ἀναφυγόντες, οἱ μὲν ἐν 205 ταῖς τέγαις 206 οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν ὁδοῖς ἐγκαταληφθέντες ἐξώλοντο. καὶ γὰρ αἱ λοιπαὶ οἰκίαι, ἅτε ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ δεινοῦ συμβάντος, σαθραὶ τε ἐγένοντο καὶ πολλοῖς 207 τοῖς [3] μὲν εὐθύς τοῖς δὲ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐλυμήναντο. οἱ 208 οὖν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπὶ τ' ἐκείνοις τοῖς παθήμασι λυπούμενοι, καὶ ἕτερα χαλεπώτερα ὡς καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου κάθοδον ὀργὴν σφισι τοῦ δαιμονίου πεποιημένου προσδεχόμενοι, ἠπείγοντο καὶ ἀπόντα τὸν Γαβίνιον, ὡς καὶ ἦττον τι, ἂν φθάσωσιν αὐτὸν [4] ἀπολέσαντες, κακωθησόμενοι, θανατῶσαι. καὶ οὕτω γε ἐντόνως ἔσχον ὥστε, καίτοι μηδενὸς τοιούτου ἐν τοῖς Σιβυλλεῖσι χρησμοῖς εὑρεθέντος, ὅμως τὴν γερουσίαν πικρότατα καὶ τραχύτατα τοὺς τε ἄρχοντας καὶ τὸν δῆμον αὐτῷ χρῆσασθαι προβουλευσai. 62. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίνετο, χρήματα ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαβινίου προπεμφθέντα οὐχ ὅπως ἀπόντα ἀλλ' 209 οὐδὲ ἐπανελθόντα 210 δεινὸν τι παθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ γε ἐκείνοις ἐποίησε. 211 καίτοι 212 οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς αἰσχροῶς καὶ κακῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος διετέθη ὥστε καὶ χρόνιος ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφικέσθαι καὶ νυκτὸς ἐς [p. 400] τὴν πόλιν ἐσκομισθῆναι, ἔξω τε τῆς οἰκίας 213 [2] συχναῖς πάνυ ἡμέραις μὴ τολμήσαι φανῆναι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐγκλήματα πολλὰ ἦν, καὶ κατηγόρους οὐκ ὀλίγους εἶχε. πρῶτον δ' οὖν περὶ τῆς τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καθόδου, ἅτε καὶ μεγίστου, ἐδικάσθη. καὶ ὁ γε δῆμος σύμπας ὡς εἰπεῖν πρὸς τε τὸ δικαστήριον συνερρῦν καὶ διασπάσασθαι πολλάκις αὐτὸν ἠθέλησεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι οὐθ' ὁ Πομπήιος παρῆν καὶ ὁ Κικέρων δεινότατα αὐτοῦ κατηγόρησεν. [3] οὕτω δὲ αὐτῶν διακειμένων ὅμως ἀφείθη: 214 αὐτὸς τε γὰρ, ἅτε ἐπὶ τηλικούτοις κρινόμενος, παμπληθῆ χρήματα ἀνάλωσε, καὶ οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου τοῦ τε Καίσαρος ἐταῖροι προθυμότατα αὐτῷ συνήραντο, λέγοντες ἄλλον τέ τινα καιρὸν καὶ ἄλλον βασιλέα πρὸς τῆς Σιβύλλης εἰρήσθαι, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ὅτι μηδεμία τῶν πραχθέντων τιμωρία ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν αὐτῆς ἐνεγέγραπτο. 63. ὁ δ' οὖν δῆμος ὀλίγου μὲν καὶ τοὺς δικαστὰς ἀπέκτεινε, διαφυγόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπετήρει τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτοῦ ἐγκλήματα, καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις [2] γοῦν αὐτὸν ἀλῶναι. οἱ γὰρ λαχόντες περὶ αὐτῶν κρῖναι, τὸ τε πλῆθος ἅμα φοβηθέντες καὶ μηδὲν μέγα παρὰ τοῦ Γαβινίου εὐρόμενοι ὥς 215 γὰρ ἐπὶ τε βραχυτέροις εὐθυνόμενος καὶ προσδοκῶν καὶ τότε κρατήσῃν οὐ πολλὰ ἐδαπάνησέ κατεψηφίσαντο αὐτοῦ, καίτοι τοῦ τε Πομπηίου πλησίον ὄντος καὶ τοῦ Κικέρωνος συναγορευόντος 216 αὐτῷ. [3] ὁ γὰρ Πομπήιος κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σίτου πρόνοιαν, ἐπειδὴ πολὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διέφθαρτο, ἐκδημήσας ὥρμησε μὲν ὡς καὶ ἐς τὸ πρότερον δικα- [p. 402] στήριον ἀπαντήσων ἔν γὰρ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἦν, ὑστερήσας δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀπεχώρησεν ἐκ τοῦ [4] προαστείου πρὶν καὶ ἐκεῖνο τελεσεθῆναι. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τοῦ δήμου ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου τὴν γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἤδη τὴν τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου

ἔχων οὐκ ἠδυνήθη ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθεῖν ἄθροισθέντος πολλὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Γαβινίου ἐδημηγόρησε, καὶ γράμματά τέ τινα παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντα ^[5] ἀνέγνω, καὶ τοὺς δικαστὰς ἰκέτευσε, τὸν τε Κικέρωνα οὐχ ὅπως κατηγορεῖσθαι ἔτ' αὐτοῦ ἐκώλυσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπερδικῆσαι ἔπεισεν, 217 ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου τὸ τοῦ αὐτομόλου ἔγκλημα καὶ ὄνομα ἐπὶ πλείον οἱ αὐξηθῆναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὠφέλησέ τι τὸν Γαβίνιον, ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν ἔφυγεν ἀλούς, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ὕστερον δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος κατήχθη. 64. ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τοῦτω χρόνῳ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Πομπηίου γυνὴ θυγάτριόν τι τεκοῦσα ἀπέθανε: καὶ αὐτήν, εἴτε διαπραξαμένων τῶν τε ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος φίλων, ἢ καὶ ἄλλως πως χαρίσασθαι τινες αὐτοῖς ἐθελήσαντες συνήρπασαν, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐπαίνων ἔτυχε, καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ ἔθαψαν, καίτοι τοῦ Δομιτίου ἀνθισταμένου καὶ λέγοντος ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι οὐχ ὁσίως ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τόπῳ ἄνευ τινὸς ψηφίσματος θάπτοιτο. 65. κὰν τοῦτω καὶ ὁ Πομπτῖνος ὁ Γάιος τὰ ἐπινίκια τὰ τῶν Γαλατῶν ἔπεμψεν: ἐς γὰρ ἐκεῖνο τοῦ χρόνου, μηδενὸς οἱ διδόντος αὐτά, ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου ^[2] διέμεινε. καὶ τότε δ' ἂν αὐτῶν ἡμαρτεν, εἰ μὴ ὁ Γάλβας ὁ Σέρουιος συστρατευσάμενος ^[p. 404] αὐτῷ, κρύφα καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ἑω στρατηγῶν τὴν ψῆφόν τισι 'καίπερ οὐκ ἐξὸν ἐκ τῶν νόμων πρὶν πρώτην ὥραν γενέσθαι ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τι χρηματισθῆναι ἔδωκε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶν δημάρχων τινὲς ἀπολειφθέντες τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν γοῦν τῇ πομπῇ πράγματα αὐτῷ παρέσχον, ὥστε καὶ σφαγὰς συμβῆναι.

BOOK 40

τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

α. ὡς Καῖσαρ τὸ δεῦτερον ἐς Βρεττανίαν διέπλευσεν.

β. ὡς Καῖσαρ ὑποστρέψας ἀπὸ Βρεττανίας τοῖς Γαλάταις αὐθις ἐπολέμησεν.

γ. ὡς Κράσσος Πάρθοις πολεμεῖν ἤρξατο.

δ. περὶ Πάρθων.

ε. ὡς Κράσσος ἡττηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπώλετο.

ζ. ὡς Καῖσαρ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἄλπεις πᾶσαν κατεστρέψατο.

η. ὡς Μίλων Κλώδιον ἀποκτείνας κατεδικάσθη.

θ. ὡς Καῖσαρ καὶ Πομπήιος στασιάζειν ἤρξαντο.

χρόνου πλῆθος τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Δομιτίου καὶ Ἀππίου Κλαυδίου ὑπατείας καὶ ἄλλα ἔτη τέτταρα, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἶδε ἐγένοντο

Γν. Δομίτιος Μ. υἱ. Καλουῖνος Ι

μ. Οὐαλέριος ... Μεσσάλας ὑπ.

Γν. Πομπήιος Γν. υἱ. Μάγνος τὸ γ

κ. Καικίλιος Μέτελλος Σκιπίων Νασικοῦ υἱ. ὑπ.

Σέρουιος Σουλπίκιος Κ. υἱ. Ροῦφος

μ. Κλαύδιος Μ. υἱ. Μάρκελλος ὑπ.

λ. Αἰμίλιος μ. υἱ. Παῦλος

γ. Κλαύδιος Γ. υἱ. Μάρκελλος ὑπ.

1. ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ Ῥώμῃ ταῦτα, τότε ἐπακόσια ἔτη ἀγούσῃ, ἐγένετο: ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τοῦ Δομιτίου τοῦ Λουκίου καὶ τοῦ Κλαυδίου τοῦ Ἀππίου ὑπάτων τὰ τε [p. 408] ἄλλα καὶ ναῦς ἐν μέσῳ

τῶν τε σφετέρων τῶν ταχειῶν καὶ τῶν αὐτόθεν τῶν φορτίδων, ὅπως ὡς
μάλιστα καὶ κουφίζωσι καὶ πρὸς τὸ κῦμα ἀντέχωσιν, ἐπὶ τε τοῦ ξηροῦ
ἰστάμεναι μὴ λυμαίνωνται, ^[2] παρεσκευάσατο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ πλόιμα ἐγένετο, ἐς
τὴν Βρεττανίαν αὐθις ἐπεραιώθη, πρόφασιν μὲν ὅτι μὴ πάντας τοὺς ὁμήρους
οὕς ὑπέσχοντό οἱ ἐπεπόμφεσαν, νομίζοντες αὐτόν, ὅτι διὰ κενῆς τότε
ἀνεχώρησε, μηκέτ' αὐθις σφων πειράσειν, ποιησάμενος, ἔργῳ δὲ δεινῶς τῆς
νήσου ἐφιέμενος, ὥστε εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο ἦν, πάντως ἂν ^[3] ἄλλην τινὰ σκῆψιν
εὐρεῖν. κατῆρέ τε οὖν ἔνθα καὶ πρότερον, μηδενὸς ὑπὸ τε τοῦ πλήθους τῶν
νεῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλαχόσε ἅμα αὐτὰς κατασχεῖν τολμήσαντος
ἀντιστῆναι, καὶ τὸ ναύσταθμον 2. εὐθὺς ἐκρατύνατο. οἱ οὖν βάρβαροι τὸν
μὲν πρόσπλουν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν διὰ ταῦτα κωλύσαι, δέισαντες δὲ
μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον, ἅτε καὶ στρατῷ πλείονι αὐτοῦ ἐλθόντος, ἐς τὸ
λασιώτατον καὶ ἐς τὸ λοχμωδέστατον τῶν ἐγγύς ^[2] χωρίων πάντα τὰ
τιμώτατα συνεφόρησαν, καὶ αὐτὰ ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ ποιησάμενοι 'τά τε γὰρ περίξ
ξύλα ἔκοψαν, καὶ ἕτερα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς στοιχηδὸν ἐπισυνένησαν, ὥστε ἐν
χαρακώματι τρόπον τινὰ εἶναι ἔπειτα τοὺς προνομύοντας τῶν Ῥωμαίων
ἐλύπουν. καὶ δὴ καὶ μάχῃ τινὶ ἐν τῷ ψιλῷ ἡττηθέντες ὑπήγαγόν σφας
ἐκεῖσε κατὰ τὴν διώξιν, καὶ 3. συχνοὺς ἀνταπέκτειναν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο
χειμῶνος αὐθις τὰς ναῦς αὐτῶν λυμνηαμένου συμμάχους τε
προσμετεπέμψαντο καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸ τὸ νεώριόν σφων ^[p. 410] ὥρμησαν,
Κασουελλανδὸν τὸν τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἐν ^[4] τῇ νήσῳ δυναστῶν φερόμενον
προστησάμενοι. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀπαντήσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
ἐταράχθησαν τῇ τῶν ἀρμάτων σφῶν προσμίξει, ἔπειτα δὲ διιστάμενοι, καὶ
ἐκεῖνὰ τε παρεξέντες καὶ τοὺς παραθέοντας ἐς τὰ πλάγια βάλλοντες, 3.
ἀνίσωσαν τὴν μάχην. καὶ τότε μὲν κατὰ χώραν ἀμφοτέροι ἐμειναν: αὐθις δὲ
οἱ βάρβαροι τοῦ μὲν πεζοῦ κρείττους γενόμενοι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς ἵππου
κακωθέντες, πρὸς τε τὸν Ταμέσαν ἀνεχώρησαν, καὶ τὸν πόρον αὐτοῦ
σταυροῖς, τοῖς μὲν ἐμφανέσι τοῖς δὲ καὶ ὑφύδροις, διαλαβόντες ἠὺλίσαντο.
^[2] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκείνους τε ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸ τε σταύρωμα προσβολῇ βιαία ἐκλίπειν
ἠγάγκασε καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐρύματος προσεδρεῖα ἐξήλασε, καὶ
τοὺς προσβάλλοντάς σφων τῷ ναυστάθμῳ ἕτεροι ἀπέωσαντο, κατέδεισαν
καὶ κατελύσαντο ὁμήρους τε δόντες καὶ φόρον ἐτήσιον ταξάμενοι. 4. καὶ
οὕτως ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπῆρε παντάπασιν ἐκ τῆς νήσου, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐγκατέλιπε
στράτευμα ἐν αὐτῇ: ἐκεῖνό τε γὰρ κινδυνεύσειν ἐν ἄλλοτρίᾳ πῃ χειμάζον,
καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἂν ἐν καλῷ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλατίας ἀποδημῆσαι
νομίζων, ἠγάπησε τοῖς παροῦσι, μὴ καὶ μειζόνων ὀριγνώμενος καὶ περὶ ^[2]
ἐκείνοις σφαλῇ. καὶ ἔδοξε καὶ τοῦτο ὀρθῶς πεποιηκέναι, ὥσπερ που καὶ τῷ
ἔργῳ διεδειχθη: ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὥρμησεν ὡς καὶ ἐκεῖ
παραχειμάσων, οἱ Γαλάται, καίτοι φρουροὺς ὡς ἕκαστοι πολλοὺς ἔχοντες,
ὅμως ἐνεόχμωσαν, καὶ ^[p. 412] τινες αὐτῶν καὶ φανερώς ἐπανεστήσαν. ὅπερ εἰ
ἐν τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ καταμείναντος αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸν χειμῶνα ἐγεγόνει, πάντα ἂν
τὰ τῇδε ἐτετάρακτο. 5. ἦρξαν δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου Ἑβουρωνοί,
ἡγουμένου σφίσιν Ἀμβιόριγος. καὶ ἔλεγον μὲν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων,
ὣν ὁ τε Σαβῖνος καὶ Λούκιος Κόττας ὑποστράτηγοι ἦρχον, ἀχθόμενοι

κεκινῆσθαι: τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἐκείνων τε κατεφρόνησαν ὡς οὐχ ἱκανῶν ἀμύναι σφᾶς ἐσομένων, καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα οὐκ ἤλπισαν διὰ ταχέων σφίσι ^[2] ἐπιστρατεύσειν. ἐπῆλθόν τε οὖν αὐτοῖς μὴ προσδεχομένοις ὡς καὶ αὐτοβοεῖ τὸ στρατόπεδον αἰρήσοντες, καὶ ἐπειδὴ διήμαρτον αὐτοῦ, πρὸς ἀπάτην ἐτράποντο. τῶν γὰρ χωρίων τὰ ἐπιτηδαιότατα ὁ Ἀμβιόριξ προλοχίσας ἦλθεν ἐξ ἐπικηρυκείας πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὡς οὐχ ἐκὼν δὴ ^[3] πολεμήσας, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν μεταγινώσκειν ἔφη, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους φυλάττεσθαι σφισι παρήνευσεν: οὔτε γὰρ αὐτῷ πειθαρχεῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐκείνοις μέλλειν τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπιθήσεσθαι. κάκ τοῦτου καὶ γνώμην αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε τὴν μὲν Ἐβουρωνίαν, ὡς καὶ κινδυνεύουσιν ἂν καταμείνωσι, καταλιπεῖν, πρὸς δὲ συστρατιώτας τινὰς πέλας που χειμάζοντας ὡς 6. τάχιστα μεταστῆναι. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπείσθησαν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι εὐηργέτητο πολλὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ χάριν αὐτῷ ταύτην ἀντιδιδόναι ἔδοκει. συσκευασάμενοί τε ^[p. 414] σπουδῇ εὐθύς ἀφ' ἐσπέρας ἀφώρμησαν, καὶ ἐμπεσόντες ἐς τὰ λελοχισμένα δεινῶς ἐσφάλησαν: ^[2] ὃ τε γὰρ Κόττας παραχρῆμα μετὰ πολλῶν ἀπώλετο, καὶ τὸν Σαβῖνον ὁ Ἀμβιόριξ μετεπέμψατο μὲν ὡς καὶ σώσων 'οὔτε γὰρ τοῖς γιγνομένοις παρῆν, καὶ πιστὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τότε ἔτ' ἔδοκει εἶναι, συλλαβὼν δὲ δὴ, καὶ ἀποδύσας καὶ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα, κατηκόντισεν, ἐπιλέγων ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι τοιοῖδε μέντοι ὄντες πῶς τηλικούτων ἡμῶν ^[3] ὄντων ἄρχειν ἐθέλετε ; οὔτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔπαθον: οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διέπεσον μὲν ἐς τὸ τάφρευμα ὅθεν ἀπανειστήκεσαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ τε βάρβαροι καὶ ἐκεῖ προσέμιξαν καὶ οὗτ' ἀμύνασθαι αὐτοὺς οὔτε διαφυγεῖν ἡδυνήθησαν, ἀλλήλους ἀπέκτειναν. 7. γενομένου δὲ τοῦτου ἄλλοι τέ τινες τῶν πλησιοχώρων ἀπέστησαν καὶ Νέρουιοι, καίτοι Κυνίου Κικέρωνος παρ' αὐτοῖς χειμάζοντος: ἀδελφὸς δὲ τοῦ Κικέρωνος τοῦ Μάρκου ἦν, ὑποστρατηγῶν τῷ Καίσαρι. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀμβιόριξ προσλαβὼν ^[2] συνέβαλε τῷ Κικέρωνι: καὶ ἀγχώμαλα ἀγωνισάμενος, καὶ τινὰς καὶ ζῶντας ἐλὼν, ἀπατήσας μὲν πῃ καὶ ἐκείνον ἐπεχείρησε, μὴ δυνηθεὶς δὲ ἔς τε πολιορκίαν αὐτὸν κατέστησε, καὶ διὰ ταχέων ὑπὸ τε τῆς πολυχειρίας καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμπειρίας, ἣν ἐκ τῆς συστρατείας ἦν μετὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπεποιήτο ἐκέκτετο, καὶ τινὰ καὶ παρὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐκάστων μαθὼν, καὶ ἀπεσταύρωσε καὶ ^[3] ἀπετάφρευσεν. ἐγίγνοντο μὲν γὰρ καὶ μάχαι, οἷα ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ εἰκὸς ἦν, συχναί, καὶ ἀπώλλυντο πολὺ πλείους τῶν βαρβάρων ἅτε καὶ πλείους ^[p. 416] ὄντες: οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ αὐτοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς περιουσίας τοῦ στρατοῦ οὐδὲ ἐν αἰσθήσει τοῦ φθειρομένου σφῶν ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι μῆτε ἄλλως πολλοὶ ὄντες καὶ ἐλάττους αἰεὶ γιγνόμενοι ῥαδίως περιστοιχίσθησαν. 8. κινδυνευόντων οὖν αὐτῶν ἀλῶναι 'οὔτε γὰρ τὰ τραύματα θεραπεύειν ἀπορία τῶν ἐπιτηδίων ἐδύναντο, οὔτε τὴν τροφὴν ἀφθόνως, ἅτε ἐν ἀδοκίῳ πολιορκίᾳ, εἶχον: οὐδ' ἐπήμυνέ τις αὐτοῖς, καίτοι πολλῶν οὐκ ἄπωθεν χειμαζόντων: οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι τὰς ὁδοὺς ἀκριβῶς φυλάσσοντες πάντας τοὺς ἐκπεμπομένους σφῶν συνελάμβανον κὰν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτῶν ἐφόνευον' ^[2] Νέρουιός τις εὐνοϊκῶς σφισιν ἐξ εὐεργεσίας ἔχων, καὶ τότε σὺν τῷ Κικέρωνι πολιορκούμενος, δοῦλόν τινα ἑαυτοῦ διάγγελλον αὐτῷ παρέσχεν: ἔκ τε γὰρ

τῆς σκευῆς καὶ ἐκ τῆς φωνῆς τῆς ἐπιχωρίας ἡδυνήθη λαθεῖν συγγενόμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις ὡς καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ὧν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀποχωρήσας. 9. μαθὼν οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸ γιγνόμενον ὁυδέπω δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπεληλύθει, ἀλλ' ἔτ' ἐν ὁδῷ ἦν ἄνεστρεψε, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς χειμαδίοις, δι' ὧν διήει, στρατιώτας παραλαμβάνων ἠπειγετο. κἂν τοῦτω φοβηθεῖς μὴ καὶ φθάσῃ ὁ Κικέρων ἀπογνώσει τῆς βοηθείας δεινὸν τι παθῶν ἢ καὶ συνθέμενος, προέπεμψεν [2] ἱππέα. τῷ μὲν γὰρ οἰκέτῃ τῷ τοῦ Νερουίου, καίτοι πεῖραν ἔργῳ τῆς εὐνοίας αὐτοῦ λαβὼν, οὐκ ἐπίστευσε, μὴ καὶ τοὺς πατριώτας ἐλεήσας μέγα τι κακὸν σφας ἐξεργάσῃται: ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῶν συμμάχων ἱππέα τὴν τε διάλεκτον αὐτῶν [p. 418] εἰδότα καὶ τῇ στολῇ τῇ ἐκείνων σκευασθέντα [3] ἔπεμψε. καὶ ὅπως γε μὴδ' αὐτός τι μῆτ' οὖν ἐθελοντῆς μῆτ' ἄκων ἐξείπῃ, οὔτε τι αὐτῷ ἐξελάλησε, καὶ τῷ Κικέρωνι πάνθ' ὅσα ἡβουλήθη ἐλλήνιστὶ ἐπέστειλεν, ἵνα ἂν καὶ τὰ γράμματα ἀλῶ, ἀλλ' ἀσύνετὰ γε καὶ τότε τοῖς βαρβάροις ὄντα μὴδὲν σφας ἐκδιδάξῃ. εἰώθει δὲ καὶ ἄλλως, ὅποτε τι δι' ἀπορρήτων τινὶ ἐπέστελλε, τὸ τέταρτον αἰὲ στοιχεῖον ἀντὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος ἀντεγγράφειν, ὅπως ἂν [4] ἄγνωστα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἢ τὰ γραφόμενα. ὁ δ' οὖν ἱππεὺς ἦλθε μὲν πρὸς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον, μὴ δυνηθεὶς δ' ἐγγύθεν αὐτῷ προσμῖξαι συνέδησε τὰ γράμματα ἀκοντίῳ, καὶ ὡς ἰεὶς αὐτὸ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους πρὸς πύργον ἐξεπίτηδες προσέπηξε. καὶ ὁ μὲν Κικέρων οὕτω τὴν πρόσοδον τοῦ Καίσαρος μαθὼν ἀνεθάρσυνε καὶ προθυμότερον 10. διεκαρτέρησεν: οἱ δὲ δὴ βάρβαροι ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν τὴν ἐπικουρίαν αὐτοῦ ἠγνόησαν ἡνυκατορῶν γὰρ ἔπειτα τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν ἀφανεστάτοις χωρίοις ἠϋλίζετο, ὅπως ἀπροσδοκήτοις ὅτι μάλιστα αὐτοῖς προσμῖξῇ, ὅφρ' ἐδέ ποτε ἐκ τῆς τῶν πολιορκουμένων περιχαρείας ὑποτοπήσαντες αὐτὴν προσκόπους ἔπεμψαν, καὶ μαθόντες παρ' αὐτῶν πλησιάζοντα ἤδη τὸν Καίσαρα ὥρμησαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὡς [2] καὶ ἀνελπίστῳ οἱ προσπεσοῦμενοι. προμαθὼν οὖν τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνος τὴν τε νύκτα κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινε, καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ἔω χωρίον τι ἐρυμνὸν προκαταλαβὼν ἐνταῦθα ὡς ἐν βραχυτάτῳ ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο τοῦ καὶ μετ' ὀλίγων εἶναι δοκεῖν καὶ ἐκ τῆς πορείας πεπονῆσθαι τὴν τε ἔφοδον σφων δεδιέναι, κἂκ τοῦτου καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ μετέωρον αὐτοῦς ὑπαγαγέσθαι. [p. 420] [3] καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως: καταφρονήσαντες γὰρ αὐτοῦ διὰ ταῦτα πρὸς τε τὸ ὄρθιον προσέβαλον καὶ μεγάλως ἔπταισαν, ὥστε μὴκέτ' ἀντιπολεμῆσαι. 11. οὕτω μὲν οὖν τότε καὶ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ἐχειρώθησαν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ δι' εὐνοίας τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἦσαν. οἱ γοῦν Τρήουηροι φοβηθέντες, ἐπειδήπερ τοὺς παρ' ἐκάστοις πρῶτους ὁ Καῖσαρ μεταπέμπων ἐκόλαζε, μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ δίκην δώσιν, [2] ἐξεπολεμώθησαν αὐθις αὐτοῖς, Ἰνδουπιόμαρου σφᾶς ἀναπείσαντος, καὶ συναποστήσαντες καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν τὰ αὐτὰ δεδιότων ἐπεστράτευσαν ἐπὶ τὸν Λαβιῆνον τὸν Τίτον ἐν Ῥημοῖς ὄντα, καὶ ἐπεξεληθόντων σφίσι παρὰ δόξαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐφθάρησαν. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐχείμασεν ὡς καὶ ἀκριβῶς σφας 12. καταστήσασθαι δυνησόμενος. ὁ δὲ δὴ Κράσσοις ἐπιθυμήσας τι καὶ αὐτὸς δόξης τε ἅμα καὶ κέρδους ἐχόμενον πρᾶξαι, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ μὴδὲν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ τοιοῦτό τι εἶδεν ὅν αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ ἡσύχαζον, καὶ οἱ πρόσθε προσπολεμήσαντές σφίσι οὐδὲν ὑπ' ἀδυνασίας παρεκινούν', ἐπὶ τοῦς

Πάρθους ἐπεστράτευσε, μήτε ἔγκλημά τι αὐτοῖς ἐπιφέρων μήτε τοῦ πολέμου οἱ ἐψηφισμένοι: αὐτοὺς τε γὰρ παμπλουσίους ἦκουεν ὄντας, καὶ τὸν Ὀρώδην εὐάλωτον ἄτε καὶ νεοκατάστατον εἶναι προσεδόκησε. [2] τὸν τε οὖν Εὐφράτην ἐπεραιώθη, καὶ προῆλθεν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας, φέρων τε αὐτὴν καὶ [p. 422] πορθῶν: τῆς γὰρ διαβάσεως αὐτοῦ ἀδοκίητος τοῖς βαρβάροις γενομένης οὐδεμία ἀκριβὴς φυλακὴ αὐτῆς καθειστήκει, ὥστε ταχὺ μὲν ὁ Σιλάκης ὁ τότε τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης σατραπεύων ἠττήθη τε περὶ Ἰχνίας, τεῖχός τι οὕτω καλούμενον, ἵππεῦσιν ὀλίγοις μαχεσάμενος, καὶ τρωθεὶς ἀπεχώρησεν αὐτάγγελος τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς ἐπιστρατείας αὐτοῦ 13. γενησόμενος, ταχὺ δὲ καὶ ὁ Κράσσος τὰ τε φρούρια καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς Ἑλληνίδας μάλιστα, τὰς τε ἄλλας καὶ τὸ Νικηφόριον ὠνομασμένον, προσεποιήσατο: τῶν γὰρ Μακεδόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συστρατευσάντων σφίσιν Ἑλλήνων ἄποικοι πολλοί, ... βία ἀχθόμενοι καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὡς καὶ φιλέλληνας πολλὰ ἐλπίζοντες, οὐκ ἀκουσίως [2] μεθίσταντο: πλὴν τε ὅτι οἱ Ζηνοδοτίου οἰκήτορες μετέπεμψάν τινας αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ μετασθιγόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔνδον ἐγένοντο, ἀπέλαβόν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ διέφθειραν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀνέστησαν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο δεινὸν οὔτε ἔπραξε τότε [3] Κράσσος οὔτε ἔπαθε. πάντως δὲ κἂν τὰ λοιπὰ χωρία τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ Τιγριδος ὄντα ἐκεχειρώτο, εἰ τῇ τε ἑαυτοῦ ὀρμῇ καὶ τῇ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐκπλήξει πρὸς πάντα ὁμοίως ἐκέχρητο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ κατὰ χώραν χειμάσας ἐν φρουρᾷ αὐτὰ ἀκριβεῖ [4] ἐπεποίητο. νῦν δὲ ἐλὼν ὅσα ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἡδυνήθη λαβεῖν, οὔτε τι τῶν λοιπῶν οὔτ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐφρόντισεν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τε ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ διατριβῇ ἀχθεσεὶς καὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ῥαστώνης [p. 424] ἐπιθυμήσας παρέσχετο τοῖς Πάρθοις καιρὸν παρασκευάσασθαι καὶ τοὺς ἐγκαταλειφθέντας ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ στρατιώτας κακῶσαι. 14. αὕτη μὲν ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τοῦ πρὸς αὐτοὺς πολέμου ἐγένετο: οἰκοῦσι δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Τιγριδος τὸ μὲν πολὺ τειχὴ καὶ φρούρια, ἥδη δὲ καὶ πόλεις, ἄλλας τε καὶ Κτησιφῶντα, ἐν ἧ καὶ βασιλεία ἔχουσι. τὸ γὰρ γένος σφῶν ἦν μὲν [2] που καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πάλαι βαρβάροις, καὶ τὸ γε ὄνομα τοῦτο καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν Περσικὴν βασιλείαν εἶχον: ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν αὐτοὶ τε ἐν μέρει χώρας βραχεῖ ὥκουν καὶ δυναστείαν ὑπερόριον οὐκ ἐκέκτηντο, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ τε τῶν Περσῶν ἀρχὴ κατελύθη καὶ τὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἤκμασεν, οἱ τε τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου διάδοχοι στασιάσαντες ἄλλοι ἄλλα ἀπετέμοντο καὶ βασιλείας ἰδίας κατεσκευάσαντο, [3] ἔς τε τὸ μέσον τότε πρῶτον ὑπ' Ἀρσάκου πινὸς ἀφίκοντο, ὅθεν περ καὶ οἱ ἔπειτα βασιλεύσαντες αὐτῶν Ἀρσακίδαι ἐπωνομάσθησαν, καὶ εὐτυχήσαντες τὴν τε πλησιόχωρον ἐκτήσαντο πᾶσαν καὶ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν σατραπείαις κατέσχον, τελευτῶντες δὲ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον καὶ τῆς δόξης καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐχώρησαν ὥστε καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τότε τε ἀντιπολεμῆσαι καὶ δεῦρο αἰεὶ ἀντίπαλοι νομίζεσθαι. [4] εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως ἰσχυροὶ τὰ πολέμια, μεῖζον δ' ὅμως ὄνομα, καίτοι μήτε τῶν Ῥωμαίων τι παρηρημένοι καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἔστιν ἃ προέμενοι, ἔχουσιν, ὅτι μηδέπω δεδουλῶνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ἔτι τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς πρὸς ἡμᾶς, [p. 426] 15. ὁσάκις ἂν συνενεχθῶσι, διαφέρουσι. περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ τε γένους καὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς τε ιδιότητος τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων αὐτῶν πολλοῖς τε εἴρηται καὶ ἐγὼ οὐκ ἐν γνώμῃ ποιοῦμαι

συγγράφαι: τῇ δὲ δὴ ὀπλίσει καὶ τῇ τῶν πολέμων διαχειρίσει 'τούτων γὰρ ὁ ἐξετασμός τῷδε τῷ λόγῳ, ὅτι καὶ ἐς χρεῖαν αὐτῶν ἀφικνεῖται, προσήκει τοιαῦδε χρῶνται. [2] ἀσπίδι μὲν οὐδὲν νομίζουσιν, ἵπποτοξόται δὲ καὶ κοντοφόροι, τὰ πολλὰ κατὰφρακτοι, στρατεύονται. πεζοὶ τε ὀλίγοι μὲν καὶ οἱ ἀσθενέστεροι, τοξόται δ' οὖν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πάντες εἰσὶν. ἔκ τε γὰρ παίδων ἀσκοῦνται, καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς ἡ τε [3] χώρα αὐτοῖς συναίρεται πρὸς ἀμφοτέρα. αὕτη τε γὰρ πεδιάς ὡς πλήθει οὔσα ἀρίστη τε ἵππους τρέφειν ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπιτηδαιοτάτη καθιππεύεσθαι: ἀγέλας γοῦν ὅλας καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, ὥστ' ἄλλοτε ἄλλοις ἵπποις χρῆσθαι καὶ πόρρωθεν τε ἐξαπιναιῶς ἐπελαύνειν καὶ μακρὰν ποι ἐξ αἰφνιδίου [4] ἀποχωρεῖν, ἐπάγονται: καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς ὁ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ξηρότατός τε ὢν καὶ ἱκμάδα οὐδὲ ἐλαχίστην ἔχων, ἐντονωτάτας σφίσι τὰς τοξείας πλὴν τοῦ πάνυ χειμῶνος παρέχεται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ὥραν ἐκείνην οὐδαμῇ στρατεύονται. τῷ δὲ δὴ λοιπῷ ἔτει δυσμαχώτατοι ἐν τε τῇ σφετέρᾳ καὶ [5] ἐν τῇ ὁμοιοτρόπῳ εἰσι: τὸν τε γὰρ ἥλιον φλογωδέστατον ὄντα ἀνέχονται τῇ συνηθείᾳ, καὶ τῆς ὀλιγότητος τῆς τε δυσχερείας τοῦ ποτοῦ πολλὰ ἀλεξιφάρμακα ἀνευρήκασιν, ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου μὴ χαλεπῶς τοὺς ἐς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν [p. 428] ἐσβάλλοντας ἀμύνεσθαι. ἔξω γὰρ ἐκείνης ὑπὲρ τὸν Εὐφράτην μάχαις μὲν τισι καὶ καταδρομαῖς [6] αἰφνιδίοις ἤδη ποτὲ ἰσχυρὰν τι, πολεμῆσαι δὲ τισιν ἀπαυστὶ καὶ διαρκῶς οὐ δύνανται, καὶ ἐς ἀλλοτριωτάτην σφίσι καὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατάστασιν ἀπαρτῶντες, καὶ μήτε σίτου μήτε μισθοφορᾶς παρασκευὴν ποιοῦμενοι. 16. τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ τῶν Πάρθων ἐστίν, ἐσβαλόντος δὲ ἐς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν τοῦ Κράσσου ὥσπερ εἴρηται, ὁ Ὀρώδης ἔπεμψε μὲν καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐς τὴν Συρίαν πρέσβεις, τῆς τε ἐσβολῆς αἰτιώμενος καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τοῦ πολέμου πυνθανόμενος, ἔπεμψε δὲ πρὸς τε τὰ ἐαλωκότα τὰ τε μεθεστηκότα [2] Σουρήναν σὺν στρατῷ: αὐτὸς γὰρ τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ τῇ τοῦ Τιγράνου ποτὲ γενομένη διενοεῖτο ἐπιστρατεῦσαι, ὅπως ὁ Ἀρταβάξης ὁ τοῦ Τιγράνου παῖς ὁ τότε αὐτῆς βασιλεύων μηδεμίαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ἅτε καὶ περὶ τῇ οἰκείᾳ δεδιώς, βοήθειαν [3] πέμψῃ. ὁ οὖν Κράσος ἐκείνῳ τε ἐν Σελευκείᾳ ἔστι δὲ πόλις ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ, πλεῖστον τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ νῦν ἔχουσά τας αἰτίας τοῦ πολέμου ἐρεῖν ἔφη: καὶ αὐτῷ τῶν Πάρθων τις ἐς τὴν χεῖρα τὴν ἀριστερὰν τοῖς τῆς ἐτέρας δακτύλοις κρούσας εἶπεν ὅτι 'θᾶσσον ἐντεῦθεν τριχες ἀναφύσσονται ἢ σὺ ἐν Σελευκείᾳ γενήσῃ.' 17. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ χειμῶν ἐν ᾧ Γναῖος τε Καλοῦϊνος [p. 430] καὶ Οὐαλέριος Μεσσάλας ὑπάτευσαν ἐνέστη, πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ τέρατα τότε ἐγένετο: καὶ γὰρ βῦαι καὶ λύκοι ὤφθησαν, οἱ τε κύνες περιφοιτῶντες ὠρῶντο, καὶ ἀγάλματα τὰ μὲν [2] ἴδρωσε τὰ δὲ ἐκεραυνώθη, τὰς τε ἀρχὰς τὸ μὲν τι φιλονεικίᾳ, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον ὑπὸ τε τῶν ὀρνίθων καὶ ὑπὸ διοσημιῶν μόλις ποτὲ τῷ ἐβδόμῳ μηνὶ ἀπέδειξαν: ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν οὐδὲν σαφὲς διεδήλου ἐς ὃ τι τελευτήσει: τὰ τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἐταράττετο καὶ οἱ Γαλάται ἐκινήθησαν αὖθις, πρὸς τε τοὺς Πάρθους οὐδ' εἰδότες πῶ ὅπως συνερρώγουν: [3] τῷ δὲ δὴ Κράσσῳ τὸν Εὐφράτην κατὰ τὸ Ζεῦγμα 'οὔτω γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατείας τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι ταύτη ἐπεραιώθη, κέκληται διαβαίνοντι καὶ προφανῇ καὶ εὐσύμβολα 18.

συννηέχθη. ὁ γὰρ ἀετὸς ὠνομασμένος ἔστι δὲ νεὼς μικρὸς, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀετὸς χρυσοῦς ἐνίδρυται: καθίσταται τε ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου στρατοπέδοις, καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐκ τῶν χειμαδίων, πλην [2] εἴ ποι σύμπας ὁ στρατὸς ἐξιοι, κινεῖται: καὶ αὐτὸν εἷς ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ δόρατος μακροῦ, ἐς ὅξυ τὸν στύρακα ἀπηγμένου ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὸ δάπεδον καταπήγνυσθαι, φέρει — τούτων οὖν τῶν ἀετῶν εἷς οὐκ ἠθέλησε τὸν Εὐφράτην αὐτῷ τότε συνδιαβῆναι, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐνέσχετο ὥσπερ ἐμπεφυκῶς, πρὶν δὴ πολλοὶ [3] περιστάντες βίᾳ αὐτὸν ἀνέσπασαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ ἄκων ἐπηκολούθησε, σημεῖον δὲ τι τῶν μεγάλων, τῶν τοῖς ἰστίοις ἐοικότων καὶ φοινικᾷ γράμματα [p. 432] ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πρὸς δήλωσιν τοῦ τε στρατοῦ καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ σφων τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐχόντων, ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπὸ τῆς γεφύρας περιτραπέν ἐνέπεσε. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὑπὸ πνεύματος ὄντος σφοδροῦ ἐγένετο: [4] ὁ δὲ δὴ Κράσσος καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ ἰσομήκη οἱ συντεμών, ὅπως βραχύτερα καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ βεβαιοτέρα φέρειν εἴη, προσεπηύξησε τὰ τέρατα. καὶ γὰρ ὁμίχλη ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διαβάσει τοσαύτη τοῖς στρατιώταις περιεχύθη ὥστε περὶ τε ἀλλήλοις αὐτοὺς σφαλῆναι καὶ μηδὲν τῆς [5] πολέμιας, πρὶν ἐπιβῆναι αὐτῆς, ἰδεῖν: καὶ τὰ διαβατήρια τὰ τε ἀπόβαθρά σφισι δυσχερέστατα ἐγένετο. κἂν τούτῳ ἄνεμός τε πολὺς ἐπέπεσε καὶ κεραυνοὶ κατέσκηψαν, ἢ τε γέφυρα, πρὶν πάντας αὐτοὺς διελθεῖν, διελύθη. καὶ ἦν γὰρ τὰ γινόμενα οἷα πάντα τινὰ καὶ τῶν πάνυ ἀγνωμόνων τε καὶ ἀσυνέτων ἐκδιδάξαι ὅτι κακῶς ἀπαλλάξουσιν καὶ οὐκ ἀνακομισθήσονται, φόβος καὶ κατῆφεια ἐν τῷ 19. στρατοπέδῳ ἐγένετο δεινὴ. ὁ οὖν Κράσσος παραμυθούμενος αὐτοὺς εἶπεν ὅτι 'μὴ καταπλήττεσθε, ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, εἰ ἡ γέφυρα διέφθαρται, μηδὲ οἴεσθε ἐκ τούτου χαλεπὸν τι ἐπσημαίνεσθαι: [2] ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμῖν αὐτὸς ἐπομνὺς λέγω ὅτι δι' Ἀρμενίας τὴν ἐπάνοδον ποιήσασθαι ἔγνωκα.' ἐκ μὲν δὴ οὖν τούτου ἐθάρσυνε, νῦν δὲ προσεπειπὼν τινα ἔφη, μέγα ἀναβοήσας, 'θαρσεῖτε: οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἡμῶν [3] ἐντεῦθεν ἐπανήξει.' ἀκούσαντες γὰρ τοῦθ' οἱ στρατιῶται οἰωνόν τέ σφισιν οὐδενὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἦττω γεγονέναι ἐνόμισαν καὶ ἐς ἄθυμίαν πλείω κατέπεσον, ὥστε μηδὲν ἔτι μηδὲ τῶν λοιπῶν αὐτοῦ παραινέσεων φροντίσαι, δι' ὧν τὸν τε βάρβαρον [p. 434] ἐφραύλιζε καὶ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐνεκωμίαζε, χρήματά [4] τε αὐτοῖς ἐδίδου καὶ γέρα ἐπηγγέλλετο. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς εἶποντο, καὶ οὔτε ἀντεῖπέν οἱ οὐδεὶς οὔτ' ἀντέπραξε, τάχα μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου, ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἐκπεπληγμένοι καὶ μήτε τι βουλευσάμενοι μήτε πρᾶξαι σωτήριον δυνάμενοι. πάντα γοῦν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, καθάπερ ὑπὸ δαιμονίου τινὸς κατακεκριμένοι, καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐσφάλλοντο. 20. μέγιστον δὲ ὅμως αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀβγαρος ὁ Ὀρροηνὸς ἐλυμήνατο: ἔνσπονδος γὰρ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου γενόμενος ἀνθεῖλετο τὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ ὁ Ἀλχαυδόσιος ὁ Ἀράβιος ἐποίησε: πρὸς γὰρ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν αἰεὶ μεθίστατο. [2] ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς ἀπέστη, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο οὐ δυσφύλακτος ἦν: ὁ δ' Ἀβγαρος ἐφρόνει μὲν τὰ τοῦ Πάρθου, ἐπλάττετο δὲ τῷ Κράσσῳ φιλικῶς ἔχειν, καὶ χρήματά τε ἀφειδῶς αὐτῷ ἀνήλiske, καὶ τὰ τε βουλευτάματα αὐτοῦ πάντα καὶ ἐμάνθανε καὶ ἐκεῖνῳ διηγέελλε, καὶ προσέτι εἰ μὲν τι χρηστὸν σφων ἦν, ἀπέτρεπεν [3] αὐτόν, εἰ δ' ἀσύμφορον, ἐπέσπερχε. καὶ διὰ καὶ τοιόνδε τι

τελευτῶν ἔπραξε. τοῦ γὰρ Κράσσου πρὸς Σελεύκειαν ὀρμηῆσαι
 διανοομένους, ὥστε ἐκεῖσε τε ἀσφαλῶς παρὰ τε τὸν Εὐφράτην καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ
 τῷ τε στρατῷ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις κομισθῆναι, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν
 ἵκασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἑλπίδα γὰρ σφας ἄτε καὶ Ἕλληνας ῥαδίως ἡλπίξεν' ἐπὶ [4]
 Κτησιφῶντα μὴ χαλεπῶς περαιωθῆναι, τοῦτου μὲν ὡς καὶ χρονίου
 ἐσομένου ἀμελῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐποίησε, τῷ δὲ δὴ Σουρήνῃ ὡς καὶ ἐγγὺς καὶ
 μετ' 21. ὀλίγων ὄντι συμμαίξαι ἔπεισε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο [p. 436] παρασκευάσας
 τὸν μὲν ὅπως ἀπόληται τὸν δ' ὅπως κρατήσῃ 'συνεχῶς γὰρ προφάσει
 κατασκοπῆς τῷ Σουρήνῃ συνεγίνετο, ἐξήγαγε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους
 ἀφροντιστοῦντας ὡς ἐπὶ νίκην ἔτοιμον, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ
 συνεπέθετο. [2] ἐπράχθη δὲ ὥδε. οἱ Πάρθοι τὸ πλεῖον τοῦ στρατοῦ σφον
 ἀποκρύψαντες ἢ γὰρ χώρα ἀνώμαλός τε πῇ ἦν καὶ δένδρα εἶχεν' ἀπήντησαν
 τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. ἰδὼν οὖν αὐτοὺς ὁ Κράσσοις, οὐκ ἐκείνος ἀλλ' ὁ νεώτερος
 ἵκασθαι γὰρ τὸν πατέρα ἐκ τῆς [3] Γαλατίας παρῆν', καὶ καταφρονήσας σφῶν
 ὡς καὶ μόνων, ἀντεξήγαγε τῷ ἱππικῷ, καὶ τραπομένους ἐξεπότηδες αὐτοὺς
 ἐπιδιώκων ὡς καὶ κρατῶν ἀπήχθη πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος, κἀνταῦθα 22.
 περιστοιχισθεὶς κατεκόπη. γενομένου δὲ τούτου οἱ πεζοὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐκ
 ἀπετράποντο μὲν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προθύμως τοῖς Πάρθοις, ὡς καὶ τιμωρήσοντας
 αὐτῷ, συνέμιξαν: οὐ μὲντοι καὶ ἄξιόν σφον οὐδὲν ἔκ τε τοῦ πλήθους καὶ ἐκ
 τοῦ τρόπου τῆς μάχης αὐτῶν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀβγάρου [2]
 ἐπιβουλευθέντες, ἐποίησαν. εἴτε γὰρ συνασπίσαι γνοίησαν ὡς καὶ τῇ
 πυκνότητι τῆς τάξεως σφον τὰ τοξεύματα αὐτῶν ἐκφευξόμενοι,
 προσπίπτοντές σφισιν οἱ κοντοφόροι ῥύμη τοὺς μὲν κατέβαλλον, τοὺς δὲ
 πάντως γοῦν ἐσκεδάννυσαν: εἴτε καὶ διασταίεν ὅπως τοῦτο γε ἐκκλίνουσιν,
 ἐτοξεύοντο. [3] κἀν τούτῳ πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς προσελάσεως τῶν
 κοντοφόρων ἐκπληττόμενοι ἔθνησκον, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων
 ἐγκαταλαμβανόμενοι [p. 438] ἐφθείροντο: ἄλλοι τοῖς κοντοῖς ἀνέτρεποντο [4] ἢ
 καὶ ἀναπειρόμενοι ἐφέροντο. τὰ τε βέλη καὶ πυκνὰ καὶ πανταχόθεν ἅμα
 αὐτοῖς ἐπιπίπτοντα συχνοὺς μὲν καιρίᾳ πληγῇ κατέβαλλε, συχνοὺς δὲ
 ἀπομάχους εἰργάζετο, πᾶσι δ' ἀσχολίαν ἐνεποίει: ἔς τε γὰρ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς
 σφον ἐσπετόμενα καὶ πρὸς τὰς χεῖρας τὸ τε ἄλλο σῶμα πᾶν καὶ διὰ τῶν
 ὅπλων χωροῦντα τὴν τε προφυλακὴν αὐτῶν ἀφηρεῖτο, καὶ γυμνοῦσθαι
 σφας πρὸς τὸ [5] αἰετὶ τριτῶσκον ἠνάγκαζεν, ὥστε ἐν ᾧ τις τόξευμα
 ἐφυλάττετο ἢ καὶ ἐμπαγὲν ἐξηρεῖτο, πλείω τραύματα ἄλλα ἐπ' ἄλλοις
 ἐλάμβανε. καὶ τούτου ἅπορον μὲν σφισι κινηθῆναι, ἅπορον δὲ καὶ
 ἀτρεμίζειν ἦν: οὔτε γὰρ ἀσφάλειαν οὐδέτερον αὐτοῖς εἶχε, καὶ τὸν ὀλεθρον
 ἀμφοτέρω ἐπέφερε, τὸ μὲν ὅτι οὐκ ἐδύναντο, τὸ δὲ ὅτι ῥῆον ἐπιτρώσκοντο.
 23. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν, ἕως ἔτι πρὸς μόνους τοὺς ἐμφανεῖς πολεμίους ἐμάχοντο,
 ἔπασχον: ὁ γὰρ Ἀβγαρος οὐκ εὐθὺς αὐτοῖς ἐπεχείρησεν: ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ
 ἐκεῖνος ἐπέθετο, ἐνταῦθα οἱ Ὀρροηνοὶ αὐτοῖς τε ὀπισθεν ἐς τὰ γυμνὰ
 ἀπεστραμμένους σφᾶς ἔπαιον καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ῥῆον φονεύειν παρεῖχον. τὴν
 γὰρ τάξιν, ὅπως ἀντιπρόσωποι αὐτοῖς γένωνται, ἐξελεῖξαντες ὀπισθεν σφον
 τοὺς Πάρθους [2] ἐποίησαντο. αὐθις τε οὖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετεστράφησαν, [p.
 440] καὶ πάλιν αὐθις πρὸς ἐκείνους, εἴτα πρὸς τοὺς. καὶ τοῦ τοιοῦτου

μᾶλλον ἐπιταραχθέντες, ἅτε καὶ συνεχῶς δεῦρο κάκεισε μεθιστάμενοι καὶ πρὸς τὸ αἰεὶ τιτρώσκον ἀποβλέπειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι, τοῖς τε ξίφεσι τοῖς σφετέροις περιέπιπτον καὶ ^[3] πολλοὶ καὶ ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων ἀπώλοντο. τέλος δὲ ἐς στενὸν οὕτω κατεκλείσθησαν, ἀναγκαζόμενοι, τῶν πολεμίων αἰεὶ σφισι πανταχόθεν ἅμα προσπιπτόντων, ταῖς τῶν παραστατῶν ἀσπίσι τὰς γυμνώσεις σφῶν προστέλλειν, ὥστε μὴδὲ κινηθῆναι ἔτι δυνηθῆναι. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὴν στάσιν βεβαίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν νεκρῶν εἶχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ἐκείνοις ^[4] ἀνετρέποντο. τὸ τε καῦμα καὶ τὸ δίψος μέσοῦντός τε γὰρ τοῦ θέρους καὶ ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ ταῦτ’ ἐγίγνετό καὶ ὁ κονιορτός ὅπως γὰρ ὅτι πλεῖστος αἵροίτο, πάντες σφᾶς οἱ βάρβαροι περιίππευον’ δεινῶς τοὺς λοιποὺς συνήρει, καὶ συχνοὶ καὶ ὑπὸ 24. τούτων ἄτρωτοι ἔπεσον. κἂν πασσυδὶ ἀπώλοντο, εἰ μὴ οἱ τε κοντοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ μὲν ἀπεστράφησαν οἱ δὲ ἐκλάσθησαν, καὶ αἱ νευραὶ τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῆς βολῆς ἐρράγησαν, τὰ τε βέλη ἐξετοξεύθη, καὶ τὰ ξίφη πάντα ἀπημβλύνθη, τὸ τε μέγιστον οἱ ^[2] ἄνδρες αὐτοὶ φονεῦντες ἐξέκαμον. οὕτω γὰρ δὴ ‘καὶ γὰρ νῦξ ἐγίγνετο καὶ πόρρω ποι ἀφιππεῦσαι αὐτοὺς ἐχρῆν’ ἀπεχώρησαν· οὐδέποτε γὰρ πλησίοι οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀσθενεστάτοις στρατοπεδεύονται διὰ τὸ μηδεμιᾶ ταφρεῖα χρῆσθαι καὶ διὰ τὸ, ἂν τις ἐπέλθῃ σφίσιν ἐν τῷ σκότῳ, ἀδύνατοι μὲν τῇ ἵππῳ ἀδύνατοι δὲ καὶ τῇ τοξείᾳ ἰσχυρίσασθαι ^[3] εἶναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ζῶντά τινα τῶν Ῥωμαίων τόθ’ εἶλον· ἐστῶτάς τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ^[p. 442] ὀρῶντες, καὶ μήτε τινὰ ἐκεῖνα ἀπορριπτοῦντα μήτ’ αὐτὸν φεύγοντα αἰσθανόμενοι, ἰσχύειν τε ἔπι σφᾶς ἐνόμισαν καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν αὐτῶν ἐπιλαβέσθαι. 25. οὕτως ὁ τε Κράσσος καὶ ἄλλοι ὅσοι γε ἡδυνήθησαν ἐς τὰς Κάρρας ὥρμησαν, βεβαίους σφίσιν ὑπὸ τῶν καταμεινάντων ἔνδον Ῥωμαίων τηρηθείσας· πολλοὶ γὰρ δὴ τῶν τετρωμένων μήτε βαδίσαι οἷοι τε ὄντες μήτ’ ὀχημάτων εὐποροῦντες ἢ καὶ ποδηγέτας ἔχοντες ‘ἀγαπητῶς γὰρ οἱ λοιποὶ ἑαυτοὺς ^[2] ἀνέφερον’ κατὰ χώραν ἔμειναν. καὶ ἐκείνων τε οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων ἢ καὶ ἑαυτοὺς καταχρησάμενοι, οἱ δὲ ἐάλωσαν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ· καὶ τῶν διαδεδρακότων συχνοὶ μὲν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ προλιπόντων σφᾶς τῶν σωμάτων, συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ’ ἐφθάρησαν, θεραπειὰς παραχρῆμα ^[3] ἀκριβοῦς μὴ δυνηθέντες τυχεῖν. ὁ γὰρ Κράσσος ἀθυμήσας οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀσφαλῶς ἔθ’ ὑπομῆναι δυνησέσθαι ἐνόμισεν, ἀλλὰ δρασμὸν εὐθύς ἐβουλεύσατο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν αὐτῷ μεθ’ ἡμέραν ἐξίοντι μὴ οὐ καταφώρῳ γενέσθαι, ἐπεχείρησε μὲν νυκτὸς ἀποδρᾶναι, προδοθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς σελήνης, πανσελήνου οὔσης, οὐκ ἔλαθεν. ^[4] προσέμεινάν τε οὖν μέχρι τῶν ἀσελήνων νυκτῶν, καὶ οὕτως ἄραντες δὴ, οἷα ἐν σκότῳ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοτριᾳ καὶ προσέτι καὶ πολεμίᾳ γῇ φόβῳ τε ἰσχυρῷ, ἐσκεδάσθησαν, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἀλόντες ἡμέρας γενομένης ἀπώλοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ^[p. 444] μετὰ Κασσίου Λογγίνου τοῦ ταμίου διεσώθησαν· ^[5] ἄλλοι τῶν ὀρῶν μετ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κράσσου λαβόμενοι παρεσκευάζοντο ὥς καὶ δι’ ἐκείνων ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν φευξόμενοι. 26. γνοὺς δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Σουρήνας, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ μεταστάντες ποι αὐθὶς σφισι προσπολεμῶσι, προσβαλεῖν μὲν πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα ἄφιππα ὄντα οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ὅπλῃται τε γὰρ ὄντες καὶ ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων μαχόμενοι, καὶ τι καὶ ἀπονοίας ὑπ’ ἀπογνώσεως ἔχοντες, οὐ

ῥάδιοι προσμιῖξαι οἱ ἐγένοντο, πέμπει δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐς σπονδὰς δῆθεν σφας προκαλοῦμενος, ἐφ' ᾧ τὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ Εὐφράτου ^[2] πᾶσαν ἐκλίπωσι. καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Κράσσος οὐδὲν ἐνδοιάσας ἐπίστευσεν: ἐν τε γὰρ ἀκμῇ τοῦ δέους ὦν καὶ ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως τῆς τε ἰδίας ἅμα καὶ τῆς δημοσίας συμφορᾶς τεθολωμένος, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τὴν τε ὁδὸν ὡς πολλὴν καὶ τραχεῖαν ὀκνοῦντας καὶ τὸν Ὀρώδην φοβουμένους ὀρῶν, ^[3] οὐδὲν τῶν δεόντων προιδέσθαι ἠδυνήθη. ἐτοιμοὺ οὖν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὰς σπονδὰς γενομένου ὁ Σουρήνας οὐκ ἠθέλησε δι' ἐτέρων σπείσασθαι, ἀλλ' ὅπως αὐτὸν μετ' ὀλίγων ἀπολαβὼν συλλάβῃ, αὐτῷ ^[4] ἐκείνῳ ἔφη βούλεσθαι ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν. καὶ τοῦτο δόξαν σφίσι ἐν τῷ μεταίχμιῳ μετ' ἴσων ἀνδρῶν ἐκατέρωθεν συμβαλεῖν ἀλλήλοις, ὃ τε Κράσσος ἐς τὸ ὁμαλὸν ὑποκατέβη, καὶ ὁ Σουρήνας ἵππον αὐτῷ δῶρον, ἵνα δὴ θάσσον πρὸς αὐτὸν 27. ἀρίκηται, ἔπεμψε. καὶ οὕτω διαμέλλοντα τὸν Κράσσον, καὶ βουλευόμενον ὃ τι ποιήσῃ, συναρπάσαντες ^[p. 446] οἱ βάρβαροι βίᾳ ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβαλον. κἂν τοῦτῳ ἀντιλαμβανομένων αὐτοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἕς τε χεῖράς σφίσι ἦλθον, καὶ τέως μὲν ἰσοπαλεῖς ἐγίνοντο, ἔπειτα δὲ προσβοηθησάντων ^[2] τινῶν αὐτοῖς ἐπεκράτησαν: οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι ἔν τε τῷ πεδίῳ ὄντες καὶ προπαρεσκευασμένοι ἔφθησαν τοὺς ἄνω Ῥωμαίους ἀμύναντες σφίσι. καὶ οἱ τε ἄλλοι ἔπεσον καὶ ὁ Κράσσος, εἴτ' οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν σφετέρων τινὸς ὅπως μὴ ζωγρηθῇ, εἴτε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπειδὴ κακῶς ἐτέτρωτο, ἐσφάγη. ^[3] καὶ ἐκείνῳ μὲν τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο, καὶ αὐτοῦ χρυσὸν ἐς τὸ στόμα οἱ Πάρθοι, ὥς γέ τινες λέγουσιν, ἐνέτηξαν ἐπισκώπτοντες: οὕτω γὰρ δὴ περὶ τὰ χρήματα, καίτοι πολυχρήματος ὢν, ἐσπουδάκει ὥστε καὶ ὡς πένητας οἰκτεῖρειν τοὺς μὴ δυναμένους στρατόπεδον ἐκ καταλόγου οἰκοθεν θρέψαι: ^[4] τῶν δὲ δὴ στρατιωτῶν τὸ μὲν πλεῖον διὰ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐς τὴν φιλίαν ἀπέφυγε, τὸ δὲ τι καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐάλω. 28. οἱ δὲ δὴ Πάρθοι τότε μὲν οὐ περαιτέρω τοῦ Εὐφράτου προεχώρησαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν ἀνεκτήσαντο: μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐν πλήθει τινί, ὥς μῆτε στρατηγὸν μῆτε στρατιώτας ἔχουσιν, ἐνέβαλον: ἀφ' οὗπερ Κάσσιος ῥαδίως αὐτοῦς, ἅτε μὴ πολλοὺς ^[2] ὄντας, ἀπέωσατο. οὗτος γὰρ ἐν μὲν ταῖς Κάρραις τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν τὴν αὐτοκράτορα αὐτῶν ἡγεμονίαν μίσει τοῦ Κράσσου διδόντων, καὶ ^[p. 448] προσέτι καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου ἐθέλοντι διὰ τὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς μέγεθος ἐπιτρέποντος, οὐκ ἐδέξατο, τότε δὲ καὶ ἀνάγκῃ τῆς Συρίας ἔν τε τῷ παρόντι καὶ ^[3] μετὰ ταῦτα προέστη. οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι οὐκ ἀπέσχοντο αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ χειρὶ αὐθις μερίζονι, Πακόρου μὲν ὀνόματι, τοῦ υἱέος τοῦ Ὀρώδου, ἔργῳ δὲ παῖς γὰρ ἔπι ἐκεῖνος ἦν Ὡσάκου ἡγουμένου σφίσι, ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ μέχρι τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἦλθον, ^[4] πᾶσαν τὴν ἐν ποσὶ χειρούμενοι. καὶ ἐλπίδα εἶχον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ καταστρέψεσθαι, μῆτε τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀξιωμαχῶ τινὶ δυνάμει παρόντων, καὶ τῶν δῆμων τῇ τε ἐκείνων δεσποτεῖᾳ ἀχθομένων καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἅτε καὶ γείτονας καὶ συνήθεις σφίσι ὄντας 29. ἀποκλινόντων. ἁμαρτόντες δὲ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ὃ τε γὰρ Κάσσιος ἰσχυρῶς αὐτοὺς ἀπεκρούσατο, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἀδύνατοι πολιορκῆσαι τι ἦσαν ἐπ' Ἀντιγόνην ἐτράποντο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὸ τε προάστειον αὐτῆς σύμφυτον ἦν, καὶ οὐκ ἐθάρσησαν, ἀλλ' ^[2] οὐδὲ ἠδυνήθησαν ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσελάσαι, ἐνένοησαν

μὲν τὰ τε δένδρα κόψαι καὶ τὸ χωρίον πᾶν ψιλῶσαι, ὅπως καὶ θαρσύνωντες καὶ ἀσφαλῶς τῇ πόλει προσμίξωσι, μὴ δυνηθέντες δὲ ὅ τε γὰρ πόνος πολὺς ἐγίγνετο καὶ ὁ χρόνος ἄλλως ἀναλοῦτο, ὃ τε Κάσσιος τοὺς ἀποσκεδαννυμένους σφῶν ἐλύπει ἀπανέστησαν ὡς καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι ἐπιστρατεύοντες. [3] κἂν τούτῳ ὁ Κάσσιος ἔς τε τὴν ὁδὸν δι' ἧς ἀποπορεύεσθαι ἔμελλον ἐλόχισε, κἂνταῦθα ἐπιφανεῖς σφισι μετ' ὀλίγων ἔς τε δίωξιν αὐτοὺς ὑπηγάγετο, καὶ περιστοιχισάμενος ἄλλους τε καὶ [p. 450] τὸν Ὡσάκην ἀπέκτεινε. τελευτήσαντος δ' ἐκείνου πᾶσαν τὴν Συρίαν ὁ Πάκορος ἐξέλιπε, καὶ οὐδ' αὐθὶς ποτε ἐς αὐτὴν ἐσέβαλεν. 30. ἅμα δὲ οὗτος ἀνεκεχωρήκει καὶ ὁ Βίβουλος ἄρξων τῆς Συρίας ἀφίκετο, καίπερ ἐψηφισμένου μηδὲνα μῆτε στρατηγὸν μῆθ' ὑπάτον μῆτε εὐθύς μῆτε πρὸ πέμπτου ἔτους ἐς τὰς ἔξω ἡγεμονίας ἐξιέναι, ἵνα μὴ διὰ τοῦτο σπουδαρχοῦντες στασιάζωσι. [2] καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ τὸ ὑπήκοον διήγαγε, τοὺς δὲ δὴ Πάρθους ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἔτρεψε: Ὀρνοδαπάτην 100 γὰρ τινα σατράπην ἀχθόμενον τῷ Ὀρώδῃ προσποιησάμενος, ἀνέπεισε δι' ἀγγέλων τὸν τε Πάκορον βασιλέα στήσασθαι καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνον μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατεῦσαι. [3] ὁ μὲν οὖν πόλεμος οὗτος, ὃ τε τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ ὁ τῶν Πάρθων, 101 τετάρτῳ ἔτει ἀφ' οὗ ἤρξατο, 102 ἐπὶ τε Μάρκου Μαρκέλλου 103 καὶ ἐπὶ Σουλπικίου 31. Ρούφου ὑπάτων, ἐπαύσατο: ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ χρόνῳ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὰ ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ταραχθέντα αὐθὶς μάχαις κατέλαβε, πολλὰ πάνυ τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑποστρατηγῶν πράξας, [2] ὧν ἐγὼ τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα διηγῆσομαι μόνα. ὁ γὰρ Ἀμβιόριξ τοὺς Τρηουήρους χαλεπῶς ἔπι 104 καὶ τότε τῷ τοῦ Ἰνδουτιομάρου θανάτῳ ἔχοντας παραλαβὼν τὰ τε αὐτόθεν ἐπὶ πλεῖον συνέστησε, καὶ παρὰ τῶν Κελτῶν μισθοφορικὸν μετεπέμψατο. [3] βουλευθεὶς οὖν ὁ Λαβιῆνος, πρὶν ἐκείνους ἐπελθεῖν, συμμίξαι σφισι, προενέβαλεν ἐς τὴν τῶν Τρηουήρων χώραν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἡμύνοντο τὴν [p. 452] ἐπικουρίαν ἀναμένοντες, ἀλλὰ ποταμὸν τινα διὰ μέσου ποιησάμενοι ἡσύχαζον, συνεκάλεσε τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ ἐδημηγόρησε τοιάδε ἀφ' ὧν τοὺς τε σφετέρους καταπλήξειν καὶ ἐκείνους ... 105 ἔμελλε, [4] χρῆναι τέ σφας ἔλεγε, πρὶν τοὺς Κελτοὺς αὐτοῖς ἐπαμῦναι, πρὸς τε τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἀποχωρήσαι, ἐσήμενέ 106 τε εὐθύς συσκευάσασθαι. καὶ ἐξανέστη οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, προσδοκήσας [5] ἔσεσθαι τοῦτο ὃ καὶ ἐγένετο. οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπιμελές, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ γε τοῦτο καὶ φανερώς ἐλέχθῃ δεδιέναι 107 τε αὐτὸν ὄντως καὶ φυγὴν ὡς ἀληθῶς ποιεῖσθαι ἐπίστευσαν, καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν σπουδῇ διαβάντες θυμῷ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐχώρουν, ὡς τάχους ἕκαστος εἶχε. [6] καὶ οὕτως ὁ Λαβιῆνος ὑπέστη τέ σφας ἐσκεδασμένους, καὶ τοὺς πρῶτους ἐκπλήξας ῥαδίως καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς δι' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἔτρέψατο. κακὰ τοῦτου φευγόντων τέ σφων τεταραγμένως καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐμπιπτόντων καὶ πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν ὠθουμένων πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινε. 32. διαφυγόντων τε καὶ ὡς συχνῶν, ὁ Καῖσαρ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐδὲνα λόγον ἐποιεῖτο, τὸν δὲ Ἀμβιόριγα διαδιδράσκοντα ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ καὶ πολλὰ κακουργοῦντα καὶ ζητῶν καὶ διώκων πράγματα ἔσχε. καὶ ἐκείνον μὲν οὐδὲνα τρόπον λαβεῖν ἠδυνήθη, ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τοὺς Κελτοὺς ὡς καὶ τοῖς

Τρηουήροις βοηθῆσαι ἐθελήσαντας ἐστράτευσε. ^[2] καὶ ἔπραξε μὲν οὐδὲ τότε οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ ταχέων φόβῳ τῶν Σουήβων ἐπανεχώρησεν, ἔδοξε δ' 108 οὖν αὖθις τὸν Ῥῆνον διαβερηκέναι, καὶ τῆς τε ^[p. 454] γεφύρας μόνα τὰ προσεχῇ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἔλυσε, καὶ φρουρίον ἐπ' αὐτῆς ὡς καὶ αἰὶ διαβησεῖν 109 ^[3] ὤκοδόμησε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὀργῇ τὴν τοῦ Ἀμβιόριγος διάφευξιν φέρων, τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ καίτοι μηδὲν νεωτερίσασαν διαρπάσαι 110 τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐπέτρεψε, προεπαγγείλας σφίσιν αὐτὸ τοῦθ', ὅπως ὅτι πλεῖστοι συνέλθωσιν: ὅθενπερ πολλοὶ μὲν Γαλάται πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ Σύγαμβροι ^[4] πρὸς τὰς ἀρπαγὰς ἦλθον. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀπέχρησε 111 τοῖς Συγάμβροις τὰ ἐκείνων λήσασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπέθεντο: τηρήσαντες γὰρ σφας πρὸς σίτου κομιδὴν ἀπιόντας ἐπεχείρησαν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτῶν, κὰν τούτῳ προσβοηθησάντων σφῶν, ἐπείπερ ἦσθοντο, συχνοὺς ἐφόνευσαν. ^[5] καὶ οἱ μὲν φοβηθέντες διὰ τοῦτο τὸν Καίσαρα οἴκαδε σπουδῇ ἀνεχώρησαν: ἐκεῖνος 112 δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐδενός, 113 διὰ τε τὸν χειμῶνα καὶ διὰ τὸ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ στασιάζεσθαι, οὐδεμίαν τιμωρίαν ἐποίησατο, τοὺς δὲ δὴ στρατιώτας πρὸς τὰ χειμάδια διαπέμψας αὐτός τε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, πρόφασιν μὲν τῆς ἐκεῖ Γαλατίας ἔνεκα, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ὅπως ἐγγύθεν τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει δρωμένοις ἐφεδρεῖη, ἀπῆλθεν. 33. κὰν τούτῳ οἱ Γαλάται αὖθις ἐνεόχμωσαν. Ἀρουερνοὶ γὰρ ἡγουμένου σφῶν Οὐερκιγγετόριγος ἀπέστησαν, καὶ τοὺς τε 114 Ῥωμαίους, ὅσους ἔν τε ταῖς πόλεσιν ἔν τε τῇ χώρᾳ σφῶν εὗρον, πάντας ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν συμμαχίδα αὐτῶν χωρήσαντες ^[p. 456] τοὺς μὲν συναποστῆναί σφισιν ἐθελήσαντας περιεῖπον, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐκακούργουν. ^[2] μαθὼν οὖν ταῦθ' ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀνεκομίσθη, 115 καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἐς Βιτούριγας 116 ἐσβεβληκότας ἐκείνοις μὲν 'οὐ γὰρ πῶ πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται αὐτοῦ παρῆσαν' οὐκ ἐπήμυνεν, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὴν Ἀρουερνίδα ἀντεμβαλὼν ἐπανήγαγεν οἴκαδε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ 'οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει πῶ ἀξιόμαχος αὐτοῖς εἶναι' 34. προαπεχώρησεν. αὖθις οὖν ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς τε τοὺς Βιτούριγας 117 ἐπανῆλθον, 118 καὶ πόλιν αὐτῶν Ἀουαρικὸν 119 ἐλόντες ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐν αὐτῇ ἀντέσχον. ὕστερον δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πολιορκούμενοι — τό τε γὰρ τεῖχος δυσπρόσιτον ἦν, τῇ μὲν ἐλῶν δυσδιαβάτων τῇ δὲ ποταμοῦ ῥοώδους αὐτὸ περιέχοντος, καὶ αὐτοὶ παμπληθεῖς ὄντες τὰς τε προσβολὰς σφῶν ῥαδίως ἀπεκρούοντο, καὶ ἐπεξιόντες ^[2] πολλὰ αὐτοὺς ἐλύπουν. καὶ τέλος τὰ τε περὶ πάντα, οὐχ ὅπως ἀγροὺς ἢ κώμας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις ἀφ' ὧν ὠφελίαν τινὰ ἔσσεσθαι σφισι προσεδόκων, κατέφλεξαν, εἴ τί τι παρὰ τῶν πόρρωθεν συμμαχῶν ἐκομίζετο αὐτοῖς, ἥρπαζον, ὥστε πολιορκεῖν τὴν πόλιν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους δοκοῦντας ^[3] τὰ τῶν πολιορκουμένων πάσχειν, πρὶν δὴ ὑετός τε λάβρος καὶ πνεῦμα μέγα προσβάλλουσι πῃ αὐτοῖς ἐπιγενόμενον ὅ 120 γὰρ χειμῶν ἐνειστήκει πρῶτους μὲν ἐκείνους ἀπῆλασε καὶ ἐς τὰς σκηνὰς ἐπανήγαγεν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐς τὰς οἰκίας κατέκλεισεν. ἀπελθόντων γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπάλξεων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι προσέβαλον ἐξαίφνης ^[p. 458] ^[4] αὖθις αὐταῖς ἐρήμοις ἀνδρῶν οὖσαι: καὶ πύργον τινὰ παραχρῆμα, πρὶν καὶ αἰσθῆσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους τῆς παρουσίας σφῶν, ἐλόντες ἔπειτα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐχειρώσαντο, καὶ τὴν τε πόλιν πᾶσαν διήρπασαν, καὶ τοὺς

ἀνθρώπους πάντας ὀργῇ τῆς τε προεδρείας καὶ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας ἔσφαξαν.
35. πράξας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐπεστράτευσε. καὶ
ἐπειδὴ πολεμοῦμενοι τὰς γεφύρας οἱ λοιποὶ Ἀρουεργοὶ προεκεκρατήκεσαν
δι' ὧν διαβῆναι αὐτὸν ἐχρῆν, ἀπορήσας ὅπως περαιωθῇ, ἐπιπαρήλθεν ἐπὶ
πολὺν παρὰ τὴν ὁχθὴν, 121 εἴ πως ἐπιτηδεῖον τινὸς χωρίου ὥστε πεζῇ δι' [2]
αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὕδατος διελθεῖν λάβοιτο. καὶ τοῦτου ἔν τε ὑλῶδει τινὶ καὶ ἓν
συσκίῳ τόπῳ γενόμενος τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ πλεῖον
προέπεμψε, μακρὰν 122 ἐκτεταμένην τάξει κελεύσας αὐτοὺς προῖναι, ὥστε
καὶ πάντας σφᾶς ἐνταῦθα [3] εἶναι δοκεῖν: αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν
ἐρρωμενεστάτων ὑπέμεινε, καὶ ξύλα τε ἔτεμε καὶ σχεδίας ἐποίησε καὶ ἐπ'
αὐτῶν διέβη τὸ ρεῦμα, τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς τε τοὺς ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν
πορευομένους τὸν νοῦν ἐχόντων καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα μετ' αὐτῶν εἶναι [4]
λογιζομένων. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τοὺς τε προεληλυθότας νυκτὸς ἀνεκαλέσατο,
καὶ διαβιβάσας αὐτοὺς ὁμοίως τῆς μὲν χώρας ἐκράτησε, τῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων
ἐς Γεργοῦσιαν 123 συγκαταφυγόντων καὶ ἐκεῖσε πάντα τὰ τιμιώτατα σφίσι
συγκομισάντων πλείστον 36. πόνον μάτην αὐτοῖς προσεδρεύων ἔσχε. τὸ τε
γὰρ φρούριον ἐπὶ τε λόφου καρτεροῦ ἦν καὶ [p. 460] τείχεσιν ἰσχυρῶς
ἐκεκράτυντο, καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι πέραν αὐτὸ πάντα τὰ μετέωρα κατειληφότες
περιεφρούρουν, ὥστε καὶ μένειν αὐτοῖς κατὰ χώραν ἀσφαλῶς ὑπάρχειν καὶ
ἐπικαταθέουσι πλεονεκτεῖν [2] τὰ πλείω. ἔν τε γὰρ πεδίῳ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἠύλιζετο
'οὐ γὰρ εὐπόρησεν ἐχυροῦ χωρίου, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν οὔτε προεγίνωσκεν 124 .
... οἱ δὲ δὴ βάρβαροι, ὡς καὶ ὑπερδεξιῶν κρατοῦντες, 125 τὸ τε στρατόπεδον
αὐτοῦ κατεθεῶντο καὶ ταῖς καταδρομαῖς ἐπικαίροις [3] ἐχρῶντο. εἴ τε πη
περαιτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ προχωρήσαντες ἀνεκόπτοντο, 126 δι' ὀλίγου αὐθις
ἐντὸς τῆς ἐπικρατείας σφῶν ἐγίνοντο: οἱ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι οὐδένα τρόπον, ἐφ'
ὅσον οἱ τε λίθοι καὶ τὰ ἀκόντια [4] ἐξικνεῖτο, πελάσαι τοῖς χωρίοις ἐδύναντο.
ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ, ἐπειδὴ ὁ τε χρόνος ἄλλως ἀναλοῦτο, καὶ πολλάκις καὶ πρὸς
αὐτὸ τὸ ὄρθιον, ἐφ' οὗ τὸ πόλισμα ἦν, προσβαλὼν μέρους μὲν τινος
ἐκράτησεν αὐτοῦ ὥστε καὶ ἐντειχίσασθαι τι ῥᾶω τε 127 ἐκεῖθεν τὴν ἐπὶ
τάλλα ἔφοδον ποιεῖσθαι, τὸ δ' [5] ὅλον ἀπεκρούετο, καὶ τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν
συχνοὺς ἀπέβαλε καὶ ἐκείνους ἀλήπτους ἑώρα ὄντας, τὰ τε τῶν Αἰδουῶν ἐν
τούτῳ ἐκινήθη, καὶ προσέτι καὶ πρὸς τοὺτους ἀπελθόντος αὐτοῦ κακῶς οἱ
καταλειφθέντες ἀπήλλαξαν, ἀνέστη. 37. οἱ γὰρ Αἰδουοὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ταῖς
τε ὁμολογίαις ἐνέμειναν καὶ ἐπικουρίας αὐτῷ ἔπεμπον, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ
ἄκοντες ἐπολέμησαν, ἀπατησάντων σφᾶς ἄλλων τε καὶ Λιταουίκου. ἐπειδὴ
γὰρ οὐκ ἔπειθεν αὐτοὺς ἄλλως τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, διεπράξατο [p. 462]
προσταχθῆναι οἱ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπαγαγεῖν [2] τινὰς ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ δῆθεν
αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὥρμησε μὲν ὡς καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσων, προπέμψας δὲ ἵππείας, καὶ
κελεύσας τισὶν αὐτῶν ἐπανελθοῦσιν εἰπεῖν ὅτι οἱ τε 128 συμπεμφθέντες
σφίσι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις σφῶν ὄντες συνειλημμένοι τε ὑπ'
αὐτῶν εἰσι καὶ ἀπολώλασι, προσπαρώξυνε τοὺς στρατιώτας δημηγορήσας
ἀκόλουθα τοῖς ἀγγέλοις. [3] καὶ οὕτως αὐτοὶ τε ἐπανεστήσαν καὶ τοὺς
ἄλλους συμμετέστησαν. 129 καὶ τότε μὲν ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ ὡς τάχιστα τοῦτ'
ἦσθετο, τοὺς τε Αἰδουοὺς οὕς εἶχε καὶ ἐδόκει πεφονευκέναι ἔπεμψεν αὐτοῖς,

ὥστε φανεροὺς πᾶσι ζῶντας γενέσθαι, καὶ τῷ ἱππικῷ 38. ἐφέσπετό μετενόησαν καὶ συνηλλάγησαν: αὖθις δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρὸς τε τῇ Γεργούϊα τῇ 130 τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀπουσίᾳ πταισάντων, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο παντάπασιν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀποχωρησάντων, ἐφοβήθησαν οἱ τὴν τε ἐπανάστασιν πράξαντες καὶ νεωτέρων ἀεὶ πραγμάτων ἐφιέμενοι μὴ 131 σχολάζοντες [2] ... ποιήσονται, καὶ ἐνεόχμωσαν. μαθόντες δὲ τοῦθ' οἱ συστρατεύοντες 132 αὐτῶν τῷ Καίσαρι ἡτήσαντο ἐπιτραπῆναι σφισιν οἴκαδε ἀπελθεῖν, ὑποσχόμενοι πάντα καταστήσειν. καὶ οὕτως ἀφεθέντες πρὸς τε Νοοιοδουνόν, 133 ἔνθα τὰ τε χρήματα καὶ τὸν οἶτον ὁμήρους 134 τε πολλοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι [p. 464] κατετέθειντο, 135 ἦλθον, καὶ τοὺς τε φρουροὺς αὐτῶν, συναιρομένων 136 σφίσι τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, μὴ προσδεχομένους ἔφθειραν, καὶ ἐν κράτει πάντων αὐτῶν [3] ἐγένοντο. καὶ ἐκείνην τε τὴν πόλιν ἐπικαιρον οὖσαν κατέπρησαν, ὅπως μὴ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ὀρμητήριον αὐτῇ τοῦ πολέμου ποιήσονται, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν Αἰδουῶν προσαπέστησαν. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ ἐπεχείρησε μὲν παραχρῆμα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεῦσαι, μὴ δυνηθεὶς δὲ διὰ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Λίγρον 137 ἐπὶ [4] Λίγγονας ἐτράπετο. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐδ' ἐκεῖ κατῴρθωσεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Λαβιῆνος τὴν νῆσον τὴν ἐν τῷ Σηκουανῷ ποταμῷ οὖσαν, τοὺς τε προκινδυνεύσαντας ἐν 138 τῇ ἡπειρῷ κρατήσας καὶ τὴν διάβασιν πολλαχῇ ἅμα κατὰ τε τὸν ῥοῦν καὶ ἀνάπαλιν, ὅπως μὴ καθ' ἐν περαιούμενος κωλυθῇ, ποιησάμενος, κατέσχε. 39. πρὶν δὲ τοῦτο γενέσθαι, καταφρονήσας ὁ Οὐερκιγγοτόριξ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐξ ὧν ἐπταίκει ἐπ' Ἀλλόβριγας ἐστράτευσε. κἂν τούτῳ ὀρμήσαντα αὐτὸν ὥς καὶ βοηθήσοντά σφισιν, ἀπέλαβεν ἐν Σηκουανοῖς [2] γενόμενον καὶ ἐνεκυκλώσατο, οὐ μέντοι κακὸν τι εἰργάσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶν τοῦναντίον τοὺς τε Ῥωμαίους ἠνάγκασεν ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι ἀπογνώσει τῆς σωτηρίας, καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τε τοῦ πλήθους καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θράσους ἔπταισε, καὶ τι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν [3] τῶν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις συμμαχοῦντων ἐσφάλη: ταῖς τε γὰρ ὀρμαῖς ἄπληστοι ὄντες καὶ τοῖς 139 σώμασι τὴν τόλμαν προσεπισχυρίσαντες διέρρηξαν τὴν περισχεσιν. εὐρῶν δὲ δὴ τὸ εὖρημα τοῦτο ὁ Καῖσαρ [p. 466] οὐκ ἀνῆκεν, ἀλλ' ἐς Ἀλεσίαν τοὺς διαφυγόντας αὐτῶν κατακλείσας ἐπολιόρκει. 40. κἂν τούτῳ ὁ Οὐερκιγγοτόριξ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τοὺς ἱππέας, πρὶν παντελῶς ἀποτειχισθῆναι, ἐξέπεμψε, τῆς τε τροφῆς τῶν ἵππων ἕνεκα 'οὐ γὰρ ἦν' καὶ ὅπως ἐς τὰς πατρίδας ἕκαστοὶ σφον κομισθέντες τὰ τε ἐπιτήδεια καὶ ἐπικουρίαν αὐτῷ [2] ἀγάγωσιν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὗτοί τε ἐχρόνιζον καὶ τὰ σιτία σφᾶς ἐπιλείπειν ἤρξατο, τοὺς τε παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ 140 τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς ἀχρειοτάτους ἐξέβαλεν, 141 ἐλπίσας μάτην ὅτι ἢ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῆς λείας ἕνεκα σωθήσονται, ἢ οἳ γε λοιποὶ ταῖς τροφαῖς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖον χρησάμενοι [3] περιγενήσονται. ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ ἄλλως μὲν οὐδ' αὐτὸς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ὥστε καὶ ἐτέρους τρέφειν, εὐπόρει: τοῖς δ' οὖν 142 πολεμίοις ἰσχυροτέραν τὴν σιτοδείαν ἐπανελθόντων αὐτῶν, ἐλπίδι τοῦ πάντως σφᾶς καταδεχθήσεσθαι, ποιήσιν νομίσας πάντας [4] αὐτοὺς ἀπεώσατο. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, μηδετέρων σφᾶς δεχομένων, οἰκτρότατα ἀπώλονται: ἡ δὲ ἐπικουρία τῶν τε ἱππέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀχθέντων ἐπῆλθε μὲν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν τοῖς βαρβάροις,

ἵππομαχίᾳ δὲ δὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῇ βοηθείᾳ. [5] ... καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πειράσαντες
νυκτὸς διὰ τῶν περιτειχισμάτων ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθεῖν ἰσχυρῶς ἐπόνησαν:
143 τάφρους τε γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κρυπτὰς ἐν τοῖς ἵππασίμοις ἐπεποιήκεσαν
καὶ σκόλοπας ἐς αὐτὰς ἐνέπεπῃχεσαν, 144 πάντα ἐπιπολῆς [p. 468] τῷ ἄλλῳ
145 τῷ περὶ χωρίῳ ὁμοίωσαντες, [6] ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τοὺς ἵππους
ὅτι μάλιστα ἀπερὶσκέπτως ἐς αὐτὰ ἐμπεσόντας σφαλῆναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ
ἐνέδοσαν πρὶν ἐκ παρατάξεως αὐθις 146 πρὸς αὐτοῖς τοῖς τειχίσμασιν αὐτοί
τε ἅμα καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπεξελθόντες πταῖσαι. 41. ὁ δ' οὖν
Οὐερκιγγετόριξ ἡδυνήθη μὲν ἐκφυγεῖν 'οὔτε γὰρ ἐάλω καὶ ἄτρωτος ἦν',
ἐλπίσας δ', ὅτι ἐν φιλίᾳ ποτὲ τῷ Καίσαρι ἐγεγόνει, συγγνώμης παρ' αὐτοῦ
τεύξεσθαι, ἦλθε πρὸς αὐτὸν μὴ ἐπικηρυκευσάμενος, καὶ καθημένῳ οἱ ἐπὶ
βήματος ἐξαίφνης ὤφθη, ὥστε καὶ ταραχθῆναι τινας: ἄλλως τε γὰρ
περιμήκης ἦν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις δεινῶς [2] ἐνέπρεπεν: ἡσυχίας δ' οὖν
γενομένης εἶπε μὲν οὐδέν, πεσὼν δὲ ἐς γόνυ τῷ τε χεῖρι πέσας 147 ἐδεῖτο.
148 ταῦτα τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις οἶκτον τῇ τε τῆς προτέρας αὐτοῦ τύχης
ἀναμνήσει καὶ τῷ τῆς παρούσης ὀψεως περιπαθεῖ ἐνέβαλεν: ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ
αὐτὸ τε αὐτῷ τοῦτο, δι' ὃ μάλιστα σωθήσεσθαι προσεδόκησεν, [3] ἐπεκάλεσε
'τῆς γὰρ φιλίας τὴν ἀντίταξιν ἀντιθεὶς χαλεπωτέραν τὴν ἀδικίαν αὐτοῦ
ἀπέφηνέ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε ἐν τῷ παραχρῆμα αὐτὸν ἠλέησεν ἀλλ' εὐθύς
ἐν δεσμοῖς ἔδωκε, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἐπινίκια μετὰ τοῦτο πέμψας ἀπέκτεινε. 42.
τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ἐγένετο, τότε δὲ τοὺς μὲν ὁμολογία τῶν λοιπῶν
προσέθετο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ μάχῃ κρατήσας ἐδουλώσατο. οἱ τε γὰρ Βελγικοὶ 149
[p. 470] οἱ πλησιόχωροι, 150 Κόμμιόν τινα Ἀτρέβαν προστησάμενοι σφῶν, ἐπὶ
πλεῖστον ἀντέσχον, καὶ δύο τε ἵππομαχίαις ἀγχώμαλά πη 151 ἡγωνίσαντο,
καὶ τρίτῃ πεζομαχίᾳ ἰσοπαλεῖ 152 τὸ πρῶτον συνενεχθέντες ἔπειτα ὑπὸ τοῦ
ἵππικοῦ κατὰ νώτου σφίσιν ἀνελπίστως προσπεσόντος 153 ἐτράπησαν. [2]
κάκ τούτου τὸ τε στρατόπεδον τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ περιλιπεῖς ἐξέλιπον, καὶ
διελθόντες ὕλην τινὰ ἐκείνην τε ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας μόνας
ὑπελίποντο, 154 ὅπως τῶν πολεμίων διὰ τε ταύτας καὶ διὰ τὸ πῦρ
χρονισάντων φθάσωσιν ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἀποχωρήσαντες. [3] οὐ μέντοι καὶ
ἐπιτυχεῖς τῆς ἐλπίδος ἐγένοντο: οἱ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι ὡς τάχιστα τῆς φυγῆς
αὐτῶν ἦσθοντο, ἐπεδίωξάν σφας, καὶ ἐντυχόντες τῷ πυρὶ τὰ μὲν
κατέσβεσαν τὰ δὲ καὶ διέκοψαν, καὶ τινες καὶ διὰ μέσης τῆς φλογὸς
δραμόντες κατέλαβον αὐτοὺς ἀπροσδόκητοι καὶ παμπληθεῖς 43. ἐφόνευσαν.
ἐκ δὲ τούτου τῶν μὲν ἄλλων τινὲς ὠμολόγησαν, ὁ δὲ Ἀτρέβας διαφυγὼν
οὐδ' ὡς ἡσύχασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Λαβιῆνον ἐπεχείρησεν [2] ἐνεδρεῦσαι ποτε.
ἡττηθεὶς δὲ τῇ μάχῃ ἀνέπεισθη μὲν ἐς λόγους αὐτῷ ἐλθεῖν, πρὶν δὲ ἢ
ὅτιοῦν συμβῆναι τρωθεὶς ὑπὸ τινος τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀποστῆναι τοῦ μὴ ἂν
ἀκριβῶς εἰρηνῆσαι διέφυγε, καὶ χαλεπὸς αὐθις αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, μέχρις οὗ
ἀπογνοὺς τὰ πράγματα τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις τοῖς συνοῦσιν οἱ ἀκέραιον τὴν
ἄδειαν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς σφετέροις ἔπραξεν, αὐτὸς 155 δὲ ἑαυτῷ τὸ μηδέποτε,
ὡς γέ τινες φασιν, 156 [p. 472] [3] ἐς ὅπιν μηδενὸς Ῥωμαίου ἐλθεῖν. ἐκεῖνοί τε
οὖν οὕτω κατελύσαντο, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ μετὰ τοῦτο, οἱ μὲν ἐκούσιοι οἱ δὲ καὶ
καταπολεμηθέντες, ἐχειρώθησαν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ φρουραῖς καὶ

δικαιώσῃσι χρημάτων τε ἐσπράξῃσι καὶ φόρων ἐπιτάξῃσι τοὺς μὲν ἑταπείνωσε τοὺς δὲ ἡμέρωσε. 44. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐπὶ τε Λουκίου Παύλου καὶ ἐπὶ Γαίου Μαρκελλοῦ ὑπάτων ἐτελευτήθη, ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ τῶν μὲν Γαλατῶν ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ χρόνου τοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτοῦ δοθέντος ἔκ τε τῆς Γαλατίας ἀπαλλαγῆναι καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπανακομισθῆναι ὤφειλεν: ἐκεῖνός 157 τε γὰρ ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ ἦν καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ἐπέπαυτο, καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἔτ' εὐπρεπῇ σκῆψιν πρὸς τὸ μὴ οὐ τὰ τε στρατοπέδα ἀφείναι καὶ ἰδιωτεῦσαι εἶχεν: [2] ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τε ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἐστασιάζετο, καὶ ὁ Κράσσοις ἐτεθνήκει, ὁ τε Πομπήιος ἔν τε δυνάμει αὐθις, ἄτε τρίτον ὑπατευκῶς καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ πέντε ἄλλα ἔτη δοθῆναι οἱ διαπεπραγμένους, ἐγένετο, καὶ αὐτῷ οὐκέτ' οἰκείως, [3] ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ παιδίου, ὅπερ που καὶ μόνον ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ αὐτοῦς 158 κατέιχε, τετελευτηκότος, διέκειτο, 159 ἐφοβήθη μὴ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ψιλωθεὶς ἐπὶ τε ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐχθροῖς γένηται, καὶ οὐ διῆκεν αὐτοῦς. 45. ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις ἔτεσιν ἄλλα τε ἐν τῇ πόλει στασιώδη πολλὰ κἀν ταῖς ἀρχαιρεσίαις μάλιστα ἐγένετο, ὥστε μόλις ἐβδόμῳ μηνὶ τὸν τε Καλουῖνον καὶ τὸν Μεσσάλαν ὑπάτους ἀποδειχθῆναι: [2] καὶ οὐδ' ἂν τότε ἡρέθησαν, εἰ μὴ Κύνιτος [p. 474] τε Πομπήιος ὁ Ροῦφος ἐς τὸ δεσποτήριον ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, καίτοι τοῦ τε Σύλλου θυγατρίδοις ὦν καὶ δημαρχῶν, ἐνεβλήθη, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς κακουργῆσαι τι ἐθέλησασιν ἐψηφίσθη, τῷ τε Πομπηίῳ ἢ πρὸς αὐτοῦς βοήθεια ἐνεχειρίσθη. [3] ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ὅτε καὶ οἱ ὄρنيθες τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας ἐπέσχον, οὐ βουλόμενοι τοῖς μεσοβασίλεῦσι γενέσθαι: μάλιστα δὲ οἱ δήμαρχοι, τὰ πράγματα τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει διέποντες ὥστε καὶ τὰς πανηγύρεις καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ποιεῖν, ἐκώλυον τὰς λοιπὰς ἀρχὰς αἰρεθῆναι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ [4] ὁ Ροῦφος ἐς τὸ οἴκημα ἐσέπεσε. καὶ οὗτος μὲν τὸν Φαουώνιον ἀγορανομοῦντα ἐς αὐτὸ ὕστερον ἀπὸ τινος οὐ μεγάλης αἰτίας, ἵνα δὴ κοινωνὸν τῆς ἀτιμίας λάβῃ, κατέθετο: πάντες δὲ οἱ δήμαρχοι ἄλλας τε σκῆψεις ἐμποδίου ἐσέφερον, καὶ χιλιάρχους ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων, ὅπως πλείους ἄρχοντες ὥσπερ ποτὲ ἀποδεικνύωνται, καθίστασθαι 160 [5] ἐσηγοῦντο. ἐπειδὴ τ' οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐπέισθη, δικτάτορα γοῦν τὸν Πομπήιον λεχθῆναι δεῖν ἔφασκον. καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ διέτριψαν: ἐκεῖνός τε γὰρ ἀπεδήμει, καὶ ἔκ τῶν παρόντων οὔτε ψηφισασθαι τις αὐτὸ πρὸς γὰρ τὴν τοῦ Σύλλου ὡμότητα ἐμίσουν πάντες τὸ πολίτευμά οὗτ' αὖ μὴ ἐλέσθαι διὰ 46. τὸν τοῦ Πομπηίου φόβον ὑπέμεινε. τέλος δὲ ὅψε ποτε αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν τὴν μὲν δικτατορίαν διδομένην οἱ δῆθεν οὐκ ἐδέξατο, τοὺς δὲ ὑπάτους ἀποδειχθῆναι παρεσκεύασεν. οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι διαδόχους σφίσι διὰ τὸν ἐκ τῶν σφαγῶν 161 [p. 476] τάραχον κατέστησαν, καίπερ καὶ τὴν βουλευτικὴν ἐσθῆτα καταθέμενοι κἀν τῇ ἱππᾷ τὴν γερουσίαν ὥσπερ ἐπὶ μεγάλῳ τινὶ πένθει συνάγοντες. [2] δόγμα τε 162 ἐποίησαντο μηδένα μῆτε στρατηγήσαντα μῆθ' ὑπατεύσαντα τὰς ἑξῶ ἡγεμονίας, πρὶν ἂν πέντε ἔτη διέλθῃ, λαμβάνειν, εἴ πως ὑπὸ τοῦ μὴ παραυτίκα ἐν δυνάμει τινὶ αὐτοῦς γίγνεσθαι παύσαιντο σπουδαρχοῦντες. οὕτε γὰρ ἐμετρίαζον [3] οὕθ' ὑγιεῖς οὐδὲν ἐποιοῦν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλους παρῶρμητο πολλὰ μὲν δαπανώμενοι πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλείω μαχόμενοι, ὥστε καὶ τὸν Ὑπατὸν ποτε τὸν Καλουῖνον τρωθῆναι. οὐκουν

οὐθ' ὕπατος οὔτε στρατηγὸς οὔτε πολιάρχος τις σφας διεδέξατο, ἀλλὰ ἀναρκτοὶ κατὰ τοῦτο παντελῶς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ πρῶτα τοῦ ἔτους ἐγένοντο. 47. καὶ τοῦτου οὔτε τι ἄλλο χρηστὸν συνέβη, καὶ ἡ ἀγορὰ ἡ διὰ τῶν ἐννέα αἰῶν ἡμερῶν ἀγομένη ἐν ^[2] αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ Ἰανουαρίου νομηνίᾳ ἤχθη. καὶ τοῦτο τε αὐτοῦς, 163 ὥς οὐκ ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου συμβὰν ἀλλ' ἐν τέρατος λόγῳ γενόμενον, ἐθορύβει, καὶ ὅτι βύας ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ὠφθη καὶ συνελήφθη, ἄγαλμά τε τι ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἴδρωσε, καὶ λαμπὰς ἐκ τῶν νοτίων πρὸς ἀνατολὰς διέδραμε, καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν κεραυνοὶ πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ βῶλοι λίθοι τε καὶ ὄστρακα καὶ αἷμα διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος ἠνέχθη. ^[3] δοκεῖ δὲ ἔμοιγε καὶ ἐκεῖνο τὸ τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει, ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ αὐτοῦ, περὶ τε τὸν Σάραπιν καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἴσιν ψηφισθὲν τέρας οὐδενὸς ἦττον γενέσθαι: τοὺς γὰρ ναοὺς αὐτῶν, 164 οὓς ἰδίᾳ τινὲς ἐπεποιήντο, ^[p. 478] ^[4] καθελεῖν τῇ βουλῇ ἔδοξεν. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοὺς θεοὺς τούτους ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐνόμισαν, καὶ ὅτε 165 γε καὶ ἐξενίκησεν ὥστε καὶ δημοσίᾳ αὐτοὺς σέβεσθαι, ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου σφᾶς ἰδρῦσαντο. 48. τοιαύτης οὖν τότε τῆς ἐν τῷ ἄστει καταστάσεως οὔσης, καὶ μηδενὸς τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιτεταγμένου, σφαγαὶ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐγίνοντο, τὰς τε ἀρχαιρεσίας, καίτοι σπεύδοντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ δεκάσμοις καὶ φόνοις δι' αὐτὰς χρώμενοι, ^[2] οὐκ ἐπετέλουν. ὁ γοῦν Μίλων ὑπατεῖαν αἰτῶν τὸν Κλώδιον ἐν τῇ Ἀππία ὁδῷ συντυχόντα οἱ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπλῶς πως ἔτρωσεν, ἔπειτα δὲ φοβηθεὶς μὴ ἐπεξέλθῃ 166 τῷ γεγονότι κατέσφαξεν, ἐλπίσας, ἐπειδὴ πάντας 167 τοὺς οἰκέτας τοὺς τοῦτο ποιήσαντας εὐθὺς ἠλευθέρωσε, 168 ῥῆον τοῦ φόνου τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ ἢ τοῦ τραύματος εἰ περιγίγνοιτο ^[3] ἀφεθῆσεσθαι. ἀκούσαντες οὖν τοῦθ' οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει πρὸς ἐσπέραν δεινῶς ἐταράχθησαν: ταῖς τε γὰρ στάσεσιν ἀφορμὴ πολέμου καὶ κακῶν ἐγίνετο, καὶ οἱ διὰ μέσου, εἰ καὶ ἐμίσουν τὸν Κλώδιον, ὅμως διὰ τε τὸ 169 ἀνθρώπινον καὶ ὅτι καὶ τοῦ Μίλωνος στερηθῆναι ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ 49. ἤθελον, ἠγανάκτουν. παραλαβόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οὕτως ἔχοντας ὃ τε Ῥοῦφος καὶ Τίτος Μουνάτιος Πλάγκος προσπαρώξουν: δημαρχοῦντες γὰρ ἔς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν τὸν 170 νεκρὸν ὑπὸ τὴν ἔω ἐσεκόμισαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐπέθεσαν πᾶσι τε ἐπεδείκνυσαν, ^[2] καὶ ἐπέλεγον οἷα εἰκὸς ἦν ὀδυρόμενοι, ὥστε τὸν ὁμίλον καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἐώρων καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἤκουον συνταραχθῆναι, ^[p. 480] καὶ μήτε τοῦ ὀσίου 171 μήτε τοῦ θείου ἔτι φροντίσαι, ἀλλὰ πάντα μὲν τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς νόμιμα συγχέαι, πᾶσαν δὲ ὀλίγου τὴν πόλιν καταπρῆσαι. τὸ γὰρ σῶμα τοῦ Κλωδίου ἀράμενοι ἔς τε τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσήνεγκαν, καὶ εὐθέτησαν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πυρὰν ἐκ τῶν βάθρων συννήσαντες 172 ^[3] ἔκαυσαν καὶ ἐκεῖνο καὶ τὸ συνέδριον. οὕτω τε οὐχ ὀρμῇ τι, οἷα πού τοὺς ὄχλους ἐξαπιναιὰ καταλαμβάνει, ἀλλὰ ἐκ προαιρέσεως αὐτὸ ἔπραξαν ὥστε καὶ τὴν ἐνάτην τὸ περιδαιπνον ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀγορᾷ, τυφομένου ἔτι τοῦ βουλευτηρίου, ποιῆσαι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν τοῦ Μίλωνος ^[4] καταφλέξαι ἐπιχειρῆσαι. ἐκεῖνη μὲν οὖν πολλῶν αὐτῇ ἀμυνάντων οὐκ ἐκάυθη: ὁ δὲ δὴ Μίλων τέως μὲν περιφοβὸς ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ ὧν ἐκρύπτετο, οὐχ ὑπὸ ἰδιωτῶν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱππέων βουλευτῶν τε τινων φρουρούμενος: ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο τε ἐγένετο καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν τῆς γερουσίας ἐς τὸ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν ^[5] μίasma περιχωρήσειν ἤλπισεν ἐυθύς

γούν τῆς δείλης ἐς τὸ Παλάτιον δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο συλλεγέντες τὸν τε μεσοβασιλέα προχειρισθῆναι, καὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐκεῖνον καὶ τοὺς δημάρχους καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ἐπιμεληθῆναι ὥστε μηδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀποτριβῆναι, ἐψηφίσαντό, προῆει τε ἐς τὸ 173 μέσον καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁμοίως ἢ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀντεποιεῖτο. 50. μάχαι τε οὖν ἐκ τούτου πολλαὶ καὶ σφαγαὶ αὐθις ἐγίνοντο, ὥστε τὴν βουλὴν τὰ τε προειρημένα ἐπικυρῶσαι, καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον μεταπέμψασθαι, καταλόγους τε αὐτῷ καινοὺς ποιήσασθαι [p. 482] [2] ἐπιτρέψαι, καὶ τὰ ἐσθήματα ἀλλάξασθαι. ἐλθόντος τε αὐτοῦ 174 οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ἔξω τε τοῦ πωμηρίου πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ αὐτοῦ σὺν φρουρᾷ ἡθροίσθησαν 175 καὶ τὰ τοῦ Κλωδίου ὅσα ἄνελεσθαι ἔγνωσαν, τὸ τε βουλευτήριον τῷ Φαύστῳ τῷ τοῦ Σύλλου υἱεῖ ἀνοικοδομησάαι προσέταξαν. [3] ἦν μὲν γὰρ τὸ Ὀσπίλιον, μετεσκεύαστο δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλου: διὸ 176 τοῦτό τε περὶ αὐτοῦ 177 ἔδοξε, καὶ ὅπως ἐξοικοδομηθὲν τὸ ἐκείνου ὄνομα ἀπολάβῃ. 178 μετεώρου δὲ τῆς πόλεως οὔσης ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄρξουσὶ σφῶν, καὶ διαθροούντων τῶν μὲν ὡς δικτάτορα τὸν Πομπήιον, τῶν δὲ ὡς ὑπάτον τὸν Καίσαρα [4] αἰρεθῆναι δεῖ 179 'οὕτω γάρ που ἐκ προαιρέσεως ἐπὶ τοῖς κατειργασμένοις αὐτὸν ἐτίμων ὥστε καὶ ἐξήκονθ' ἡμέρας θῦσαι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ψηφίσασθαι, φοβηθέντες ἐκάτερον οἱ τε ἄλλοι βουλευταὶ καὶ Βίβουλος, ὅσπερ που τὴν γνώμην πρῶτος ἐρωτηθεὶς ποιήσεσθαι ἔμελλε, προκατέλαβον τὴν τοῦ πλήθους ὁρμὴν, τῷ Πομπηίῳ τὴν ὑπατείαν, ὥστε μὴ δικτάτορα αὐτὸν λεχθῆναι, καὶ μόνῳ γε, ἵνα μὴ ὁ [5] Καῖσαρ αὐτῷ συνάρξῃ, δόντες. ξένον μὲν δὴ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ μηδενὸς ἄλλου γενόμενον ἔπραξαν, καίτοι 180 ὀρθῶς αὐτὸ πεποικέναι ἔδοξαν: ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἦττον τοῦ Καίσαρος τῷ ὁμίλῳ προσέκειτο, ἀπορρήξειν τε αὐτὸν ἀπ' ἐκείνου παντάπασι καὶ σφετεριεῖσθαι ἤλπισαν. καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως: τῷ τε γὰρ καινῷ καὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ τῆς τιμῆς ἐπαρθεὶς οὐκέτ' οὐδὲν ἐς τὴν τῶν πολλῶν χάριν ἐβούλευσεν, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς πάντα τὰ τῇ βουλῇ ἀρέσκοντα ἔπραξεν. [p. 484] 51. οὐ μέντοι καὶ μόνος ἄρξαι ἠθέλησεν: τὴν γὰρ εὐκλειαν ἐν τῷ δεδόχθαι τοῦτ' ἔχων, τὸν φθόνον τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἐξέκλινε. καὶ φοβηθεὶς μήποτε κενῆς τῆς χώρας οὔσης ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔκ τε τῆς 181 τῶν δυνάμεων καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πλήθους σπουδῆς συνάρχων [2] αὐτῷ δοθῇ, ἐκείνῳ 182 μὲν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ παντελῶς παρημελῆσθαι νομίσῃ 183 κάκ τούτου πινὰ ὀργὴν δικαίαν ποιήσῃται, παρεσκεύασε διὰ τῶν δημάρχων ἐπιτραπῆναι καὶ ἀπόντι τὴν ἀρχήν, ὅταν ἐκ τῶν νόμων καθήκῃ, 184 αἰτῆσαι, αὐτὸς δὲ Κύντον Σκιπίωνα πενθερόν τε οἱ ὄντα καὶ δεκασμοῦ αἰτίαν [3] ἔχοντα προσεῖλετο. οὗτος γὰρ γόνῳ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ Νασικοῦ ὦν, ἐκ δὲ δὴ κλήρου διαδοχῆς ἐς τὸ τοῦ Μετέλλου τοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς γένος ποιηθεὶς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ κλησιν αὐτοῦ φέρων, τὴν τε θυγατέρα τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἐξέδωκε, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν τε ὑπατείαν καὶ τὸ μὴ κατηγορηθῆναι ἀντέλαβε. 52. πάνυ γὰρ πολλοὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐγκλήματι τούτῳ εὐθύνθησαν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι τὰ δικαστήρια ἀκριβέστερον ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Πομπηίου νόμων συνήγετο. πάντας τε γὰρ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξ ὧν τοὺς δικάσοντας ἀποκληροῦσθαι ἔδει 185 αὐτὸς ἐπελέγετο, καὶ τὸν τῶν συναγορευσόντων 186 ἐκατέρῳ τῷ μέρει ἀριθμὸν ὥρισεν, ὥστε μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους αὐτῶν τοὺς [2] δικαστὰς θορυβουμένους

ἐκταράττεσθαι. χρόνον τε τῷ μὲν διώκοντι δύο ὥρας, τῷ δὲ φεύγοντι τρεῖς δίδοσθαι ἐκέλευσε. καὶ ὃ δὴ μάλιστα πλείστοις ἐλγυμαινέτο, τὸ 187 τινας ἐπαινέτας ὑπὸ τῶν κρινομένων [p. 486] δίδοσθαι 'πάμπολλοι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀξιολύτων ἐπαινούμενοι ἐξηρπάζοντο, ἐπηνώρθωσε, νομοθετήσας μηδὲν ἔτι τὸ παράπαν ἐπαινέτην 188 [3] τοῖς τοιοῦτοις γίνεσθαι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἄλλα τέ τινα κατὰ πάντων ὁμοίως τῶν δικαστηρίων ἐτάχθη, τοῖς δὲ δὴ περὶ 189 τὰς ἀρχὰς δεκάζουσι καὶ τοὺς προεαλωκότας ἐπὶ τοιοῦτῳ 190 τινὶ κατηγοροῦς ἐπέστησεν, ἄθλόν σφισιν οὐκ ἐλάχιστον προθεῖς: [4] εἰ γὰρ τις ἦτοι δύο τῶν ὁμοίων τῶν τε ἐλαττόνων ἢ καὶ ἓνα τῶν μειζόνων τῆς 191 καθ' ἑαυτὸν αἰτίας εἴλεν, ἄδειαν εὕρισκετο. 53. ἄλλοι τε οὖν ἐκ τούτου πολλοὶ ἐάλωσαν 192 καὶ Πλαῦτιος Ὑψαῖος ἀνταιτήσας τῷ τε Μίλωνι καὶ τῷ Σκιπίωνι τὴν ὑπατείαν. τῶν γὰρ δὴ τριῶν [2] δωροφορησάντων μόνος ἐκεῖνος κατεδικάσθη. ὃ τε γὰρ Σκιπίων ἐγράφη μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ δυοῖν γε, οὐκ ἐκρίθη δὲ διὰ τὸν Πομπήιον: καὶ ὁ Μίλων ἐπὶ μὲν τούτῳ 193 οὐκ ἐσῆχθη 'τὸ γὰρ τοῦ φόνου ἐγκλημα μεῖζον εἶχεν', ὑπαχθεὶς δὲ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ ἐάλω, μηδὲν δυνηθεὶς βίαιον δρᾶσαι. ὁ γὰρ Πομπήιος τὴν τε ἄλλην πόλιν διὰ φυλακῆς ἐποίησατο, καὶ [3] ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον σὺν ὀπλίταις ἐσῆλθε, θορυβησάντων τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ τινῶν προσέταξε τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐκδιῶξαι αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς πλαγίως καὶ πλατέσι τοῖς ξίφεσι παίοντας. ἐπειδὴ τε οὐχ ὑπέλκον ἀλλὰ καὶ καθάπερ ἐν παιδιᾷ τινι πλαγιαζόμενοι ὕβριζον, καὶ ἐτρώθησάν τινες αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέθανον. 54. τὰ τε οὖν δικαστήρια ἡσύχως ἐκ τούτων συνήγετο, [p. 488] καὶ ἐδικαιώθησαν ἐπὶ τε ἑτέροις πρὸς πολλοὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Κλωδίου φόνῳ ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ Μίλων, καίτοι τὸν Κικέρωνα συναγωνιστὴν ἔχων. [2] ὁ γὰρ ῥήτωρ ἐκεῖνος τὸν τε Πομπήιον καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἰδὼν ἐξεπλάγη καὶ κατέδεισεν, ὥστε τῶν μὲν παρεσκευασμένων μηδὲν εἰπεῖν, βραχὺ δὲ τι καὶ τεθνηκὸς χαλεπῶς φθεγγόμενος ἀγαπητῶς μεταστῆναι. τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν λόγον τὸν νῦν φερόμενον ὡς καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μίλωνος τότε λεχθέντα χρόνῳ ποθ' ὕστερον καὶ κατὰ σχολὴν ἀναθαρσήσας ἔγραψε: [3] καὶ δὴ καὶ τοιόνδε τι περὶ αὐτοῦ παραδέδοται. ὁ Μίλων τῷ λόγῳ πεμφθέντι οἱ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐντυχὼν 'ἐπεφυγάδευτο γὰρ' ἀντεπέστειλε 194 λέγων ὅτι ἐν τύχῃ αὐτῷ ἐγένετο τὸ μὴ ταῦθ' οὕτω καὶ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ λεχθῆναι: οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοιαύτας ἐν τῇ Μασσαλίᾳ 'ἐν ἣ κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν ἦν' τρίγλας [4] ἐσθίειν, εἴπερ τι τοιοῦτον ἀπελελόγητο. τοῦτο δὲ ἔγραψεν οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς παροῦσιν ἡρέσκετο 'πολλὰ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ καθόδῳ ἐπετόλμησεν' ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν Κικέρωνα ἀποσκώπτων, ὅτι μηδὲν χρηστὸν ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀπολογίας καιρῷ εἰπὼν ἔπειτα ἀκάρπους λόγους καὶ ἐμελέτα καὶ ἔπεμπεν 195 αὐτῷ, ὥσπερ τι ὠφελῆσαι τότε αὐτὸν δυναμένους. 196 55. ὃ τε οὖν Μίλων οὕτως ἐάλω, καὶ ὁ Ροῦφος ὃ τε Πλάγκος 197 ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξῆλθον, ἄλλοι τε σὺν αὐτοῖς συχνοὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἔμπρησιν, καίτοι τῷ [p. 490] Πλάγκῳ καὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου συσπουδάσαντος, 198 ὥστε καὶ βιβλίον ἔπαινον τε ἅμα αὐτοῦ καὶ [2] ἱκετείαν ἔχον ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον ἔπεμψεν: ὁ γὰρ Κάτων ὁ Μᾶρκος 'δικάζειν δὲ ἔμελλεν' οὐκ ἔφη τὸν ἐπαινέτην ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ νόμων καταλύσει προσίεσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐκέτι τὴν ψῆφον ἔδωκεν: ὁ γὰρ Πλάγκος ὡς καὶ τὴν

καθαιρήσουσαν αὐτὸν οἷσοντα ἐξέκρινεν ἑξῆν γάρ, ἐκ τῶν Πομπηίων νόμων, πέντε ἑκατέρω τῶν διαδικούντων ἐκ τῶν δικάσειν σφίσι μελλόντων ^[3] ἀπολέγειν: οἱ μέντοι ἄλλοι δικασταὶ κατεψηφίσαντο αὐτοῦ. οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως ὀρθῶς ἔχειν ἔδοξε σφισι, τοῦ Ροῦφου κατεγνωκόσιν, ἐκεῖνον ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς κρινόμενον ἀφεῖναι: καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὸν Πομπήιον συναιρόμενόν οἱ εἶδον, ἀντεσπούδασαν αὐτῷ, μὴ καὶ δοῦλοι τινες ἄντικρυς αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ δικασταὶ νομισθῶσιν ^[4] εἶναι. καίπερ καὶ τότε ὁ Κικέρων οὐδὲν βέλτιον τοῦ Πλάγκου κατηγόρησεν ἢ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μίλωνος ἀπελογήσατο: ἢ τε γὰρ τοῦ δικαστηρίου ὄψις ἢ αὐτὴ ἦν, καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν ἑκατέρω τάναντία οἱ καὶ ἐβουλεύετο καὶ ἐπραττεν, ὅθεν οὐχ ἥκιστα αὐθις αὐτῷ προσέκρουσε. 56. ταῦτά τε οὖν ἅμα διώκει, καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν νόμον τὸν κελεύοντα τοὺς ἀρχὴν τινα ἐπαγγέλλοντας ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν πάντως ἀπαντᾶν, ὥστε μηδένα ἀπόντα αἰρεῖσθαι, παρημελημένον πως ἀνενεώσατο: τὸ τε δόγμα τὸ μικρὸν ἔμπροσθε γενόμενον, ὥστε τοὺς ἄρξαντας ἐν τῇ πόλει μὴ πρότερον ἐς τὰς ἔξω ἡγεμονίας, πρὶν ^[p. 492] πέντε ἔτη παρελθεῖν, κληροῦσθαι, ἐπεκύρωσεν. ^[2] οὐδ' ἡσχύνθη τότε μὲν 199 τοιαῦτα γράψας, ὕστερον δὲ οὐ πολλῷ αὐτός τε τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἐς πέντε ἄλλα ἔτη λαβὼν, καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ ἀπόντι 'οἱ γὰρ φίλοι αὐτοῦ δεινῶς ἡγανάκτουν' αἰτῆσαι τὴν ^[3] ὑπατείαν, ὥσπερ ἐψηφίστο, δούς. προσέγραψε 200 μὲν γὰρ τῷ νόμῳ τὸ μόνους αὐτὸ ἐξεῖναι ποιεῖν οἷς ἂν ὀνομαστί τε καὶ ἄντικρυς ἐπιτραπῇ, διέφερε δ' οὐδὲν τοῦτο τοῦ μηδ' ἀρχὴν κεκωλύσθαι: πάντως γὰρ οἱ 201 τι δυνάμενοι καὶ ἐκεῖνο ψηφισθῆναι σφισι διαπράξασθαι ἔμελλον. 57. ὁ μὲν οὖν Πομπήιος τοιαῦτ' ἐπολιτεύετο, ὁ δὲ δὴ Σκιπίων οὔτε ἐνομοθέτησέ τι, καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοῦ Κλωδίου περὶ τῶν τιμητῶν γραφέντα κατέλυσε. καὶ ἔδοξε μὲν τὴν ἐκείνων χάριν τοῦτο πεποικέναι, ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῖς ἦν καὶ πρὶν ^[2] εἶχον ἀπέδωκε, περιέστη δὲ ἐς τοῦναντίον. ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ 202 πολλοὺς ἔν τε τῇ Ἰσπαδί καὶ ἐν τῷ βουλευτικῷ φλαύρους ἄνδρας εἶναι, τέως μὲν μηδένα μῆτε κατηγορηθέντα μῆθ' ἄλόντα διαγράψαι σφίσιν ἐξῆν, οὐδεμίαν τῶν οὐκ ἀπαλειφομένων ^[3] αἰτίαν εἶχον: ἀπολαβόντες δὲ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἰσχύν, ὅφ' ἦς αὐτοῖς καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς τὸν ἐκάστου βίον ἐξετάζουσι τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐδέεδτο, οὔτε πολλοῖς προσκρούειν ὑπέμενον, οὔτ' αὖ ἐν μέμψει τινὶ ὡς μὴ διαγράφοντες τοὺς οὐκ ἐπιτηδεῖους γίγνεσθαι ἤθελον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ ἐφίετο 203 ἔτι τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν ἐμφρόνων οὐδὲ εἷς. ^[p. 494] 58. περὶ μὲν δὴ τοὺς τιμητὰς ταῦτ' ἐψηφίσθη, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάτων ἄλλως μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς ἀρχῆς ἐδέετο, ἰδὼν δὲ τὸν τε Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ὑπὲρ τὴν κατάστασιν τῆς πολιτείας αὐξανομένους, καὶ ὑποτοπήσας ἦτοι καὶ ἀμφοτέρους σφᾶς τὰ πράγματα ἔξειν, ἢ καὶ διενεχθέντας ἀλλήλοις στάσιν τε μεγίστην ποιήσιν καὶ τὸν ^[2] κρατήσαντα αὐτῶν μοναρχήσιν, ἠθέλησε μὲν σφας πρὶν ἀνταγωνιστὰς γενέσθαι καταλῦσαι, καὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦτησεν, ἐπειδὴ περ ἰδιωτεύων οὐδὲν ἰσχύσειν ἔμελλεν, ὑποπτευθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ ἐκείνων πραττόντων τοιοῦτόν τι δράσειν οὐκ ἀπεδείχθη, ἀλλ' ὁ τε Μάρκελλος ὁ ^[3] Μάρκος καὶ ὁ Ροῦφος ὁ Σουλπίκιος, ὁ μὲν διὰ τὴν τῶν νόμων ἐμπειρίαν ὁ δὲ διὰ τὴν τῶν λόγων δύναμιν, ἠρέθησαν, 204 ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν, εἰ καὶ μὴ χρήμασιν ἢ βιαιῷ τινὶ ἔργῳ, ἀλλὰ τῇ γε 205

θεραπεία καὶ τῇ παρακλήσει πολλῇ πρὸς πάντας ἐχρήσαντο, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάτων οὐδένα αὐτῶν ^[4] ἐθεράπευσε. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐκέτ' αὖθις τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντεποιήσατο, λέγων ἀγαθοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἔργον εἶναι μὴτ' ἀποδιδράσκειν τὴν προστασίαν τῶν κοινῶν, ἃν γέ τινες χρῆσθαι αὐτῷ ἐβελήσωσι, μὴθ' ὑπὲρ 59. τὸ προσῆκον αὐτῆς ἐφίεσθαι: Μάρκελλος δὲ πάντ' εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος καταλύσει 'τῆς γὰρ τοῦ Πομπηίου μερίδος ἦν' ἔπραττε, καὶ ἄλλα τε ἐπ' αὐτῷ πολλὰ, καὶ ὥστε καὶ διάδοχόν οἱ ἦδη καὶ πρὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου πεμφθῆναι, ἐσηγήσατο. καὶ αὐτῷ ὃ τε Σουλπίκιος καὶ τῶν δημάρχων τινὲς ἀντέπραξαν, οὗτοι μὲν τῇ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα χάριτι: ἐκεῖνος δ' αὐτοῖς ἐκοινώσατο ^[p. 496] καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὅτι 206 οὐκ ἤρεσκε τὸ 207 τινα μεταξὺ ^[2] ἄρχοντα μηδὲν ἡδικηκότα παυθῆναι. μαθὼν οὖν ταῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος 'ἀπῆρε μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν στρατεύσων, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τότε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐξεχώρησεν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὑποστρατήγοις πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖ προστάξας αὐτὸς τῇ ^[3] πόλει ἐφήδρευε τὸ μὲν δὴ τὸν Καίσαρα τῆς ἡγεμονίας παραλυθῆναι οὐδὲ ἐαυτῷ ἀρέσκειν ἐπλάττετο, ἔπραττε δ' ὅπως, ὅταν τὸν δεδομένον οἱ χρόνον διάρξῃ 208 'τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἀλλ' εὐθὺς τῷ ὑστέρω ἔτει γενήσεσθαι ἔμελλέ, τὰ τε ὅπλα κατάθῃται καὶ ἰδιωτεύσων οἴκαδε ἐπανέλθῃ. ^[4] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Γάιον τε Μάρκελλον τὸν τοῦ Μάρκου 209 ἀνεψιὸν ἢ καὶ ἀδελφόν 'λέγεται γὰρ ἐκάτερον' ὑπατεύσαι, ἐπειδὴ τῷ Καίσαρι καίπερ ἐξ ἐπιγαμίας προσήκων ἐχθρὸς ἦν, καὶ τὸν Κουρίωνα τὸν Γάιον, δι' ἔχθρας καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ παλαιοῦ οἱ ὄντα, δημαρχῆσαι ἐποίησεν. 60. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ μὴτ' ἄλλως ὑπομένων ἐκ τε τηλικαύτης καὶ ἐκ χρονίου ἡγεμονίας ἰδιωτεύσαι, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς γένηται, παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ ἀκόντων αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἔμμενῶν, καὶ στρατιώτας προσκατελέγετο καὶ χρήματα ἡθροίζεν ὅπλα τε ἐποίει, καὶ καθ' ^[2] ἡδονὴν πᾶσιν ἡγεῖτο. κὰν τούτῳ καὶ τὰ οἴκοι τρόπον τινὰ, τοῦ μὴ πάντα 210 βίᾳ ἀλλὰ καὶ πειθοῖ πράττειν δοκεῖν, προδοικῆσασθαι ἐβελήσας ^[p. 498] ἔγνω συναλλαγῆναι 211 τῷ Κουρίωνι: τοῦ τε γὰρ τῶν Κουριῶνων γένους ἦν, καὶ τὴν γνώμην ὀξύς, εἰπεῖν τε δεινός, τῷ τε πλήθει πιθανώτατος, καὶ χρήματων ἐς πάντα ἀπλῶς ἐξ ὧν ἢ αὐτός τι πλεονεκτήσῃν ἢ καὶ ἐτέρῳ διαπράξῃν ἡλπιζεν ἀφειδέστατος. ^[3] καὶ αὐτὸν πολλὰ μὲν 212 ἐπελπίσας, πάντων δὲ τῶν ὀφειλημάτων, συχνῶν διὰ τὸ πολλὰ δαπανᾶσθαι ὄντων, ἀπαλλάξας ἀνηρτήσατο. πρὸς γὰρ τὴν παρούσαν ὧν ἔπραττε σπουδὴν οὕτε 213 ἀργυρίου, ἅτε καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἀργυρολογῶν, ἐφείδετο, καὶ προσυποσχενίτῳ τισι παμπληθῇ ὧν οὐδὲ πολλοστὸν ^[4] μέρος δώσῃν ἔμελλε. καὶ οὐ μόνον γε 214 τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς δούλους τοὺς τι καὶ ὅπως οὖν παρὰ τοῖς δεσπótαις σφῶν δυναμένους ἐθεράπευσε: καὶ συχνοὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ὑπῆρξαν. 61. ὁ δ' οὖν Κουρίων ἐφρόνησε μὲν τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, οὐ μέντοι καὶ παραχρηῖμα φανερώς αὐτὰ πράττειν ἤρξατο: πρόφασιν τε γὰρ εὐπρεπῇ τοῦ μὴ καὶ ἐκὼν ἀλλὰ ἀναγκασθεὶς δὴ μεθεσθηκέναι δόξαι ἐζήτηι, καὶ ἐνόμισεν, ὅσῳ 215 ἂν ἐπὶ πλεῖον τοῖς ἐχθροῖς αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ φίλος σφῶν συγγένηται, καὶ πλείω καὶ μείζω τῶν ἀπορρήτων αὐτῶν μαθήσεσθαι. ^[2] δι' οὖν ταῦτα ἐπὶ μακρότατόν τε ἐπεκρύψατο, καὶ ὅπως μηδένα τρόπον ὑποπτευθῇ μεταβεβλήσθαι τε καὶ

οὐκ ἀνὰ πρῶτους καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐναντία τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ τότε ἔτι καὶ φρονεῖν καὶ λέγειν, καὶ ἐδημηγόρει κατ' αὐτοῦ ἀφ' οὗ γε καὶ δημαρχεῖν ἤρξατο, καὶ ἐσηγεῖτο [p. 500] [3] πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα. καὶ τινὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ τοῖς τε δυνατωτάτοις σφῶν, οἵπερ πού καὶ τὰ 216 τοῦ Πομπηίου μάλιστ' ἔπραττον, ἔγραφεν, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἠθελεν ἢ καὶ ἠλπίζε τι αὐτῶν γενήσεσθαι, 217 ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ προσδεχομένων μήτε κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος τι ψηφισθῇ πολλὰ γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐγράφετό καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ 62. μετασταίῃ. συχνὸν οὖν ἐκ τούτου χρόνον ἄλλοτε ἄλλαις σκήψεσιν, ὥστε μηδὲν αὐτῶν τὸ παράπαν κυρωθῆναι, κατατρίψας ἀγανακτεῖν τε προσεποιεῖτο, καὶ ἡξίου μῆνα ἄλλον πρὸς τὰς ὑπ' 218 αὐτῶν δὴ νομοθεσίας ἐπεμβληθῆναι. τοῦτο δὲ ἐγίνετο μὲν ὁσάκις γε καὶ καθῆκον ἦν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ κατ' 219 ἐκεῖνο συνέβαιναν, ὥσπερ πού καὶ αὐτὸς [2] ἄτε ποντίφιξ ὦν ἡπίστατο. ὅμως δ' οὖν 220 δεῖν τε αὐτὸ γενέσθαι ἔλεγε, καὶ τοὺς συνιεράς ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς ἐξεβιάζετο: καὶ τέλος μὴ δυνηθεὶς αὐτοὺς πείσαι συγκαταθέσθαι οἱ, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἐβούλετο, οὐδ' ἄλλο τι διὰ τοῦτο ψηφισθῆναι ἐπέτρεπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἤδη τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος [3] διαδικαιῶν, ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν κατ' αὐτοῦ διῆθεν ἡδυνήθη ποιῆσαι, πᾶν ὃ τι ποτὲ ἐνεδέχετο οὐ δεχθῆναι προῖσχετο, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι πάντας τοὺς τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοντας ταῦτά τε καταθέσθαι καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα διαλύσαι χρή, ἢ μηδ' ἐκεῖνον ψιλώσαντας αὐτῶν 221 ταῖς δυνάμεσι ταῖς τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν ἐκδοῦναι. [4] ἔλεγε δὲ τοῦτο οὐχ ὅτι καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ποιῆσαι αὐτὸ ἠθελεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸν Πομπήιον εὖ ἡπίστατο [p. 502] μὴ πειθαρχήσοντα αὐτῷ: καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐκείνῳ πρόφασις εὐλογος τοῦ μὴ διέναι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐδίδοτο. 63. ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ἄλλως πράττων ἦνυτε, πρὸς τε τὸ τραχὺ ἀπαρακαλύπτως ὤρμησε, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς πάντα καὶ ἔλεγε καὶ ἐποίει κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος. οὐ μέντοι καὶ κατέπραξέ τι. [2] ἄλλοι τε γὰρ ἐκείνῳ πολλοὶ καὶ Λούκιος Παῦλος ὁ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου συνάρχων, ὁ τε Πίσων ὁ Λούκιος ὁ 222 πενθερὸς αὐτοῦ τιμητῆς ὦν συνηγωνίζοντο: καὶ γὰρ 223 τιμηταὶ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ὃ τε Κλαύδιος ὁ 224 Ἄππιος καὶ ὁ Πίσων, καίτοι μὴ βουλευθεῖς, ἐγένοντο. [3] καὶ οὗτος μὲν διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν ὑπῆρχε τῷ Καίσαρι, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κλαύδιος ἡναντιοῦτο 225 μὲν αὐτῷ 'τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Πομπηίου ἡρεῖτό, οὐκ ἐλάχιστα δὲ καὶ ἄκων ὠφέλησε: πλείστους γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν διέγραφεν, ἐκβιασάμενος τὸν συνάρχοντα, κάκ τούτου πάντας αὐτοὺς [4] τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος φρονεῖν ἐποίησεν. ὁ γὰρ Πίσων οὗτ' ἄλλως πράγματ' 226 ἔχειν ἐθέλων καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ γαμβροῦ φιλίαν πολλοὺς θεραπεύων αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ἐποίησεν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ οὐκ ἀντέπραξε πάντας μὲν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων συχνοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν πάνυ γενναίων, ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν Κρίσπον τὸν Σαλούστιον τὸν τὴν ἱστορίαν [5] γράψαντα, ἀπελάσαντι ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου. τὸν μέντοι Κουρίωνα μελλήσαντα καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπαλειφθήσεσθαι ἐξητήσατο μετὰ τοῦ Παύλου, οὗπερ [p. 504] 64. συγγενῆς ἦν: καὶ ὅς οὐκ ἀπήλλαξε 227 μὲν αὐτὸν διὰ τοῦτο, τὴν μέντοι γνώμην ἦν περὶ αὐτοῦ εἶχεν ἐδημοσίευσεν ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, ὥστε ἐκεῖνον ἀγανακτήσαντα τὴν ἐσθῆτα αὐτοῦ περιρρῆξαι. παραλαβὼν οὖν τοῦτον ὁ Μάρκελλος, καὶ νομίσας ἐπὶ τε τῷ Κουρίωνι καὶ

δι' αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι δεινὸν τι τὴν γερουσίαν ψηφιεῖσθαι, γνώμας [2] περὶ αὐτοῦ προέθηκεν. ὁ οὖν Κουρίων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἦναντιοῦτο μηδεμίαν περὶ αὐτοῦ 228 γνώμην δοθῆναι: γνοὺς δὲ τὸ πολὺ τῶν βουλευτῶν τῶν τότε παρόντων τοὺς μὲν καὶ φρονοῦντας ὄντως τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοὺς δὲ πάνυ αὐτὸν δεδιότας, [3] ἐπέτρεψέ σφισι διαγνῶναι, τοσοῦτον ὑπειπὼν ὅτι σύνοιδα μὲν ἑμαυτῷ τὰ τε ἄριστα καὶ τὰ συμφορώτατα τῇ πατρίδι πράττοντι, ὑμῖν μέντοι καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν παραδίδωμι χρήσασθαι ὅ τι βούλεσθε. κατηγορήσας οὖν αὐτοῦ ὁ Μάρκελλος ὡς καὶ πάντως ἀλωσομένου, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ [4] πρὸς τῶν πλειόνων ἀφείθη, δεινὸν τε ἐποίησατο καὶ ἐκπηδήσας ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ὄντα ἦλθε, καὶ τὴν τε φυλακὴν αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως καὶ δύο στρατόπεδα πολιτικά αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτὸν, μηδενὸς ἐψηφισμένου, ἔδωκεν. οἱ δὲ δὴ στρατιῶται οὗτοι ᾧδὲ τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε 229 65. συνειλεγμένοι καὶ παρόντες τότε ἦσαν. ὁ Πομπήιος πρότερον μὲν, ἕως ἔτι τὸν Καίσαρα διὰ φιλίας εἶχε, στράτευμα ἐν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου αὐτῷ 230 στρατευομένῳ 231 ἐδέδωκε 232 'οὔτε γὰρ οὗτος [p. 506] πόλεμόν τινα διεχειρίζε, καὶ ἐκείνῳ χρεια στρατιωτῶν [2] ἐγένετό, ἐπεὶ δὲ διηνέχθησαν, ἐθελήσας τοῦτο τε ἀπολαβεῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔτι καὶ ἄλλο αὐτὸν προσαφελέσθαι ἐλογοποίησεν ὡς τοῦ Βιβούλου στρατιωτῶν πρὸς τοὺς Πάρθους δεομένου, καὶ ἵνα γε μὴ καινοὶ δὴ τινες κατάλογοι γένωνται 'τό τε γὰρ πρᾶγμα κατεπείγειν καὶ περιουσίαν σφισι στρατοπέδων εἶναι ἔλεγέ, ψηφισθῆναι ἐποίησεν ὥστε ἐκάτερόν σφων, ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ τὸν [3] Καίσαρα, ἐν δελν 233 αὐτῷ πέμψαι. κάκ τούτου τῶν μὲν συστρατευομένων οἱ οὐδένα ἀπέστειλε, τὸ δὲ δὴ στράτευμα ἐκείνῳ ὅπερ τῷ Καίσαρι ἐδεδώκει ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦτο ταχθεῖσιν αἰτῆσαι. καὶ οὕτω τῷ μὲν λόγῳ ἀμφοτέροι, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ὁ [4] Καῖσαρ μόνος τὰ δύο ἔπεμψεν: ἦδει μὲν γὰρ τὸ γιγνόμενον, ἐπιθάρχησε δὲ μὴ βουλευθεὶς αἰτίαν ὡς καὶ ἀνηκουστικῶς λαβεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ μέλλων ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ πολλῷ πλείους στρατιώτας ἀντικαταλέξειν. 66. ταῦτα οὖν τὰ στρατόπεδα παρεσκευάσθη μὲν ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους πεμφθησόμενα, ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἐδέησε 'οὔδὲ γὰρ χρεια σφῶν ἦν', ὁ Μάρκελλος πρότερον μὲν, φοβηθεὶς μὴ τῷ Καίσαρι ἀποδοθῇ, ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ δελν εἶναι ἔλεγεν, τότε δὲ τῷ Πομπήϊῳ, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἐνεχείρισε. [2] καὶ ἦν γὰρ ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τοῦ ἔτους τὰ γιγνόμενα, καὶ ἔμελλεν οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ, ἅτε μήτε τῇ βουλῇ μήτε τῷ δήμῳ δόξαντα, ἰσχύσειν, ἐπήγετο 234 πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον Κορνήλιόν τε Λέντουλον καὶ Γάιον Κλαύδιον τοὺς τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει ὑπατεύσειν μέλλοντας, [p. 508] καὶ ἐποίησε καὶ ἐκείνους τὰ αὐτὰ προστάξει: [3] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ καὶ γράμματα τοῖς ἀποδεδειγμένοις ἐς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐκτιθέναι καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ τῶν τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ σφῶν προσηκόντων, καὶ πρὶν ἐνίστασθαι αὐτήν, πράττειν ἔτι καὶ τότε ἐξῆν, καὶ τούτου κύριοι ἐνόμιζον εἶναι. καὶ ὁ γε 235 Πομπήιος, καίπερ ἐς πάντα τᾶλλα ἀκριβῆς ὢν, ὅμως οὐδὲν διὰ τὴν στρατιωτῶν χρεια ἐπολυπραγμόνησεν, οὔτε ἄφ' ὧν οὐθ' ὅπως αὐτοὺς λαμβάνει, ἀλλὰ [4] καὶ πάνυ ἄσμενός σφας ἐδέξατο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπράχθη τι οἷον ἂν τις ἐπὶ τηλικούτῳ τολμήματι γενήσεσθαι 236 προσεδόκησεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἔχθραν μόνον τὴν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐνδειξάμενοι αὐτοὶ μὲν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἰσχυρόν

παρεσκευάσαντο, ἐκείνῳ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τούτου πρόφασιν εὖλογον ἐς τὸ 237 τὰ στρατόπεδα τὰ συνόντα οἱ κατασχεῖν παρέσχον. [5] ὁ γὰρ Κουρίων ἐπὶ τε τούτοις πολλὴν ἐν τῷ πλήθει κατηγορίαν κατὰ τε τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου ἐποίησατο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ διῆρξε, πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα εὐθὺς ἀφωρμήθη.

BOOK 41

τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ρωμαϊκῶν

α. ὡς Καῖσαρ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἦλθε καὶ Πομπήιος ἐκλιπὼν αὐτὴν ἐς Μακεδονίαν διέπλευσεν.

β. ὡς Καῖσαρ Ἰβηρίαν παρεστήσατο.

γ. ὡς Καῖσαρ ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐπὶ Πομπήιον διέπλευσεν.

δ. ὡς Καῖσαρ καὶ Πομπήιος περὶ Δυρράχιον ἐπολέμησαν.

ε. ὡς Καῖσαρ Πομπήιον περὶ Φάρσαλον ἐνίκησεν.

χρόνου πλῆθος ἔτη δύο, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἶδε ἐγένοντο

λ. Κορνήλιος Π. υἱ. Λεντοῦλος

γ. Κλαύδιος Μ. υἱ. Μάρκελλος ὕπ.

γ. Ἰούλιος γ. υἱ. Καῖσαρ τὸ β

π. Σερουίλιος Π. υἱ. Ἰσαυρικός ὕπ.

1. τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔπραξε, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο γράμματα παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν λαβὼν ἦλθέ τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ νομηνίᾳ ἐν ἣ ὁ τε Λέντουλος ὁ Κορνήλιος καὶ ὁ Κλαύδιος ὁ Γάιος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐνεστήσαντο, καὶ οὐ πρότερον τοῖς ὑπάτοις αὐτὰ ἀπέδωκε πρὶν ἐς τὸ συνέδριόν σφας ἀφικέσθαι, μὴ καὶ ἔξω πού λαβόντες αὐτὰ ἀποκρύψωνται. 2. ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὥς ἀνέσχον, οὐκ ἐθέλοντές σφας ἀναλέξασθαι: τέλος δὲ ὑπὸ [p. 4] τε Κυΐντου Κασσίου Λογγίνου καὶ ὑπὸ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου δημαρχούντων ἠναγκάσθησαν αὐτὰ δημοσιεῦσαι. 3. Ἀντώνιος μὲν οὖν ἐν τούτῳ τότε τὸν Καίσαρα εὐεργετήσας ἀντιλήψεσθαι τε πολλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ μεγάλων καὶ αὐτὸς αἰωρηθήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅσα ποτὲ καλῶς τὸ κοινὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεποιήκει ἐνεγέγραπτο, καὶ 4. ἀπολογισμὸς ὑπὲρ ὧν ῥητιάζετο. καταλύσειν τε τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκστήσεσθαι ὑποσχεῖτο, ἂν καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος τὰ αὐτὰ οἱ ποιήσῃ: ἐκείνου γὰρ τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοντος οὐδὲ ἑαυτὸν δίκαιον εἶναι ἀναγκασθῆναι αὐτὰ ἀφείναι ἔλεγεν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐκδοθῇ. 2. διαψηφίσεως δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐ κατ' ἄνδρα, μὴ καὶ δι' αἰδῶ ἢ καὶ φόβον τινὰ παρὰ τὰ δοκοῦντά σφισιν ἀποφήνωνται, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τάδε καὶ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα τοῦ βουλευτηρίου μεταστάσει γενομένης, τὸν μὲν Πομπήιον οὐδεὶς ἀπαλλαγῆναι

ἐκ τῶν ὄπλων ἐψηφίσατο ἔν γάρ τῷ προαστείῳ τὰς δυνάμεις εἶχε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Καίσαρα πάντες πλὴν Μάρκου τέ τινος Καιλίου καὶ τοῦ Κουρίωνος τοῦ [2] τὰ γράμματα αὐτοῦ κομίσαντος. περὶ γὰρ τῶν δημάρχων οὐδὲν λέγω, ὅτι μηδὲ ἐν ἀνάγκῃ τινὶ μεταστῆναι ἐποίησαντο, ἅτε καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντες εἴτε ἐβούλοντό τινα γνώμην συμβαλέσθαι εἴτε καὶ μὴ. ἔδοξε μὲν οὖν ταῦτα, οὐ μὴν καὶ κυρωθῆναι τι αὐτῶν οὔτε ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὔτε ἐν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ὃ τε Ἀντώνιος καὶ ὁ Λογγίνος ἐπέτρεψαν. 3. ἀγανακτησάντων δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ψηφισαμένων τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἀλλάξασθαι, [p. 6] κῦρος μὲν οὐδὲ τοῦθ' ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔλαβεν, ἡ μέντοι γνώμη συνεγράφη καὶ τὸ ἔργον τὸ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐγένετο: πάντες γὰρ παραχρῆμα ἐξελθόντες ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ τὴν στολὴν μεταβαλόντες ἐσῆλθον αὖθις καὶ περὶ τιμωρίας αὐτῶν ἐβουλευόντο. [2] ἰδόντες δὲ τοῦτ' ἐκείνοι τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀντέπραπτον, ἔπειτα δὲ φοβηθέντες, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Λέντουλος ὑπεξελεθεῖν σφίσι πρὶν τὰς ψήφους διενεχθῆναι παρήνευσεν, εἰπὼν τε πολλὰ καὶ ἐμαρτύραντο, καὶ τοῦτου μετὰ τοῦ Κουρίωνος καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Καιλίου ἀπῆραν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα, βραχὺ φροντίσαντες ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ διεγράφησαν. [3] τότε μὲν οὖν τοῦτ' ἐγνώσθη, καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ταῖς τε ἄλλαις ἀρχαῖς ἢ φυλακῇ τῆς πόλεως, ὥσπερ που εἰώθει γίγνεσθαι, ἐπετράπη: ὕστερον δὲ ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν Πομπήιον ἐλθόντες ταραχὴν τε εἶναι ἔγνωσαν, [4] καὶ ἐκείνῳ μὲν καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ στρατιώτας ἔδωκαν, τὸν δὲ δὴ Καίσαρα τὴν τε ἀρχὴν τοῖς διαδόχοις παραδοῦναι καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ἐντὸς ῥητῆς ἡμέρας ἀφεῖναι, ἢ πολέμιον ὥς καὶ τάναντία τῇ πατρίδι ποιοῦντα εἶναι ἐψηφίσαντο. 4. πυθόμενος οὖν ταῦτα ἐκείνος ἔς τε Ἀρίμινον ἦλθεν, ἔξω τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῆς τότε πρῶτον προχωρήσας, καὶ συναγαγὼν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκέλευσε τὸν τε Κουρίωνα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐλθόντας σφίσι τὰ πραχθέντα διηγῆσασθαι. γενομένου δὲ τούτου προσπαρώξυνεν [2] αὐτούς, ἐπειπὼν ὅσα ὁ καιρὸς ἀπῆται. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἄρας ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἄντικρυς τὴν Ῥώμην ἦλασε, πάσας τὰς ἐν ποσὶ πόλεις ἀμαχεῖ προστιθέμενος, τῶν φρουρῶν τῶν μὲν ἐκλειπόντων αὐτὰς ἀσθενείᾳ, [p. 8] τῶν δὲ τὰ ἐκείνου ἀνθαιρουμένων. αἰσθόμενος δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Πομπήιος, καὶ ἅμα καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν παρὰ τοῦ Λαβιήνου μαθὼν, [3] ἔδεισεν. οὗτος γὰρ ἐγκαταλιπὼν τὸν Καίσαρα ἐξηυτομόλησε καὶ πάντα οἱ τὰ ἀπόρρητα αὐτοῦ ἐξηγγεῖλε. θαυμάσειε μὲν οὖν ἂν τις ὅτι ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος αἰεὶ ποτε τιμηθεῖς, ὥστε καὶ πάντων τῶν ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἀλπεις στρατοπέδων, ὅποτε ἐκείνος ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ εἴη, ἄρχειν, ἐποίησε [4] τοῦτο: αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι αὐτός τε καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ δόξαν περιβαλόμενος ὀγκηρότερον τῆς ἡγεμονίας διάγειν ἠρξάτο, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ παρισούμενόν οἱ αὐτὸν ἰδὼν οὐκ ἐθ' ὁμοίως ἡγάπα. τὴν τε οὖν μεταβολὴν μὴ φέρων, καὶ φοβηθεὶς ἅμα μὴ πάθῃ τι, μετέστη. 5. ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος ἐκ τε τῶν περὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτῷ λεχθέντων, καὶ ὅτι ἰσχὺν ἀξιομαχὸν οὕτω παρεσκεύαστο, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει, τοὺς τε ἄλλους καὶ αὐτοὺς μάλιστα τοὺς στασιώτας, τὸν τε πόλεμον ὀκνοῦντας μνήμη τῶν τε τοῦ Μαρίου καὶ τῶν τοῦ Σύλλου ἔργων καὶ ἀπαλλαγῆναι ἀσφαλῶς [2] αὐτοῦ βουλομένους εἶδε, μετεβάλετο, καὶ πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα Λούκιόν τε Καίσαρα συγγενῇ αὐτῷ ὄντα καὶ Λούκιον Ῥώσκιον στρατηγοῦντα

αὐτεπαγγέλτους ἀπέστειλεν, εἴ πως τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκφυγῶν ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ μετρίοις τισὶ συμβαίῃ. ^[3] ἀποκριναμένου δὲ ἐκείνου τὰ τε ἄλλα ἅπερ ἐπεστάλκει, καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸς τῷ Πομπηίῳ διαλεχθῆναι ^[p. 10] ἐθέλοι, τοῦτο μὲν οὐχ ἡδέως οἱ πολλοὶ ἤκουσαν, ^[4] δέισαντες μὴ καὶ κατὰ σφῶν τι σύνθωνται: ἐπεὶ μέντοι οἱ πρέσβεις ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐπαινοῦντες τὸν Καίσαρα ἔλεγον, καὶ τέλος οὔτε τι κακὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πείσεσθαι τινα καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα αὐτικά ἀφρεθῆσθαι προσυπισχοῦντο, ἥσθησαν, καὶ πρὸς τε ἐκεῖνον τοὺς αὐτοὺς αὐθις πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν, καὶ ἡξιοῦν ἐπιβοῶντες αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ καὶ ἀμφοτέρους ἅμα αὐτοὺς τὰ ὄπλα καταθέσθαι. 6. φοβηθεὶς οὖν διὰ ταῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος 'καὶ γὰρ εὖ ἠπίστατο ὅτι πολὺ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἂν γε ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ γένωνται, ἐλαττωθήσεται αὐτὸς τε ἐς Καμπανίαν ^[2] πρὶν τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐπανελθεῖν, ὥς καὶ ῥᾶον ἐκεῖ πολεμήσων, προαπῆρε, καὶ τὴν βουλήν ἅπασαν μετὰ τῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐχόντων ἀκολουθησά οἱ ἐκέλευσεν, ἄδειαν τέ σφισι δόγματι τῆς ἐκδημίας δοῦς, καὶ προειπὼν ὅτι τὸν ὑπομείναντα ἔν τε τῷ ἴσῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ τοῖς τὰ ἐναντία ^[3] σφισι πράττουσιν ἔξοι. πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ τὰ χρήματα τὰ δημόσια τὰ τε ἀναθήματα τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντα ἀναιρεθῆναι προσέταξεν αὐτοῖς ψηφίσασθαι, ἐλπίζων παμπληθεῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶν στρατιώτας ἀθροίσειν. τοσαύτην γὰρ εὐνοίαν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαι ὥς εἰπεῖν αἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ πόλεις εἶχον ὥστε, ἐπειδὴ ἤκουσαν αὐτὸν ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν ἐπικινδύνως νοσοῦντα, σωτήρια αὐτοῦ δημοσίᾳ ^[4] θύσειν εὐξασθαι. καὶ ὅτι μὲν μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν τοῦτ' αὐτῷ ἔδοσαν, οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ἀντιλέξειεν: οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτῳ ποτὲ ἄλλῳ, ἔξω τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ πᾶν κράτος λαβόντων, τοιοῦτόν τι ἐψηφίσθη: ^[p. 12] οὐ μὴν καὶ ἀκριβῆ πίστιν τοῦ μὴ οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψειν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν ἐκ τοῦ κρείττονος φόβον παρεῖχον. ^[5] ἐγνώσθη μὲν δὴ ταῦτα περὶ τε τῶν χρημάτων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων, οὐκ ἐκινήθη δὲ οὐδέτερα: πυθόμενοι γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ τὸν τε Καίσαρα μήτε τι εἰρηναῖον τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἀποκεκρισθαι καὶ προσεγκαλεῖν σφισιν ὥς καὶ καταψευσαμένοις ^[6] τινὰ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας πολλοὺς τε καὶ θρασεῖς εἶναι καὶ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν, οἷά που φιλεῖ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπὶ τὸ φοβερώτερον ἀγγέλλεσθαι, κακουργήσειν, ἐφοβήθησαν, καὶ σπουδῇ τὴν ἔξοδον, πρὶν ἄψασθαι πινος αὐτῶν, ἐποίησαντο. 7. καὶ τούτου καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα ὁμοίως πάντα θορυβώδης σφῶν καὶ ταραχώδης ἡ ἀνάστασις ἐγένετο. οἱ τε γὰρ ἐξιόντες ἦσαν δὲ πάντες ὥς εἰπεῖν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῆς ἱππάδος ^[2] καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοῦ ὁμίλου λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἀφωρμῶντο, ἔργῳ δὲ τὰ τῶν ἐαλωκότων ἔπασχον: τὴν τε γὰρ πατρίδα καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ διατριβὰς ἐκλιπεῖν καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια τείχη οἰκειότερα τῶν σφετέρων νομίζειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι δεινῶς ^[3] ἐλυποῦντο. οἱ τε γὰρ πανοικησίᾳ ἀνιστάμενοι τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τοὺς οἴκους τὸ τε ἔδαφος τὸ πατρῶον ὥς καὶ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν εὐθύς ἐσόμενα ἀπέλειπον, καὶ αὐτοὶ οὕτω τὴν γνῶμην, ἂν γε καὶ περισωθῶσιν, εἶχον ὥς κὰν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ τῇ τε Θράκῃ κατοικήσοντες: τὴν γὰρ τοῦ Πομπηίου διάνοιαν ^[4] οὐκ ἠγνόουν. καὶ οἱ κατὰ χώραν τοὺς τε παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ τιμιώτατα ^[p. 14] καταλείποντες ἔχειν μὲν τινα ἐλπίδα τῆς πατρίδος ἐδόκουν, πολὺ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἐτέρων, ἅτε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν φιλάτων ἀπαρτῶμενοι, διττῇ τε τύχῃ καὶ

ἐναντιωτάτῃ παραβαλλόμενοι, ^[5] χαλεπωτέρως ἀπήλλασσον: τὰ γὰρ οἰκειότατα τῷ πολεμιωτάτῳ σφῶν ἐκδόντες ἔμελλον ἐθελοκακοῦντες μὲν αὐτοὶ κινδυνεύσειν, προθυμούμενοι δὲ ἐκείνων στερηθῆσθαι, καὶ προσέτι φίλον μὲν μηδέτερον ἐχθροὺς δὲ ἀμφοτέρους ἔξειν, Καίσαρα μὲν ὅτι μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ κατέμειναν, Πομπήιον δὲ ὅτι μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνα συνεπηγάγοντο. ^[6] ὥστε καὶ ἐς ἀμφίβολον καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις καὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς ταῖς τε ἐλπίσι καθιστάμενοι τοῖς τε σώμασιν ἅμα ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων σφίσιν ἀπεσπῶντο καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς διχα διηροῦντο. 8. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οἱ ἐξορμώμενοι ἔπασχον, οἱ δ' ὑπολειπόμενοι διαφοροῖς μὲν ἀντιπάλοις δὲ τισι καὶ αὐτοὶ παθήμασι συνεφέροντο. οἳ τε γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν προσηκόντων σφίσιν ἀποζευγνύμενοι, οἷα τῶν τε προστατῶν στερισκόμενοι καὶ ἐπαμῦναι ^[2] αὐτοῖς ἥκιστα δυνάμενοι, τῷ τε πολέμῳ ἐκδιδόμενοι καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως κρατήσοντος ἐσόμενοι, αὐτοὶ τε ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου καὶ τῶν ὕβρεων καὶ τῶν σφαγῶν ὥς καὶ γιγνομένων ἤδη ἐταλαιπώρουν, καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων οἳ τε ὀργὴν σφίσι ὅτι ἐγκατελείφθησαν ἔχοντες τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπηρῶντο καὶ οἱ συγγνώμην τῆς ἀνάγκης ^[3] ποιοῦμενοι τὰ αὐτὰ ἐδέδισαν. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος σύμπαν, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα μηδεμία αὐτοῖς συγγένεια πρὸς τοὺς ἀφορμωμένους ἦν, ^[p. 16] ὅμως ἔλυποῦντο μὲν καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις, οἱ μὲν γείτονας οἱ δὲ ἐταίρους πολὺ τε ἀπὸ σφῶν ἀφήξιν καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα καὶ δράσειν καὶ πείσεσθαι ἐλπίζοντες, πολλῷ δὲ δὴ μάλιστα ^[4] ἑαυτοὺς ὠλοφύροντο: τὰς τε γὰρ ἀρχὰς καὶ τὴν βουλὴν τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς τι δυναμένους πάντας 'οὐ γὰρ που εἰ γέ τις αὐτῶν ὑπολειφθήσεται ἥδεσάν' τῆς τε πατρίδος ἅμα καὶ σφῶν ἐξισταμένους ὀρῶντες, καὶ μήτ' ἂν ἐκείνους, εἰ μὴ πάνυ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ αὐτῇ ἐπήρτητο, φυγεῖν ^[5] ποτε ἐθελῆσαι λογιζόμενοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔρημοι μὲν ἀρχόντων ἔρημοι δὲ συμμάχων γιγνόμενοι, πρὸς τε τὰ ἄλλα πάντα παισὶ τέτισιν ὀρφανοῖς καὶ γυναιξὶ χήραις ἐώκεσαν, καὶ τὰς ὀργὰς τὰς τε ἐπιθυμίας τῶν ἐπιόντων καὶ πρῶτοι ... τῆς τῶν προτέρων παθημάτων μνήμης, οἱ μὲν αὐτοὶ πειραθέντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκείνων ἀκούοντες ὅσα καὶ οἷα ὁ τε Μάριος καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ἐξειργάσαντο, ^[6] μέτριον οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ὑπώπτευσον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ πλείω καὶ δεινότερα, ἅτε καὶ βαρβαρικοῦ τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ στρατοῦ αὐτοῦ ὄντος, πείσεσθαι προσεδόκων. 9. οὕτως οὖν δὴ πάντων αὐτῶν διακειμένων, καὶ μηδενός, ἔξω τῶν προσφιλῶν πῃ τῷ Καίσαρι δοκούντων εἶναι, ἐν ἐλαφρῷ τὸ πρᾶγμα ποιουμένου, καὶ ἐκείνων δὲ πρὸς τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν τρόπων, αἷς οἱ πλείους πρὸς τὰ παρόντα σφίσι λαμβάνουσιν, οὐ φερεγγύῃ πίστει θαρσούντων, οὐδ' ἐπινοῆσαι ῥάδιον ὅση μὲν ταραχὴ ὅσον δὲ ^[p. 18] καὶ πένθος ἐν τῇ τῶν τε ὑπάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ^[2] τῶν συνεξορμωμένων σφίσιν ἐξόδῳ ἐγένετο. τὴν τε γὰρ νύκτα πᾶσαν ἀνασκευαζόμενοι καὶ περιφοιτῶντες ἐθορύβουν, καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ἔω πολὺς μὲν πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς οἶκτος 'καὶ γὰρ ἐκασταχόθι περιιόντες εὐχὰς ἐποιοῦντο πάντας αὐτοὺς ἐλάμβανε: τοὺς τε γὰρ θεοὺς ἀνεκάλουν καὶ τὰ δάπεδα κατεφίλουν, ὡσάκις τε ἐξ οἷων περιεγένοντο ἀνηριθμοῦντο, καὶ ὅτι τὴν πατρίδα, ὃ μὴ πώποτε ἐτετόλμητο σφίσι, ἐξέλειπον, ὠδύροντο: πολὺς δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰς πύλας θρῆνος ἦν: ^[3] οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀλλήλους τε ἅμα καὶ ἐκείνην ὥς καὶ τελευταῖον ὀρῶντες ἠσπάζοντο, οἱ δὲ ἑαυτοὺς τε ἐθρήνουν καὶ τοῖς

ἐξιοῦσι συνηχόντο, καὶ οἱ γε πλείους ὥς καὶ προδιδόμενοι κατηρῶντο: πάντες γὰρ καὶ οἱ ὑπομένοντες παμπαιδὶ καὶ παγγυναικὶ ^[4] παρήσαν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν ἐξωρμῶντο, οἱ δὲ προέπεμπόν σφας: ἄλλοι τε ἐνεχρόνιζον καὶ πρὸς τῶν γνωρίμων κατείχοντο, καὶ τινες περιβάλλοντες ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ πλείστον συνηρτῶντο. ἀκολουθοῦντές τε τοῖς ἐξορμωμένοις οἱ ὑπομένοντες ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐπεβοῶντό τε ἅμα αὐτοὺς καὶ κατώκτιζον, ἄγειν τέ σφας ἢ καὶ ^[5] ἐκείνους οἴκοι μένειν ἄξιοῦντες ἐπεθείαζον. κὰν τοῦτῳ ὁλόλυγῇ ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν πολλή καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ δάκρυα ἅπλετα ἐγίγνετο: τὴν μὲν γὰρ τοῦ κρείττονος ἐλπίδα ἦκιστα, ἅτε ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ὄντες, τὰ δὲ δὴ πάθῃ πρότερον μὲν ^[p. 20] οἱ καταλειπόμενοι ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀφορμώμενοι ^[6] προσεδέχοντο. εἶκασε δ' ἄν τις αὐτοὺς ἰδὼν δύο τε δήμους καὶ δύο πόλεις ἐκ μιᾶς γίνεσθαι, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀνίστασθαι τε καὶ φεύγειν, τὴν δὲ ἐγκαταλείπεσθαι τε καὶ ἀλίσκεσθαι. ^[7] Πομπήιος μὲν οὖν οὕτω τὸ ἄστὺ ἐξέλιπεν, συχνοὺς τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐπαγόμενος ὑπελείφθησαν γὰρ τινες, οἱ μὲν τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος φρονοῦντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκ μέσου ἀμφοῖν ἱστάμενοί, καὶ καταλόγους τε ἐκ τῶν πόλεων σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο καὶ χρήματα ἐξέλεγε, φρουράς τε ὥς ἐκασταχόσε 10. ἔπεμπε: Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα ἔμαθε, πρὸς μὲν τὴν Ῥώμην οὐκ ἠπείχθη ἄθλόν τε γὰρ αὐτὴν ἦδει τοῖς κρατήσουσι προκειμένην, καὶ οὐκ ἐπ' ἐκείνην ὥς καὶ πολεμίαν οἱ οὔσαν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς δῆθεν ^[2] ἐπιστρατεύειν ἔλεγέ, γράμματα δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν πέμψας, δι' ὧν τὸν τε Πομπήιον ἐς δίκην τινὰ προεκαλεῖτο καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θαρσεῖν παρήνει, κατὰ χώραν τε αὐτοῖς μένειν ἐκέλευε, καὶ ὑποσχνεῖτο πολλὰ αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ Κορφίνιον, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ὑπὸ Λουκίου Δομιτίου κατεχόμενον οὐ προσεχώρει, ὥρμησε, καὶ τινὰς ἀπαντήσαντας μάχῃ κρατήσας ἐς πολιορκίαν ^[3] τοὺς λοιποὺς κατέκλεισεν. ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος, ἐπειδὴ οὗτοί τε ἐπολιορκοῦντο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλοὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπέκλινον, τῆς μὲν Ἰταλίας οὐδεμίαν ἔτ' ἐλπίδα ἔσχευ, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὴν Μακεδονίαν τὴν τε Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν περαιωθῆναι ἔγνω: τῇ τε γὰρ μνήμῃ ὧν ἐκεῖ ἐπεπράχει, καὶ τῇ τῶν δήμων τῇ τε τῶν βασιλέων ^[p. 22] ^[4] φιλίᾳ πολὺ ἐθάρσει. ἦν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἡ Ἰβηρία αὐτῷ πᾶσα οἰκεία, οὐκ ἐδύνατο δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ἀσφαλῶς, ἅτε καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος τὰς Γαλατίας ἔχοντος, κομισθῆναι. πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ ἐλογίζετο ὅτι, ἂν ἀποπλεύσῃ, οὔτε ἐπιδιώξει τις αὐτὸν διὰ τε τὴν τῶν πλοίων ἀπορίαν καὶ διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα ἥδη γὰρ ἐκ μετοπώρου ἦν', κὰν τοῦτῳ κατὰ σχολὴν πολλὰ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ὑπηκόου πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ συμμαχικοῦ καὶ χρήματα καὶ 11. στρατεύματα ἀθροίσει. αὐτὸς τε οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἀφωρμήθη, καὶ τὸν Δομίτιον ἐκλιπόντα τὸ Κορφίνιον ἀκολουθεῖν οἱ ἐκέλευσε. καὶ ὅς, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἰσχύν τέ τινα εἶχε καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἐπήλπιζε 'καὶ γὰρ τοὺς στρατιώτας τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐτεθεραπεύκει καὶ χώρας ὑποσχέσει ^[2] ὑπῆκτο: τῶν τε γὰρ Συλλείων ἐγεγόνει καὶ πολλὴν ἐκ τῆς δυναστείας ἐκείνης ἐκέκτητό, ὅμως ἐπειθάρχησε. καὶ ὁ μὲν παρεσκευάζετο ὅπως δι' ἀσφαλείας τινὸς ἐκχωρήσῃ: μαθόντες δὲ τοῦθ' οἱ συνόντες οἱ, καὶ κατοκνήσαντες τὴν ἀφοδὸν ὥς καὶ φυγὴν οὔσαν, προσέθεντο τῷ ^[3] Καίσαρι. καὶ οἱ μὲν συνεστρατεύοντο αὐτῷ, Δομίτιος δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι βουλευταὶ ἠτιάθησαν μὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ

ἀντιτάξει, ἀπελύθησαν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον ἀπῆλθον. 12. ὁ δ' οὖν Καῖσαρ σπουδῇ μὲν εἶχε συμμῖξαι τε αὐτῷ πρὶν ἐκπλεῦσαι, κὰν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ διαπολεμῆσαι, καταλαβεῖν τε αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ ἔτ' ὄντα: ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὰ πλοῖα οὐκ ἐξήρκεσέ σφισι, προέπεμψεν ἄλλους τε καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους, μὴ καὶ νεοχμώσωσι τι κατὰ χώραν ὑπομείναντες: [p. 24] [2] ἰδὼν δὲ τὸ δυσάλωτον τοῦ χωρίου προεκαλέσατο αὐτὸν ἐς συνθήκας ὡς καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην τὴν τε φιλίαν ἀποληψόμενον. ἀποκριναμένου τε αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὅτι τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἂ λέγει κοινώσεται, ἐπειδὴ ἐδέδοκτό σφισι μηδὲνα τῶν πολιτῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὄντων ἐς λόγους [3] δέχεσθαι, προσέβαλε τῇ πόλει. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Πομπήιος ἡμέρας μὲν τινὰς ἡμύνατο, μέχρις οὗ τὰ πλοῖα ἐπανῆλθε: διοικοδομήσας δὲ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ ἀποφράξας τὰς ἐς τὸν λιμένα ὁδούς, μὴ καὶ ἐπιθηταὶ τις αὐτῷ ἐκπλέοντι, ἔπειτα νυκτὸς ἐξάνηχθη. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀσφαλῶς ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐπεραιώθη, τὸ δὲ δὴ Βρεντέσιον δύο τε ἐν αὐτῷ πλοῖα μεστὰ ἀνδρῶν ἐάλω. 13. Πομπήιος μὲν οὖν τὴν τε πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν οὕτως ἐξέλιπε πάντα τὰ ἐναντιώτατα τοῖς πρόσθεν, ὅτε ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας κατέπλευσε, καὶ ἐλόμενος καὶ πράξας: ἀφ' ὧν περ καὶ τὴν τύχην καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀντίπαλον [2] ἐκτήσατο. τὰ τε γὰρ στρατόπεδα πρότερον εὐθύς ἐν τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ, ἵνα μὴ τι τοὺς πολίτας λυπήσῃ, ἀφείς, ἕτερα δι' αὐτοῦ τότε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐξήγαγε: καὶ τοὺς πλούτους τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀγαγών, πάνθ' [3] ὅσα ἡδυνήθη τότε ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐτέρωσε ἐκόμισε: καὶ τῶν μὲν οἴκοι πάντων ἀπέγνω, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοτριῖσι καὶ τοῖς γε ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ ποτε δουλωθεῖσι συμμάχοις κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος χρήσασθαι ἐνόει, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς πολὺ πλείω ἐλπίδα καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς δυναστείας ἢ ἐν τοῖς εὐεργετηθεῖσιν [p. 26] [4] ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς λαμπρότητος ἦν ἐκ τῶν πολέμων ἐκείνων κτησάμενος ἀφίκετο, ταπεινότητα πρὸς τὸν παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος φόβον ἀντιλαβὼν ἀπῆρεν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς εὐκλείας ἦν ἐκ τοῦ τὴν πατρίδα αὐξῆσαι ἔσχεν, δυσκλεέστατος ἐπὶ τῇ τότε ἐκλείψει αὐτῆς ἐγένετο. 14. καὶ εὐθύς γε καταίρων ἐς τὸ Δυρράχιον ἔμαθεν ὅτι οὐ καλῶς ἀπαλλάξει: στρατιώτας τε γὰρ κεραυνοὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πρόσπλῳ ἐφθειραν, καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ἀράχναι κατέσχον, ἐκβάντος τε ἐκ τῆς νεῶς αὐτοῦ ὄφεις τὸν στίβον [2] ἐπισπόμενοι συνέχεον. ἐκείνῳ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τὰ τέρατα ἐγένετο, συνεβεβήκει δὲ καὶ πάσῃ τῇ πόλει τούτῳ τε τῷ ἔτει καὶ ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν ἕτερα. ὄντως γὰρ που ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐν ταῖς στάσεσι τὸ κοινὸν βλάπτεται: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λύκοι τε καὶ βῦαι πολλοὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἄστει [3] ὤφθησαν, καὶ σεισμοὶ συνεχεῖς μετὰ μυκηθμῶν ἐγένοντο, πῦρ τε ἀπὸ δυσμῶν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς διῆξε, καὶ ἕτερον ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸν τοῦ Κυρίνου ναὸν κατέφλεξεν. ὁ τε ἥλιος σύμπας ἐξέλιπε, καὶ κεραυνοὶ σκῆπτρόν τε Διὸς καὶ ἀσπίδα κράνος τε Ἄρεως, ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἀνακείμενα, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰς στήλας τὰς τοὺς [4] νόμους ἐχούσας ἐλυμήναντο. ζῶα τε πολλὰ ἔξω τῆς ἑαυτῶν φύσεως ἐγέννησέ τινα, καὶ λογιά τινα ὡς καὶ τῆς Σιβύλλης ὄντα ἦδετο, κάτοχοι τέ τινες γιγνόμενοι συχνὰ ἐθείαζον. καὶ πολίарχος οὐδεὶς ἐς τὰς ἀνοχάς, ὥσπερ [p. 28] εἰθιστο, ἠρέθη, ἀλλ' οἱ στρατηγοὶ πάντα τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα αὐτῷ, ὡς γέ πσι δοκεῖ, διώκησαν: ἕτεροι γὰρ ἐν τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει φασὶν αὐτοὺς [5] τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. καὶ ἐκεῖνο

μὲν καὶ αὖθις ἐγένετο, τότε δὲ καὶ ὁ Περπέρνας ὁ μετὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου ποτὲ τιμητεύσας ἀπέθανεν, ὡς ἔφην, τελευταῖος πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ τιμητείᾳ αὐτοῦ βουλευσάντων, ^[6] καὶ ἐδόκει καὶ τοῦτό τι νεοχμῶσειν. ἑταράττοντο μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς τέρασιν ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, οἰόμενοι δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐλπίζοντες ἑκάτεροι ἐς τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας σφῶν πάντα αὐτὰ ἀποσκήψειν οὐδὲν ἐξεθύσαντο. 15. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ ἐς μὲν τὴν Μακεδονίαν οὐδὲ ἐπείρασε τότε πλεῦσαι πλοίων τε γὰρ ἠπόρει ἅμα καὶ περὶ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἐδεδίει, μὴ αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου ὑποστράτηγιοι ἐπελθόντες κατάσχωσί, τὸ δὲ δὴ Βρεντέσιον διὰ φυλακῆς, τοῦ μὴ τινα τῶν ἀπηρκότων ^[2] ἀναπλεῦσαι, ποιησάμενος πρὸς τε τὴν Ῥώμην ἦλθε, καὶ τῆς γερουσίας οἱ ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λογγίνου παρασκευασθείσης ἑκπεσόντες γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῆς τότε αὐτὴν ἡθροισαν ἑδημηγόρησε πολλὰ καὶ ἐπικεῖν, ὅπως πρὸς τε τὸ παρὸν εὖνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς ^[3] τὸ μέλλον ἐλπίδα χρηστὴν λάβωσιν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῖς τε γιγνομένοις ἀχθομένους καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ^[p. 30] πλῆθος ὑποπτεύοντας αὐτοὺς ἑώρα, παραμυθῆσασθαι καὶ τιθασεῦσθαι σφας τρόπον τινὰ ἠθέλησεν, ἵνα τὰ γε ἐκείνων, ἕως ἂν διαπολεμήσῃ, ^[4] ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ μείνῃ. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' οὐτ' ἠπιάσατό τινα οὐτ' ἠπειλήσέ τινα οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταδρομὴν κατὰ τῶν πολεμεῖν πολιταῖς ἐθελόντων οὐκ ἄνευ ἀρῶν ἐποίησατο, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον πρέσβεις ὑπὲρ τε τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁμονομίας σφῶν παραχρῆμα πρὸς τε τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον πεμφθῆναι ἐσηγήσατο. 16. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, καὶ αὐτὸν ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου συνελθόντα, εἰπὼν, σῖτόν τε ἐκ τῶν νήσων μετεπέμψατο καὶ πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα δραχμὰς ἐκάστῳ δώσειν ὑπέσχετο. καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῦτοις αὐτοὺς δελεάσειν ἠλπίζεν, οἱ δ' ἄνθρωποι λογιζόμενοι ὅτι οὔτε φρονοῦσιν οὔτε πράττουσι τὰ αὐτὰ οἱ τε ἐφιέμενοί τινων καὶ οἱ ^[2] τυχόντες, ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τῶν ἔργων πάντα τὰ ἡδιστα προβάλλουσι τοῖς ἀντιπρᾶξαι τι δυναμένοις, ἐπειδὴν δὲ κατορθώσωσιν ὅσα βούλονται, οὔτε τινὸς αὐτῶν μνημονεύουσι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ταῖς δυνάμεσιν ἅς παρ' αὐτῶν ἔλαβον χρῶνται, μεμνημένοι δὲ καὶ τὸν ^[3] Μάριον τὸν τε Σύλλαν, ὡς πολλὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα πολλάκις σφίσιν εἰπόντες οἷα ἀνθ' οἷων ἔδρασαν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος χρεῖαν αἰσθόμενοι, τὰ τε ὅπλα αὐτοῦ πολλὰ καὶ πανταχοῦ τῆς πόλεως ὀρῶντες ὄντα, οὔτε πιστεύειν τοῖς λεγομένοις οὔτε θαρρεῖν ἐδύναντο, ^[p. 32] ^[4] ἀλλ' ἑναυλον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν φόβον ἔχοντες καὶ ἐκείνον ὑπετόπουν, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι οἱ πρέσβεις ὅς τὰς καταλλαγὰς δῆθεν πρυτανεύοντες ἡρέθησαν μὲν, οὐκ ἐξῆλθον δέ, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἐμνήσθη ποτε περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Πίσων ὁ πενθερὸς αὐτοῦ αἰτίαν ἔσχε 17. τοσοῦτου τε ἐδέησαν τὰ χρήματα ἃ ὑπέσχετο σφίσι τότε γε λαβεῖν, ὥστε καὶ τὰλλα οἱ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ ἦν πρὸς τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὐς ἐφοβοῦντο, τροφὴν ἔδοσαν. καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τοῦτοις ὡς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς οὔσι τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν εἰρηνικὴν μετημπόσχοντο: οὐδέπω γὰρ αὐτὴν ^[2] μετετλήφεσαν. ἀντίπε μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὴν περὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἐσῆγησιν Λούκιός τις Μέτελλος δήμαρχος, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἐπέρανε, πρὸς τε τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἦλθε καὶ τὰς θύρας αὐτῶν ἐν τηρήσει ἐποίησατο: σμικρὸν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῆς φυλακῆς αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ που καὶ τῆς

παρρησίας, οἱ στρατιῶται φροντίσαντες τὴν τε βαλανάγραν διέκοψαν ἤν γὰρ κλεῖν οἱ ὑπατοὶ εἶχον, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐξόν τισι πελέκεσιν ἀντ' αὐτῆς χρῆσασθαι^[3] καὶ πάντα τὰ χρήματα ἐξεφόρησαν. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὡς μοι πολλὰ χόθι εἴρηται, ὀνόματι μὲν ἰσονομίας 'καὶ γὰρ διὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τὰ πλείω αὐτῶν ἐσεφέρετό ἔργῳ δὲ δυναστείας καὶ ἐψηφίζετο καὶ ἐπράττετο. τοὺς τε γὰρ ἀντιστασιάζοντάς σφισι πολεμίους ἑκάτεροι τῆς πατρίδος ὀνομάζοντες, καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν πολεμεῖν λέγοντες, τὰ τε ἴδια μόνα ἠϋξον, κἀκεῖνα ὁμοίως ἀμφοτέροι ἐφθειρον. 18. ὁ δ' οὖν Καῖσαρ ταῦτα τε οὕτως ἐποίησε, καὶ ^[p. 34] τὴν Σαρδῶ τὴν τε Σικελίαν ἀμαχεῖ κατέσχεν ἐκχωρησάντων τῶν τότε ἐν αὐταῖς ἀρχόντων τὸν τε Ἀριστόβουλον οἴκαδε ἐς τὴν Παλαιστίνην^[2] ὅπως τῷ Πομπηίῳ τι ἀντιπράξῃ, ἔστειλε: καὶ τοῖς παισὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλου ἐπικηρυχθέντων ἀρχὰς αἰτεῖν ἐφῆκε, τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα, καὶ τ' ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ λοιπῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, πρὸ τὸ ἐπιτηδεύοντα ἑαυτῷ ὡς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων^[3] κατέστησε. καὶ ἐκεῖνα μὲν τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ ἐπ' ἐτρέψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, τὰ τε τῷ Πομπηίου ἰσχυρῶς αἰρουμένην καὶ ἐς δέος αὐτόν μὴ καὶ τὰς Γαλατίας προσαιοσθήσῃ, καθιστάν^[4] τας, ὥρμησε. κὰν τοῦτω ἄλλοι τε βουλευτὰ καὶ ὁ Κικέρων, μηδὲ ἐς ὄψιν τῷ Καίσαρι ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον ὡς γε τὰ τε δικαιότερον πράττοντα καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ κρατήσοντα ἀπεχ^[5] ρησεν. οἱ τε γὰρ ὑπατοί, πρὶν ἐκπλεῖν, καὶ ἐκεῖνος, ἅτε ἀντὶ ὑπάτου ἀρχῶν, πάντας αὐτοῦ ἐκέλευσαν ἐς Θεσσαλονίκην ἀκολουθεῖν, ὡς τῷ μὲν ἄστεως πρὸς πολέμιων τινῶν ἐχομένου, αὐτῷ δὲ ἅτε γερούργια ὄντες καὶ τὸ τῆς πολιτείας^[6] πρόσχημα, ὅπου ποτ' ἂν ὦσιν, ἔξοντες. καὶ σφισι διὰ ταῦτα τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων οἱ πλείους, οἱ μὲν εὐθύς τότε οἱ δὲ καὶ ὕστερον, καὶ αἱ πόλεις πᾶσαι, ὅσαι μὴ ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος ὀπλῶν κατεῖργοντο, προσεχώρησαν. 19. οἱ μέντοι Μασσαλιῶται μόνοι τῶν ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ οἰκούντων οὔτε συνήραντο τῷ Καίσαρι οὔτε ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσεδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπόκρισιν^[2] αὐτῷ ἀξιωμακρῶς ἐδοσαν: τῷ τε γὰρ δήμῳ ^[p. 36] τῶν Ῥωμαίων συμμαχεῖν καὶ ἐκείνοις ἐπιτηδεῖως ἀμφοτέροις ἔχειν, καὶ μῆτε πολυπραγμονεῖν τ' μὴθ' ἱκανοὶ διακρίναι πότερος αὐτῶν ἀδικεῖ εἶναι ἔφασαν, ὥστε εἰ μὲν τις ὡς φίλος ἐθέλοι πρὸς σφῶν ἐλθεῖν, κὰν ἀμφοτέρους αὐτοὺς ἄνευ τῶν ὀπλῶν δέξασθαι ἔλεγον, ἐπὶ πολέμῳ δὲ οὐδέτερον.^[3] καταστάντες τε ἐς πολιορκίαν αὐτόν τε ἐκείνον ἀπεκρούσαντο, καὶ τῷ Τρεβωνίῳ τῷ τε Βρούτῳ τῷ Δεκίμῳ μετὰ τοῦτο προσεδρεύουσι σφισιν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀντέσχον. ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ χρόνον μὲν τινα, ὡς καὶ ῥαδίως αὐτοὺς αἰρήσων, προσεκατέρησε 'καὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ δεινὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι ὅτι καὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀμαχεῖ κρατήσας ὑπὸ ^[4] Μασσαλιωτῶν οὐκ ἐδέχετο, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ ἀντήρουν, ἐκείνους μὲν ἑτέροις προσέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἡγεῖσθαι. 20. ἐπεπόμεναι μὲν γὰρ ἐς αὐτὴν Γάιον Φάβιον, δείσας δὲ μὴ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀγωνισάμενος πταίσῃ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐστράτευσεν. εἶχον δὲ τότε τὰ πράγματα τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἰβηρα ὃν τε Ἀφράνιος καὶ ὁ Πετρέιος, καὶ φυλακὴν μὲν καὶ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς τῶν ὀρῶν ἐπεποιήντο, τὸ δ' ὅλον ἐς Ἰλέρδαν τὰς δυνάμεις ἀθροίσαντες ἐνταῦθα τοὺς ἐπὶόντας^[2] ὑπέμενον. καὶ τῷ μὲν Φαβίῳ τὴν τε ἐπὶ τοῦ Πυρρηναίου φρουρὰν βιασαμένῳ καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Σικοριν διαβαίνοντι

προσπεσόντες ἐξαίφνης πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν ἀποληφθέντας· ἡ γὰρ γέφυρα πρὶν διελθεῖν αὐτοὺς καταρραγεῖσα [p. 38] [3] πλεῖστον σφισι συνήρατο· τῷ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρι ἐπελθόντι τε οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν καθ' ἑτέραν γέφυραν διαβάντι, προκαλουμένῳ τε αὐτοὺς ἐς μάχην οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν ἐπὶ πάνυ πολλὰς ἡμέρας συμβαλεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀντιστρατοπεδευσάμενοι [4] αὐτῷ ἡσυχάζον. θαρσήσας οὖν ἐκ τούτου καταλαβεῖν τὸ χωρίον τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε ταφρεύματος σφων καὶ τῆς πόλεως καρτερὸν ὄν ἐπεχείρησεν, ὥς καὶ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτοὺς ἀποκλείσων. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ τοῦτο οἱ περὶ τὸν [5] Ἀφράνιον προκατέσχον αὐτό, καὶ τοὺς τε προσβάλλοντάς σφισιν ἀπεώσαντο, καὶ φεύγουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπισπόμενοι τοὺς ἀντεπεξελθόντας ἐκ τοῦ ἐρύματος ὑπέστησαν, ἐνδόντες τε ἐξεπίτηδες ὑπήγαγόν σφας ἐς χωρία ἑαυτοῖς ἐπιτήδεια, κάνταῦθα πολλῷ πλείους ἐφόνευσαν. κἄκ τούτων ἐπιθαρήσαντες τοῖς τε προνομεύουσιν αὐτῶν ἐπετίθεντο καὶ τοὺς ἀποσκεδαννυμένους ἐλύπουν· [6] καὶ ποτε διαβάντων τινῶν ἐς τὰ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ ποταμοῦ, κἂν τούτῳ χειμῶνός τε πολλοῦ γενομένου καὶ τῆς γεφύρας ἥ ἐκέχρητο διαφθαρείσης, ἐπιδιέβησαν κατὰ τὴν ἑτέραν γέφυραν τὴν πρὸς τῇ πόλει οὕσαν καὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς ἀνάλωσαν, μηδενός σφισιν ἐπαμῦναι δυνηθέντος. 21. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ, ὥς ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο καὶ οὔτε τῶν συμμάχων τις ἐπεκούρει οἱ ἑκδεχόμενοι γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐναντίοι, ὥς ἐκάστους αἰσθοῖντο προσιόντας, ... ' τὰ τ' ἐπιτήδεια, ἅτε ἔν τε [p. 40] ἄλλοτρίᾳ ὦν καὶ πταίων, χαλεπῶς ἐπορίζετο, [2] ἐν παντὶ ἐγένετο. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦθ' οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκείνου τε ὥς οὐκέτι πλείῳ χρόνον περιοίσοντος ἀπέγνωσαν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον ἀπέκλινον· καὶ τινες καὶ τότε πρὸς [3] αὐτὸν ἄλλοι τε καὶ βουλευταὶ ἀπῆραν. καὶ εἶγε μὴ οἱ Μασσαλιῶται ἐν τούτῳ ναυμαχίᾳ πρὸς τοῦ Βρούτου τῷ τε μεγέθει τῶν νεῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ ῥώμῃ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν, καίπερ καὶ τῷ Δομιτίῳ συμμάχῳ χρώμενοι καὶ τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ τῶν ναυτικῶν προέχοντες, ἡττήθησαν κἄκ τούτου παντελῶς ἀπεκλείσθησαν, οὐδὲν ἂν ἐκώλυσε πάντα [4] τὰ πράγματα αὐτοῦ φθαρῆναι. νῦν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον ἐκ παρασκευῆς τοῖς Ἰβηρσιν ἀγγελθέντα ταῦτα οὕτως ἡλλοίωσέ τινας αὐτῶν ὥστε καὶ τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος φρονῆσαι. καὶ αὐτοὺς παραλαβὼν τῆς τε τροφῆς ἠϋπόρησε καὶ γεφύρας κατεσκεύασε, τοὺς τε ἐναντίους ἐλύπει, καὶ ποτε συχνοὺς αὐτῶν αἰφνιδιον ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ πλανωμένους ἀπολαβὼν ἀπώλεσεν. 22. ὁ οὖν Ἀφράνιος ἀθυμήσας ἐπὶ τούτοις, καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἰλέρδᾳ οὔτε ἀσφαλῆ οὔτε ἐπιτήδεια πρὸς χρόνιον διατριβὴν ἰδὼν ὄντα, ἀναχωρῆσαι πρὸς τε τὸν Ἰβηρα καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐκεῖ πόλεις ἔγνω, καὶ νυκτός, ὥς λήσων ἢ φθάσων τοὺς [2] ἐναντίους, ἄρας ἐπορεύετο. καὶ οὐκ ἔλαθε μὲν ἀνιστάμενος, οὐ μέντοι καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπεδιώχθη· ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ οὐχ ἡγήσατο ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι ἐν σκότῳ πολεμίοις ἐμπείροις τῆς χώρας μετὰ ἀπείρων ἐπακολουθῆσαι. ὥς μέντοι ἡ ἡμέρα [p. 42] διέλαμψεν, ἡπείχθη, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ὁδῷ καταλαβὼν πανταχόθεν ἐξαπίνης πόρρωθεν περιεστοιχίσατο· τῷ τε γὰρ πλήθει πολὺ περιῆν, καὶ τὸ χωρίον κοῖλον ὄν συμμαχοῦν ἔσχεν. [3] ὁμόσε γὰρ οὐκ ἠθέλησέ σφισι χωρῆσαι, τὸ μὲν τι φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἐς ἀπόνοιαν καταστάντες ἐξεργάσωνται τι δεινόν, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἀκονιτὶ σφας παραστήσεσθαι ἐλπίσας. ὁ καὶ ἐγένετο· ὥς γὰρ πολλαχῇ πειράσαντες

οὐδαμῇ διαπτεσεῖν ἠδυνήθησαν, καὶ ἔκ τε τούτου καὶ ἔκ τῆς ἀγρυπνίας τῆς τε πορείας ἔκεκμήκεσαν, καὶ προσέτι ^[4] οὔτε τροφήν εἶχον ἀύθιμερόν γάρ τὸν σταθμὸν διατελέσειν προσδοκῆσαντες οὐδὲν ἐπηνέγκαντό οὐθ' ὕδατος εὐπόρουν τὰ γὰρ χωρία ἐκεῖνα δεινῶς ἐστὶν ἄνυδρά, παρέδοσαν σφας, ἐφ' ᾧ μήτε τι δεινὸν πάθωσι μήτε ἐπὶ τὸν Πομπήιον 23. ἀναγκασθῶσιν οἱ συστρατεύσασθαι. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀκριβῶς ἐκάτερον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐφύλαξεν: οὔτε γὰρ ἀπέκτεινε τὸ παράπαν τῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πολέμῳ ἀλόντων οὐδένα, καίτοι ἐκείνων ποτὲ ἐν ἀνοχῇ τινι ἀφυλάκτως τινὰς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἔχοντας φθειράντων, οὔτε τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἀντιπολεμῆσαι ἐξεβιάσατο, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν λογιμωτάτους ἠφίει, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἐθελονταῖς: συμμαχοῖς διὰ τε τὰ κέρδη ^[2] καὶ διὰ τὰς τιμὰς ἐχρήτο. καὶ οὐκ ἐλάχιστά γε ἐκ τούτων οὔτε ἐς τὴν δόξαν οὔτε ἐς τὰ πράγματα ἀπώνητο: τὰς τε γὰρ πόλεις τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ πάσας καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἐκεῖ πάντας ἦσαν δὲ ἄλλοι τε ἐν τῇ Βαιτικῇ ^[p. 44] καὶ μετὰ Μάρκου Τερεντίου Οὐάρρωνος ὑποστρατήγου συχνοί' προσεποιήσατο. 24. παραλαμβάνων τε οὖν ἅμα αὐτοὺς καὶ καθιστάμενος διέδραμε μέχρι Γαδεῖρων. καὶ ἐλύπησε μὲν οὐδένα οὐδὲν πλὴν χρημάτων ἐκλογῆς ταῦτα γὰρ παμπληθῇ ἐσέπραξεν, ἐτίμησε δὲ καὶ ἰδία καὶ κοινῇ πολλούς: καὶ τοῖς γε Γαδεῖρεῦσι πολιτείαν ἅπασιν ἔδωκεν, ἦν καὶ ὁ δῆμος σφισιν ^[2] ὕστερον ἐπεκύρωσε. τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίησεν ἀμειβόμενός σφας τῆς τοῦ Ὀνείρου ὄψεως, δι' ἧς ἐνταῦθα, ὅτε ἐταμίευσε, συγγεγονέναι τῇ μητρὶ ἔδοξε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς μοναρχίας, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἔλαβεν. πράξας δὲ ταῦτα τὸ μὲν ἔθνος ἐκείνῳ τῷ Λογγίνῳ τῷ Κασσίῳ προσέταξεν, ἐπειδὴ συνήθης αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς ταμείας ἦν ὑπὸ τῷ ^[3] Πομπηίῳ ἐτεταμιεύκει ἦν: αὐτὸς δὲ μέχρι Ταρράκωνος πλοίοις ἐκομίσθη. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ διὰ τοῦ Πυρηναίου προχωρῶν τρόπαιον μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἔστησεν, ὅτι μηδὲ τὸν Πομπήιον καλῶς ἀκούσαντα ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἦσθετο, βωμὸν δὲ δὴ ἐκ λίθων ξεστῶν συνωκοδομημένον μέγαν οὐ πόρρω τῶν ἐκείνου τροπαίων ἰδρύσατο. 25. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίνετο, οἱ Μασσαλιῶται νεῶν σφισι παρὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου αὐθις πεμφθεισῶν ἀνεκινδύνευσαν. καὶ ἠττήθησαν μὲν καὶ τότε, διεκαρτέρουν δέ, καίτοι καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἤδη ^[2] τὸν Καῖσαρα ἔχοντα πυνθανόμενοι, καὶ τὰς τε ^[p. 46] προσβολὰς ἰσχυρῶς ἀπεκρούοντο, καὶ διοκωχὴν τινὰ ὡς καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, ἐπειδὴν ἔλθῃ, προσχωρήσοντες ποιησάμενοι, τὸν τε Δομίτιον ὑπεξέπεμψαν, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπιθεμένους σφισιν ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς νυκτὸς οὕτω διέθεσαν ὥστε ^[3] μηδὲν ἔτι τολμῆσαι. τῷ μέντοι Καίσαρι αὐτῷ ἐλθόντι ὠμολόγησαν: καὶ ὅς ἐκείνων τότε μὲν τὰ τε ὅπλα καὶ τὰς ναῦς τὰ τε χρήματα ἀφείλετο, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα πλὴν τοῦ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ὀνόματος. ἀνθ' ὧν ἡ Φώκαια ἡ μητρόπολις σφῶν ἐλευθέρα ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου ἀφείθη. 26. καὶ στρατιωτῶν τινων ἐν Πλακεντίᾳ στασιασάντων καὶ μηκέτ' ἀκολουθῆσαι οἱ ἐθελόντων, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς τεταλαιπωρημένων, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ὅτι μήτε τὴν χώραν διαρπάξειν μήτε τᾶλλα ὅσα ἐπεθύμουν ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπέτρεπε καὶ γὰρ ἡλπίζον οὐδενὸς ὅτου οὐ τεύξεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ ἄτε καὶ ἐν χρεια τοσαύτη σφῶν ^[2] ὄντος, οὐχ ὑπέλξεν, ἀλλὰ συγκαλέσας καὶ ἐκείνους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, τῆς τε παρ' αὐτῶν ἀσφαλείας ἕνεκα, καὶ ἵνα τῶν τε λεγομένων

ἀκούσαντες καὶ τοὺς κολαζομένους ἰδόντες μηδὲν ἔξω τῶν καθηκόντων ἐθελήσωσι πρᾶξι, ἔλεξε τάδε. 27. ‘ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, βούλομαι μὲν φιλεῖσθαι ὑφ’ ὑμῶν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ συνεξαμαρτάνειν [p. 48] ἂν ὑμῖν διὰ τοῦθ’ ἐλοίμην: ἀγαπῶ τε γὰρ ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἐθέλοίμ’ ἂν, ὡς πατήρ παῖδας, [2] καὶ σῶζεσθαι καὶ εὐθeneῖν καὶ εὐδοξεῖν. μὴ γάρ τοι νομίσητε φιλοῦντος ἔργον εἶναι τὸ συγχωρεῖν τισιν ἃ μὴ προσήκει πράττειν, ἐξ ὧν καὶ κινδύνους καὶ ἀδοξίας ἀνάγκη πᾶσα αὐτοῖς συμβαίνειν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τε τὰ ἀμείνω αὐτοὺς διδάσκειν καὶ τὸ τῶν χειρόνων ἀπειργεῖν καὶ νουθετοῦντα [3] καὶ σωφρονίζοντα. γνῶσεσθε δὲ ὅτι τάληθ’ ἔγω, ἂν μήτε πρὸς τὸ αὐτίκα ἡδὺ τὸ συμφέρον κρίνητε μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τὸ ἀεὶ ὠφέλιμον, μήτε τὸ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἐκπιμπλάναι γενναῖον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ κρατεῖν αὐτῶν νομίσητε εἶναι. αἰσχρὸν μὲν γὰρ παραχρημᾶ τι ἡσθέντας ὕστερον μεταγνῶναι, δεινὸν δὲ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων κρατοῦντας ἡδονῶν τινων ἡττᾶσθαι. 28.

πρὸς οὖν τί ταῦτα λέγω; ὅτι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀφθόνως ἔχοντες ‘λέξω γὰρ μετὰ παρρησίας, μηδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος: τὴν τε γὰρ μισθοφορὰν ἐντελῆ καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν λαμβάνετε, καὶ τῆς τροφῆς ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ πολλῆς ἐμπιμπλασθὲ καὶ μήτε πόνον τινὰ ἄδοξον μήτε κίνδυνον ἀνωφελῆ ὑπομένοντες, καὶ προσέτι τῆς μὲν ἀνδραγαθίας πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα γέρα καρποῦμενοι, τῶν δ’ ἁμαρτημάτων σμικρὸν ἢ οὐδὲν ἐπιτιμώμενοι, [2] οὐκ ἀξιοῦτε τοῦτοις ἀρκεῖσθαι. λέγω δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πρὸς πάντας ὑμᾶς ‘οὐδὲ γὰρ τοιοῦτοί ἐστέ, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκείνους μόνους οἵτινες τῇ ἑαυτῶν πλεονεξίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους διαβάλλουσιν. ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ πάνυ ἀκριβῶς καὶ καλῶς [p. 50] τοῖς τε παραγγέλμασι τοῖς ἐμοῖς πείθεσθε καὶ τοῖς ἡθεσι τοῖς πατρίοις ἐμμένετε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ χώραν τοσαύτην καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ δόξαν ἐκτήσασθε: ὀλίγοι δὲ δὴ τινες πολλὴν αἰσχύνην [3] καὶ ἀδοξίαν ἅπασιν ἡμῖν προστρίβονται. καίτ’ ἔγωγε πρότερον σαφῶς ἐπιστάμενος τοιοῦτους αὐτοὺς ὄντας ‘οὐδὲν γὰρ μοι τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀμελές ἐστιν’ οὐ προσεποιούμην εἰδέναι, νομίζων ἀμείνους σφᾶς ἐκ τοῦ λαθεῖν ἂν δοκεῖν ἁμαρτόντας τινὰ γενήσεσθαι, τοῦ μὴ πλεονάσαντάς ποτε καὶ [4] ἐφ’ οἷς συνεγνώσθησαν κολασθῆναι: ἐπεὶ μέντοι αὐτοὶ τε ὡς καὶ ἐξὸν σφισι πάνθ’ ὅσα βούλονται πράττειν, ὅτι μὴ κατὰ πρώτας εὐθὺς ἐδικαιώθησαν, ὑπερθρασύνονται, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς μηδὲν πλημμελοῦντας προσστασιάζειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν, ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστί μοι θεραπείαν τέ τινα καὶ 29. ἐπιστροφὴν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι. οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλα τι σύστημα ἀνθρώπων συμμεῖναι καὶ σωθῆναι δύναται, ἂν μὴ τὸ κακουργοῦν σωφρονίζηται: τὸ γὰρ τοι νοσήσαν ἂν μὴ τὴν προσήκουσαν ἴασιν λάβῃ, συγκάμνειν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πᾶν ὥσπερ ἐν [2] τοῖς σώμασι ποιεῖ: ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς στρατιαῖς ἡκιστα διότι αὐτοὶ τε ἰσχυρὸν ἔχοντες τολμηρότεροι γίνονται, καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς προσδιαφθείρουσιν, ἀθυμότερους ποιοῦντες ὡς οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἐκ τοῖ δικαιοπραγεῖν ἔξοντας. παρ’ οἷς γὰρ ἂν τὸ θρασυνόμενον πλεονεκτῇ, παρὰ τοῦτοις ἀνάγκη τὸ ἐπεικὲς ἐλαττοῦσθαι: καὶ ἐν οἷς ἂν ἀδικία ἀτιμώρητος ᾖ, καὶ τὸ σωφρονοῦν ἀγέραςτον γίγνεται [p. 52] [3] τί μὲν γὰρ ἂν ὑμεῖς ἀγαθὸν ποιεῖν φήσαιτε, εἰ μηδὲν οὗτοι κακὸν δρῶσιν; πῶς δ’ ἂν εἰκότως τιμᾶσθαι

ἐθελήσατε, ἂν μὴ τὴν δικαίαν οὕτοι τιμωρίαν ὑπόσχωσιν; ἢ ἀγνοεῖτε τοῦθ', ὅτι ἂν τὸ μὲν τῶν φόβων τῆς δίκης ἐλευθερωθῇ, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἐλπίδος τῶν ἄθλων στερηθῇ, ἀγαθὸν μὲν οὐδὲν ^[4] κακὰ δὲ μυρία ἀπεργάζεται; ὥστ' εἴπερ ἄρετὴν ὄντως ἀσκεῖτε, μισήσατε μὲν τοὺτους ὡς πολεμίους 'οὐ γὰρ που φύσει τινὶ τὸ φίλιον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ διακέκριται, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε τρόποις καὶ ταῖς πράξεσι διορίζεται, ὧν ἀγαθῶν μὲν ὄντων πᾶν καὶ τὸ ἀλλότριον οἰκείουται, πονηρῶν δὲ πᾶν καὶ τὸ 30. συγγενὲς ἀλλοτριοῦται, ἀπολογήσασθε δὲ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν. ἀνάγκη γὰρ καὶ ἡμᾶς δι' αὐτοὺς πάντας κακῶς ἀκούειν, καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦμεν: πᾶς γὰρ τις πυνθανόμενος τὸ τε πλῆθος. ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν ὀρμὴν, ἐς πάντας ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰ τοῖς ὀλίγοις πλημμελοῦμενα ἀναφέρει, καὶ οὕτω τῶν πλεονεξιῶν οὐ συμμετέχοντες αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐγκλημάτων τὸ ἴσον ^[2] φερόμεθα. τίς γὰρ ἂν οὐκ ἀγανακτήσειεν ἀκούων ὄνομα μὲν ἡμᾶς Ῥωμαίων ἔχοντας, ἔργα δὲ Κελτῶν δρῶντας; τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν ὁρῶν ὀδύρατο τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁμοίως τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ πορθουμένην; πῶς δ' οὐ δεινὸν τὰ μὲν τῶν Γαλατῶν τῶν καταπολεμηθέντων μηκέθ' ἡμᾶς λυπεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὡς τινὰς Ἑπειρώτας ἢ Καρχηδονίους ἢ ^[3] Κίμβρους πορθεῖν; πῶς δ' οὐκ αἰσχρὸν σεμνύνεσθαι μὲν ἡμᾶς καὶ λέγειν ὅτι ἡμεῖς πρῶτοι Ῥωμαίων ^[p. 54] καὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον διέβημεν καὶ τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἐπλεύσαμεν, τὴν δὲ οἰκείαν ἀπαθῇ κακῶν ἀπὸ τῶν πολέμιων οὖσαν διαρπάσαι, καὶ ἀντὶ μὲν ἐπαίνου μέμψιν, ἀντὶ δὲ τιμῆς ἀτιμίαν, ἀντὶ δὲ κερδῶν ζημίαν, ἀντὶ δὲ ἄθλων τιμωρίας λαβεῖν; 31.

μὴ γὰρ τοι νομίσητε μὴθ', ὅτι στρατεύεσθε, κρείττους παρὰ τοῦτο τῶν οἴκοι πολιτῶν εἶναι: Ῥωμαῖοι γὰρ ἔστε ἀμφοτέρω, καὶ ὁμοίως ὑμῖν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ ἐστρατεύσαντο καὶ στρατεύσονται: μὴθ', ὅτι ὅπλα ἔχετε, ἐξεῖναι ὑμῖν κακουργεῖν: οἱ τε γὰρ νόμοι κυριώτεροι ὑμῶν εἰσιν, καὶ πάντως ^[2] ποτὲ καὶ ταῦτα καταθήσεσθε. μὴ μέντοι μηδὲ τῷ πλήθει θαρσεῖτε: πολὺ γὰρ πλείους ὑμῶν οἱ ἀδικοῦμενοι, ἂν γε καὶ συστραφῶσιν, εἰσί. συστραφήσονται δέ, ἂν τοιαῦτα ποιῇτε. μὴδ' ὅτι τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐνίκησατε, καὶ τούτων καταφρονεῖτε ὧν οὐδὲν οὔτε κατὰ γένος οὔτε κατὰ παιδείαν, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς τροφῆς, οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτηδεύματων, ^[3] διαφέρετε: ἀλλ' ὥσπερ που καὶ προσῆκον καὶ συμφέρον ἐστὶν ὑμῖν, μῆτε βιάζεσθαι τίνα αὐτῶν μὴτ' ἀδικεῖτε, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε ἐπιτήδεια παρ' ἐκουσίων σφῶν λαμβάνετε καὶ τὰ γέρα παρ' ἐκόντων προσδέχεσθε. 32.

πρὸς γὰρ δὴ τοῖς εἰρημένοις, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ὅσα ἂν τις μηκύνων περὶ τῶν τοιούτων διεξέλθοι, καὶ ἐκεῖνο δεῖ ὑμᾶς προσλογίζεσθαι, ὅτι νῦν ἡμεῖς ἐνταῦθ' ἤκομεν ἵνα τῇ τε πατρίδι ἀδικομένη βοηθήσωμεν καὶ τοὺς κακουργοῦντας ^[p. 56] αὐτὴν ἀμυνώμεθα, ἐπεὶ εἶγε ἐν μηδενὶ δεινῷ ἦν, ^[2] οὐτ' ἂν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἦλθομεν 'οὐ γὰρ ἔξεστιν 92' οὕτ' ἂν τὰ τῶν Κελτῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν Βρεττανῶν ἀτέλεστα κατελίπομεν, δυνηθέντες ἂν καὶ ἐκεῖνα προσκατεργάσασθαι. ^[3] οὐκοῦν πῶς μὲν οὐκ ἄτοπον ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀδικούντων τιμωρίᾳ παρόντας ἡμᾶς μηδὲν ἥττον ἐκείνων πλεονεκτοῦντας φανῆναι; πῶς δ' οὐ σχέτλιον πρὸς ἐπικουρίαν τῆς πατρίδος ἀφιγμένους

συμμάχων αὐτὴν ἐτέρων ἀναγκάσαι καθ' [4] ἡμῶν δεσθῆναι; καίτοι ἔγωγε τοσοῦτον περιεῖναι τοῖς δικαιώμασι τοῦ Πομπηίου νομίζω ὥστε καὶ ἐς δίκην πολλακίς αὐτὸν προκαλέσασθαι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε μὴ ἠθέλησεν εἰρηνικῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος διακριθῆναι, πάντα μὲν τὸν δῆμον πάντας δὲ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐλπῖσαι διὰ τοῦτο προσθήσεσθαι. [5] ἀλλὰ νῦν, ἂν γε καὶ τοιαῦτα ποιῶμεν, οὐτ' αὐτὸς ἐπιτήδειόν τι ἔξω προῖσχεσθαι οὔτε ἐκείνοις ἀνεπιεικὲς ἐγκαλέσαι. δεῖ δὲ δὴ καὶ τοῦ δικαίου πᾶσαν ἡμᾶς πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι: μετὰ μὲν γὰρ τούτου καὶ ἡ παρὰ τῶν ὀπλων ἰσχὺς εὐελπίς ἐστιν, ἄνευ δ' ἐκείνου βέβαιον οὐδέν, κἂν παραυτίκα τις κατορθώσῃ τι, ἔχει. 33.

καὶ ὅτι ταῦθ' οὕτω πέφυκε, καὶ ὑμῶν οἱ πλείους ἐπίστανται: πάντα γοῦν τὰ προσήκοντα ἀπαράκλητοι πράττετε. ὅθεν που καὶ ἐγὼ συνεκάλεσα ὑμᾶς, ἵνα καὶ μάρτυρας καὶ ἐπόπτας τῶν τε λεγομένων καὶ τῶν πραττομένων ποιήσωμαι. [p. 58] [2] ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς μὲν οὐ τοιοῦτοί ἐστε, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐπαινέισθε: ὀλίγοι δὲ δὴ τινες ὁρᾶτε ὅπως, πρὸς τῷ πολλὰ κεκακουρηγένοι καὶ μηδεμίαν αὐτῶν δίκην δεδωκέναι, καὶ προσεπαπειλοῦσιν ἡμῖν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐγὼ οὐτ' ἄλλως καλὸν εἶναι νομίζω ἄρχοντά τινα τῶν ἀρχομένων [3] ἡτᾶσθαι, οὐτ' ἂν σωτήριόν τι γενέσθαι ποτέ, εἰ τὸ ταχθὲν ὑπηρετεῖν τινι κρατεῖν αὐτοῦ ἐπιχειρήσειεν. σκέψασθε δέ, ποῖος μὲν ἂν κόσμος οἰκίας γένοιτο, ἂν οἱ ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὄντες τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καταφρονήσωσι, ποῖος δὲ διδασκαλείων, ἂν οἱ φοιτῶντες τῶν παιδευτῶν ἀμελήσωσι; τίς ὑγίεια νοσοῦσιν, ἂν μὴ πάντα τοῖς ἰατροῖς οἱ κάμνοντες πειθαρχῶσι, τίς δὲ ἀσφάλεια ναυτιλλομένοις, ἂν οἱ ναῦται τῶν κυβερνητῶν ἀνηκουστῶσι; [4] φύσει τε γὰρ ἀναγκαῖα τινὲ καὶ σωτηρία τὸ μὲν ἄρχειν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ δὲ ἄρχεσθαι τέτακται, καὶ ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν ἄνευ αὐτῶν καὶ ὅτιοῦν καὶ ἐφ' ὅποσονοῦν διαγενέσθαι. προσήκει τε τῷ μὲν ἐπιστατοῦντι τινος ἐκφροντίζειν τε τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἐπιτάττειν, τῷ δὲ ὑποτεταγμένῳ πειθαρχεῖν τε ἀπροφασίστως καὶ ἐκπονεῖν τὸ [5] κελευόμενον: ἔξ οὗ καὶ μάλιστα τὸ τε ἔμφορον τοῦ ἄφρονος καὶ τὸ ἐπιστῆμον τοῦ ἀνεπιστήμονος ἐν παντὶ προτετίμηται. 34.

οὕτω δὴ οὖν τούτων ἐχόντων οὐκ ἂν ποτε οὔτε συγχωρήσαιμι τι τούτοις τοῖς θορυβήσασιν [2] ἀναγκασθεῖς οὐτ' ἂν ἐπιτρέψαιμι βιασθεῖς. ἢ τί μὲν ἀπὸ τε τοῦ Αἰνείου καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰούλου [p. 60] γέγονα, τί δὲ ἐστρατήγησα, τί ὑπάτευσα, ἐπὶ τί δὲ ὑμᾶς τοὺς μὲν οἴκοθεν ἐξήγαγον τοὺς δ' ὕστερον προσκατέλεξα, ἐπὶ τί τοσοῦτον ἤδη χρόνον τὴν [3] ἐξουσίαν τὴν ἀνθύπατον ἔχω λαβών, ἂν γε δουλεύσω τινὲ ὑμῶν καὶ νικηθῶ τινος ὑμῶν ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην, δι' οὗ 100 καὶ Γαλάτας ἐχειρώσασθε καὶ Βρεττανῶν [4] ἐκρατήσατε; τί δείσας καὶ τί φοβηθείς; μὴ μέ τις ὑμῶν ἀποκτείνῃ; ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν πάντες ταῦτ' ἐφρονεῖτε, ἐκὼν ἂν ἀποθανεῖν εἰλόμην ἢ τὸ τε ἀξίωμα τῆς ἡγεμονίας καταλύσαι καὶ τὸ φρόνημα [5] τὸ τῇ προστατείᾳ προσῆκον ἀπολέσαι: πολὺ γὰρ που πλείω πόλει κινδυνεύεται τοῦ ἑνα ἄνδρα ἀδίκως ἀποθανεῖν, ἂν ἐθισθῶσιν οἱ στρατιῶται τοῖς τε στρατηγοῖς σφῶν προστάττειν τινὰ καὶ τὰ δίκαια 35. τὰ τῶν νόμων ἐν ταῖς

χερσὶ ποιεῖσθαι. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲ ἐπηπείληκέ τις αὐτῶν 'καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ παραχρῆμα εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι πρὸς ὑμῶν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπέσφακτό, τὴν δὲ δὴ στρατείαν ὡς κεκμηκότες ἐξίστανται καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ὡς καὶ πεποννημένοι κατατίθενται, καὶ πάντως, ἂν γε μὴ παρ' ἐκόντος μου τοῦτου τύχωσι, καὶ τὴν τάξιν ἐκλείψουσι 101 καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον μεταστήσονται: ἄπερ που καὶ 102 παραδηλοῦσιν^[2] τινες. καὶ τίς μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλῃσει τοιοῦτων ἀνθρώπων στερηθῆναι, τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν εὖξαιτο τοιοῦτους ἐκείνῳ στρατιώτας ὑπάρξαι, οἵτινες μῆτε τοῖς διδομένοις ἀρκοῦνται μῆτε τοῖς προσταττομένοις πείθονται, ἀλλ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γῆρας^[p. 62] καὶ ἐν ἰσχύι ἀσθένειαν προβαλλόμενοι δεσπόμενοι τε τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ τυραννεῖν τῶν ἡγουμένων^[3] σφῶν ἀξιοῦσιν; ἐγὼ γὰρ μυριάκις ἂν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον ὁπωσδήποτε καταλλαγῆναι καὶ ἄλλο ὅτιοῦν παθεῖν ἐλοίμην ἢ τι ἀνάξιον τοῦ τε πατρίου φρονήματος καὶ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ προαιρέσεως^[4] πρᾶξαι. ἢ 103 ἀγνοεῖτε ὅτι οὔτε δυναστείας οὔτε πλεονεξίας ἐπιθυμῶ, οὐδὲ μοι πρόκειται πάντως τι καὶ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου καταπρᾶξαι, ὥστε τι ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ ψεύσασθαι καὶ θωπεῦσαι καὶ κολακεῦσαι τινας; παῦσασθε μὲν δὴ διὰ ταῦτα τῆς στρατείας, ὧ τί ἂν ὑμᾶς ὀνομάσαιμι; οὐ μέντοι ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ βούλεσθε καὶ φατέ, ἀλλ' ὡς τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἐμοὶ συμφέρει.

'^[5] Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκλήρωσεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν θρασυτάτους 'οὔτοι γὰρ ἐκ παρασκευῆς ἔλαχον' ἐδικαίωσε, 104 τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ὡς οὐδέν σφων δεόμενος διῆκε. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν μετανοήσαντες ἐφ' οἷς ἔπραξαν 36. ἀναστρατεύεσθαι ἔμελλον: ἐν ὁδῷ δὲ ἔτ' ὄντος αὐτοῦ Μάρκος Αἰμίλιος Λέπιδος, οὗτος ὁ καὶ ἐν τῇ τριαρχίᾳ 105 ὕστερον γενόμενος, τῷ τε δῆμῳ συνεβούλευσε στρατηγῶν δικτατορα τὸν Καίσαρα προχειρίσασθαι καὶ εὐθὺς εἶπεν αὐτὸν παρὰ τὰ^[2] πάτρια. καὶ ὃς ὑπέστη μὲν τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσῆλθεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ φοβερὸν οὐδὲν ἐν αὐτῇ ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε ἐκπεπτωκόσι καθοδὸν πᾶσι πλὴν τοῦ Μίλωνος ἔδωκε, καὶ τὰς 106 ἐς νέωτα ἀρχὰς ἀπέδειξεν 'ἐς γὰρ τὸ παρὸν τότε οὐδένα ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπόντων^[p. 64] ^[3] ἀνθεῖλοντο: καίτοι μηδενὸς ἀγορανόμου ἐπιδημοῦντος οἱ δῆμαρχοι πάντα τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα αὐτοῖς διῆγαγον', ἱερέας τε ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἀντικατέστησεν, οὐ πάντα τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ νενομισμένα τηρήσας, καὶ τοῖς Γαλάταις τοῖς ἐντὸς τῶν Ἀλπεων ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἡριδανὸν οἰκοῦσι τὴν πολιτείαν, ἅτε καὶ ἄρξας αὐτῶν, ^[4] ἀπέδωκε. ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς δικτατορίας ἀπεῖπε: τὴν γὰρ δὴ δύναμιν τὸ τε ἔργον αὐτῆς καὶ πάννυ ἀεὶ διὰ χειρὸς ἔσχε. τῇ τε γὰρ παρὰ τῶν ὄπλων ἰσχύι ἐχρῆτο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔννομον δὴ τινα παρὰ τῆς ἐκεῖ βουλῆς προσέλαβε: πάντα γὰρ μετὰ ἀδείας ὅσα ἂν βουληθῇ πράττειν οἱ ἐπετράπη. 37. τυχὼν δὲ τοῦτου μέγα εὐθὺς καὶ ἀναγκαῖον πρᾶγμα διώρθωσεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἱ τε δεδανεικότες τισὶ πικροτάτας τὰς ἐσπράξεις, ἅτε καὶ πολλῶν χρημάτων διὰ τε τὰς στάσεις καὶ διὰ τοὺς πολέμους προσδεόμενοι, ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ τῶν ὀφειλόντων συχνοὶ οὐδὲ ἐθέλοντες ἀποδοῦναι^[2] τι ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐδύναντο 'οὔτε γὰρ ἀποδόσθαι τι οὔτε ἐπιδανείσασθαι ῥάδιον αὐτοῖς ἐγίγνετό, κἄκ τοῦτου

πολλὰ μὲν ἄπιστα πολλὰ δὲ καὶ δολερὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔπραττον, καὶ δέος ἦν μὴ καὶ ἐς ἀνήκεστόν τι κακὸν προχωρήσωσιν, ἐμετριάσθη μὲν καὶ πρὸ τούτου πρὸς ^[3] δημάρχων τινῶν τὰ κατὰ τοὺς τόκους, ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδ' ὡς ἀπεδίδοντο, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τῶν ἐνεχύρων ἐξίσταντο οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐν ἀργυρίῳ ἀπῆτουν, ἀμφοτέροις τότε ὁ Καῖσαρ ὡς οἶον τε ἦν ἐπεκούρησε: τὰ τε γὰρ ἐνέχυρα πρὸς τὴν ἀξίαν ^[p. 66] ἐναποτιμηθῆναι ἐκέλευσε, καὶ δικαστὰς αὐτῆς τοῖς ἀμφισβητοῦσι τι ἀποκληροῦσθαι προσέταξεν. 38. ἐπειδὴ τε συχνοὶ πολλὰ τε χρήματα 107 ἔχειν καὶ πάντα αὐτὰ ἀποκρύπτειν ἐλέγοντο, ἀπηγόρευσε μηδὲνα πλεῖον πεντακισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων δραχμῶν ἐν ἀργυρίῳ ἢ καὶ χρυσίῳ κεκτῆσθαι, οὐχ ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν νόμον τοῦτον ^[2] τιθεῖς, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ πρότερόν ποτε ἐσενεχθέντα ἀνανεούμενος, εἴτ' οὖν ἵνα τοῖς τε δανεισταῖς οἱ ὀφειλοντές τι ἐκτίνωσι καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις οἱ ἄλλοι δανειζώσιν, εἴτε καὶ ὅπως οἱ τε εὐποροῦντες ἔκδηλοι γένωνται καὶ χρήματα μηδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀθρόα ἔχη, μὴ καὶ ἀπόντος τι ^[3] νεωτερισθῇ. ἐπαρθέντος δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τοῦ πλήθους, καὶ ἀξιοῦντος καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις μήνυτρα ἐπ' αὐτῷ κατὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν προτεθῆναι, 108 οὔτε προσέγραψεν αὐτὸ τῷ νόμῳ, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐξώλειαν ἑαυτῷ προσεπηράσατο, ἄν ποτέ τι δούλῳ κατὰ τοῦ δεσπότου εἰπόντι πιστεύσῃ. 39. Καῖσαρ μὲν δὴ ταῦτά τε πράξας καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου πάντα, ἀνελόμενος ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τοῦ ἔτους, καὶ πρὶν ἐς τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐς ^[2] ἦν ἐκεχειροτόνητο ἐσελθεῖν, ἐξώρμησε. καὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ τῆς ἐκστρατείας ποιοῦντος ἴκτινος ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ κλωνίον δάφνης ἐνὶ τῶν συμπαρόντων οἱ ἐπέριψε: καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῇ Τύχῃ θύοντος ὁ ταῦρος ἐκφυγὼν πρὶν τιτρώσκεσθαι, ἔξω τε τῆς πόλεως ἐξεχώρησε καὶ πρὸς λίμνην τινὰ ^[3] ἐλθὼν διενήξατο αὐτήν. κάκ τούτων ἐπὶ πλεόν ^[p. 68] θαρσύσας ἠπειχθη, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι οἱ μάντιες μένοντι μὲν αὐτῷ οἴκοι ὀλεθρον, περαιωθέντι δὲ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ σωτηρίαν καὶ νικὴν ἔσεσθαι ^[4] ἔφασαν. ἀφορμηθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ οἱ παῖδες οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντες διχῇ τε ἐνεμήθησαν αὐτοκέλευστοι, καὶ οἱ μὲν Πομπηεῖους 109 σφᾶς οἱ δὲ Καισαρεῖους 110 ὀνομάσαντες ἐμαχέσαντο τρόπον τινὰ ἄνευ ὅπλων ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἐπεκράτησαν οἱ 111 τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος προσωνυμίᾳ χρώμενοι. 40. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἔν τε τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ ἐγίγνετο, Μᾶρκος μὲν Ὀκτάουιος καὶ Λούκιος Σκριβόνιος Λίβων 112 Πούπλιον Κορνήλιον Δολοβέλλαν, τὰ τε τοῦ Καίσαρος πράττοντα καὶ ἐν τῇ Δελματίᾳ 113 ὄντα, ἐξήλασαν ἐξ αὐτῆς τῷ τοῦ ^[2] Πομπηίου ναυτικῷ χρώμενοι. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο Γάιον Ἀντώνιον ἐπαμῦναι οἱ ἐθελήσαντα ἔς τε 114 νησιδιόν τι κατέκλεισαν, κάνταῦθα πρὸς τε τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐγκαταλειφθέντα καὶ λιμῷ πιεσθέντα πασσυδιὶ πλήν ὀλίγων εἶλον: ἔς τε γὰρ τὴν ἡπειρον ἔφθησάν τινες αὐτῶν διαφυγόντες, καὶ ἕτεροι ἐν σχεδίασι διαπλέοντες καὶ ἀλισκόμενοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀπεχρήσαντο. 41. Κουρίων δὲ Σικελίαν μὲν 115 ἀμαχεῖ παρεστήσατο ὁ γὰρ Κάτων ἄρχων αὐτῆς, ὡς οὔτε ἀξιόμαχος οἱ ἦν οὔτε τὰς πόλεις ἐς κίνδυνον μάτην ἐμβαλεῖν ἠθέλησε, προεξεχώρησε 116 πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον, ἐς ^[2] δὲ δὴ τὴν Ἀφρικὴν περαιωθεὶς ἀπώλετο. ὁ μὲν ^[p. 70] γὰρ Καῖσαρ ὁ Λούκιος τὴν Ἀσπίδα τὴν πόλιν, ἐν ᾗ κατὰ τύχην ἄλλως ἦν, πρὸς τὸν ἐπίπλουν αὐτοῦ ἐξέλιπε, καὶ Πούπλιος

Ἄττιος Οὐᾶρος ὁ τὰ 117 ἐκεῖ πράγματα τότε ἔχων καὶ στρατιώτας συχνοῦς καὶ πλοῖα συχνὰ 118 ἡττηθεὶς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ^[3] ἀπέβαλεν: ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἰόβας Ἰερμφοῦ τε παῖς ὢν καὶ τῶν Νομάδων βασιλεῶν, τὰ τε τοῦ Πομπηίου ὡς καὶ τὰ τοῦ δήμου τῆς τε βουλῆς προτιμῶν, καὶ τὸν Κουρίωνα διὰ τε τοῦτο, καὶ ὅτι τὴν τε βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ δημαρχῶν ἀφελέσθαι καὶ τὴν 119 χώραν δημοσιῶσαι ἐπεχείρησε, μισῶν, ^[4] ἰσχυρῶς αὐτῷ προσεπολέμησεν. οἴκαδε μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὴν Νουμιδιάν οὐκ ἀνέμεινεν αὐτὸν ἐσβαλεῖν, πολιορκοῦντι δὲ οἱ Οὐτικὴν παντὶ μὲν ἅμα τῷ στρατῷ οὐ προσέμιξε, φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ προπυθόμενος ἐξαναχθεῖη ‘οὐ γὰρ που 120 ἀπώσασθαι αὐτὸν μᾶλλον τι ἢ τιμωρήσασθαι ἐπεθύμει, ^[5] ὀλίγους δὲ τινας προπέμψας, καὶ προφημίσας ὡς αὐτὸς ἄλλοσέ ποι καὶ πόρρω γε ἀπεληλυθῶς εἴη, ἐφέσπετό τέ σφισι καὶ οὐ διήμαρτεν ὢν 42. ἤλπισεν. ὁ γὰρ Κουρίων πρότερον μὲν, ὡς καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου προσιόντος, ἔς τε τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ ὃν μετέστη, καὶ γνώμην ἐποιεῖτο τῶν τε νεῶν, ἂν βιάζηται, ἐπιβῆναι καὶ ^[2] τὴν Ἀφρικὴν παντελῶς ἐκλιπεῖν: ἐπεὶ δὲ ὀλίγους τέ τινας καὶ τούτους ἄνευ τοῦ Ἰόβου ἀφικνεῖσθαι ἐπύθετο, ἐθάρσησε, καὶ εὐθύς τῆς νυκτὸς ὡς καὶ ἐφ’ ἔτοιμον νίκην, μὴ καὶ διαφυγῶσιν αὐτόν, ἄρας ἐπορεύετο, καὶ τινας τῶν προδρόμων καθεύδοντας ^[p. 72] ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ φθείρας πολὺ προθυμότερος ἐγένετο. ^[3] κᾶκ τούτου τοῖς λοιποῖς ὑπὸ τὴν ἔω προκεχωρηκόσιν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐντυχῶν οὐδεμίαν ἀναβολὴν ἐποίησατο, ἀλλὰ καίτοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πορείας καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγρυπνίας τεταλαιπωρημένων ἐς χεῖράς σφισι παραχρῆμα ^[4] ἦλθε. κᾶν τούτῳ ἐστώτων τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἀντιρρόπως ἀγωνιζομένων, ὁ Ἰόβας αἰφνιδίως οἱ ἐπιφανεῖς τῷ τε ἀδοκήτῳ ἅμα αὐτόν καὶ τῷ πληθεὶ κατειργάσατο, καὶ ἐκείνον μὲν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς πλείστους αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ 121 ἀπέκτεινεν, τοὺς δὲ 122 λοιποὺς μέχρι τε τῆς ταφρείας ἐπεδίωξε καὶ ^[5] μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὰς ναῦς καθεῖρξε, κᾶν 123 τῷ ταράχῳ τούτῳ πολλῶν μὲν χρημάτων ἐκράτησε πολλοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας ἔφθειρε. συχνοὶ δὲ δὴ καὶ διαφυγόντες αὐτῶν ἀπώλοντο, οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐς τὰ πλοῖα ἐσβάσει ὑπὸ τοῦ ὠτισμοῦ σφαλέντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς σκάφεσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ βάρους αὐτῶν ^[6] βαπτισθέντες. γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων, φοβηθέντες τινὲς μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτοῖς πάθωσι, προσεχώρησαν μὲν τῷ Οὐάρῳ ὡς καὶ σωθησόμενοι, εὗροντο δ’ οὐδὲν ἐπεικές: ὁ γὰρ Ἰόβας προϊσχύμενος ὅτι αὐτὸς σφας ἐνενικήκει, καὶ ἐκείνους πληὴν ὀλίγων ἐφόνευσεν. Κουρίων μὲν δὴ πλεῖστά τε τῷ Καίσαρι συναράμενος καὶ ἀμπολλα αὐτόν 124 ^[7] ἐπελπίσας οὕτως ἀπώλετο: Ἰόβας δὲ πρὸς μὲν τοῦ Πομπηίου τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ βουλευτῶν τιμάς τε εὗρετο καὶ βασιλεὺς προσηγορεύθη, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τοῦ Καίσαρος τῶν τε ἐν τῇ ^[p. 74] πόλει αἰτίαν εἶχε καὶ πολέμιος ἀπεδείχθη, ὃ τε Βόκχος καὶ ὁ Βογοῦας βασιλῆς, 125 ὅτι ἐχθροὶ αὐτῷ 126 ἦσαν, ὠνομάσθησαν. 127 43. τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει διττοὶ τε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἄρχοντες παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἐγένοντο καὶ μάχη μεγίστη δὴ συνηνέχθη. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἄστει καὶ ὑπάτους τὸν τε Καίσαρα καὶ Πούπλιον Σερουίλιον καὶ στρατηγοὺς τὰ τε ἄλλα τέλη 128 τὰ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἤρηντο, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Θεσσαλονίκῃ ^[2] τοιοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲν προπαρεσκευάσαντο, καίτοι τῆς τε ἄλλης βουλῆς ἐς διακοσίους, ὡς φασὶ τινες, καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἔχοντες, καὶ τι καὶ

χωρίον ἐς τὰ οἰωνίσματα, τοῦ δὴ καὶ ἐν νόμῳ δὴ τινι αὐτὰ δοκεῖν γίνεσθαι, δημοσιώσαντες, ὥστε καὶ τὸν δῆμον δι' αὐτῶν τὴν τε πόλιν ἅπασαν ἐνταῦθα ^[3] εἶναι νομίζεσθαι 'αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι τὸν νόμον οἱ ὕπατοι τὸν φρατριατικὸν 129 οὐκ ἐσσηνόχεσαν', τοῖς δὲ δὴ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις οἷσπερ 130 καὶ πρόσθεν ἐχρήσαντο, τὰς ἐπωνυμίας σφῶν μόνας μεταβαλόντες καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνθυπάτους τοὺς δὲ ἀντιστρατήγους τοὺς δὲ ἀντιταμίας ὀνομάσαντες. ^[4] πάννυ γάρ που τῶν πατρίων αὐτοῖς ἔμελε τὰ τε ὅπλα ἀνταιρομένοις καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐκλελοιπόσιν, ὥστε μὴ πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα πρὸς τὴν τῶν παρόντων ἀπαίτησιν καὶ παρὰ τὴν τῶν τεταγμένων ^[5] ἀκρίβειαν ποιεῖν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν ὀνόματι οὗτοι σφισιν ἐκατέροις ἦρχον, ἔργῳ δὲ ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ, τῆς μὲν φήμης ἕνεκα τὰς ^[p. 76] ἐννόμους ἐπικλήσεις, 131 ὁ μὲν τὴν τοῦ ὑπάτου ὁ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου, ἔχοντες, πράττοντες δὲ οὐκ ὅσα ἐκεῖναι ἐπέτρεπον ἀλλ' ὅσα αὐτοὶ ἤθελον. 44. τοιούτων δὲ δὴ τούτων ὄντων καὶ διχα τῆς ἀρχῆς μεμερισμένης, Πομπήιος μὲν δὴ ἐν τε τῇ Θεσσαλονίκῃ ἐχείμαζε καὶ φυλακὴν οὐκ ἀκριβῆ τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἐποιεῖτο 'οὔτε γὰρ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἤδη τὸν Καῖσαρα ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἀφίχθαι ἐνόμιζε, εἰ τε καὶ παρεῖη, ἀλλ' ἐν γε τῷ χειμῶνι οὐχ ὑπώπτευσεν αὐτὸν τολμήσειν τὸν ^[2] Ἴόνιον διαβαλεῖν', Καῖσαρ δὲ ἦν μὲν ἐν Βρεντεσιῳ τὸ ἔαρ ἀναμένων, πυθόμενος δὲ ἐκεῖνόν τε πόρρω 132 ὄντα καὶ τὴν καταντιπέρας ἡπειρον ἀμελῶς τηρουμένην, τὸ τε καινὸν τοῦ πολέμου ἦρπασε καὶ τῷ ἀνειμένῳ 133 αὐτοῦ ἐπέθετο. μεσοῦντος γοῦν τοῦ χειμῶνος μέρει τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπῆρεν 'οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν ἱκαναὶ νῆες ὥστε πάντας ἅμα αὐτοὺς ^[3] περᾶσαι, καὶ λαθὼν τὸν Βίβουλον τὸν Μᾶρκον, ᾧ ἡ θάλασσα φρουρεῖσθαι προσετέτακτο, ἐπεραιώθη πρὸς τὰ ἄκρα τὰ Κεραῦνια ὀνομασμένα: ἔστι δὲ ἔσχατα τῆς Ἠπείρου, πρὸς τῷ στόματι τοῦ Ἴονίου κόλπου. καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐνταῦθα πρὶν ἐκπυστος ὅτι καὶ πλευσεῖται γενέσθαι, τὰς ναῦς ^[4] ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐπὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἔστειλε: καὶ αὐτὰς ὁ Βίβουλος ἀνακομιζομένας ἐκάκωσε, καὶ τινὰς καὶ ἀνεδήσατο, ὥστε τὸν Καῖσαρα ἔργῳ μαθεῖν ὅτι εὐτυχέστερον τὸν πλοῦν ἢ εὐβουλότερον ἐπεποίητο. ^[p. 78] 45. ἐν δ' οὖν τῇ διατριβῇ ταύτῃ τὸ τε Ὠρικὸν 134 καὶ τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν ἄλλα τε τῶν ἐκείνῃ χωρίων ἐκλειφθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Πομπηίου φρουρῶν παρεστήσατο. ἡ δὲ Ἀπολλωνία αὕτη ἢ 135 Κορινθία ἐν καλῷ μὲν τῆς γῆς ἐν καλῷ δὲ καὶ τῆς ^[2] θαλάσσης ποταμῶν τε ἄριστα κεῖται. ὅ τε μάλιστα διὰ πάντων ἐθαύμασα, πῦρ πολὺ πρὸς τῷ Ἀώῳ 136 ποταμῷ ἀναδίδοται, καὶ οὔτε ἐπὶ πλεῖον τῆς πέριξ γῆς ἐπεξέρχεται, οὐτ' αὐτὴν ἐκείνην ἐν ἣ ἐνδιατῖται ἐκπυροῖ ἢ καὶ κραυροτέραν πῃ ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόας καὶ δένδρα καὶ πάννυ πλησία θάλλοντα ἔχει: πρὸς τε τὰς ἐπιχύσεις ^[3] τῶν ὄμβρων ἐπαυξεῖ καὶ ἐς ὕψος ἐξαίρεται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸ τε Νυμφαῖον ὀνομάζεται καὶ δὴ καὶ μαντεῖον τοιόνδε τι παρέχεται. λιβανωτὸν δὴ λαβών, καὶ προσευξάμενος ὅ τι ποτὲ καὶ ^[4] βούλει, ρίπτεις αὐτὸν τὴν εὐχὴν φέροντα. κὰν τοῦτω τὸ πῦρ, ἂν μὲν τι ἐπιτελὲς ἦ 137 ἐσόμενον, δέχεται αὐτὸν ἐτοιμότατα, κὰν ἄρα καὶ ἔξω που προπέσῃ, 138 προσδραμὸν ἦρπασε καὶ κατανάλωσεν: ἂν δὲ ἀτέλεστον ᾖ, οὐτ' ἄλλως αὐτῷ προσέρχεται, κὰν ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν φλόγα φέρηται, ἐξαναχωρεῖ τε ^[5] καὶ ἐκφεύγει. καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐκάτερα περὶ πάντων ὁμοίως, πλην θανάτου τε

καὶ γάμου, ποιεῖ: περὶ γὰρ τούτων οὐδὲ ἔξεστί τινι ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ πυθέσθαι
τι. 46. τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὃ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ βραδύνοντος τοῦ
Ἀντωνίου, ὧ τοὺς ὑπομείναντας ἐν τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ κομίσει ἐπετέτακτο, καὶ
οὐδὲ [p. 80] ἀγγελίας τινὸς περὶ αὐτῶν διὰ τε τὸν χειμῶνα καὶ διὰ τὸν
Βιβουλὸν φοιτώσης, ὑπώπτευσέ σφας μεσεύειν τε καὶ ἐφεδρεῦειν τοῖς
πράγμασιν, [2] οἷά που ἐν ταῖς στάσεσι φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
βουληθεὶς αὐτὸς καὶ μόνος γε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πλεῦσαι, ἐπέβη μὲν ἀκατίου
τινὸς ὥς τις ἄλλος, λέγων ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος πεπέμφθαι, καὶ τὸν
κυβερνήτην αὐτοῦ καίπερ πνεύματος ὄντος [3] ἐξεβιάσατο ἀναχθῆναι: ὡς
μέντοι ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐγένοντο καὶ ὃ τε ἄνεμος ἰσχυρῶς κατέσπερχε καὶ ὁ
κλύδων δεινῶς σφας ἐξετάραπτεν, ὥστε τὸν κυβερνήτην μηδ’
ἀναγκάζόμενον ἔτι τολμῆσαι περαιτέρω πλεῦσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄκοντος αὐτοῦ
ἐπανιέναι ἐπιχειρῆσαι, 139 ἐξέφηνεν ἑαυτὸν καθάπερ ἐκ τούτου καὶ τὸν
χειμῶνα παύσων, καὶ ἔφη [4] ‘θάρσει: Καίσαρα γὰρ ἄγεις.’ τοιοῦτον μὲν δὴ
φρόνημα καὶ τοιαύτην ἐλπίδα ἦτοι τὴν ἄλλως ἢ καὶ ἐκ μαντείας τινὸς εἶχεν
ὥστε καὶ παρὰ τὰ φαινόμενα πίστιν τῆς σωτηρίας ἐχέγγυον ποιεῖσθαι: οὐ
μέντοι καὶ ἐπεραιώθη, ἀλλ’ 140 ἐπὶ πολὺ μάτην πονήσας ἀνέπλευσεν. 47.
καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῷ Πομπηίῳ περὶ τὸν Ἄψον ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσατο. ἐκεῖνος
γὰρ ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον τῆς ἀφίξεως αὐτοῦ ἦσθετο, οὐκ ἀνεβάλετο, 141 ἀλλὰ
ἐλπίσας ῥαδίως αὐτόν, πρὶν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς μετὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ὄντας
προσλαβεῖν, κατεργάσεσθαι, 142 σπουδῇ πρὸς τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν δυνάμει [2]
τινὶ ἥλασεν. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ μέχρι μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπήντησέν οἱ, νομίσας
ἀξιόμαχος καὶ [p. 82] ὡς τοῖς τότε προσιοῦσι γενήσεσθαι: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθεν ὅτι
πολὺ τῷ πληθεὶ ἠλαττοῦτο, ἡσύχασε. καὶ ὅπως γε μήθ’ ὑπὸ δέους τοῦτο
ποιεῖν μῆτε ἐξάρχειν τοῦ πολέμου νομισθεῖν, λόγους τέ τινας συμβατηρίους
σφίσι καθιεῖ 143 καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο [3] διῆγε. γνοὺς δὲ ταῦθ’ ὁ Πομπήιος
συμβαλεῖν μὲν αὐτῷ ὡς ὅτι τάχιστα ἠθέλησε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν
ποταμὸν ἐπιδιαβῆναι ἐπεχείρησεν: ὡς δὲ ἡ γέφυρα βάρος λαβοῦσα διελύθη
καὶ τινες τῶν προδιαβεβηκότων μονωθέντες ἀπώλοντο, ἐπέσχεν ἀθυμήσας
ὅτι πρῶτον τῶν τοῦ πολέμου ἔργων ἀπτόμενος ἐπταίκει. κὰν τοῦτω καὶ τοῦ
Ἀντωνίου ἐπελθόντος 48. φοβηθεὶς ἀπεχώρησε πρὸς τὸ Δυρράχιον. τέως μὲν
γὰρ ὁ Βιβουλὸς ἔζη, οὐδ’ ἀπᾶραι ἐκεῖνος ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου ἐτόλμησεν:
τοσαύτη που φυλακὴ αὐτοῦ ἐγίγνετο: ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς τε ἐκκαμῶν ὑπὸ τῆς
ταλαιπωρίας ἐτελεύτησε καὶ τὴν ναυαρχίαν ὁ Λιβων διεδέξατο,
κατεφρόνησεν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνηγάγετο ὡς καὶ βιασόμενος τὸν ἔκπλουν. [2]
καταραχθεὶς τε ἐς τὴν γῆν ἡμύνατό τε αὐτόν ἰσχυρῶς προσβαλόντα οἱ, καὶ
μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπεκβῆναι ποι βουληθέντα οὐδαμῇ τῆς ταύτης [3] ἡπείρου
προσορμισθῆναι εἶασεν. ἀπορήσας οὖν ὁ Λιβων καὶ ὄρμου καὶ ὕδατος ‘τὸ
γὰρ νησίδιον τὸ πρὸς τοῦ λιμένος ὄν, ἐς ὅπερ μόνον προσέχειν ἐδύνατο, καὶ
ἄνυδρον καὶ ἀλίμενόν ἐστιν’ ἀπέπλευσε πόρρω ποι, ὅπου ἀμφοτέρων
εὐπορήσειν [4] ἔμελλε. καὶ οὕτως ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐξαναχθεὶς ὕστερον πρὸς μὲν
ἐκείνου, καίπερ μετεώροις σφίσιν ἐπιχειρῆσαι ἐθελήσαντος, οὐδὲν ἔπαθε: [p.
84] χειμῶν γὰρ σφοδρὸς ἐπιγενόμενος ἐκώλυσε τὴν ἐπιθεσιν: πρὸς δὲ δὴ
αὐτοῦ τούτου ἀμφοτέροι ἐκακοπάθησαν. 49. διασωθέντων δ’ οὖν τῶν

στρατιωτῶν ὃ τε Πομπήιος ἐς τὸ Δυρράχιον, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ θαρσύνοντας, ὅτι τῷ πλήθει τῶν τότε συνόντων οἱ περιῆν ^[2] ἐκ τῶν προσγεγενημένων. τὸ δὲ Δυρράχιον ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ πρότερον μὲν Ἰλλυριῶν τῶν Παρθινῶν, νῦν δὲ καὶ τότε γε ἤδη 144 Μακεδονίας 145 νενομισμένη κεῖται, καὶ ἔστιν ἐπικαιρότατον, εἴτ' οὖν ἡ Ἐπίδαμνος ἢ 146 τῶν Κερκυραίων εἴτε καὶ ἑτέρα τις οὔσα. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοῦτο γράψαντες τὴν τε κτίσιν αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐς Δυρράχιον ἤρωα ^[3] ἀναφέρουσιν: οἱ δ' ἕτεροι Δυρράχιον ἀντονομασθῆναι τὸ χωρίον ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρὸς τὴν τῆς ῥαχίας δυσχέρειαν ἔφασαν, ὅτι ἡ τῆς Ἐπιδάμνου πρόσρησις ζημιώδη δήλωσιν ἐν τῇ τῶν Λατίνων γλώσσει ἔχουσα δυσσιώνιστός σφισιν ἐς τὸ περαιοῦσθαι ἐς αὐτὴν ἔδοξεν εἶναι. 50. πρὸς οὖν τοῦτο τὸ Δυρράχιον ὁ Πομπήιος καταφυγὼν στρατόπεδόν τε ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐποίησατο, καὶ τάφρους βαθείας σταυρώματά τε ἰσχυρὰ περιεβάλετο. 147 καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπιστρατοπεδεύσας προσέμιξε μὲν ὡς καὶ δι' ὀλίγου τὸ χαράκωμα τῷ πλήθει τῶν στρατιωτῶν αἰρήσων, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεκρούσθη, ἐπεχείρησεν αὐτὸ ἀποτειχίσαι. ^[2] καὶ ἐκεῖνός τε ἅμα τοῦτ' εἰργάζετο, καὶ ^[p. 86] ὁ Πομπήιος τὰ μὲν διεσταύρου τὰ δὲ ὑπετειχίζε καὶ διατάφρευε, πύργους τε ἐπὶ τῶν μετεώρων καὶ φυλακὰς ἐπικαθίστη, ὡς τὴν τε περίοδον τοῦ περιτειχίσματος ἀπέραντον καὶ τὴν ἔφοδον καὶ κρατοῦσι τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἄπορον ποιῆσαι. πολλαὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ μάχαι αὐτῶν, βραχεῖαι δ' ^[3] οὖν 148 ἐγίνοντο: καὶ ἐν ταύταις τοτὲ μὲν οὗτοι τοτὲ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ ἐνίκων καὶ ἐνικῶντο, ὥστε καὶ θνήσκειν τινὰς ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως. αὐτοῦ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Δυρραχίου ὁ Καῖσαρ μεταξὺ τῶν τε ἐλῶν καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης νυκτός, ὡς καὶ προδοθησομένου ὑπὸ 149 τῶν 150 ἀμυνομένων, πειράσας εἶσω μὲν τῶν στενῶν ^[4] παρήλθε, προσπεσόντων δὲ οἱ ἐνταῦθα πολλῶν μὲν κατὰ πρόσωπον πολλῶν δὲ καὶ κατόπιν, οἱ πλοίοις παρακομισθέντες ἐξαίφνης αὐτῷ ἐπέθεντο, καὶ συχνοὺς ἀπέβαλε καὶ ὀλίγου καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφθάρη. γενομένου δὲ τούτου ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπιθαρήσας ἐπεβούλευσε νυκτός τῷ περιτειχίσματι, καὶ ἐκείνου τέ τι ἀπροσδόκητος προσπεσὼν εἶλε, καὶ φόνον τῶν ἀυλιζομένων πρὸς αὐτῷ πολὺν εἰργάσατο. 51. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ, ὡς ταῦτά τε συνεβέβηκε καὶ ὁ σῆτος αὐτὸν ἐπελελοίπει ἥ τε γὰρ θάλασσα καὶ ἡ γῇ πᾶσα ἢ πλησία ἀλλοτρία αὐτῷ ἦν, καὶ τινες διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἀπηντομολήκεσαν, δεισας μὴ ἦτοι 151 προσεδρεύων καταπολεμηθῇ ἢ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐγκαταλειφθῇ, πάντα μὲν τὰ ὠκοδομημένα κατέστρεψε, πάντα δὲ τὰ παραβελημένα προσδιέφθειρε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐξαίφνης ἄρας ἐς Θεσσαλίαν ^[2] ὥρμησεν. ἐν γὰρ τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ χρόνῳ ᾧ 152 τὸ ^[p. 88] Δυρράχιον ἐπολιορκεῖτο, Λουκίος τε Κάσσιος Λογγίνος καὶ Γναῖος Δομίτιος Καλουῖνος ἔς τε τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντες, Λογγίνος μὲν ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Σκιπίωνος καὶ ὑπὸ Σαδάλου Θρακὸς ἰσχυρῶς ^[3] ἐσφάλη, Καλουῖνος δὲ τῆς μὲν Μακεδονίας ὑπὸ τοῦ Φαύστου ἀπέωσθη, Λοκρῶν δὲ δὴ καὶ Αἰτωλῶν προσχωρησάντων οἱ ἔς τε τὴν Θεσσαλίαν μετ' αὐτῶν ἐσέβαλε, καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα μάχαις, τῇ μὲν λοχισθεὶς τῇ δ' ἀντενεδρεύσας, ἐνίκησε, 153 καὶ ἀπ' ^[4] αὐτοῦ καὶ πόλεις τινὰς προσποιήσατο. ἐνταῦθ' οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὡς καὶ ῥᾶον σὺν ἐκείνοις τῆς

τε τροφῆς εὐπορήσων καὶ τὸν πόλεμον διοίσων, ἡπείχθη. καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐδεὶς αὐτὸν ἄτε κακῶς πεπραγότα ἐδέχετο, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων καὶ ἄκων ἀπείχετο, Γόμφους δὲ δὴ πολίχνην τινὴ Θεσσαλικῇ προσπεσὼν καὶ κρατήσας πολλοὺς τε ἔκτεινε καὶ ^[5] πάντα 154 διήρπασεν, ὅπως καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκ τοῦτου καταφοβήσῃ. αὐτίκα γοῦν Μητρόπολις, ἕτερόν τι πόλισμα, οὐδὲ ἐς χεῖρας αὐτῷ ἦλθεν, ἀλλ' ἀμαχεὶ ὠμολόγησε: καὶ σφας κακὸν οὐδὲν δράσας ῥᾶον καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς ἀφ' ἐκατέρου προσεποιήσατο. 52. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἰσχυρὸς αὐθις ἐγίγνετο, Πομπήιος δὲ οὐκ ἐπεδίωξε μὲν αὐτὸν 'νυκτὸς τε γὰρ ἐξαπιναιῶς ἀπανέστη, καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Γενουσὸν σπουδῇ διέβη, οὕτω μέντοι τὴν γνώμην εἶχεν ὥς καὶ διαπεπολεμηκῶς. κάκ τοῦτου τὸ μὲν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα ἔλαβεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐμεγαληγόρει τι ἢ καὶ δάφνην τινὰ ταῖς ῥάβδοις περιῆψεν, δυσχεραίνων ἐπὶ πολίταις τοιοῦτό τι ^[p. 90] ^[2] ποιῆσαι. ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης διανοίας οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν οὐτ' αὐτὸς ἐπλευσεν οὐτ' ἄλλους τινὰς ἐπεμψε, καίτοι ῥαδίως ἂν πᾶσαν αὐτὴν κατασχών: τῷ τε γὰρ ναυτικῷ πολὺ ἐκράτει ἄτε πεντακοσίας ναῦς ταχείας ἔχων, ὥστε πανταχόσε ἅμα κατᾶραι, καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ οὐτ' ἄλλως αὐτῷ ἦχθετο, οὐτε, εἰ καὶ τὰ 155 μάλιστα ἡλλοτριῶτο, ^[3] ἀξιόμαχά γε ἀντιπολεμῆσαι ἦν. πόρρω τε 156 γὰρ τοῦ περὶ αὐτῆς δόξα πολεμεῖν ἀφεστηκέναι ἐβούλετο, καὶ φόβον οὐδένα τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τότε οὔσι παρασχεῖν ἠέξιοι. τῆς μὲν οὖν Ἰταλίας διὰ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐπείρασεν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐπέστειλε τῷ κοινῷ περὶ τῶν πραχθέντων οὐδέν: ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τὸν Καῖσαρα μετὰ τοῦθ' ὀρμήσας ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν ἀφίκετο. 53. ἀντικαθημένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἀλλήλοις ἢ μὲν ὅψις τῶν στρατοπέδων πολέμου τινὰ εἰκόνα ἔφερεν, ἢ δὲ δὴ χρεῖα τῶν ὅπλων ὥς καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἡσύχαζε. τό τε γὰρ μέγεθος τοῦ κινδύνου διασκοποῦντες, καὶ τὸ ἄδηλον τὸ τε ἀστάθμητον τῶν πραγμάτων προορώμενοι, καὶ τινὰ καὶ αἰδῶ τοῦ τε ὁμοφύλου καὶ τῆς συγγενείας ἔτι ποιούμενοι ^[2] διέμελλον, κἂν τοῦτω καὶ λόγους περὶ φιλίας σφίσιν ἀντέπεμπον, καὶ τισὶ καὶ συναλλαγῆσθαι διὰ κενῆς ἔδοξαν. αἷτιον δὲ ὅτι τοῦ τε παντὸς κράτους ἀμφοτέροι ἐφίεμενοι, καὶ πολλῇ μὲν φιλοτιμίᾳ ἐμφύτῳ πολλῇ δὲ καὶ ^[3] φιλονεικίᾳ ἐπικτήτῳ χρώμενοι 'πρὸς τε γὰρ τῶν ἴσων καὶ πρὸς τῶν οἰκειοτάτων ἡκιστὰ τινες ἐλαττοῦμενοι φέρουσιν' οὐτε τι συγχωρήσαι ^[p. 92] ἀλλήλοις ἤθελον, ὥσπερ ἀμφοτέροι κρατῆσα δυνάμενοι, οὐτε πιστεῦσαι, κἂν συμβαθῇ 157 τι ἐδύναντο μὴ οὐ τοῦ πλείονος τε αἰεὶ σφας ὀριγνήσεσθαι καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ παντὸς αὐθις στασιάζειν 54. γνώμῃ μὲν γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἀλλήλων διέφερον ὅσον Πομπήιος μὲν οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων δευτερος, Καῖσαρ δὲ καὶ πρῶτος πάντων εἶναι ἐπεθύμει, καὶ ὁ μὲν παρ' ἐκόντων τε τιμᾶσθαι καὶ ἐθελόντων προστατεῖν φιλεῖσθαι τε ἐσπουδαζε, τῷ δὲ οὐδὲν ἔμελεν εἰ καὶ ἀκόντων ἄρχοι καὶ μισοῦσιν ἐπιτάσσοι, ^[2] τὰς τε τιμὰς αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ διδοίη. τὰ μέντοι ἔργα, δι' ὧν ἡλιπζον πάνθ' ὅσα ἐβούλοντο καταπράξειν, ἀμφοτέροι ὁμοίως καὶ ἀνάγκῃ ἐποιοῦν: ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἦν αὐτῶν κατατυχεῖν τινὶ μὴ οὐ τοῖς τε οἰκείοις πολεμοῦντι καὶ τοὺς ὀθνεῖους ἐπὶ τοὺς ὁμοφύλους ἄγοντι, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν χρήματα ἀδίκως συλῶντι, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν φιλτάτων ^[3] ἀνόμως κτείνοντι. 158 ὥστε εἰ καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις διήλλαττον, ἀλλὰ ταῖς γε πράξεσι, δι' ὧν ἀποπληρώσειν αὐτὰς ἡλιπζον, ὡμοιοῦντο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ'

οὐθ' 159 ὑφιετό τινας ἀλλήλους, καίπερ πολλὰς δικαιοσύνας προτεινόμενοι, καὶ ἐς χεῖρας τελευτῶντες ἦλθον. 55. ἐγένετο δὲ ὁ ἀγὼν μέγας καὶ οἷος οὐχ ἕτερος. αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ ἄριστοι πρὸς πάντα τὰ πολέμια καὶ εὐδοκιμῶτατοι διαφανῶς οὐχ ὅτι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τότε 160 ἀνθρώπων ἡξιοῦντο εἶναι: οἷα 161 γὰρ ἐκ παίδων τε ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡσκημένοι καὶ διὰ παντὸς αὐτοῖς ὠμιληκότες, ἔργα [p. 94] τε ἀξιόλογα ἀποδεδειγμένοι, καὶ πολλῇ μὲν ἀρετῇ πολλῇ δὲ καὶ τύχῃ κεχρημένοι, καὶ ἀξιοστρατηγητότατοι 162 [2] καὶ ἀξιονικότατοι ἦσαν: καὶ δυνάμεις Καῖσαρ μὲν τοῦ τε πολιτικοῦ τὸ πλεῖστον καὶ καθαρώτατον, καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης Ἰταλίας τῆς τε Ἰβηρίας καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας πάσης τῶν τε νήσων ὧν ἐκράτει τοὺς μαχιμωτάτους εἶχε, Πομπήιος δὲ συχνοὺς μὲν καὶ ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς τῆς τε ἱππάδος κᾶκ τῶν καταλόγων ἐπῆκτο, παμπληθεῖς δὲ παρὰ τε τῶν λοιπῶν ὑπηκόων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐνσπόνδων [3] καὶ δῆμων καὶ βασιλέων ἡθροίκει. ἄνευ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ τε Φαρνάκου καὶ τοῦ Ὀρώδου 'καὶ γὰρ τοῦτον, καίτοι πολέμιον ἄφ' οὗ τοὺς Κράσσους ἀπέκτεινεν ὄντα, προσεταιρίσασθαι ἐπεχείρησέ πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι, οἱ καὶ ἐφ' ὅσονοῦν οἰκειωθέντες ποτὲ αὐτῷ, καὶ χρήματ' αἱ ἔδωκαν, καὶ βοθείας [4] οἱ μὲν ἔπεμψαν οἱ δὲ ἤγαγον. ὁ δὲ δὴ Πάρθος ὑπέσχετο μὲν αὐτῷ, ἂν τὴν Συρίαν λάβῃ, συμμαχήσῃν, μὴ τυχὼν δὲ αὐτῆς οὐκ ἐπήμυνε. προύχοντος δ' οὗν πολὺ τοῦ Πομπηίου τῷ πλήθει, ἐξισοῦντό σφισιν οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος τῇ ῥώμῃ: καὶ οὕτως ἀπ' ἀντιπάλου πλεονεξίας καὶ ἰσόρροποι ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἰσοκινδυνοὶ ἐγίνοντο. 56. ἔκ τε οὗν τούτων καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς αἰτίας τῆς τε ὑποθέσεως τοῦ πολέμου ἀξιολογώτατος ἀγὼν συνηνέχθη. ἦ τε γὰρ πόλις ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ αὐτῆς ἅπασα, καὶ πολλὴ καὶ μεγάλη ἤδη οὔσα, ἄθλόν σφισι προὔκειτο: εὐδην γὰρ πᾶσιν ἦν ὅτι τῷ τότε κρατήσαντι δουλωθήσεται. [2] τοῦτο τε οὗν ἐκλογιζόμενοι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῶν προτέρων ἔργων, Πομπήιος μὲν τῆς τε [p. 96] Ἀφρικῆς καὶ τοῦ Σερτωρίου τοῦ τε Μιθριδάτου καὶ τοῦ Τιγράνου καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, Καῖσαρ δὲ τῆς τε Γαλατίας καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας τοῦ τε [3] Ῥήνου καὶ τῆς Βρεττανίας, ἀναμιμνησκόμενοι, καὶ κινδυνεύειν τε καὶ περὶ ἐκείνοις ἡγούμενοι καὶ προσκτήσασθαι τὴν ἀλλήλων δόξαν σπουδῇν ποιοῦμενοι, ὥργων. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα τῶν ἡττημένων τοῖς κρατοῦσι προσγίγνεται καὶ ἡ εὐκλεία ὅτι μάλιστα: ὅσω γὰρ ἂν μείζω καὶ δυνατώτερόν τις ἀνταγωνιστὴν καθέλῃ, τόσω καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ 57. μείζον αἵρεται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις πολλὰ μὲν παραπλήσια δ' οὗν ἀλλήλοις παρήνεσαν, εἰπόντες πάνθ' ὅσα ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ πρὸς τε τὸ αὐτίκα τοῦ κινδύνου καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔπειτα πρέπει λέγεσθαι. ἔκ τε γὰρ τῆς αὐτῆς πολιτείας ὁρμώμενοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν λόγους [2] ποιοῦμενοι, καὶ ἀλλήλους τε τυράννους καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐλευθερωτὰς αὐτῶν ὀνομάζοντες, οὐδὲν σφισι διάφορον εἰπεῖν ἔσχον, ἀλλ' ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἀποθανεῖν τοῖς δὲ σωθῆναι, καὶ τοῖς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους τοῖς δὲ ἐν δεσπότης μοίρᾳ πάντα τε ἔχειν ἢ πάντων στερηθῆναι καὶ παθεῖν ἢ ποιῆσαι δεινότατα [3] ὑπάρξει. τοιαύτας οὗν δὴ τινὰς παραινέσεις τοῖς πολίταις ποιησάμενοι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων τῶν τε συμμάχων πρὸς τε τὰς ἐλπίδας τῶν κρείσσόνων καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φόβους τῶν χειρόνων προαγαγόντες, συνέβαλον ἀλλήλοις τοὺς

ὁμοφύλους, τοὺς συσκήνους, τοὺς συσσίτους, [4] τοὺς ὁμοσπόνδους. καὶ τί ἂν τις τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὀδύρατο, ὅποτε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι πάντα τε ταῦτα ἀλλήλοις ὄντες, καὶ προσέτι πολλῶν μὲν λόγων ἀπορρήτων πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἔργων ὁμοίων κεκοινωνηκότες, [p. 98] κῆδός τέ ποτε συναψάμενοι καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ παιδίον, ὃ μὲν ὡς πατήρ ὃ δὲ ὡς πάππος, ἀγαπήσαντες, ὅμως ἐμάχοντο; ὅσα γὰρ ἡ φύσις τὸ αἷμα αὐτῶν μίξασα συνέδησε, τότε ταῦτα τῇ ἀπλήστῳ τῆς δυναστείας ἐπιθυμία διέλυον καὶ διέσπων καὶ διερρήγγυσαν. καὶ δι' ἐκείνους 163 καὶ ἡ Ῥώμη περὶ τε ἑαυτῇ καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἅμα κινδυνεῦειν ἠναγκάζετο, ὥστε καὶ νικήσασα ἡττηθῆναι. 58. τοιοῦτω μὲν ἀγῶνι συνηνέχθησαν: οὐ μέντοι καὶ εὐθύς συνέμιξαν, ἀλλ' οἷα ἔκ τε τῆς αὐτῆς πατρίδος καὶ ἔκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστίας ὁρμώμενοι, καὶ τὰ τε ὅπλα παραπλήσια καὶ τὰς τάξεις ὁμοίας ἔχοντες, ὥκνουν μὲν ἄρξαι τῆς μάχης, ὥκνουν δὲ [2] καὶ φονεῦσαι τινὰς ἐκάτεροι. σιγῇ τε οὖν ἀμφοτέρων καὶ κατῆφεια πολλὴ ἦν, καὶ οὔτε τις αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ πρόσω προΐει 164 οὐθ' ὅλως ἐκινεῖτο, ἀλλ' ἐγκύψαντες ἡτρέμιζον ὥσπερ ἄψυχοι. φοβηθέντες οὖν ὃ τε Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἡσυχάσαντες ἀμβλύτεροι πῶς γένωνται ἢ καὶ συναλλαγῶσι, προσέταξαν σπουδῇ τοῖς τε σαλπικταῖς σημῆναι [3] καὶ ἐκείνοις συμβοῆσαι τὸ πολεμικόν. 165 καὶ ἐπράχθη μὲν ἐκάτερον, τοσοῦτου δὲ ἐδέησαν ἐπιρρωσθῆναι ὥστε καὶ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἔκ τε τῆς τῶν σαλπικτῶν ἡχῆς ὁμοφρονούσης καὶ ἔκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν βοῆς ὁμογλωσσούσης τὸ τε ὁμόφυλόν σφων ἐξέφηναν καὶ τὸ ὁμογενὲς ἐξήλεγξαν, κἂκ τοῦτου καὶ ἐς δάκρυα καὶ θρήνον ἔπεσον. ὃψέ δ' οὖν ποτε τῶν συμμαχικῶν προκαταρξάντων καὶ [p. 100] ἐκεῖνοι συνέμιξαν, ἔκφρονες ἐπ' αὐτοῖς γενόμενοι. 59. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις, οἷς πόρρωθεν ἡ ἀλήκη ἦν, ἦττον τὸ δεινὸν συνέβαινε, οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰδότες οὕς ἔβαλλον, ἐτόξευον ἡκόντιζον [2] ἐσφενδόνων: οἱ δὲ δὴ ὀπλῖται οἱ τε ἱππῆς χαλεπώτατα ἀπήλλασσον, ἅτε γὰρ 166 ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων ὄντες καὶ τι καὶ λαλεῖν σφισι δυνάμενοι ἐγνώριζόν τε ἅμα τοὺς ἀντιπαρατεταγμένους καὶ ἐτίτρωσκον, ἀνεκάλουν καὶ ἐφόνευον, τῶν πατρίδων [3] ἐμέμνηντο καὶ ἐσκύλευον. ταῦτα μὲν οἱ τε Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἔκ τῆς Ἰταλίας συστρατευόμενοι σφισιν, ὅπου ποτὲ προστύχοιεν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἔπραττον καὶ ἔπασχον: καὶ πολλοὶ πολλὰ καὶ οἰκάδε δι' αὐτῶν τῶν σφαγῶν [4] ἐνετέλλοντο. τὸ δὲ ὑπήκοον καὶ προθύμως καὶ ἀφειδῶς ἐμάχετο, πολλὴν σπουδὴν, ὥσπερ ποτὲ ὑπὲρ 167 τῆς σφετέρως ἐλευθερίας, οὕτω τότε κατὰ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων δουλείας ποιούμενοι, ἐπιθυμία, ἅτε ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτῶν ἐλαττούμενοι, ὁμοδούλους σφᾶς ἔχειν. 60. μεγίστη τε οὖν ἡ μάχη καὶ πολυτροπωτάτη διὰ τε ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ τε πολυειδὲς τῆς παρασκευῆς ἐγένετο. πάμπολλοι μὲν γὰρ ὀπλῖται πάμπολλοι δὲ καὶ ἱππῆς, τοξόται τε ἕτεροι καὶ σφενδονῆται ἄλλοι ὄντες, τὸ τε πεδίον πᾶν κατέλαβον, καὶ σκεδασθέντες πολλαχῇ μὲν ἀλλήλοις οἷα ὁμόσκευοι, πολλαχῇ δὲ καὶ ἑτέροις [2] ἀναμῖξ ἐμάχοντο. προεῖχον δὲ οἱ Πομπηῖοι τῇ τε ἱππείᾳ καὶ τῇ τοξείᾳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πόρρωθεν τε ἐγκυκλούμενοι τινὰς προσβολαῖς αἰφνιδίους [p. 102] ἐχρῶντο, καὶ συνταράξαντες αὐτοὺς ἐξανεχώρουν, εἴτ' αὐθις καὶ μάλ' αὐθις ἐπετίθεντο σφισι, τοτὲ [3] μὲν ἐνταῦθα τοτὲ δὲ ἐκεῖσε μεθιστάμενοι. οἱ οὖν Καισάρειοι

ταῦτα τε ἐφυλάσσοντο, καὶ τὰς τάξεις σφῶν ἐξελίσσοντες ἀντιπρόσωποι τε αἰ τοῖς προσβάλλουσιν 168 ἐγίνοντο καὶ ὁμόσε αὐτοῖς χωροῦντες τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ἵππων 169 ἀντελαμβάνοντο, προθυμῶς ἀγωνιζόμενοι: καὶ γὰρ πεζοὶ τοῖς ἵππευσιν αὐτῶν κοῦφοι ἐπ’ αὐτὸ ^[4] τοῦτο συνετετάχατο. καὶ ταῦτα οὐ καθ’ ἓν, 170 ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἀλλὰ πολλαχῇ ἅμα σποράδην ἐγίνετο, ὥστε τῶν μὲν πόρρωθεν μαχομένων τῶν δὲ συσταδὸν ἀγωνιζομένων, καὶ τῶν μὲν παίωντων τινὰς τῶν δὲ πατασσομένων, φευγόντων ἐτέρων, διωκόντων ἄλλων, 171 πολλὰς μὲν πεζομαχίας ^[5] πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἵππομαχίας ὀραῖσθαι. κἀν τούτῳ καὶ παρὰ δόξαν 172 συχνὰ συνέβαινε. καὶ γὰρ τρέφας τις τινα ἐτρέπετο, καὶ ἄλλος ἐκκλίνας τινὰ ἀντεπετίθετο αὐτῷ: πλήξας τις ἕτερον αὐτὸς ἐπιτρώσκετο, καὶ πεπτωκῶς ἄλλος τὸν ἐστηκότα ἀπεκτίννυε. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἄτρωτοι ἔθνησκον, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἡμιθνήτες ^[6] ἐφόνευον. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔχαιρον καὶ ἐπαίωνιζον, οἱ δὲ ἐλυποῦντο καὶ ὠλοφύροντο, ὥστε βοῆς καὶ στεναγμῶν πάντα πληρωθῆναι, καὶ τοῖς μὲν πλείοσι καὶ ἐκ τοῦτου ταραχὴν ἐγγενέσθαι τὰ γὰρ λεγόμενα ἄσημά σφισι διὰ τε τὸ ἄλλοεθνὲς καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀλλόθροον ὄντα δεινῶς αὐτοῦς ^[p. 104] ἐξέπλησσε, τοῖς δὲ δὴ συνιεῖσιν ἀλλήλων πολλαπλάσιον τὸ κακὸν συμβῆναι: πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἰδιοῖς σφῶν παθήμασι καὶ τὰ τῶν πέλας καὶ ἐώρων ἅμα καὶ ἤκουον. 61. τέλος δέ, ἰσορρόπως αὐτῶν ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἀγωνισαμένων, καὶ πολλῶν ἀμφοτέρωθεν ὁμοίως καὶ πεσόντων καὶ τρωθέντων, ὁ Πομπήιος ἄτε καὶ Ἀσιανὸν καὶ ἀγύμναστον τὸ πλεῖον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἔχων ἡττήθη, ὥσπερ που καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἔργου οἱ ^[2] ἐδεδήλωτο: κεραυνοὶ τε γὰρ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ ἐσέπεσον, καὶ πῦρ ἀέριον ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ταφρείας φανέν ἐς τὴν ἐκείνου κατέσκηψε, τὰ τε σημεῖα αὐτοῦ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ μέλισσαι περιέσχον, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἱερείων αὐτοῖς ἤδη τοῖς βωμοῖς προσαγόμενα ἐξέδρα. ^[3] καὶ οὕτω γε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ὁ ἀγὼν ἐκείνος ἔτεινεν ὥστε πολλαχόθι ἐν 173 αὐτῇ τῇ τῆς μάχης ἡμέρᾳ καὶ στρατοπέδων συνόδους καὶ ὅπλων κτύπους συμβῆναι, ἔν τε Περιγάμῳ τυμπάνων τέ τινα καὶ κυμβάλων φόφον ἐκ τοῦ Διονυσίου ἀρθέντα διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως ^[4] χωρῆσαι, καὶ ἐν Τράλλεσι φοινικά τε ἐν τῷ τῆς Νίκης ναῷ ἀναφῦναι καὶ τὴν θεὸν αὐτὴν πρὸς εἰκόνα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐν πλαγιῷ που κειμένην μεταστραφῆναι, τοῖς τε Σύροις δύο τινὰς νεανίσκους τὸ τέλος τῆς μάχης ἀγγείλαντας ἀφανεῖς γενέσθαι, καὶ ἐν Παταουίῳ τῆς νῦν Ἰταλίας τότε δὲ ἐπὶ Γαλατίας ὄρνιθας τινὰς οὐχ ὅτι διαγγεῖλαι ^[5] αὐτὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ δεῖξαι τρόπον τινά: Γάιος γάρ τις Κορνήλιος πάντα τὰ γενόμενα ἀκριβῶς τε ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐτεκμήρατο καὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐξηγήσατο. ^[p. 106] ταῦτα μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὡς ἕκαστα 174 συνηνέχθη, καὶ παραχρῆμα μὲν ἠπιστεῖτο, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, ἀγγελθέντων δὲ τῶν πραχθέντων ἐθαυμάζετο. 62. τῶν δὲ δὴ Πομπηϊέων τῶν μὴ 175 ἐν χερσὶ φθαρέντων οἱ μὲν ἔφυγον ὅπη ποτὲ ἡδυνήθησαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ...: 176 καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ στρατευομένους ἐς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ στρατόπεδα ἐσέγραψε, μηδὲν σφισι ^[2] μνησικακήσας, τῶν δὲ δὴ βουλευτῶν τῶν τε ἱππέων ὅσους μὲν καὶ πρότερόν ποτε ἥρηκῶς ἠλέηκει ἀπέκτεινε, πλὴν εἰ 177 τινὰς οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ ἐξητήσαντο τούτοις γὰρ ἕνα ἐκάστῳ τότε σῶσαι ^[3] συνεχώρησέ, τοὺς δὲ

λοιποὺς τοὺς τότε πρῶτον ἀντιπολεμήσαντας αὐτῷ ἀφῆκεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι
‘οὐδὲν με 178 ἡδίκηκασιν οἱ τὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου φίλου σφίσιν ὄντος
ἐσποῦδασαν, μηδεμίαν εὐεργεσίαν παρ’^[4] ἐμοῦ ἔχοντες.’ τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο
καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δυνάστας τοὺς τε δήμους τοὺς συναραμένους οἱ ἐποίησε: πᾶσι
γὰρ αὐτοῖς συνέγνω, ἐννοῶν ὅτι αὐτὸς μὲν ἢ τινα ἢ οὐδένα 179 αὐτῶν
ἠπίστατο, παρ’ ἐκείνου δὲ δὴ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ προεπεπόνθεσαν.^[5] καὶ πολὺ
γε τοὺτους μᾶλλον ἐπῆνει τῶν εὐεργεσίαν μὲν τινα παρὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου
προλαβόντων, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς κινδύνοις αὐτὸν ἐγκαταλιπόντων: ^[6] τοὺς μὲν
γὰρ καὶ ἑαυτῷ δι’ εὐνοίας ἔσσεσθαι ἠλπίζε, τοὺς δέ, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα
ἔδοξάν τι οἱ καὶ χαρίσασθαι, ἀλλὰ προδότης γε τοῦ νῦν ^[p. 108] φίλου
γενομένους οὐδὲ ἑαυτοῦ ποτε φείσεσθαι 180 63. ἐνόμιζε. τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι
Σαδάλου μὲν τοῦ Θρακὸς καὶ Δηιοτάρου τοῦ Γαλάτου, καίτοι καὶ ἐν τῇ
μάχῃ γενομένων, Ταρκονδιμότου 181 τε ἐν μέρει μὲν τινι τῆς Κιλικίας
δυναστεύοντος, πλεῖστον δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰ ναυτικὰ βοηθήσαντος, ^[2]
ἐφείσατο. τί γὰρ δεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τὰς συμμαχίας πέμψαντας καταλέγειν,
οἷς καὶ αὐτοῖς συγγνώμην ἔνειμε, χρήματα μόνον παρ’ αὐτῶν 182 λαβών;
ἄλλο γὰρ οὐδὲν οὔτε ἔδρασέ σφας οὐτ’ ἀφείλετο, 183 καίπερ πολλῶν
πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, τὰ μὲν πάλαι τὰ δὲ καὶ τότε, παρὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου ^[3]
εἰληφότων. μέρος μὲν γάρ τι τῆς Ἀρμενίας τῆς τοῦ Δηιοτάρου γενομένης
Ἀριοβαρζάνει τῷ τῆς Καππαδοκίας βασιλεῖ ἔδωκεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸν
Δηιοτάρον ἐν τούτῳ τι ἔβλαψεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσευηργέτησεν: 184 οὐ γὰρ
ἐκείνου τὴν χώραν ἀπετέμετο, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ Φαρνάκου πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀρμενίαν
καταληφθεῖσαν καταλαβών τὸ μὲν τι αὐτῆς τῷ Ἀριοβαρζάνει τὸ δὲ δὴ τῷ
Δηιοτάρῳ ἔχαρίσατο. ^[4] καὶ τοῦτοις μὲν οὕτως ἐχρήσατο: τῷ δὲ δὴ
Φαρνάκῃ προβαλλομένῳ ὅτι μὴ προσαμύναι τῷ Πομπηίῳ, κάκ τούτου
συγγνώμης ἐφ’ οἷς ἐπεποιήκει τυχεῖν ἀξιοῦντι, οὔτε ἔνειμεν ἐπικεκῆς οὐδὲν,
καὶ προσέτι καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτ’ ἐπεκάλεσεν, ὅτι καὶ πονηρὸς καὶ ^[5] ἀνόσιος περὶ
τὸν εὐεργέτην ἐγένετο. τοσαύτη μὲν καὶ φιланθρωπιᾷ καὶ ἀρετῇ πρὸς
ἅπαντας τοὺς ἀντιπολεμήσαντας αὐτῷ ἐπίπαν 185 ἐχρήτο: ἀμέλει ^[p. 110] καὶ
τὰ γράμματα τὰ 186 ἀπόθετα τὰ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Πομπηίου κιβωτίοις εὗρεθέντα,
ὅσα τινῶν τὴν τε πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εὐνοίαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν δύσνοιαν
ἠλεγχεν, οὐτ’ ἀνέγνω οὐτ’ ἐξεγράψατο ἀλλ’ ^[6] εὐθὺς κατέφλεξεν, ὅπως
μηδὲν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν δεινὸν ἀναγκασθῇ δρᾶσαι, ὥστε τινὰ καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τοὺς
ἐπιβουλευσάντας αὐτῷ μισῆσαι. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἄλλως εἶπον, ἀλλ’ ὅτι καὶ ὁ
Καιπίων 187 ὁ Βροῦτος ὁ Μάρκος, ὁ μετὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνας, καὶ
ἐάλω ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσώθη.

BOOK 42

τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

α. ὡς Πομπήιος ἡττηθεὶς ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ἔφυγεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἀπέθανεν.

β. ὡς Καῖσαρ Πομπήιον ἐπιδιώκων εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἦλθεν.

γ. ὡς ἡγγέλθη τὰ κατὰ Καίσαρα καὶ Πομπήιον εἰς Ῥώμην καὶ ἅ 1

ἐψηφίσαντο τῷ Καίσαρι.

δ. ὡς ἐστασίασαν οἱ ἐν Ῥώμῃ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀποδημίαν.

ε. ὡς Καῖσαρ Αἰγυπτίοις πολεμήσας κατεστρέψατο αὐτοὺς καὶ τῇ

Κλεοπάτρᾳ ἐχαρίσατο.

ζ. ὡς Καῖσαρ Φαρνάκην ἐνίκησεν.

η. ὡς Καῖσαρ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπανῆλθε καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ κατεστήσατο.

θ. ὡς Καῖσαρ ἐς Ἀφρικὴν ἐστράτευσεν.

χρόνου πληθὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Γ. Ἰουλίου Καίσαρος τὸ β καὶ Πουπλίου Σερουιλίου Ἰσαυρικοῦ ὑπατείας καὶ ἄλλο ἔτος ἐν, ἐν ᾧ ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἶδε ἐγένοντο

γ. Ἰούλιος Γ. υἱ. Καῖσαρ δικτάτωρ τὸ β 3

μ. Ἀντώνιος Μ. υἱ. Ἱππαρχος ὑπάτω δέ

κ. Φούφιος Κ. υἱ. Καλῆνος

π. Οὐατίνιος π. υἱ.

1. ἡ μὲν οὖν μάχη τοιαύτη δὴ τις ἐγένετο, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὁ Πομπήιος πάντων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πραγμάτων παραχρῆμα ἀπέγνω, καὶ οὐκέτ' οὔτε τῆς ἰδίας ἀρετῆς οὔτε τοῦ τῶν λοιπῶν στρατιωτῶν [p. 114] πληθους οὔθ' ὅτι πολλάκις ἡ τύχη δι' ἐλαχίστου τοὺς πταίσαντας ἀναλαμβάνει λογισμὸν τινα ἐποίησατο, καίπερ ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ πλεῖστον μὲν τὸ εὐθυμον πλεῖστον δὲ τὸ εὐελπι παρὰ πάντα ὅσα ἐσφάλη αἰεὶ ποτε σχών. [2] αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι ἐν μὲν

ἐκείνοις ἀντίπαλος ὡς πληθεῖ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ὧν οὐ προελάμβανε τῇ γνώμῃ τὴν νίκην, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα τὴν ἔκβασιν τῶν πραγμάτων, ἔν τε τῷ θαρσοῦντι καὶ πρὶν ἐς κατὰπληξιν τινα ἀφικέσθαι, προσκοπῶν οὐκ ἡμέλει τῆς τοῦ χειρόνος θεραπείας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' οὐθ' ὑπέκλειν ταῖς συμφοραῖς ἡναγκάζετο καὶ ἀναμάχεσθαι ῥαδίως ἐδύνατο, τότε δὲ πολλῶ τοῦ Καίσαρος περισχῆσιν ἐλπίσας οὐδὲν προείδετο. ^[3] οὐκουν οὐδὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐν ἐπιτηδεῖῳ ἐποίησατο, οὐδ' ἀναφυγὴν οὐδεμίαν ἡττηθέντι οἱ παρεσκεύασε: τρῖψαι τε δυνηθεῖς ἂν τὰ πράγματα, κάκ τούτου ἀμαχεῖ κρατῆσαι ὁ στρατός τε γὰρ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν αὐτῷ προσεγίνετο, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἄφθονα ἅτε ἐν τε φιλίᾳ τῇ πλείστη χωρᾷ ὧν καὶ ναυκρατῶν εἶχεν', ὅμως, εἴτε ἐθελοντῆς ὡς καὶ πάντως νικήσων, εἴτε καὶ ὑπὸ ^[4] τῶν συνόντων ἐκβιασθεῖς, συνέβαλε. καὶ διὰ ταῦτ', ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐνίκηθη, δεινῶς ἐξεπλάγη καὶ οὐτε τι βούλευμα καίριον οὐτ' ἐλπίδα βεβαίαν ἐς τὸ ἀνακινδυνεῦσαι ἔσχεν. ὅταν γὰρ τι ἀπροσδοκῆτως τέ τι καὶ μετὰ πλείστου παραλόγου προσπέσῃ, τὸ τε φρόνημα αὐτοῦ ταπεινοῖ καὶ τὸ λογιζόμενον ἐκπλήσσει, ὥστ' αὐτὸν κάκιστόν τε καὶ ἀσθενέστατον τῶν ^[5] πρακτέων κριτὴν γενέσθαι: οὐ γὰρ ἐθέλουσιν οἱ ^[p. 116] λογισμοὶ τοῖς φόβοις συνεῖναι, ἀλλὰ ἂν μὲν προκατάσχωσι τινα, καὶ μάλα γενναίως αὐτοὺς ἀπωθοῦνται, ἂν δ' ὑστερήσωσιν, ἡττῶνται. 2. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος, ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτῶν προενόησε, καὶ γυμνὸς καὶ ἄφρακτος εὐρέθη, τάχ' ἂν μὴ χαλεπῶς, εἴπερ τι προεώρατο, πάντα διὰ ταχέων ἀνακτησάμενος. τῶν τε γὰρ μεμαχημένων συχοὶ περιεγεγόνεσαν, καὶ ἑτέρας δυνάμεις οὐ σμικρὰς εἶχε: τὸ τε μέγιστον καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ ἐκέκτητο καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀπάσης ἐκράτει, αἷ τε πόλεις καὶ αἱ αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ δυστυχήσαντα αὐτὸν ^[2] ἡγάπων. νῦν δ' ἐπειδὴ περ ἐφ' ᾧ μάλιστα ἐθάρσει κακῶς ἀπήλλαξεν, οὐδὲ ἐκείνων οὐδενὶ ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτίκα τοῦ φόβου προσβολῆς ἐχρήσατο, ἀλλὰ τὸ τε ἔρυμα εὐθύς ἐξέλιπε καὶ πρὸς Λάρισσαν ^[3] μετ' ὀλίγων ἔφυγε. καὶ ἐς μὲν τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἐσῆλθε καίτοι τῶν Λαρισσαίων ἐσκαλούντων, φοβηθεῖς μὴ τινα αἰτίαν ἐκ τούτου ὄφλωσιν: ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μὲν τῷ κρατοῦντι προσχωρῆσαι ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ τε ἐπιτήδεια λαβῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καταβὰς ἐς Λέσβον ὁλκάδι πρὸς τε τὴν γυναιῖκα τὴν Κορνηλίαν καὶ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν ^[4] τὸν Σέξτον ἔπλευσε. καὶ αὐτοὺς παραλαβὼν καὶ μηδὲ ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην ἐσελθὼν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπῆρε, συμμαχίαν παρὰ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλεύοντος αὐτῆς σχήσειν ἐλπίσας: τοῦ τε γὰρ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ διὰ τοῦ Γαβινίου τὴν ^[p. 118] βασιλείαν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀπολαβόντος υἱὸς ἦν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐς ἐπικουρίαν οἱ ἐπεπόμφει. ^[5] ἤκουσα μὲν γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ἐς Πάρθους φυγεῖν ἐβουλεύσατο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ πιστεύειν ἔχω. ἐκεῖνοί τε γὰρ τοὺς τε Ῥωμαίους πάντας, ἀφ' οὗ σφισιν ὁ Κράσσος ἐπεστράτευσε, καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον μάλιστα ἅτε καὶ προσήκοντα αὐτῷ, οὕτως ἐμίσουν ὥστε καὶ τὸν πρεσβευτὴν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν αἴτησιν τῆς βοηθείας ἐλθόντα δῆσαι ^[6] καίπερ βουλευτὴν ὄντα: καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος οὐκ ἂν ποτε τοῦ πολεμιωτάτου, οὗ γε εὖ πράττων οὐκ ἐτετυχέει, ἰκέτης ὑπέμεινε δυστυχήσας γενέσθαι. 3. Ἄλλ' ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον δι' ἅπερ εἶπον ὥρμησε, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἡπειρον μέχρι Κιλικίας κομισθεὶς ἐκεῖθεν πρὸς

τὸ Πηλοῦσιον ἔπεραιώθη, ὅπου ὁ Πτολεμαῖος Κλεοπάτρα τῇ ἀδελφῇ πολεμῶν [2] ἐστρατοπεδεύετο. τὰς τε ναῦς ἀνοκωχεύσας ἔπεμψέ τινας, τῆς τε πατρῴας αὐτὸν εὐεργεσίας ἀναμνησκων καὶ δεόμενος ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς τέ τισι καὶ βεβαίοις καταχθῆναι: ἐκβῆναι γὰρ πρὶν [3] ἀσφάλειαν τινα λαβεῖν οὐκ ἐθάρσησε. καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ μὲν Πτολεμαῖος οὐδὲν ἄλλο γὰρ ἔτι κομιδῇ ἦν ἄπεκρίνατο, τῶν δὲ δὴ Αἰγυπτίων τινὲς καὶ Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος, συνεστρατευκῶς μὲν ποτε τῷ Πομπηίῳ, συγγεγονῶς δὲ τῷ Γαβινίῳ καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνου τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ μετὰ στρατιωτῶν [4] ἐς φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ καταλελειμμένος, ἦλθον μὲν ὡς φίλοι, ἐπεβούλευσαν δὲ ἀνοσίως, καὶ ἐκ τούτου προστρώπαιον καὶ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ πάσῃ προσέθεντο: αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἀπώλonton, [p. 120] καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ δουλεύειν, ὅπερ ἥκιστα ἐβούλοντο, παρεδόθησαν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπήκοον ἐσεγράφησαν. 4. ἐν δ' οὖν τῷ τότε Σεπτίμιος καὶ Ἀχιλλᾶς ὁ στρατιάρχος, ἄλλοι τε μετ' αὐτῶν ὄντες, ἐτοίμως ἔφασαν ἐσδέξεσθαι τὸν Πομπήιον, ὅπως ὡς ῥᾶστα ἀπατηθεῖς ἀλοίῃ: καὶ τοὺς τε ἐλθόντας παρ' αὐτοῦ προέπεμψαν, θαρσεῖν σφας ἔνιοι κελεύσαντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀκατίων ἐπιβάντες προσέπλευσαν αὐτῷ, [2] καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐφιλοφρονήσαντο αὐτὸν καὶ ἡξίωσαν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς μετεκβῆναι, λέγοντες μήτε τινὰ ναῦν δύνασθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους διὰ τὰ βράχη πρὸς τὴν γῆν προσσχεῖν, καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐν πολλῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ εἶναι θάσσον αὐτὸν [3] ἰδεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω, καίτοι πάντων οἱ τῶν σύμπλων ἀπαγορευόντων, πιστεύσας αὐτοῖς ... τοσοῦτον μόνον εἰπών,

ὅστις γὰρ ὡς τύραννον ἐμπορεύεται,
 κείνου ἑστὶ δοῦλος, καὶ ἑλεύθερος μόλῃ:

[4] οἱ δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἐγγὺς τῆς γῆς ἐγένοντο, φοβηθέντες μὴ καὶ ἐντυχὼν τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ σωθῇ εἴτε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου ἢ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ ἢ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἑκατέρωθεν αὐτοῦ μεγάλην εἶχον, ἀπέκτειναν αὐτὸν πρὶν καταπλεῦσαι, μηδὲν μήτ' εἰπόντα μήτ' [p. 122] [5] ὀδυράμενον. ὡς γὰρ τάχιστα τῆς τε ἐπιβουλῆς ἦσθετο, καὶ ἔγνω ὅτι οὐτ' ἀμύνασθαι σφας οὔτε διαφυγεῖν δυνήσεται, συνεκαλύψατο. 5. τοιοῦτον μὲν τὸ τέλος τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἐκείνῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐγένετο, ὥστε καὶ διὰ τούτου τὴν τε ἀσθένειαν καὶ τὴν ἀτοπίαν τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου γένους [2] ἐλεγχθῆναι. προμηθείας τε γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐλλείπων, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ κακουργῆσαί τε δυνάμενον ἀσφαλέστατος αἰεὶ ποτε γενόμενος ἠπατήθη, καὶ νίκας πολλὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τῇ τε Εὐρώπῃ παραδόξους καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐκ μειρακίου ἀνελόμενος ἡττήθη παραλόγως ὁκτῶ τε καὶ [3] πεντηκοντοῦτης ὢν, τὴν τε θάλασσαν τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων πᾶσαν ἡμερώσας ἐν αὐτῇ ἐκείνῃ διώλετο, καὶ χιλίων ποτὲ νεῶν, ὡς ὁ λόγος ἔχει, ἄρξας ἐν πλοιαρίῳ τινί, πρὸς τε τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ πρὸς τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τρόπον τινὰ οὐ ποτε τὸν πατέρα ἐξ τε ἐκείνην ἅμα καὶ ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν κατήγαγε, [4] διεφθάρη: ὃν γὰρ τοι καὶ τότε ἔτι στρατιῶται Ῥωμαῖοι διὰ τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου χάριν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαβινίου, διὰ τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐς τὸν πατέρα

αὐτοῦ μῖσος, καταλειφθέντες ἐφρούρουν, οὗτος αὐτὸν δι' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐκατέρων ἀπεκτονέειν [5] ἔδοξε. Πομπήιος μὲν δὴ κράτιστος πρότερον Ῥωμαίων νομισθεὶς, ὥστε καὶ Ἀγαμέμνονα αὐτὸν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι, τότε καθάπερ τις καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν [p. 124] Αἰγυπτίων ἔσχατος, πρὸς τε τῷ Κασίῳ ὄρει καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ἣ ποτε τὰ τε τοῦ Μιθριδάτου καὶ τὰ τῶν καταποντιστῶν ἐπνίκια ἦγαγεν, ἐσφάγη, [6] ὥστε μηδὲν μηδὲ ἐν τούτῳ ὁμολογηθῆναι: ἐν τε γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ τὰ λαμπρότατα πρὶν πράξας τότε τὰ ἀλγεινότατα ἔπαθε, καὶ ἐς πάντας τοὺς πολίτας τοὺς Κασσίους ἐκ χρημοῦ τινος ὑποπτεῦων πρὸς μὲν ἀνδρὸς Κασσίου οὐδενὸς ἐπεβουλεύθη, παρὰ δὲ δὴ τῷ ὄρει τῷ τὴν ἐπικλήσιν ταύτην ἔχοντι καὶ ἀπέθανε καὶ ἐτάφη. [7] τῶν δὲ δὴ συμπλεόντων αὐτῷ οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα ἐάλωσαν οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐφυγον, ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ παῖς ἡ τε γυνὴ αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἡ μὲν καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην μετὰ ταῦτα ἀδείας τυχοῦσα ἀνεσώθη, ὁ δὲ δὴ Σέξτος ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικὴν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Γναῖον ἐκομίσθη: τούτοις γὰρ δὴ τοῖς ὀνόμασι διακεκρίδεται, ἐπειδὴ τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου πρόσρησιν ἀμφοτέρω εἶχον. 6. Καῖσαρ δὲ ὡς τότε μετὰ τὴν μάχην τὰ κατεπείγοντα διωκῆσατο, τὴν μὲν Ἑλλάδα τὰ τε λοιπὰ τὰ ταύτῃ ἄλλοις πσι καὶ προσποιεῖσθαι καὶ καθίστασθαι προσέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν Πομπήιον ἐπεδίωξε. καὶ μέχρι μὲν τῆς Ἀσίας κατὰ πύστιν αὐτοῦ προϊῶν ἠπείχθη, ἐνταῦθα δὲ, ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς [2] ὅπῃ πεπλευκῶς ἦν ἠπίστατο, ἐνδιέτριψεν. οὕτω δ' οὖν ἐν τύχῃ πάντα αὐτῷ προεχώρει ὥστε καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐν πορθμείῳ τινὶ περαιούμενος ἐνέτυχε μὲν τῷ τοῦ Πομπηίου ναυτικῷ μετὰ τοῦ Κασσίου τοῦ Λουκίου πλέοντι, οὐ μόνον δὲ οὐδὲν δεινὸν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἔπαθεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσκαταπλήξας [p. 126] [3] σφᾶς προσεποιήσατο. κάκ τούτου καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐκείνῃ, μηδενὸς ἔτ' ἀνταίροντος, παρελάμβανε καὶ διώκει, χρημάτων μὲν ἐκλογὴν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ποιούμενος, ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲν μηδένα λυπῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐεργετῶν πάντας ὅσα ἐνεδέχετο. τοὺς γοῦν τελῶνας πικρότατά σφισι χρωμένους ἀπαλλάξας, ἐς φόρου συντέλειαν τὸ συμβαῖνον ἐκ τῶν τελῶν κατεστήσατο. 7. κὰν τούτῳ πυθόμενος τὸν Πομπήιον πρὸς τὴν Αἴγυπτον πλέοντα, καὶ δείσας μὴ προκατασχῶν [2] αὐτὴν αὐθις ἰσχύσει, ἀφωρμήθη κατὰ τάχος. καὶ ἐκείνον μὲν οὐκέτι περιόντα κατέλαβε, τῇ δ' Ἀλεξανδρεῖα αὐτῇ μετ' ὀλίγων πολὺ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, πρὶν τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐκ τοῦ Πηλουσίου ἐλθεῖν, προσπλεύσας, καὶ τοὺς Ἀλεξανδρέας θορυβουμένους ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Πομπηίου θανάτῳ εὐρών, οὐκ ἐθάρσησεν εὐθὺς ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκβῆναι, ἀλλ' ἀνορμίσάμενος ἀνείχε μέχρις οὗ τὴν τε κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντα [3] οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου εἶδεν. οὕτω δὲ ἐς μὲν τὴν ἡπειρον θαρσοῦντως προσέσχευεν, ἀγανακτήσεως δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ῥαβδούχοις αὐτοῦ παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους γενομένης αὐτὸς μὲν ἀγαπητῶς ἐς τὰ βασιλεία προκατέφυγε, τῶν δὲ δὴ στρατιωτῶν τινες τὰ ὅπλα ἀφηρέθησαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' οἱ λοιποὶ ἀνωρμίσαντο αὐθις, ἕως πᾶσαι αἱ νῆες ἐπικατήχθησαν. 8. ὁ δ' οὖν Καῖσαρ τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου κεφαλὴν ἰδὼν κατεδάκρυσεν καὶ κατωλοφύρατο, πολίτην τε αὐτὸν καὶ γαμβρὸν ὀνομάζων, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ποτὲ ἀλλήλοις ἀνθυπουργήκεσαν ἀναριθμούμενος. τοῖς τε ἀποκτείνασιν αὐτὸν οὐχ ὅπως εὐεργεσίαν τινὰ [p. 128] ὀφείλειν ἔφη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπεκάλει, καὶ ἐκείνην κοσμήσαι τε καὶ

εὐθετῆσαι καὶ θάψαι πσιὶν ^[2] ἐκέλευσε. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τούτῳ ἔπαινον ἔσχεν, ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τῇ προσποιήσῃ γέλῳτα ὠφλίσκανε: τῆς γὰρ δυναστείας δεινῶς ἅπ' ἀρχῆς ἐφίεμενος, καὶ ἐκεῖνον καὶ ὡς ἀνταγωνιστὴν καὶ ὡς ἀντίπαλον αἰεὶ ποτε μισήσας, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐπ' αὐτῷ ^[3] πάντα πράξας καὶ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε οὐκ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι παρασκευάσας ἢ ἵνα ἀπολομένου αὐτοῦ πρωτεύσῃ, τότε τε ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον οὐ δι' ἄλλο τι ἐπειχθεὶς ἢ ἵνα αὐτόν, εἰ περιεῖη, προσκατεργάσαιτο, ποθεῖν τε αὐτὸν ἐπλάττετο καὶ ἀγανακτεῖν τῷ ὀλέθρῳ αὐτοῦ ἐσκήπτετο. 9. καὶ ὁ μὲν μηδὲν ἔτι πολέμιον ὑπεξηρημένου οἱ ἐκείνου καταλείπεσθαι νομίζων, ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἐνεχρόνισεν ἀργυρολογῶν καὶ τὰ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ τὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας διάφορα διακρίνων: πόλεμοι δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἕτεροι αὐτῷ παρεσκευάσθησαν. ^[2] ἢ τε γὰρ Αἴγυπτος ἐνεόχμωσε, καὶ ὁ Φαρνάκης ἥρξατο μὲν εὐθύς, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον τὸν τε Πομπήιον καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι ἔμαθε, τῆς πατρώας ἀρχῆς ἀντιποιεῖσθαι ἔχρονιεν τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ στάσει καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν Ῥωμαίων αὐτὰς περὶ αὐταῖς ἀναλώσειν ^[3] ἤλπισεν, εἶχετο δὲ καὶ τότε τῶν προκειμένων, ὅτι τε ἅπαξ ἐκεκίνητο καὶ ὅτι πόρρω τὸν Καίσαρα ὄντα ἐπύθετο, καὶ πολλὰ γε χωρία προκατέλαβε. κἀν τούτῳ καὶ ὁ Κάτων καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων, οἳ τε ἄλλοι οἳ τὴν αὐτὴν σφισι γνῶμην ἔχοντες, καὶ ^[p. 130] ἐμφύλιον καὶ ὀθνεῖον ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ πόλεμον ἤγειραν. 10. ἔσχε γὰρ οὕτως. ὁ Κάτων ἐν τῷ Δυρραχίῳ πρὸς τοῦ Πομπηίου τὰ τε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπιτηρεῖν, ἃν τις διαβαίνειη, καὶ τοὺς Παρθινοὺς κατείργειν, ἃν τι παρακινῶσι, καταλειφθεὶς τὸ ^[2] μὲν πρῶτον ἐκείνοις ἐπολέμει, ἡττηθέντος δὲ τοῦ Πομπηίου τὴν μὲν Ἥπειρον ἐξέλιπεν, ἐς δὲ Κέρκυραν μετὰ τῶν ὁμογνωμονούντων οἱ κομισθεὶς ἐνταῦθα τοὺς τε ἐκ τῆς μάχης διαφυγόντας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τὰ αὐτὰ φρονούντας ἐδέχετο. Κικέρων μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν βουλευτῶν ^[3] ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην παραχρῆμα ἀπῆραν: οἳ δὲ δὴ πλείους μετὰ τε τοῦ Λαβήνου καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀφρανίου, ἅτε μηδεμίαν ἐν τῷ Καίσαρι ἐλπίδα, ὁ μὲν ὅτι ἠτύομολήκει, ὁ δὲ ὅτι σωθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ αὐθις οἱ ἐπεπολεμήκει, ἐχόντων, πρὸς τε τὸν Κάτωνα ἦλθον καὶ ἐκεῖνον προσησάμενοι ἐπολέμουν. 11. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Ὀκτάουιός σφισι προσεγένετο. ὡς γὰρ τότε τὸν Ἴόνιον ἐσέπλευσε καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον τὸν Γάιον συνέλαβεν, ἄλλων μὲν τινων χωρίων ἐκράτησε, τὴν δὲ δὴ Σάλωνα, καίπερ ἐπὶ πλείστον αὐτὴν πολιορκήσας, οὐχ ^[2] εἴλε. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα ἰσχυρῶς αὐτὸν ἀπεκροῦοντο, βοηθοῦντά σφισι τὸν Γαβίνιον ἔχοντες, καὶ τέλος μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπεκδραμόντες μέγα ἔργον εἰργάσαντο: ἐκεῖναί τε γὰρ τὰς τε κόμας καθεῖσαι καὶ στολὰς μελαίνας ἐνδυσάμεναι λαμπάδας τε λαβοῦσαι, καὶ τὸ σύμπαν πρὸς τὸ ^[3] φοβερῶτατον σχηματισάμεναι, τῷ τε στρατοπέδῳ τῷ πολιορκοῦντι σφας νυκτὸς μέσης προσέμιξαν, καὶ τοὺς προφύλακας ὡς καὶ δαίμονές τινες ἐκ- ^[p. 132] πλήξασαι τὸ πῦρ ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα ἀπανταχόθεν ἅμα ἐνέβαλον, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπισπόμενοι σφισι πολλοὺς μὲν ταραττομένους πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ καθεύδοντας ἐφόνευσαν, καὶ ἐκεῖνο τε εὐθύς κατέσχον, καὶ τὸ ναύσταθμον ἐν ᾧ ὁ Ὀκτάουιος ^[4] ἠϋλίζετο αὐτοβοεῖ εἶλον. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐν ῥαστώνῃ τινὶ ἐγένοντο: διαφυγῶν γὰρ πῶς αὐτοὺς δύναιμιν τε αὐθις ἤθροισε, καὶ μάχῃ νικήσας προσήδρευε σφισι. κἀν τούτῳ τοῦ Γαβινίου νόσω τελευτήσαντος τῆς τε

θαλάσσης τῆς ἐκεῖ πάσης ^[5] ἐκράτησε, καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκβαίνων πολλὰ αὐτῆς ἐκακούργει, μέχρις οὗ ἢ τε πρὸς Φαρσάλῳ μάχη ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλευσάντων τινῶν ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου σφίσι μετέστησαν, μηδὲ ἐς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ἐλθόντες. τότε γὰρ ἐρμηωθείς τῶν συμμάχων ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν ἀπεχώρησε. 12. καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος δὲ ὁ Γναῖος πρότερον μὲν τῷ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ναυτικῷ περιπλέων τὴν τε Ἥπειρον καλουμένην κατέτρεχε καὶ Ὠρικὸν ὀλίγου εἶλε, Μάρκου Ἀκιλίου αὐτὸ κατέχοντος, καὶ τὸν τε ἔσπλουν τὸν ἐς τὸν λιμένα πλοίοις λίθων γέμουσι χώσαντος, καὶ περὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ πύργους ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπὶ τε τῆς ^[2] ἡπείρου καὶ ἐφ' ὀλκάδων ἐγείραντος. τοὺς τε γὰρ λίθους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς σκάφεσιν ἐγκειμένους κολυμβηταῖς ὑψύδροις διασκεδάσας, καὶ αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα κουφισθέντα ἐλκύσας, τὸν τε ἔσπλουν ἠλευθέρωσε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὀπλίτας ἐφ' ἐκάτερα ^[p. 134] τῆς χηλῆς ἐκβιβάσας ἐπεσέπλευσε, καὶ τὰ τε πλοῖα πάντα καὶ τῆς πόλεως τὸ πολὺ ^[3] κατέκαυσεν. εἶλε δ' ἂν καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν, εἰ μὴ τρωθεὶς δέος τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις μὴ καὶ ἀποθάνῃ παρέσχε. θεραπευθεὶς δ' οὖν Ὠρικῷ μὲν οὐκέτι προσέβαλε, τὰ δ' ἄλλα περιφοιτῶν ἐπόρθει, καὶ ποτε καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου μάτην, ^[4] ὥσπερ πον καὶ ἄλλοι τινές, ἐπείρασε. τέως μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποίει: ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ τε πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἡττήθη καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι πυθόμενοι τοῦτο οἴκαδε ἀπέπλευσαν, οὕτω δὴ πρὸς τὸν Κάτωνα ἀφίκετο. 13. καὶ αὐτὸν Κάσσιος ὁ Γάιος ἐμιμήσατο, πλείστα μὲν καὶ τῆς Σικελίας καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας λυπήσας, πολλὰς δὲ μάχαις ἐν τε τῇ θαλάσῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ συχνοὺς νικήσας. ^[2] προύχοντα μὲν δὴ τὸν Κάτωνα ἀρετῇ σφῶν ἰδόντες πολλοὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν συγκατέφυγον, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνος συναγωνισταῖς καὶ συμβούλοις πρὸς πάντα χρώμενος ἐς Πελοπόννησον, ὡς καὶ καταληψόμενος αὐτήν, ἔπλευσεν: οὐ γὰρ πῶ ^[3] τὸν Πομπήιον τεθνεῶτα ἠκηκόει. καὶ Πάτρας μὲν κατέσχον, κἀναῦθα ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν Πετρέιον τὸν τε Πομπηίου γαμβρὸν τὸν Φαῦστον προσέλαβον: Κυνίτου δὲ δὴ Φουφίου Καλῆνου μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπιστρατεύσαντός σφισιν ἐξανήχθησαν, καὶ ἐς Κυρήνην ἐλθόντες καὶ ἐκεῖ τὸν τοῦ Πομπηίου θάνατον μαθόντες οὐκέτι συνεφρόνησαν, ^[4] ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Κάτων δι' ἀχθηδόνα τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος δυναστείας, καὶ ἄλλοι τινές δι' ^[p. 136] ἀπόγνωσιν τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ συγγνώμης, ἐς τε τὴν Ἀφρικὴν μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπλευσαν καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα προσλαβόντες πάντα ἐπὶ τῷ ^[5] Καίσαρι ἔπραττον, οἱ δὲ δὴ πλείους ἐσκεδάσθησαν, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἀποχωρήσαντες ἀπῆλλαξαν ὡς πον καὶ συνέτυχε σφίσιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα παραχρῆμα ἐλθόντες, ἄλλοι τε καὶ Γάιος Κάσσιος, ἀδείας ἔτυχον. 14. ὁ δὲ δὴ Καλῆνος ἐπέμφθη τε ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πρὸ τῆς μάχης ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ εἶλεν ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἅτε καὶ ἀτειχιστον ὄντα. τὰς γὰρ Ἀθήνας, καίπερ πλείστα τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν κακώσας, οὐκ ἠδυνήθη πρὸ τῆς τοῦ ^[2] Πομπηίου ἡττης λαβεῖν: τότε γὰρ ἐθελονταὶ αὐτῷ προσεχώρησαν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ μηδὲν μνησικακήσας ἀθῶους ἀφῆκε, τοσοῦτον μόνον εἰπών, ὅτι πολλὰ ἀμαρτάνοντες ὑπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν σώζοιντο. τὸ δὲ δὴ ἔπος τοῦτο ἐδήλου ὅτι σφῶν διὰ τε τοὺς προγόνους καὶ διὰ τὴν δόξαν τὴν τε ^[3] ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν ἐφείσατο. Ἀθῆναι μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ πλείω τῆς Ἑλλάδος εὐθὺς τότε

ὠμολόγησαν αὐτῷ, Μεγαρεῖς δὲ καὶ ὡς ἀντέσχον: πολλῷ τε ὕστερον χρόνῳ τὰ μὲν βία τὰ δὲ καὶ προδοσίᾳ ἤλωσαν. ὅθεν περ φόνος τε αὐτῶν [4] πολὺς ἐγένετο καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐπράθησαν. ὁ μέντοι Καλῆνος τοῦτο μὲν, ἵνα δὴ καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν αὐτοὺς τιμωρῆσθαι δόξῃ, ἐποίησε: φοβηθεῖς δὲ μὴ καὶ παντελῶς ἡ πόλις ἀπόληται, πρῶτα μὲν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύουσιν σφᾶς, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐλαχίστου ἀπέδωκε, ἵν' ἐλευθερωθῶσι. [p. 138] [5] καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα πράξας ἐπὶ τε τὰς Πάτρας ἐπεστράτευσε, καὶ ἀμαχεῖ αὐτάς, τὸν τε Κάτωννα καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ προεκφοβήσας, κατέσχευεν: 15. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ὡς ἕκαστα ἐπράττετο, καὶ ἡ Ἰβηρία καί περ εἰρηνεύουσα ἐκινήθη. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ Λογγίνος ὁ Κύντος πολλὰ καὶ τότε αὐτοὺς ἐλυμαίνετο, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὀλίγοι τινὲς συνέστησαν [2] ὡς καὶ ἀποκτενοῦντες αὐτόν: ἐπεὶ δὲ δὴ τρωθεὶς διέφυγε κακ τοῦτου πολλῷ μείζω σφᾶς ἡδίκηκε, συχνοὶ μὲν Κορδουβήσιοι συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ στρατιῶται, ἅτε καὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου γεγονότες, [3] ἐπανεστήσαν αὐτῷ, Μάρκον Μάρκελλον Αἰσερνῖνον τὸν ταμίαν προσθησάμενοι. οὐ μὴν καὶ ὅλη τῇ γνώμῃ αὐτοὺς προσεδέξατο, ἀλλὰ τὸ τε ἀστάθμητον τῶν πραγμάτων ὁρῶν καὶ τὴν ἐκβασίν σφων ἐφ' ἑκάτερα προσδεχόμενος ἐπημπούρει καὶ διὰ μέσου πάντα καὶ ἔλεγε καὶ ἔπραττεν, ὥστε, ἂν τε ὁ Καῖσαρ ἂν τε καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος κρατήσῃ, ἀμφοτέροις σφίσι συνηγωνίσθαι δόξαι. [4] Πομπηίῳ μὲν γάρ, ὅτι τοὺς τε μεταστάντας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐδέξατο καὶ τῷ Λογγίνῳ τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος πράττειν λέγοντι ἀντεπολέμησεν, ἐχαρίσατο, Καῖσαρι δὲ ὅτι καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὡς καὶ τοῦ Λογγίνου νεωτερίζοντός τι, παραλαβὼν τοὺτους τε αὐτῷ ἐτήρησε καὶ ἐκείνους οὐκ εἴασε [5] πολεμωθῆναι. καὶ τὸ γε ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου τῶν στρατιωτῶν ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ἐπιγραφάντων ἀπῆλειψεν, ὅπως καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτου τῷ μὲν τὰ ἔργα τῶν ὀπλων τῷ δὲ τὴν δόκησιν προβάλλων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κρατήσαντος γεγονόντων [p. 140] προσποιούμενος, τὰ δὲ ἐναντία ἔς τε τὴν ἀνάγκην καὶ ἔς ἄλλους τινὰς ἀναφέρων, ἀσφαλὲς εἶη: 16. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, καίτοι παρασχὼν αὐτῷ παντελῶς τοῦ Λογγίνου τῷ πλήθει κρατῆσαι, οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἔς τε ἔνδειξιν καὶ ἔς παρασκευὴν ὧν ἐβούλετο προάγων τὰ πράγματα, ἐπ' ἄλλοις πρὸς τὰ ἀμφίλογα αὐτῶν ἐποίησατο, ὥστε καὶ ἐν οἷς ἡλαττώθη καὶ ἐν οἷς ἐπλεονέκτησε τι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁμοίως τὰ μὲν ὡς αὐτὸς καὶ ἐποίησε καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησε, [2] τὰ δὲ ὡς ἕτεροι, προτείνασθαι δυνηθῆναι. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω διαγαγὼν μέχρις οὗ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐνίκησε, παραχρῆμα μὲν ἔς ὀργὴν αὐτῷ ἦλθε καὶ ὑπερωρίσθη, ἔπειτα δὲ κατήλθε καὶ ἐτιμήθη: Λογγίνος δέ, καταβοησάντων αὐτοῦ διὰ πρεσβείας τῶν Ἰβήρων, τῆς τε ἀρχῆς ἐξέπεσε, καὶ οἰκάδε ἀνακομιζόμενος ἐφθάρη πρὸς ταῖς τοῦ Ἰβήρος ἐκβολαῖς. 17. ταῦτα μὲν ἔξω ἐγένετο: οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, τέως μὲν ἐν τε ἀμφιλόγῳ καὶ ἐν μετεώρῳ τὰ τε τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου πράγματα ἦν, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ προφανοῦς πάντες τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπὸ τε τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ τῆς συνούσης σφίσι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σερουιλίου τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἐσπούδαζον, [2] καὶ εἴτε που κρατήσας ἠγγέλθη, ἔχαιρον, εἴτε καὶ πταίσας, ἐλυποῦντο, οἱ μὲν ἀληθῶς οἱ δὲ πλαστῶς ἑκάτερον: καὶ γὰρ κατάσκοποι σφων καὶ κατήκοοι, πάνθ' ὅσα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐλέγετο καὶ ἐγένετο παρατηροῦντες, πολλοὶ περιενόστουν: [3] ἰδίᾳ δὲ τὰ ἐναντιώτατα τῶν φανερῶν οἱ τῷ τε

Καίσαρι ἀχθόμενοι καὶ τὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου προαιρούμενοι ^[p. 142] καὶ ἔλεγον καὶ ἐποίουν, κᾶκ τούτου τα τε ἀγγελλόμενα κατὰ τὸ πρόσφορόν σφισιν ἀμφοτέροι λαμβάνοντες τοῖς μὲν δεδιότως τοῖς δὲ ^[4] θαρσοῦντως ἐχρῶντο, καὶ οἷα πολλῶν καὶ ποικίλων ἔν τε τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ πολλάκις λογοποιουμένων χαλεπώτατα διετίθεντο: καὶ γὰρ ἡδοντο καὶ ἐλυποῦντο καὶ ἐθάρσουν 18. καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο διὰ βραχυτάτου. ἀγγελθείσης δὲ τῆς Φαρσαλικῆς μάχης ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν ἠπίσταντο: οὔτε γὰρ ὁ Καῖσαρ τῷ κοινῷ τι ἐπέστειλεν, ὀκνήσας δημοσίᾳ χαίρων ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ νίκῃ φανῆναι ἴδιόπερ οὐδὲ ἐπινίκια αὐτῆς ἔπεμψε, καὶ ὁ παράλογος πρὸς τε τὴν παρασκευὴν αὐτῶν ^[2] καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἐλπιζόμενα πολὺς ἐφαίνετο. ὥς δ' οὖν ἐπίστευσάν ποτε, τὰς μὲν εἰκόνας τοῦ τε Πομπηίου καὶ τοῦ Σύλλου τὰς ἐπὶ τῷ βήματι ἐσώσας ἀνεῖλον, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν τότε ἔπραξαν: συχνοὶ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῦτο βουλόμενοι ποιῆσαι, συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον, μὴ πως ἀναμαχέσεται, φοβούμενοι, τῷ τε Καίσαρι καὶ ἐκεῖνο ^[3] ἱκανῶς ἔχειν ἐνόμιζον, καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον εὐπαράειπτον ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενήσεσθαι σφισι προσεδόκων. ἐπεὶ μέντοι καὶ ἀπέθανεν, ὃψὲ μὲν καὶ τοῦτο, καὶ οὐ πρότερον πρὶν τὸν δακτύλιον αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντα ἰδεῖν, ἐπίστευσαν ἔνεγγεῖντο δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τρόπαια 19. τρία, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Σύλλου, ὥς δ' οὖν ἐτεθνήκει, φανερώς τε ἤδη τὸν μὲν ἐπῆγουν τὸν δὲ ἐλοιδόρουν, καὶ πᾶν ὃ τι ποτὲ ἐξευρεῖν ἐδύναντο ἐσηγοῦντο δοθῆναι τῷ Καίσαρι. καὶ ἔν ^[p. 144] τε τούτῳ πολλὴ ἦν παρὰ πάντων ὡς εἰπεῖν τῶν πρώτων ἁμιλλα, ὑπερβάλλειν σφῶν ἀλλήλους τῇ κολακειᾷ σπουδαζόντων, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐπιχειροτονίᾳ ^[2] αὐτῶν: τοῖς τε γὰρ ἐπιβοήμασι καὶ τοῖς σχήμασι πάντες, ὡς καὶ παρόντος καὶ ὀρώντος τοῦ Καίσαρος, πολὺ πλείστην σπουδὴν ἐνεδείκνυντο, καὶ ἐνόμιζον εὐθὺς ἀντ' αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ τι αὐτῷ χαριζόμενοι ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξ ἀνάγκης αὐτὸ ποιοῦντες, ὁ μὲν ἀρχὴν ὁ δὲ ἱερωσύνην ὁ δὲ καὶ ^[3] χρήματα ἀντιλήψεσθαι. ἐγὼ οὖν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, ὅσα ἦτοι καὶ ἑτέροις τισὶ πρότερον ἐψήφισται, εἰκόνας τε καὶ στεφάνους καὶ προεδρίας τὰ τε τοιουτότροπα, ἡ καινὰ μὲν καὶ τότε ἐσενεχθέντα πρῶτον ἦν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐβεβαιώθη, παραλείψω, μὴ καὶ δι' ὅχλου γένωμαι ^[4] εἰ πάντα αὐτὰ ἐπεξιοίμι: τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα, καὶ μᾶλλον γε ὅσω καὶ πλείω καὶ ἀτοπώτερα ἀεὶ ἐσῆγετο, ποιήσω: μόνον δὲ δὴ ὅσα ἴδιόν τέ τι καὶ ἐξαιρετον ἔχοντα ἐκυροῦτο καταλέξω. 20. τοὺς τε γὰρ τὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου φρονήσαντας ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτῷ πᾶν ὃ τι ποτ' ἂν ἐθελήσῃ δρᾶσαι, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς παρ' ἑαυτοῦ οὐ τοῦτ' ἤδη λαβὼν εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ ἐν νόμῳ δὴ τινι αὐτὸ ποιεῖν δόξῃ: καὶ πολέμων καὶ εἰρήνης κύριον, προφάσει τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ συνισταμένων, πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀπέδειξαν αὐτόν, κἂν μηδὲν μήτε τῷ δήμῳ μήτε ^[2] τῇ βουλῇ περὶ αὐτῶν κοινώσεται. καὶ ἦν μὲν ^[p. 146] που καὶ τοῦτο καὶ πρὶν ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ ἄτε καὶ δύναντιν τηλικαύτην ἔχοντι: τοὺς γοῦν πολέμους οὐς ἐπολέμησε πάντας ὀλίγου καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνείλετο: ὅμως δ' οὖν αὐτῷ ἑπολιταί τε γὰρ καὶ αὐτοτελεῖς ἐτι δοκεῖν εἶναι ἡθέλον' ταῦτά τε οὕτως ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ἃ καὶ ἀκόντων αὐτῶν ἔχειν ^[3] ἐδύναντο. ὑπατός τε γὰρ ἔτη πέντε ἐφεξῆς γενέσθαι καὶ δικτάτωρ οὐκ ἐς ἔκμηνον ἀλλ' ἐς ἐνιαυτὸν ὅλον λεχθῆναι ἔλαβεν, τὴν τε ἐξουσίαν τῶν δημάρχων διὰ βίου ὡς εἰπεῖν

προσέθετο: συγκαθέζεσθαι τε γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βάθρων καὶ ἐς τᾶλλα συνεξετάζεσθαι ^[4] σφίσιν, ὃ μηδενὶ ἐξῆν, εὗρετο. αἱ τε ἀρχαιρεσῖαι πᾶσαι, πλὴν τῶν τοῦ πλήθους, ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἀναβληθεῖσαι ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τοῦ ἔτους ἐτελέσθησαν. τὰς τε ἡγεμονίας τὰς ἐν τῷ ὑπηκόῳ τοῖς μὲν ὑπάτοις αὐτοὶ δῆθεν ἐκλήρωσαν, τοῖς δὲ δὴ στρατηγοῖς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀκληρωτὶ δοῦναι ἐψηφίσαντο: ἔς τε γὰρ τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ ἐς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς αὐθις παρὰ τὰ δεδογμένα ^[5] σφίσιν ἐπανῆλθον. καὶ ἕτερον δέ τι, εἰθισμένον μὲν γίνεσθαι, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ τοῦ καιροῦ διαφθορᾷ καὶ ἐπιφθονον καὶ νεμεσητὸν ὄν, ἔγνωσαν: τοῦ γὰρ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς τε τὸν Ἰόβαν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ πολεμήσαντας, ὃν ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐδέπω τότε οὐδ' ὅτι γενήσοιτο ἡπιστάτο, πέμψαι τινὰ αὐτῷ νικητήρια ὡς κεκρατηκότι προσέταξαν. ^[p. 148] 21. Ταῦτ' οὖν οὕτω καὶ ἐψηφίσθη καὶ ἐκυρώθη: καὶ ὁ τε Καῖσαρ τὴν δικτατορίαν παραχρῆμα, καίπερ ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας ὢν, ὑπέστη, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον μηδὲ ἐστρατηγηκότα ἵππαρχον προελόμενος, καὶ εἶπε καὶ τοῦτον ὁ ὕπατος, καίτοι τῶν οἰωνιστῶν σφοδρότατα ἀντειπόντων μηδενὶ ἐξεῖναι πλείω τοῦ ἐξαμήνου χρόνον ἵπαρχῆσαι. ^[2] ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γέλωτα ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολὺν ὠφλίσκανον, αὐτὸν μὲν τὸν δικτάτορα ἐς ἐνιαυτὸν παρὰ πάντα τὰ πάτρια λεχθῆναι γνόντες, περὶ 22. δὲ δὴ τοῦ ἱπάρχου ἀκριβολογοῦμενοι: ὁ δὲ δὴ Καίλιος ὁ Μᾶρκος καὶ ἀπώλετο τολμήσας τὰ περὶ τῶν δανεισμάτων ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὀρισθέντα, καθάπερ ἡττημένου τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐφθαρμένου, λῦσαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ τὴν ^[2] Καμπανίαν ἐκταράξας. οὗτος γὰρ ἔπραξε μὲν ἀνὰ πρῶτους τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, διὸ καὶ στρατηγὸς ἀπεδείχθη: ὀργισθεὶς δὲ ὅτι τε μὴ ἡστυνόμησεν καὶ ὅτι καὶ ὁ Τρεβώνιος ὁ συνάρχων αὐτοῦ οὐ κληρωτὸς, ὥσπερ εἴθιστο, ἀλλ' αἰρετὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τὴν ἀστυνομίαν προεκρίθη, ^[3] ἠναντιοῦτο πρὸς πάντα τῷ συνάρχοντι καὶ οὗτ' ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐπιβαλλόντων οἱ ποιεῖσθαι ἐπέτρεπεν, οὕτε τὰς δίκας κατὰ τοὺς τοῦ Καίσαρος νόμους τελεῖσθαι συνεχώρει, καὶ προσέτι τοῖς ὀφείλουσι τι βοηθήσειν ἐπὶ τοὺς δεδανεικότας καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἀλλοτρίων οἴκοις τὸ ἐνοίκιον ἀφήσειν ^[4] ἐπηγγέλλετο. προσθέμενος δὲ ἐκ τούτου ^[p. 150] συχνοὺς ἐπῆλθε μετ' αὐτῶν τῷ Τρεβωνίῳ, κἄν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸν εἰ μὴ τὴν τε ἐσθῆτα ἡλλάξατο καὶ διέφυγέ σφας ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ. διαμαρτῶν δὲ τούτου νόμον ἰδίᾳ ἐξέθηκε, προῖκά τε πᾶσιν οἰκεῖν διδοὺς καὶ τὰ χρέα ἀποκόπτων. 23. ὁ οὖν Σερουίλιος στρατιώτας τέ τινας ἐς Γαλατίαν κατὰ τύχην παριόντας μετεπέμψατο, καὶ τὴν βουλὴν τῇ παρ' αὐτῶν φρουρᾷ συναγαγὼν προέθηκε γνῶμην περὶ τῶν παρόντων, καὶ κυρωθέντος μὲν μηδενὸς ἡμαρχοὶ γὰρ ἐκώλυσαν' συγγραφέντος δὲ τοῦ δόξαντος ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ^[2] ὑπηρέταις καθελεῖν τὰ πινάκια. ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ Καίλιος ἐκείνους τε ἀπῆλασε καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ὕπατον ἐς θόρυβον κατέστησε, συνῆλθον αὐθις φραζάμενοι τοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως τῷ Σερουιλίῳ, ὥσπερ ἄνω μοι πολλάκις ^[3] περὶ αὐτῆς εἴρηται, παρέδοσαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐδὲν ἐκ τούτου τῷ Καίλιῳ ὡς καὶ στρατηγοῦντι πρᾶξαί ἐφῆκεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε προσήκοντα τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ ἄλλῳ τῷ τῶν στρατηγῶν προσέταξε, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον τοῦ τε συνεδρίου εἴρξε καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος καταβοῶντά τι κατέσπασε, τὸν τε 24.

δίφρον αὐτοῦ συνέτριψεν· ὁ δὲ ὄργην μὲν πολλὴν καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐποιεῖτο, δεδιὼς δὲ μὴ καὶ κολασθῇ ἰδύναμιν γὰρ ἀξιόμαχον ἐν τῇ πόλει εἶχεν· ἐς Καμπανίαν πρὸς Μίλωνα νεωτερίζοντα [2] τι ἀπᾶραι ἔγνω. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐπειδὴ μόνος τῶν φευγόντων οὐ κατήχθη πρὸς τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἔς τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφίκετο, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους, τοὺς μὲν βίου δεομένους τοὺς δὲ καὶ τιμωρίαν τινὰ δεδιότας, συλλέξας τὴν τε χώραν ἐκακοῦργει [p. 152] καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς τε ἄλλαις καὶ τῇ Καπύῃ [3] προσέβαλλε. πρὸς οὖν τοῦτον ὁ Καίλιος ἀφορμῆσαι ἐθελήσας ὥς μετ' αὐτοῦ πᾶν ὃ τι δύναιτο τὸν Καίσαρα λυπήσῃ, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ μήτε ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς ἐκδημῆσαι ἐδύνατο 'παρετηρεῖτο γάρ' μήτ' αὖ ἐκδρᾶναι ἐτόλμα διὰ τε τᾶλλα καὶ ὅτι πολλῶ πλείω ἐν τε τῷ σχήματι καὶ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τῷ τῆς στρατηγίας ὦν καταπράξειν ἤλπιζε, τῷ τε ὑπάτῳ προσῆλθε καὶ παρητεῖτο αὐτόν, λέγων καὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπελθεῖν βούλεσθαι. [4] ὑποτοπήσας οὖν ἐκεῖνος τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ ἐπέτρεψε μὲν οἱ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι πολλὺς ἐνέκειτο τό τε τοῦ Καίσαρος ὄνομα ἐπικαλούμενος καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀπολογίαν δὴ ἐπείγεσθαι σκηπτόμενος, συνέπεμψε δὲ αὐτῷ δήμαρχόν τινα, ἴν' εἴ τι νεοχμῶσαι τολμήσειε 25. κωλυθεῖη. ὥς δὲ ἐν τῇ Καμπανίᾳ ἐγένοντο, καὶ ὁ τε Μίλων πταίσας πρὸς τῇ Καπύῃ ἐς τὰ Τιφατῖνα ὄρη κατεπεφεύγει καὶ ὁ Καίλιος οὐκέτι περαιτέρω προυχώρει, δείσας ὁ δήμαρχος οἴκαδε [2] ἐπαναγαγεῖν αὐτὸν ἠθέλησε. προπυθόμενος οὖν ταῦθ' ὁ Σερουίλιος τῷ μὲν Μίλῳ πόλεμον ἐν τῇ βουλῇ ἐπήγγειλε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Καίλιον ὑπομεῖναι μὲν ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ, μὴ καὶ ταραξῇ τι, ἐκέλευσεν, οὐ μέντοι διὰ φυλακῆς ἀκριβοῦς ἄτε καὶ στρατηγοῦντα ἐποίησατο. ἀπέδρα τε οὖν καὶ [3] πρὸς τὸν Μίλωνα ἠπειγέτο. κἂν ἔπραξέ τι ταραχῶδες, εἰ ζῶντα αὐτὸν εὕρηκε. νῦν δὲ ἐκ τῆς Καμπανίας ἐκπεσόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν Ἀπουλίᾳ φθαρέντος, ἔς τε τὴν Βρεττανίαν ἦλθεν ὥς ἐνταῦθα [p. 154] γέ τι συστήσων, καὶ ἐκεῖ πρὶν ποιῆσαι τι λόγου ἄξιον ἀπώλετο· συστραφέντες γὰρ οἱ τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος πράττοντες ἀπέκτειναν αὐτόν. 26. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἀπέθανον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἡσυχία παρὰ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ συνηνέχθη, ὥσπερ που καὶ τὰ τέρατα προεδήλωσεν. ἐκείνῳ τε γὰρ τῷ ἔτει τελευτῶντι ἄλλα τέ τινα συνέβη, καὶ μέλισσαι ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ παρὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἰδρῦθησαν. [2] καὶ ἐτύγγανε γὰρ ἱερὰ Ἰσίδι ἐνταῦθα τότε γιγνόμενά ἔδοξε γνώμῃ τῶν μάντεων πάντα αὐθις τὰ τε ἐκείνης καὶ τὰ τοῦ Σαρὰπιδος τεμενίσματα κατασκάψαι· γενομένου δὲ τούτου καὶ Ἐννεῖόν τι λαθὼν σφας προσκαθηρέθη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κεράμια ἀνθρωπείων σαρκῶν μεστὰ [3] εὕρεθη. τῷ τε ἐχομένῳ σεισμός τε ἰσχυρὸς ἐγένετο καὶ βύας ὤφθη, κεραυνοὶ τε ἔς τε τὸ Καπιτωλίον καὶ ἐς τὸν τῆς Τύχης τῆς δημοσίας καλουμένης ναὸν ἔς τε τοὺς τοῦ Καίσαρος κήπους κατέσκηψαν, κάνταῦθα ἵππος τις τῶν οὐκ ἡμελημένων [4] ἀπέθανεν ὑπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸ Τυχαῖον αὐτόματον ἀνέώχθη. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις αἰμά τε ἐξ ἐργαστηρίου σιτοποιοῦ προχυθὲν ἀφίκετο πρὸς νεῶν ἕτερον Τύχης, ἣν ἐκ τοῦ πάντα τὰ τε ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ τὰ κατόπιν καὶ ἐφορᾶν καὶ ἐκλογίζεσθαι χρῆναι τινα, μηδὲ ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι ἐξ οἶων οἷος ἐγένετο, καὶ ἰδρῦσαντο καὶ ἐπεκάλεσαν τρόπον τινὰ οὐκ εὐαφήγητον Ἑλλήσι· [5] καὶ βρέφη τινὰ τὰς ἀριστερὰς ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς χεῖρας ἔχοντα

ἐγεννήθη, ὥστε ἕκ τε τῶν ἄλλων [p. 156] μηδὲν ὑγιὲς ὑποπτεῦσθαι, καὶ ἕκ τούτων μάλιστα τὴν τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων κατὰ τῶν προτετιμημένων ἐπανάστασιν τοὺς τε μάντις προειπεῖν καὶ τὸν δῆμον προσδέχεσθαι. 27. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου προδειχθέντα ἐτάραττεν αὐτούς: συνεπλάβετο δὲ σφισι τοῦ φόβου καὶ ἡ ὄψις αὐτῇ τῆς πόλεως καὶ δεινὴ καὶ ἀήθης ἔν τε τῇ νομηνίᾳ καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπὶ πολὺ [2] γενομένη. ὕπατος μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ στρατηγὸς οὐδέπω ἦν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἀντώνιος τῆς μὲν ἐσθῆτος ἕνεκα τῇ γὰρ περιπορφύρῳ ἐχρήτῳ καὶ ῥαβδούχων τοὺς γὰρ ἕξ μόνους εἶχε τοῦ τε τὴν βουλὴν ἀθροίζειν εἰκόνα τινὰ τῆς δημοκρατίας παρῆχετο, τῷ δὲ δὴ ξίφει ὃ παρέζωστο καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν συνόντων οἱ στρατιωτῶν τοῖς τε ἔργοις αὐτοῖς ὅτι [3] μάλιστα τὴν μοναρχίαν ἐνεδείκνυτο: καὶ γὰρ ἀρπαγαὶ καὶ ὕβρεις καὶ σφαγαὶ πολλαὶ ἐγίνοντο. καὶ ἦν οὐ τὸ παρὸν μόνον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις χαλεπώτατον, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα πολὺ πλείω καὶ δεινότερα ὑπωπτεῦετο: ὅπου γὰρ ὁ Ἱπάρχος οὐδὲ ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσι τὸ ξίφος κατετίθετο τὰς γὰρ πλείους ταῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος παρασκευαῖς [4] ἐπετέλεσεν: ὀλίγας γὰρ τινὰς καὶ οἱ δήμαρχοι ἐποίησαν, τίς οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν τὸν δικτάτορα ὑπετόπησεν; εἰ γὰρ τις καὶ τὴν χρηστότητα αὐτοῦ, ὅφ' ἥς πολλῶν καὶ ἀντιπολεμησάντων οἱ ἐπέφειστο, ἐνενόει, ἀλλ' οὗτοι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοίων τοὺς τε ἐφιεμένους ἀρχῆς καὶ τοὺς καταπράξαντας αὐτὴν μένοντας ἰδόντες καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἀλλοιωθήσεσθαι 28. προσεδόκων. ἔλυποῦντό τε οὖν, καὶ [p. 158] πολλὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οἷς γε καὶ ἀσφάλειά τις ἦν, διελάλουν. οὐ γὰρ που καὶ πᾶσιν ἀδεῶς συγγίγνεσθαι ἐδύναντο: καὶ γὰρ οἱ πάνυ φίλοι δοκοῦντές τινων εἶναι, συγγενεῖς τε ἕτεροι, διέβαλλόν σφας, τὰ μὲν παρατρέποντες τὰ δὲ καὶ [2] παντάπασι καταψευδόμενοι. ὅθεν οἱ λοιποὶ καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐκακοπάθουν, ὅτι μήτε προσολοφύρασθαι μήτ' ἐπικοινωνοῦντες ἔχοντες οὐδ' ἀπαλλαγῆναι ποτε αὐτοῦ ἐδύναντο. ἡ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοπαθεῖς συνουσία ἔφερε τινα αὐτοῖς [3] κούφισιν, καὶ τις ἀσφαλῶς ἐκκαλήσας τέ τι καὶ ἀντακούσας οἷα ἔπασχον ῥάων ἐγίνετο: ἡ δὲ δὴ πρὸς τοὺς οὐχ ὁμοήθεις ἀπιστία καθεύργνυ τε ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς αὐτῶν τὴν ἀνίαν καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον αὐτὰς ἐξέκαε, μήτ' ἀποφυγὴν μήτ' ἀνάπαυσιν τινα [4] λαμβανούσας. πρὸς γὰρ τῷ κατεχόμενα ἔνδον τὰ παθήματά σφας τηρεῖν, καὶ εὐλογεῖν αὐτὰ καὶ θαυμάζειν, ἐορτάζειν τε καὶ βουθυτεῖν εὐθυμῆσθαι τε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἠναγκάζοντο. 29. οὕτω μὲν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε ὄντες διετίθεντο: ὡς περ δὲ οὐκ ἀποχρῶν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κατοῦσθαι, Λούκιος τέ τις Τρεβέλλιος καὶ Πούπλιος Κορνήλιος Δολοβέλλας δήμαρχοι ἐστασίασαν. οὗτος μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ὀφείλουσιν, ἐξ ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν, διὸ καὶ ἕκ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τῇ δημαρχίᾳ [2] μετέστη, συνηγωνίζετο: ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἔλεγε μὲν τῶν ἀμεινόνων προϊστασθαι, ἕκ δὲ δὴ τοῦ ὁμοίου [p. 160] αὐτῷ καὶ γράμματα ἐξετίθει καὶ σφαγαῖς ἐχρήτο. ταραχὴ τε οὖν καὶ ἕκ τούτων πολλὴ ἐγίνετο, καὶ ὅπλα πολλὰ καὶ πανταχοῦ ἑωρᾶτο, καίτοι τῶν τε βουλευτῶν ἀπαγορευσάντων μηδὲν πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀφίξεως καινοτομηθῆναι, καὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μηδένα ἐν τῷ ἅστει ἰδιώτην ὀπλοφορεῖν. [3] καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐσήκουον, ἀλλὰ πάντα δὴ πάντως καὶ ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἐποιοῦν, τρίτῃ στάσις τοῦ τε Ἀντωνίου καὶ τῆς γερουσίας ἐγένετο:

Ἰνα γὰρ καὶ παρ' αὐτῆς τὰ τε ὄπλα καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ἣ φθάσας ἐχρῆτο, προστεθεῖσθαι νομισθεῖν, στρατιώτας τε ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους τρέφειν καὶ τὴν πόλιν διὰ φυλακῆς μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ^[4] δημάρχων ποιεῖσθαι ἔλαβε. καὶ τοῦτου Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἐν νόμῳ δὴ τινι πάνθ' ὅσα ἐπεθύμει ἔδρα, Δολοβέλλας δὲ καὶ Τρεβέλλιος ὄνομα μὲν βιαίου πράξεως εἶχον, ἀντηγωνίζοντο δὲ ὑπὸ τε τῆς θρασυτήτος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἐκείνῳ, ὥσπερ τινὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡγεμονίαν παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς εἰληφότες. 30. κὰν τοῦτῳ Ἀντώνιος πυθόμενος τὰ στρατόπεδα, ἃ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὡς καὶ ἐφευρόμενός σφισι προέτεμψε, μηδὲν ὑγιᾶς δρᾶν, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ τι νεωτερίσωσι, τὸ μὲν ἄστὺ τῷ Καίσαρι τῷ Λουκίῳ ἐπέτρεψε, πολίταρχον αὐτὸν ἀποδείξας, ὃ μηπώποτε πρὸς ἱππάρχου ἐγεγόνει, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας ^[2] ἐξώρμησεν. οἱ οὖν δήμαρχοι οἱ ἀντιστασιάζοντές σφισι τοῦ τε Λουκίου διὰ τὸ γῆρας κατεφρόνησαν, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ, μέχρις οὗ τὸν Καίσαρα τὰ ^[p. 162] τε ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ διωκηκότα καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὠρμηκότα ἐπύθοντο, καὶ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ^[3] ἐξείργασαντο. ὡς γὰρ οὐκέτ' αὐτοῦ ἐπανήξοντος, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ που πρὸς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ὥσπερ που ἤκουον, ἀπολουμένου, διεφέροντο. τότε δὲ χρόνον μὲν τινὰ ἐμετρίασαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Φαρνάκην ἐκεῖνος πρότερον ἐπεστράτευσεν, ἐστασίασαν αὖθις. 31. ὁ οὖν Ἀντώνιος μῆτε ἐπισχεῖν αὐτοὺς δυνάμενος, καὶ τῷ πλήθει διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ἐναντίωσιν προσκρούων, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τοῦτῳ προσέθετο, καὶ τὸν Τρεβέλλιον ἄλλα τε ἐπηγιάτο καὶ ὅτι τοὺς στρατιώτας σφετερίζοιτο: ^[2] ἔπειτα δὲ αἰσθόμενος τὸν ὅμιλον ἑαυτοῦ μὲν μηδὲν προτιμῶντα τῷ δὲ Δολοβέλλῃ μόνῳ προσκείμενον, ἠχθέσθη καὶ μετεβάλετο, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι τῆς μὲν παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους χάριτος οὐκ ἐκοινώνει οἱ, τῆς δὲ παρὰ τῶν βουλευτῶν ^[3] αἰτίας τὸ πλεῖστον μετελάμβανε. καὶ τῷ μὲν λόγῳ ἐν μέσῳ ἀμφοῖν ἔστη, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ τὸν Τρεβέλλιον κρύφα ἀνθίλειτο, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα αὐτῷ συνηγωνίζετο καὶ στρατιώτας λαβεῖν ἐπέτρεπεν. καὶ ὁ μὲν θεατῆς ἐκ τοῦτου καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης αὐτῶν ἐγίγνετο, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἐμάχοντο, καὶ τῆς τε πόλεως τὰ ἐπικαιρότατα ἀντικατελάμβανον καὶ φόνους τε καὶ ἐμπρήσεις ἐποιοῦν, ὥστε καὶ τὰ ἱερά ποτε ἐκ τοῦ Ἑσπαιοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν 32. αἰπαρθένων ἐκκομισθῆναι. αὖθις τε οὖν φυλακὴν οἱ βουλευταὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀκριβεστέραν ^[p. 164] τῷ ἱππάρχῳ ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ στρατιωτῶν ἅπανα ^[2] ὡς εἶπεῖν ἢ πόλιν ἐπληρώθη. οὐ μέντοι καὶ παῦλά τις ἐγένετο. ὁ γὰρ Δολοβέλλας ἀπογνοὺς συγγνώμης τινὸς παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος τεύξεσθαι, μέγα τι κακὸν ἐπεθύμει δράσας ἀπολέσθαι ὡς καὶ ὄνομα ἐκ τοῦτου ἐς αἰὲ στήσων: ἦδη γὰρ τινες καὶ τῶν κακίστων ἔργων ἐρασταὶ ἐπὶ τῇ φήμῃ γίνονται. ὕφ' οὐπὲρ καὶ ἐκεῖνος τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐτάραττε, καὶ τοὺς νόμους, τὸν τε περὶ τῶν χρεῶν καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν ἐνοικίων, ἐν ῥῆτῃ τινι ἡμέρᾳ ^[3] θήσιν ὑπέσχετο. ὡς οὖν τοῦτο τε προεπήγγελτο καὶ ὁ ὄχλος τὰ τε περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀποφράξας καὶ πύργους ἔστιν ἣ ξυλίνους ἐπικαταστήσας ἕτοιμος παντὶ τῷ ἐναντιωθησομένῳ σφίσιν ἐπιχειρῆσαι ἐγένετο, ἐνταῦθ' ὁ Ἀντώνιος στρατιώτας ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πολλοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου καταγαγὼν τὰς τε σανίδας τῶν νόμων κατέκοψε, καὶ τινὰς καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ταραχῶδεις ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου

κατεκρήμνισεν. 33. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπαύσαντο διὰ τοῦτο στασιάζοντες, ἀλλ’ ὅσω πλείους αὐτῶν ἀπώλλυντο, τόσω μᾶλλον οἱ περιλιπεῖς ἐθορύβουν, νομίζοντες τὸν Καίσαρα μεγίστῳ τε καὶ δυσχερεστάτῳ πολέμῳ συμπεπλῆχθαι. οὐδὲ ἐπέσχον πρὶν αὐτὸν ἐκείνον ^[2] ἐξαπναιῶς σφίσιν ὀφθῆναι. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἄκοντες ἡσύχασαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πᾶν ὃ τι ποτὲ ἐνεδέχeto πείσεσθαι προσεδόκων, λόγος τε ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς κατὰ πᾶσαν ὁμοίως τὴν πόλιν ἦν, τῶν μὲν τὰ, τῶν δὲ τὰ ^[p. 166] δικαιοῦντων· ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ τῷ συνήθει οἱ τρόπῳ καὶ τότε ἐχρήσατο. τῇ τε γὰρ παρουσίᾳ αὐτῶν καταστάσει ἠρκέσθη, καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν προγενομένων ἐπολυπραγμόνησεν, ἀλλὰ πάντων τε ἐφείσατο καὶ τινὰς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐτίμησεν, ἄλλους ^[3] τε καὶ τὸν Δολοβέλλαν. εὐεργεσίαν γὰρ τινὰ αὐτῷ ὀφείλων οὐκ ἤξιωσεν αὐτῆς ἐκλαθέσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ὅτι ἡδίκηθη, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκείνης ὠλιγώρησεν, ἀλλ’ ἐξ ὧν εὖ ἐπεπόνθει, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ οἱ συνένγω, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα αὐτὸν ἐν τιμῇ ἤγαγεν, καὶ ὕπατον οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον μηδὲ στρατηγήσαντα ἀπέδειξε. 34. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀπουσίαν ἐγένετο· χρόνιος δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτήν, καὶ οὐκ εὐθύς ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Πομπηίου θανάτῳ, ἦλθε διὰ τὰδε. οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ταῖς τῶν χρημάτων ἐσπράξεσι βαρυνόμενοι, καὶ δεινῶς φέροντες ὅτι ^[2] μηδὲ τῶν ιερῶν τις ἀπείχετο ἑρησκεύουσι τε γὰρ πολλὰ περισσότατα ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πολέμους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἅτε μὴ καθ’ ἐν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντιωτάτου καὶ αὐτοῖς τιμῶντές τινα, ἀναιροῦνται, τούτοις τε οὖν ἀγανακτήσαντες, καὶ προσέτι φοβηθέντες μὴ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ ἅτε μέγα παρὰ τῷ Καίσαρι δυναμένη ^[3] παραδοθῶσιν, ἐταράχθησαν. ἐκείνη τε γὰρ τέως μὲν δι’ ἐτέρων παρ’ αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐδικάζετο, ἔπειτα δὲ ὡς τάχιστα τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ κατέμαθεν ἣν γὰρ ἐρωτικώτατος, καὶ πλείσταις καὶ ἄλλαις, ὅσαις που περιτύχοι, συνεγίγνετό, ^[p. 168] πέμπει πρὸς αὐτὸν προδίδοσθαι τε ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων λέγουσα καὶ ἀξιοῦσα αὐτῇ δι’ ἐαυτῆς ^[4] ἀγωνίσασθαι. ἄλλως τε γὰρ περικαλλεστάτῃ γυναικῶν ἐγένετο, καὶ τότε τῇ τῆς ὥρας ἀκμῇ πολὺ διέπρεπε, τὸ τε φθέγμα ἀστείότατον εἶχε, ^[5] καὶ προσομιλῆσαι παντὶ τῷ διὰ χαρίτων ἡπίστατο, ὥστε λαμπρά τε ἰδεῖν καὶ ἀκουσθῆναι οὔσα, κάκ τούτου πάντα τινὰ καὶ δυσέρωτα καὶ ἀφηλικέστερον ἐξεργάσασθαι δυναμένη, πρὸς τρόπου τε ἐνόμισε τῷ Καίσαρι ἐντεῦξεσθαι, καὶ ^[6] πάντα ἐν τῷ κάλλει τὰ δικαιώματα ἔθετο. ἠτήσατό τε οὖν ἐς ὅσιν αὐτοῦ ἐλθεῖν, καὶ τυχοῦσα κατεκόσμησέ τε ἐαυτήν καὶ ἐξήσκησεν ὥστε σεμνοπρεπεστάτῃ καὶ οἰκτροτάτῃ αὐτῷ ὀφθῆναι. καὶ ἡ μὲν ταῦτα μηχανησαμένη ἔς τε τὴν πόλιν ἅμα ἔξω γὰρ καὶ ἐκείνης ἦν καὶ ἐς τὰ βασιλεία 35. λάθρᾳ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου νυκτὸς ἐσῆλθεν· ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ ἰδὼν τε αὐτήν καὶ τι φθεγξαμένης ἀκούσας οὕτως εὐθύς ἐδουλώθη ὥστε αὐτίκα ὑπὸ τε τὴν ἑω τὸν τε Πτολεμαῖον μεταπέμψασθαι καὶ συναλλάξαι σφᾶς ἐπιχειρῆσαι· ἥς γὰρ δικαστῆς πρότερον ἤξιοῦτο εἶναι, τότε ταῦτη συνεδίκη. ^[2] ὁ οὖν παῖς, διὰ τε τοῦτο καὶ ὅτι τὴν ἀδελφὴν αἰφνιδίως εἶδεν ἔνδον οὔσαν, ὀργῆς τε ἐπληρώθη, καὶ ἐκπηδήσας ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἐβόα λέγων προδίδοσθαι, καὶ τέλος τὸ διάδημα ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς περισπᾶσας ἔρριψε. θορύβου δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μεγάλου συμβάντος ἐκείνον μὲν οἱ Καيسάρειοι στρατιῶται συνήρπασαν, τὸ δὲ δὴ Αἰγύπτιον ^[3] ἐταράττετο· κἂν αὐτοβοεῖ τὰ βασιλεία καὶ ἐκ ^[p. 170] τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐκ τῆς

θαλάσσης ἅμα προσβαλόντες εἶλον 'τοῖς γὰρ Ῥωμαίοις οὐδὲν ἀξιόμαχον, ἅτε καὶ φίλων σφῶν δοκούντων εἶναι, παρῆν', εἰ μὴ φοβηθεῖς ὁ Καῖσαρ προῆλθέ τε ἐς αὐτούς, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ στάς πάντα σφίσιν, ὅσα ἂν ἐθελήσωσι, [4] πράξειν ὑπέσχετο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς ἐκκλησίαν ἐσελθὼν τὸν τε Πτολεμαῖον καὶ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν παρεστήσατο, καὶ τὰς διαθήκας τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν ἀνέγνω, ἐν αἷς ἐκείνους μὲν συνοικῆσαι τε ἀλλήλοις κατὰ τὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων πάτρια καὶ βασιλεῦειν ἅμα, τὸν δὲ δὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον τὴν ἐπιτροπείαν σφῶν ἔχειν ἐγγράψαιτο. [5] πράξας δὲ τοῦτο, καὶ ἐπειπὼν ὅτι ἑαυτῷ, δικτάτορι ὄντι καὶ πᾶν τὸ τοῦ δήμου κράτος ἔχοντι, τὴν τε ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν παιδῶν ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ δόξαντα τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιτελεῖν προσήκει, ἐκείνοις τε τὴν βασιλείαν ἀμφοτέροις ἔδωκε, καὶ τῇ Ἀρσινόῃ τῷ τε Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ νεωτέρῳ, τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς σφῶν, Κύπρον ἐχαρίσατο. [6] τοσοῦτον γὰρ που δέος αὐτὸν ἔσχεν ὥστε μὴ μόνον μηδὲν τῶν τῆς Αἰγύπτου προσλαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν οἰκείων τι αὐτοῖς προσδοῦναι. 36. τότε μὲν οὕτως ἐπαύσαντο, αὐθις δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐκινήθησαν ὥστε καὶ πολεμῆσαι. ὁ γὰρ Ποθεινὸς ὁ τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου χρημάτων προστεταγμένος 'εὐνοῦχος δὲ ἦν καὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα [2] συνετεταράχει, δεισας μὴ καὶ δίκην ποτὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ δῶ, πέμπει κρύφα πρὸς τὸν Ἀχιλλᾶν περὶ τὸ Πηλοῦσιον ἔτι καὶ τότε ὄντα, καὶ αὐτὸν [p. 172] ἐκφοβήσας τε ἅμα καὶ ἐπελπίσας προσηταιρίσατο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς [3] τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοντας ὤκείωσατο. πᾶσι τε γὰρ ὁμοίως δεινὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι ὑπὸ γυναικὸς ἄρχεσθαι, ὑποψία τοῦ τὸν Καίσαρα τότε μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ καταστάσει σφῶν ἀμφοτέροις δῆθεν αὐτοῖς τὴν βασιλείαν δεδωκέναι, προϊόντος δὲ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου [4] μόνῃ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ αὐτὴν προσθήσειν: καὶ ἀντίπαλοι τῷ τότε παρόντι αὐτοῦ στρατῷ ἐνόμιζον εἶναι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν 37. εὐθύς ἄραντες ἤλασαν: πυθόμενος δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Καῖσαρ, καὶ καταδεισας τὸ τε πλῆθος αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς τόλμας, ἔπεμψε τινὰς πρὸς τὸν Ἀχιλλᾶν, οὕτι γε τῷ αὐτοῦ ἀλλὰ τῷ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου ὀνόματι, κελεύοντος αὐτῷ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν. καὶ ὅς συνιείς ὅτι οὐ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀλλ' ἐκείνου ἡ πρόσταξις ἦν, οὐχ ὅπως οὐκ [2] ἐπήκουσεν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσκαταφρονήσας ὥς καὶ φοβούμενος τοὺς τε στρατιώτας συνήγαγε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου πολλὰ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος τῆς τε Κλεοπάτρας εἰπὼν, τέλος καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς πεμφθέντας καίπερ Αἰγυπτίους ὄντας παρώξυνεν αὐτούς, ὅπως τοῦ τε φόνου σφῶν ἀναπλησθῶσι καὶ ἐς ἀνάγκην [3] ἀσπείστου πολέμου καταστῶσι. μαθὼν οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Καῖσαρ τοὺς τε ἐκ τῆς Συρίας στρατιώτας μετεπέμψατο, καὶ τὰ βασιλεία τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ πλησίον αὐτῶν οἰκοδομήματα διετάφρυσεν 38. καὶ ἀπετειχίσεν μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης. κἂν τούτῳ καὶ ὁ Ἀχιλλᾶς μετὰ τε τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαβίνιου σὺν τῷ [p. 174] Σεπτιμῖῳ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου φρουρὰν καταλειφθέντων ἐπελθὼν 'ἐκ γὰρ δὴ τῆς ἐκεῖ διατριβῆς καὶ τοὺς τρόπους ἐς τὸ ἐπχώριον μετεβεβλήκεσαν' τῶν τε Ἀλεξανδρέων τὸ πλεῖστον εὐθύς προσεποιήσατο καὶ τὰ ἐπικαιρότατα [2] ἐκρατύνετο. κἂκ τούτου πολλὰ μὲν μάχαι καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ αὐτοῖς ἐγίννοντο, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ κατεπίμπρατο, ὥστε ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸ νεώριον τὰς τε ἀποθήκας καὶ τοῦ σίτου

καὶ τῶν βιβλῶν, πλείστων δὴ καὶ ἀρίστων, ὥς φασι, γενομένων, καυθῆναι. ἐκράτει δὲ τῆς μὲν ἡπείρου ὁ Ἀχιλλᾶς, χωρὶς ὧν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐνετετείχιστο, τῆς δὲ δὴ θαλάσσης ἐκεῖνος, ἄνευ ^[3] τοῦ λιμένος, καὶ ναυμαχία τε ἐνίκησε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ διὰ τοῦτο φοβηθέντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι μὴ ἐς τὸν λιμένα σφῶν ἐπεσπλεύσῃ, τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ πλήν βραχέος ἔχωσαν, καὶ ἐκεῖνο προσαπέφραξεν, ὁλκάδας λίθων πλήρεις καταποντώσας, ὥστ' αὐτοὺς μηδ' εἰ πάνυ τι βούλοιντο ^[4] ἐκπλεῦσαι, δυνηθῆναι ποι ἀπᾶραι. ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο ῥᾶον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ὕδωρ ἐπήγετο: τὴν γὰρ αὐτόθεν ὕδρειαν ὁ Ἀχιλλᾶς σφας ἀφήρητο, τοὺς ὀχετοὺς διακόψας. 39. τούτων δὲ οὕτω πραττομένων Γανυμήδης τις εὐνοῦχος τὴν Ἀρσινόην οὐ πάνυ φρουρουμένην ἐς τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ὑπεξήγαγε: καὶ ταύτην ἐκεῖνοι βασιλίδα ἀποδείξαντες προθυμότερον τοῦ πολέμου, ὥς καὶ προστάτιν τινὰ ἐκ τοῦ τῶν Πτολεμαίων ^[2] γένους ἔχοντες, ἀντελάβοντο. ὁ οὖν ^[p. 176] Καῖσαρ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ὁ Ποθεινὸς τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐκκλέψῃ, τὸν μὲν ἀπέκτεινε, τὸν δὲ οὐκέτ' ἐπικρυπτόμενος ἀκριβῶς ἐφρούρει. παροξυνθέντων δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, καὶ ἐκείνοις μὲν πλείονων αἰεὶ προσγιγνομένων, τοῖς δὲ δὴ Ῥωμαίοις μηδέπω τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκ τῆς Συρίας παρόντων, ἐς φιλίαν αὐτοὺς ^[3] ὑπαγαγέσθαι ἠθέλησε, καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἀναβιβάσας που, ὅθεν ἐξακουσθήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν, εἰπεῖν σφισιν ἐκέλευσεν ὅτι οὔτε τι κακὸν ἔχοι οὔτε πολεμεῖν δέοιτο: πρὸς τε τὰς σπονδὰς αὐτοὺς παρεκάλει, καὶ προσυποσχνεῖτο διαπραΰξιν ^[4] αὐτάς. καὶ εἶγε ἐκὼν ταῦτα οὕτω διείλεκτο, ἔπεισεν ἂν σφας καταλύσασθαι: νῦν δ' ὑποτοπήσαντες αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος κατεσκευάσθαι οὐκ ἐνέδοσαν. 40. προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου στάσις τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἀρσινόην οὖσιν ἐνέπεσε, καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Γανυμήδης ἔπεισε τὸν Ἀχιλλᾶν ὥς καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν προδώσοντα ἀποκτεῖναι. γενομένου δὲ τούτου τὴν τε ἡγεμονίαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν παρέλαβε, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα ὅσα ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ ^[2] ἦν συνήγαγεν, ἄλλα τε προσκατεσκεύασε, καὶ πάντα αὐτὰ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν διὰ τῶν διωρύχων κομίσας τοῖς τε Ῥωμαίοις μὴ προσδεχομένοις προσέβαλε, καὶ τὰς μὲν κατέπρησε τῶν ὁλκάδων αὐτῶν τὰς δὲ ἀνεδήσατο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸν τε ἔσπλουν τοῦ λιμένος ἐξεκάθηρε, κάνταῦθα ^[3] ναυλοχῶν πολλὰ σφας ἐλύπει. τηρήσας οὖν ποτε αὐτοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀμελῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατεῖν ^[p. 178] ἔχοντας ἔς τε τὸν λιμένα αἰφνιδίως ἐπεσέπλευσε, καὶ συχνὰ πλοῖα καύσας ἔς τε τὴν Φάρον ἀπέβη καὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν αὐτῇ ἐφόνευσεν. ἰδόντες δὲ τοῦτο οἱ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Αἰγύπτιοι κατὰ τε τὰς γεφύρας ἐπεβοήθησαν αὐτοῖς, καὶ συχνοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀνταποκτείναντες τοὺς λοιποὺς ^[4] ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐσήραξαν. καὶ αὐτῶν ὅπουδῆποτε καὶ ἀθρόως ἐσβιαζομένων ἐς αὐτάς ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐξέπεσον καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ. κἂν διέφθαρτο κακῶς, ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἱματίων βαρυνόμενος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βαλλόμενος ἄλουργῶν γὰρ αὐτῶν ὄντων ἐστοχάζοντό, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἀπερρίφει καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο διανεύσας ^[5] πῃ ἐς ἀκάτιον ἐσεβεβήκει. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐσώθη, μηδὲν τῶν γραμμάτων βρέξας ἃ πολλὰ ἐν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ ἀνέχων ἐνήξατο: τὴν δὲ δὴ ἐσθῆτα αὐτοῦ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι λαβόντες πρὸς τὸ τρόπαιον, ὃ ἔστησαν τῆς τροπῆς ταύτης, ἀνεκρέμασαν ὥς καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἡρηκότες. καὶ ἤδη γὰρ

καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ἃ ἀπὸ τῆς Συρίας μετεπέπεμπο ἐπλησίασε, τὰς τε κατάρσεις ἐτήρουν ^[6] καὶ πολλὰ αὐτοὺς ἔβλαπτον. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὴν Λιβύην σφῶν προσπίπτουσιν ὁ Καῖσαρ τρόπον τινὰ ἤμυνε: συχνοὺς δὲ δὴ περὶ τὰς τοῦ Νεῖλου ἐκβολὰς πυρσοῖς ὡς καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι ὄντες ἡπάτων τε καὶ συνελάμβανον, ὥστε τοὺς λοιποὺς μηκέτι τολμᾶν παρακομίζεσθαι, μέχρις οὗ Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Νέρων ἐς αὐτὸν τότε τὸν ποταμὸν ἀναπλεύσας ἐκείνους τε μάχῃ ἐκράτησε καὶ τοῖς σφετέροις ἀδεέστερον τὸν πρόσπλουν ἐποίησε. ^[p. 180] 41. κὰν τούτῳ Μιθριδάτης ὁ Περγαμηνὸς ἐπικληθεὶς ἐπεχείρησε μὲν ἐς τὸ στόμα τοῦ Νεῖλου τὸ κατὰ Πηλοῦσιον ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀναβῆναι, ἀποφραζάντων δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τοῖς πλοίοις τὸν ἔσπλουν προσεκομίσθη νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν διώρυχα, ^[2] καὶ ναῦς ἐς αὐτὴν ὑπερενεγκὼν 'οὐ γὰρ ἐξίησιν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν' οὕτω διὰ ταύτης ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον ἀνέπλευσε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο αἰφνιδίον ἔκ τε τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἅμα τοῖς φρουροῦσι τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ προσμιξίας τὴν τε ἀπόκλεισιν 100 ^[3] σφῶν ἔλυσε, καὶ τὸ Πηλοῦσιον τῷ τε πεζῷ ἅμα καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ προσβαλὼν εἶλε. προχωρῶν τε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, καὶ πυθόμενος Διοσκουρίδην τινὰ ἀπαντήσιν σφίσιν, ἐνήδρευσέ τε αὐτὸν καὶ κατειργάσατο. 42. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ ταῦθ' οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν μὲν 101 πόλεμον οὐδ' ὡς κατελύσαντο, ἀχθεσθέντες 102 δὲ τῇ τοῦ εὐνούχου καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀρχῇ, καὶ νομίσαντες, ἂν τὸν Πτολεμαῖον προστήσωνται, ^[2] καθυπέρτεροι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔσεσθαι, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ οὐδένα τρόπον ἐξαρπάσαι αὐτὸν ἡδυνήθησαν 'δεινῶς γὰρ ἐφυλάσσετό, ἐπλάσαντο ταῖς τε συμφοραῖς πεπονήσθαι καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμεῖν, καὶ ἔπεμψαν πρὸς τὸν Καῖσαρα ἐπικηρυκευόμενοι τε καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον αἰτοῦντες, ὅπως δὴ σὺν αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν, ἐφ' οἷς γενήσονται, ^[3] βουλευσῶνται. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ ἐνόμισε μὲν καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς αὐτοὺς μεταβεβλήσθαι ἄλλως τε γὰρ καὶ δειλοὺς καὶ ὀξυρρόπους ὄντας ἤκουε, καὶ τότε ^[p. 182] πρὸς τὰ πταιίσματα καταπεπληγμένους ἦσθετό εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ τεχνάζοντό τι, ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐμποδίζων τὴν εἰρήνην νομισθῇ, συνεπαινεῖν τέ σφίσιν ἔφη καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἔπεμψεν. ^[4] οὕτε 103 γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τι ἰσχυρὸν ἔκ τε τῆς ἡλικίας καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀπαιδευσίας ἐνέωρα ὄν, καὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἦτοι συναλλαγήσεσθαι οἱ ἐφ' οἷς ἐβούλετο ἢ δικαιότερον καὶ καταπολεμηθήσεσθαι καὶ καταστραφήσεσθαι ἤλπισεν, ὥστε ἀπ' εὐλόγου δὴ τινος προφάσεως τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ παραδοθῆναι: ^[5] οὐ γὰρ που καὶ ἡττηθήσεσθαι ποτε ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς δυνάμεώς οἱ προσγεγεννημένης, 43. προσεδόκησε. παραλαβόντες δὲ τὸ παιδάριον οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τῶν μὲν σπονδῶν οὐδὲν ἐφρόντισαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Μιθριδάτην παραχρῆμα ὥρμησαν ὡς δὴ καὶ μέγα 104 τι ἔν τε τῷ ὀνόματι καὶ ἐν τῷ γένει τῷ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου κατορθώσοντες: καὶ αὐτὸν πρὸς τῇ λίμνῃ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν ^[2] ἐλῶν ἀπολαβόντες ἐθορύβουν. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ ἐκείνους μὲν οὐκ ἐπεδιώξεν, δεδιὼς μὴ λοχισθεῖν: ἀναρχεῖς δὲ νυκτὸς ὡς πρὸς ἐκβολὴν τινα τοῦ Νεῖλου ἐπειγόμενος, καὶ φῶς, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ταύτῃ προϊέναι νομισθῇ, πάμπολυ καθ' ἐκάστην ναῦν ἀνάψας, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπιπλεῖν ὥρμητο, ^[3] ἔπειτα δὲ ἀποσβέσας αὐτὸ ἀνεκομίσθη, καὶ

παρὰπλευσας τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τε τὴν χειρρόνησον τὴν πρὸς τῇ Λιβύῃ οὖσαν κατῆρε, κἀνταῦθα τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκβιβάσας περιῆλθέ τε τὴν λίμνην, καὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἀπροσδόκητος ὑπὸ 105 τὴν ἔω πῦρρεσὼν εὐθύς τε αὐτοὺς κατέπληξεν ὥστε [p. 184] [4] καὶ ἐπικηρυκεύσασθαι, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔτι γὰρ ἰκετεῖαν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐδέξατο μάχη τε ὅζειν κατεκράτησε καὶ παμπληθεῖς ἐφόνευσε: καὶ τινες καὶ ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ μετὰ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου, σπουδῇ δι' αὐτοῦ φυγόντες, ἐφθάρησαν. 44. οὕτω μὲν τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐχειρώσατο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὑπήκοον αὐτῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐποίησατο, ἀλλὰ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ, ἥσπερ ἔνεκα καὶ [2] ἐπεπολεμήκει, ἐχαρίσατο. φοβηθεὶς μέντοι μὴ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι νεωτερίσωσιν αὐθις γυναικί ἄρχειν παραδοθέντες, καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διὰ τε τοῦτο καὶ ὅτι καὶ συνῆν αὐτῷ χαλεπήνωσι, τῷ τε ἐτέρῳ ἀδελφῷ συνοικῆσαι δῆθεν αὐτὴν ἐκέλευσε, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀμφοτέροις σφίσιν, ὥς γε καὶ λόγῳ [3] εἶπεῖν, ἔδωκε. τῷ γὰρ ἔργῳ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα μόνη πᾶν τὸ κράτος σχήσειν ἔμελλεν: ὁ τε γὰρ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς παιδίον ἔτι ἦν, καὶ ἐκείνη πρὸς τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος εὐνοίαν οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ ἐδύνατο, [4] ὥστε πρόσχημα μὲν ὡς καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ συνοικοῦσα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπίκοινον αὐτῷ ἔχουσα ἐκέκτητο, τὸ δ' ἄληθές μόνη τε ἐβασίλευε καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι συνδιητᾶτο. 45. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ 106 πλεῖον ἂν ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ κατέσχεν, ἢ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην εὐθύς αὐτῷ συναπῆρην, εἰ μήπερ ὁ Φαρνάκης καὶ ἐκεῖθεν πάνυ ἄκοντα τὸν Καίσαρα ἐξήγαγε καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν [2] ἐπειχθῆναι ἐκώλυσεν. οὗτος γὰρ παῖς μὲν 107 τοῦ Μιθριδάτου ἦν καὶ τοῦ Βοσπόρου τοῦ Κιμμερίου ἦρχεν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, ἐπιθυμήσας δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν πατρῴαν βασιλείαν ἀνακτήσασθαι ἐπανεῖστη κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν τε τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου [p. 186] στάσιν, καὶ οἷα τῶν Ῥωμαίων τότε μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀσχόλων γενομένων, αὐθις δὲ ἐν τῇ [3] Αἰγύπτῳ κατασχεθέντων, τὴν τε Κολχίδα ἀκονιτὶ προσηγάγετο καὶ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἀπόντος τοῦ Δηιοτάρου πᾶσαν, τῆς τε Καππαδοκίας 108 καὶ τῶν τοῦ Πόντου πόλεων τινας, αἱ τῷ τῆς Βιθυνίας νομῷ 46. προσετέταχτο, κατεστρέψατο. πράσσοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἐκινήθη ὅτε γὰρ ἡ Αἴγυπτός πω καθειστήκει, 109 καὶ ἐλπίδος τι 110 εἶχε δι' ἐτέρων αὐτὸν χειρώσεσθαι, Γναῖον δὲ Δομίτιον Καλουῖνον ἔπεμψε, τὴν τε Ἀσίαν οἱ καὶ ... 111 στρατόπεδα προστάξας. [2] καὶ ὃς τὸν Δηιόταρον καὶ τὸν Ἀριοβαρζάνην προσλαβὼν ἤλασεν εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὸν Φαρνάκην ἐν τῇ Νικοπόλει ὄντα ἔτι γὰρ ταύτην προκατειλήφει, καὶ καταφρονήσας, ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνος τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ φοβηθεὶς ἀνοχὴν ἐπὶ πρεσβεύσει ἐτοίμως ἔσχε ποιήσασθαι, 112 οὕτε ἐσπείσατο αὐτῷ καὶ [3] συμβαλὼν ἡττήθη. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τούτου ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐπειδὴ μήτε ἀξιόμαχος οἱ ἦν καὶ ὁ χειμῶν προσῆι, ἀνεχώρησεν: Φαρνάκης δὲ μεγάλα δὴ φρονῶν τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ προσκατεκτήσατο, 113 καὶ Ἀμισὸν καίπερ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀντισχοῦσαν εἶλε τε καὶ διήρπασε, τοὺς τε ἡβῶντας ἐν αὐτῇ πάντας ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ ἐς τὴν Βιθυνίαν τὴν τε Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς τῷ πατρὶ [4] ἐλπίσιν ἡπείγετο. κἀν τούτῳ μαθὼν τὸν Ἀσάνδρον, ὃν ἐπίτροπον τοῦ Βοσπόρου κατελελοίπει, [p. 188] νενεοχμωκότα, οὐκέτι περαιτέρω 114 προεχώρησεν: ἐκεῖνος γὰρ, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα πόρρω τε ὁ Φαρνάκης ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προῖων ἠγγέλθη, καὶ ἐδόκει, εἰ καὶ

τὰ μάλιστα ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι ἀνθοῖ, 115 ἀλλ' οὔτι γε καὶ ἔπειτα καλῶς ἀπαλλάξειν, ἐπανεῖστη αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τι χαριούμενος τὴν τε δυναστείαν τοῦ Βοσπόρου παρ' αὐτῶν ληψόμενος. 47. Τοῦτ' οὖν ὁ Φαρνάκης ἀκούσας ὥρμησεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν μάτην: τὸν γὰρ Καίσαρα ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ εἶναι καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐπείγεσθαι πυθόμενος ἀνέστρεψε, κἀνταῦθα αὐτῷ περὶ Ζέλαν συνέτυχεν. ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ τοῦ τε Πτολεμαίου τελευτήσαντος καὶ τοῦ Δομιτίου νικηθέντος οὔτε εὐπρεπῇ οὔτε λυσιτελῇ οἱ τὴν ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ διατριβὴν ἐνόμισεν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ἀφωρμήθη, καὶ τάχει πολλῷ [2] χρησάμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἀφίκετο. ἐκπλαγεὶς οὖν ὁ βάρβαρος, καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον τὴν ὁρμὴν ἢ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ καταδείσας, προσέπεμψεν αὐτῷ πρὶν πλησιᾶσαι πολλακίς προκηρυκεύμενος, εἰ πως τὸ παρὸν ἐφ' ὁτῶδῃ συνθέμενος [3] ἐκφυγοί. προΐσχετο δὲ ἄλλα τε καὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ὅτι οὐ συνήρατο τῷ Πομπηίῳ: καὶ ἤλπιζεν ὑπάξεσθαι τε αὐτὸν ἐς σπονδὰς ἄτε καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τὴν τε Ἀφρικὴν ἐπείγόμενον, καὶ ἀπελθόντος αὐτοῦ ῥαδίως αὖθις πολεμήσειν. [4] ὑποπτεύσας οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Καῖσαρ τοὺς μὲν πρῶτους καὶ τοὺς δευτέρους πρέσβεις ἐφιλοφρονήσατο, ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ οἱ τῇ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐλπίδι προσπέσῃ, τῶν δὲ τρίτων ἐλθόντων τὰ τε [p. 190] ἄλλα ἐπεκάλεσεν αὐτῷ καὶ ὅτι τὸν Πομπήιον τὸν [5] εὐεργέτην ἐγκατέλιπεν. καὶ οὐκ ἀνεβάλετο, 116 ἀλλ' εὐθὺς αὐθημερόν, ὥσπερ εἶχεν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ, συνέμιξε, καὶ τινα χρόνον ὑπὸ τε τῆς ἵππου καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν δρεπανηφόρων ἐκταραχθεὶς ἔπειτα τοῖς ὀπλίταις ἐκράτησε. καὶ ἐκείνον μὲν ἐκφυγόντα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ ἐς 117 τὸν Βόσπορον μετὰ τοῦτο ἐσβιαζόμενον, ὁ Ἄσανδρος εἰρξέε τε καὶ 48. ἀπέκτεινε: Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ, καίπερ οὐ πάνυ διαπρεπεῖ γενομένη, πολὺ καὶ ὅσον ἐπ' οὐδεμιᾷ ἄλλῃ ἐφρόνησεν, ὅτι ἔν τε τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ καὶ ἦλθε πρὸς τὸν πολέμιον [2] καὶ εἶδεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐνίκησε. καὶ τὰ τε λάφυρα πάντα, καίτοι πλεῖστα γενόμενα, τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐδώρησατο, καὶ τρόπαιον, ἐπειδὴπερ ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἀπὸ τοῦ Τριαρίου ἐνταῦθ' αὖθις ἐγγέρει, ἀντανέστησε: καθελεῖν μὲν γὰρ τὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἐμπολεμίοις θεοῖς ἱερωμένον, τῇ δὲ δὴ τοῦ ἰδίου παραστάσει καὶ ἐκείνο συνεσκίασε καὶ τρόπον τινὰ καὶ κατέστρεψε. [3] καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν χώραν ὅσῃν τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν ἐνόρκων σφίσιν ἀποτετμημένος ὁ Φαρνάκης ἦν ἐκομίσαστο, καὶ αὐτὴν πᾶσαν ὡς ἐκάστοις τοῖς ἀπολέεσασιν ἔδωκε, πλὴν μέρους τινὸς τῆς Ἀρμενίας, ὃ τῷ Ἀριοβαρζάνει ἐχαρίσατο. [4] τοὺς τε Ἀμισινοὺς 118 ἐλευθερίᾳ ἡμείψατο, καὶ τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ τῷ Περγαμηνῷ τετραρχίαν τε ἐν Γαλατίᾳ καὶ βασιλείας ὄνομα ἔδωκε, πρὸς τε τὸν Ἄσανδρον πολεμῆσαι ἐπέτρεψεν, ὅπως καὶ [p. 192] τὸν Βόσπορον κρατήσας αὐτοῦ λάβῃ, ὅτι πονηρὸς ἐς τὸν φίλον ἐγένετο. 49. πράξας δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῷ Δομιτίῳ καταστήσασθαι κελεύσας, ἐς τὴν Βιθυνίαν ἦλθε, κἀντεῦθεν ἔς τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπλευσε, πολλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πάσῃ προφάσει χρήματα [2] παρὰ πάντων, ὥσπερ καὶ πρὶν, ἐκλέγων. τοῦτο μὲν γάρ, ὅσα τινὲς τῷ Πομπηίῳ προϋπέσχηντο, ἐπράξατο, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἄλλα 119 ἔξωθεν, προσεπικαλῶν τινα, ἦται. τὰ τε ἀναθήματα τοῦ ἐν τῇ Τύρῳ Ἡρακλέους πάντα ἀνείλετο, ὅτι τὴν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὸν παῖδα τοῦ Πομπηίου ὑπεδέξαντο

[3] ὅτε ἔφυγον. καὶ στεφάνους ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις συχνοῦς καὶ παρὰ τῶν δυναστῶν τῶν τε βασιλέων χρυσοῦς ἔλαβε. ταῦτα δὲ οὐχ ὑπὸ κακίας ἐποίει, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἐδασάνα παμπληθῆ, καὶ ἀνάλωσιν πολὺ πλείω ἔς τε τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ ἔς τὰ ἐπνίκια, τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅσα ἐλαμπρύνετο, ποιήσιν [4] ἔμελλε. τὸ τε σύμπαν εἰπεῖν, χρηματοποιὸς ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο, δύο τε εἶναι λέγων τὰ τὰς δυναστείας παρασκευάζοντα καὶ φυλάσσοντα καὶ ἐπαύξοντα, στρατιώτας καὶ χρήματα, καὶ ταῦτα [5] δι' ἀλλήλων συνεστηκέναι: τῇ τε γὰρ τροφῇ τὰ στρατεύματα συνέχεσθαι, καὶ ἐκείνην ἐκ τῶν ὀπλων συλλέγεσθαι: κἂν θάτερον ὁποτερονοῦν 120 αὐτῶν ἐνδεδῆς ἦ, καὶ τὸ ἕτερον συγκαταλυθῆσεσθαι. 50. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων οὕτω καὶ ἐφρόνει αἰεὶ καὶ ἔλεγεν: ἔς δὲ δὴ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔς τὴν Ἀφρικὴν καίπερ πεπολεμωμένην οἶ, ἠπειχθη ὅτι ταραττόμενα τὰ ἐν τῷ ἅστει πυθόμενος ἐφοβήθη [p. 194] [2] μὴ καὶ ἐς ἀνήκεστον προχωρήσῃ. οὐ μέντοι καὶ κακὸν οὐδένα οὐδέν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, εἰργάσατο, πλὴν ὅτι κάνταῦθα πολλὰ ἡργυρολόγησε, τὰ μὲν τινα ἐν δωρεῆς μέρει, στεφάνους καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, λαμβάνων, τὰ δὲ καὶ δανειζόμενος δῆθεν, οὐχ ὅτι παρὰ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν [3] ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τῶν πόλεων. τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα ταῖς ἐκλογαῖς τῶν χρημάτων, ἐφ' αἷς μηδεμία ἄλλη πρόφασις εὐλογος ἦν, ἐτίθετο, ἐπεὶ τὴν γε ἄλλως καὶ βιαίως, οὐδὲν ἥττον τῶν ὀφειλομένων, καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐπράττετο, καὶ ἔμελλε μηδέποτε ἀποδοθῆσεσθαι. ἔλεγε μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ 121 τοῦ δημοσίου τὰ οἰκεῖα δεδασπανηκέναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο [4] καὶ δανείζεσθαι: ὅθεν περ καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς ἀξιοῦντος τοῦ πλήθους γενέσθαι οὐκ ἐποίησεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι 'καὶ αὐτὸς πολλὰ ὀφείλω:' εὐδηλος δὲ ἐγίνετο καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια τῇ δυναστείᾳ παρασπώμενος. [5] οἱ τε οὖν ἄλλοι διὰ τοῦτο ἤχθοντο αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ ἐταῖροι: 122 τῶν γὰρ δεδημευμένων συχνά, καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν γε ἔστιν ἃ, ἐλπίδι τοῦ προῖκα αὐτὰ ἔξιν ἀγοράσαντες, πᾶσαν τὴν τιμὴν ἀποτίνειν ἠναγκάζοντο. 51. ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν ἐν 123 οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποίητο. καίτοι καὶ ἐκείνους τρόπον τινὰ ὥς ἐκάστους ἐθεράπευσε. τοῖς τε γὰρ πολλοῖς ἐχαρίσατο τὸν τε τόκον τὸν ἐποφειλόμενόν σφισιν ἐξ οὗ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον ἐξεπολεμώθη πάντα, καὶ τὸ ἐνοίκιον ὅσον ἐς πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς ἦν ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐνὸς [2] ἀφείς, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰς τιμήσεις τῶν κτημάτων, ἐν οἷς τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τῶν δανεισμάτων κατὰ [p. 196] τοὺς νόμους γίνεσθαι ἔδει, πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ἀξίαν ἐπαναγαγόν, ἐπειδὴ 124 τῷ πλήθει τῶν δεδημοσιωμένων [3] πολὺ πάντα ἐπευώνιστο. τούτους τε οὖν ταῦτα πράξας ἀνηρτήσατο, καὶ τῶν προσεταιριστῶν τῶν τε συναγωνιστῶν τοὺς μὲν βουλευτὰς ἱερωσύναις τε καὶ ἀρχαῖς ταῖς τε ἔς τὸν λοιπὸν τοῦ ἔτους ἐκείνου χρόνον καὶ ταῖς ἐς νέωτα 125 ἵνα γὰρ πλείους αὐτῶν ἀμειψῆται, στρατηγούς τε δέκα ἐς τὸ ἐπὶ ἔτος ἀπέδειξε 126 [4] καὶ ἱερέας ὑπὲρ τὸ νενομισμένον: τοῖς τε γὰρ ποντίφιξι καὶ τοῖς οἰωνισταῖς, ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν, τοῖς τε πεντεκαίδεκα καλουμένοις ἓνα ἐκάστοις προσένειμε, καίπερ αὐτὸς βουλευθεὶς πάσας τὰς [5] ἱερωσύνας λαβεῖν ὥσπερ ἐψήφιστό, τοὺς δὲ ἱππέας τοῦ τέλους τοὺς τε ἑκατοντάρχους καὶ τοὺς ὑπομειονας ἄλλοις τέ τισι καὶ τῷ καὶ ἐς τὸ συνέδριόν τινας ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων καταλέξει. 52. τὰ δὲ δὴ στρατόπεδα οὐχ ἡσυχῇ αὐτὸν

ἐτάραξε: πολλὰ γὰρ λήψεσθαι ἐλπίσαντες, καὶ εὐρόμενοι τῆς μὲν ἀξίας οὐκ ἐλάττω τῆς δὲ προσδοκίας καταδεέστερα, ἐθορύβησαν. ἐν Καμπανίᾳ δὲ οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν, ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικὴν προπλευσόμενοι, ^[2] ἦσαν. οὗτοι οὖν τὸν τε 127 Σαλούστιον παρ' ὀλίγον ἀπέκτειναν ὁ στρατηγὸς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν βουλείαν 128 ἀναλαβεῖν ἀπεδέδεικτό, καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνος διαφυγὼν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ὥρμησε, τὰ γιννόμενά οἱ δηλώσων, ἐφέσποντό τε αὐτῷ συχνοὶ μηδενὸς φειδόμενοι, ^[p. 198] καὶ ἄλλους τε τῶν ἐντυχόντων σφίσι καὶ βουλευτὰς ^[3] δύο ἔσφαζαν. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ ὡς τάχιστα τῆς προσόδου αὐτῶν ἦσθετο, ἠθέλησε μὲν τὸ δορυφορικὸν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀντιπέμψαι, φοβηθεὶς δὲ μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι συστασιάσωσιν σφισιν ἡσύχασε, μέχρις οὗ ἐς τὸ προάστειον ἀφίκοντο. ἐνταῦθα δὲ δὴ οὖσιν αὐτοῖς προσέπεμψε, καὶ ἐπύθετο τί ^[4] βουλόμενοι καὶ τίνος χρήζοντες ἦκοιεν. ἀποκριναμένων τε σφων ὅτι αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ ἐροῦσιν, ἐπέτρεψε μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἄνευ τῶν ὅπλων, πλήν τῶν ξιφῶν, ἐσελθεῖν: ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως καὶ ἐν τῷ ἅστει φορεῖν εἰώθεσαν, καὶ 53. τότε οὐκ ἂν ὑπέμειναν καταθέσθαι: εἰπόντων δὲ αὐτῶν πολλὰ μὲν περὶ ὧν καὶ ἐπόνησαν καὶ ἐκινδύνευσαν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ ὧν ἥλπισαν ἀξιους τέ σφας τυχεῖν ἔφασκον εἶναι, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀφελθῆναι τε τῆς στρατείας ἀξιούντων καὶ ^[2] δεινῶς διὰ τοῦτ' αὐτῷ ἐγκειμένων, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἰδιωτεῦσαι ἐβούλοντο ἥκιστα γάρ, ἅτε καὶ συνήθεις ταῖς πλεονεξίαις ἐκ πολλοῦ γεγονότες, τοῦτ' ἠθέλον' ἄλλ' ὅτι καταπλήξειν τε ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ πᾶν ὅτιοῦν καταπράξειν, ἅτε καὶ ὑπογούου 129 οἱ τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικὴν στρατείας 130 ^[3] οὔσης, ἐνόμιζον, περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν σφίσι τὸ παράπαν ἀπεκρίνατο, αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰπὼν μονα 'ἀλλ' ὀρθῶς γε, ὦ Κυριῖται, 131 λέγετε: καὶ γὰρ κεκμήκατε καὶ κατατέτρωσθε' πάντας αὐτοὺς παραχρῆμα ὡς μηδὲν δῆθεν αὐτῶν δεόμενος διῆκε, καὶ τοῖς τὸν τεταγμένον χρόνον ἐστρατευμένοις ^[p. 200] καὶ τὰ γέρα ἐντελῆ δώσειν ὑπέσχετο. ^[4] λεχθέντων δὲ τούτων κατεπλάγησαν ἔκ τε τῆς ἄλλης αὐτοῦ διανοίας, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι Κυριίτας ἄλλ' οὐ στρατιώτας σφᾶς ὠνόμασε, καὶ ταπεινωθέντες φοβηθέντες τε μὴ πάθωσι τι δεινὸν μετεβάλοντο, 132 καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἱκετεύοντες αὐτὸν εἶπον, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι καὶ συστρατεύσειν 133 οἱ ἐθέλονται καὶ τὸν πόλεμον μόνον διαπολεμήσειν ^[5] ὑπέσχοντο. ὡς οὖν ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν, καὶ τις καὶ τῶν στρατιάρχων ἐν τοσοῦτῳ, ἢ καὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης ἢ 134 χαριζόμενος τῷ Καίσαρι, διελέχθη τέ τινα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐδεήθη, 'ἀφίημι μὲν' ἔφη 'καὶ ὑμᾶς τοὺς παρόντας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ^[6] πάντας, ὅσοις τὰ τῆς στρατείας ἔτη ἐξήκει: οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ δέομαί τι ὑμῶν: τὰ μέντοι γέρα καὶ ὡς ὑμῖν ἀποδώσω, ἵνα μήποτε τις εἴπῃ ὅτι ἐγὼ χρησάμενος ὑμῖν ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἔπειτα ἀχάριστος ἐγενόμην, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐρρωμένοι καὶ πάντα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προδιαπολεμῆσαι δυνάμενοι οὐκ ἠθελήσατέ μοι συστρατεῦσαι.' 54. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτά τε σοφίζόμενος εἶπε 'πάνυ γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐχρηξέ καὶ χώραν ἔκ τε τῆς δημοσίας καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δὴ πᾶσι σφισιν ἐνειμεν, ἄλλους ἄλλῃ, καὶ πάνυ πόρρω ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἀπαρτήσας, ὥστε μήτε τοῖς ὁμοχώροις σφᾶς φοβεροὺς μήτ' αὖ πρὸς νεωτερισμὸν ἐτοίμους, καθ' ἕν που ^[2] συνοικοῦντας, γενέσθαι. τῶν τε ἐποφειλομένων σφίσι χρημάτων, ἃ

πολλὰ καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ὥς εἰπεῖν πράξεις ὑπέσχητο δώσειν, τὰ μὲν εὐθὺς [p. 202] ἀπαλλάξειν, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν καὶ σὺν τόκῳ γε 135 διαλύσειν ἐπηγγεिलाτο. εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ δουλωσάμενος αὐτοὺς ὥστε μήτε τι θρασύνεσθαι καὶ προσέτι καὶ χάριν εἶδέναι, προσεπέλτεν [3] 'ἀπέχετε μὲν παρ' ἐμοῦ πάντα, καὶ οὐδένα ἔθ' ὑμῶν ἀναγκάσω στρατεῦσασθαι: εἰ μέντοι τις ἐκούσιος ἐθέλοι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μοι συγκατεργάσασθαι, ἡδέως αὐτὸν δέξομαι.' ἀκούσαντες δὲ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνοι ὑπερήσθησαν καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως 55. ἀναστρατεῦσασθαι ἠθέλησαν. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ τοὺς ταραχώδεις αὐτῶν, οὐ πάντας ἀλλ' ὅσοι μετρίως πως συνόντες 136 γεωργίαις ζῆν ἐδύναντο, ἀπολέξας τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐχρήσατο. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ [2] ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν ἐποίησεν: τοὺς γὰρ πᾶν τε θρασεῖς καὶ ἱκανοὺς μέγα τι κακὸν δοῦναι ἐκ μὲν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐξήγαγεν, ὅπως μηδὲν ἐκεῖ καταλειφθέντες νεοχμώσωσιν, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ Ἀφρικῇ καὶ μάλα ἡδέως, ἄλλους κατ' ἄλλην πρόφασιν, ἀνάλωσε: τοὺς τε γὰρ ἐναντίους ἅμα δι' αὐτῶν κατειργάζετο καὶ ἐκείνων ἀπηλλάττετο. [3] φιλανθρωπότατός τε 137 γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ὢν, καὶ πολλὰ κεχαρισμένα τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις μάλιστα ποιῶν, δεινῶς τοὺς στασιάζοντάς σφων ἐμίσει καὶ ἰσχυρότατα αὐτοὺς ἐκόλαζε. [4] ταῦτά τε 138 ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἔτει, ἐν ᾧ δικτάτωρ μὲν ὄντως αὐτὸς τὸ δευτέρον ἤρξεν, ὑπατοὶ δὲ ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ αὐτοῦ ἀποδειχθέντες ὁ τε Καλῆνος 56. καὶ ὁ Οὐατίνιος 139 ἐλέγοντο εἶναι, ἐποίησε, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικὴν καίτοι τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐνεστηκότος [p. 204] ἐπεραιώθη. καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγα δὲ ἐκ τούτου, ἀνέλπιστος τοῖς ἐναντίοις προσπεσὼν, κατῴρωσε: πλεῖστον γὰρ παρὰ πάντα καὶ τῷ τάχει καὶ ταῖς ἐκ 140 τοῦ ἀπροσδοκήτου στρατείας 141 κατέπραπεν, ὥστ' εἴ τις ἐκλογίζοιτο 142 ὅτω τοσοῦτον τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ὑπερήνεγκεν, οὐδὲν ἂν 143 ἄλλο τούτου μᾶλλον ὢν [2] ἔμπροσθε παραβαλὼν 144 εὖροι. ἡ δὲ δὴ Ἀφρικὴ ἦν μὲν οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ φίλῃ τῷ Καίσαρι, μετὰ δὲ δὴ τὸν τοῦ Κουρίωνος θάνατον καὶ πᾶν ἐχθρὰ ἐγένετο. ὁ τε γὰρ Οὐᾶρος καὶ ὁ Ἰόβας τὰ πράγματα εἶχον, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὁ Κάτων καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων οἱ τε ἄλλοι οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν ὄντες ἐκεῖσε, ὥσπερ εἶπον, συγκατέφυγον, [3] κἄκ τούτου κοινωσάμενοι τὸν πόλεμον τὰ τε ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἐξηρτύσαντο καὶ τῇ τε Σικελίᾳ καὶ τῇ Σαρδοῖ ἐπιπλοῦς ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ τὰς τε πόλεις ἐλύπουν καὶ τὰ πλοῖα κατήγον, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ὅπλα τὸν τε σίδηρον τὸν ἄλλον, οὐπὲρ [4] που καὶ μόνου ἐχρηζον, ἐπόριζον, 145 τελευτῶντές τε ἐς τοῦτο καὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ τῆς διανοίας, οἷα μήτε στρατοῦ σφίσις ἐναντιούμενου καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔν τε τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄστει χρονίσαντος, ἀφίκοντο ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν τὸν Πομπήιον ἀποστεῖλαι. στασιάζειν τε γὰρ αὐτὴν πυθνανόμενοι, καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐτοίμως ἄτε τοῦ Πομπηίου τοῦ Μάγνου παῖδα ὄντα [p. 206] δέξεσθαι 146 νομίσαντες, παρεσκευάζοντο ὁ μὲν ὡς τὴν τε 147 Ἰβηρίαν διὰ βραχέων κατασχέσων καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ ἐκεῖθεν ὁρμήσων, οἱ δὲ ὡς τὸν πλοῦν 57. ἅμα τὸν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ποιησόμενοι. κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν γὰρ διατριβή τις αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, τοῦ τε Οὐάρου τῷ 148 Σκιπίωνι τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀμφισβητήσαντος, ἐπειδὴ αὐτὸς ἐκ πλείονος ἐν τοῖς ταύτῃ χωρίοις ἦρχε, καὶ τοῦ Ἰόβου τῇ νίκῃ ἐπαιρομένου καὶ [2] τὰ πρῶτα δι' αὐτὴν ἀξιοῦντος

φέρεσθαι: συμφρονήσαντες δὲ 149 ὃ τε Σκιπίων καὶ ὁ Κάτων, οἳ ὁ μὲν τῇ ἀξιῶσει ὁ δὲ τῇ συνέσει πολὺ πάντων σφῶν προήκοντες, τοὺς τε ἄλλους προσεποιήσαντο καὶ ἐκείνους ἔπεισαν τῷ Σκιπίωνι πάντα ἐπιτρέψαι. ὁ γὰρ Κάτων δυνηθεὶς ἂν ἐξ Ἰσου^[3] αὐτῷ ἢ καὶ μόνος ἄρξαι οὐκ ἠθέλησε, τὸ μὲν ὅτι βλαβερώτατον τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἠγεῖτο εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ὅτι τῷ πολιτικῷ ἀξιῶματι ἡλαττοῦτο αὐτοῦ: πολὺ γὰρ ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς ἑώρα δυνάμενον τὸ τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ νόμῳ δὴ τινι τῶν ἄλλων προκεκρίσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῆς τε ἀρχῆς ἐκὼν αὐτῷ παρεχώρησε, καὶ προσέτι^[4] καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ἃ ἐπηγάγετο παρέδωκε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τούτου τὴν τε Οὐτικήν, ὑποπτευθεῖσαν τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος φρονεῖν καὶ ὀλίγου καὶ ἀνάστατον ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ τούτῳ γενομένην, ἐξαιτησάμενος ἐς φυλακὴν ὑπεδέξατο, καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν τε θάλασσαν τὴν ταύτην πᾶσαν φρουρεῖν ἐπετράπη: τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὁ Σκιπίων αὐτοκράτωρ^[5] ἦρχε. καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα πολὺ πάντα^[p. 208] τοὺς ὁμογνωμονοῦντάς οἱ ἐπερρώννυε, νομίζοντας οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἀλόγῳ τινὶ πίστει μηδένα ἂν Σκιπίωνα ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ κακῶς πρᾶξαι. 58. μαθὼν οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Καῖσαρ, καὶ ἰδὼν ὅτι καὶ οἱ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ στρατευόμενοι πεπεισμένοι τε αὐτὸ οὕτως ἔχειν εἰσὶ καὶ φοβοῦνται, προσπαρέλαβέ τινα ἔκ τε τοῦ γένους τοῦ τῶν Σκιπίωνων ὄντα καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν ταύτην φέροντα^[2] 'ἐπεκαλεῖτο δὲ Σαλουτίων 150', καὶ οὕτω τὸν τε πλοῦν πρὸς Ἀδρυμῆτον ἐποίησατο 'τὰ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Οὐτικῇ ἰσχυρῶς ἐφρουρεῖτό, καὶ ἔλαθεν αὐτοὺς ἀνέλπιστος ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος περαιωθεῖς. ἐκβάντι δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς νεῶς συντυχία τοιάδε ἐγένετο, ὑφ' ἧς εἰ καὶ τι φοβερὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου σφίσιν ἐσημαίνεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτό^[3] γε ἐκεῖνο ἐς ἀγαθὸν ἔτρεψεν: ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἅμα τῷ τῆς γῆς ἐπιβῆναι προσέπταισε, καὶ αὐτὸν πεσόντα ἐπὶ στόμα οἱ στρατιῶται ἰδόντες ἠθύμησαν καὶ δυσανασχετήσαντες ἐθορύβησαν, οὐ διηπορήθη, ἀλλ' ἐκτείνας τῷ χεῖρε 151 τὴν τε γῆν, ὡς καὶ ἐκὼν δὴ πεσὼν, περιέλαβε καὶ κατεφίλησε, καὶ ἀναβοήσας εἶπεν 'ἔχω σε,^[4] Ἀφρική.' ἐκ δὲ τούτου προσέβαλε μὲν τῷ Ἀδρυμῆτι, ἀποκρουσθεὶς δὲ καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου βιαίως ἐκβληθεὶς μετέστη πρὸς πόλιν ἐτέραν Ρούσπινα, καὶ δεχθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν χειμάδιόν τε ἐν αὐτῇ κατεσκευάσατο. καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ὁρμώμενος ἐπολέμει.

τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ ὀγδόῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν α. ὡς Καῖσαρ Φουλουῖα καὶ Λουκίῳ Ἀντωνίῳ ἐπολέμησεν. β. ὡς Σέξτος Πομπήιος Σικελίαν κατέσχευεν. γ. ὡς Πάρθοι τὰ μέχρι τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου κατέσχον. δ. ὡς Καῖσαρ καὶ Ἀντώνιος πρὸς Σέξτον συνέθεντο. ε. ὡς Πούπλιος Οὐεντίδιος Πάρθους ἐνίκησε καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐκτήσατο. ζ. ὡς Καῖσαρ Σέξτῳ πολεμεῖν ἤρξατο η. περὶ Βαιῶν. χρόνου πληθος ἔτη πέντε, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἶδε ἐγένοντο Λ. Ἀντώνιος Μ. υἱ. Πιέτας Π. Σερουίλιος Π. υἱ. Ἰσαυρικὸς τὸ β ὕπ. Γν. Δομίτιος Μ. υἱ. Καλουῖνος τὸ β Γ. Ἀσίνιος Γν. υἱ. Πωλίων ὕπ. λ. Μάρκιος Λ. υἱ. Κλησωρίνος Γ. Καλουῖσιος Γ. υἱ. Σαβῖνος ὕπ. Ἄππιος Κλαύδιος γ. υἱ. Ποῦλχρος Γ. Νωρβανὸς γ. υἱ. Φλάκκος ὕπ. μ. Οὐϊφάνιος Λ. υἱ. Ἀγρίππας Λ. Κανίνιος Λ. υἱ. Γάλλος ὕπ. 9

1. ὁ μὲν οὖν Βροῦτος ὃ τε Κάσσιος οὕτως ἀπώλοντο, τοῖς ξίφεσιν οἷς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπεχρήσαντο σφαγέντες· οἱ τε ἄλλοι οἱ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλῆς μετασχόντες, οἱ μὲν πρότερον, οἱ δὲ τότε, [p. 220] οἱ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα, πλὴν πάνυ ὀλίγων, ἐφθάρησαν, ὥς που τὸ τε δίκαιον ἔφερε καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἦγεν ἄνδρα αὐτοὺς εὐεργέτην σφῶν, ἐς τοσοῦτον καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς τύχης προχωρήσαντα, ἀποκτείναντας [2] παθεῖν. ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοῦ μὲν Λεπίδου παραχρῆμα, ἅτε μὴ συννικήσαντός σφισιν, ἐπλεονέκτησαν, ἔμελλον δὲ καὶ ἐπ' ἀλλήλους οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν τρέφεσθαι· χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἄνδρας τρεῖς ἢ καὶ δύο ὁμοτίμους, ἐγκρατεῖς τηλικούτων ἐκ πολέμου πραγμάτων [3] γενομένους, ὁμονοῆσαι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὅσα τέως ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνθισταμένων σφίσι καταλύσει συμφρονήσαντες κατέπραξαν, ταῦτα τότε ἄθλα τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλοτιμίας ἤρξαντο ποιεῖσθαι. τὴν τε γὰρ ἀρχὴν αὐτίκα ἀνεδάσαντο, καὶ Καίσαρι μὲν ἢ τε Ἰβηρία καὶ ἡ Νουμιδία, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ἢ τε Γαλατία καὶ ἡ Ἀφρικὴ ἐγένετο· καὶ συνέθεντο ὥστ', ἂν τινα ἀγανάκτησιν ὁ Λέπιδος ἐπὶ τούτῳ 2. ποιήσεται, τῆς Ἀφρικῆς αὐτῷ ἐκστῆναι. ταῦτα δὲ δὴ μόνον διέλαχον, ὅτι Σαρδῶ μὲν καὶ Σικελίαν ὁ Σέξτος ἔτι κατεῖχε, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τὰ ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐν ταραχῇ ἔτι ἦν. ἐκείνης γὰρ δὴ περὶ οὐδὲν δεόμεναι λέγειν ὅτι ἐξαιρετος αἰεὶ ποτε ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἔμενεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ὥς περὶ αὐτῆς ποτε, ἀλλ' ὥς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀγωνιζόμενοι τοὺς [2] λόγους ἐποιοῦντο. ἐν κοινῷ οὖν ταῦτα ἀφέντες, Ἀντώνιος μὲν τὴν τε κατάστασιν τῶν ἀντιπολεμησάντων σφίσι καὶ τὴν ἀργυρολογίαν τὴν ἐς τὰ χρήματα τὰ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπαγγελθέντα ἀνεδέξατο, Καῖσαρ δὲ τὸν τε Λέπιδον, ἂν τι παρακινή, [p. 222] κολοῦσαι, καὶ τῷ Σέξτῳ προσπολεμῆσαι, [3] τὴν τε χώραν ἣν τοῖς συστρατευομένοις σφίσιν ὑπέσχητο κατανεῖμαι τοῖς ἔξω τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτῶν οὖσιν, οὓς καὶ εὐθύς διῆκαν. καὶ προσέτι οὗτος μὲν δύο τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ στρατόπεδα τῶν συνόντων οἱ συνέπεμψεν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἕτερα ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ τότε ὄντων ἴσα ἀντιδώσειν αὐτῷ ἐπηγγείλατο. [4] ταῦθ' οὕτω κατὰ μόνους συνθέμενοι καὶ γράψαντες καὶ κατασημηνάμενοι, τὰ τε γραμματεῖα ἀλλήλοις ἀντέδοσαν, ἴν', ἂν τι παραβαθῇ, ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐλεγχθῇ,

καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφωρμήθη. 3. καὶ αὐτὸν ἡ νόσος ἐν τε τῇ πορείᾳ καὶ ἐν τῷ πλῶ ἰσχυρῶς ἐπίεσεν, ὥστε καὶ θανάτου δόξαν τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ παρασχεῖν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀρρωστίας τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἐπὶ παρασκευῇ κακοῦ τινος χρονίζειν αὐτὸν ἐνόμιζον, καὶ τοῦτου πάνθ' ὅσα ἐνεδέχeto σφας παθεῖν ὑπετόπουν. [2] καίτοι ἄλλα τε ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ πολλὰ αὐτοῖς ἐψηφίσαντο, ἅπερ πού καὶ τοῖς ἑτέροις ἂν, εἰ ἐκεκρατήκεσαν, ἐδέδοτο ἔν γὰρ δὴ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις τὸ τε ἀπολωλὸς πάντες αἰεὶ κατατρέχουσι καὶ τὸ κρατῆσαν τιμῶσί, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἱερομηνίας ἐν ἅπαντι ὡς εἰπεῖν τῷ ἔτει καὶ ἄκοντες ἄγειν ἔγνωσαν: τοῦτο γὰρ σφισιν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν σφαγῶν [3] τιμωρίᾳ ἀντικρυς ποιῆσαι ἐκέλευσε. χρονίζοντος δ' οὖν αὐτοῦ λόγοι τε παντοδαποὶ ἐθρυλοῦντο καὶ παθήματα ἀπ' αὐτῶν παντοῖα συνέβαινε. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ οἱ μὲν ὡς τέθνηκε διεθρόουν, καὶ [p. 224] ἡδονὴν πολλοῖς ἐνέβαλλον, οἱ δὲ ὡς κακὸν τι [4] βουλεύοιτο, καὶ φόβον συχνοῖς ἐνεποιοῦν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν τὰ σφέτερα συνέκρυπτον καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἐν φυλακῇ ἐποιοῦντο, οἱ δὲ ὅπῃ ποτὲ ἀποδράσοιντο διεσκόπουν. ἄλλοι, καὶ οἳ γε πλείους, οὐδὲ ἐπινοῆσαι τι ὑπὸ τοῦ σφοδροῦ δέους δυνάμενοι, παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς καὶ πάντως ἀπολούμενοι. [5] βραχὺ τέ τι καὶ κομιδῇ σμικρὸν τὸ θαρσοῦν ἦν: ἐκ γὰρ δὴ τῆς πρόσθεν πολλῆς καὶ ποικίλης καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων φθορᾶς οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐχὶ καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων καὶ τῶν χειρόνων, ἅτε καὶ παντελῶς κεκρατημένοι, προσεδέχοντο. [6] ὅθεν περ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ φοβηθεὶς μή τι ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ Λεπίδου παρόντος νεοχμώσωσιν, ἐπέστειλε τῇ γερουσίᾳ θαρσεῖν τε αὐτῇ παραινῶν, καὶ προσυπισχνοῦμενος πάντα καὶ πράως καὶ φιλανθρώπως κατὰ τὸν πατέρα ποιήσιν. 4. τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει ὀνόματι μὲν ὁ τε Σερουίλιος ὁ Πούπλιος καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὁ Λούκιος, ἔργῳ δὲ οὗτός τε καὶ ἡ Φουλουία ὑπάτευσαν: τοῦ τε γὰρ Καίσαρος πενθερὰ καὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου γυνὴ οὖσα τὸν τε Λέπιδον ὑπὸ νωθείας παρ' οὐδὲν ἦγε καὶ αὐτὴ τὰ πράγματα διεχειρίζεν, ὥστε μήτε τὴν βουλὴν μήτε τὸν δῆμον ἄλλο τι παρὰ τὸ ἐκείνῃ δοκοῦν χρηματίζειν. [2] τοῦ γοῦν Λουκίου αὐτοῦ σπουδάζοντος ἐπινικία τινων ἐν ταῖς Ἄλπεσιν οἰκοῦντων, ὡς καὶ νικήσαντός σφας, πέμψαι, τέως μὲν ἡ Φουλουία ἀντέλεγεν, οὐδείς οἱ συνεχώρησεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκείνη θεραπευθεῖσα [3] ἐπέτρεψε, πάντες ἐψηφίσαντο, ὥστε τῷ [p. 226] μὲν λόγῳ τὸν Ἀντώνιον καθ' ὣν περ κεκρατηκέναι ἔλεγεν 'οὔτε γὰρ ἔπραξέ τι νικητηρίων ἄξιον, οὐθ' ὅλως ἡγεμονίαν ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις ἐκείνοις ἔσχέ, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ τὴν Φουλουίαν ... καὶ πομπεῦσαι. πολὺ γοῦν πλεῖον ἐκείνου, ἅτε καὶ ἀληθέστερον, [4] ἐσεμνύνετο: τὸ γὰρ δοῦναι τινι ἐξουσίαν τῆς τῶν νικητηρίων πέμψεως μεῖζον τοῦ διεορτάσαι αὐτὰ παρ' ἑτέρου λαβόντα ἦν. πλὴν γε ὅτι τὴν τε σκευὴν τὴν ἐπινίκιον ὁ Λούκιος ἐνεδύσατο καὶ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐπέβη, τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ καθήκοντα ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἔπραξεν, αὐτὴ ἡ Φουλουία τὴν πανήγυριν, ὑπὸ τῇ ἐκείνῳ χρωμένη, ποιεῖν [5] ἔδοξεν. ἤχθη δὲ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρᾳ. καὶ ἐπὶ τε τούτῳ ὁ Λούκιος ἐξ Ἰσου τῷ Μαρίῳ ἐσεμνύνετο, ὅτι ἐν τῇ νουμηνίᾳ αὐτὴν, ἐν ᾗ ὑπατεύειν ἤρξατο, ἐπετέλεσε: καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου ἠγάλλετο, λέγων αὐτὸς μὲν ἐθελοντὴς τὰ τε

τῆς πομπῆς κοσμήματα ἀποτεθεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγοραίῳ στολῇ ἡθροικέναι, τὸν δὲ ^[6] δὴ Μάριον ἄκοντα αὐτὰ πεποικέναι. προσετίθει τε ὅτι ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἢ τις ἢ οὐδείς στέφανος ἐδόθη, αὐτὸς δὲ ἄλλους τε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου κατὰ φυλὴν, ὃ μηδενὶ τῶν προτέρων ἐγεγόνει, διὰ τε τὴν Φουλουίαν καὶ διὰ τὰ χρήματα ἃ λάθρα τισὶν ἀνάλωσεν, ἔλαβεν. 5. ἐν δ' οὖν τῷ ἔτει τούτῳ ἔς τε τὴν Ῥώμην ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀφίκετο, καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ ποιήσας πρὸς τε τὴν διοίκησιν καὶ πρὸς τὴν διαγωγὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐτράπετο. ὃ τε γὰρ ^[p. 228] Λέπιδος, τὰ μὲν τῷ φόβῳ αὐτοῦ τὰ δὲ καὶ τῇ τῆς γνώμης ἀσθενείᾳ, οὐδὲν ἐνεωτέρισε· καὶ ὁ Λούκιος ἦ τε Φουλουία, ὡς καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ κοινωνοὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτῷ ὄντες, ἡσυχάσαν τὴν τε πρώτην. ^[2] προϊόντος γὰρ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου διηνέχθησαν, οἱ μὲν ὅτι τοῦ μέρους τῆς τῶν ἀγρῶν νομῆς τοῦ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ προσήκοντος οὐ μετέσχον, ὃ δὲ ὅτι τὰ στρατεύματα παρ' αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀντέλαβε. κἄκ τούτων ἦ τε συγγένεια αὐτῶν ἢ ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγαμίας διελύθη, καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον ἐμφανῇ προήχθησαν. ^[3] ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ τὴν χαλεπότητα τῆς πενθερᾶς μὴ φέρων ἑκείνῃ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ διαφέρεισθαι δοκεῖν ἐβούλετό τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῆς ὡς καὶ παρθένον ἔπι οὔσαν, ὃ καὶ ὄρκῳ ἐπιστώσατο, ἀπεπέμψατο, οὐκ ὀκνήσας οὔτε εἰ τοσοῦτον ἄλλως ἢ γυνὴ πεπαρθενεῦσθαι παρ' αὐτῷ χρόνον νομισθεῖν, οὔτε πρὸς τὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν ἐσομένων εἰ ἐκ πολλοῦ δόξειεν αὐτὸ προβεβουλευκέναι. ^[4] γενομένου δὲ τούτου οὐδὲν ἔτι φίλιον ἐποίουν, ἀλλ' ὃ τε Λούκιος μετὰ τῆς Φουλουίας τῶν τε πραγμάτων, ὡς καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μάρκου ταῦτα δρῶν, ἀντελαμβάνετο καὶ οὐδενὸς αὐτῷ ὑφίετο ἑκείνῳ γὰρ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν εὐσέβειαν καὶ ἐπωνυμίαν ^[5] ἑαυτῷ Πιέταν ἐπέθετό, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸν μὲν Μᾶρκον οὐδὲν δῆθεν ἠτιᾶτο, μὴ καὶ ἐκπολεμώσειεν αὐτὸν τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἔθνη διέποντα, ἐκείνοις δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐπεκάλει καὶ ἀντέπραπτεν ὡς ^[p. 230] καὶ παρὰ τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ πάντα ποιοῦσι καὶ δυναστείας ἰδίας ἐπιθυμοῦσιν. 6. ἦν δὲ ἐν τῇ κληρουχίᾳ ἀμφοτέροις ἢ πλείστη τῆς δυνάμεως ἐλπίς, καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς πρῶτον ἀρξάμενοι διεφέροντο. ὃ τε γὰρ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς πᾶσιν τοῖς τε ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ συστρατευσαμένοις ἤθελεν αὐτὴν κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς μετὰ τὴν νίκην αὐτοῖς γενομένας, ὅπως ^[2] ἔς εὐνοίαν σφας ὑπαγάγηται, ποιήσασθαι· καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τὴν τε ἐπιβάλλουσιν τοῖς σφετέροις κληρουχῆσαι καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτοὶ ἀποικίσαι ἠξίουσαν, ἵνα τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτῶν σφετερίσωνται. καὶ γὰρ ἐτοιμότατον ἀμφοτέροις ἐδόκει εἶναι τὰ τῶν ἀόπλων τοῖς συμπολεμήσασιν χαρίσασθαι. ὡς δ' οὖν παρὰ τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν πολλὴ ταραχὴ ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔς πόλεμον προήγετο ^[3] πᾶσαν γὰρ κατ' ἀρχὰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, πλὴν εἴ τι τις τῶν ἐστρατευμένων ἐν δωρεᾷς μέρει λαβὼν ἢ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου πριάμενος εἶχε, μετὰ τε τῆς δουλείας καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης κατασκευῆς τοὺς δεσπότης ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀφηρεῖτο καὶ ἐκείνοις ἐδίδου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶν κτημάτων ἀποστεροῦμενοι ^[4] δεινῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡγανάκτουν, μετεβάλλοντο ἢ τε Φουλουία καὶ ὁ ὕπατος, πλείω δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς ἑτέροις τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις σχήσειν ἐλπίσαντες, καὶ τῶν μὲν ληψομένων τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἡμέλησαν, πρὸς δὲ ἐκείνους, ἅτε καὶ πλείονας ὄντας καὶ ὀργὴν δικαίαν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπεστεροῦντο ^[5] ποιοῦμένους, ἐτράποντο. κἄκ τούτου

ὑπολαμβάνοντες [p. 232] αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐκάστους καὶ συνήρουντο καὶ συνίστων, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ πρὶν τὸν Καίσαρα φοβουμένους τότε προστατῶν ἐπιλαβομένους ἀναθαρσῆσαι καὶ μηδενὸς ἔτι τῶν οἰκείων ἀφείσθαι: καὶ γὰρ καὶ τῷ Μάρκῳ ταῦτα συνδοκεῖν ἐνόμιζον. 7. τοὺτους τε οὖν ὃ τε Λούκιος καὶ ἡ Φουλουῖα προσεποιοῦντο, καὶ τοῖς ἑτέροις τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα οὐδὲν προσέκρουον. οὐ γὰρ ὡς οὐ δέον αὐτοὺς κληρουχῆσαι τινα προεβάλλοντο, ἀλλὰ ἀρκοῦντα αὐτοῖς τὰ τῶν ἀντιπολεμησάντων [2] σφίσιν ἀπέφαινον, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι καὶ χωρία καὶ ἔπιπλα τὰ μὲν ἔτι τότε ὄντα τὰ δὲ καὶ πεπραμένα ἀπεδείκνυσαν, ὧν τὰ μὲν αὐτὰ τῶν δὲ τὴν τιμὴν ἔφασκον αὐτοῖς δοθῆναι χρῆναι. εἰ δ' οὖν μηδὲ ταῦτά σφίσιν ἀρκέσειε, ταῖς γε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐλπίσι πάντας αὐτοὺς ἀνηρτῶντο. [3] ὥστε ταχὺ ἐκ τούτων συνέβη Καίσαρα μὲν, ἅτε καὶ βίᾳ τὰ τῶν κεκτημένων τι ἀφαιρούμενον καὶ πόνους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ κινδύνους πᾶσιν ὁμοίως προσάγοντα, ἀμφοτέροις αὐτοῖς προσκροῦσαι, ἐκείνους δὲ δῆ, οἷα μήτε τι ἀποστεροῦντάς τινα καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σφίσι τὴν πλήρωσιν τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν ἀμαχεῖ τοῖς ληφομένοις αὐτὰ ὑποδεικνύοντας, [4] ἐκατέρους προσθέσθαι. ἔκ τε οὖν τούτων καὶ ἐκ τοῦ λιμοῦ, ὃς τότε τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς μὲν κατὰ Σικελίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σέξτου τῆς δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ ὑπὸ Γναίου Δομίτιου Ἀηνοβάρβου κατεχομένης δεινῶς αὐτοὺς ἐπίεσεν, ἐν πολλῇ [5] ἀμνηχανία ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐγένετο. ὁ γὰρ Δομίτιος [p. 234] ἦν μὲν τῶν σφαγέων, ἐκ δὲ δῆ τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς Φιλίπποις γενομένης διαφυγῶν ναυτικόν τι συνεκρότησε, καὶ τοῦ τε κόλπου χρόνον τινὰ ἐκράτησε καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἔφθειρε. 8. ταῦτά τε οὖν τὸν Καίσαρα δεινῶς ἐλύπει, καὶ ὅτι ἐν ταῖς διαφοραῖς ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς βουλευτάς καὶ πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος τὸ τοὺς ἀγροὺς κεκτημένον τοῖς ἐστρατευμένοις συμβαινούσαις 'πλεῖστα δὲ δῆ ἅτε καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων ἀγωνιζομένοις σφίσιν ἐγίγνοντό οὐδετέροις ἀκινδύνως [2] προσετίθετο. ἀμφοτέροις μὲν γὰρ ἀδύνατον ἦν αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι: οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑβρίζειν οἱ δ' ἀπαθεῖς εἶναι, καὶ οἱ μὲν καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια λαβεῖν οἱ δὲ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἔχειν ἤθελον. ὁσάκις δὲ δῆ τὰ τούτων ἢ τὰ ἐκείνων, ὥς που καὶ ἡναγκάζετο, προέλοιτο, τοῖς ἑτέροις ἀπήχθετο, καὶ οὐ τοσαύτης γε χάριτος ἐξ ὧν ὑπουργεῖ τισίν, ὅσης ὀργῆς [3] ἐξ ὧν μὴ συνεχώρει, ἐτύγχανεν: οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὡς καὶ ὀφειλόμενά σφίσι πάντα τὰ διδόμενα λαμβάνοντες ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ αὐτὰ εὐεργεσίᾳ ἐτίθεντο, οἱ δὲ ὡς καὶ τῶν οἰκείων στερισκόμενοι ἐχαλέπαινον. καὶ ἐκ τούτου διετέλει ἢ τούτοις ἢ ἐκείνοις προσκρούων καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ὡς φιλόδημος τοτὲ δὲ ὡς [4] φιλοστρατιώτης ἐγκαλοῦμενος. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἐπειδὴ μήτε τι ἦνυε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἔμαθεν ὅτι οὐδὲν τὰ ὄπλα πρὸς τὸ τοὺς ἀδικουμένους εὐνοϊκῶς οἱ ἔχειν ἐδύνατο, ἀλλὰ ἀπολέσθαι μὲν πᾶν τὸ μὴ ὑπεῖκον δι' αὐτῶν οἶόν τε ἦν, ἀναγκασθῆναι δὲ τινα φιλεῖν ὃν μὴ [p. 236] βούλεται ἀδύνατον ὑπάρχει, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἄκων [5] ὑποκατέκλινε, καὶ οὐκέτ' οὔτε τῶν βουλευτῶν τι ἀφείλετο 'πρότερον γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων πάντα κατανεῖμαι ἡξίου, διερωτῶν σφας 'πόθεν οὖν τὰ γέρα τοῖς ἐστρατευμένοις ἀποδώσομεν;' ὥσπερ τινὸς αὐτῷ πολεμεῖν ἢ καὶ τοσαῦτά σφίσιν ὑπισχεῖσθαι κεκελευκότος, τῶν τε ἄλλων ὅσα ἢ γυναῖκες ἐς τὰς προῖκας ἐντετιμημένα ἢ καὶ ἕτεροι τινες ἐλάττω τῆς κατ' ἄνδρα τοῖς ἐστρατευμένοις

διδομένης γῆς ἐκέκτηντο, ἀπέσχετο. 9. πραχθέντος δὲ τούτου ἡ μὲν γερουσία καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ μηδενὸς στερόμενοι πρῶως πως πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔσχον, οἱ δὲ ἐστρατευμένοι τὴν τε φειδῶ καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τὴν ἐς ἐκείνους ἀτιμίαν τε ἅμα καὶ ζημίαν ἑαυτῶν, ὡς καὶ ἐλάττω ληφιομένων, νομίζοντες [2] εἶναι ἐδυσχέрайινον, καὶ τῶν τε ἐκατοντάρχων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐπιτηδείως τε τῷ Καίσαρι ἐχόντων καὶ θορυβεῖν αὐτοὺς κωλύοντων συχνοὺς ἀπέκτειναν, αὐτὸν τε ἐκεῖνον παρ' ὀλίγον ἦλθον ἀποχρήσασθαι, πᾶσαν αὐτάρκη πρόφασιν [3] τῆς ὀργῆς ποιούμενοι. καὶ οὐ πρότερόν γε ἐπαύσαντο χαλεπαίνοντες πρὶν τοῖς τε συγγενέσι σφῶν καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις πεσόντων πατράσι καὶ παισὶ τὴν χώραν, ὅσῃν τινὲς αὐτῶν εἶχον, ἀφεθῆναι. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰ μὲν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπιτηδειότερά οἱ αὖθις ἐγένετο, ὁ δὲ δῆμος κατ' αὐτὸ [4] δὴ τοῦτο πάλιν ἠγανάκτει. καὶ ἔς τε χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ἦσαν καὶ μάχαι σφῶν συνεχεῖς ἐγίνοντο, ὥστε καὶ πιτρώσκεσθαι καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν παρ' [p. 238] ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως πολλοὺς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ δὴ τῇ τε τῶν ὄπλων παρασκευῇ καὶ τῇ τῶν πολέμων ἐμπειρίᾳ, οἱ δὲ τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ τῷ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν [5] τεγῶν αὐτοὺς βάλλειν ἐπεκράτουν, ὥστε καὶ οἰκίας διὰ τοῦτο συχνὰς καταπρησθῆναι, καὶ τὸ ἐνοίκιον τοῖς μὲν ἐν τῷ ἅσκει μέχρι πεντακοσίων δραχμῶν οἰκοῦσι πᾶν, τοῖς δ' ἐν τῇ λοιπῇ Ἰταλίᾳ κατὰ τὸ τέταρτον ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐνὸς ἀνεθῆναι. ἐν πάσαις γὰρ δὴ ταῖς πόλεσιν ὁμοίως, ὅπῃ ποτὲ συντύχοιεν ἀλλήλοις, ἐμάχοντο. 10. ὡς οὖν ταῦτά τε οὕτως ἐγίνετο, καὶ στρατιῶται ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος προπεμφθέντες θόρυβόν τέ τινα ἐν Πλακεντίᾳ ἐποίησαν, καὶ οὐ πρότερον πρὶν χρήματα παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων λαβεῖν κατέστησαν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καλήνου τοῦ τε Οὐεντιδίου τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἀλπεῖς ἐχόντων ἐκωλύθησαν ὑπερβαλεῖν [2] αὐτάς, ἐφοβήθη τε ὁ Καῖσαρ μὴ καὶ σφαλῇ τι, καὶ καταλλαγῆναι τῇ τε Φουλουίᾳ καὶ τῷ ὑπάτῳ ἠθέλησεν. ἐπειδὴ τε οὐδὲν ἰδίᾳ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν προσπέμπων σφίσιν ἐπέβαινε, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐστρατευμένους ὥρμησε καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τὰς συναλλαγὰς [3] ἔπραττεν. ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τούτοις ἐπαιρόμενοι καὶ τοὺς στερομένους τῆς χώρας προσποιούμενοι, Λούκιος μὲν πανταχόσε συνιστάς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀποσπῶν περιῖει, Φουλουία δὲ τὸ τε Πραινέστε κατέλαβε καὶ προσεταιριστοὺς βουλευτάς τε καὶ ἱππέας ἔχουσα τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα μετ' αὐτῶν ἐβουλεύετο, καὶ τὰς παραγγέλσεις [4] ὡς ἐκασταχόσε ἐχρῆν ἔπεμπε. καὶ τί ταῦτα θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις, ὅποτε καὶ ξίφος παρεζώννυτο [p. 240] καὶ συνθήματα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐδίδου, ἐδημηγόρει τε ἐν αὐτοῖς πολλάκις; ὥστε καὶ 11. ἐκεῖνα τῷ Καίσαρι προσίστασθαι. οὐ μέντοι ἔχων ὅπως αὐτοὺς καταλύσῃ 'οὐ γὰρ μόνον τῇ δυνάμει ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων εὐνοίᾳ πολὺ αὐτῶν ἡλαττοῦτο: αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ πολλοὺς ἐλύπει, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ πάντα ἐπὶ ἡλπίσιν' πολλάκις μὲν σφας ἰδίᾳ διὰ τῶν φίλων ἐς τὰς καταλλαγὰς προεκαλέσατο, ὡς δ' οὐδὲν ἦνυτεν, ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατευμένων [2] πρέσβεις πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπέστειλε. μάλιστα μὲν γὰρ τεύξεσθαι τε αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ παρόντα καταστήσεσθαι ἔς τε τὸ ἔπειτα ἀντισχύσειν ἐκ τούτου ἡλπισεν: ἂν δὲ δὴ καὶ διαμάρτη σφῶν, τὴν γοῦν αἰτίαν τῆς διαφορᾶς οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀλλ' [3] ἐκείνους ἔξειν ἐνόμισεν. ὁ καὶ ἐγένετο. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ διὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν

ἐπέρανε, βουλευτὰς ἔστειλε, τὰς τε συνθήκας σφίσι τὰς πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον αὐτῷ γενομένας ἐκφήνας καὶ δικαστὰς τῶν διαφορῶν δῆθεν αὐτοὺς ποιήσας. [4] ὥς δ' οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τότε ἐπράχθη 'καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τοῦτο μὲν πολλὰ καὶ ὅσα ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἔμελλε ποιήσῃν ἀντιπροσείνοντο, τοῦτο δὲ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐποιοῦν, ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ Μάρκου ἐντολῆς πράττειν ἔλεγον', οὕτω δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἐστρατευμένους αὖθις ἀπέκλινε. 12. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκεῖνοι πλήθει πολλῶ, ὥς καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῇ τε βουλῇ κοινωσόμενοι τι, συνελθόντες τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν ἐφρόντισαν, ἀθροισθέντες δ' ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον τὰς τε συνθήκας, ἃς ὁ τε Ἀντώνιος καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεποίητο, ἀναγνωσθῆναι σφισιν ἐκέλευσαν, καὶ [p. 242] ἐκείνας τε ἐπεκύρωσαν, καὶ περὶ ὧν διεφέροντο [2] ἑαυτοὺς δικαστὰς γενέσθαι ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ ταῦτά τε ἐς δέλτους γράψαντες καὶ κατασημηνάμενοι ταῖς ἀειπαρθένοις φυλάττειν ἔδοσαν, καὶ τῷ μὲν Καίσαρι παρόντι, τοῖς δὲ ἑτέροις διὰ πρεσβείας, ἐς Γαβίους ἐν ῥητῇ τινι ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς τὴν [3] δίκην ἀπαντῆσαι προσέταζαν. ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἔτοιμος διαδικασθῆναι ἐγένετο, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ὑπέσχοντο μὲν ἀφίξεσθαι, οὐκ ἦλθον δέ, φοβηθέντες ἢ καὶ ἀπαξιώσαντες 'διέσκωπτον γοῦν σφας, ἄλλα τε καὶ βουλὴν καλιγᾶταν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν στρατιωτικῶν ὑποδημάτων χρήσεως ἀποκαλοῦντες', τοῦ τε Λουκίου καὶ τῆς Φουλουίας ὥς καὶ ἀδικούντων τι κατεψηφίσαντο καὶ τὰ τοῦ [4] Καίσαρος ἐπρέσβευσαν. κἄκ τούτου πολλάκις αὖθις βουλευσάμενοι τὸν τε πόλεμον αὖθις ἀνείλοντο καὶ τὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐχ ἡσυχῇ ἡτοιμάζοντο. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ χρήματα ἀπανταχόθεν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἤθροισαν: τὰ γὰρ ἀναθήματα, ὅσα γε καὶ ἐξαργυρισθῆναι ἐδύνατο, τὰ τε ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰταλίᾳ τῇ ἐν τῇ ἐπικρατείᾳ αὐτῶν οὔσῃ καὶ τὰ ἐν [5] αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἀνακείμενα καθεῖλον. καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας τῆς τογάτης, ἢ καὶ ἐς τὸν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἥδη νομόν, ὥστε μηδὲνα ἄλλον προφάσει τῆς ἐνταῦθα ἀρχῆς στρατιώτας ἐντὸς τῶν Ἀλπεων τρέφειν, ἐσεγγράπτο, καὶ χρήματα καὶ στρατιῶται ἦλθον. 13. ὁ τε οὖν Καῖσαρ παρεσκευάζετο, καὶ ἡ Φουλουία καὶ ὁ Λούκιος τὰ τε πρόσφορα ἐπορίζοντο [p. 244] καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις συνεκρότουν. κἂν τούτῳ καὶ ἀντεπρεσβεύοντο καὶ διέπεμπον ἐκασταχόσε καὶ στρατιώτας καὶ στρατιάρχους ἐκάτεροι, καὶ τὰ μὲν προκατελάμβανον τῶν δ' ἀπεκρούοντο. καὶ αὐτῶν ἐγὼ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ, καὶ ἐν οἷς οὔτε τι μέγα οὔτ' ἀξιόλογον ἐπράχθη, παρήσω, τὰ δὲ δὴ λόγου μάλιστα ἄξια συντόμως διηγῆσομαι. [2] ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ Νουρσίαν ἐς τοὺς Σαβίνους στρατεύσας τὴν μὲν φρουρὰν τὴν προκαθημένην σφῶν ἐτρέψατο, τῆς δὲ δὴ πόλεως ὑπὸ Τισιήνου Γάλλου ἀπεκρούσθη. μεταστὰς οὖν ἐς τὴν Ὀμβρικήν Σεντινάτας ἐπολιόρησε μὲν, οὐ μέντοι [3] καὶ εἶλεν αὐτοῦς: τοῦ γὰρ Λουκίου ἐν τούτῳ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον στρατιώτας λάθρᾳ κατ' ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην πρόφασιν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην πρὸς τοὺς φίλους πέμψαντος, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐξαίφνης ἐπελθόντος, καὶ τὸ τε ἵππικὸν ἀπαντῆσάν οἱ κρατήσαντος καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐς τὸ τεῖχος καταράξαντος, [4] κἄκ τούτου καὶ τὸ ἄστυ, συνεπιθεμένων τοῖς ἔνδοθεν ἀμυνομένοις τῶν προαφικμένων, λαβόντος 'οὔτε γὰρ ὁ Λέπιδος ὁ τὴν φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπιτετραμμένος ἀντέπραξέ τι ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμφύτου νωθείας, οὔτε ὁ Σερονίλιος ὁ ὕπατος ἡσυχαιτέρως πως ὦν', πυθόμενος ταῦθ' ὁ

Καῖσαρ τοῖς μὲν Σεντινάταις Κύντον Σαλουιδιῆνον Ροῦφον παρακατέλιπεν,
[5] αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην ὥρμησε. μαθὼν οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Λούκιος
προὔπεξήλθε, διαπραξάμενος ψηφισθῆναι οἱ ὡς ἐπὶ πολέμῳ τινὶ
ἐκστρατεῦσαι· καὶ ἔν γε τῇ στρατιωτικῇ σκευῇ ἐδημηγόρησεν, ὃ μηδεὶς
ἄλλος ἐπεποιήκει. καὶ [p. 246] οὕτως ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀμαχεί τε ἐς τὸ ἄστὺ ἐσεδέχθη,
καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐπιδιώξας αὐτὸν οὐ κατέλαβεν, ἀνέστρεψεν, καὶ φρουρὰν τῆς
πόλεως ἀκριβεστέραν [6] ἐποίησατο. κὰν τούτῳ ὁ Ροῦφος, ὡς τάχιστα
ἐκεῖνός τε ἀπὸ τῶν Σεντινατῶν ἀπεχώρησε καὶ Γάιος Φοῦρνιος ὁ τὸ τεῖχος
φρουρῶν ἐπέξῃλθεν ἐπὶ πολὺ διώκων αὐτόν, προσέβαλέ τε ἀπροσδοκῆτοις
τοῖς ἔνδον οὔσι, καὶ ἐλὼν τὴν πόλιν διήρπασε καὶ κατέκαυσεν. Νουρσίνοι
δὲ ἐς μὲν ὁμολογίαν μηδὲν κακὸν παθόντες ἦλθον, ἐπεὶ μέντοι τοὺς ἐν τῇ
μάχῃ τῇ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρά σφισι γενομένη πεσόντας θάψαντες ἐπέγραψαν
τοῖς μνημείοις αὐτῶν ὅτι ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνιζόμενοι ἐτελεύτησαν,
παμπόλλοις χρήμασιν ἐζημιώθησαν, ὥστε καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἅμα
πᾶσαν ἐκλίπειν. 14. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔπραττον, ὃ δὲ Λούκιος ὡς τότε ἐκ τῆς
Ῥώμης ἀπῆρεν, ὥρμησε μὲν ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν, εἰρχθεὶς δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ πρὸς
Περουσίαν Τυρσηνίδα πόλιν ἀπετράπετο· καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα πρότεροι μὲν
οἱ ὕπαρχοι τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἀπολαβόντες
ἐπολιόρκουν. [2] χρονίου δὲ δὴ τῆς προσεδρείας σφισι γιγνομένης 'τό τε γὰρ
χωρίον τῇ τε φύσει καρτερόν ἐστι καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις ἱκανῶς
παρεσκεύαστο, καὶ ἱππῆς προεκπεμφθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, πρὶν παντελῶς
περιστοιχισθῆναι, δεινῶς σφας ἐλύπουν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἕτεροι πολλοὶ
σπουδῇ ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν ἐπήμυνον [3] αὐτῷ· πολλὰ μὲν πρὸς τοὺτους ὡς
ἐκάστους, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐπράχθη, μέχρις οὔ καίτοι
πλεονεκτοῦντες τὰ πλείω οἱ περὶ τὸν [p. 248] Λούκιον ὅμως ὑπὸ λιμοῦ
ἐάλωσαν. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἄλλοι τέ τινες ἄδειαν εὗροντο, οἱ δὲ δὴ πλείους
τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἐφθάρησαν. [4] καὶ λόγος γε ἔχει ὅτι οὐδ'
ἀπλῶς τοῦτο ἔπαθον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τὸν τῷ Καίσαρι τῷ προτέρῳ
ῴσιωμένον ἀχθέντες ἱππῆς τε τριακόσιοι καὶ βουλευταὶ ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ
Καννούτιος ὁ Τιβέριος, ὅς ποτε ἐν τῇ δημαρχίᾳ τὸ πλῆθος τῷ Καίσαρι [5] τῷ
Ὀκταουιανῷ ἠθροισεν, ἐτύθησαν. τῶν δὲ Περουσίνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν
ἐκεῖ ἀλόντων οἱ πλείους ἀπώλοντο, καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτῇ, πλὴν τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου
τοῦ τε τῆς Ἥρας ἔδους, πᾶσα κατεκαύθη. [6] τοῦτο δὲ ἐσώθη γὰρ πως κατὰ
τύχην' ἀνήχθη τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐξ ὅψεως ὄνειρου ἦν ὁ Καῖσαρ εἶδε καὶ
παρέσχε καὶ τῇ πόλει πρὸς τῶν βουλομένων συνοικισθῆναι, πλὴν ὅτι τῆς
χώρας οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ ἑπτὰ καὶ ἥμισυ σταδίους ἐκτήσαντο. 15. ἐκείνης δ' οὖν
ἐπὶ τε Γναίου Καλουίνου δεῦτερον καὶ ἐπ' Ἀσινίου Πωλίωνος ὑπάτων
ἀλούσης καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, τὰ μὲν βία τὰ δὲ ἐθελοντί, τῷ Καίσαρι
προσεχώρησε· καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' ἦ τε Φουλουία πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα μετὰ τῶν [2]
τέκνων ἀπέδρα, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρώτων συχνοὶ οἱ μὲν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον οἱ
δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σέξτον ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἀπεχώρησαν. ἦ τε Ἰουλία ἡ τῶν
Ἀντωνίων μήτηρ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐνταῦθα ἦλθε, καὶ πάνυ φιλικῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ
Σέξτου ὑπεδέχθη, ἔπειτα δὲ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν τὸν Μάρκον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπέμφθη,
λόγους τέ οἱ ὑπὲρ φιλίας καὶ [3] πρέσβεις ἄγουσα. μετὰ τούτων τῶν τότε πρὸς

[p. 250] τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκχωρησάντων καὶ Κλαύδιος Τιβέριος Νέρων ἔφυγε. φρουρὰν γὰρ τινα ἐν τῇ Καμπανίᾳ εἶχε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ καθυπέρτερα τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐγένετο, ἀπῆρε σὺν τε τῇ γυναικὶ Λιουία Δρουσίλλῃ καὶ σὺν τῷ υἱεῖ Τιβερίῳ [4] Κλαυδίῳ Νέρωνι, ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς παραδοξοτάτοις συμβῆναι: ἢ τε γὰρ Λιουία αὕτη ἢ τὸν Καίσαρα τότε φυγοῦσα μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτῷ ἐγήματο, καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος οὗτος ὁ σὺν τοῖς τοκεῦσι τότε ἐκδράς τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ διεδέξατο. 16. ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο: τότε δὲ τὴν τε εἰρηνικὴν ἐσθῆτα οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὄντες ἀνέλαβον ἔκδεδυκότες γὰρ αὐτὴν ἄνευ ψηφίσματος ἀνάγκῃ τοῦ δήμου ᾗσαν καὶ αὐτοὶ τε ἐώρταζον, καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐν τε στολῇ ἐπνικίῳ ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἐσεκόμισαν καὶ δαφνίνῳ στεφάνῳ ἐτίμησαν, ὥσθ' ὅσாகις οἱ τὰ νικητήρια πέμπαντες εἴωθεσαν αὐτῷ [2] χρῆσθαι, καὶ ἐκεῖνόν οἱ κοσμεῖσθαι. Καῖσαρ δέ, ἐπειδὴ τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ κατειργαστο καὶ ὁ κόλπος ὁ Ἰόνιος ἡλευθέρωτο ὃ γὰρ Δομίτιος, ἀπογνοὺς μηκέτι καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἰσχύσειν, ἀπέπλευσε πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον, παρεσκευάζετο μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Σέξτον ὀρμήσων, αἰσθόμενος δὲ τὴν τε δύναμιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅτι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ διὰ τε τῆς μητρὸς καὶ διὰ τῶν πρέσβων ἐκεκοινολόγητο, ἔδεισε μὴ καὶ ἀμφοῖν [3] ἅμα πολεμήσῃ, καὶ τὸν Σέξτον ὡς καὶ πιστότερον ἢ καὶ ἰσχυρότερον τοῦ Ἀντωνίου προτιμήσας τὴν τε μητέρα αὐτῷ Μουκίαν ἔπεμψε, καὶ τὴν τοῦ πενθεροῦ αὐτοῦ Λουκίου Σκριβωνίου Λίβωνος [p. 252] ἀδελφὴν ἔγνημεν, εἴ πως ἔκ τε τῆς εὐεργεσίας καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας φίλον αὐτὸν ποιήσαιο. 17. ὁ γὰρ Σέξτος, ὡς τότε ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας κατὰ τὰς πρὸς τὸν Λέπιδον συνθήκας ἀπηλλάγη καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ναύαρχος οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον κατέστη, τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος παρελύθη, τοῦ δὲ δὴ ναυτικοῦ καὶ ὡς ἀντεχόμενος ἐτόλμησε μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πλεῦσαι, ἐπικρατούντων δὲ ἤδη [2] τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα αὐτῆς, μαθὼν ὅτι ἐν τοῖς σφαγεῦσι τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐάλωκε, τῆς μὲν ἡπείρου ἀπέσχετο, κατὰ δὲ δὴ τὰς νήσους περιπλέων τὰ τε γιγνόμενα ἐκαρᾶδόκει καὶ τὴν τροφὴν οὐκ ἐξ ἀδικημάτων ἐπορίζετο: ἄτε γὰρ μὴ μετεσχηκῶς τοῦ φόνου, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος [3] ἤλπιζε καταχθῆσεσθαι. ἐπεὶ μέντοι καὶ ἐν τῷ λευκώματι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐξετέθη καὶ ἔγνω καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπικεκηρυγμένον, ἀπέγνω τε τὴν δι' αὐτοῦ κάθοδον καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον ἡτοιμάζετο: ναυπηγίαν τε γὰρ τριήρων ἐποιεῖτο καὶ τοὺς αὐτομολοῦντας ἐδέχετο, τοὺς τε καταποντιστὰς προσηταιρίζετο καὶ τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας ὑπελάμβανε. [4] κᾶκ τούτων ἐν ὀλίγῳ τε ἰσχυρὸς ἐγένετο καὶ τῆς πρὸς τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ θαλάσσης ἐκράτησεν, ἐς τε τοὺς λιμένας αὐτῆς ἀπέβαινε καὶ τὰ πλοῖα ἀπέσπα, ἀρπαγὰς τε ἐποιεῖτο. προχωρούντων δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν πραγμάτων ὥστε καὶ στρατιώτας καὶ χρήματα ἀπ' αὐτῶν πορίζειν, ἐς Σικελίαν ἔπλευσε, καὶ Μύλας μὲν τὴν τε Τυνδαρίδα ἀμαχεῖ κατέσχε, τῆς δὲ Μεσσήνης ὑπὸ Πομπηίου Βιθυνικοῦ τοῦ τότε τῆς Σικελίας ἄρχοντος ἀπεκρούσθη. [5] οὐ μέντοι καὶ παντελῶς αὐτῆς ἀπέστη, [p. 254] ἀλλὰ τὴν τε χώραν κατατρέχων καὶ τὴν ἐσκομιδὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων κωλύων, τῶν τε προσβοηθησάντων σφίσι τοὺς μὲν φόβῳ μὴ καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ πάθωσι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἐνέδρας τινὸς κακῶσει προσθέμενος, τὸν τε ταμίαν σὺν τοῖς χρήμασι προσεποιήσατο, καὶ τέλος καὶ τὴν Μεσσήνην τὸν τε Βιθυνικὸν ὡς καὶ ἀπὸ

τῆς Ἰσῆς οἱ ἄρξοντα καθ' [6] ὁμολογίαν ἔλαβε. καὶ τοῦτον μὲν οὐδὲν τότε γε κακὸν εἰργάσατο, ἐκείνους δὲ τὰ τε ὄπλα καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀφείλετο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰς τε Συρακούσας καὶ ἄλλας τινὰς πόλεις ὑπηγάγετο, καὶ στρατιώτας τε ἀπ' αὐτῶν πλείους καὶ ναυτικὸν ἰσχυρότατον συνήγαγε: καὶ τινὰ αὐτῷ δύναμιν καὶ Κύντος Κορνούφικιος ἐκ τῆς Ἀφρικῆς ἔπεμψε. 18. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἠϋξέτο, Καῖσαρ δὲ τέως μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἐπιστροφὴν αὐτοῦ τῇ τε ἐκείνου καταφρονήσει καὶ τῇ τῶν ἐν χερσὶν ἀσχολίᾳ ἐποίησατο: ἐπεὶ δ' ὑπὸ τε τοῦ λιμοῦ φθορὰ πολλὴ ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἐγένετο καὶ ὁ Σέξτος καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπείρασεν, οὕτω δὴ ναυτικὸν τέ τι κατασκευάζεσθαι ἤρξατο, καὶ τὸν Ροῦφον τὸν Σαλουιδιῆνον [2] σὺν δυνάμει πολλῇ ἐς Ῥήγιον προέπεμψε. καὶ ὅς ἐκ μὲν τῆς Ἰταλίας τὸν Σέξτον ἀπέωσατο, ἀναχωρήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν δερμάτινα πλοῖα κατὰ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ὠκεανῷ πλέοντας ἐκποιῆσαι ἐπεχείρησεν, ἔνδοθεν μὲν ῥάβδοις αὐτὰ κούφαις διαλαμβάνων, ἔξωθεν δὲ βοδὸς δέρμα ὠμόν ἐς ἀσπίδος κυκλοτεροῦς τρόπον περιτείνων. [p. 256] [3] ὥς δὲ γέλωτὰ τε ὠφλίσκανεν καὶ κινδυνεύσειν, εἰ πειραθεῖν αὐτοῖς διὰ τοῦ πορθμοῦ χρήσασθαι, ἐπίστευσεν, ἐκείνων μὲν ἀφείτο, τῷ δὲ δὴ ναυτικῷ τῷ κατασκευασθέντι τε καὶ ἐλθόντι ἐπετόλμησε μὲν διαπλεῦσαι, οὐκ ἡδυνήθη δέ: τὸ τε γὰρ πλῆθος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν νεῶν αὐτοῦ πολὺ τῆς τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ ἐμπειρίας καὶ τόλμης ἡλαττώθη. [4] αὐτόπτης οὖν τῆς ναυμαχίας ὁ Καῖσαρ γενόμενος 'κατὰ γὰρ τὴν στρατείαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐπράχθη χαλεπῶς ἦνεγκε, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι τότε πρῶτον συμβαλὼν ἦττητο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἰσχυρὸν οὐκέτι, καίτοι τοῦ πλείονος ναυτικοῦ σωθέντος οἱ, περαιωθῆναι [5] ἐτόλμησε: λάθρα δὲ πολλάκις ἐπιχειρήσας ὡς πάντως, ἂν τῆς νήσου ἐπιβῇ, πολὺ τῷ πεζῷ κρατήσων, ἔπειθ' ὡς οὐδέν, ἅτε καὶ ἰσχυρᾶς πανταχόθεν φυλακῆς αὐτοῦ οὔσης, ἐπέραινε, τῇ μὲν Σικελίᾳ ἄλλους τινὰς ἐφεδρεῦειν προσέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τε τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἀφίκετο, κάντεῦθεν τῇ τῶν νεῶν βοηθείᾳ τὸν Ἴόνιον διέβαλε. 19. γενομένου δὲ τούτου τὴν τε νῆσον πᾶσαν ὁ Σέξτος κατέσχε, καὶ τὸν Βιθυνικὸν ὡς καὶ ἐπιβουλεύσαντα αὐτῷ ἀπέκτεινε, θέας τε ἐπινικίους ἦγαγε, καὶ ναυμαχίαν τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Ῥήγιον, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ὀρᾶν, ἐποίησε, πλοιάριά τινα ξύλινα πρὸς ἕτερα βύρσινα ἐς τὸν τοῦ Ροῦφου κατάγελων [2] συμβαλὼν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ναῦς τε πλείους ἐναυπηγήσατο καὶ τῆς πέριξ θαλάσσης ἐκράτησε, δόξαν τέ τινα καὶ φρόνημα ὡς καὶ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος παῖς ὢν, ὅτι πάσης ποτὲ ὁ πατήρ [p. 258] αὐτοῦ τῆς θαλάσσης ἤρξε, προσέθετο. ταῦτα μὲν, ἕως ἔτι τὰ τε τοῦ Κασσίου καὶ τὰ τοῦ Βρούτου [3] συνειστῆκει, ἔπραξε: φθαρέντων δὲ ἐκείνων ἄλλοι τε πρὸς αὐτὸν συγκατέφυγον καὶ ὁ Στάιος ὁ Λούκιος. καὶ αὐτὸν τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀσμένως ἐδέξατο 'καὶ γὰρ τὴν δύναμιν ἧς ἦρχεν ἐπηγάγετό, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ δραστήριον καὶ φρονηματώδη ἰδὼν ὄντα ἀπέκτεινεν, ἔγκλημα αὐτῷ προδοσίας [4] ἐπενεγκών. κάκ τούτου τὸ τε ἐκείνου ναυτικὸν καὶ τὸ τῶν δούλων τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀφικνουμένων πλῆθος προσλαβὼν πάμπολυ ἠϋξήθη: τοσοῦτοι γὰρ δὴ ἠυτομόλουν ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἀειπαρθένους καθ' ἱερῶν εὐξασθαι ἐπισχεθῆναι σφων τὰς αὐτομολίας. 20. διὰ τε οὖν ταῦτα καὶ

διὰ τὸ τοὺς φεύγοντας αὐτὸν ὑποδέχεσθαι τὴν τε τοῦ Ἀντωνίου φιλίαν πράττειν καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας πολλὰ πορθεῖν, καταλλαγῆναι οἱ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεθύμησε: διαμαρτῶν δὲ τούτου ἐκείνῳ μὲν Μᾶρκον Οὐψάνιον Ἀγρίππαν πολεμῆσαι ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς Γαλατίαν ^[2] ἀπῆρε. μαθὼν οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Σέξτος ἐτήρησε τὸν Ἀγρίππαν περὶ τὰ Ἀπολλώνια ἔχοντα: ἐστρατήγει γάρ, καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ, ἅτε καὶ πάνυ φίλος ὢν τῷ Καίσαρι, ἐλαμπρύνατο, καὶ τὴν ἵπποδρομίαν ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας ἐποίησε, τῇ τε Τροίᾳ καλουμένη διὰ τῶν εὐγενῶν παιδῶν ἐγαυρώθη. ταῦτ' οὖν αὐτοῦ πράττοντος ἐπεραιώθη τε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ ἐνέμεινεν ἐν αὐτῇ λεηλατῶν, μέχρις οὗ ἐκεῖνος ἀφίκετο: τότε γὰρ φρουρὰν ἐν χωρίοις ^[3] τισὶ καταλιπὼν ἀνέπλευσεν. ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ τὴν Γαλατίαν πρότερον μὲν δι' ἐτέρων, ὥσπερ ^[p. 260] εἴρηται, καταλαβεῖν ἐπεχείρησε, μὴ δυνηθεὶς δὲ διὰ τε τὸν Καλῆνον καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πράττοντας αὐτὸς τότε κατέσχε, τὸν τε Καλῆνον τεθηγκότα νόσῳ εὐρῶν καὶ τὸ ^[4] στράτευμα αὐτοῦ ἀκονιτὶ προσθέμενος. κὰν τοῦτω τὸν Λέπιδον ἀγανακτοῦντα τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐπιβαλλούσης αὐτῷ στερήσει ἰδὼν ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικὴν ἐπεμψεν, ἵν' ὥς παρ' ἑαυτοῦ μόνου αὐτὴν, ἀλλ' οὐ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου λαβὼν οἰκειότερόν οἱ προσφέρηται. 21. δύο μὲν δὴ ἔθνη τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐν τῇ Λιβυῇ ἐκείνῃ, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἦν: ἥρχον δὲ πρὸ τῆς τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν συνωμοσίας τοῦ μὲν Νομαδικοῦ Τίτος Σέξτιος, τοῦ δὲ ἐτέρου ὃ τε Κορνούφικιος καὶ Δέκιμος Λαίλιος, ὁ μὲν τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, οἱ ^[2] δὲ τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος φρονοῦντες. καὶ τέως μὲν ὁ Σέξτιος ἀνέμενεν ὥς καὶ ἐκείνων πολὺ γὰρ πλείω δύναμιν εἶχον' ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐσβαλόντων, καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ὥς καὶ ἐνταῦθα αὐτοὺς ἀμυνόμενος: ἐπεὶ δὲ διέμελλον, κατεφρόνησέ τε αὐτῶν, καὶ προσεπαρθεὶς ὑπὸ τε βοδὸς φθεγξαμένης, ὥς φασιν, ἀνθρωπίνῃ φωνῇ καὶ κελυσάσης ^[3] αὐτῷ τῶν προκειμένων ἔχεσθαι, καὶ ἐξ ἐνυπνίου δι' οὗ ταῦρός τις κατορωρυγμένος ἐν τῇ πόλει Τούκκῃ παρηνεκέσαι οἱ ἔδοξε τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἀνελέσθαι καὶ ἐπὶ κάμακος, ὥς καὶ ἐκ τούτου νικήσονται, περιφέρειν, οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι τὸν ταῦρον ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἐν ᾧ τὸ ^[p. 262] ἐνύπνιον εἶναι ἔφη εὔρεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν ^[4] Ἀφρικὴν προενέβαλε. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τὸ τε Ἀδρυμητον καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα χωρία, ἀνελπίστοις σφίσι προσπεσών, κατέσχε: ἔπειτα δὲ ἀφυλάκτως δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἔχων ἐλοχίσθη τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ταμίου, καὶ πολὺ μέρος τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀποβαλὼν ἐς τὴν Νουμιδιάν ἀνεχώρησε. καὶ ἔτυχε γὰρ ἄνευ τῆς τοῦ ταύρου κεφαλῆς δυστυχήσας, τὴν τε ἦτταν ἐς τοῦτο ἀνέφερε, καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ^[5] ὥς καὶ αὖθις στρατεύσων. κὰν τοῦτω φθάσαντες οἱ ἐναντιοὶ ἀντεσέβαλον ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ: καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Κίρταν ἐπολιόρκουν, ὁ δὲ δὴ ταμίας ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ὥρμησε, καὶ τισιν ἱππομαχίαις κρατήσας τὸν συνταμίαν προσεποιήσατο. πραχθέντων δὲ τούτων ὁ Σέξτιος νεαλῇ τινα ἐπικουρίαν προσλαβὼν ἀνεκινδύνευσεν, καὶ τὸν τε ταμίαν ἀντενίκησε καὶ τὸν Λαίλιον κατατρέχοντα τὴν χώραν ἐς τὸ ἔρυμα ^[6] κατέκλεισε. τὸν τε Κορνούφικιον ἐπαμνυοῦντα ἀπατήσας ὥς καὶ ἐαλωκότος ἐκείνου καὶ ἐς ἀθυμίαν ἐμβαλὼν ἥττησε, καὶ αὐτόν τε ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὸν Λαίλιον ἐπεξελθόντα ὥς καὶ κατὰ νώτου σφίσι προσπεσοῦμενον. 22. πράξας δὲ ταῦτα τὴν τε Ἀφρικὴν κατέσχε καὶ ἐκατέρου

τοῦ ἔθνους ἀδεῶς ἦρχε, μέχρις οὗ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκ τῶν συνθηκῶν τῶν πρὸς τε τὸν Ἀντώνιον καὶ τὸν Λέπιδον οἱ γενομένων τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν λαβὼν Γαίον σφισι Φουφίκιον Φάγγωνα προσέταξε: τότε γὰρ ἐκὼν δὴ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐξέστη.
[2] ὡς μέντοι ἢ τε μάχη ἢ κατὰ τὸν Βροῦτον τὸν τε Κάσσιον ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὃ τε Ἀντώνιος τὰ [p. 264] τε ἄλλα ἀνεδάσαντο, καὶ τῆς Λιβύης Καῖσαρ μὲν τὴν Νουμιδιαν Ἀντώνιος δὲ τὴν Ἀφρικὴν ἔλαβεν ὁ γὰρ Λέπιδος ἐν αὐτοῖς ὀνόματι μόνον, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἦρχε, καὶ πολλάκις γε οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς [3] γράμμασι προσενεγράφετό, ὡς οὖν ταῦτα τε οὕτως ἐγένετο καὶ ἡ Φουλουία τὴν Ἀφρικὴν αὐτῷ παραλαβεῖν ἐκέλευσεν ἔν γὰρ τῇ Λιβύῃ καὶ τότε ἔτι, πρόφασιν μὲν διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα, ἔργῳ δὲ εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι νεωτερισθῆσοιτό τι, ἐνδιέτριψέ, τὸν μὲν Φάγγωνα οὐκ ἔπεισε τῆς χώρας ἐκστῆναι, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιχωρίους ἀχθομένους οἱ ἔν τε γὰρ τῷ μισθοφορικῷ ἐστράτευτο: πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὥσπερ εἴρηται μοι, κατελελέχато: καὶ κακῶς αὐτῶν ἦρχέ προσηταιρίσατο. [4] γενομένου δὲ τούτου ὁ Φάγγων ἐς τὴν Νουμιδιαν ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ τοὺς τε Κιρτησίους καταφρονήσαντας αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα κακῶς μετεχειρίσατο, καὶ Ἀραβίωνά τινα δυναστεύοντα ἐν τοῖς προσοικοῦσι σφισι βαρβάροις, καὶ πρότερον μὲν τῷ Λαίλιῳ συναράμενον, ὕστερον δὲ τῷ Σεξιῳ προσθέμενον, ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς, [5] ἐπειδὴ οἱ μὴ ἠθέλησε συμμαχεῖσαι. καταφυγόντα τε αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν Σέξιον ἐξαιτήσας καὶ μὴ λαβὼν ὀργὴν τε ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικὴν ἐμβαλὼν τῆς μὲν χώρας ἐκάκωσεν, ἀντιστρατοπεδευσασμένου δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ Σεξιῦ μάχαις βραχείαις μὲν πολλαῖς δ' οὖν ἡττήθη, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' [6] ἐς τὴν Νουμιδιαν αὐθις ἀνεκομίσθη. καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Σέξιος ἀντεπελθὼν ἐλπίδα μὲν ὡς καὶ διὰ βραχείας τῇ τοῦ Ἀραβίωνος μάλιστα ἱππεῖα νικήσων [p. 266] ἔσχεν, ὑποτοπήσας δὲ τι καὶ δολοφονήσας ἐκείνον οὐδὲν ἔτι τότε γε ἔπραξεν: οἱ γὰρ ἱππῆς χαλεπῶς ἐπὶ τῷ ὀλέθρῳ αὐτοῦ σχόντες ἐγκατέλιπον αὐτόν, καὶ οἱ γε πλείους σφῶν τὰ τοῦ 23. Φάγγωνος ἀνθεῖλοντο. ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι φιλιαν, ὡς καὶ τῆς προφάσεώς σφισι τοῦ πολέμου ὑπεξηρημένης, συνέθεντο: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τηρήσας ὁ Φάγγων τὸν Σέξιον ἀδεῶς ὑπὸ τῶν σπονδῶν [2] ἔχοντα ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικὴν ἐσέβαλε. κἀνταῦθα συμμίζαντες ἀλλήλοις τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ ἐνίκησαν ἀμφοτέρω καὶ ἡττήθησαν ὁ μὲν γὰρ τῷ ἱππικῷ τῷ Νομαδικῷ, ὁ δὲ τῇ ἀσπίδι τῇ πολιτικῇ ἐκράτησεν, ὥστε καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα αὐτοὺς τὰ ἀλλήλων διαρπάσαι, μηδὲν μηδετέρους περὶ τῶν συστρατιωτῶν [3] εἰδότας: ὡς δ' ἐπαναχωροῦντες ἦσθοντο τὸ γεγονός, ἐς χεῖρας αὐθις ἦλθον, καὶ τροπῆς τῶν Νομάδων γενομένης ὁ Φάγγων τότε μὲν ἐς τὰ ὄρη ἀνέφυγε, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς βουβαλίδων διαδραμουσῶν ὤηθη τε τὴν πολεμίαν ἵππον παρεῖναι [4] καὶ ἑαυτὸν κατεχρήσατο. καὶ οὕτως ὁ Σέξιος τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀπόνως ἔλαβε, Ζάμην δὲ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀντισχοῦσαν λιμῷ κατεστρέψατο. κακὰ τουτου ἀμφοτέρων αὐθις τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγεῖτο, [5] μέχρις οὗ ὁ Λέπιδος ἐπέμφθη: ἐκείνῳ γὰρ, ὡς καὶ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ συνδοκοῦν, ἢ καὶ ὅτι ταῖς δυνάμεσι πολὺ αὐτοῦ ἡλαττοῦτο, οὐδὲν ἀντέπραξεν, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ ἑαυτοῦ χάριν τὴν ἀνάγκην τιθέμενος ἡσυχάζε. καὶ οὕτως ὁ Λέπιδος ἀμφοτέρα τὰ ἔθνη κατέσχε. 24. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐγένετο, κατὰ δὲ δὴ τοὺς [p. 268] αὐτοῦς

τούτους χρόνους, μετὰ τὴν μάχην τὴν πρὸς τοῖς Φιλιπποῖς συμβῶσαν, ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὁ Μάρκος ἔς τε τὴν Ἀσίαν τὴν ἡπειρον ἦλθε, κάνταῦθα τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς περιιών, ἔς δὲ τὰ ἄλλους πέμπων, τὰς τε πόλεις ἡργυρολόγει καὶ τὰς δυναστείας [2] ἐπίπρασκε. κὰν τοῦτῳ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἐν Κιλικίᾳ οἱ ὀφθείσης ἐρασθεῖς οὐκέτ' οὐδεμίαν τοῦ καλοῦ φροντίδα ἐποιήσατο, ἀλλὰ τῇ τε Αἰγυπτίᾳ ἐδοῦλε καὶ τῷ ἐκείνης ἔρωτι ἐσχόλαζε. καὶ ἄλλα τε διὰ τοῦτο πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα ἔπραξε, καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν [3] Ἐφέσῳ Ἀρτεμίου ἀποσπάσας ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ τέλος Πλάγκον μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τῷ ἔθνει, Σάξαν δὲ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ καταλιπὼν ἔς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀπῆρεν. ὁθενπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἄλλα τε ταραχώδῃ πολλὰ ἐπεγένετο, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς Ἀραδίους τοὺς νησιώτας μὴ ὑπακοῦσαι τι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς σφᾶς ἐπὶ χρήματα πεμφθεῖσι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ φθεῖραι τινὰς αὐτῶν, καὶ οἱ Πάρθοι καὶ πρὶν [4] κινούμενοι, τότε δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπέθεντο. ἦγον δὲ αὐτοὺς Λαβιῆνος καὶ Πάκορος, οὗτος μὲν Ὀρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐκεῖνος δὲ τοῦ Λαβιήνου τοῦ Τίτου παῖς ὢν. ἦλθε δὲ ὧδε ἔς τοὺς Πάρθους, καὶ τότε σὺν τῷ Πακόρῳ ἔπραξεν. [5] ἐτύγχανε μὲν τῷ τε Κασσίῳ καὶ τῷ Βρούτῳ συμμαχῶν, πεμφθεὶς δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ὀρώδην πρὸ τῆς μάχης ὅπως τινὰ βοήθειαν λάβῃ, συχνὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ χρόνον διετρίβη περιορωμένου καὶ ὀκνοῦντος μὲν συνθέσθαι οἱ, δεδιότος δὲ ἀπαρνήσασθαι. [p. 270] [6] καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὥς ἢ τε ἀγγελία τῆς ἡττης ἀφίκετο καὶ οἱ κρατήσαντες ἐδόκουν μηδενὸς τῶν ἀντιπολεμησάντων σφίσι φείσεσθαι, κατέμεινε παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις, τὸν μετ' αὐτῶν βίον πρὸ τοῦ οἴκοι ὀλέθρου προτιμήσας. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Λαβιῆνος ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τὴν τε ἔκλυσιν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τὸν ἔρωτα τὴν τε ἔς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὁδὸν ἦσθετο, ἔπεισε τὸν Πάρθον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις [7] ἐπιχειρῆσαι. τὰ τε γὰρ στρατεύματα αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν παντελῶς ἐφθάρθαι τὰ δὲ κεκακῶσθαι, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐν στάσει τε εἶναι καὶ πολεμήσειν αὐθις ἔφη: κάκ τούτου παρήνευσεν αὐτῷ τὴν τε Συρίαν καὶ τὰ ὄμορα αὐτῇ καταστρέψασθαι, ἐν ᾧ Καῖσαρ μὲν ἔν τε τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ περὶ τὸν Σέξτον [8] ἀσχολίαν ἦγεν, Ἀντώνιος δὲ ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἦρα. ἡγεμῶν θ' ὑπέσχετο τοῦ πολέμου γενήσεσθαι, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἅτε καὶ ἄλλοτρίως τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις διὰ τὴν συνεχῇ κάκωσιν ἔχοντα, μεταστήσειν ἐπηγγείλατο. 25. Τοιαῦτ' οὖν εἰπὼν, καὶ πείσας αὐτὸν πολεμῆσαι, καὶ δύναμιν πολλὴν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν Πάκορον ἐπετράπη, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἔς τε τὴν Φοινίκην ἐνέβαλε, καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἀπάμειαν προσελάσας τοῦ μὲν τείχους ἀπεκρούσθη, τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῇ [2] χώρᾳ φρουροὺς ἐθέλοντάς προσέθετο. ἐκ γὰρ τῶν τῷ τε Κασσίῳ καὶ τῷ Βρούτῳ συνεστρατευμένων ἦσαν: ἔς τε γὰρ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ στρατόπεδα Ἀντώνιος αὐτοὺς κατέταξε, καὶ τότε τὴν Συρίαν ὥς καὶ ἐμπείρως αὐτῆς ἔχοντας φρουρεῖν ἐκέλευσε. τούτους τε οὖν ὁ Λαβιῆνος ῥαδίως ὥς καὶ συνήθεις [p. 272] οἱ ὄντας, πλὴν τοῦ Σάξου τοῦ τότε αὐτῶν ἡγούμενου, ἐσφετερίσατο ἑκεῖνος γὰρ καὶ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ στρατιάρχου ὢν καὶ ταμιεύων μόνος αὐτῷ οὐ προσεχώρησέ, [3] καὶ τὸν Σάξαν τὸν ἄρχοντα μάχῃ τε ἐκ παρατάξεως καὶ τῷ πλήθει καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ τῶν ἱππέων ἐνίκησε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐκδράντα νυκτὸς ἐκ τῆς ταφρείας ἐπεδίωξεν: ὁ γὰρ Σάξας φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ οἱ συνόντες οἱ τὰ τοῦ Λαβιήνου, ὑπαγομένου σφᾶς

διὰ βιβλίων τινῶν ἃ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ^[4] ἐσετόξευε, φρονήσωσιν, ἔφωγεν. καταλαβὼν οὖν αὐτοὺς ὁ Λαβιῆνος τοὺς μὲν πλείους ἔφθειρε, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Σάξου ἐς Ἀντιόχειαν διαφυγόντος τὴν τε Ἀπάμειαν, οὐδὲν ἔτι ὥς καὶ τεθνεῶτος αὐτοῦ ἀντάρασαν, ἔλαβε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἐκλειφθεῖσαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παρεστήσατο, καὶ τέλος καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείνον ἐς Κιλικίαν φυγόντα ἐπιδιώξας καὶ συλλαβὼν ἀπέκτεινε. 26. τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ μὲν Πάκορος τὴν Συρίαν ἐχειροῦτο, καὶ πᾶσάν γε αὐτὴν πλὴν Τύρου κατεστρέψατο: ταύτην γὰρ οἱ τε Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ περιλιπεῖς καὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι οἱ ὁμοφρονοῦντές σφισι προκατέλαβον, καὶ οὗτ' ἀναπεισθῆναι οὔτε βιασθῆναι 'ναυτικὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν εἶχεν 76' ἡδυνήθησαν. ^[2] οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἀνάλωτοι ἔμειναν: τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὁ Πάκορος λαβὼν ἐς Παλαιστίνην ἐσέβαλε, καὶ τὸν τε Ὑρκανόν, ὃς τότε τὰ πράγματα αὐτῶν παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιτραπεῖς εἶχεν, ἔπαυσε, καὶ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἄρχοντα ^[p. 274] ^[3] κατὰ τὸ ἐκείνων ἔχθος ἀντικατέστησεν. ὁ δὲ δὴ Λαβιῆνος ἐν τούτῳ τὴν τε Κιλικίαν κατέσχε, καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας τὰς ἡπειρώτιδας πόλεις 'ὁ γὰρ Πλάγκος φοβηθεὶς αὐτὸν ἐς τὰς νήσους ἐπεραιώθῃ παρεστήσατο πλὴν Στρατονικείας, τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα ἄνευ πολέμου, Μύλασα δὲ καὶ Ἀλάβανδα ^[4] διὰ κινδύνων ἐλὼν. οὗτοι γὰρ ἐδέξαντο μὲν παρ' αὐτοῦ φρουροὺς, φονεύσαντες δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν ἑορτῇ τινι ἀπέστησαν: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς μὲν Ἀλαβανδέας αὐτοὺς λαβὼν ἐκόλασε, τὰ δὲ δὴ Μύλασα ἐκλειφθέντα κατέσκαψε. τῇ γὰρ Στρατονικείᾳ προσήδρευσε μὲν πολὺν χρόνον, οὐδένα δὲ αὐτὴν τρόπον ἐλεῖν ἡδυνήθη. ^[5] καὶ ὁ μὲν χρήματά τε ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐπράσσετο καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐσύλα, αὐτοκράτορά τε αὐτὸν καὶ Παρθικὸν γε ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντιωτάτου τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἔθους ὠνόμαζεν: οὓς γὰρ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπῆγεν, ἀπὸ τούτων ἑαυτὸν, ὥς καὶ ἐκείνους ἄλλ' οὐ τοὺς πολίτας 27. νικῶν, ἐπεκάλει: Ἀντώνιος δὲ ἐπυνθάνετο μὲν καὶ ταῦτα ὥσπερ που καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ δρώμενα 'οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν τὸ παράπαν ἡγνόει, οὐ μέντοι καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν οὐδετέροις ἤμυνεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τε τοῦ ἔρωτος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς μέθης οὔτε τῶν συμμάχων τι οὔτε τῶν πολεμίων ^[2] ἐφρόντισε. τέως μὲν γὰρ κάτω τε ἐτέτακτο καὶ τῶν πρωτείων ἐφίετο, ἐντόνως τοῖς πράγμασι προσεῖχεν: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ κράτει ἐγένετο, οὐκέτ' οὐδενὸς ^[p. 276] αὐτῶν ἀκριβῶς ἐπεμελήθη, ἀλλὰ τῇ τε Κλεοπάτρᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Αἰγυπτίοις συνετρυφά, ^[3] μέχρις οὗ παντελῶς κατελύθη. ὁψὲ δ' οὖν ποτε ἀναγκασθεὶς ἐξαναστῆναι ἔπλευσε μὲν πρὸς τὴν Τύρον ὥς καὶ βοηθήσων σφίσιν, ἰδὼν δὲ δὴ τὰ ἄλλα προκατειλημμένα ἐγκατέλιπεν αὐτοὺς, πρόφασιν τὸν τοῦ Σέξτου πόλεμον ποιησάμενος: καίτοι καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνον βραδυτῆτος τὰ τῶν ^[4] Πάρθων σκηπτόμενος προεβάλλετο. καὶ οὕτως οὔτε τοῖς συμμάχοις διὰ τὸν Σέξτον δῆθεν οὔτε τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ δι' ἐκείνους ἐπεκούρησεν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὴν ἡπειρον μέχρι τῆς Ἀσίας παρακομισθεὶς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διέβαλε, κάνταῦθα τῇ τε μητρὶ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ συμμιξας τὸν τε Καίσαρα πολέμιον ἐποίησατο ^[5] καὶ τῷ Σέξτῳ φιλίαν ἐσπέισατο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν περαιωθεὶς Σειφοῦντα μὲν ἔσχε, Βρεντέσιον δὲ μὴ ἐθελῆσάν οἱ προσχωρῆσαι ἐπολιόρκει. 28. πράσσοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα ὁ Καῖσαρ τὰς τε δυνάμεις 'ἐκ γὰρ τῆς Γαλατίας ἤδη παρῆν' ἤθροισε, καὶ Πούπλιον μὲν Σερούιλιον

Ροῦλλον πρὸς Βρεντέσιον, Ἀγρίππαν δὲ ἐπὶ Σειφοῦντα ἔπεμψε: καὶ οὗτος μὲν βίᾳ τὴν πόλιν εἴλε, τῷ δὲ δὴ Σερουιλίῳ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐξαίφνης προσπεσὼν πολλοὺς μὲν ἔφθειρε [2] πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ παρεστήσατο. συνερρωγόντων τε οὖν αὐτῶν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ διατεμπόντων πρὸς τε τὰς πόλεις καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐστρατευμένους, ὁπόθεν τινὰ ὠφελίαν προσλήψεσθαι ἐνόμιζον, ἢ τε ἄλλῃ Ἰταλίᾳ αὐθις ἐταράσσετο καὶ ἡ Ῥώμη [p. 278] ὅτι μάλιστα, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἤδη πρὸς ἐκάτερον μεθίσταντο, οἱ δὲ ἔμελλον. μετεώρων δὲ αὐτῶν τε ἐκείνων καὶ τῶν συμπολεμησόντων σφίσιν ὄντων, [3] ἡ Φουλουία ἐν Σικυῶνι, ἐν ἣ ἦν, ἐτελεύτησε. καὶ αἰτίαν μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοῦ θανάτου αὐτῆς πρὸς τε τὸν τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἔρωτα καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνης ἀσέλγειαν ἔσχεν: ὡς δ' οὖν τοῦτ' ἠγγέλη, τὰ τε ὅπλα ἀμφοτέροι κατέθεντο καὶ συνηλλάγησαν, εἴτ' οὖν ὄντως ἐκπολεμοῦμενοι πρότερον ὑπὸ τῆς Φουλουίας, εἴτε καὶ πρόφασιν τὸν θάνατον αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸ παρ' ἀλλήλων δέος, ὥστε καὶ ἀντιπάλους καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχοντες, ποιησάμενοι. [4] κἂν τοῦτω Καῖσαρ μὲν Σαρδῶ τε καὶ Δελματίαν τὴν τε Ἰβηρίαν καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν, Ἀντώνιος δὲ πάντα τᾶλλα τὰ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἴονιον, τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὄντα, ἀπέλαχε: τὰ τε γὰρ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ ἔθνη ὁ Λέπιδος καὶ τὴν Σικελίαν ὁ Σέξτος εἶχε. 29. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴν οὕτως αὐθις διεδάσαντο, τὸν δὲ δὴ πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς τὸν Σέξτον ἐκοινώσαντο, καίτοι τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ὄρκους πρὸς αὐτὸν [2] δι' ἀγγέλων ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι πεποιημένου. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γε οὐχ ἥκιστα ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπέμεινε πάντας μὲν τοὺς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ κατὰ τὸν Λούκιον τὸν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἀδελφὸν μεταστάντας πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν γε τῶν σφαγέων ἔστιν οὐς ὄντας, ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν Δομίτιον, πάντας δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐκτεθέντας ἐν τοῖς λευκώμασιν, ἢ καὶ ἄλλως πως τῷ τε Βρούτῳ καὶ τῷ Κασσίῳ συμπολεμήσαντας [p. 280] καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου [3] πράξαντας, καταδέξασθαι ἐπ' ἀδείᾳ. τοσοῦτος μὲν δὴ καὶ τῶν στάσεων καὶ τῶν πολέμων παράλογός ἐστι, δικὴ μὲν οὐδὲν τῶν τὰ πράγματα ἐχόντων νομιζόντων, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὰς τε αἰεὶ χρείας καὶ τὰ συμφέροντά σφων τὸ τε φίλιον καὶ τὸ πολέμιον ἐξεταζόντων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοτὲ μὲν ἐχθροὺς τοτὲ δὲ ἐπιτηδείους σφίσι πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν ἡγουμένων. 30. συνθέμενοι δ' οὖν ταῦτ' ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις τοῖς περὶ τὸ Βρεντέσιον εἰστίασαν ἀλλήλους, Καῖσαρ μὲν στρατιωτικῶς τε καὶ ῥωμαϊκῶς, [2] Ἀντώνιος δὲ Ἀσιανῶς τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίως. κατηλλαγμένων δὲ αὐτῶν, ὡς γε ἐδόκουν, περιστάντες τὸν Ἀντώνιον οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ τότε τῷ Καίσαρι συνόντες ἀπῆτουν παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰ χρήματα ἃ πρὸ τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς τοῖς Φιλίπποις γενομένης ὑπέσχοντό σφίσι: δι' ἃ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὅπως [3] ὅτι πλεῖστα ἀθροίσειεν, ἔσταλτο. κἂν ἐξειργάσαντό τι αὐτὸν μηδὲν δίδόντα, εἰ μὴ σφας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπελπίσας πῃ κατέσχε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τοὺς τε ἀφηλικεστέρους τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐς τὰς ἀποικίας, μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον στασιάσωσιν, ἐξέπεμψαν, [4] καὶ τοῦ πολέμου ἤπτοντο. ὁ γὰρ Σέξτος ἦλθε μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον οἱ γενομένας ὡς καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι μετ' αὐτοῦ πολεμήσων, μαθὼν δὲ τὴν σύμβασιν σφων αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἀνεκομίσθη, Μηνᾷ δὲ ἐξελευθέρῳ οἱ, ᾧ πάνυ

προσέκειτο, ἐκέλευσε μέρει τοῦ ναυτικοῦ περιπλέοντι [p. 282] [5] κακουργεῖν τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων. καὶ ὃς τῆς τε Τυρσηνίας πολλὰ ἐκάκωσε, καὶ Μάρκον Τίτιον Τίτιου, τῶν τε ἐπικηρυχθέντων καὶ τότε τῷ Σεξτῷ συνόντων, υἱὸν ὄντα καὶ ναῦς ἐπὶ ἰδίᾳ δυναστείᾳ συγκροτοῦντα, κὰν τῷ Ναρβωνησίῳ ἔθνει ναυλοχοῦντα, [6] ἐζώγρησε. καὶ ὃς ἔπαθε μὲν κακὸν οὐδέν· διὰ τε γὰρ τὸν πατέρα, καὶ διότι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Σεξτοῦ ἐν ταῖς ἀσπίσιν οἱ στρατιῶται αὐτοῦ ἔφερον, ἐσώθῃ, οὐ μέντοι καὶ καλῶς τὸν εὐεργέτην ἡμείψατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατεπολέμησεν αὐτὸν καὶ κατεφόνευσεν, ὥστε καὶ τοῦτ' ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα [7] τῶν ὁμοίων μνημονευθῆναι. ὁ δ' οὖν Μηναῖς ταῦτά τε οὕτως ἔπραξε, καὶ ἐπὶ Σαρδῶ πλεύσας συνέβαλε Μάρκῳ Λουρίῳ τῷ ἄρχοντι αὐτῆς, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐτράπετο, ἔπειτα δὲ παρὰ δόξαν αὐτὸν ἀπερισκέπτως ἐπιδιώκοντα ὑποστὰς ἀντεπεκράτησε. [8] καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐκλιπόντος αὐτοῦ τὴν νῆσον κατέσχε τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὁμολογία, τὴν δὲ Κάραλιν πολιορκίᾳ: συχνοὶ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐς αὐτὴν κατεπεφεύγεσαν. τῶν γε μὴν ἀλόντων ἄλλους τε καὶ Ἑλενον, ἐξελεύθερόν τε τοῦ Καίσαρος ὄντα καὶ ἀρέσκοντα αὐτῷ τὰ μάλιστα, ἀφῆκεν ἄνευ λύτρων, εὐεργεσίαν τε ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα πόρρωθεν προκατατιθέμενος καὶ καταφυγὴν ἑαυτῷ προπαρασκευάζων, εἴ τι παρ' αὐτοῦ δεσθῇ. 31. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἐποίει: οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ὥς ἢ τε Σαρδῶ εἶχeto καὶ ἡ παραλία ἐπορθεῖτο, [p. 284] τῆς τε σιτοπομπίας ἐστέρηντο, καὶ ὁ λιμὸς τὰ τε τέλη πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα καθιστάμενα καὶ προσέτι καὶ συντέλειαι τοῖς τοὺς δούλους ἔχουσι [2] προστασσόμεναι δεινῶς αὐτοὺς ἐλύπουν, οὐκέθ' ἡσυχάζον, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐπὶ ταῖς τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος καταλλαγαῖς, ὥς καὶ σφετέρας εἰρήνης τῆς ἐκείνων ὁμονοίας οὔσης, ἦσθησαν, τοσοῦτον ἢ καὶ πλεῖον ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς τὸν Σεξτόν [3] σφῶν πολέμῳ ἡσχαλλον. ἐν δ' οὖν τῷ τότε ἐπὶ τε ἵππων αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ ἐν ἐπνικίοις πσιὼν ἐσαγαγόντες, καὶ τῇ νικητηρίᾳ στολῇ ἐξ Ἰσου τοῖς πέμψασιν αὐτὰ κοσμήσαντες, τὰς τε πανηγύρεις ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχικῶν δίφρων θεωρεῖν ποιήσαντες, καὶ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς [4] ἐτετελευτήκει, καὶ κυοῦσαν προμνησάμενοι, τοσαύτη μεταβολῇ ἐχρήσαντο ὥστε τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κατὰ συστάσεις γινόμενοι ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ θεῶν τινὰ ἀθροιζόμενοι παρεκάλουν σφᾶς εἰρηνῆσαι καὶ πολλὰ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐπεβόων, ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἐπέιθοντο, ἡλλοτριώθησάν τε αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς τὸν [5] Σεξτόν ἀπέκλιναν. καὶ ἄλλα τε ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ αὐτοῦ διεθρόουν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἵπποδρομίαις κρότῳ τε πολλῷ τὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἄγαλμα πομπεῦον ἐτίμων καὶ ἡδονὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ πολλὴν ἐποιοῦντο. ἐπεὶ τε ἡμέραις πσιὼν οὐκ ἐσήχθη, τοὺς τε ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὄντας λίθοις ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐξήλασαν καὶ ἐκείνων τὰς εἰκόνας κατέβαλον, καὶ τέλος, [p. 286] ἐπειδὴ μὴδ' ὥς τι ἐπεραίνετο, σπουδῇ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς [6] ὥς καὶ ἀποκτενοῦντές σφας ὥρμησαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ, καίτοι τρωθέντων τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ὄντων, τὴν τε ἐσθῆτα περιερρήξατο καὶ πρὸς ἱκετείαν αὐτῶν ἐτράπετο, ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος βιαιότερόν σφισι προσηνέχθη. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὅτι μάλιστα ὀργισθέντων τέ σφων καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ δεινόν τι πράξειν προσδοκηθέντων, ἡναγκάσθησαν τῷ Σεξτῷ καὶ ἄκοντες ἐπικηρυκεύσασθαι. 32. κὰν τούτῳ τοὺς τε στρατηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους, καίπερ ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ ἦδη

τοῦ ἔτους ὄντος, παύσαντες ἄλλους ἀντικατέστησαν, βραχὺ φροντίσαντες [2] εἰ καὶ ἐπ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἄρξουσιν. καὶ εἷς γε τῶν τότε ὑπατευσάντων Λούκιος Κορνήλιος Βάλβος ἐγένετο, Γαδειρεὺς τε ὢν καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ μεγαλονοίᾳ τοσοῦτον τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπους ὑπερενεγκὼν ὥστε καὶ δωρεὰν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀνὰ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δραχμὰς τελευτῶν [3] καταλιπεῖν. τοῦτό τε οὖν ἐποίησαν, καὶ ἐν τῇ τελευταίᾳ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρᾳ ἀγορανόμου τινὸς ἀποθανόντος ἕτερον ἐς τὰς λοιπὰς ὥρας ἀνθειλοντο. κὰν τῷ αὐτῷ τοῦτω χρόνῳ τὸ τε ὕδωρ τὸ Ἰούλιον [4] ὠνομασμένον ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐπωχετεύθη, καὶ ἡ πανήγυρις ἡ ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς τοὺς σφαγέας εὐχθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐποιήθη. τὰ τε τοῖς ἐπτὰ ἀνδράσιν ὠνομασμένοις προσήκοντα οἱ ποντίφικες, ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς ἐκείνων παρῆν, ἐπετέλεσαν: καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλοτε πολλάκις ἐγένετο. 33. ταῦτά τε οὖν οὕτως ἐν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ ἐπράχθη, [p. 288] καὶ Σφαῖρον ὁ Καῖσαρ παιδαγωγὸν τε καὶ ἐξελεύθερον αὐτοῦ γενόμενον δημοσίᾳ ἔθαψε. τὸν τε Ροῦφον τὸν Σαλουιδιῆνον ὡς καὶ ἐπιβουλεύσαντά [2] οἱ ἀπέκτεινεν. οὗτος δὲ ἦν μὲν ἐξ ἀφανεστάτων, καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ κεφαλὴ ποιμαίνοντι φλόγα ἀνέδωκεν: ἐς τοσοῦτον δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος προήχθη ὥστε αὐτὸν τε ὑπάτον μηδὲ βουλευόντα ἀποδειχθῆναι, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ προαποθανόντα διὰ τοῦ Τιβέριδος, γεφύρας ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιηθείσης, [3] ἐξενεχθῆναι. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων βέβαιόν ἐστι, κατηγορήθη τε ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ ὡς πολέμιος ἐκείνου καὶ τοῦ δήμου παντὸς ἐσφάγη, ἱερομνηταὶ τε ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἡ φυλακὴ τῆς πόλεως τοῖς τρισὶν ἀνδράσι μετὰ τῆς εἰθισμένης προσθήκης, τοῦ μηδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀποτριβῆναι, ἐπετράπη. [4] Ἐν τε τῷ πρὸ τούτου ἔτει θηρία τε ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀπολλωνίων 100 ἵπποδρομίᾳ ἄνδρες ἐς τὴν ἵππᾶδα τελοῦντες κατέβαλον, καὶ ἡμέρα ἐμβόλιμος παρὰ τὰ καθεστηκότα ἐνεβλήθη, ἵνα μὴ ἡ νομηνία τοῦ ἐχομένου ἔτους τὴν ἀγορὰν τὴν διὰ τῶν ἐννέα ἡμερῶν ἀγομένην λάβῃ, ὅπερ ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου σφόδρα ἐφυλάσσετο: καὶ δῆλον ὅτι ἀνθυφηρέθη αὖθις, ὅπως ὁ χρόνος κατὰ τὰ τῷ [5] Καίσαρι τῷ προτέρῳ δόξαντα συμβῇ. κάστορι τέ τινα ἦ τε τοῦ Ἀττάλου καὶ ἡ τοῦ Δημοτάρου ἀρχὴ ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ τελευτησάντων ἐδόθη: καὶ ὁ νόμος ὁ Φαλκίδιος ὠνομασμένος, πλείστην καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἰσχὺν ἐς τὰς τῶν κλήρων διαδοχάς, ὥστε τινὰ τὸ τέταρτον τῆς καταλειφθείσης οἱ οὐσίας. ἂν γέ [p. 290] πῃ βαρύνηται, λαβόντα τὸ λοιπὸν ἀφεῖναι, ἔχων, ὑπὸ Πουπλίου Φαλκιδίου δημαρχοῦντος ἐτέθη. 34. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τοῖς δύο ἔτεσιν ἐγένετο, τῷ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένῳ, ἐν ᾧ Λούκιος τε Μάρκιος καὶ Γάιος Σαβῖνος ὑπάτευσαν, τὰ τε ὑπὸ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν πραχθέντα ἀφ' οὗ ἐς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν ἐσῆλθον [2] κῦρος παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἔλαβε, καὶ τέλη τινὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν προσκατέστη 101 διὰ τὸ τὰ ἀναλώματα πολλῶ πλείω ἢπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος ἐτέτακτο γίνεσθαι: πάμπολλα γὰρ αὐτοὶ καὶ μάλιστα ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας δαπανῶντες ἡσχύνοντο 102 [3] μόνον 103 παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἀναλίσκοντες. ἀμέλει τὸν πώγωνα ὁ Καῖσαρ τότε πρῶτον ξυράμενος αὐτὸς τε μεγάλως ἐώρτασε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν δημοτελῇ ἐορτὴν παρέσχε. καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπελειούτο 104 τὸ γένειον, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι: ἤδη γὰρ καὶ τῆς Λιουίας

ἐρᾶν ἤρχετο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν Σκριβωνίαν τεκοῦσάν οἱ θυγάτριον [4] ἀπεπέμψατο αὐθημερόν. τῶν δ' οὖν ἀναλωμάτων πολὺ μειζόνων ἢ πρότερον γιγνομένων, καὶ τῶν προσόδων οὐτ' ἄλλως ἄρκουσῶν καὶ τότε ἐλαττόνων διὰ τὰς στάσεις προσιουσῶν, καινὰ τινα τέλη ἐσήγαγον, ἔς τε τὸ βουλευτήριον πλείστους ὅσους οὐχ ὅτι τῶν συμμάχων ἢ καὶ στρατιώτας παῖδας τε ἀπελευθέρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ δούλους [5] ἐνέγραψαν. Μάξιμον γοῦν τινα ταμιεῦσιν μέλλοντα [p. 292] ἐγνώρισέ τε ὁ δεσπότης καὶ ἀπήγαγε. καὶ τούτῳ 105 μὲν ἀδεὲς ἐγένετο τολμήσαντι τὴν ἀρχὴν αἰτῆσαι: ἕτερος δὲ ἐν τοῖς στρατηγούσι 106 φωραθεὶς κατὰ τῶν τοῦ Καπιτωλίου πετρῶν ἐώσθη, προελευθερωθεὶς ἵνα ἀξίωμα ἢ τιμωρία αὐτοῦ λάβῃ. 35. πρόφασιν δὲ σφισι τοῦ τῶν βουλευσόντων πλήθους ἢ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου στρατεία, ἣν ἐπὶ τοῦς Πάρθους ἡτοιμάζετο, παρέσχεν: ἀφ' οὐπὲρ καὶ ἀρχὰς ἄλλας τε ἐπὶ πλείω ἔτη καὶ τὴν τῶν ὑπάτων ἐς ὅκτῳ ὅλα προκατεστήσαντο, τοὺς μὲν ἀμειβόμενοι τῶν συναραμένων 107 σφισι, τοὺς δὲ [2] ὑπαγόμενοι. ὑπάτους δὲ οὐ 108 δύο ἐτήσιους, ὥσπερ εἶθιστο, ἀλλὰ πλείους τότε πρῶτον εὐθὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαιρεσίαις εἵλοντο. καὶ πρότερον μὲν γὰρ μεθ' ἐτέρους τινὲς μὴτ' ἀποθανόντας μὴτ' ἐπ' ἀτιμία ἢ καὶ ἄλλως πως παυθέντας ἤρξαν: 109 ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν, ὥς που τοῖς ἐς ὅλον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν χειροτονηθεῖσιν ἔδοξε, κατέστησαν, τότε δὲ ἐνιαύσιος μὲν οὐδεὶς ἡρέθη, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὰ τοῦ χρόνου [3] μέρη ἄλλοι καὶ ἄλλοι ἀπεδείχθησαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς ὑπατείας κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ ἔτους, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν γίγνεται, ἔσχον: τοὺς δ' ἐτέρους αὐτοὶ μὲν οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ τε [p. 294] ἄλλῃ Ἰταλίᾳ ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν χρόνῳ ὠνόμαζον, ὃ καὶ νῦν ποιεῖται, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἢ τινας αὐτῶν ἢ οὐδένας ἥδεσαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σμικροτέρους σφᾶς ὑπάτους ἐπεκάλουν. 36. οἴκοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔπραττον, τῷ δὲ δὴ Σέξτῳ πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τῶν ἐταίρων, καὶ ὅπως καὶ ἐφ' οἷς καταλλαγῇσιντο, συνέβησαν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς Μισσηνῶ ἐς λόγους ἦλθον. εἰστήκεσαν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ, ὃ δὲ ἐν χώματι τι ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο περιρρύτῳ οὐ πόρρῳ σφῶν πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν αὐτῷ πεπονημένῳ: [2] καὶ παρῆν πᾶς μὲν ὁ τούτου ναυτικὸς πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἐκείνων πεζικὸς ὄχλος, οὐχ ἀπλῶς, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ἐξωπλισμένοι παρετετάχατο, ὥστε καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τούτου δῆλον πᾶσι γενέσθαι ὅτι ἔκ τε τοῦ φόβου τῆς παρασκευῆς σφῶν καὶ ἐξ ἀνάγκης, οἱ μὲν διὰ τὸν δῆμον ὃ δὲ διὰ [3] τοὺς συνόντας οἱ, ἐσπείσαντο. 110 αἱ δὲ δὴ συνθῆκαι ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἐγένοντο, τοὺς τε αὐτομολήσαντας τῶν δούλων ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ἐκπεσόντας πλὴν τῶν σφαγέων κατελθεῖν: τούτους γὰρ δῆθεν ὑπεξείλοντο, ἐπεὶ τῷ γε ἔργῳ καὶ ἐκείνων τινὲς κατιέναι ἔμελλον: καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ Σέξτος εἷς ἐξ [4] αὐτῶν γεγονέναι ἐδόκει. ἀλλ' ἐνγράφῃ γε τοὺς ἄλλους πλὴν τούτων πάντας ἐπὶ τε ἀδείᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τετάρτῳ τῆς δημευθείσης σφῶν οὐσίας ἐπανελθεῖν, καὶ ἐκείνων μὲν τισι καὶ δημαρχίας καὶ στρατηγίας ἱερωσύνας τε εὐθὺς 111 δοθῆναι, αὐτὸν [p. 296] δὲ τὸν Σέξτον ὑπατὸν τε αἰρεθῆναι καὶ οἰωνιστὴν [5] ἀποδειχθῆναι, ἔκ τε τῆς οὐσίας τῆς πατρώας χιλίας καὶ ἐπτακοσίας καὶ πεντήκοντα μυριάδας δραχμῶν κομίσασθαι, καὶ Σικελίας καὶ Σαρδοῦς τῆς τε Ἀχαιῆς ἐπὶ πέντε ἔτη ἄρξαι μὴτ' αὐτομόλους δεχόμενον μὴτε ναῦς

ἐπικτώμενον μήτε τινα^[6] φρουρία ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἔχοντα, ἀλλὰ τὴν τε εἰρήνην αὐτῇ τὴν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης πρυτανεύοντα καὶ σῖτον τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει τακτὸν πέμποντα. τὸν δὲ δὴ χρόνον αὐτῷ τοῦτον προσέγραψαν, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς καιρὸν 112 δὴ τινα τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀλλ’ οὐκ αἰδιον ἔχειν δοκεῖν ἤθελον. 37. ταῦτα μὲν 113 οὖν συνθέμενοι καὶ συγγραψάμενοι τὰ τε γραμματεῖα ταῖς ἱερεῖαις ταῖς ἀειπαρθένοις παρακατέθεντο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δεξιὰς τέ σφισιν ἔδοσαν καὶ ἐφίλησαν ἀλλήλους. γενομένου δὲ τούτου πολλὴ καὶ ἄπλετος βοή καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου^[2] ἅμα καὶ ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ἠγέρθη. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ στρατιῶται πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἰδιῶται παρόντες ἀθρόον καὶ ἐξαπιναιῶς, ἅτε καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ δεινῶς ἀχθόμενοι καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἰσχυρῶς ἐπιθυμοῦντες, ἐξέκραγον, ὥστε καὶ τὰ ὄρη συνηχῆσαι, κᾶκ τοῦτου καὶ φρίκην σφισι καὶ ἐκπληξιν μεγάλην ἐγγενέσθαι, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τούτων ἐκθανεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ συμπατηθέντας ἢ καὶ ἀποπνιγέντας^[3] ἀπολέσθαι. οἱ τε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς σκάφεσιν ὄντες οὐκ ἀνέμειναν τῇ γῇ αὐτῇ προσελθεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐξεπῆδων ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ οἱ ἕτεροι ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν βυθὸν ἐπεσέβαινον. κἂν τοῦτω ἡσπάζοντο τε ἀλλήλους ἅμα νηχόμενοι καὶ περιέβαλλον^[p. 298] κολυμβῶντες, ὥστε ποικίλην μὲν αὐτῶν^[4] θέαν ποικίλην δὲ καὶ ἀκοὴν συμβῆναι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς τε συγγενεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους ζῶντας εἰδότες καὶ τότε παρόντας ὀρῶντες ἀπλήστῳ τῇ ἡδονῇ ἐχρῶντο: οἱ δὲ ἀπολωλέναι τέ σφας πρότερον νομίζοντες καὶ τότε παρὰ δόξαν θεωροῦντες ἄποροι τε ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐγίγνοντο καὶ ἀφασίᾳ συνείχοντο, ἀπιστοῦντές τε ἅμα τῇ ὄψει καὶ εὐχόμενοι ἀληθῆ ταύτην εἶναι: καὶ οὐ πρότερόν γε ἐγνώριζόν σφας πρὶν τὰ τε ὀνόματα αὐτῶν ἀνακαλέσασθαι καὶ^[5] φθεγγομένων τι ἀκοῦσαι: οὕτω δὲ ἔχαιρον μὲν ὥς καὶ ἀναβιωσκομένων σφῶν, ἀναγκαζόμενοι δὲ ἀθρόως ἥδεσθαι οὐκ ἀδακρυτὶ διῆγον. καὶ ἕτεροι ἀγνοοῦντές τε τοὺς φιλότατους ἀπολωλότας, καὶ ζῆν παρεῖναι τε αὐτοὺς ἠγούμενοι, ἐζήτουν τέ σφας ἅμα περιφοιτῶντες, καὶ πάντα τὸν προστυγχάνοντα^[6] περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπηρώτων: καὶ τέως μὲν οὐδὲν ἀκριβὲς 114 ἐμάνθανον, μαινομένοις τε ἐώκεσαν καὶ ἐν ἀπόρῳ καθειστήκεσαν, ἐλπίζοντές τε ἅμα αὐτοὺς εὐρήσειν καὶ φοβούμενοι μὴ τεθνήκασιν, καὶ μὴτ’ ἀπογνῶναι πρὸς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν μὴτ’^[7] ἀπαλγῆσαι πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα δυνάμενοι: μαθόντες δὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τὰς τε τρίχας ἐσπαράττοντο καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας περιερρήγγυντο, ὀνομαστί τε αὐτοὺς ἀνεκάλουν ὥς καὶ ἐπακοῦσαι τι δυναμένους, καὶ πένθος ὥς καὶ τότε τελευτῶντων αὐτοῦ τέ που^[8] κειμένων σφῶν ἐποιοῦντο. καὶ εἶγε πισὶ μηδὲν αὐτοῖς τοιοῦτο παρῆν, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ γε τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων παθήμασιν ἐταράττοντο: ἢ γὰρ χαίροντι τινι συνήδοντο ἢ πενθοῦντι συνελυποῦντο, καὶ οὕτως εἰ καὶ ἔξω οἴκειον πάθους ἦσαν, ὅμως οὐκ ἐδύναντο^[p. 300] διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ὁμιλίαν ἡσυχάζειν.^[9] καὶ ἐκ τούτου οὔτε κόρον οὔτ’ αἰσχύνην, ἅτε καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς συμφερόμενοι, ἐλάμβανον, ἀλλὰ τὴν τε ἡμέραν ὅλην καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς τὰ πλείω ἐς ταῦτα κατανάλωσαν. 38. μετὰ δὲ δὴ ταῦθ’ οἱ τε ἄλλοι ὑπεδέχοντο ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀνθειστίων 115 καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι, πρότερος μὲν ὁ Σέξτος ἐν τῇ νηϊ, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὃ τε Ἀντώνιος ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ: τοσοῦτον γὰρ ὁ Σέξτος τῇ δυνάμει σφῶν περιῆν ὥστε μὴ πρότερον αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν ἡπείρον ἐκβῆναι πρὶν ἐκείνους^[2] ἐς τὴν ναῦν ἐσελθεῖν. καὶ τοῦτο μέντοι ποιήσας,

δυνηθείς τ' ἂν ἀμφοτέρους ἐν τῷ σκάφει σὺν ὀλίγοις παρόντας, ὥσπερ που καὶ ὁ Μηνᾶς αὐτῷ συνεβούλευε, φονεῦσαι, οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλὰ καίπερ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ἐπειδὴ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ τὴν πατρώαν τὴν ἐν ταῖς Καρίναις κατεῖχε ἵτοπος γὰρ τις τῆς 116 τῶν Ῥωμαίων πόλεως οὕτω καλούμενός ἐστιν, ἀποσκώσας τρόπον τινὰ ἡδιστον^[3] ταῖς γὰρ τροπίσι ταῖς τῶν νεῶν τῆς αὐτῆς ὀνομασίας οὔσης, ἐν ταῖς Καρίναις αὐτοὺς ἐστιᾶν ἔφη, ὅμως οὐδὲν ὥς καὶ μνησικακῶν σφισιν ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τε 117 ὑστεραία ἀνθιστιάθῃ, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα Μάρκῳ Μαρκέλλῳ τῷ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀδελφιδῷ ἡγγύησεν. 118 39. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὁ πόλεμος ἀνεβέβλητο, τὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Λαβιήνου τῶν τε Πάρθων ὧδε διεπολεμήθη. ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπανελθὼν ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐνεχρόνισεν, ^[p. 302] τὰς τε ἐπιθυμίας ἅμα ἀποπιμπλὰς καὶ τὰς πόλεις κακῶν, ἴν' ὅτι ἀσθενέσταται τῷ Σέξτῳ^[2] παραδοθῶσι. καὶ ἄλλα τε ἐν τούτῳ πολλὰ ἔξω τῶν πατρίων ἐξεδιητήθη, καὶ Διόνυσον ἑαυτὸν νέον αὐτὸς τε ἐκάλει καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὀνομάζεσθαι ἤξιον· ἐπειδὴ τε οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς τε τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν αὐτῷ κατηγγύησαν, δέχεσθαι τε τὸν γάμον ἔφη καὶ προῖκα μυριάδας ἑκατὸν παρ' αὐτῶν ἐξέπραξεν. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν περὶ ταῦτα εἶχε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Οὐεντιδίου τὸν ^[3] Πούπλιον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν προῦπεμψεν. καὶ ὃς ἦλθέ τε ἐπὶ τὸν Λαβιήνον πρὶν ἔκπυστος γενέσθαι, καὶ καταπλήξας αὐτὸν τῷ τε αἰφνιδίῳ τῆς ἐφόδου καὶ τοῖς στρατεύμασιν ἄνευ γὰρ τῶν Πάρθων μετὰ τῶν αὐτόθεν στρατιωτῶν μόνων ἦν, ἐκεῖθ' ἐν τε μὴδὲ ἐς χεῖράς οἱ ὑπομείναντα εὐθύς ἐξέωσε, καὶ φεύγοντα ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἐπεδίωξε, ^[4] τὸ κουφότατον τοῦ στρατοῦ λαβῶν. καὶ αὐτὸν πρὸς τῷ Ταύρῳ καταλαβὼν οὐκέτι περαιτέρω προχωρῆσαι εἶασεν, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας καταστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἡσύχαζον· Λαβιήνος μὲν γὰρ τοὺς Πάρθους, Οὐεντιδίδης δὲ 40. τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἀνέμεινεν. ὥς οὖν καὶ οὗτοι ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἅμα ἀμφοτέροις ἡμέραις ἦλθον, Οὐεντιδίδης μὲν δέει τῆς ἵππου τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν τῷ μετεώρῳ, ^[2] οὐπὲρ ἠυλίζετο, κατέμεινεν, οἱ δὲ δὴ Πάρθοι ἔκ τε τοῦ πλήθους σφῶν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ προνομικηκέναι ποτὲ καταφρονήσαντες πρὸς τε τὸν γήλοφον ἅμα τῇ ἔω, πρὶν καὶ τῷ Λαβιήνῳ συμμῖξαι, προσήλασαν, ^[p. 304] καὶ ὥς οὐδεὶς σφισιν ἀντεπεξῆει, καὶ πρὸς ^[3] τὸ ὄρητον αὐτὸ προσέβαλον. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐνταῦθα ἤδη ὄντας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπιδραμόντες ῥαδίως πρὸς τὸ κάταντες ἐτρέψαντο. καὶ σφῶν πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν χερσὶν ἀπέθανον, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖον ἐν τῇ ἀναστροφῇ περὶ ἀλλήλοις, οἱ μὲν ἤδη τετραμμένοι οἱ δὲ ἔτι 119 προσιόντες, ἐσφάλησαν· οἱ τε περιλειφθέντες οὐ πρὸς τὸν Λαβιήνον ἀλλ' ἐς Κιλικίαν ^[4] ἔφυγον. ὁ οὖν Οὐεντιδίδης ἐπεδίωξε μὲν αὐτοὺς μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἰδὼν δὲ ἐνταῦθα τὸν Λαβιήνον ἐπέσχε. καὶ ὃς παρετάξατο μὲν ὥς καὶ ἐς χεῖρας αὐτῷ ἦξων, αἰσθόμενος δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀθύμως διὰ τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων φυγὴν ἔχοντας οὕτε τότε ἐθάρσησέν οἱ ἀντάραι, καὶ τῆς ^[5] νυκτὸς ἀποδρᾶναι ποι ἐπεχείρησε. προγνοὺς οὖν τοῦτο ἐξ αὐτομόλων ὁ Οὐεντιδίδης πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει ἐνεδρεύσας ἔκτεινε, πάντας δὲ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐγκαταλειφθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ Λαβιήνου παρεστήσατο. καὶ ἐκεῖνος δὲ τότε μὲν τὴν ἐσθῆτα μετεκδὺς διέφυγε, καὶ χρόνον τινὰ ἐν τῇ

Κιλικίᾳ ^[6] διέλαθεν, ὕστερον δὲ ὑπὸ Δημητρίου ἑάλω: οὗτος γὰρ ἐξελευθερός τε τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ προτέρου ὢν, καὶ τότε τῇ Κύπρῳ πρὸς τοῦ Ἀντωνίου προστεταγμένος, ἀνεζήτησέ τε αὐτὸν μαθὼν ὅτι κρύπτοιτο, καὶ συνέλαβε. 41. μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο ὁ Οὐεντίδιος τὴν τε Κιλικίαν ἐκομίσατο, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ταύτην καθίστατο, Πουπήδιον 120 δὲ δὴ Σίλωνα μεθ' ἱππέων πρὸς τὸν ^[2] Ἀμανὸν προὔπεμψε. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ὄρος ἔν τε τῇ ^[p. 306] μεθορίᾳ τῆς τε Κιλικίας καὶ τῆς Συρίας ἐστί, καὶ στενοπορίαν τοσαύτην δὴ τινα ἔχει ὥστε καὶ πύλας ποτὲ ἐν αὐτῇ μετὰ τείχους ἐνοικοδομηθῆναι ^[3] καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπονομασθῆναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ κατασχεῖν αὐτὸ ὁ Σίλων ἠδυνήθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκινδύνευsen ὑπὸ Φρανσπάτου ὑπάρχου τε τοῦ Πακόρου ὄντος καὶ τὴν δίοδον φυλάττοντος ἀπολέσθαι. κἂν ἔπαθε τοῦτο, εἰ μὴ ὁ Οὐεντίδιος μαχομένων αὐτῷ κατὰ τύχην ἐπιστὰς ἐπήμυνεν: ^[4] ἀνελπίστοις τε γὰρ ἅμα καὶ ἐλάττοσι τοῖς βαρβάροις σφῶν οὔσι προσπεσὼν τὸν τε Φρανσπάτην καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς ἐφόνευσε, καὶ οὕτω τὴν τε Συρίαν ἐκλειφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν Πάρθων ἀμαχεῖ πλήν τῶν Ἀραδίων παρέλαβε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν Παλαιστίνην, Ἀντίγονον τὸν βασιλεύοντα ^[5] αὐτῆς ἐκφοβήσας, ἀπόνως κατέσχε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτά τε διηγε, καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ μὲν παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὡς ἐκάστων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ τε Ἀντιόχου καὶ Μάλχου τοῦ Ναβαταίου, ὅτι τῷ Πακόρῳ συνήραντο, ἐσέπραξε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς, ἅτε οὐκ αὐτοκράτωρ ὢν ἀλλ' ἐτέρῳ ὑποστρατηγῶν, εὔρετο, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος καὶ ἐπαίνους καὶ ^[6] ἱερομηνίας ἔλαβεν. οἱ γε μὴν Ἀράδιοι δεισαντες μὴ καὶ δίκην ὦν ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐτετολήμικσαν ὑπόσχωσιν, ἐκείνῳ μὲν, καίτοι χρόνον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πολιορκηθέντες, οὐ προσεχώρησαν, ὕστερον δὲ ὑπ' ἄλλων μόλις ποτὲ ἑάλωσαν. ^[7] κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον 121 ἐγένετο μὲν καὶ ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς 122 τοῖς Παρθινοῖς 123 κίνησις, ^[p. 308] καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Πωλίων μάχαις ἔπαυσεν, ἐγένετο 42. δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ Κερητανῶν, 124 καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Καλοῦϊνος 125 κατεστρέψατο, προκατορθώσας τέ τι καὶ προδυστυχήσας διὰ τοῦ ὑποστρατήγου λοχισθέντος τε ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ἐγκαταλειφθέντος 126 ^[2] ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν. καὶ οὐ πρότερόν γε ἐπεχείρησε τοῖς πολεμίοις πρὶν ἐκείνους τιμωρήσασθαι: συγκαλέσας γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλοι τι τῷ λοιπῷ στρατῷ περιέσχε, καὶ δύο τε ἑκατονταρχίας ἐδεκάτευσε, καὶ ἑκατοντάρχους συχνούς, ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ πῖλῳ ^[3] καλουμένῳ στρατευόμενον, ἐκόλασε. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας ὥστε καὶ ὄνομα κατὰ τὸν Κράσσον τὸν Μᾶρκον ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ στρατοῦ δικαιοῶσει λαβεῖν, πρὸς τε τοὺς ἐναντίους ὥρμησε καὶ οὐ χαλεπῶς ^[4] αὐτοὺς κατειργάσατο. τυχῶν τε τῶν ἐπινικίων καίτοι τῆς Ἰβηρίας τῷ Καίσαρι προστεταγμένης ἵπρος γὰρ τὰς τῶν κρατούντων βουλήσεις καὶ αἱ τιμαὶ τοῖς ὑποστρατηγοῦσι σφισιν ἐγίγνοντό, τὸ τε χρυσίον τὸ παρὰ τῶν πόλεων ἐς αὐτὰ εἰσθὸς διδοσθαι ἐκ μόνων τῶν Ἰβηρικῶν ἔλαβε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν τι ἐς τὴν ἐορτὴν ἀνάλωσε, ^[5] τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖον ἐς τὸ βασιλεῖον. κατακαυθὲν γὰρ αὐτὸ ἀνωκοδόμησε καὶ καθιέρωσεν, ἄλλοις τέ πῃσι λαμπρῶς κοσμήσας καὶ εἰκόσιν, ἅς παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὡς καὶ ἀποδώσων ἤτήσατο. καὶ αὐτὰς ἀπαιτηθεὶς ὕστερον οὐκ ἀπέδωκεν, εὐτραπελίᾳ ^[6] χρησάμενος: ὡς γὰρ οὐκ ἔχων ἱκανοὺς ^[p. 310]

ὕπηρετας 'πέμψον τινάς,' ἔφη 'καὶ ἄρον αὐτάς,' καὶ οὕτως ἐκείνος ὀκνήσας τὴν ἱεροσυλίαν ἀνακεῖσθαι σφας εἶασε. 43. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἐγένετο: ἐπὶ δ' Ἀππίου τε Κλαυδίου καὶ Γαίου Νωρβανοῦ ὑπάτων, οἷς πρῶτοις δύο ἐκατέροις ταμίαι συνεγένοντο, τὸ τε πλῆθος πρὸς τοὺς τελῶνας βαρὺτατὰ σφισιν ἐγκειμένους ἑστασίασε, καὶ αὐτοῖς τε ἐκείνοις καὶ τοῖς ὑπηρεταῖς τοῖς τε στρατιώταις τοῖς συνεσπράσσουσι σφισι τὰ χρήματα ἐς [2] χεῖρας ἦσαν, 127 καὶ στρατηγοὶ ἐπτὰ καὶ ἐξήκοντα ἄλλοι ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἀποδειχθέντες ἦρξαν. ταμιεῦσαι τέ τις ἐν παισὶν αἰρεθεῖς ἔπειτα τῆς ὑστεραίας ἐς ἐφήβους ἐσῆλθε, καὶ ἕτερος ἐς τὸ βουλευτικὸν [3] ἐσγραφεῖς μονομαχεῖναι ἠθέλησε: καὶ ἐκείνός τε 128 ἐκωλύθη τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, καὶ προσαπηγορεύθη μήτε βουλευτὴν μονομαχεῖν μήτε δοῦλον ῥαβδουχεῖν, μήτε τὰς καύσεις τῶν νεκρῶν ἐντὸς πεντεκαίδεκα ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως σταδίων γίνεσθαι. [4] πολλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ πρὸ 129 ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου τερατῶδη συνηνέχθη ἄλλα τε γὰρ καὶ ἑλαῖον τι παρὰ τῷ Τιβερίδι ἀνέβλυσε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τότε. ἢ τε γὰρ σκηνὴ ἢ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου ἐξ ἱεουργίας τινός, ἣν οἱ ποντίφικες ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπεποιήκεσαν, ἐκαύθη: καὶ Ἀρετῆς ἄγαλμα πρὸ 130 πυλῶν τινων ἐστὸς ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ στόμα, κάτοχοι τέ τινες ἐκ τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν γενόμενοι ὀργίζεσθαι [5] σφισι τὴν θεὸν 131 ἔφασαν. καὶ ἀνεγνώσθη μὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὰ Σιβύλλεια ἔπη: ὥς δὲ καὶ ἐκείνων [p. 312] ταῦτά 132 τε εἰπόντων, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐπὶ τε τὴν θάλασσαν καταχθῆναι καὶ τῷ ὕδατι αὐτῆς καθαρθῆναι προσταξάντων, ἢ θεὸς πλεῖστόν τε ὅσον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐς τὸν βυθὸν ἐχώρησε καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνεχρόνισε καὶ μόλις ὀψέ ποτε ἀνεκομίσθη, [6] φόβος αὖ καὶ ἐκ τούτου οὐ σμικρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἔλαβεν, οὐδ' ἀνεθάρσυσαν πρὶν φοίνικας τέσσαρας περὶ τὸν νεῶν αὐτῆς καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀναφῦναι. ταῦτά τε οὖν τότε ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὴν 44. Λιουίαν ἔγημεν. ἣν δὲ θυγάτηρ μὲν Λιουίου Δρούσου, ὅς ἔν τε τοῖς ἐκτεθεῖσιν ἐν τῷ λευκῷματι ἐγεγόνει καὶ ἑαυτὸν μετὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ ἦτταν κατεκέχρητο, 133 γυνὴ δὲ τοῦ Νέρωνος, μεθ' οὗ συνδιέφυγεν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται: καὶ ἐκὺει γε [2] ἐξ αὐτοῦ μῆνα ἔκτον. διστάζοντος γοῦν τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ πυθομένου τῶν ποντιφίκων εἰ οἱ ὅσιον ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσιν αὐτὴν ἀγαγέσθαι εἶη, ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι εἰ μὲν ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ τὸ κῆμα ἦν, ἀναβληθῆναι τὸν γάμον ἐχρῆν, ὁμολογουμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν κωλύει ἦδη αὐτὸν γενέσθαι, τάχα μὲν που καὶ ὄντως ἐν τοῖς πατρίοις τοῦτο εὐρόντες, πάντως δ' ἂν, εἰ καὶ μὴ εὖρον αὐτό, εἰπόντες. [3] ἐξέδωκε δὲ αὐτὴν αὐτὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ ὥσπερ τις πατήρ. καὶ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον ἐν τῇ ἐστιάσει σφῶν συνηνέχθη: παιδίον τι τῶν ψιθύρων, οἷα αἱ γυναῖκες γυμνὰ ὥς πλήθει ἀθύρουσαι τρέφουσιν, ἰδὼν χωρὶς μὲν τὴν Λιουίαν μετὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος χωρὶς δὲ τὸν Νέρωνα μεθ' ἑτέρου τινὸς κατακείμενον, [p. 314] προσῆλθε τε αὐτῇ καὶ ἔφη, 'τί ποιεῖς ἐνταῦθα, κυρία; ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ σου,' δεῖξας αὐτόν, [4] 'ἐκεῖ κατάκειται.' ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐπράχθη, συνοικοῦσα δὲ ἦδη ἢ γυνὴ τῷ Καίσαρι τίκτει Κλαύδιον Δρούσον Νέρωνα. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ἀνείλετο καὶ τῷ πατρὶ ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐς τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐγγράψας, ὅτι Καῖσαρ τὸ γεννηθὲν Λιουία τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὶ [5] παιδίον Νέρωνι 134 τῷ πατρὶ ἀπέδωκε. καὶ ἐκείνος 135 τελευτῶν οὐ 136 πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐπίτροπον καὶ

τοῦτῳ καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ αὐτὸν τὸν Καίσαρα κατέλειπεν. ὁ δ' οὖν ὁμιλος ἅλλα τε ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ πολλὰ διεθρύλει, καὶ τοῖς εὐτυχουσι τρίμηνα παῖδια γεννᾶσθαι ἔλεγεν, ὥστε καὶ ἐς παροιμίαν τὸ ἔπος προχωρήσῃ. 45. ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ πόλει ταῦτα 137 ἐγίνετο, ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον ὁ Βογούας ὁ Μαῦρος ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, εἴτ' οὖν κατ' ἐντολὴν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου εἶτε καὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης, πλεύσας, πολλὰ μὲν ἐλυμήνατο πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀντέπαθε, [2] κὰν τοῦτῳ τῶν οἴκοι τῶν περὶ τὴν Τιγγιν 138 ἐπαναστάντων αὐτῷ τῆς τε Ἰβηρίας ἐξέστη καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν οὐκ ἐκομίσατο: οἱ τε γὰρ τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ πράσσοντες καὶ ὁ Βόκχος προσγενόμενός σφισι κρείττους αὐτοῦ ἐγένοντο. [3] καὶ ἐκεῖνος μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπῆλθεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Βόκχος τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ αὐτίκα τε κατέσχε καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐβεβαιώσατο: τοῖς τε Τιγγιτανοῖς πολιτεία ἐδόθη. [p. 316] [4] ἐν δὲ τοῦτῳ, καὶ ἔτι πρότερον, καὶ ὁ Σέξτος ὃ τε Καῖσαρ ἐπολέμησαν: οἷα γὰρ οὐκ ἔθελονταὶ οὐδ' ἐκ προαιρέσεως ἀλλὰ ἀναγκαστοὶ τὴν ὁμολογίαν πεποιημένοι, χρόνον οὐδένα αὐτῇ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐνέμειναν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς τὰς σπονδὰς λύσαντες διηνέχθησαν. [5] ἔμελλον μὲν γὰρ πού καὶ ἄλλως, εἰ καὶ μηδεμίαν σκῆψιν εὖρον, πολεμήσειν: αἰτίαι δ' οὖν αἶδε αὐτοῖς ἐγένοντο. ὁ Μηνᾶς ἐν τῇ Σαρδοῖ καὶ τότε ἔτι καθάπερ τις στρατηγὸς ὦν ὑπωπτεύθη τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Σέξτου διὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἐλένου ἄφεσιν καὶ ὅτι καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι ἐκεκοινολόγητο, καὶ πῃ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων φθόνῳ τῆς [6] δυναστείας διεβλήθη. κάκ τοῦτου μεταπεμφθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, πρόφασιν ὅπως περὶ τοῦ οἴτου καὶ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων ὧν διωκῆκει ἀπολογίσηται, 139 οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς κατὰ 140 τοῦτο πεμφθέντας συλλαβὼν ἀπέκτεινε, πρὸς τε τὸν Καίσαρα προκληρυκευσάμενος τὴν τε νῆσον αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ τε ἄλλο στράτευμα καὶ ἑαυτὸν παρέδωκε. [7] καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνος ἀσμένως ἰδὼν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸν Σέξτον τοὺς τε αὐτομολοῦντας παρὰ τὰ συγκείμενα ὑποδέχεσθαι καὶ ναυπηγίαν τριήρων ποιεῖσθαι ἐν τε τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ φρουρὰς ἔχειν ἔλεγεν. οὔτε ἐξέδωκεν ἐξαιτηθέντα καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐν τιμῇ μεγάλῃ ἦγαγε δακτυλίοις τε χρυσοῖς ἐκόσμησε [8] καὶ ἐς τὸ τῶν ἱππέων τέλος ἐσέγραψε. τὸ δὲ δὴ τῶν δακτυλίων τοιόνδε ἐστίν. οὐδενὶ τῶν πάλαι Ῥωμαίων, οὐχ ὅτι τῶν δουλευσάντων ποτέ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἐν ἐλευθέρῳ γένει τραφέντων, δακτυλίοις χρυσοῖς πλὴν τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ [p. 318] τῶν ἱππέων χρῆσθαι, ὥπερ εἴρηται μοι, ἐξῆν: [9] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς ἐξελευθέροις, οἷς ἂν ὁ τὸ κράτος ἔχων ἐθελήσῃ, καίτοι καὶ ἄλλως χρυσοφοροῦσιν, ὅμως ἐν τιμῆς μέρει, ὡς καὶ βελτίοσιν ἢ κατὰ ἀπελευθερίαν ἱππεύειν τε δυναμένοις, δίδονται. 46. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Σέξτος ταῦτά τε τῷ Καίσαρι ἐγκαλῶν, καὶ ὅτι ἡ Ἀχαΐα ἐκεκākωτο καὶ οὔτε αὐτῷ οὔτε τοῖς κατελθοῦσι τὰ ὁμολογηθέντα ἐγίνετο, ἔπεμψε Μενεκράτην ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἐξελεύθερον καὶ αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῦ ὄντα, καὶ δι' ἐκείνου ἄλλα τε τῆς Καμπανίας καὶ [2] Οὐόλτουρνον ἐπόρθησεν. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ μαθὼν τοῦτο τὰ τε γραμματεῖα τὰ τῆς συμβάσεως ἀνείλετο παρὰ τῶν ἀειπαρθένων, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον τὸν τε Λέπιδον μετεπέμψατο. καὶ αὐτῷ Λέπιδος μὲν οὐκ εὐθὺς ὑπήκουσεν, Ἀντώνιος δὲ ἦλθε μὲν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἔν γὰρ τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἔτι ὦν ἐτύγχανε, [3] πρὶν δὲ ἢ συμμῖξαι τῷ

Καίσαρι ἐν Τυρσηνίᾳ ὄντι, δεισας ὅτι λύκος ἔς τε τὸ στρατήγιον 141 αὐτοῦ ἐσῆλθε καὶ στρατιώτας ἔφθειρεν, ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα αὖθις, πρόφασιν τὰ τῶν Πάρθων ὡς ^[4] κατεπείγοντα ποιησάμενος, 142 ἀνέπλευσεν. πρὸς οὖν τοῦτο ὁ μὲν 143 Καῖσαρ, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐγκαταλελείφθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὅπως μόνος τῷ πολέμῳ συσχεθῇ, ἐνόμιζεν, ἀλλ' οὕτι γε καὶ φανερώς ὠργίζετο· ὁ δὲ δὴ Σέξτος ἐθρύλει τε ὡς μὴ δικαιοῦντος τοῦ Ἀντωνίου αὐτόν, καὶ προθυμότερον τῶν προκειμένων εἶχετο, καὶ τέλος τῇ τε ^[p. 320] Ἰταλίᾳ ἐπέπλει καὶ ἀποβάσεις ποιούμενος πολλὰ ^[5] μὲν ἐκάκου πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀντέπασχε. κὰν τούτῳ ναυμαχία πρὸς Κύμη τοῦ τε Μενεκράτους καὶ Καλουσίου Σαβίνου γίγνεται· καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ νῆες μὲν πλείους τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἅτε πρὸς θαλασσοურγούς ἀντικαθισταμένους, ἀπώλonton, ὁ δὲ δὴ Μενεκράτης τῷ Μηνᾷ συμπεσὼν ἐκ φιλονεικίας καὶ φθαρεῖς ἀντίρροπον τὴν συμφορὰν τῷ Σέξτῳ ^[6] παρέσχε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐτε ἐκεῖνος προσεποιήσατό τι τῆς νίκης καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ παρεμυθεῖτο 47. ἑαυτὸν τῆς ἥττης. καὶ ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐν τῷ Ῥηγίῳ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ὦν, δεισαντες οἱ Σέξτειοι 144 μὴ καὶ ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν περαιωθῇ, καὶ τι καὶ πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Μενεκράτους θάνατον ἀθυμήσαντες, ἀπῆραν ^[2] ἐκ τῆς Κύμης. ὁ οὖν Σαβῖνος ἐπιδιώκων αὐτοὺς μέχρι μὲν Σκυλλαίου τοῦ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀκρωτηρίου ἀπόνως ἦλθε· περιβάλλοντι δ' αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνο ἄνεμος μέγας προσπεσὼν πολλὰς τῶν νεῶν τὰς μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἄκραν προσήραξε, τὰς δὲ καὶ μετεώρους κατέδυσε, πάσας δὲ τὰς λοιπὰς διεσκέδασε. ^[3] πυθόμενος οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Σέξτος ἔπεμψεν ἐπ' αὐτὰς τὸ ναυτικόν, Ἀπολλοφάνει προστάξας. καὶ ὃς εὐρών τὸν Καίσαρα ταύτῃ που παραπλέοντα, ἵνα μετὰ τοῦ Σαβίνου ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν διαβάλλῃ, ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤξε. 145 κὰκ τούτου ἐκεῖνος τὰς τε ναῦς συνορμίσας καὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἐπ' αὐτῶν παρατάξας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πάνυ γενναίως ^[4] αὐτὸν ἀπεκρούσατο· αἱ τε γὰρ νῆες ἀντίπρωροι τεταγμέναι οὐδεμίαν οἱ ἀσφαλῆ ἐμβολὴν ποιήσασθαι ἐπέτρεπον, ἀλλ' οἷα καὶ παχύτεραι ^[p. 322] καὶ ὑψηλότεραι οὔσαι πλεῖον τοὺς πλησιάσαντας ἔβλαπτον, καὶ οἱ ὀπλίται ἐς χεῖράς σφισιν ἰόντες ^[5] πολὺ κρείττους ἐγίγνοντο. ἔπειτα δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλοφάνους τοὺς μὲν τραυματίας τοὺς τε αἰεὶ πονουμένους ἐς ἑτέρας ναῦς ἐπιτεταγμένους οἱ μετεκβιβάζοντος ἐξ ἀνακρούσεως, ἄλλους δὲ ἀκραιφνεῖς μεταλαμβάνοντος, καὶ τοὺς τε πρόσπλους συνεχεῖς ποιουμένου καὶ πυρφόροις βέλεσι χρωμένον, ἐτράπετο καὶ πρὸς τὴν γῆν καταφυγὼν καθωρμίσατο. ^[6] καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὡς οἱ ἐναντίοι σφισιν ἐνέκειντο, τὰς τε ἀγκύρας τινὲς ἐξαίφνης ἀπέκοψαν καὶ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀπροσδόκητοι ἀντεξώρμησαν. καὶ τοῦτό τε ἐπέσχε μὴ πάσας τὰς ναῦς τὸν Ἀπολλοφάνη τὰς μὲν καταπρῆσαι τὰς δ' ἀναδήσασθαι, καὶ ὅτι νῦν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐπεγένετο. 48. τούτου δὲ τοιοῦτου συμβάντος, ἄνεμός τις τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐξάσιος τῷ τε Καίσαρι καὶ τῷ Σαβίνῳ καθ' ἐν ὁρμοῦσιν ἐπιπεσὼν σμικρὸν τὸ πρότερον πάθος αὐτῶν ἀπέφηνε. καὶ τὸ μὲν τοῦ Σαβίνου ^[2] ναυτικὸν ἦττον ἐπόνησεν· ὁ γὰρ Μηνᾶς, ἅτε ἐκ πολλοῦ θαλαττουργὸς ὢν, τὸν τε χειμῶνα προείδετο καὶ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος εὐθὺς τὰς ναῦς ἀνώρμισε, 146 καὶ αὐτὰς ἀγκύραις χαλαραῖς, ἵνα μὴ τὰ σχοινία τεινόμενα διαρραγῇ, διαλαβὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν ἄνεμον ἀντήρεττε, καὶ οὕτως οὐτε τι σχοινίον ἔτεινε καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ αἰεῖ

ἔμενε, πᾶν ὅσον ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀπεωθεῖτο, ἐκ τῆς εἰρεσίας ἀνοκωχεύων. 147^[3] οἱ δ' ἕτεροι, ἅτε τῇ προτεραιᾷ δεινῶς τεταλαιπωρηκότες καὶ τὰ θαλάττια μηδέπω ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες, πρὸς τε τὴν γῆν ἐγγὺς οὖσαν ἐξεβράσθησαν ^[p. 324] καὶ πολλὰς ναῦς ἀπέβαλον. ἢ τε νῦξ ὥσπερ πρότερον οὐκ ἐλάχιστα αὐτοῖς ἐβεβοηθήκει, οὕτω τότε ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐλυμήνατο: ὁ γὰρ ἄνεμος καὶ δι' αὐτῆς πολὺς γενόμενος ἀπερρήγνυ τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγκυρῶν τὰ σκάφη καὶ ^[4] πρὸς τὰς πέτρας ἐξεώθει. καὶ ἐκεῖνὰ τε οὕτω διώλλυτο, καὶ οἱ ναῦται οἷ τε ἐπιβάται μήτε προῖδεῖν τι ὑπὸ τοῦ σκότους μήτ' ἐπακοῦσαι διὰ τὸν θόρυβον καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡχὴν τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀντιπαταγοῦντός ^[5] σφισι, δυνάμενοι μᾶτην προσαπώλλυντο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ τε Καῖσαρ τῆς μὲν Σικελίας ἀπέγνω, τῆς δ' ἠπείρου τῆς παραθαλασσίας φυλακὴν ἀγαπητῶς ἐποίησατο, καὶ ὁ Σέξτος ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἦρθη, καὶ τοῦ τε Ποσειδῶνος υἱὸς ὄντως 148 ἐπίστευεν εἶναι, καὶ στολὴν κυανοειδῆ ἐνεδύσατο, ἵππους τε, καὶ ὥς γέ τινές φασι, καὶ ἄνδρας ἐς τὸν ^[6] πορθμὸν ζῶντας ἐνέβαλε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἦγε καὶ ἔφερεν, ἐς δὲ Λιβύην τὸν Ἀπολλοφάνην ἔπεμψε. καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ὁ Μηνᾶς ἐπιδιώξας καὶ καταλαβὼν ἐκάκωσε: μεθισταμένων δὲ τῶν περὶ τὴν Σικελίαν νησιωτῶν πρὸς τὸν Σέξτον ὁ Καῖσαρ τοὺς Λιπαραιούς προκατέλαβε, καὶ ἔκ τε τῆς νήσου ἐξανέστησε καὶ ἐς Καμπανίαν ἐκόμισε, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐν Νέα πόλει κατοικεῖν μέχρις οὗ 49. ἂν πόλεμος ἦ ἠνάγκασε. κἂν τοῦτω πλοῖα τε κατὰ πᾶσαν ὥς εἰπεῖν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐναυπηγεῖτο, καὶ ἐρέτας τὰ μὲν πρῶτα παρὰ τῶν φίλων ὥς καὶ ἐκόντων διδόντων, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν τε δημοτῶν τῶν εὐπόρων δούλους συνέλεγεν, ^[p. 326] ὀπλίτας τε κατελέγετο, καὶ χρήματα παρὰ τε τῶν πολιτῶν 149 καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων τῶν τε ὑπηκῶν, τῶν τε ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τῶν ἔξω πάντων, ἤθροιζε. ^[2] καὶ τὸν γε ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦτόν τε καὶ τὸν 150 ὕστερον ἔς τε τὴν ναυπηγίαν τῶν νεῶν καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄθροισιν τὴν τε ἄσκησιν τῶν ἐρετῶν κατανάλωσε, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐφορῶν καὶ διατάττων ταῦτά τε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ 'κίνησις γὰρ τις παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐγένετό, τῷ δ' Ἀγρίππᾳ ^[3] τὴν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ παρασκευὴν ἐγχειρίσας. τοὺς γὰρ Γαλάτας αὐτὸν τοὺς νεωτερίσαντας προσπολεμούμενον, ὅτεπερ καὶ τὸν Ῥήνον δευτέρος δὴ Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ πολέμῳ διέβη, μετεπέμψατο, καὶ τῇ τε δόσει τῶν νικητηρίων ἐτίμησε καὶ ἐκπονήσας ^[4] ἐξασκῆσαι τε τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐκέλευσε. καὶ ὅς ὕπατευσεν δὲ μετὰ Λουκίου Γάλλου τὰ μὲν ἐπινίκια οὐκ ἐπέμψεν, αἰσχρὸν εἶναι νομίσας τοῦ Καίσαρος κακῶς πεπραγότες γαυρωθῆναι, τὸ δὲ δὴ ναυτικὸν πάννυ προθύμως ἐξειργάσατο. ἐγένετο μὲν γὰρ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ παραθαλασσίᾳ Ἰταλίᾳ τὰ σκάφη: ^[5] ὥς δ' οὐδείς αἰγιαλὸς ἐγκαθορμίσασθαι αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλῆς εὕρισκετο 'ἀλίμενα γὰρ ἔτι καὶ τότε τὰ πλείω τῆς ἠπείρου ταύτης ἦν', ἔργον μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ ἐνενόησε 151 καὶ ἐξεποίησεν, ὃ ἐγὼ διὰ πλειόνων ἐξηγησάμενος ἐκείνῳ τε ἐπιδείξω τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ κατ' αὐτὸ νῦν ὄντα. 50. ἐν τῇ Κύμῃ τῇ Καμπανίδι χωρίον τι μεταξὺ Μισηνοῦ καὶ Ποντεόλων μηνοειδὲς ἔστιν: ὅρεσί τε ^[p. 328] γὰρ σμικροῖς καὶ ψιλοῖς, πλὴν βραχέων, περιεὶληπται, ^[2] καὶ θάλασσαν τριπλὴν κολπῶδη ἔχει. ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἔξω τε καὶ πρὸς ταῖς πόλεσιν ἔστιν, ἢ δ' ὀλίγη

διαφυῇ ἀπ' αὐτῆς διείργεται, ἄλλη ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ μυχῷ λιμνώδης ὀράται. καὶ καλεῖται αὕτη μὲν Ἀουερνίς, ἡ δὲ μέση Λουκρινίς: 152 ἡ γὰρ ἔξω, τοῦ Τυρσηνικοῦ οὔσα, ἐς ἐκεῖνο καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ^[3] τελεῖ. ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ θαλάσσῃ τῇ ἐντὸς ἐκατέρας στενοῖς τότε ἔσπλοις τὸ διείργον τὴν Λουκρινίδα ἀπὸ τοῦ πελάγους ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἡπειρον ὁ Ἀγρίππας συντρήσας λιμένας ^[4] ναυλοχωτάτους ἀπέδειξεν. ἐργαζομένων δ' αὐτῶν εἰκὼν τις ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀουερνίδος, εἴτ' οὖν τῆς Καλυψοῦς, ἥ τὸ χωρίον ἀναπιθέασιν, ἐς ὃ καὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσεὰ ἐσπλευσαι λέγουσιν, εἴτε καὶ ἐτέρας τινὸς ἡρωίνης οὔσα, ἰδρῶτος ὥσπερ τι σῶμα ἀνθρώπινον ἀνεπλήσθη. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὅπῃ ποτ' ἐσήμαινεν, 153 οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν: τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὅσα ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐκείνῳ ἀξιαφήγητα ἐθεασάμην, φράσω. 51. τὰ ὅρη ταῦτα πρὸς ταῖς ἔνδον θαλάσσαις ὄντα πηγὰς πυρὸς τε ἅμα πολλοῦ καὶ ὕδατος συμμιγοῦς ἔχει: καὶ αὐτὸ μὲν καθ' ἑαυτὸ ἐκάτερον οὐδαμοῦ εὐρίσκεται ὅτε γὰρ πῦρ αὐτὸ οὐθ' ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν αὐτὸ φαίνεται, ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῆς ὁμιλίας σφῶν τὸ τε ὕδωρ θερμαίνεται καὶ τὸ πῦρ ὑγραίνεται: ^[2] καὶ ἐκεῖνο μὲν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν διὰ τῶν προπόδων ἐς τὰς δεξαμενὰς χωρεῖ, τὴν δ' ἀτμίδα αὐτοῦ ἐς τε οἰκήματα μετέωρα διὰ σωλῆνων ἀνάγουσι, κάνταῦθα αὐτῇ πυριῶνται: ὅσω 154 γὰρ ἂν ^[p. 330] ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀπὸ τε 155 τῆς γῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀναδράμῃ, ξηροτέρα γίγνεται. κατασκευαὶ τε οὖν περὶ ἀμφοτέρα πολυτελεῖς ἤσκηνται, καὶ ἔστιν ἐς τε βίου διαγωγὴν καὶ ἐς ἄκεσιν ἐπιτηδειώτατα. ^[3] ταῦτά τε οὖν τὸ ὅρος ἐκεῖνο καὶ προσέτι καὶ γῆς φύσιν τοιάνδε παρέχεται. τοῦ πυρὸς τὸ μὲν καίειν οὐκ ἔχοντος ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς τοῦ ὕδατος συνουσίας πᾶν τὸ φλογῶδες αὐτοῦ σβέννυται, διακρίνειν δὲ δὴ καὶ διατήκειν τὰ προστυχόντα οἱ καὶ ὡς δυναμένου, συμβαίνει τῆς γῆς τὸ μὲν λιπαρὸν ἐκτῆκεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ τραχὺ καὶ ^[4] ὀστώδες ὡς εἰπεῖν ὑπολείπεσθαι. σηραγγώδεις τε οὖν οἱ ὄγκοι ἐξ ἀνάγκης γίνονται, καὶ αὐχμῷ μὲν δοθέντες ἐς κόνιν διαλύονται, ὕδατι δὲ σὺν κονίᾳ φυραθέντες συνίστανται, καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον γ' ἂν ἐν τῷ ὑγρῷ ᾧσι, πηγνυνται τε καὶ πετροῦνται. αἷτιον δὲ ὅτι τὸ μὲν κραῦρον αὐτῶν ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ πυρὸς ὁμοφυοῦς οἱ ὄντος ἐπιτείνεται τε καὶ θραύεται, τῇ δὲ δὴ συμμιξει τῆς νοτίδος ἀναψύχεται, κάκ τούτου εἴσω διὰ παντὸς συμπιληθὲν ἄλυτον ^[5] γίγνεται. τοιαῦτα μὲν αἱ Βαῖαι εἰσι, καὶ ἐς αὐτὰς τότε ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τοὺς ἔσπλους ἐξεποίησε, τὰς τε ναῦς καὶ τοὺς ἐρέτας ἤθροισε, καὶ τὰς μὲν κατέφραττε, τοὺς δὲ ἐπ' ἰκρίων ἐρέττειν ἤσκει. 52. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Πρώμῃ ἐταράττοντο μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ σημείων. ἄλλα τε γὰρ συχνὰ σφισιν ἐσηγγέλθη, καὶ ὅτι δελφῖνες πολλοὶ περὶ τὴν Ἀσπίδα τὴν τῆς Ἀφρικῆς πόλιν ἐμαχέσαντο τε ἀλλήλοις ^[2] καὶ διεφθάρσαν: καὶ τι καὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῷ ἄστει αἶμα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ῥυέν ὄρνιθες διεφόρησαν. ^[p. 332] ἐπειδὴ τε ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει τῇ τῶν Ρωμαίων οὐδεὶς τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, ὥσπερ εἴθιστο, εἰστιάθη, ἐν τέρατος λόγῳ καὶ τοῦτ' ^[3] ἔλαβον. τὸ τε τῇ Λιουίᾳ συμβὰν ἐκείνῃ μὲν καθ' ἡδονὴν ἐγένετο, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις δέος ἐνεποίησε: λευκὴν γὰρ ὄρνιθα, κλωνιον δάφνης ἐγκάρπου φέρουσιν, ἀετὸς ἐς τὸν κόλπον αὐτῆς ἐνέβαλε. καὶ ἐδόκει γὰρ οὐ σμικρὸν τὸ σημεῖον εἶναι, τὴν τε ὄρνιθα ἐν ἐπιμελείᾳ ἦγε καὶ τὴν ^[4] δάφνην ἐφύτευσε. καὶ ἡ μὲν ῥιζωθεῖσα ἠῤῥησεν ὥστε καὶ τοῖς τὰ ἐπινίκια μετὰ

τοῦτο πέμψασιν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐξαρκέσαι, ἥ τε Λιουία ἐγκολπώσεσθαι 156
καὶ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἰσχὺν καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν 53. αὐτοῦ κρατήσῃν ἔμελλε: τοὺς
δὲ δὴ ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταῦτά τε καὶ αἱ διαλλαγαὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων
ἰσχυρῶς ἐτάρασσον: οὐ γὰρ ὅπως οἱ τε ὑπατοὶ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ
οἱ ταμίαι ἐπ’ ἀλλήλοις ἀντικαθίσταντο, καὶ τοῦτ’ ἐπὶ ^[2] χρόνον ἐγένετο.
αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι πάντες οὐχ οὕτως ἴν’ οἴκοι ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἄρξωσιν, ὥς ἵνα ἐν τοῖς
ἄρξασιν ἀριθμῶνται καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις τὰς ἔξω
λαμβάνωσιν 157 ἐσποῦδαζον. οὐκ οὐδὲ ἐς ῥητὸν ἔτι τινὲς χρόνον
ἤροῦντο, ἀλλ’ ὥστε ἐπιβῆναι τε τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀποσπῆναι
ὅταν τοῖς τὸ κράτος ἔχουσι ^[3] δόξη: καὶ πολλοὶ γε ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας
ἐκάτερον ἔπραξαν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ παντάπασιν τὰς ἀρχὰς ὑπὸ πενίας
ἐγκατέλιπον: τῶν γὰρ σὺν τῷ Σέξτῳ τότε ὄντων, ὥς καὶ κατὰ δίκην δὴ ^[4]
τινα ἀτιμασθέντων, οὐ μνημονεύω. βουλευομένου ^[p. 334] δ’ οὖν καὶ Μάρκου
τινὸς Ὀππίου ἀγορανομίας ὑπ’ ἀπορίας ἕκ γὰρ τῶν ἐπικεκρηυγμένων καὶ
αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ ἦν’ ἐκστῆναι τὸ πλῆθος οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν, 158 ἀλλ’
ἐς τε τὰ ἄλλα τὰ πρὸς τὸν βίον ἀναγκαῖα καὶ ἐς τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀνάλωμα ^[5]
ἀργῦριον αὐτῷ συνεσήνεγκε. καὶ λόγος γε 159 ἔχει καὶ τῶν κακούργων
τινὰς ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ θέατρον ἐν προσωπείοις, ὥς καὶ ὑποκρινουμένους 160 τι,
ἐσελθόντας συγκαταβαλεῖν 161 τὰ χρήματα. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω ζῶν τε ὑπὸ τοῦ
ὀμίλου ἠγαπήθη, καὶ ἀποθανὼν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐς τε τὸ Ἄρειον πεδῖον ^[6]
ἐκομίσθη καὶ ἐκεῖ καὶ ἐκαύθη καὶ ἐτάφη: ἡ δὲ δὴ βουλή ἀγανακτήσασα τῇ
πάσῃ τοῦ πλήθους περὶ αὐτὸν σπουδῇ τὰ ὁστᾶ αὐτοῦ, ὥς οὐχ ὁσίως ἐν τῷ
ἱερῷ χωρίῳ κείμενα, ἀνείλετο, πεισθεῖσα τοῖς ποντιφίξι, καίπερ πολλοὺς
ἄλλους ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ πρότερον καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα θάψασα. 54. κὰν τῷ αὐτῷ
τούτῳ χρόνῳ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἦλθε μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν αὐθις ἐκ τῆς Συρίας,
πρόφασιν μὲν ὥς καὶ τοῦ Σεξτείου πολέμου διὰ τὰς τοῦ Καίσαρος
συμφορὰς μεθέξων, οὐ μέντοι ^[2] καὶ παρέμεινεν αὐτῷ, ἀλλ’ ἅτε 162 ἐς
κατασκοπὴν αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ καὶ ἔργου τινὸς ἔνεκα ἀφιγμένος, ἐκείνῳ μὲν
ναῦς ἔδωκε καὶ ἐτέρας πέμψειν ὑπέσχετο, ἀνθ’ ὧν ὀπλίτας ἀντέλαβεν,
αὐτὸς δὲ ὥς ^[3] καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους στρατεύσων ἀπῆρε. πρὶν δὲ ἢ
ἀποπλεῖν αὐτὸν 163 ἠτιάσαντο ἀλλήλους, πρότερον ^[p. 336] μὲν διὰ τῶν
ἐταίρων, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ δι’ ἐαυτῶν: καὶ οὐ γὰρ πῶ σχολὴν πολεμῆσαι σφίσι
ἦγον, συνηλλάγησαν τρόπον τινά, τῆς ^[4] Ὀκταουίας ὅτι μάλιστα τοῦτο
πρασοῦσης. καὶ ὅπως γε πλείοσι τοῖς τῆς συγγενείας συνδέσμοις
συνέχοιντο, ὃ τε Καῖσαρ Ἀντύλλῳ τῷ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου υἱεὶ τὴν θυγατέρα, καὶ
ἐκεῖνος τῷ Δομιτίῳ, καίτοι τοῦ Καίσαρος σφαγῇ τε γενομένῳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς
ἀπολουμένοις ἐκτεθέντι, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἐκ ^[5] τῆς Ὀκταουίας οἱ
γεννηθεῖσαν ἠγγύησε. 164 ταῦτά τε ἅμα 165 πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπλάσσοντο:
οὐ γὰρ πῶ καὶ ποιήσῃν τι αὐτῶν ἤμελλον, ἀλλ’ ἐς τὴν χρεῖαν τῶν
παρόντων σφίσι πραγμάτων ὑπεκρίνοντο. 166 ἀμέλει καὶ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν
αὐτὴν εὐθύς ἐκ τῆς Κερκύρας ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἵνα δὴ μὴ
συγκινδυνεύσῃ οἱ τοῖς Πάρθοις ^[6] πολεμοῦντι, ἀπέπεμψεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ ἐν γε
τῷ τότε ἐκεῖνά τε οὕτως ἔπραξαν, καὶ τὸν μὲν Σέξτον τῆς τε ἱερωσύνης ἅμα
καὶ τῆς ὑπατείας ἐς ἣν ἀπεδέδεκτο ἔπαυσαν, ἑαυτοῖς δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐς

ἄλλα ἔτη πέντε, ἐπειδὴ τὰ πρότερα ἐξεληλύθει, ἐπέτρεψαν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἡπείγετο, Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον [7] καθίστατο. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ γνώμην αὐτῷ ἐχώρει, ὁ δὲ δὴ Μηνᾶς ἄπιστός τε φύσει ὦν καὶ τὰ τοῦ κρείττονος ἀεὶ θεραπεύων, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἀγανακτήσας ὅτι μηδεμίαν ἀρχὴν εἶχεν ἀλλὰ τῷ Σαβίνῳ ὑπετέτακτο, πρὸς τὸν Σέξτον αὖθις ἠϋτομόλησεν.

τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ τετάρτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

α. περὶ τῶν τῷ Καίσαρι ψηφισθέντων.

β. περὶ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τῆς ἐπ' αὐτὸν συστάσης.

γ. ὡς Καῖσαρ ἐσφάγη.

δ. ὡς δόγμα ἐγένετο μὴ μνησικακεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις.

ε. περὶ τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ταφῆς καὶ τοῦ λεχθέντος ἐπ' αὐτῷ λόγου.
χρόνου πλῆθος μέρος τι τῆς Ἰουλίου Καίσαρος δικτατορίας τὸ ε μετὰ Αἰμίλιου Λεπιδου ἱππάρχου καὶ ὑπατείας τὸ ε μετὰ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου.

1. ὁ μὲν οὖν Καῖσαρ ταῦθ' οὕτως ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους στρατεύσων ἔπραξεν, οἷστρος δέ τισιν ἀλιτηριώδης φθόνῳ τε τοῦ προήκοντος καὶ μίσει τοῦ προτετιμημένου σφῶν προσπεσῶν ἐκεῖνόν τε ἀνόμως ἀπέκτεινε, καινὸν ἀνοσίῳ δόξης ὄνομα προσλαβών, καὶ τὰ ψηφισθέντα διεσκέδασε, [2] στάσεις τε αὐθις ἐξ ὁμονοίας καὶ πολέμους ἐμφυλίου τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις παρεσκεύασεν: ἔλεγον μὲν γὰρ καθαιρέται τε τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἐλευθερωταὶ τοῦ δήμου γεγονέναι, τὸ δὲ ἀληθές ἐκείνῳ τε ἀσεβῶς ἐπεβούλευσαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὀρθῶς [p. 310] 2. ἤδη πολιτευομένην ἐστασίασαν. δημοκρατία γὰρ ὄνομα μὲν εὐσχημον ἔχει καὶ τινα καὶ ἰσομοιρίαν πᾶσιν ἐκ τῆς ἰσονομίας φέρειν δοκεῖ, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐλέγχεται μηδὲν ὁμολογοῦσα τῷ προσήματι: καὶ τοῦναντίον ἡ μοναρχία δυσχερὲς μὲν ἀκοῦσαι, χρησιμώτατον δὲ ἐμπολιτεύσασθαι ἐστὶ. ῥᾶόν τε γὰρ ἓνα τινὰ χρηστὸν ἢ πολλοὺς [2] εὐρεῖν: ἂν τε καὶ τοῦτο χαλεπὸν τισιν εἶναι δοκῇ, πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ἐκεῖνό γε ἀδύνατον ὁμολογηθῆναι εἶναι: οὐ γὰρ προσήκει τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρετὴν κτᾶσθαι. εἰ δ' οὖν καὶ φαῦλός τις αὐταρχήσειεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ γε πλήθους τῶν ὁμοίων αἰρετώτερός ἐστιν, ὥσπερ που καὶ τὰ ἔργα τὰ τε τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων, τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν, [3] τεκμηριοῖ. τὰ τε γὰρ ἀμείνω πολὺ μείζω καὶ πλείω καὶ πόλεσι καὶ ἰδιώταις ἐκ βασιλέων ἢ δῆμων αἰεὶ ποτε ἐγένετο, καὶ τὰ δυσχερέστερα ἐν ταῖς μοναρχίαις ἢ ταῖς ὀχλοκρατίαις συμβαίνει. εἰ γὰρ που καὶ δημοκρατία τις ἦνθησεν, ἀλλ' ἔν γε βραχεῖ χρόνῳ ἤκμασεν, μέχρις οὗ μήτε μέγεθος μήτ' ἰσχὺν ἔσχον ὥστε ἢ ὕβρεις σφίσιν ἐξ εὐπραγίας ἢ φθόνους ἐκ φιλοτιμίας ἐγγενέσθαι. [4] πόλιν δὲ αὐτὴν τε τηλικαύτην οὖσαν καὶ τοῦ τε καλλίστου τοῦ τε πλείστου τῆς ἐμφανοῦς οἰκουμένης ἄρχουσας, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἀνθρώπων ἦθη καὶ διάφορα κερκτημένην πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ μεγάλους πλοῦτους ἔχουσας, ταῖς τε πράξεσι καὶ ταῖς [p. 312] τύχαις παντοδαπαῖς καὶ ἰδίαις καὶ δημοσίαις χρωμένην, ἀδύνατον μὲν ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ σωφρονῆσαι, ἀδυνατώτερον δὲ μὴ σωφρονοῦσαν

ὁμονῆσαι. [5] ὥστ' εἴπερ ταῦτα οὕτως ὃ τε Βροῦτος ὁ Μάρκος καὶ ὁ Κάσιος ὁ Γάιος ἐξελογίσαντο, οὐκ ἂν ποτε τὸν τε προστάτην καὶ τὸν κηδεμόνα αὐτῆς ἀπέκτειναν, οὐδ' ἂν μυρίων αἵτιοι κακῶν καὶ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τότε ἀνθρώποις ἐγένοντο. 3. ἔσχε δὲ ὧδε, καὶ αἰτίαν τήνδε ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ ἔλαβεν: οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀναίτιον πάντῃ τὸ ἐπίφθονον ἐκτῆσατο, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον αὐτοὶ οἱ βουλευταὶ ταῖς τε καινότησι καὶ ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς τῶν τιμῶν ἐξάραντές τε αὐτὸν καὶ φυσήσαντες ἔπειτα ἐπ' αὐταῖς ἐκείναις καὶ ἐμέμφοντο καὶ διέβαλλον ὡς ἡδέως τέ σφας λαμβάνοντα καὶ [2] ὀγκηρότερον ἀπ' αὐτῶν ζῶντα. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ὅτε καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἤμαρτε, δεξιόμενός τέ τινα τῶν ψηφισθέντων οἱ καὶ πιστεύσας ὄντως αὐτῶν ἀξιούσθαι, πλεῖστον δὲ ὅμως ἐκεῖνοι, οἵτινες ἀρξάμενοι τιμᾶν αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ ἄξιον, προήγαγον [3] ἐς αἰτίαν οἷς ἐψηφίζοντο. οὔτε γὰρ διωθεῖσθαι πάντα αὐτὰ ἐτόλμα, μὴ καὶ ὑπερφρονεῖν νομισθεῖν, οὐτ' αὖ λαμβάνων ἀσφαλῆς εἶναι ἐδύνατο: τὸ γὰρ ὑπερβάλλον τῶν τε τιμῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπαίνων χαυνοτέρους πῶς καὶ τοὺς πάνυ σῶφρονας, ἄλλως τε κἂν ἀληθῶς γίγνεσθαι δοκῶσι, ποιεῖ. 4. ἐγένετο δὲ τὰ δοθέντα αὐτῷ μετ' ἐκεῖνα ὅσα εἰρηται τοσάδε καὶ τοιάδε: καθ' ἓν γάρ, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντα ἅμα μῆτε ἐσηνέχθη μῆτε ἐκυρώθη, [p. 314] [2] λελέγεται. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτα φέρεσθαι τε αὐτὸν αἰεὶ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει τὴν στολὴν τὴν ἐπινίκιον ἐνδεδυκότα, καὶ καθέζεσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ δίφρου πανταχῇ πλὴν ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσιν, ἐψηφίσαντο: τότε γὰρ ἐπὶ τε τοῦ δημαρχικοῦ βήθρου καὶ μετὰ τῶν αἰεὶ δημαρχούντων θεᾶσθαι [3] ἔλαβε. σκυλὰ τέ τινα ὀπίμα ἐς τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Φερετρίου νεῶν ἀναθεῖναι οἱ ὥσπερ τινὰ πολέμιον αὐτοστράτηγον αὐτοχειρίᾳ πεφονευκότι, καὶ τοῖς ῥαβδούχοις दाφνηφοροῦσιν αἰεὶ χρῆσθαι, μετὰ τε τὰς ἀνοχὰς τὰς Λατίνας ἐπὶ κέλητος ἐς τὴν πόλιν [4] ἐκ τοῦ Ἀλβανοῦ ἐσελαύνειν ἔδοσαν. πρὸς τε τούτοις τοιοῦτοις οὔσι πατέρα τε αὐτὸν τῆς πατρίδος ἐπωνόμασαν καὶ ἐς τὰ νομίσματα ἐνεχάραξαν, τὰ τε γενέθλια αὐτοῦ δημοσίᾳ θύειν ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τοῖς τε ναοῖς τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ [5] πᾶσιν ἀνδριάντα τινὰ αὐτοῦ εἶναι ἐκέλευσαν, καὶ ἐπὶ γε τοῦ βήματος δύο, τὸν μὲν ὡς τοὺς πολίτας σεσωκότος τὸν δὲ ὡς τὴν πόλιν ἐκ πολιορκίας ἐξηρημένου, μετὰ τῶν στεφάνων τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις νενομισμένων ἰδρύσαντο. νεῶν τε Ὀμονοίας καινῆς, ὡς καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ εἰρηνούντες, οἰκοδομῆσαι, καὶ πανήγυριν αὐτῇ ἐτησίαν ἄγειν 5. ἔγνωσαν. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐδέξατο, τὰ τε ἑλθόντα οἱ τὰ Πομπήνια χῶσαι καὶ τὸν ἰσθμὸν τὸν τῆς Πελοποννήσου διορῶσαι βουλευτήριόν τέ τι καινὸν ποιῆσαι προσέταξαν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ Ὀστίλιον καίπερ [2] ἀνοικοδομηθὲν καθηρέθη, πρόφασιν μὲν τοῦ ναοῦ [p. 316] Εὐτυχίας ἐναυθ' οἰκοδομηθῆναι, ὃν καὶ ὁ Λέπιδος ἱππαρχήσας ἐξεποίησεν, ἔργῳ δὲ ὅπως μῆτε ἐν ἐκείνῳ τὸ τοῦ Σύλλου ὄνομα σώζοιτο καὶ ἕτερον ἐκ καινῆς κατασκευασθὲν Ἰούλιον ὀνομασθεῖν, ὥσπερ που καὶ τὸν τε μῆνα ἐν ᾧ ἐγεγέννητο Ἰούλιον κάκ τῶν φυλῶν μίαν τὴν κλήρῳ λαχοῦσαν [3] Ἰουλίαν ἐπεκάλεσαν. καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν τιμητὴν καὶ μόνον καὶ διὰ βίου εἶναι, τὰ τε τοῖς δημάρχοις δεδομένα καρποῦσθαι, ὅπως, ἂν τις ἢ ἔργῳ ἢ καὶ λόγῳ αὐτὸν ὑβρίσῃ, ἱερὸς τε ἦ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἅγῳ ἐνέχῃται, τὸν δὲ δὴ υἱόν, ἂν τινα γεννήσῃ ἢ καὶ ἐσποιοῖσθαι, ἀρχιερέα ἀποδειχθῆναι 6. ἐψηφίσαντο. ὡς δὲ καὶ τούτοις

ἔχαιρε, δίφρος τέ οἱ ἐπίχρυσος, καὶ στολὴ ἥ ποτε οἱ βασιλῆς ἐκέχρητο, φρουρά τε ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ ἐκ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐδόθη· καὶ προσέτι καὶ εὖχεσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δημοσίᾳ κατ' ἔτος ἕκαστον, τὴν τε τύχην αὐτοῦ ὁμνῦναι, καὶ τὰ πραχθησόμενα αὐτῷ πάντα κύρια ἔξειν ἐνόμισαν. [2] καὶ οὗτου καὶ πενταετηρίδα οἱ ὥς ἦρωι, ἱεροποιοὺς τε ἐς τὰς τοῦ Πανδὸς γυμνοπαιδίας, τρίτην τινὰ ἑταιρίαν ἣν Ἰουλίαν ὠνόμασαν, κὰν ταῖς ὀπλομαχίαις μίαν τινὰ ἀεὶ ἡμέραν καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ [3] καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰταλίᾳ ἀνέθεσαν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τούτοις ἠρέσκετο, οὕτω δὴ ἔς τε τὰ θέατρα τὸν τε δίφρον αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐπίχρυσον καὶ τὸν στέφανον τὸν διάλιθον καὶ διάχρυσον, ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς τῶν θεῶν, ἐσκομίζεσθαι κὰν ταῖς ἵπποδρομίαις ὅχον ἐσάγεσθαι [p. 318] [4] ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ τέλος Δία τε αὐτὸν ἄντικρυς Ἰούλιον προσηγόρευσαν, καὶ ναὸν αὐτῷ τῇ τ' ἐπικεκία αὐτοῦ τεμενισθῆναι ἔγνωσαν, ἱερέα σφίσι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὥσπερ τινὰ Διάλιον προχειρισάμενοι. 7. καὶ ἃ γε μάλιστα τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐξέφηνεν, ἅμα τε ταῦτα ἐψηφίζοντο καὶ τάφον αὐτῷ ἐντὸς τοῦ πωμηρίου ποιήσασθαι ἔδοσαν· τὰ τε δόγματα τὰ περὶ τούτων γιγνόμενα ἐς μὲν στήλας ἀργυρᾶς χρυσοῖς γράμμασιν ἐνέγραψαν, ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ὑπέθεσαν, δηλοῦντές οἱ καὶ μάλα ἐναργῶς ὅτι ἄνθρωπος εἴη. [2] ἥρξαντο μὲν γὰρ τιμᾶν αὐτὸν ὥς καὶ μετριάσσοντα· προχωροῦντες δέ, ἐπειδὴ χαίροντα τοῖς ψηφιζομένοις ἑώρων· πλὴν γὰρ ὀλίγων τινῶν πάντα αὐτὰ ἐδέξατο, ἀεὶ τι μείζον ἄλλος ἄλλο καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἐσέφερον, οἱ μὲν ὑπερκολακεύοντες αὐτὸν οἱ [3] δὲ καὶ διασκώπτοντες. ἀμέλει καὶ γυναῖξιν ὅσαις ἂν ἐθελήσῃ συνεῖναι οἱ ἐτόλμησάν τινες ἐπιτρέψαι, ὅτι πολλαῖς καὶ τότε ἔτι, καίπερ πεντηκοντούτης ὢν, ἐχρήτο. ἔτεροι δέ, καὶ οἱ γε πλείους, ἔς τε τὸ ἐπίφθονον καὶ ἐς τὸ νεμεσητὸν προάγειν αὐτὸν ὅτι τάχιστα βουλόμενοι τοῦτ' ἐποιοῦν, ἵνα [4] θᾶσσον ἀπόλῃται. ὅπερ που ἐγένετο, καίτοι τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ δι' αὐτὰ ταῦτα θαρσήσαντος ὥς οὐκ ἂν ποτε οὕθ' ὑπ' ἐκείνων τοιαῦτά γε ψηφιζομένων οὕθ' ὑπ' ἄλλου τινὸς δι' αὐτοὺς ἐπιβουλευθησομένου, καὶ οὗτου οὐδὲ σωματοφύλαξιν ἔτι χρησαμένου· τῷ γὰρ δὴ λόγῳ τὸ πρὸς τε τῶν [p. 320] βουλευτῶν καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἱππέων τηρεῖσθαι προσέμενος, καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πρίν φρουρὰν προσκατέλυσεν. 8. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν μιᾷ ποτε ἡμέρᾳ τὰ τε πλείω καὶ τὰ μείζω σφῶν ψηφισάμενοι· πλὴν γὰρ τοῦ Κασσίου καὶ τινων ἄλλων, οἱ περιβόητοι ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐγένοντο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἔπαθόν τι, ἐξ οὗπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἡ ἐπιείκεια αὐτοῦ διεφάνη, τοῖς γε ἄλλοις ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐγνώσθῃ προσῆλθον αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀφροδισίου προνάῳ καθημένῳ ὥς καὶ πάντες ἅμα τὰ δεδογμένα σφίσιν ἀπαγγελοῦντες [2] ἄπόντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ τοιαῦτα, τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ἀναγκαστοὶ ἄλλ' ἐθελονταὶ αὐτὰ ποιεῖν, ἐχρημάτιζον, καθήμενὸς σφας, εἴτ' οὖν θεοβλαβεῖα τινὲ εἴτε καὶ περιχαρεῖα, προσεδέξατο, καὶ ὀργὴν ἐκ τούτου πᾶσιν, οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, τοσαύτην ἐνέβαλεν ὥστε ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα πρόφασιν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τοῖς ἀποκτεῖναισιν [3] αὐτὸν παρασχεῖν. ἔλεγον μὲν γὰρ ἀπολογούμενοι τινες ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα ὅτι τῆς τε κοιλίας ἀκρατῆς ὑπὸ διαρροίας ἐγεγόνει, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ἵνα μὴ ἐξιδίση, κατέμεινεν· οὐ μέντοι καὶ πείθειν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐδύναντο διὰ τὸ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἐξεγερόντα

αὐτὸν αὐτοποδία οἴκαδε κομισθῆναι, ^[4] ἀλλ' ὑπετόπουν τε αὐτὸν ὑπεραυχεῖν, καὶ δὴ ἐμίσουν ὡς ὑπερήφανον ὃν αὐτοὶ ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς τῶν τιμῶν ὑπέρφρονα ἐπεποιήκεσαν. τοῦτου δὲ δὴ τοιοῦτου γενομένου προσεπηύξησε τὴν ὑποψίαν ὅτι καὶ δικτάτωρ διὰ βίου μετὰ ταῦτα ἀποδειχθεὶς ἠγέσχετο. ^[p. 322] 9. ἐνταῦθα οὖν αὐτοῦ ὄντος οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐνδοιαστῶς οἱ ἐπιβουλευόντες οἱ ἔπραττον, ἀλλ' ὅπως δὴ καὶ τοῖς πάνυ φίλοις ἐν μίσει γένηται, ἄλλα τε ἐπὶ διαβολῇ αὐτοῦ ἐποιοῦν καὶ τέλος βασιλέα αὐτὸν προσηγόρευον, καὶ πολὺ τοῦτο τοῦνομα ^[2] καὶ κατὰ σφᾶς διεθρύλουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τε ἐξίστατο μὲν αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπετίμα πῃ τοῖς οὕτως αὐτὸν ἐπικαλοῦσιν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἔπραξε τι δι' οὗ ἂν ἄχθεσθαι τῷ προσρήματι ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐπιστεύθη, τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ^[3] ἐστῶσαν διαδήματι λάθρα ἀνέδθησαν. καὶ αὐτὸ Γαίου τε Ἐπιδίου Μαρύλλου καὶ Λουκίου Καισητίου Φλάκου δημάρχων καθελόντων ἰσχυρῶς ἐχάλειπνε, καίτοι μήτε τι ὑβριστικὸν αὐτῶν εἰπόντων, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπαινέσαντων αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ πλήθει ὡς μηδεὶς τοιοῦτου δεόμενον. καὶ τότε μὲν καίπερ ἀσχάλλων ἡσύχασεν: 10. ὡς μέντοι μετὰ τοῦτο ἐσιπτεῦντα αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀλβανοῦ βασιλέα αὐθὺς τινες ὠνόμασαν, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἔφη βασιλεὺς ἀλλὰ Καῖσαρ καλεῖσθαι, οἱ δὲ δὴ δημαρχοὶ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ δίκην τῷ πρώτῳ αὐτὸν εἰπόντι ἔλαχον, οὐκέτι τὴν ὀργὴν κατέσχεν, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων προσστασιαζόμενος ὑπερηγανάκτησε. ^[2] καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι οὐδὲν δεινὸν αὐτοὺς ἔδρασεν, ὕστερον δὲ σφῶν προγραφὴν ἐκθέντων ὡς οὔτε ἐλευθέραν οὔτ' ἀσφαλῆ τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ παρρησίαν ἐχόντων περιοργῆς ἐγένετο, καὶ παραγαγὼν σφας ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον κατηγορίαν ^[p. 324] τε αὐτῶν ἐποίησατο καὶ ψῆφον ἐπήγαγε. ^[3] καὶ οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε μὲν αὐτοὺς, καίτοι καὶ τοῦτου τινῶν τιμησάντων σφίσι, προαπαλλάξας δὲ ἐκ τῆς δημαρχίας διὰ Ἑλουίου Κίννου συνάρχοντος αὐτῶν ἀπήλειπεν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔχαιρόν τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ἣ καὶ ἐπλάττοντο, ὡς οὐδεμίαν ἀνάγκην ἔξοντες παρρησιαζόμενοι κινδυνεύσαι, καὶ ἔξω τῶν πραγμάτων ὄντες τὰ ^[4] γιγνόμενα ὥσπερ ἀπὸ σκοπιᾶς καθεώρων: ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ καὶ ἐκ τούτου διεβλήθη, ὅτι δεόν αὐτὸν τοὺς τὸ ὄνομά οἱ τὸ βασιλέως προστιθέντας μισεῖν, ὁ δὲ ἐκείνους ἀφείς τοῖς δημάρχοις ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἐνεκάλει. 11. τούτων δ' οὖν οὕτω γενομένων τοιόνδε τι ἔτερον, οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν συνενεχθέν, ἐπὶ πλέον ἐξήλεγξεν ὅτι λόγῳ μὲν διεκρούετο τὴν ἐπὶ κλησιν, ^[2] ἔργῳ δὲ λαβεῖν ἐπεθύμει. ἐπεὶ δὲ γὰρ ἐν τῇ τῶν Λυκαίων γυμνοπαιδίᾳ ἔς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐσῆλθε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος τῇ τε ἐσθῇ τῇ βασιλικῇ κεκοσμημένος καὶ τῷ στεφάνῳ τῷ διαχρύσῳ λαμπρυνόμενος ἐς τὸν δίφρον τὸν κεχρυσωμένον ἐκαθίζετο, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀντώνιος βασιλέα τε μετὰ τῶν συνιερέων προσηγόρευσε καὶ διαδήματι ἀνέδθησεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι 'τοὔτ' σοι ὁ ^[3] δῆμος δι' ἐμοῦ δίδωσιν,' ἀπεκρίνατο μὲν ὅτι 'Ζεὺς μόνος τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς εἶη,' καὶ τὸ διάδημα αὐτῷ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἔπεμψεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὀργὴν ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐγγραφῆναι ἐποίησεν ὅτι τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ ^[p. 326] τοῦ δήμου διὰ τοῦ ὑπάτου διδομένην οἱ οὐκ ἐδέξατο. ὑπωπτεύθη τε οὖν ἐκ συγκεκριμένου τινος αὐτὸ πεποιηκέναι, καὶ ἐφίεσθαι μὲν τοῦ ὀνόματος, βούλεσθαι δὲ

ἐκβιασθῆναι πως λαβεῖν αὐτό, ^[4] καὶ δεινῶς ἐμισήθη. καὶ τοῦτου τοὺς τε δημάρχους ἐκείνους ὑπάτους τινὲς ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαιρεσίαις προεβάλλοντο, καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον τὸν Μᾶρκον τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς φρονηματώδεις ἰδία τε προσιόντες ἀνέπειθον καὶ δημοσίᾳ προσπαρωξυνον. 12. γράμματά τε γάρ, τῇ ὁμωνυμίᾳ αὐτοῦ τῇ πρὸς τὸν πάνυ Βροῦτον τὸν τοὺς Ταρκυνίους καταλύσαντα καταχρώμενοι, πολλὰ ἐξετίθεσαν, φημιζοντες αὐτὸν ψευδῶς ἀπόγονον ἐκείνου εἶναι: ἀμφοτέρους γὰρ τοὺς παῖδας, τοὺς μόνους οἱ γενομένους, μεираκία ἔτι ὄντας ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ ^[2] οὐδὲ ἔγγονον ὑπελίπετο. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῦτο τε οἱ πολλοί, ὅπως ὡς καὶ γένει προσήκων αὐτῷ ἐς ὁμοιότροπα ἔργα προαχθεῖη, ἐπλάττοντο, καὶ συνεχῶς ἀνεκάλουν αὐτόν, ‘ὦ Βροῦτε Βροῦτε’ ἐκβοῶντες, καὶ προσεπιλέγοντες ὅτι ‘Βρούτου ^[3] χρῆζομεν.’ καὶ τέλος τῇ τε τοῦ παλαιοῦ Βρούτου εἰκόνι ἐπέγραψαν ‘εἶθε ἕξης,’ καὶ τῷ τοῦτου βήματι ‘ἐστρατήγει γὰρ καὶ βῆμα καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτο ὀνομάζεται ἐφ’ οὗ τις ἰζόμενος δικάζει ὅτι ‘καθεύδεις, ὦ Βροῦτε’ καὶ ‘Βρούτος οὐκ εἶ.’ 13. ταῦτά τε οὖν αὐτόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς ἀντιπολεμήσαντα τῷ Καίσαρι, ἀνέπεισεν ἐπιθέσθαι οἱ καίπερ εὐεργέτη μετὰ τοῦτο γενομένῳ, ^[p. 328] καὶ ὅτι τοῦ Κάτωνος τοῦ Οὐπτικησίου κληθέντος, ὡσπερ εἶπον, καὶ ἀδελφιδοῦς καὶ γαμβρὸς ἦν. καὶ μόνη γε γυναικῶν ἡ γαμετὴ αὐτοῦ ἡ Πορκία ^[2] τὴν ἐπibουλήν, ὡς φασι, συνέγνω. φροντίζοντι γάρ τι αὐτῷ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων ἐπιστᾶσα ἀνεπύθετο ὃ τι σύννους εἶη, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο, ὑπώπτευσέ τε διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀσθένειαν ἀπιστεῖσθαι, μὴ καὶ ἄκουσά τι ἐκ βασάνων ἐξεῖπῃ, καὶ πρᾶγμα μέγα ἐτόλμησε. ^[3] τὸν γὰρ μηρὸν τὸν ἑαυτῆς κρύφα κατέτρωσεν, ὅπως πειραθεῖη εἰ δύναιτο πρὸς αἰκισμοὺς ἀντικαρτερῆσαι: καὶ ἐπειδὴ μὴ περιήλγησε, κατεφρόνησε τοῦ τραύματος καὶ προσελθοῦσα αὐτῷ ἔφη ‘σὺ μὲν, ὦ ἄνερ, καίτοι τῇ ψυχῇ μου πιστεῦων ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐκκαλήσει, ὅμως ἡπίστεις τῷ σώματι, καὶ ἔπασχες γέ τι ἀνθρώπινον: ἐγὼ ^[4] δὲ καὶ τοῦτο εὗρηκα σιωπᾶν δυνάμενον.’ ταῦτα εἰποῦσα τὸν τε μηρὸν ἐπέδειξεν οἱ, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ γεγονότος ἐκφήνασα ἔφη ‘λέγε τοίνυν θαρσῶν πάνθ’ ὅσα συγκρύπτεις: ἐμὲ γὰρ οὐ πῦρ, οὐ μάστιγες, οὐ κέντρα ἀναγκάσει τι ἐκκαλήσαι: οὐχ οὕτω γυνὴ γεγένημαι. ὡς, ἂν γε ἀπιστήσης μοι ἔτι, καλῶς ἔχει μοι τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν: ἢ μηκέτι με μηδεὶς μήτε Κάτωνος θυγατέρα μήτε 14. σὴν γυναικα νομιζέτω.’ ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Βρούτος ἐθαύμασε, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτ’ αὐτὴν ἀπεκρύψατο, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸς τε ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἐρρώσθη καὶ ^[2] ἐκείνῃ πάντα διηγῆσατο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸν Κάσσιον τὸν Γάϊον, σωθέντα μὲν καὶ αὐτόν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ προσέτι καὶ στρατηγία τιμηθέντα, τῆς δὲ ἀδελφῆς ἄνδρα ὄντα, προσέλαβε. καὶ τοῦτου ^[p. 330] καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τὰ αὐτὰ σφισι βουλομένους ^[3] ἡθροίζον. καὶ ἐγένοντο μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγοι: ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὀνόματα οὐδὲν δέομαι καταλέγειν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ δι’ ὄχλου γένωμαι, τὸν δὲ δὴ Τρεβώνιον τὸν τε Βροῦτον τὸν Δέκιμον, ὃν καὶ Ἰούνιον Ἀλβῖνόν τε ἐπεκάλουν, οὐ δύναμαι ^[4] παραλιπεῖν. πλείστα γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι εὐεργετηθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ ὁ γε Δέκιμος καὶ ὕπατος ἐς τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος ἀποδεδειγμένος καὶ τῇ Γαλατία τῇ πλησιοχώρῳ προστεταγμένος, ἐπεβούλευσαν αὐτῷ. 15. καὶ ὀλίγου γε ἐφωράθησαν ὑπὸ τε

τοῦ πλήθους τῶν συνειδότην, καίτοι τοῦ Καίσαρος μήτε λόγον τινά περὶ τοιοῦτου τινὸς προσδεχομένου καὶ πάνυ ἰσχυρῶς τοὺς ἐσαγγέλλοντάς τι τοιούτῳ τροπῶν ^[2] κολάζοντος, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ διαμέλλειν. αἰδῶ τε γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὡς ἔχοντες, καὶ φοβούμενοι, καίπερ μηδεμιᾷ ἔτι φρουρᾷ χρωμένου, μὴ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν αἰεὶ ποτε ὄντων φθαρῶσι, διηγόν, ὥστε καὶ κινδυνεῦσαι ἐλεγχθέντες ^[3] ἀπολέσθαι. καὶ ἔπαθον ἂν τοῦτο, εἰ μὴ συνταχῆναι τὸ ἐπιβούλευμα καὶ ἄκοντες ἠναγκάσθησαν. λόγου γὰρ τινος, εἴτ' οὖν ἀληθοῦς εἴτε καὶ ψευδοῦς, οἷά που φιλεῖ λογοποιεῖσθαι, διελθόντος ὡς τῶν ἱερέων τῶν πεντεκαίδεκα καλουμένων διαθροούντων ὅτι ἡ Σίβυλλα εἰρηκυῖα εἶη μήποτ' ἂν τοὺς Πάρθους ἄλλως πως ^[4] πλὴν ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἀλῶναι, καὶ μελλόντων διὰ τοῦτο αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπικλήσιν ταύτην τῷ Καίσαρι δοθῆναι ἐσηγήσεσθαι, τοῦτό τε πιστεύσαντες ^[p. 332] ἀληθὲς εἶναι, καὶ ὅτι καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ὥνπερ καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος καὶ ὁ Κάσιος ἦν, ἡ ψῆφος ἄτε καὶ ὑπὲρ τηλικούτου βουλευματος ἐπαχθήσοιτο, καὶ οὗτ' ἀντειπεῖν τολμῶντες οὔτε σιωπῆσαι ὑπομένοντες, ἐπέσπευσαν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν πρὶν καὶ ὅτι οὖν περὶ αὐτοῦ χρηματισθῆναι. 16. ἐδέδοκτο δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ποιήσασθαι. τὸν τε γὰρ Καίσαρα ἥκιστα ἐνταῦθα ὑποτοποῦντά τι πείσεσθαι εὐαλωτότερον ἔσεσθαι, καὶ σφίσιν εὐπορίαν ἀσφαλῆ ξιφῶν ἐν κιβωτίοις ἀντὶ γραμματείων τινῶν ἐσκομισθέντων ὑπάρξειν, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις οὐ δυνήσεσθαι, οἷά ^[2] που καὶ ἀόπλους ὄντας, ἀμῦναι προσεδόκων: εἰ δ' οὖν τις καὶ τολμήσειε που, ἀλλὰ τοὺς γε μονομάχους, οὓς πολλοὺς ἐν τῷ Πομπηίου θεάτρῳ, πρόφασιν ὡς καὶ ὀπλομαχήσοντας, προπαρεσκευάσαντο, βοηθήσειν σφίσιν ἡλπίζον: ἐκεῖ γὰρ που ἐν οἰκῇ τινι τοῦ περιστώου συνεδρεῦειν ἔμελλον. καὶ οἱ μὲν, ἐπειδὴ ἡ κυρία ἦκεν, ἔς τε τὸ βουλευτήριον ἅμα ἔξω συνελέγησαν καὶ τὸν 17. Καίσαρα παρεκάλουν: ἐκείνῳ δὲ προέλεγον μὲν καὶ μάντις τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, προέλεγε δὲ καὶ ὄνειρατα. ἐν γὰρ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐν ἣ ἑσφάγη ἡ τε γυνὴ αὐτοῦ τὴν τε οἰκίαν σφῶν συμπεπτωκέναι καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα συντετρῶσθαι τε ὑπὸ τινων καὶ ἐς τὸν κόλπον αὐτῆς καταφυγεῖν ἔδοξε, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τε τῶν νεφῶν μετέωρος αἰωρεῖσθαι καὶ τῆς ^[2] τοῦ Διὸς χειρὸς ἅπτεσθαι. πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ σημεῖα οὗτ' ὀλίγα οὗτ' ἀσθενῆ αὐτῷ ἐγένετο: τὰ ^[p. 334] τε γὰρ ὅπλα τὰ Ἄρεια παρ' αὐτῷ τότε ὡς καὶ παρὰ ἀρχιερεὶ κατὰ τι πάτριον κείμενα ψόφον τῆς νυκτὸς πολὺν ἐποίησε, καὶ αἱ θύραι τοῦ δωματίου ἐν ᾧ ἐκάθευδεν αὐτόμαται ἀνέωχθησαν. ^[3] τὰ τε ἱερὰ ἃ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐθύσατο οὐδὲν αἷσιον ὑπέφηγε, καὶ οἱ ὄρνιθες δι' ὧν ἐμαντεύετο οὐκ ἐπέτρεπον αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἐξελθεῖν. ἤδη δὲ πρὸς καὶ τὸ τοῦ δίφρου τοῦ ἐπιχρύσου ἐνθύμιον μετὰ γε τὴν σφαγὴν αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, ὅτι αὐτὸν ὁ ὑπηρέτης βραδύνοντος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐξεκόμισεν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, νομίσας μηκέτ' αὐτοῦ χρεῖαν ἔσεσθαι. 18. χρονίζοντος δ' οὖν διὰ ταῦτα τοῦ Καίσαρος, δεισαντες οἱ συνωμόται μὴ ἀναβολῆς γενομένης ἔθροῦς γὰρ τις διῆλθεν ὅτι οἵκοι τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην μενεῖ τὸ τε ἐπιβούλευμα σφίσι διατέσῃ καὶ αὐτοὶ φωραθῶσι, πέμπουσι τὸν Βροῦτον τὸν Δέκιμον, ὅπως ὡς καὶ πάνυ φίλος αὐτῷ δοκῶν εἶναι ποιήσῃ ^[2] αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι. καὶ ὅς τὰ τε προταθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φαυλίσας, καὶ τὴν γερούσιαν σφόδρα ἐπιθυμεῖν ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν εἰπών, ἔπεισε προελθεῖν. κάνα

τούτῳ εἰκὼν τις αὐτοῦ, ἣν ἐν τοῖς προθύροις ἀνακειμένην εἶχε, κατέπεσεν ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου καὶ ^[3] συνεθραύσθη. ἀλλ' ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὸν τότε μεταλλάξαι, οὐδὲν οὔτε τούτου ἐφρόντισε οὔτε τινὸς τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν οἱ μηνύοντος ἤκουσε. καὶ βιβλίον τι παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβὼν, ἐν ᾧ πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν παρεσκευασμένα ἀκριβῶς ἐνεγέγραπτο, οὐκ ἀνέγνω, νομίσας ἄλλο τι αὐτὸ τῶν οὐκ ἐπείγοντων ^[4] ἔχειν. τὸ τε σύμπαν οὕτως ἐθάρσει ὥστε ^[p. 336] καὶ πρὸς τὸν μάντιν τὸν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην φυλάσσεσθαι ποτε αὐτῷ προαγορεύσαντα εἰπεῖν ἐπισκώπτων 'ποῦ δητὰ σου τὰ μαντεύματα; ἢ οὐχ ὀρᾷς ὅτι τε ἡ ἡμέρα ἦν ἐδεδίεις πάρεστι, καὶ ἐγὼ ζῶ;' καὶ ἐκεῖνος τοσοῦτον, ὡς φασι, μόνον ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι 'ναὶ πάρεστιν, οὐδέπω δὲ παρελήλυθεν.' 19. ὡς δ' οὖν ἀφίκετό ποτε πρὸς τὸ συνέδριον, Τρεβώνιος μὲν Ἀντώνιον ἔξω που ἀποδιέτριψεν. ἐβουλεύσαντο μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τε Λέπιδον ^[2] ἀποκτείνειν: φοβηθέντες δὲ μὴ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἀπολομένων διαβληθῶσιν ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ δυναστείᾳ ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπ' ἐλευθερώσει τῆς πόλεως, ἣν προεβάλλοντο, τὸν Καίσαρα πεφονευκότες, οὐδὲ παρεῖναι τὸν Ἀντώνιον τῇ σφαγῇ αὐτοῦ ἠθέλησαν, ἐπεὶ ὁ γε Λέπιδος ἐξεστράτευτο καὶ ἐν τῷ ^[3] προαστείῳ ἦν. ἐκείνῳ μὲν δὴ Τρεβώνιος διελέγετο: οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι τὸν Καίσαρα ἐν τούτῳ ἄθροοι περιστάντες 'εὐπρόσδοός τε γὰρ καὶ φιλοπροσήγορος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἦν' οἱ μὲν ἐμυθολόγουν, οἱ δὲ ἰκέτευον δῆθεν αὐτόν, ὅπως ἥκιστα τι ὑποπτεύσῃ. ^[4] ἐπεὶ τε ὁ καιρὸς ἐλάμβανε, προσῆλθέ τις αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ χάριν τινὰ γινώσκων, καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὤμου καθεῖλκυσε, σημειὸν τι τοῦτο κατὰ τὸ συγκεῖμενον τοῖς συνωμόταις αἴρων: κἄκ τούτου προσπεσόντες αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνοι ^[5] πολλαχόθεν ἅμα κατέτρωσαν αὐτόν, ὥσθ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους αὐτῶν μήτ' εἰπεῖν μήτε πρᾶξαι τι τὸν Καίσαρα δυνηθῆναι, ἀλλὰ συγκαλυψάμενον σφαγῆναι πολλοῖς τραύμασι. ταῦτα μὲν τάληθέστατα: ^[p. 338] ἦδη δὲ τινες καὶ ἐκεῖνο εἶπον, ὅτι πρὸς τὸν Βροῦτον ἰσχυρῶς πατάξαντα ἔφη 'καὶ σὺ, τέκνον;' 20. θορύβου δ' οὖν πολλοῦ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τε ἔνδον ὄντων καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν προσεστηκότων πρὸς τε τὸ αἰφνίδιον τοῦ πάθους, καὶ ὅτι ἠγνόουν τοὺς τε σφαγέας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τὴν τε διάνοιαν αὐτῶν, γενομένου πάντες ὡς καὶ κινδυνεύσοντες ^[2] ἐταράσσοντο, καὶ αὐτοὶ τε ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν ἢ ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο, καὶ τοὺς προστυγχάνοντάς σφισιν ἐξέπλησσον, σαφὲς μὲν οὐδὲν λέγοντες, αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα μόνον βοῶντες, 'φεῦγε, κλεῖε, ^[3] κλεῖε.' καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ παραλαμβάνοντες παρ' ἀλλήλων ὡς ἕκαστος διεβίων, καὶ τὴν τε πόλιν θρήνων ἐπλήρουν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔς τε τὰ ἐργαστήρια καὶ ἐς τὰς οἰκίας ἐσπίπτοντες ἀπεκρύπτοντο, καίτοι τῶν σφαγέων ἔς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν ὥσπερ εἶχον ὀρμησάντων, καὶ τοῖς τε σχήμασιν ἐνδεικνυμένων καὶ προσεκβοώντων μὴ φοβεῖσθαι. ^[4] ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ τοῦτό τε ἅμα ἔλεγον καὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα συνεχῶς ἀνεκάλουν, ὁ δὲ ὁμιλος οὗτ' ἄλλως ἐπίστευέ σφισιν ἀληθεῦειν οὔτε ῥαδίως καθίστατο: ὁψὲ δ' οὖν ποτε καὶ μόλις, ὡς οὔτε τις ἐφονεύετο οὔτε συνελαμβάνετο, θαρσῆσαντες 21. ἠσύχασαν. καὶ συνελθόντων αὐτῶν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν πολλὰ μὲν κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς δημοκρατίας οἱ σφαγεῖς εἶπον, θαρσεῖν τέ σφας καὶ μηδὲν δεινὸν προσδέχεσθαι ἐκέλευον: ^[p. 340] οὔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ δυναστείᾳ οὗτ' ἐπ' ἄλλῃ

πλεονεξία οὐδεμιᾷ ἀπεκτονέειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν, ἀλλ' ἵν' ἐλεύθεροί τε καὶ αὐτόνομοι ὄντες ὀρθῶς πολιτεύωνται. ^[2] τοιαῦτα ἅπαντα εἰπόντες τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς κατέστησαν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι οὐδένα ἠδίκουν· αὐτοὶ δὲ δὴ φοβούμενοι καὶ ὥς μὴ τις σφίσιν ἀντεπιβουλεύῃ, ἀνῆλθον ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ὡς καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς προσευξόμενοι, καὶ ἐκεῖ τὴν τε ἡμέραν καὶ ^[3] τὴν νύκτα ἐνδιέτριψαν. καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν πρώτων ἀφ' ἐσπέρας, τῆς μὲν ἐπιβουλῆς οὐ συμμετασχόντες, τῆς δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς δόξης, ὡς καὶ ἐπαινουμένους σφᾶς ἐώρων, καὶ τῶν ἄθλων ἃ ^[4] προσεδέχοντο μεταποιησόμενοι, συνεχέγοντο. καὶ συνέβη γε αὐτοῖς ἐς τοῦναντίον τὸ πρᾶγμα δικαιότατα περιστῆναι· οὔτε γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἔργου ἅτε μηδὲν αὐτοῦ προσκοινωνήσαντες ἔλαβον, καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου τοῦ τοῖς δράσασιν αὐτὸ συμβάντος ὡς καὶ συνεπιβουλεύσαντές σφισι μετέσχον. 22. ἰδὼν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Δολοβέλλας οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἡξίου τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, ἀλλ' ἕς τε τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν καίπερ μηδέπω οἱ προσήκουσαν ἐσῆλθε, καὶ δημηγορήσας τι περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἐς τὸ ^[2] Καπιτώλιον ἀνέβη. τούτων δὲ ἐνταῦθα ὄντων, ὁ Λέπιδος μαθὼν τὰ γεγενημένα τὴν τε ἀγορὰν μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τῆς νυκτὸς κατέλαβε, καὶ κατὰ τῶν σφαγέων ἅμα ἔω ἐδημηγόρει. ὁ οὖν Ἀντώνιος, καίτοι παραχρήμα μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος θάνατον φυγὼν καὶ τὴν τε ἐσθῆτα τὴν ἀρχικὴν, ὅπως διαλάθῃ, ρίψας καὶ τὴν νύκτα ^[3] κρυφθεὶς, ὅμως ἐπειδὴ τοὺς τε σφαγέας ἐν τῷ ^[p. 342] Καπιτωλίῳ καὶ τὸν Λέπιδον ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ὄντα ἦσθετο, τὴν τε γερουσίαν ἐς τὸ τῆς Γῆς τέμενος ἤθροισε καὶ γνώμας ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων προέθηκε. καὶ εἰπον ἄλλοι τε ἄλλα, ὡς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἐγίνωνσκε, καὶ ὁ Κικέρων τάδε, οἷσπερ καὶ ἐπέισθησαν· 23. ‘αἰὲ μὲν ἔγωγε οἶμαι χρῆναι μηδένα μηδὲν μῆτε πρὸς χάριν μῆτε πρὸς φιλονεικίαν λέγειν, ἀλλ' ὁ βέλτιστος ἕκαστος εἶναι νομίζει, τοῦτ' ^[2] ἀποφαίνεσθαι. δεινὸν γὰρ εἰ τοὺς μὲν στρατηγοῦντας τοὺς θ' ὑπατεῦοντας πάντα ἀπὸ ὀρθῆς τῆς διανοίας ποιεῖν ἀξιώσομεν, κἂν ἄρα πως σφαλῶσιν, εὐθύνας παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς τύχης ἀπαιτήσομεν, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ βουλευέσθαι, ἐν ᾧ κυριώτατοι τῆς ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν γνώμης ἐσμέν, τὰ κοινῇ συμφέροντα τῶν ἰδίων ἔνεκα πλεονεξιῶν προησόμεθα. ^[3] αἰὲ μὲν δὴ διὰ ταῦτα, ὧ πατέρες, πάντα ἀπλῶς καὶ δικαίως ἡγοῦμαι δεῖν ἡμᾶς συμβουλεύειν ὑμῖν, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν, ἐν οἷς ἂν μὲν μηδὲν πολυπραγμονήσαντες ὁμονοήσωμεν, αὐτοὶ τε σωθῆσόμεθα καὶ ^[4] τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας περιποιήσωμεν, ἂν δ' ἀκριβῶς πάντα ἐξετάσαι ἐθέλῃσωμεν, δέδοικα μὴ κακῶς — δυσχερὲς δ' οὐδὲν ἀρχόμενος τῶν λόγων 24. εἰπεῖν βούλομαι. πρότερον μὲν γάρ, οὐκ ὀλίγος ἐξ οὗ χρόνος, οἱ τὰ ὄπλα ἔχοντες καὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἐγκρατεῖς ὡς τὸ πολὺ ἐγίνοντο, ὥστ' αὐτοὺς ὁ τι δεῖ βουλεύειν ὑμῖν ἐπιτάττειν, ἀλλ' ^[p. 344] οὐχ ὑμᾶς ὁ τι χρὴ πράττειν ἐκείνους προσκοπεῖν· ^[2] νῦν δ' ἐς τοῦτο καιροῦ πάνθ' ὡς εἰπεῖν τὰ πράγματα πάρεστιν ὥστε ἐφ' ὑμῖν τε αὐτὰ εἶναι καὶ ἐς ὑμᾶς ἀνακεῖσθαι, καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν ἦτοι τὴν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ μετὰ ταύτης τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἣ στάσεις καὶ πολέμους ἐμφυλίους αὖθις καὶ ^[3] ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ δεσπότην λαβεῖν. ὁ τι γὰρ ἂν τήμερον ψηφίσθητε, τούτῳ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ἀκολουθήσουσι. τούτων οὖν οὕτως, ὡς γε ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, ἐχόντων φημὶ δεῖν ἡμᾶς τὰς μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους

ἔχθρας ἢ φιλονεικίας, ἢ ὅπως ἂν τις αὐτὰς ὀνομάσῃ, καταλύσασθαι. πρὸς δὲ διή την παλαιὰν ἐκείνην εἰρήνην καὶ ^[4] φιλίαν καὶ ὁμόνοιαν ἐπανελθεῖν, ἐνθυμηθέντας τοῦτο γε, εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, ὅτι τέως μὲν ἐκείνως ἐπολιτευόμεθα, καὶ χώρας καὶ πλούτους καὶ δόξαν καὶ συμμάχους ἐκτησάμεθα, ἀφ' οὗ δὲ ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους κακὰ προήχθημεν, οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἀμείνους ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ χεῖρους ἐγενόμεθα. ^[5] καὶ ἔγωγε τοσοῦτου δέω νομίζειν ἄλλο τι σῶσαι ἂν ἐν τῷ παρόντι τὴν πόλιν, ὥστ' ἂν μὴ τι τήμερον καὶ ἤδη γε ὅτι τάχιστα προβουλεύσωμεν, οὐδ' ἀναλαβεῖν δυνησόμεθα. 25.

σκοπεῖτε δὲ ὡς ἀληθῆ λέγω, πρὸς τε τὰ παρόντα ἀπιδόντες καὶ τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἀναλογισάμενοι. ἢ οὐχ ὁρᾶτε μὲν τὰ γινόμενα, καὶ ὅτι διαιρεῖται τε καὶ περισπᾶται ὁ δῆμος αὖθις, καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα οἱ δὲ ἐκεῖνα προαιρούμενοι διχῇ τε ἤδη ^[p. 346] ^[2] νενέμηνται καὶ διχῇ στρατοπεδεύονται, καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸ Καπιτώλιον προκατελήφασιν ὥσπερ τινὰς Γαλάτας φοβούμενοι, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς πολιορκεῖν αὐτοὺς παρασκευάζονται καθάπερ Καρχηδόνιοι τινες ἀλλ' οὐ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ αὐτοὶ ^[3] ὄντες; οὐκ ἀκούετε δὲ ὅτι καὶ πρότερον πολλάκις διχογνωμονησάντων τινῶν ὥστε καὶ τὸν Ἀουεντίνον ποτε καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον, ἔστι δ' οὐς αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ὄρος κατασχεῖν, ὁσάκις μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις, ἢ καὶ βραχὺ τι συγχωρήσαντες οἱ ἕτεροι τοῖς ἐτέροις, κατηλλάγησαν, μισοῦντές ^[4] τε ἀλλήλους εὐθὺς ἐπαύσαντο, καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ὁμονοίᾳ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ χρόνου διήγαγον οὕτως ὥστε καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους πολέμους κοινῇ κατορθῶσαι: ὁσάκις δὲ διή πρὸς φόνους καὶ σφαγὰς ἐχώρησαν, οἱ μὲν δικαιώσαι τοῦ ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς προϋπάρξαντας, οἱ δὲ καὶ φιλονεικίᾳ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἐλασσοῦσθαι δοκεῖν ἀπατηθέντες, ^[5] οὐδὲν πώποτε χρηστὸν ἐγένετο; τί γὰρ δεῖ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἦττον ὑμᾶς εἰδότας τὸν Οὐαλέριον, τὸν Ὀράτιον, τὸν Σατορνῖνον, τὸν Γλαυκίαν, τοὺς Γράκχους λέγοντα διατρίβειν; τοιαῦτ' οὖν παραδείγματα, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀλλότρια ἀλλ' ^[6] οἰκεῖα ἔχοντες, μὴ μελλήσητε τὰ μὲν ζηλῶσαι τὰ δὲ φυλάξασθαι, ἀλλ' ἄτε ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων τὴν πεῖραν τῆς ἐκβάσεως ὦν βουλεύεσθε προειληφότες, μηκέτι τοὺς ἔμοῦς λόγους ὡς καὶ ῥήματα διασκοπεῖτε, ἀλλὰ τὰ τῷ κοινῷ διαφέροντα ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἤδη ὄντα θεωρεῖτε. ^[7] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀσφαεῖ τι ἐνθυμήσει τάφανές τῆς ^[p. 348] ἐλπίδος ἀναρρίψετε, ἀλλ' ἐχεγγύῳ πίστει τὸ βέβαιον τοῦ λογισμοῦ προνοήσετε. 26.

ὑπάρχει μὲν οὖν ὑμῖν τοῦθ', ὅπερ εἶπον, οἴκοθεν καὶ παρὰ τῶν προγόνων λαβοῦσιν ὁρθῶς βουλευσασθαι: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ ξενικοῖς παραδείγμασι χρῆσθαι ἠθέλησα, μυρία ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχων. ἐν δ' οὖν ὅμως τῆς ἀρίστης καὶ ἀρχαιοτάτης πόλεως, παρ' ἧς οὐδ' οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐπάγεσθαι τινὰς νόμους ἀπηξίωσαν, παρέξομαι: ^[2] καὶ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν ἂν εἴη τοσοῦτον ἡμᾶς καὶ τῇ ῥώμῃ καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπερέχοντας χεῖρον αὐτῶν βουλεύεσθαι. ἐκεῖνοι τοίνυν λέγω δὲ ὅ πάντες ἴστέ στασιάσαντές ποτε, καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καταπολεμηθέντες καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν δυνατωτέρων πολιτῶν ^[3] τυραννηθέντες, οὐ πρότερον ἀπηλλάγησαν τῶν κακῶν πρὶν συνθέσθαι καὶ διομολογήσασθαι τῶν τε συμβεβηκότων σφίσι, πολλῶν που

καὶ δεινῶν ὄντων, ἐπιλήσασθαι, καὶ μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μήτε ἐγκαλέσειν ποτὲ μήτε μνησικακήσειν [4] τινί. τοιγάρτοι σωφρονήσαντες οὕτως οὐχ ὅτι τυραννούμενοι καὶ στασιάζοντες ἐπαύσαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν εὐθένησαν καὶ τὴν τε πόλιν ἀνεκτήσαντο καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῆς ἀντεποιήσαντο, καὶ τέλος κύριοι καὶ σῶσαι καὶ ἀπολέσαι καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους αὐτοὺς καὶ [5] τοὺς Θηβαίους πολλάκις ἐγένοντο. καίτοι εἰ ἡθελήκεσαν ἐκεῖνοι οἱ τὴν Φυλὴν καταλαβόντες καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς κατελθόντες τιμωρήσασθαι [p. 350] τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡδίκηντο, εὖλογον μὲν ἂν πρᾶγμα πεποικηκέναι ἐδεδόχεσαν, πολλὰ δ' ἂν καὶ ἐδεδράκεσαν κακὰ καὶ ἐπεπόνθεσαν. [6] ὥσπερ γὰρ κρείττους αὐτῶν παρὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα ἐγένοντο, τάχ' ἂν τι καὶ ἡλαττώθησαν αὐθις. 27. οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις βέβαιον οὐδὲν, οὐδ' ἐξ ὧν ἰσχύει τις, πρὸς ἐπικράτησιν, ἀλλὰ πάμπολλοι μὲν θαρσοῦντες ἔπταισαν, πάμπολλοι δὲ ζητοῦντες ἀμύνασθαι τινα προσαπώλοντο. [2] οὕτε γὰρ τὸ πλεονεκτούμενον ἐν τινὶ πάντως εὐτυχεῖ, διότι καὶ ἀδικεῖται, οὔτε τὸ δυνάμει προὔχον πάντως κατορθοῖ, διότι καὶ προήκει, ἀλλ' ἀμφοτέρω ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης καὶ τῷ παραλόγῳ τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου καὶ τῷ ἀσταθμῇ τῆς τύχης ὑποκείμενα, καὶ τὴν ῥοπὴν πολλάκις οὐ πρὸς τὸ σφέτερον εὖελπι ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ ἐκείνων ἀδόκητον [3] λαμβάνει. ὅθεν ἕκ τε τούτων καὶ ἐκ τῆς φιλονεικίας ἴδμεν γὰρ ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος ἀδικηθεὶς ἢ νομίσας γε ἀδικεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ δυνάμιν θρασύνασθαι καὶ πολλοὶ πολλάκις καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἰσχὺν ἐπαίρονται διακινδυνεύειν ὥς καὶ κρατήσοντες ἢ [4] οὕτι γε καὶ ἀναιμωτὶ διολογούμενοι, καὶ οὕτω τὰ μὲν νικῶντες τὰ δὲ ἡττώμενοι, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ἀντεπικρατοῦντες ἄλλων τοτὲ δὲ ἀντελαττούμενοι, οἱ μὲν πασσοῦσιν ἀντιπύκνυνται, οἱ δὲ τὴν τε Καδμείαν λεγομένην νίκην νικῶσιν, καὶ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ, ὅτ' οὐδὲν ὄφελός ἐστιν, αἰσθάνονται ὅτι κακῶς ἐβουλεύσαντο. 28.

καὶ ὅτι ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔργῳ μεμαθήκατε. σκοπεῖτε δέ: ἰσχυρὴν τινα χρόνον [p. 352] ἐν τοῖς στασιωτικοῖς ὁ Μάριος, εἴτ' ἐκπεσὼν καὶ δυνάμιν ἀθροίσας ἴστε οἷα εἰργάσατο. ὁμοίως ὁ Σύλλας, ἵνα μὴ τὸν Κίνναν μηδὲ τὸν Στράβωνα μηδὲ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς διὰ μέσου καταλέγω, δυνηθεὶς τὴν πρώτην, εἴτ' ἐλαττωθεὶς, ἔπειτα δυναστεύσας οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐχὶ τῶν δεινοτάτων ἔπραξε. τί γὰρ δεῖ τὸν Μάριον τὸν δεῦτερον ἢ τὸν Κίνναν ἐκεῖνον αὐτὸν ἢ τὸν Κάρβωνα ὀνομάζειν; [2] μετὰ ταῦτα Λέπιδος ἰδίαν τέ τινα, ὥς δὴ καὶ τούτοις ἐπεξιὼν, στάσιν ἤγειρε, καὶ πᾶσαν ὀλίγου τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐτάραξεν. ὥς δ' ἀπῆλλαγμένον ποτε καὶ τούτου, μέμνησθε ὅσα αὖ καὶ οἷα πρὸς τε τοῦ Σερτωρίου καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων τῶν [3] μετ' αὐτοῦ φυγόντων ἐπάθομεν. τί δ' ὁ Πομπήιος, τί δ' ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς οὗτος; ἵνα μηδὲν ἐνταῦθα μήτε τοῦ Καπλίνου μήτε τοῦ Κλωδίου μνημονεύσω. οὐ πρότερον μὲν ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ταῦτα συγγενεῖς ὄντες, ἔπειτα μυρίων κακῶν οὐ μόνον τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἢ καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσαν ὥς εἶπεῖν τὴν οἰκουμένην [4] ἀνέπλησαν; ἄρ' οὖν μετὰ τε τὸν τοῦ Πομπηίου θάνατον καὶ τὸν πολὺν ἐκεῖνον τῶν πολιτῶν ὀλεθρον ἡσυχία τις ἐγένετο; πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. οἶδε δὲ ἡ Ἀφρική, οἶδεν ἡ Ἰβηρία τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐκατέρωθι ἀπολομένων. [5] τί οὖν; ἐπὶ γε τούτοις εἰρηνήσαμεν;

καὶ πῶς; ὁπότε κεῖται μὲν αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ οὕτω σφαγεῖς, κατέχεται δὲ τὸ Καπιτώλιον, καὶ πεπλήρωται μὲν ἡ ἀγορὰ τῶν ὅπλων, πεπλήρωται δὲ καὶ πᾶσα ^[p. 354] 29. ἡ πόλις τοῦ φόβου. οὕτως ἐπειδὴν ἄρξονται τινες στασιάζειν, καὶ τὰ βίαια αἰεὶ τοῖς βιαιοῖς ἀμύνεσθαι ζητῶσι, καὶ τὰς τιμωρίας μῆτε πρὸς τὸ ἐπικεῖν μῆτε πρὸς τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἀλλὰ πρὸς τε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων ποιῶνται, κύκλος τις ἐξ ἀνάγκης αἰεὶ τῶν κακῶν γίνεταί καὶ ἀνταποδόσεις ἐκ διαδοχῆς τῶν ^[2] δεινῶν συμβαίνει. τὸ τε γὰρ εὐτυχῆσαν ὕβρει τε πλεονάζει καὶ οὐδὲνα ὅρον τῆς πλεονεξίας ποιεῖται, καὶ τὸ παῖσαν ὀργῇ τῆς συμφορᾶς, ἂν γε μὴ παραχρῆμα ἀπόληται, ἀντιτιμωρήσασθαι τὸν ἀδικήσαντα ἐπιθυμεῖ μέχρις ἂν τὸν θυμὸν ἐκπλήσῃ. ^[3] καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος, κἂν μὴ συμμετάσχη τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλὰ τότε γε τῷ τε ἐλέῳ τοῦ νενικημένου καὶ τῷ φθόνῳ τοῦ κεκρατηκότος, δεῖσάν τε ἅμα μὴ καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκείνῳ πάθῃ, καὶ ἐλπίσαν τὰ αὐτὰ τοῦτω δράσειν, ^[4] συναίρεται. καὶ οὕτω καὶ τὰ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν στασιάζειν προάγεται, καὶ ἄλλοι τε ἐπ' ἄλλοις τὸ κακόν, προφάσει τιμωρίας τῶν αἰεὶ ἐλαττουμένων, ὥσπερ τι ἔννομον καὶ ἐγκύκλιον πρᾶγμα, ἀνταμυνόμενοι διαδέχονται, καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ὡς ἕκαστοι ἀπαλλάσσουσι, τὸ δὲ δὴ κοινὸν ἐξ 30. ἅπαντος τρόπου φθείρουσιν. ἢ οὐχ ὁρᾶτε πόσον μὲν χρόνον κατατετρίμμεθα πολεμοῦντες ἀλλήλοις, ὅσα δὲ καὶ οἷα ἐν αὐτῷ πεπόνθαμεν, καὶ ὃ γε ἔτι τοῦτου δεινότερόν ἐστι, καὶ δεδράκαμεν; ^[2] καὶ τίς ἂν ἀριθμῆσαι δύναίτο τὸ πλῆθος τῶν χρημάτων ἃ τοὺς τε συμμάχους περιδύοντες καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς περισυλῶντες, καὶ προσέτι καὶ αὐτοὶ ^[p. 356] ἐξ ὧν οὐκ εἴχομεν συνεσφέροντες, ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ^[3] δεδασπνήμεθα; τίς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀπολωλότων, οὐχ ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων, ἐπεὶ τοῦτο γ' ἀνεξεύρετόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν, ὧν εἷς ἕκαστος καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ἐν τοῖς ὀθνεῖοις πολέμοις σῶσαι ^[4] καὶ ζῶν καὶ ἀποθανῶν ἐδύνατο; πόσοι μὲν γὰρ Κούρτιοι, πόσοι δὲ Δέκιοι Φάβιοι Γράκχοι Μάρκελλοι Σκιπίωνες τεθνήκασιν; οὐ μὰ Δι' οὐχ ἵνα Σαυνίτας ἢ Λατίνους ἢ Ἴβηρας ἢ Καρχηδονίους ἀμύνωνται, ἀλλ' ἵνα ... καὶ αὐτοὶ προσαπώλωνται. ^[5] καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις τετελευτηκότων, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἐκείνων ὀδύραιτο ἂν τις, ἀλλ' ἡττόν γε ἄξιόν ἐστιν ὀλοφύρασθαι: ἔς τε γὰρ τὰς μάχας ἐθελονταί, εἶγε ἐθελοντὰς τοὺς ἀναγκασθέντας φόβῳ καλεῖν δεῖ, ἦλθον, καὶ θάνατον εἰ καὶ ἄδικον ἀλλὰ ἀνδρεῖόν γε ὑπέμειναν, ἔν τε ἀγῶνι ἰσοπαλεῖ καὶ ἐν ἐλπίδι τοῦ κἂν περιγενέσθαι ^[6] καὶ κρατῆσαι ἔπεσον ἀναισθητῶς. τοὺς δὲ ἔν τε ταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς τῇ τε ἀγορᾷ τῷ τε βουλευτηρίῳ αὐτῷ τῷ τε Καπιτωλίῳ αὐτῷ βιαίως, οὐχ ὅπως ἄνδρας ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκας, οὐχ ὅπως ἀκμάζοντας ἀλλὰ καὶ γέροντας καὶ παῖδας, οἰκτρῶς ἐξολωλότας πῶς ἂν τις κατ' ἀξίαν θρηνήσῃ; ^[7] καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα οἷα καὶ ὅσα οὐτ' αὐτοὶ ποτε πρὸς πάντων ἅμα τῶν πολεμίων ἐπάθομεν οὐτε ἐκείνους ἐδράσαμεν, διατιθέντες ἀλλήλους οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἀχθόμεθα, οὐδ' ἀπαλλαγῆναι ποτε αὐτῶν ἀνδρικῶς ἐθέλομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαίρομεν καὶ ἐορτάζομεν καὶ εὐεργέτας τοὺς ποιοῦντας ^[p. 358] ^[8] οὖντας αὐτὰ ὀνομάζομεν: καίτοι ἔγωγε οὐδ' ἀνθρώπινόν τινα βίον ἡγοῦμαι τοῦτον ἡμᾶς βεβιωκέναι, ἀλλὰ τινων

καὶ τὰ μὲν ἤδη συμβεβηκότα τί ἂν ἐπὶ πλέον ὀδυραίμεθα; οὐ γάρ που καὶ ἀγένητα ἂν αὐτὰ ποιησάμεθα: τῶν δὲ δὴ μελλόντων προιδώμεθα: [2] διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ ἐκείνων ἐμνημόνευσα, οὐχ ἵνα τὰς κοινὰς συμφοράς, ἅς γε μηδὲ γενέσθαι ὠφελε, καταλέξω, ἀλλ' ἵν' ὑμᾶς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀναπείσω τὰ γούν λοιπὰ διασῶσαι: τοῦτο γὰρ ἂν τις 100 μόνον τῶν κακῶν ἀπόναιτο, τὸ μηδὲν αὐθις ὁμοίον σφίσι [3] παθεῖν φυλάξασθαι. ἔξεστι δὲ τοῦθ' ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι μάλιστα ποιῆσαι, ἔως ἔτι τὸ δεινὸν ἄρχεται καὶ οὔτε πολλοὶ πω 101 συνεστήκασιν, οἳ τε κεκινημένοι οὔτε πεπλευνεκτήκασιν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων οὔτ' ἡλάττωνται, ὥστ' ἡ 102 ἐλπίδι τοῦ κρείττονος ἡ 103 ὀργῇ τοῦ καταδεεστέρου καὶ παρὰ τὸ συμφέρον σφίσιν ἀπερισκέπτως κινδυνεύσαι προαχθῆναι. [4] καὶ τοῦτο μέντοι τηλικοῦτο ὃν 104 κατορθώσετε μήτε πόνον τινὰ πονήσαντες μήτε κινδυνεύσαντες, μὴ χρήματα ἀναλώσαντες, μὴ σφαγὰς ποιήσαντες, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον ψηφισάμενοι, 32. μὴ μνησικακεῖν ἀλλήλοις. εἰ γάρ τοι τίνα καὶ ἡμάρτηται τισιν, ἀλλ' οὔτι γε καιρὸς ἐστὶν οὔτε πολυπραγμονῆσαι αὐτὰ οὔτε ἐξελέγξει οὔτε τιμωρῆσασθαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ δικάζετε τισιν ἐν 105 τῷ παρόντι, ὥστε τὸ 106 πάνυ ἀκριβὲς δίκαιον ζητηθῆναι δεῖν, ἀλλὰ βουλευέσθε περὶ τῶν ἐνεστηκότων, [p. 360] [2] ὅπως ὥς ἀσφαλέστατα καταστή. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἂν ὑπάρξειεν ἡμῖν, εἰ μὴ τι παρίδοιμεν, ὥσπερ που καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν παίδων ποιεῖν εἰώθαμεν. οὔτε γὰρ πάντα ἀκριβῶς ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐκλογιζόμεθα, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ παρορῶμεν ἀναγκαιῶς: τῶν γὰρ μετρίων ἁμαρτημάτων ἔνεκα οὐδέν' 107 ἀνηκέστως δεῖ [3] κολάζειν, ἀλλὰ πρῶως σωφρονίζειν. καὶ νῦν οὖν, ἅτε καὶ κοινοὶ παντὸς τοῦ δήμου πατέρες οὐ μόνον ὀνομαζόμενοι ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀληθῶς ὄντες, μὴ καὶ πάντα ἀκριβολογώμεθα, ἵνα μὴ καὶ πάντες ἀπολώμεθα, ἐπεὶ τοι πολλὰ μὲν ἂν τις καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Καίσαρι ἐγκαλέσειεν, ὥστε καὶ δικαίως αὐτὸν [4] πεφονεύσθαι δόξαι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀποκτείναντας αὐτὸν αἰτιάσαιτο, ὥστε καὶ τιμωρίας αὐτοὺς ἀξίους εἶναι νομισθῆναι. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἔργον ἐστὶ στασιάσαι αὐθις ἐπιθυμούντων: δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ὀρθῶς βουλευομένους μὴ τὸ πάντῃ δίκαιον ἐξακριβοῦντας βλάπτεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ [5] ἐπιεικεῖ προσχρωμένους σώζεσθαι. ὥστε τὰ μὲν γεγενημένα ταῦτα χαλάζης τέ τινος καὶ κατακλυσμοῦ τρόπον συμβεβηκέναι νομίσαντες λήθη παράδοτε: γνωρίσαντες δὲ νῦν γε ἀλλήλους, ἅτε καὶ ὁμόφυλοι καὶ πολῖται συγγενεῖς τε ὄντες, ὁμονοήσατε. 33.

καὶ ὅπως γε μηδεὶς ὑμῶν ὑποπτεύσῃ με χαρίσασθαι τι τοῖς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀποκτείνουσιν, ἵνα μὴ δίκην δῶσιν, ὅτι ποτὲ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Πομπηίου μερίδι [2] ἐγενόμην, βούλεσθαι, 108 ἐν τῇ ὑμῖν ἐρῷ. καὶ γάρ τοι καὶ νομίζω πάντας ὑμᾶς πεπεισθαι σαφῶς ὅτι οὔτε φιλίαν οὔτε ἔχθραν πρὸς οὐδένα πώποτε δι' ἑμαυτὸν ἀνελόμην, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ πάντας ὑμῶν ἔνεκα [p. 362] καὶ τῆς κοινῆς καὶ ἐλευθερίας καὶ ὁμονοίας τοὺς μὲν ἐμίσησα τοὺς δὲ ἡγάπησα. δι' οὖν τοῦτο 109 τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐάσω, βραχὺ δὲ τὴν ὑμῖν μόνον φράσω. [3] τοσοῦτου γὰρ δέω τοῦτο ποιεῖν καὶ μὴ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας προσκοπεῖν, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ἐτέροις

οὐχ ὅτι τὴν ἄδειαν ἀπάντων ὧν ἐπιπολάσαντες ἐπὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔξω τοῦ καθεστηκότος ἐποίησαν δοθῆναι φημι χρῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς δωρεάς, ὅσας ἔλαβον παρ' αὐτοῦ, καίπερ οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενός τισιν αὐτῶν, φυλαχθῆναι. ^[4] πρᾶξαι μὲν γὰρ ἔτι 110 καὶ προχειρίσασθαι τι τοιοῦτον οὐκ ἂν ὑμῖν συμβουλευσάμι: ἐπειδὴ δὲ γέγονεν, οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐκείνων οἶμαι δεῖν ὑμᾶς πολυπραγμονῆσαι. τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ ζημιωθείτε τοσοῦτον, ἂν τι 111 ὁ δεῖνα ἢ ὁ δεῖνα ἔξω τοῦ δικαίου καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν λαβὼν ἔχη, ὅσον ὠφεληθείητε μῆτε φόβον μῆτε ταραχὴν τοῖς γε δυνηθεῖσι τότε παρασχόντες; ^[5]

ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πρὸς τὸ κατεπεῖγον ἤδη λέγω: ἐπειδὴ δὲ καταστῇ τὰ πράγματα, τότε καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν σκεψώμεθα.

‘ 34. Κικέρων μὲν τοιαῦτα εἰπὼν ἔπεισε τὴν γερουσίαν μηδὲνα μηδενὶ μνησικακῆσαι ψηφίσασθαι: ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς ὑπέσχοντο τοῖς στρατιώταις μηδὲν τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ^[2] πραχθέντων καταλύσειν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δεινῶς αὐτοὺς ἀγανακτοῦντας ἦσθοντο μὴ καὶ τῶν δοθέντων σφίσις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ στερηθῶσιν, ἔσπευσαν, πρὶν καὶ ὅτιοῦν τὴν βουλὴν διαγνῶναι, προκαταλαβεῖν ^[p. 364] αὐτούς, κἄκ τούτου τοὺς τε παρόντας αὐτοῦ κάτω προκαλοῦντες ἐς ἐπήκοον διελέγοντό ^[3] σφίσι τὰ προσήκοντα, καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν γράμματα καταπέμποντες ἐπηγγέλλοντο μὴτ' 112 ἀφαιρήσεσθαι 113 μηδὲνα μηδὲν μὴτ' ἄλλως λυπησεῖν, τὸ τε κῦρος σύμπασι 114 τοῖς πραχθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκβεβαιοῦν: καὶ ἐς τὴν ὁμόνοιαν αὐτοὺς προετρέποντο, 115 ὅρκοις τοῖς μεγίστοις ἢ μὴν ἀπευδῆσειν ^[4] πάντα πιστοῦμενοι. ὥς οὖν καὶ τὰ τῇ βουλῇ δόξαντα διηγγέλη, οὔτε οἱ στρατιῶται τῷ Λεπίδῳ ἔτι προσεῖχον οὔτε ἐκεῖνοι δέος τι αὐτοῦ ἔσχον, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰς καταλλαγάς, τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τὰ μάλιστα ἐνάγοντός σφας, καὶ παρὰ τὴν γνώμην ^[5] αὐτοῦ ὥρμησαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Λέπιδος πρόσχημα τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος τιμωρίαν ποιούμενος νεωτέρων πραγμάτων ἐπεθύμει, καὶ ἅτε καὶ στρατεύματα ἔχων τὴν τε δυναστείαν αὐτοῦ διαδέξεσθαι 116 καὶ ἐν κράτει γενήσεσθαι προσεδόκα, καὶ διὰ ταῦτ' ^[6] ἐπολεμοποιεῖ: ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος τὰ τε ἐκείνου τοιαῦθ' ὀρῶν ὄντα, καὶ αὐτὸς μηδεμίαν ἰσχὺν περιβεβλημένος, οὔτε τι ἐτόλμησε τότε γε νεοχμῶσαι, καὶ τὸν Λέπιδον ἡττηθῆναι τοῦ πλείονος, ἵνα μὴ μεῖζων γένηται, προσανέπεισεν. συνέβησαν μὲν οὖν ἐφ' οἷσπερ ἐψήφιστο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ πρότερον οἱ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ὄντες κατέβησαν πρὶν τὸν τε τοῦ Λεπίδου καὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου παῖδα ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ λαβεῖν. καὶ Βροῦτος μὲν πρὸς τὸν ^[7] Λέπιδον ‘καὶ γὰρ ἐν γένει αὐτῷ ἦν’, Κάσσιος δὲ ^[p. 366] πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπ' ἀσφαλεία ... 117 συνδειπνούντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἄλλα τε, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ, πολλὰ ἐλέγετο, καὶ ἐπῆρετο τὸν Κάσσιον ὁ Ἀντώνιος ‘ἄρά γε καὶ νῦν ξιφιδιὸν τι ὑπὸ μάλης 118 ἔχεις;’ καὶ ὁ ‘μᾶλα’ ἔφη ‘μέγα, ἂν γε καὶ σὺ τυραννῆσαι ἐπιθυμήσης.’ 35. τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐπράχθη, καὶ δεινὸν οὐδὲν οὔτε ἐγίγνετο οὔτε ἠλπιζετο, ἀλλ' οἱ τε πολλοὶ ἔχαιρον τῆς 119 δυναστείας τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀπηλλαγμένοι ‘καὶ τινες καὶ ἄταφον τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ῥίψαι

ἐνενόουν', καὶ ἐκεῖνοι εὐθυμοῦντο μήτε προσπεριεργαζόμενοι τι καὶ ἐλευθερωταὶ ^[2] τυραννοφόνοι τε ὀνομαζόμενοι. τῆς δὲ διαθήκης αὐτοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναγνωσθείσης, μαθὼν ὁ δῆμος ὅτι τὸν τε Ὀκτάουιον υἱὸν πεποιήται, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον τὸν τε Δέκιμον καὶ τινὰς ἄλλους τῶν σφαγῶν ἐπιτρόπους τε αὐτοῦ καὶ κληρονόμους τῆς οὐσίας, ἃν γε μὴ ἐς ἐκεῖνον ἔλθῃ, 120 καταλέλοιπε, ^[3] καὶ προσέτι καὶ δωρεὰς ἄλλοις τέ τινας καὶ τῇ πόλει τοὺς τε κήπους τοὺς παρὰ τὸν Τίβεριν καὶ δραχμάς, ὡς μὲν αὐτὸς ὁ Ὀκτάουιος γράφει, τριάκοντα, ὡς δὲ ἕτεροι, πέντε καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα ἐκάστω σφῶν δοθῆναι κεκέλευκεν, ἐταράχθησαν. ^[4] καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπιπαρώξυνε, τὸν τε νεκρὸν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀνοητότατα 121 κομίσας, καὶ προθέμενος ἡματωμένον τε, ὥσπερ εἶχε, καὶ τραύματα ἐκφαίνοντα, καὶ τινὰ καὶ λόγον ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ἄλλως μὲν 122 περικαλλῇ καὶ λαμπρῶν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ^[p. 368] συμφέροντα τοῖς τότε παροῦσιν, εἰπὼν. ἔλεξε γὰρ τοιάδε: 36. 'εἰ μὲν οὗτος ἰδιωτεύων ἐτεθνήκει κἀγὼ ἐν ἰδιωτείᾳ ὦν ἐτύγχανον, οὐτ' ἂν πολλῶν, ὧ Κυριῖται, λόγων ἐδέηθην, οὐτ' ἂν πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπραγμένοις ἐπεξηλθον, ἀλλ' ὀλίγα ἂν περὶ τοῦ γένους καὶ περὶ τῆς παιδείας τῶν τε τρόπων αὐτοῦ εἰπὼν, καὶ πῃ καὶ τῶν ἐς τὸ κοινὸν αὐτῷ πεπολιτευμένων μνησθεῖς, ἡρκέσθην, ἵνα μὴ καὶ δι' ὅχλου τοῖς οὐδὲν οἱ προσήκουσι γένωμαι. ^[2] ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὗτος τε τὴν μεγίστην ἐν ὑμῖν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχων ἀπόλωλε καὶ ἐγὼ τὴν δευτέραν ἄρχω λαβὼν, τὸν τε λόγον ἀνάγκη μοι διπλοῦν, τὸν μὲν ὡς κληρονόμῳ γεγραμμένῳ τὸν δὲ ὡς ἄρχοντι, ποιήσασθαι, καὶ μὴδ' ὅτιοῦν τῶν λεχθῆναι ὀφειλόντων παραλιπεῖν, ἀλλ' ἅπερ ἂν ὁ σύμπας δῆμος ἀπὸ μιᾶς γλώσσης, εἶγε μίαν ^[3] φωνὴν ἡδυνήθη λαβεῖν, ὕμνησεν, εἰπεῖν. εὖ μὲν γὰρ οἶδα τοῦθ', ὅτι χαλεπὸν ἐστὶ τῆς διανοίας ὑμῶν τυχεῖν. ἄλλως τε γὰρ οὐ ῥᾶδιον τῶν τηλικούτων ἐφικέσθαι: τίς γὰρ ἂν λόγος ἔργοις μεγάλοις ἐξισωθεῖ; καὶ ὑμεῖς τὰ βουλήματα ἅπληστα ἐξ ὧν σύνιστε ἔχοντες οὐκ εὐχερεῖς ^[4] αὐτῶν κριταὶ γενήσεσθε. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἀγνώσῃ τισιν οἱ λόγοι ἐγίνοντο, ῥᾶστον ἂν ἦν αὐτοὺς τῷ γε 123 μεγέθει τῶν ἔργων ἐκπλήξαντα πεῖσαι: νῦν δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ συνήθους ἔλαττον ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ 124 πᾶν τὸ λεχθησόμενον τοῦ πεπραγμένου νομισθῆναι. ^[5] οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἁλλότριοι, κἂν ἀπιστήσωσιν αὐτοῖς διὰ φθόνον, ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γε ἐκείνου πᾶν τὸ ^[p. 370] ἀκουσθὲν αὐταρκες ἡγοῦνται: τὸ δὲ ὑμέτερον ἀκόρεστον ὑπὸ τῆς εὐνοίας ἐξ ἀνάγκης γίνεταί. τῶν γὰρ ἀρετῶν τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτοὶ πλεῖστον ἀπολελευκότες καὶ τὸν ἔπαινον αὐτῶν οὐ φθονερώς, ὡς οὐδὲν προσήκοντα, ἀλλ' εὐμενῶς, ^[6] ὡς οἰκεῖον, ἀπαιτεῖτε. σπουδάσω δ' οὖν ἐπὶ μακρότατον τὰς βουλήσεις ὑμῶν ἀποπληρῶσαι, εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι οὐ πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν μου τῶν λόγων καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἐξετάσετε, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς προθυμίας καὶ τὸ κατ' ἐκείνην ἐνδεὲς ἀνισώσετε. 125 37.

λέξω δὲ περὶ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ πρῶτον, οὐχ ὅτι λαμπρότατόν ἐστι: καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο οὐ σμικρὸν ἐς ἀρετῆς φύσιν φέρει, τὸ μήτε ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου τινὰ ἀλλ' ἐκ παρασκευῆς συγγενοῦς ^[2] ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐξ εὐγενῶν φύντες δύναιτο μὲν ἂν καὶ προσποιοιτῶς ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι,

δύναιτο δ' ἂν καὶ ἐλεγχθῆναι ποτε ἐς τὸ κακογενὲς ὑπὸ τοῦ συμφύτου: ὅσοις δὲ ἄνωθεν ἐκ πολλοῦ σπέρμα ἀνδραγαθίας ὑπάρχει, πᾶσα αὐτοῦς ἀνάγκη καὶ αὐτόφυτον καὶ ^[3] διαρκῆ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχειν. οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ἔγωγε οὐ τοῦτο μάλιστα νῦν ἐπαίνῳ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὅτι τὰ μὲν νεώτατα ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ γενναίων ἀνδρῶν ἔφυ, τὰ δὲ ἀρχαιότατα ἐκ βασιλέων καὶ θεῶν ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν ὅλης συγγενῆς ἐστὶν ἕκ γὰρ ὧν οὗτος ἐγεννήθη, πρὸς ^[4] τούτων ἡμεῖς ὠκίσθημεν', ἐπειθ' ὅτι τῶν προπατόρων αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸ θεῖον δι' ἀρετὴν ἀνήκειν νομισθέντων οὐχ ὅπως ἐπηλήθευσεν τὴν ^[p. 372] φήμην, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπηύξησεν, ὥστ' εἰ καὶ τις ἡμφεσβῆται 126 πρότερον μήποτ' ἂν ἐκ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τὸν Αἰνείαν γενέσθαι, νῦν δὴ πιστευσάτω. ^[5] θεοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἤδη τινὲς οὐκ ἄξιοι παῖδες ἐπεφημισθησαν: τούτου δὲ οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ἀπαξιώσειεν θεοὺς τοὺς προγόνους γεγονέναι. ἐβασίλευσε μὲν γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Αἰνείας καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων αὐτοῦ τινες: τοσοῦτω δὲ οὗτος ἀμείνων ἐκείνων ἐγένετο ὅσω οἱ μὲν Λαουινίου 127 καὶ ^[6] Ἀλβης ἐμονάρχησαν, οὗτος δὲ τῆς Ρώμης οὐκ ἠθέλησε βασιλεῦσαι, καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν κρηπίδα τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν προκατεβάλοντο, οὗτος δὲ ἐς τοσοῦτον αὐτὴν ἐπῆρεν ὥστε τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ἀποικίας μείζους ὧν ἐκεῖνοι πόλεων ἐβασίλευσαν καταστήσασθαι. 38.

τὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ γένους οὕτως αὐτῷ ἔχει: ὅτι δὲ δὴ τὴν τε τροφήν καὶ τὴν παιδείαν ἀκόλουθον τῷ τῆς εὐγενείας ὄγκῳ ἔλαβε, πῶς ἂν τις μᾶλλον κατανοήσειεν ἢ οἷς τὰ ἔργα πιστὴν ἀναγκαίαν ^[2] αὐτῷ παρέχεται; ᾧ γὰρ τὸ τε σῶμα διαρκέστατον καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ πολυαρκεστάτη πρὸς πάνθ' ὁμοίως καὶ τὰ εἰρηναῖα καὶ τὰ πολέμια διαφανῶς 128 ὑπῆρξε, πῶς οὐκ ἀνάγκη τοῦτον καὶ τεθράφθαι 129 ἄριστα; καίτοι χαλεπὸν μὲν περικαλλέστατόν τινα ἀνδρῶν ὄντα καρτερικώτατον γενέσθαι, ^[3] χαλεπὸν δὲ ἰσχυριζόμενόν τινα 130 τῷ σώματι φρονιμώτατον ἐκβῆναι, παγχάλεπον δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις διαπρέψαι. οὗτός γε 131 μὴν — λέγω δὲ ἐν εἰδόσιν, ὥστε μήτε ^[p. 374] τι ἀρχὴν ψεύσασθαι, καὶ γὰρ ἂν αὐτόφωρος ἀλiskoίμην, μήτε ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον ὀγκῶσαι, καὶ γὰρ ἂν 132 ἐς τοῦναντίον οὗ βούλομαι 133 καθισταίμην. ^[4] αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ἀλαζονεύεσθαι δικαιοτάτα, ἂν γέ τι τοιοῦτο 134 ποιήσω, ὑποπτευθήσομαι, καὶ τὴν τούτου ἀρετὴν ἐλάσσω τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ παρ' ὑμῖν δόξης φαίνεσθαι ποιεῖν νομισθήσομαι. πᾶς γὰρ λόγος ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε λεγόμενος, κἂν τὸ βραχύτατον ψεύδους 135 προσλάβῃ, οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἔπαινον αὐτῷ φέρει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔλεγχον αὐτοῦ ^[5] ἔχει: τὸ γὰρ συνειδὸς τῶν ἀκρωμένων, οὐχ ὁμολογοῦν τῷ πεπλασμένῳ, πρὸς τε τὴν ἀλήθειαν φέρεται, καὶ τάχα ἀρκεσθὲν αὐτῇ μανθάνει τε ἅμα ὁποῖόν τινα ἐχρῆν εἶναι, καὶ παραβάλλον ἐκάτερα καταφωρᾷ τὸ λεῖπον. ἀληθεύων οὖν λέγω τοῦθ', ὅτι ὁ Καῖσαρ οὗτος τὸ τε σῶμα ἅμα ἱκανώτατος ^[6] καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν εὐκολώτατος ἐγένετο. τῇ τε γὰρ τῆς φύσεως ἰσχύι θαυμαστῇ ἐκέχρητο, καὶ παιδείᾳ παντοδαπῇ ἀκριβῶς ἥσκητο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπαικίως καὶ γνῶναι πᾶν τὸ δέον ὀξύτατα καὶ ἐρμηνεύσαι πιθανώτατα διαθέσθαι τε καὶ διοικῆσαι φρονιμώτατα αἰεὶ ἡδυνήθη, καὶ οὔτε τις αὐτὸν καιροῦ ῥοπή αἰφνιδίως οἱ προσπεσοῦσα προκατέλαβεν, οὔτ' ἀπόρρητος

μέλλησις χρονίσασα^[7] διέλαθε. 136 πάντα γὰρ αἰεὶ πρὶν ἐπαρτηθῆναι 137 καὶ προδιεγίνωσκε, καὶ πρὸς πάντα τὰ συμβῆναι τι 138 δυνάμενα προπαρεσκεύαστο: τὸ ^[p. 376] τε κρυπτόμενον ἰσχυρῶς ἀνευρεῖν καὶ τὸ φαινόμενον πιθανῶς ψευδαγνοεῖν, τὸ τε λανθάνον 139 εἰδέναι προσποιήσασθαι καὶ τὸ γινγνωσκόμενον^[8] ἀποκρύψασθαι, τοὺς τε καιροὺς σφισιν ἐφαρμόσαι καὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπιτελέσαι καὶ ἐπεξελεθεῖν πάνθ' ὡς ἕκαστα καλῶς ἡπίστατο. 39. τεκμήριον δέ, τὰ τε ἴδια εὐοικότατος τε ἅμα καὶ εὐδαπανώτατος ἐγένετο, ἀκριβῆς μὲν ὢν ἐς τὸ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα διαρκῶς φυλάξαι, δαψιλῆς δὲ ἐς τὸ τὰ προσήκοντα ἀφειδῶς ἀναλῶσαι, καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς πάντας πλὴν τῶν ἀνοσιωτάτων^[2] ἰσχυρῶς ἠγάπησεν: οὔτε γὰρ δυστυχήσαντά τινα αὐτῶν ὑπερεῖδεν οὔτε εὐτυχήσαντί τινι ἐφθόνησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτοις τὰ προὑπάρχοντα συνεπηύξησε καὶ ἐκείνοις τὰ ἐλλείποντα ἀνεπλήρωσε, τοῖς μὲν χρήματα τοῖς δὲ χωρία τοῖς δὲ ἀρχὰς^[3] τοῖς δὲ ἱερωσύναις δούς. καὶ μέντοι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς προσομιλοῦντάς οἱ θαυμαστῶς προσεφέρετο: οὔτε γὰρ ὑπερεφρόνει τινὰ αὐτῶν οὔθ' ὕβριζεν, ἀλλ' εὐπροσήγορος πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ὢν τοὺς τε ὑπουργοῦντάς τι πολλαπλασίως ἡμείβετο καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς εὐεργεσίαις ἀνηρτᾶτο, καὶ οὔτε λαμπρυνόμενόν τινα ἐβάσκηνέ ποτε οὔτ' αὐξανόμενον ἐταπείνωσεν,^[4] ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς διὰ πάντων σφῶν καὶ μεγαλυνόμενος καὶ ἰσχὺν καὶ κόσμον προσκτώμενος, ἔχαιρε πλείστους ἑαυτῷ παρισουμένους. τοιοῦτος μέντοι περὶ τοὺς φίλους καὶ περὶ τοὺς γνωρίμους ὢν οὐδ' ἐς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὠμὸς οὐδ' ^[p. 378] ^[5] ἀπαραίτητος ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς μὲν καὶ τῶν ἰδία τι προσκρουσάντων οἱ ἀθῶους ἀφῆκε, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν προσπολεμησάντων ἀπέλυσεν, καὶ τισιν αὐτῶν καὶ τιμὰς καὶ ἀρχὰς ἔδωκεν. οὕτω που πᾶς πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἐπεφύκει, καὶ κακίαν οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς οὐκ εἶχεν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν ἄλλῳ τινὶ ἐνεῖναι ἐπίστευεν. 40.

ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς τοὺτους τοὺς λόγους ἀφικόμην, 140 ἄρξομαι περὶ τῶν κοινῶν αὐτοῦ πολιτευμάτων λέγειν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ ἐβεβιώκει, τάχ' ἂν ἀνέλεγκτον 141 τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔσχεν: νῦν δὲ ἐπὶ πλείστον αὐξηθεῖς, καὶ μέγιστος οὐχ ὅτι τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων τῶν τι δυνηθέντων γενόμενος, ἐκπρεπέστερον^[2] αὐτὴν ἐπεδείξατο. 142 ἐκείνους μὲν γὰρ σχεδὸν τι πάντας αὕτη ἡ ἐξουσία διήλεγξε, τοῦτον δὲ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἐξέφηνε. τῷ γὰρ μεγέθει τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντιπάλους πράξεις λαβὼν ἰσοστάσις αὐταῖς ἠῦρέθη, καὶ μόνος ἀνθρώπων τηλικαύτην αὐτῷ τύχην ἐξ ἀνδραγαθίας κτησάμενος οὔτε διέβαλεν^[3] αὐτὴν οὔθ' ὕβρισεν. ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἄλλως στρατευόμενος ἐλαμπρύνετο, ἢ ὅσα ἐν ταῖς ἐγκυκλίαις λειτουργίαις ἐμεγαλοφρονήσατο, παραλείψω, καίπερ τοσαῦτα ὄντα ὥστ' ἄλλῳ τινὶ καὶ πάνυ ἂν ἐς ἔπαινον ἐξαρκέσαι: πρὸς γὰρ τοι τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ ἔργων σμικρολογεῖσθαι δοξῶ, ἂν καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἀκριβῶς ἐπεξίω: ὅσα δὲ δὴ ἄρχων 143 ὑμῶν ἔπραξε, ταῦτ' ^[p. 380] ^[4] ἐρῶ μόνον. καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα μέντοι πάντα καθ' ἕκαστον ἀκριβῶς διηγῆσομαι: οὔτε γὰρ ἐξικέσθαι ποτ' ἂν αὐτῶν δυνηθῆην, καὶ πάμπολυν ἂν ὑμῖν ὄχλον ἄλλως τε καὶ εἰδόσι ταῦτα

ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ οὗτος πρῶτον μὲν πάντων στρατηγήσας ἐν Ἰβηρία, καὶ ὑπουλον αὐτὴν εὐρών, οὐ περιεῖδ' ἐσφας ὑπὸ τῷ τῆς εἰρήνης ὀνόματι ἀνανταγωνίστους γιγνομένους, οὐδ' εἴλετο αὐτὸς 144 ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνον διαγενεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ κοινῇ συμφέροντα πράξει, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ περ ἐκόντες οὐ μετεμέλοντο, καὶ ἄκοντάς σφας ἐσωφρόνισεν, [2] ὥστε καὶ τοὺς πρότερόν ποτε εὐδοκίμησαντας κατ' αὐτῶν τοσοῦτον ὑπερβαλέσθαι ὅσον τὸ φυλάξει τι τοῦ κτήσασθαι χαλεπώτερόν ἐστι, καὶ τὸ μὴδ' αὐθις ποτε νεωτερίσαι τινὰς δυνηθῆναι ἐξεργάσασθαι τοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπηκόους αὐτοὺς, ἀκεραίου τῆς δυνάμεως σφισιν οὔσης, [3] ποιήσασθαι λυσιτελέστερον. τοιγάρτοι καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐψηφίσασθε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ὑπατον εὐθὺς ἐδώκατε. ἐξ οὗ δὴ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα διεφάνη τοῦθ', ὅτι οὔτε ἐπιθυμίας οὔτε εὐκλείας οἰκείας ἔνεκα τὸν τε πόλεμον ἐκείνον ἐποιήσατο καὶ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ παρεσκευάζετο. [4] παριδὼν γοῦν 145 τὴν πέμψιν 146 τῶν νικητηρίων διὰ τὸ τὰ πράγματα κατεπείγειν, καὶ χάριν μὲν ὑμῖν τῆς τιμῆς γνούς, ἀρκεσθεῖς δὲ αὐτῇ ἐκείνῃ πρὸς τὴν δόξαν, ὑπάτευσε. 42.

καὶ ὅσα μὲν παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει διώκησεν, ἥ μυρία ἂν εἴη λέγειν: ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἔκ τε ἐκείνης ἐξῆλθε καὶ πρὸς τὸν Γαλατικόν [p. 382] πόλεμον ἐστάλη, θεωρήσατε ὅσα αὖ καὶ [2] ἡλίκᾳ ἐνταῦθα κατεργάσατο. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ συμμάχοις οὐχ ὅπως βαρὺς ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσεβοήθησεν, ἐπειδὴ μήτε τι αὐτοὺς ὑπώπτεισε καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἀδικουμένους εἶδε: τοὺς δὲ δὴ πολεμίους, οὐχ ὅτι τοὺς προσοικοῦντας αὐτοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας τοὺς τὴν Γαλατίαν νέμοντας, κατεστρέψατο, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν χώραν παμπληθῇ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ πόλεις ἀναριθμήτους, ὧν οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα πρότερον ᾔδειμεν, προσεκτήσατο. [3] καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι πάντα, μήτε δύναιμι ἀξιόχρεων μήτε 147 χρήματα αὐτάρκη παρ' ὑμῶν λαβών, οὕτω μὲν ταχέως κατέπραξεν ὥστε καὶ πρὶν αἰσθέσθαι τινὰ ὑμῶν ὅτι πολεμεῖ νενικηκέναι, οὕτω δὲ ἀσφαλῶς κατεστήσατο ὥστε 148 καὶ ἐπιβατὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν καὶ τὴν [4] Βρεττανίαν ποιῆσαι. καὶ νῦν δεδούλωται μὲν Γαλατία ἡ τοὺς τε Ἀμβρονας 149 καὶ τοὺς Κίμβρους ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἀποστείλασα, καὶ γεωργεῖται πᾶσα ὥσπερ αὐτὴ ἡ Ἰταλία, πλεῖται δὲ οὐ Ῥοδανὸς ἔτι μόνος οὐδ' Ἀραρίς, ἀλλὰ καὶ Μόσας καὶ Λίγρος καὶ Ῥήνος αὐτὸς καὶ ὠκεανὸς αὐτός. [5] ὧν γὰρ οὐδὲ τὰς ἐπικλήσεις ἀκούοντες ἐπιστεῦομεν αὐτὰ εἶναι, ταῦθ' ἡμῖν προσκατείργασται, ἐμβατὰ μὲν τὰ πρὶν ἄγνωστα, πλωτὰ δὲ τὰ πρὶν ἀδιερευνήτα ἀπὸ τε τῆς μεγαλοπρεπείας καὶ ἀπὸ 43. τῆς μεγαλογνωμοσύνης ποιήσας. καὶ εἶγε μὴ φθονήσαντες αὐτῷ τινες, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑμῖν, ἐστασιάκεσαν, [p. 384] καὶ δεῦρο αὐτὸν πρὸ τοῦ προσήκοντος καιροῦ ἐπανελθεῖν ἠναγκάκεσαν, 150 πάντως ἂν καὶ τὴν Βρεττανίαν ὅλην μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων νήσων τῶν περικειμένων 151 αὐτῇ καὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν πᾶσαν μέχρι τοῦ ἀρκτικοῦ ὠκεανοῦ ἐκεχείρωτο, ὥσθ' ἡμᾶς ὅρους μὴ γῆν μὴδ' ἀνθρώπους τὸ λοιπόν, ἀλλὰ [2] ἀέρα καὶ τὴν ἔξω θάλασσαν ἔχειν. διὰ γὰρ

ταῦτα καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὁρῶντες τὸ τε μέγεθος τῆς διανοίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὴν τύχην, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἄρξει αὐτῷ προσετάξατε: ὅπερ, ἀφ’ οὗ ἔδημοκρατήθημεν, οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ὑπῆρξε, λέγω δὲ τὸ ὀκτῶ ἔτεσιν ὅλοις ἐφεξῆς ἡγεμονεῦσαι. οὕτως αὐτὸν πάντα ἐκεῖνα ὑμῖν ὄντως προσκταῖσθαι ἐνομίσατε, καὶ οὐδεπώποτε ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς ἀυξηθήσεσθαι ὑπωπτεύσατε. [3]

ἀλλὰ ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐπὶ μακρότατον αὐτὸν ἐγχρονίσαι τοῖς χωρίοις ἐκείνοις ἐπεθυμήσατε: οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπέτρεψαν οἱ τὴν πολιτείαν μηκέτι κοινήν ἀλλ’ ἰδίαν αὐτῶν 152 νομίζοντες εἶναι οὔτε τοῦτω τὰ λοιπὰ προσκαταστρέψασθαι οὔθ’ ὑμῖν πάντων αὐτῶν κυριεῦσαι, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἀσχολίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀποχρησάμενοι πολλὰ καὶ 153 ἀνόσια ἐτόλμησαν, ὥσθ’ ὑμᾶς 154 τῆς παρ’ αὐτοῦ βοηθείας 44. δεηθῆναι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καταλιπὼν τὰ προκείμενα ταχέως ὑμῖν ἐπεκούρησε, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐκ τῶν ἐπαρτηθέντων αὐτῇ κινδύνων ἡλευθέρωσε, καὶ προσέτι τὴν τε Ἰβηρίαν ἁλλοτριουμένην [p. 386] ἐκομίσατο, καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον τὴν τε πατρίδα καταλιπόντα καὶ βασιλείαν ἰδίαν ἐν [2] Μακεδονίᾳ κατασκευάζοντα, καὶ ἐκεῖσε πάντα τὰ ὑμέτερα ἀγαθὰ μεταφέροντα, τοὺς τε ὑπηκόους ὑμῶν ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς συσκευαζόμενον καὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν ὑμῶν ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς χρώμενον ἰδὼν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πεῖσαι πως ἠθέλησε, καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ προσπέμπων, παύσασθαι 155 καὶ μεταθέσθαι, πίστεις λαβόντα μεγίστας ἢ μὴν ἐν τοῖς ἴσοις καὶ ὁμοίοις 156 [3] αὐθις αὐτὸν γενήσεσθαι: ἐπεὶ δ’ οὐδένα τρόπον ἡδυνήθη τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνος τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὴν συγγένειαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα αὐτῷ ὑπάρξασαν ὑπερβὰς ἀντιπολεμεῖν ὑμῖν εἵλετο, οὕτω δὲ καταναγκασθεὶς τοῦ ἐμφυλίου πολέμου προσάψασθαι τί μὲν δεῖ λέγειν 157 ὡς εὐτόλμως ἐπ’ [4] αὐτόν, καίπερ χειμῶνος ὄντος, ἐπλευσε, τί δὲ ὡς εὐθαρσῶς αὐτῷ, καίτοι πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖ χωρία 158 ἔχοντι, συνέμιξε, τί δὲ ὡς ἀνδρικῶς αὐτοῦ, καίπερ πολὺ τῷ πλήθει τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐλαττούμενος, ἐκράτησεν; ἂν γάρ τις καθ’ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐπεξελεῖν ἐθελήσῃ, παῖδα ἂν ἀποδείξειε τὸν θαυμαστὸν ἐκεῖνον Πομπήιον: οὕτως ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς κατεστρατηγήθη. 45.

ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἔασω: οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ’ αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐσεμνύνατό ποτε ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς, μισῶν αἰεὶ τὰ 159 τῆς ἀνάγκης: ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ δαιμόνιον δικαιοτάτα τὴν μάχην ἔκρινε, τίνα μὲν τῶν τότε πρῶτον ἀλόντων ἀπέκτεινε, τίνα δὲ οὐκ ἐτίμησεν, οὐχ ὅτι [p. 388] τῶν βουλευτῶν ἢ τῶν ἱππέων ἢ καὶ ὅλως τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν συμμάχων τῶν τε ὑπηκόων; [2] οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐκείνων τις οὐτ’ ἀπέθανε βιαίως οὔτε αἰτίαν ἔλαβεν, οὐκ ἰδιώτης, οὐ βασιλεὺς, οὐκ ἔθνος, οὐ πόλις: ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν καὶ συνεξητάσθησαν αὐτῷ, οἱ δὲ τὴν γοῦν ἄδειαν ἐντίμως ἔσχον, ὥστε τότε δὴ καὶ πάντας ὀδύρεσθαι τῶν [3] ἀπολωλότων. τοσαύτη γὰρ περιουσίᾳ φιλανθρωπίας ἐχρήσατο ὥστε τοὺς μὲν συναραμένους τῷ Πομπήῳ ἐπαινέσαι καὶ πάντα σφίσι τὰ δοθέντα ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ φυλάξαι, τὸν δὲ δὴ 160 Φαρνάκην καὶ τὸν Ὀρώδην μισῆσαι ὅτι οὐκ ἐπεκούρησαν φίλοι [4] αὐτοῦ ὄντες. καὶ διὰ τοῦτό γε οὐχ ἡκιστα τῷ μὲν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐπολέμησε, τῷ δὲ ἐπιστρατεύσειν ἔμελλε. πάντως δ’ ἂν καὶ ...

161 ζῶντα εἰλήφει. τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι μήτε εὐθύς αὐτὸν ἐπεδίωξεν ἀλλὰ κατὰ σχολὴν εἶασε φυγεῖν, καὶ ^[5] τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἀηδῶς ἤκουσε, τοὺς τε φονεύσαντας αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπήνεσεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνταπέκτεινεν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, καὶ αὐτὸν γε τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, ὅτι καίτοι παῖς ὢν τὸν εὐεργέτην ἀπολόμενον περιεῖδε, προσδιέφθειρε. 46.

μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν ὅπως μὲν τὴν Αἴγυπτον κατεστήσατο, καὶ ὅσα χρήματα ἐκεῖθεν ὑμῖν ἐκόμισε, περιττὸν ἂν εἴη λέγειν: στρατεύσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Φαρνάκην οὐκ ὀλίγα ἤδη τοῦ τε Πόντου καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἔχοντα, προσηγγέλθη τε ἅμα αὐτῷ προσιῶν καὶ ὤφθη παρῶν καὶ συνέβαλεν ^[2] αὐθημερὸν καὶ ἐνίκησεν. ἄφ' ὧν περ οὐχ ἥκιστα διέδειξεν ὅτι οὐδὲν χεῖρων ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ^[p. 390] ἐγένετο, οὐδ' ὑπὸ τρυφῆς ἐν αὐτῇ ἐνεχρόνισε: πῶς γὰρ ἂν ῥαδίως ἐκεῖνα ἔπραξε μὴ πολλῇ μὲν παρασκευῇ διανοίας πολλῇ δὲ καὶ ῥώμῃ χρώμενος; ^[3] ὥς δ' οὖν καὶ ὁ Φαρνάκης ἔφυγε, παρεσκευάζετο μὲν εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὸν Πάρθον στρατεῦσαι, στασιασάντων δὲ αὐθις ἐνταῦθα τινων ἀνεκομίσθη τε ἄκων, καὶ οὕτως αὖ καὶ ταῦτα διέθετο ὥστε ^[4] μηδ' ὅτι ἀρχὴν ἐταράχθη πιστευθῆναι. οὐτε γὰρ ἀπέθανεν οὐτε ἔφυγεν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἡτιμώθη τὸ παράπαν ἐξ ἐκείνων τῶν πραγμάτων οὐδεὶς, οὐχ ὅτι οὐ δικαιοτάτα ἂν πολλοὶ ἐκολάσθησαν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους ἀφειδῶς ἀπολλύναι τοὺς δὲ δὴ πολίτας σῶζειν, κἂν φαῦλοι τινες ᾖσιν, ^[5] ἡγεῖτο δεῖν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῇ μὲν ἀνδρείᾳ τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους κατηγωνίζετο, τῇ δὲ φιλανθρωπίᾳ καὶ τοὺς στασιάζοντας τῶν πολιτῶν, καίτοι καὶ ἀναξίους πολλακίς τούτου γεγονότας ἀφ' ὧν ἔπραττον, διετήρει. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ τῇ τε Ἰβηρίᾳ αὐθις ἔπραξε, πάντας ὅσοι μὴ καὶ πρότερόν ποτε ἁλόντες ὑπ' 162 αὐτοῦ ^[6] ἠλέηντο 163 ἀφείς. τὸ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς πολλακίς ἐπιβουλεύοντάς οἱ αἰεὶ περιποιεῖσθαι μωρίαν, οὐ φιλανθρωπίαν ἐνόμιζε: τὸ δὲ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἀμαρτήμασι συγγινώσκειν τισί, καὶ μήτ' ἀκατάλλακτον ὀργὴν ἔχειν καὶ προσέτι καὶ τιμὰς νέμειν, ἂν δὲ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐμμένωσιν, ἀπαλλαγὴν αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ πάνυ ἀνδρὸς ἔργον ἡγεῖτο ^[7] εἶναι. καίτοι τί τοῦτο εἶπον; πολλοὺς γάρ τοι καὶ ἐκείνων ἔσωσε, δοὺς τοῖς τε ἐταίροις ἅπασι καὶ τοῖς συννικήσασιν αὐτῷ ἕνα ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἁλόντων περιποίησασθαι. ^[p. 392] 47.

καὶ μέντοι καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα ἀπ' ἐμφύτου χρηστότητος, καὶ οὐτε προσποιοιτῶς οὐτε ἐπὶ κατασκευῇ πλεονεξίας τινός, ὥσπερ ἕτεροι συχνοὶ ἐφιλανθρωπεύσαντό τινα, ἔπραξε, μέγιστον μὲν καὶ ἐκεῖνο μαρτύριόν ἐστιν, ὅτι πανταχοῦ καὶ διὰ πάντων ὁμοίος ἐγένετο καὶ οὕτ' ὀργή τις αὐτὸν ἡγρίανεν οὐτε εὐπραγία διέφθειρεν, οὐ τὸ κράτος ^[2] ἡλλοίωσεν, οὐχ ἡ ἐξουσία μετέβαλεν. καίτοι χαλεπώτατον ἐν τοῖς 164 τοσοῦτοις καὶ τοιούτοις καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπαλλήλοις πράγμασιν ἐξετασθέντα, καὶ τὰ μὲν κατωρθωκότα τὰ δὲ ἐν χερσὶν ἔτ' ἔχοντα τὰ δ' ὑποπτεύοντα, χρηστὸν τε 165 αἰεὶ δι' ἴσου γενέσθαι, καὶ μηδὲν τραχὺ μηδὲ δεινόν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρὸς τιμωρίαν τῶν παρεληλυθόντων, ἀλλὰ πρὸς γε 166 φυλακὴν τῶν μελλόντων ἐθελῆσαι ποιῆσαι. ^[3] ἱκανὰ μὲν καὶ ταῦτα τὴν χρηστότητα αὐτοῦ τεκμηριῶσαι ἐστίν:

οὕτω γὰρ ἐκ θεῶν ὄντως ἔφν ὥστε ἔν μόνον ἠπίστατο, σῶζειν τοὺς γε σῶζεσθαι δυναμένους: προσέτι δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνα, 167 ὅτι τοῖς τε αὐτῷ 168 πολεμήσασι τὸ μηδ' ὑπ' ἄλλου τινὸς κολασθῆναι παρεσκεύασε, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ πρὶν ἐπταϊκότας ^[4] ἀνεκτήσατο. πᾶσι μὲν γὰρ τοῖς μετὰ τοῦ Λεπιδίου καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Σερτωρίου γενομένοις ἄδειαν δοθῆναι ἐποίησε, πᾶσι δὲ ἐκ τούτου τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἐπικηρυχθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλου περιλειφθεῖσι τὴν σωτηρίαν ὑπάρξαι παρεσκεύασε, καὶ αὐτοὺς μετὰ τοῦτο κατήγαγε, τοὺς τε παῖδας ἀπάντων τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου θανατωθέντων καὶ τιμῶν καὶ ^[5] ἀρχῶν ἥξιωσεν. καὶ 169 τὸ μέγιστον, πάντα ἀπλῶς ^[p. 394] τὰ γράμματα ὅσα ἢ παρὰ τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἢ παρὰ τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἀπόρρητα εὗρέθη κατέκαυσε, μήτ' ἀναγνοὺς τι αὐτῶν μήτε τηρήσας, ἵνα μηδ' 170 ἄλλῳ τινὶ πονηρευθῆναι τι δι' αὐτὰ ἐγγένηται. ὅτι δὲ ταῦθ' οὕτως οὐκ εἴπε μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔπραξε, δηλοῖ τὰ ἔργα: οὐδεὶς γοῦν ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐκείνων οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἔπαθέ τι δεινόν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' 171 ^[6] ἐφοβήθη. οὐκουν οὐδ' 172 οἶδεν οὐδεὶς τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν περιγενομένους 173 πλὴν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστι παραδοξότατον καὶ μηδεμίαν ὑπερβολὴν ἔχον, ὅτι τε ἀφείθησαν πρὶν αἰτιαθῆναι καὶ ὅτι ἐσώθησαν πρὶν κινδυνεῦσαι, καὶ οὐδ' αὐτὸς ὁ περιποιήσας σφᾶς ἔμαθεν οὐς ἡλέησε. 48.

καὶ γὰρ τοι διὰ τε ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τᾶλλα ὅσα ἐνομοθέτησε καὶ ἐπηνώρθωσε, 174 μεγάλα μὲν αὐτὰ καθ' ἑαυτὰ ὄντα, παρὰ μικρὸν δ' ἂν πρὸς ἐκεῖνα νομισθέντα, ἃ οὐ χρή ἀκριβῶς ἐπεξίεναι, καὶ ἐφιλήσατε αὐτὸν ὡς πατέρα καὶ ἠγαπήσατε ὡς εὐεργέτην, τιμαῖς τε οἷαις οὐδένα ἄλλον ἠγήλατε, ^[2] καὶ προστάτην διατελῆ τῆς τε πόλεως καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπάσης ἔχειν ἐπεθυμήσατε, μηδὲν περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων διενεχθέντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ ἐλάττονα αὐτοῦ προσθέντες, ἵν' ὅσον καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ νομιζομένου πρὸς τὸ τελειότατον καὶ τῆς τιμῆς καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐνέδει, τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων συντελείας ἀνταναπληρωθῇ. ^[3] διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἀρχιερεὺς μὲν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, ὕπατος δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, αὐτοκράτωρ δὲ ^[p. 396] πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας, δικτάτωρ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολέμιους ἀπεδείχθη. καὶ τί ταῦτ' ἐξαριθμοῦμαι, ὅποτε καὶ πατέρα αὐτὸν ἐνὶ λόγῳ 175 τῆς πατρίδος ἐπεκαλέσατε; 176 ἵνα μὴ τὰς ἄλλας αὐτοῦ προσηγορίας καταλέγω. 49.

Ἄλλ' οὗτος ὁ πατήρ, οὗτος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ ἄσυλος ὁ ἥρως ὁ θεὸς τέθνηκεν, οἴμοι, τέθνηκεν οὐ νόσω βιασθεῖς, οὐδὲ γήρᾳ μαρανθεῖς, οὐδὲ ἔξω που ἐν πολέμῳ τινὶ τρωθεῖς, οὐδὲ ἐκ δαιμονίου τινὸς αὐτομάτως ἀρπασθεῖς, 177 ἀλλὰ ἐνταῦθα ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους ἐπιβουλευθεῖς ὁ καὶ ἐς Βρεττανίαν ^[2] ἀσφαλῶς στρατεύσας, ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐνεδρευθεῖς ὁ καὶ τὸ πωμήριον αὐτῆς ἐπαυξήσας, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ κατασφαγείς ὁ καὶ ἴδιον ἄλλο κατασκευάσας, ἄσπλος ὁ εὐπόλεμος, γυμνὸς ὁ εἰρηνοποιός, πρὸς τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ὁ δικαστής, πρὸς ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὁ ἀρχων, ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ὃν μηδεὶς τῶν πολέμιων μηδ' ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκπεσόντα ἀποκτεῖναι ἡδυνήθη, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐταίρων ὁ πολλάκις αὐτοὺς ἐλέησας. ^[3] ποῦ δὴτὰ σοι, Καῖσαρ, ἢ φιланθρωπία, ποῦ δὲ ἡ ἀσυλία, ποῦ δὲ οἱ νόμοι; ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν, ὅπως μηδ'

ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τις φονεύηται, πολλὰ ἐνομοθέτησας, σὲ δὲ οὕτως οἰκτρῶς ἀπέκτειναν οἱ φίλοι, καὶ νῦν ἔν τε τῇ ἀγορᾷ πρόκεισαι ἐσφαγμένος, δι' ἧς πολλάκις ἐπόμεπυσας ἐστεφανωμένος, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἔρριψαι κατατετρωμένος, ^[4] ἀφ' οὗ πολλάκις ἐδημηγόρησας. οἴμοι πολιῶν ἡματωμένων, ὧ στολῆς ἐσπαραγμένης, ἦν ^[p. 398] ἐπὶ τούτῳ μόνον, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἔλαβες, ἴν' ἐν ταύτῃ σφαγῇς.

‘ 50. τοιαῦτα τοῦ Ἀντωνίου λέγοντος ὁ δῆμος τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἡρεθίζετο, ἔπειτα δὲ ὠργίζετο, καὶ τέλος οὕτως ἐφλέγγμηνεν ὥστε τοὺς τε 178 φονέας αὐτοῦ ζητεῖν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις βουλευταῖς ἐγκαλεῖν, ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἀπέκτειναν οἱ δὲ ἐπέιδον ἀποθνήσκοντα ἄνδρα ὑπὲρ οὗ δημοσίᾳ κατ' ἔτος εὐχεσθαι ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ οὗ τὴν τε ὑγίειαν τὴν τε τύχην ὤμνυσαν, καὶ ὃν ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς δημάρχοις ἄσυλον ^[2] ἐπεποιήκεσαν. καὶ τοῦτου τὸ τε σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἀρπάσαντες οἱ μὲν ἐς τὸ οἶκημα ἐν ᾧ ἀπέσφακτο, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον κομίσει τε ἐβούλοντο καὶ ἐκεῖ καῦσαι, κωλυθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν φόβῳ τοῦ μὴ καὶ τὸ θέατρον τοὺς τε ναοὺς συγκαταπρησθῆναι, αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ὥσπερ ^[3] εἶχον, 179 ἐπὶ πυρὰν ἐπέθηκαν. πολλὰ δ' ἂν καὶ ὡς τῶν πέριξ οἰκοδομημάτων ἐφθάρη, εἰ μὴ οἱ τε στρατιῶται ἐμποδῶν ἐγένοντο καὶ τινες τῶν θρασυτέρων οἱ ὕπατοι κατὰ τῶν τοῦ Καπιτωλίου πετρῶν ἔωσαν. 180 οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπαύσαντο διὰ ^[4] τοῦτο οἱ λοιποὶ ταραττόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τε τὰς οἰκίας τῶν σφαγῶν ὤρμησαν, καὶ ἄλλους τε ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Ελουϊόν Κίνναν δημαρχοῦντα μάτην ἀπέκτειναν: οὐ γὰρ ὅπως ἐπεβούλευσε τῷ Καίσαρι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἡγάπα. ἐπλανήθησαν δὲ ὅτι Κορνήλιος Κίννας ὁ 51. στρατηγὸς συμμετέσχε τῆς ἐπιθέσεως. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀπειπόντων τῶν ὑπάτων μηδὲνα ἔξω τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔνοπλον εἶναι, τῶν μὲν φόνων ἀπέσχοντο, ^[p. 400] βωμὸν δὲ τινα ἐν τῷ τῆς πυρᾶς χωρίῳ ἰδρυσάμενοι 'τὰ γὰρ ὅστ' 181 αὐτοῦ οἱ ἐξελεύθεροι προανείλοντο καὶ ἐς τὸ πατρῶον μνημεῖον κατέθεντό θύειν τε ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ κατάρχεσθαι τῷ ^[2] Καίσαρι ὡς καὶ θεῷ ἐπεχείρουν. οἱ οὖν ὕπατοι ἐκεῖνόν τε ἀνέτρεψαν, καὶ τινες ἀγανακτήσαντας ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐκόλασαν, καὶ νόμον ἐξέθηκαν 182 μηδὲνα αὐθις δικτάτορα γενέσθαι, ἄράς τε ποιησάμενοι καὶ θάνατον προειπόντες ἂν τέ 183 τις ἐσηγήσεται τοῦτο ἂν θ' ὑποστῇ, καὶ προσέτι καὶ χρήματα ^[3] αὐτοῖς ἄντικρυς ἐπικηρύξαντες. ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα προειδόντο, 184 ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασι τῆς τῶν ἔργων δεινότητος οὕσης, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ὀπλων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐκάστου τρόπων καὶ γιγνομένων αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς τῆς ἐξουσίας, ἐν ᾗ ποτ' ἂν ^[4] τύχη δρώμενα, προσρήσεις 185 διαβαλλόντων: ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε παρόντι τοὺς τε κληροῦχους τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος προκεχειρισμένους ἐς τὰς ἀποικίας εὐθύς, μὴ καὶ νεοχμώσωσι τι, ἔστειλαν, καὶ τῶν σφαγῶν τοὺς μὲν ἄρξαι τινῶν εἰληχότας ἐς τὰ ἔθνη, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἄλλον ἄλλοσε ἐπὶ προφάσει τινὶ ἐξέπεμψαν: καὶ αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ εὐεργέτας σφῶν πολλοὶ ἐτίμησαν. 52. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ μετήλλαξε. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἔν τε τῷ τοῦ Πομπηίου οἰκοδομήματι καὶ παρὰ τῷ ἀνδριάντι αὐτοῦ τῷ τότε ἐκεῖ ἐστῶτι ἐσφάγη, ἔδοξε τινα τιμωρίαν αὐτῷ δεδωκέναι, ἄλλως τε καὶ 186 ὅτι καὶ βρονταὶ ἄπλετοι καὶ ὑετὸς λάβρος ^[p. 402] ἐπεγένετο. ἐν δ' οὖν

τῷ θορύβῳ ἐκείνῳ καὶ τοιόνδε τι οὐκ ἀπάξιον μνήμης συνηνέχθη. ^[2] Γάιος γὰρ τις Κάσκας δημαρχῶν, καὶ ἰδὼν ὅτι ὁ Κίννας ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν ὁμωνυμίας ἀπώλετο, ἐφοβήθη μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποθάνῃ, ὅτι Πούπλιος Σερουίλιος Κάσκας ἔκ τε τῶν δημάρχων ^[3] καὶ ἐκ τῶν σφαγέων ἦν, καὶ γράμματα ἐξέθηκε τὴν τε κοινωνίαν σφῶν ἐκ τῆς μιᾶς προσηγορίας καὶ τὴν διαφορὰν τῆς γνώμης δηλῶν. καὶ ἔπαθε μὲν οὐδέτερος δεινὸν οὐδὲν 'καὶ γὰρ ὁ Σερουίλιος ἰσχυρῶς ἐφυλάσσετό, λόγον δὲ δὴ τινα ὁ Γάιος, ὥστε καὶ μνημονεύεσθαι διὰ τοῦτο, ἔσχεν. 53. τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτα πρὸς τε τῶν ἄλλων καὶ πρὸς τῶν ὑπάτων ἐγένετο: καὶ γὰρ τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, καίτοι μὴ βουλευθεὶς 187 τὰ πρῶτα ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὡς οὐδέπω καθήκουσάν οἱ προσλαβεῖν, ^[2] ὅμως προσέθετο, δείσας μὴ στασιάσῃ. ὡς μέντοι ὁ τε θόρυβος κατέστη καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὸ τε ἐξετάσαι τὰ διοικηθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τὸ 188 πάντα τὰ δόξαντα αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι ἐπετράπη, οὐκέτ' ἐσωφρόνησεν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐγκρατὴς τῶν γραμμάτων αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, πολλὰ μὲν ἀπῆλειψε πολλὰ δὲ καὶ 189 ἀντενέγραψεν, ἄλλα τε ^[3] καὶ νόμους. καὶ προσέτι καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἀρχὰς τὰς μὲν ἀφείλετο τινων τὰς δὲ ἔδωκεν ἄλλοις, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου δὴ γραμμάτων 190 αὐτὰ ποιῶν. κάκ τοῦτου συχνὰ μὲν αὐτόθεν ἤρπασε, συχνὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' ἰδιωτῶν τῶν τε 191 δῆμων καὶ τῶν βασιλέων ^[p. 404] ἡργυρολόγησε, τοῖς μὲν χώραν, τοῖς δὲ ἐλευθερίαν, ^[4] ἄλλοις πολιτείαν, ἄλλοις ἀτέλειαν πωλῶν, καίτοι τῆς βουλῆς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ψηφισαμένης μηδεμίαν στήλην ὡς καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος συγγεγραφότος τι ἀνατεθῆναι 'ἐς γὰρ στήλας χαλκᾶς πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐσεγράφετό, ἔπειτα δέ, ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἐνέκειτο λέγων πολλὰ καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προβεβουλευθαι, κελευσάσης πάντας τοὺς πρῶτους ^[5] κοινῇ αὐτὰ διακρίναι. ἀλλ' οὔτε τι τούτων ἐφρόντισε, καὶ τὸ σύμπαν τοῦ μὲν 192 Ὀκταουίου ἄτε καὶ μεираκίου καὶ πραγμάτων ἀπείρου, τὴν τε κληρονομίαν ὡς καὶ 193 χαλεπὴν καὶ δυσμεταχείριστον οὔσαν ἀπωθουμένου, κατεφρόνησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς καὶ κληρονόμος οὐ μόνον τῆς οὐσίας ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς δυναστείας τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ὦν πάντα διεχειρίζε: τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ φυγάδας τινὰς κατήγαγεν. ^[6] ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ Λέπιδος ἰσχύν τε μεγάλην εἶχε καὶ φόβον αὐτῷ πολὺν ἐπῆρτα, τὴν τε θυγατέρα τῷ υἱεῖ αὐτοῦ συνώκισε καὶ ἀρχιερέα αὐτὸν ἀποδειχθῆναι παρεσκεύασεν, ἵνα μηδὲν ὦν ἔπραττε ^[7] πολυπραγμονοίῃ. ὅπως γὰρ δὴ ῥαδίως αὐτὸ ποιήσῃ, ἔς τε τοὺς ἱερέας αὐθις ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου τὴν αἵρεσιν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἐπανήγαγε, κἀν τούτοις αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἢ ὀλίγα τῶν νενομισμένων πράξας ἐτέλεσε, δυνηθεὶς ἂν αὐτὸς ἱερῶσασθαι.

τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ πέμπτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν α. περὶ Γαίου Ὀκταουίου τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα Αὐγούστου ἐπικληθέντος. β. περὶ Σέξτου Πομπηίου τοῦ Πομπηίου υἱέος. γ. ὡς Καῖσαρ καὶ Ἀντώνιος στασιάζειν ἤρξαντο. δ. ὡς Κικέρων κατὰ Ἀντωνίου ἐδημηγόρησεν. χρόνου πλῆθος τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Γ. Τουλίου Καίσαρος δικτατορίας τὸ ε μετὰ Μ. Αἰμιλίου Λεπίδου ὑπάρχου καὶ ὑπατείας τὸ ε μετὰ Μ. Ἀντωνίου. 3

1. Ἀντώνιος μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποiei, ὁ δὲ δὴ Γάιος ὁ Ὀκταύσιος Καίσιος οὕτω γὰρ ὁ τῆς Ἀττίας τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀδελφιδῆς υἱὸς ὠνομάζετο ἦν μὲν ἐξ Οὐελιτρῶν τῶν Οὐλοσκιδων, ὀρφανὸς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀκταουίου τοῦ πατρὸς καταλειφθεὶς ἐτρέφη μὲν παρὰ τε τῇ μητρὶ καὶ παρὰ τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς Λουκίῳ Φιλίππῳ, αὐξηθεὶς δὲ συνδιέτριβε τῷ [2] Καίσαρι: ἅπαις τε γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὦν καὶ μεγάλας ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐλπίδας ἔχων ἡγάπα τε καὶ περιεῖπεν αὐτόν, ὡς καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας τῆς τε μοναρχίας διάδοχον καταλείψων, ἄλλως τε καὶ [p. 408] ὅτι ἡ Ἀττία δεινῶς ἰσχυρίζετο ἐκ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος αὐτὸν κεκυηκέναι, ὅτι καταδαρθοῦσά ποτε ἐν ναῶ αὐτοῦ δράκοντι τιμι μίγνυσθαι ἐνόμισε καὶ διὰ [3] τοῦτο τῷ ἰκνουμένῳ χρόνῳ ἔτεκε. πρὶν τε ἢ ἐς τὸ φῶς ἐξίεναι, ἔδοξεν ὄναρ τὰ σπλάγχχνα ἐαυτῆς ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναφέρεισθαι καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐπεκτείνεισθαι: καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτὶ καὶ ὁ Ὀκταύσιος ἐκ τοῦ αἰδοίου αὐτῆς τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατέλλειν ἐνόμισεν. ἄρτι τε ὁ παῖς ἐγεγέννητο, καὶ Νιγίδιος Φίγουλός βουλευτῆς παραχρῆμα αὐτῷ τὴν [4] αὐταρχίαν ἐμαντεύσατο: ἄριστα γὰρ τῶν καθ' ἐαυτὸν τὴν τε τοῦ πόλου διακόσμησιν καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀστέρων διαφοράς, ὅσα τε καθ' ἐαυτοὺς γιγνόμενοι καὶ ὅσα συμμιγνύντες ἀλλήλοις ἐν τε ταῖς ὀμιλίαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς διαστάσεσιν ἀποτελοῦσι, διέγνω, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ αἰτίαν ὡς τινας ἀπορρήτους [5] διατριβάς ποιοῦμενος ἔσχεν. οὗτος οὖν τότε τὸν Ὀκταύσιον βραδύτερον ἐς τὸ συνέδριον διὰ τὸν τοῦ παιδὸς τόκον ἔτυχε γὰρ βουλή οὐσά ἀπαντήσαντα ἀνήρετο διὰ τι ἐβράδυνε, καὶ μαθὼν τὴν αἰτίαν ἀνεβόησεν ὅτι 'δεσπότην ἡμῖν ἐγέννησας,' καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκταραχθέντα ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ διαφθεῖραι τὸ παιδίον ἐθέλησαντα ἐπέσχε, εἰπὼν ὅτι ἀδύνατόν ἐστι τοιοῦτό τι αὐτὸ παθεῖν. τότε 2. μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐλέχθη, τρεφομένου δὲ ἐν ἀγρῷ αὐτοῦ ἀετὸς ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ ἐξαρπάσας ἄρτον ἐμετεωρίσθη καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καταπτόμενος ἀπέδωκεν αὐτόν. παιδίσκου τε αὐτοῦ ὄντος καὶ [2] τὴν διατριβὴν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ποιοῦμένου, ἔδοξέ ποτε ὁ Κικέρων ὄναρ ἀλύσειν τε αὐτὸν χρυσαῖς [p. 410] ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καθιμῆσθαι καὶ μάστιγα παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς εἰληφέναι: καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἡπίστατο ὅστις ἦν, περιέτυχέ τε αὐτῷ τῆς ὑστεραίας ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, καὶ γνωρίσας αὐτόν [3] διηγῆσατο τοῖς παροῦσι τὴν ὄψιν. ὃ τε Κάτουλος οὐδ' αὐτὸς πῶ ἑορακῶς τὸν Ὀκταύσιον, ἐνόμισε τοὺς παῖδας ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις τοὺς εὐγενεῖς πάντας ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ πρόσοδον πρὸς τὸν Δία πεποιῆσθαι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τὸν θεὸν εἰκόνα τινα τῆς [4] Ῥώμης ἐς

τὸν ἑκείνου κόλπον ἐμβεβληκέναι: ἐκπλαγείς δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀνῆλθεν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον προσευξόμενος τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐκεῖ τὸν Ὀκτάουιον εὐρὼν ἄλλως ἀναβεβηκότα τὸ τε εἶδος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἐνύπνιον προσήρμοσε καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῆς [5] ὄψεως ἐβεβαιώσατο. μεираκιωθέντος δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐσιόντος, τὴν τε ἐσθῆτα τὴν ἀνδρικήν ἐνδύντος, ὁ χιτῶν περιερράγη τε ἐκατέρωθεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπωμίδων καὶ μέχρι τῶν ποδῶν κατερρή. τοῦτο αὐτὸ μὲν καθ' ἑαυτὸ οὐχ ὅπως τέκμαρσιν τινα ὡς καὶ ἀγαθόν [6] τι προσημαῖνον ἔφερεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἠνίασε τοὺς παρόντας, ὅτι ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἀνδρικοῦ χιτῶνος ἐνδύσει συνεβεβήκει: ἐπελθὼν δὲ τῷ Ὀκταουίῳ εἰπεῖν ὅτι 'τὸ ἀξίωμα τὸ βουλευτικὸν πᾶν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας μου σχίσω,' ἔκβασιν πρὸς τὸ λεχθὲν [7] ἔλαβεν. ἐξ οὖν τούτων ὁ Καῖσαρ μεγάλα ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπελπίσας ἔς τε τοὺς εὐπατρίδας αὐτὸν ἐσήγαγε καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἦσκει, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα προσήκει τῷ μέλλοντι καλῶς καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν [p. 412] τηλικοῦτο κράτος διοικήσιν ὑπάρχειν ἀκριβῶς [8] ἐξεπαίδευσε: λόγοις τε γὰρ ῥητορικοῖς, οὐχ ὅτι τῇ τῶν Λατίνων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇδε τῇ γλώσσῃ, ἡσκεῖτο, καὶ ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις ἐρρωμένως ἐξεπονεῖτο, τὰ τε πολιτικὰ καὶ τὰ ἀρχικὰ ἰσχυρῶς ἐδίδασκετο. 3. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ὀκτάουιος ἔτυχε μὲν τότε, ὅτε ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐσφάγη, ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνία τῇ πρὸς τῷ Ἴονίῳ ὦν κόλπῳ ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ 'κατὰ γὰρ τὴν στρατείαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους ἐκεῖσε προεπέπεμπε 13', πυθόμενος δὲ τὸ συμβεβηκὸς ἤλγησε μὲν ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ νεωτερίσαι τι εὐθύς ἐτόλμησεν: οὔτε γὰρ ὅτι υἱὸς οὐθ' ὅτι κληρονόμος κατελέλειπτο ἡκηκόει πω, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁμονοῶν ἐπὶ τῷ [2] γεγονότι ἠγγέλλετο τὴν πρώτην. περαιωθεὶς δὲ ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον, καὶ τὰς τε διαθήκας ἅμα καὶ τὴν γνώμην τοῦ δήμου τὴν δευτέραν μαθὼν, οὐκέτ' ἀναβολὰς ἐποίησατο, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ στρατιώτας συχνοὺς συμπροπεμφθέντας εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τε ὄνομα τοῦ Καίσαρος παραχρῆμα ἀνέλαβε καὶ τοῦ κλήρου 4. αὐτὸν διεδέξατο, τῶν τε πραγμάτων εἶχετο. καὶ τότε μὲν προπετῶς τέ τισι τοῦτο καὶ τολμηρῶς πεποιηκέναι ἔδοξεν, ὕστερον δὲ ἔκ τε τῆς εὐτυχίας καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἐπικατῶρθωσε καὶ ἀνδρείας ὄνομα [2] προσεκτήσατο. πολλὰ γὰρ ἤδη τινὲς οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐπιχειρήσαντες δόξαν, ὅτι ἐπιτυχεῖς αὐτῶν ἐγένοντο, εὐβουλίας ἔσχον: καὶ ἕτεροι ἄριστά τινα [p. 414] προελόμενοι μωρίαν, ὅτι μὴ κατέτυχον αὐτῶν, [3] ὥφλον. καὶ ἐκεῖνος σφαλερῶς μὲν καὶ ἐπικινδύνως ἐποίησεν ὅτι τὴν τε ἡλικίαν τὴν ἄρτι ἐκ παίδων ἄγων 'ὀκτωκαιδεκέτης γὰρ ἦν' καὶ τὴν διαδοχὴν καὶ τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τοῦ γένους καὶ ἐπιφθονον καὶ ἐπαίτιον ὀρῶν οὔσαν, ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ τοιαῦτα ὥρμησεν ἐφ' οἷς ὁ τε Καῖσαρ ἐπεφόνευτο καὶ τιμωρία οὐδεμία αὐτοῦ ἐγίνετο, καὶ οὔτε τοὺς σφαγέας οὔτε τὸν Λέπιδον τὸν τε Ἀντώνιον [4] ἔδεισεν: οὐ μέντοι καὶ κακῶς βεβουλευθῆσαι ἔδοξεν, ὅτι καὶ κατῶρθωσε. τὸ μέντοι δαιμόνιον πᾶσαν οὐχ ἀσαφῶς τὴν αὐτόθεν μέλλουσάν σφισι ταραχὴν ἔσεσθαι προεσήμηνεν: ἐς γὰρ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσιόντος αὐτοῦ ἱρίς πάντα τὸν ἥλιον πολλὴ καὶ ποικίλη περιέσχεν. 5. οὕτως ὁ πρότερον μὲν Ὀκτάουιος, τότε δὲ ἡδὴ Καῖσαρ, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Αὐγουστος ἐπικληθεὶς ἦφατο τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ κατέπραξε καὶ κατειργάσατο παντὸς μὲν ἀνδρὸς νεανικώτερον, παντὸς δὲ πρεσβύτου

φρονιμώτερον. [2] πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ μόνῃ τῇ τοῦ κλήρου διαδοχῇ, καὶ ἰδιωτικῶς καὶ μετ' ὀλίγων, ἄνευ ὄγκου πινός, ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσῆλθεν: ἔπειτ' οὐτ' ἠπείλει οὐδενὶ οὐδέν, οὔτε ἐνεδείκνυτο ὅτι ἄχθοιτό τε τοῖς γεγονόσιν καὶ τιμωρίαν αὐτῶν ποιήσοιτο. [3] τὸν τε Ἀντώνιον οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἀπῆτει τι τῶν χρημάτων ὧν προηρπάκει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐθεράπευε, καίτοι καὶ προπληακίζομενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀδικούμενος: τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα ἐκεῖνος καὶ λόγῳ [p. 416] καὶ ἔργῳ αὐτὸν ἐκάκου, καὶ τὸν νόμον τὸν φρατριατικὸν ἐσφερόμενον, καθ' ὃν τὴν ἐσποίησιν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐς τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος γενέσθαι [4] ἔδει, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐσπουδάζεε δῆθεν ἐσενεγκεῖν, διὰ δὲ δημάρχων τινῶν ἀνεβάλλετο, ὅπως, ὡς μηδέπω παῖς αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ὧν, μήτε τι τῆς οὐσίας πολυπραγμονοίῃ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα ἀσθενέστερος 6. εἴη. ἐπ' οὖν τούτοις ὁ Καῖσαρ ἡσχαλλε μὲν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀσφαλῶς παρρησιάσασθαι τι δυνάμενος ἠνείχετο, μέχρις οὗ τὸ πλῆθος, ὑφ' οὗ τὸν πατέρα αὐξηθέντα ἠπίστατο, προσεποιήσατο. [2] ὀργὴν τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνου θανάτῳ ἔχοντας εἰδῶς, καὶ ἑαυτὸν ὡς καὶ παῖδα αὐτοῦ σπουδάσειν ἐλπίσας, τὸν τε Ἀντώνιον διὰ τε τὴν ἱππαρχίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν σφαγέων οὐ τιμωρίαν μισοῦντας αἰσθόμενος, ἐπεχειρήσεε μὲν δημαρχῆσαι πρὸς τε τὴν τῆς δημαγωγίας ἀφορμὴν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὑποδοχὴν [3] τῆς ἐξ αὐτῆς δυναστείας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῆς τοῦ Κίννου χώρας κενῆς οὔσης ἀντεποιήσατο, κωλυθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον οὐχ ἡσύχασεν, ἀλλὰ Τιβέριον Καννούτιον δημαρχοῦντα ἀναπείσας ἔς τε τὸν ὁμίλον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐσῆχθη, πρόφασιν τὴν δωρεὰν τὴν καταλειφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ποιησάμενος, καὶ δημηγορήσας ὅσα ἤρμοττε, ταύτην τε εὐθὺς ἐκτίσειν σφίσιν ὑπέσχετο καὶ ἄλλα αὐτοὺς πολλὰ [4] προσεπῆλπισε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν πανήγυριν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἀφροδισίου ἐκποιήσει καταδειχθεῖσαν, ἣν ὑποδεξάμενοί τινες ζῶντος ἔτι τοῦ [p. 418] Καίσαρος ἐπιτελέσειν ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ, ὥσπερ που καὶ τὴν τῶν Παριλίων ἵπποδρομίαν, ἐποιοῦντο, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πλήθους θεραπείᾳ, ὡς καὶ προσήκουσαν διὰ τὸ γένος, τοῖς οἰκείοις τέλεσι [5] διέθηκε. καὶ τότε μὲν οὔτε τὸν δίφρον τὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος τὸν ἐπίχρυσον οὔτε τὸν στέφανον τὸν διάλιθον ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἐσῆγαγεν ὥσπερ ἐφήριστο, 7. φοβηθεὶς τὸν Ἀντώνιον: ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἄστρον τι παρὰ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας ἐκ τῆς ἄρκτου πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἐξεφάνη, καὶ αὐτὸ κομήτην τέ τινων καλούντων καὶ προσημαίνειν οἶα που εἶωθε λεγόντων οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐπίστευον, τῷ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρι αὐτὸ ὡς καὶ ἀθηθανατισμένῳ καὶ ἐς τὸν τῶν ἄστρον ἀριθμὸν ἐγκατελεγμένῳ ἀνέτιθεσαν, θαρσύνσας χαλκοῦν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον, ἀστέρα ὑπὲρ [2] τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχοντα, ἔστησεν. ἐπειδὴ τε οὐδὲ τοῦτο τις φόβῳ τοῦ ὁμίλου ἐκώλυσεν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ τῶν ἐς τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος τιμὴν προδεδογμένων ἐγένετο: τὸν τε γὰρ μῆνα τὸν Ἰούλιον ὁμοίως ἐκάλεσαν, καὶ ἱερομηνίαις πῶς ἐπινικίοις ἰδίαν ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἐβουθύτησαν. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἐτοιμῶς, ἄλλως τε καὶ χρήμασι θεραπευθέντων τινῶν, συνίσταντο πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα. [3] θροῦς τε οὖν ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἐδόκει τι νέον ἔσσεσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἀπὸ μετεώρου καὶ ἀπὸ περιόπτου πινός, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς εἴωθει ποιεῖν, ἐντυχεῖν τι ἐθελήσαντα οὐ

προσεδέξατο, ἀλλὰ [p. 420] καὶ κατέσπασε καὶ ἐξήλασε διὰ τῶν ῥαβδούχων. 8. δεινῶς γὰρ δὴ πάντες ἠγανάκτησαν, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ὅτι ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔτι, πρὸς τε τὸ ἐκείνου ἐπιφθονον καὶ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπαγωγόν, ἐφοίτησε. φοβηθεὶς οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος διελέξατο ποτε τοῖς παροῦσιν ὅτι οὔτε τινὰ ὀργὴν τῷ Καίσαρι ἔχοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὖνοιαν αὐτῷ ὀφείλοι, καὶ ὅτι ἔτοιμος εἶη πᾶσαν τὴν ὑποψίαν ἀπολύσασθαι. [2] ἀγγελθέντων δὲ τούτων ἐκείνῳ συνῆλθον μὲν ἐς λόγους, καὶ κατηλλάχθαι πισὶν ἔδοξαν ἵνα τε γὰρ γνώμας σφῶν ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες, καὶ ἐξελέγξει τότε αὐτὰς ἄκαιρον εἶναι νομίσαντες, ἀνθυπεῖζαν τινὰ ἀλλήλοις συμβιβαζόμενοι, καὶ ἡμέρας μὲν τινὰς ἡσύχασαν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἀνθυποπτεῦσαντες ἀλλήλους, εἴτ' ἐξ ἀληθοῦς ἐπιβουλῆς εἴτε καὶ ἐκ ψευδοῦς διαβολῆς, οἷα ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι, διηνέχθησαν αὖθις. [3] ὅταν γὰρ τινες ἐκ μεγάλης ἔχθρας συνενεχθῶσι, πολλὰ μὲν μηδὲν δεινὸν ἔχοντα πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ συντυχίας συμβαίνοντα ὑποτοποῦσι: πᾶν γὰρ ἐνὶ λόγῳ ὥς καὶ ἐξεπίτηδες καὶ ἐπὶ κακῷ τινι γιγνόμενον πρὸς τὸ προϋπάρξαν ἔχθος λαμβάνουσι. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐν τούτῳ καὶ οἱ διὰ μέσου ὄντες συνεπιτίθενται: διαγγέλλοντες γὰρ τινὰ προσποιήσῃ εὖνοιας ἐπιπαροξύνουσιν αὐτούς. [4] πλεῖστον τε γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ βουλούμενον πάντας τοὺς τι δυναμένους ἀλλήλοις διαφέρεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐπιχαῖρόν τε ἐπὶ τῇ ἔχθρᾳ αὐτῶν καὶ συνεπιβουλευῶν σφισι: καὶ ῥᾶστον ἀπατηθῆναι λόγοις [p. 422] ἐπιτετηδευμένοις ἐκ φιλίας ἀνυπόπτου τὸ προδιαβεβλημένον. ἐκ μὲν οὖν τούτου καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ πρὶν πιστεύοντες ἀλλήλοις, ἐπὶ πλέον ἠλλοτριώθησαν. 9. ὁρῶν οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὸν Καίσαρα αὐξανόμενον, ἐπεχείρησε δελεάσαι τὸ πλῆθος, εἴ πως ἐκείνου τε αὐτοὺς ἀποσπάσειε καὶ ἑαυτῷ προσποιήσειε, καὶ χώραν ἄλλην τε πολλὴν καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι τοῖς Πομπτήνιοις, ὡς κεχωσμένοις ἤδη καὶ γεωργεῖσθαι δυναμένοις, κληρουχθῆναι διὰ Λουκίου Ἀντωνίου ἀδελφοῦ δημαρχούντος ἐσηγήσατο. [2] τρεῖς γὰρ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ οἱ Ἀντώνιοι οὗτοι ὄντες ἀρχὰς ἅμα πάντες ἔσχον, ὁ μὲν Μάρκος ὑπατεύων, ὁ δὲ Λούκιος δημαρχῶν, ὁ δὲ Γάιος στρατηγῶν: ὅθεν οὐχ ἥκιστα ἠδυνήθησαν τοὺς μὲν τότε τῶν συμμάχων καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἄρχοντας, πλὴν τῶν σφαγέων τῶν πλειόνων, ἄλλων τέ τινων οὐς πιστοὺς σφισιν ἐνόμιζον εἶναι, παῦσαι, [3] ἑτέρους δὲ ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἀνθελέσθαι, καὶ πισιν ἐπὶ μακρότερον, παρὰ τὰ νενομοθετημένα πρὸς τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἄρχειν ἐπιτρέψαι, καὶ τὴν μὲν Μακεδονίαν τὴν τῷ Μάρκῳ ἐκ τοῦ κλήρου δεδομένην ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Γάιος σφετερίσασθαι, τὴν δὲ Γαλατίαν τὴν ἐντὸς τῶν Ἀλπεων, ἣ ὁ Βροῦτος ὁ Δέκιμος προσετέτακτο, αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος μετὰ τῶν στρατευμάτων τῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν προπεμφθέντων, ὡς καὶ ἰσχυροτάτην καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν οὔσαν, ἀντιλαβεῖν. [4] ταῦτά τε οὖν ἐψηφίσθη, καὶ τῷ Πομπηίῳ τῷ Σέξτῳ δύναμιν ἤδη πολλὴν ἔχοντι ἢ τε ἄδεια, [p. 424] καίτοι ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δοθεῖσα, ἐβεβαιώθη, καὶ τὰ χρήματα, ὅσα ἐν τε ἀργυρίῳ καὶ ἐν χρυσίῳ τὸ δημόσιον ἐκ τῆς πατρώας αὐτοῦ οὐσίας εἰλῆφει, ἀποδοθῆναι ἐγνώσθη: τῶν γὰρ χωρίων αὐτῆς τὰ πλείω Ἀντώνιος ἔχων οὐδεμίαν ἀπόδοσιν ἐποίησατο. 10. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔπραττον, διηγῆσομαι δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Σέξτον γενόμενα. ὡς γὰρ τότε ἀπὸ τῆς

Κορδούβης ἔφυγε, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐς Λακητανίαν ἐλθὼν ἐνταῦθα ἐκρύβθη· ἐπεδιώχθη μὲν γάρ, διέλαθε δὲ εὐνοϊκῶς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων οἱ ^[2] διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς μνήμην ἐχόντων· ἔπειτα δὲ ἐπειδὴ ὁ τε Καῖσαρ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπῆρε καὶ ἐν τῇ Βαιτικῇ στρατεύμα οὐ πολὺ ὑπελείφθη, συνέστησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς μάχης διασωθέντες, καὶ οὕτω μετ' αὐτῶν ἐς τε τὴν Βαιτικὴν, ὡς καὶ ἐπιτηδειοτέραν ἐμπολεμῆσαι ^[3] οὔσαν, αὐθις ἀφίκετο, κἀνταῦθα καὶ στρατιώτας καὶ πόλεις, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπέθανε, τὰς μὲν ἐκούσας τὰς δὲ καὶ βία προσλαβὼν ὁ γὰρ ἄρχων αὐτῶν Γάιος Ἀσίνιος Πωλίων οὐδὲν ἰσχυρὸν εἶχεν· ὥρμησε μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα ^[4] τὴν Ἰβηρικὴν, ἐπιθεμένου δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τοῦ Πωλίωνος τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ κακώσαντός τινα ἐπανῆλθε χειρὶ πολλῇ, καὶ συμβαλὼν αὐτὸν τε ἐτρέψατο, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἰσχυρῶς ἀγωνιζομένους ἔπειτ' ἐκ συντυχίας τοιαῦδε ἐξέπληξε καὶ ^[5] ἐνίκησεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος μὲν τὴν χλαμύδα τὴν στρατηγικὴν ἀπέρριπεν ὥστε ῥᾶον τῇ φυγῇ ^[p. 426] λαθεῖν, ἕτερος δὲ τις ὁμῶνυμός τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπιφανὴς ἵππεὺς ἔπεσε, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔκειτο ἢ δὲ ἐαλῶκει, τὸ μὲν ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατιῶται τὸ δὲ ἰδόντες ἠπατήθησαν ὡς καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ σφον ἀπολωλότος ^[6] καὶ ἐνέδοσαν. καὶ οὕτως ὁ Σεξτος νικήσας πάντα ὀλίγου τὰ ταῦτη κατέσχε. δυνατοῦ δὲ ἤδη αὐτοῦ ὄντος ὁ Λέπιδος τῆς τε ὁμόρου Ἰβηρίας ἄρξων ἀφίκετο, καὶ ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν ἐς ὁμολογίαν ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ πατρῶα κομίσασθαι. καὶ οὕτω καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος διὰ τε τὴν τοῦ Λεπίδου φιλίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔχθραν ψηφισθῆναι ἐποίησεν. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω τε καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκ τῆς 11. Ἰβηρίας ἀπηλλάγη· Καῖσαρ δὲ καὶ Ἀντώνιος πάντα μὲν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ἔπραττον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ φανερώς πω συνερρώγεσαν, ἀλλὰ καίπερ τῷ ἔργῳ ἐκπεπολεμωμένοι, τῇ γοῦν δοκῇσι ἐπεκρύπτοντο. κάκ τούτου καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντα ἔν ^[2] τε ἀκρισίᾳ πολλῇ ἦν καὶ συνεκέχυτο. εἰρήνουν ἔτι καὶ ἐπολέμουν ἤδη· τὸ τε τῆς ἐλευθερίας σχῆμα ἐφαντάζετο καὶ τὰ τῆς δυναστείας ἔργα ἐγίνετο. καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ ἐμφανεῖ ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἅτε καὶ ὑπατεύων, ἐπλεονέκτει, ἢ δὲ δὴ σπουδῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐποiei, τὸ μὲν διὰ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας ὧν ὑπισχεῖτο, μέγιστον δὲ ὅτι τῷ τε Ἀντωνίῳ πολὺ δυναμένῳ ἦχοντο καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι μηδέπω ^[3] ἰσχύοντι συνήροντο. ἐφίλουν μὲν γὰρ οὐδέτερον, νέων δὲ δὴ αἰεὶ πραγμάτων ἐπιθυμοῦντες, καὶ τὸ ^[p. 428] μὲν κρεῖττον αἰεὶ πᾶν καθαιρεῖν τῷ δὲ πιεζομένῳ βοηθεῖν πεφυκότες, ἀπεχρῶντο αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὰ σφέτερα ἐπιθυμήματα. ταπεινῶσαντες οὖν τότε διὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ἔπειτα κάκεῖνον ^[4] καταλῦσαι ἐπεχείρησαν. τοῖς γὰρ τι αἰεὶ δυναμένοις βαρυνόμενοι τοὺς τε ἀσθενεστέρους προσελάμβανον καὶ διὰ τούτων αὐτοὺς καθήρουν· ἔπειτα καὶ ἐκείνοις ἡλλοτριοῦντο. κάκ τούτου ἀντικαθιστάντες σφᾶς ἐς τὸ ἐπίφθονον τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐφίλουν καὶ ἐμίσουν, καὶ ἠὔξον καὶ ἐταπείνουν. 12. οὕτως οὖν αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ περὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐχόντων ἀρχὴν τήνδε ὁ πόλεμος ἔλαβεν. ὁ Καῖσαρ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας περαιωθέντας ἀφορμήσαντος ἐκείσε ^[2] μὲν ἑτέρους τινὰς μετὰ χρημάτων, ὅπως σφᾶς σφετερίσωσι, προαπέστειλεν, αὐτὸς δὲ μέχρι

Καμπανίας ἐλθὼν πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν ἐκ τῆς Καπύης μάλιστα, ἅτε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, ᾧ τιμωρεῖν ἔλεγε, τὴν τε χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν εἰληφότων, ἦθροισεν, ὑπὸ σκηνῇ τὴν σφίσι πολλά, καὶ ἔδωκεν εὐθὺς τότε κατὰ πεντακοσίας δραχμάς. [3] ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὸ τῶν ἡγουκᾶτων σύστημα, οὓς ἀνακλήτους ἄν τις ἑλληνίσας, ὅτι πεπαυμένοι τῆς στρατείας ἐπ’ αὐτὴν αὖθις ἀνεκλήθησαν, ὀνομάσειεν, ἐνομήσθη. καὶ αὐτοὺς παραλαβὼν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἡπειχθη τε ἐς τὴν Ρώμην [4] πρὶν τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀνακομισθῆναι, καὶ ἐς τὸν [p. 430] ὁμίλον ὑπὸ τοῦ Καννουτίου παρασκευασθέντα αὐτῷ ἐσελθὼν πολλὰ μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦς ἀνέμνησεν, ἐπεξιὼν ὅσα καλῶς ἐπεποιήκει, πολλὰ [5] δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μέτρια διελέχθη, τοῦ τε Ἀντωνίου κατηγορήσας, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἀκολουθήσαντάς οἱ ἐπήγεσεν ὥς καὶ ἐθέλοντι πρὸς ἐπικουρίαν τῆς πόλεως παρόντας καὶ ἑαυτὸν τε ἐπ’ αὐτῇ προκεχειρισμένους καὶ δι’ ἑαυτοῦ [6] πᾶσι ταῦτα δηλοῦντας. ἐπαίνων τε ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔκ τε τῆς ἄλλης παρασκευῆς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ συνόντος αὐτῷ πλήθους τυχὼν ἀπήρην ἐς τὴν Τυρσηνίαν, 13. ὅπως καὶ ἐκεῖθεν δύναμιν τινα προσλάβῃ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ’ ἐπραπτεν, Ἀντώνιον δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν φιλοφρόνως οἱ στρατιῶται ἐν τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ ἐδέξαντο, προσδοκῆσαντες πλείω παρ’ αὐτοῦ τῶν προτεινομένων σφίσι ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος λήψεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ πολλῷ πλείω κεκτηῖσθαι αὐτὸν [2] ἐκείνου ἐνόμιζον: ὥς μέντοι ἑκατὸν τε ἑκάστῳ δραχμάς δώσειν ὑπέσχετο, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ θορυβησάντων σφαγῆναι ἄλλους τέ τινας καὶ ἑκατοντάρχους ἔν τε τοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῆς [3] γυναικὸς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐκέλευσε, τότε μὲν ἡσύχασαν, πορευόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἄστυ γεγεννημένοι ἐνεωτέρισαν, καὶ καταφρονήσαντες τῶν ὑποστρατήγων τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων σφίσι συχνοὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα μετέστησαν: καὶ τὸ γε Ἄρειον τὸ τε τέταρτον στρατόπεδον ὀνομασμένον [4] ὅλον αὐτῷ προσεχώρησε. παραλαβὼν οὖν αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἀργύριον καὶ ἐκείνοις ὁμοίως δούς, [p. 432] προσέθετο καὶ ἄλλους ἐκ τούτου πολλοὺς, καὶ τοὺς τε ἐλέφαντας τοὺς τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πάντας ἔλαβεν ἐξαπίνης παρακομιζομένοις σφίσι ἐντυχὼν, [5] ἐπειδὴ τε ἐκεῖνος ἄλλα τέ τινα ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ διοικήσας, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς λοιποὺς τοὺς τε βουλευτὰς τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς ὄντας ὀρκώσας, ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν ἐξώρμησε φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ αὐτὴ τι νεοχμώσῃ, οὐδ’ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀνεβάλετο, ἀλλ’ ἐπηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ. 14. ἦρχε μὲν δὴ τότε τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης ὁ Βροῦτος ὁ Δέκιμος, καὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐλπίδα πολλὴν εἶχεν ἅτε καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπεκτονότος: ἐπράχθη δὲ ὥδε. ὁ Δέκιμος οὐτε τι ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ὑποπτεύων ὁυδὲ γὰρ ἐπηπείλει τι τοῖς σφαγεῦσι καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐκείνου πολέμιον ἢ καὶ ἑαυτοῦ τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν τι δυναμένων ὑπ’ ἐμφύτου πλεονεξίας ὁρῶν ὄντα, οὐχ ὑπεῖξεν αὐτῷ. μαθὼν οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν ἠπόρησεν [2] ὅ τι πράξῃ. ἐμίσει μὲν γὰρ ἀμφοτέρους αὐτοὺς, οὐ μέντοι καὶ εἶχεν ὅπως ἐκατέρῳ ἅμα μάχοιτο: οὐδὲ γὰρ τῷ ἑτέρῳ σφῶν ὁποτέρῳ ἂν ἀντίπαλος ἦδη ἦν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἐδεδίει μὴ τοῦτο τολμήσας συστήσῃ τε αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοισι καὶ καθ’ ἑν ἀμφοτέροις [3] πολεμήσῃ. λογισάμενος οὖν ὅτι ὁ μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀγὼν ἦδη τε ἐνέστηκε καὶ ἐπείγει, τῆς δὲ τιμωρίας τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδέπω

καιρὸς εἶη, τὸν Δέκιμον προσηταιρίσατο. καὶ γὰρ εὖ ἠπίστατο ὅτι τοῦτ᾽ αὖν τῶν ^[p. 434] ἀντικαθεσθηκότων δι' αὐτοῦ κρατήσῃ, οὐδὲν μέγα ἔργον μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ προσπολεμήσας ἔξει, ἐκεῖνον δὲ ἰσχυρὸν αὐθις πολέμιον σχήσει: τοσοῦτόν που ἀλλήλων 15. διέφερον. πέμψας οὖν πρὸς τὸν Δέκιμον φιλίαν τε αὐτῷ ἐπηγγείλατο, καὶ συμμαχίαν, ἂν μὴ τὸν Ἀντώνιον δέξηται, προσυποσχεῖτο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστει τὴν χάριν τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ^[2] συνήροντο. τότε μὲν οὖν ἤδη γὰρ ὁ τε ἐνιαυτὸς ἐξήκει καὶ ὕπατος οὐδεὶς παρῆν: ὁ γὰρ Δολοβέλλας ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου προεξεπέπεμπτὸ ἔπαινοι ἐν τῇ βουλῇ αὐτοῖς τε ἐκείνοις καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις τοῖς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐγκαταλιποῦσι, ^[3] τῶν δημάρχων ἐπιψηφισάντων, ἐγένοντο. καὶ ὅπως γε μετὰ ἀδείας τοῦ νέου ἔτους ἐνστάντος βουλευσονται περὶ τῶν παρόντων, φρουρᾷ σφίσι στρατιωτῶν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ χρῆσθαι ἔδοξε. ταῦτα γὰρ ἤρεσκε μὲν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς πλείοσι τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τότε ὄντων τὸν γὰρ Ἀντώνιον δεινῶς ^[4] ἐμίσουν, μάλιστα δὲ δὴ τῷ Κικέρωνι: διὰ γὰρ τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχθος σφοδρότατον ὑπάρχον τὸν τε Καίσαρα ἐθεράπευε, καὶ πᾶν ὅσον ἐδύνατο καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ τοῦτ᾽ ἐβοήθει καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐκάκου. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, καίτοι ἐκχωρήσας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὥς καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Ἀθήναζε ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ προπέμψων, ἐπανῆλθεν ἐπειδὴ περ ἐκπεπολεμωμένους σφᾶς ἦσθετο. 16. ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὖν τῷ ἔτει ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη, καὶ ὁ Σερουίλιος ὁ Ἰσαυρικὸς ὑπεργήρως ἀπέθανε. διὰ τε οὖν τοῦτο ἐμνημόνευσα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅτι οὕτως οἱ ^[p. 436] τότε Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς τε τῷ ἀξιώματι προήκοντας ἠδοῦντο καὶ τοὺς ἀναιδείᾳ τινὶ χρωμένους καὶ ἐπὶ ^[2] τοῖς ἐλαχίστοις ἐμίσουν ὥστε, ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνός τινα ἐν ὁδῷ ποτε ἀπαντήσαντά οἱ βαδίζοντι ἱππεύοντα, καὶ μῆτε ἀποπηδήσαντα καὶ προσέτι ἰσχυρῶς προσεξελάσαντα, ἐγνώρισέ τε μετὰ τοῦτο ἐν δικαστηρίῳ κρινόμενον καὶ εἶπε τοῖς δικασταῖς τὸ γενόμενον, οὔτε λόγον ἔτ' αὐτῷ ἔδοσαν καὶ κατεψηφίσαντο πάντες. 17. Αὐλοῦ δὲ δὴ Ἰρτίου μετὰ Γαίου Οὐίβιου ὑπατεύσαντος ὁ αὐτός γάρ, καίτοι τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐς τὰ λευκώματα τὰ Σύλλεια ἐσγραφέντος, ὕπατος τότε ἀπεδείχθῃ βουλή τε ἐγένετο καὶ γνῶμαι ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ^[2] νουμηνίας ἀρξάμεναι, προετέθησαν: ἔκ τε γὰρ τοῦ πολέμου ἐν χερσὶν ὄντος καὶ ἐκ τεράτων, ἃ πλεῖστα καὶ ἐξαισιώτατα ἐγεγόνει, ταρασσόμενοι οὐδὲ τῆς ἀποφράδος, τὸ μὴ ἐν ἐκείναις βουλευσασθαι τι τῶν συμφερόντων σφίσιν, ἀπέσχοντο. κεραυνοὶ τε γὰρ παμπληθεῖς ἔπεσον, καὶ τινες αὐτῶν καὶ ἐς τὸν νεῶν τὸν τῷ Διὶ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ^[3] ἐν τῷ Νικαίῳ ὄντα κατέσκηψαν: καὶ πνεῦμα μέγα ἐπιγενόμενον τὰς τε στήλας τὰς περὶ τὸ Κρόνιον καὶ περὶ τὸν τῆς Πίστεως νεῶν προσπεπηγυίας ἀπέρρηξε καὶ διεσκέδασε, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Φυλακίδος, ὃ πρὸ τῆς φυγῆς ὁ Κικέρων ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνετεθεῖκει, κατέβαλε ^[p. 438] ^[4] καὶ κατέθραυσε. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Κικέρωνι τὸν ὄλεθρον προεδήλωσε: τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐκεῖνά τε ἐτάραττε καὶ σεισμὸς μέγας γενόμενος, ταῦρός τε τις τυθεὶς τε δι' αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ Ἑστιάῳ καὶ ἀναπηδήσας μετὰ τὴν ἱερουργίαν. πρὸς δὲ δὴ τοῦτοις τοιοῦτοις οὖσι λαμπὰς ἀπ' ἀνίσχοντος ἡλίου πρὸς δυσμὰς διέδραμε, καὶ τις ἀστήρ καινὸς ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ^[5] ὤφθη. τὸ τε φῶς τοῦ ἡλίου ἐλαττοῦσθαι

τε καὶ σβέννυσθαι, τοτὲ δὲ ἐν τρισὶ κύκλοις φαντάζεσθαι ἐδόκει, καὶ ἓνα γε αὐτῶν στέφανος σταχύων πυρώδης περιέσχεν, ὥστ' εἴπερ τι ἄλλο, καὶ τοῦτο ἐναργέστατα αὐτοῖς ἐκβῆναι: οἳ τε γὰρ ἄνδρες οἱ τρεῖς ἐδυνάστευον, λέγω δὲ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν Λέπιδον καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν νίκην ἔλαβεν. [6] τότε δ' οὖν ταῦτα τε ἐγένετο, καὶ λόγια πρὸς κατάλυσιν τῆς δημοκρατίας φέροντα παντοῖα ἦδeto. κόρακές τε ἐς τὸ Διοσκόρειον ἐσπετόμενοι τὰ τῶν ὑπάτων τοῦ τε Ἀντωνίου καὶ τοῦ Δολοβέλλου ὀνόματα, ἐνταῦθ' αὖτε ἐν πινακίῳ ἐγγεγραμμένα, [7] ἐξεκόλασαν. καὶ κύνες πολλοὶ νυκτὸς κατὰ τε τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν καὶ πρὸς τῇ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τοῦ Λεπίδου οἰκίᾳ μάλιστα συστρεφόμενοι ὠρύοντο. ὁ τε Ἡριδανὸς ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς πέριξ γῆς πελαγίσας ἐξαίφνης ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ παμπληθεῖς ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ ὄφεις ἐγκατέλιπε. καὶ ἰχθῦς ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀμύθητοι κατὰ τὰς τοῦ [p. 440] Τιβέριδος ἐκβολὰς ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον ἐξέπεσον. [8] ἐπεγένετο μὲν οὖν καὶ λοιμὸς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πάσῃ ὡς εἶπεν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἰσχυρὸς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ τε βουλευτήριον τὸ Ὅστιλιον ἀνοικοδομηθῆναι καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ ἡ ναυμαχία ἐγένονε συγχωσθῆναι ἐψηφίσθη: οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐνταῦθα στήσεσθαι τὸ [9] δεινὸν ἐδόκει, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ τοῦ Οὐίβιου τὰ ἐσιτήρια τῇ νομηνίᾳ θύοντος ῥαβδοῦχος τις αὐτοῦ ἔπεσεν ἐξαίφνης καὶ ἀπέθανεν. διὰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα καὶ ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐβουλευσάντο τε, καὶ εἶπον ἄλλοι τε ἐφ' ἐκάτερα πολλοὶ καὶ ὁ Κικέρων ὧδε: 18. ὧν μὲν ἕνεκα τὴν ἀποδημίαν, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐκδημήσων, ἐστείλαμην, καὶ διὰ σπουδῆς τὴν ἐπάνοδον, ὡς καὶ πολλὰ ὑμᾶς ὠφελήσων, ἐποίησάμην, ἠκούσατε πρῶην, ὦ πατέρες, ὅθ' [2] ὑμῖν περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων ἀπελογησάμην. οὐτε γὰρ ἐν δυναστείᾳ καὶ τυραννίδι ζῆν ὑπομείναιμ' ἂν, ἐν ᾗ μήτε πολιτεύεσθαι ὀρθῶς μήτε παρρησιάζεσθαι ἀσφαλῶς μήτε τελευτῆσαι χρησίμως ὑμῖν δύναμαι, οὐτ' αὖ παρὸν τῶν δεόντων τι πρᾶξαι, κατοκνήσαιμ' ἂν καὶ μετὰ κινδύνου τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. [3] νομίζω γὰρ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ ὁμοίως ἔργον εἶναι τοῖς τε τῆς πατρίδος συμφέρουσι τηρεῖν ἑαυτὸν, φυλαττόμενον μὴ μάτην ἀπόλῃται, κἂν τούτῳ μηδὲν ἐλλείπειν τῶν προσηκόντων μήτε λέγοντα μήτε πράττοντα, κἂν ἄρα τι καὶ παθεῖν σῶζοντα αὐτὴν ἀναγκαῖον ᾗ. [p. 442] 19.

οὕτω δὴ τούτων ἐχόντων ἦν μὲν που πολλὴ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ ὑμῖν ἀσφάλεια πρὸς τὸ τὰ δέοντα βουλευσάσθαι: ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ μετὰ φρουρᾶς συνελθεῖν ἐψηφίσασθε, πάνθ' ἡμᾶς οὕτω δεῖ καὶ εἶπεν καὶ πρᾶξαι τήμερον ὥστε καὶ τὰ παρόντα καταστήσασθαι καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος προῖδέσθαι, μὴ καὶ αὖθις [2] ἀναγκασθῶμεν ὁμοίως ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διαγνῶναι. ὅτι μὲν οὖν χαλεπὰ καὶ δεινὰ καὶ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας καὶ φροντίδος δεόμενα τὰ πράγματα ἡμῶν ἐστι, καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ δῆλον, εἰ καὶ ἐκ μηδενὸς ἄλλου, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐκ τούτου γε πεποιήκατε: οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐψηφίσασθε φυλακὴν τοῦ βουλευτηρίου σχεῖν, εἴγε ἐξῆν ὑμῖν ἐν τε τῷ εἰωθότῳ κόσμῳ καὶ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ ἀδεῶς τι βουλευσάσθαι. [3] δεῖ δὲ ἡμᾶς καὶ διὰ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς παρόντας ἀξιόλογόν τι πρᾶξαι, ἵνα μὴ καὶ αἰσχύνῃν ὄφλωμεν, αἰτήσαντες μὲν αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ φοβούμενοί τινας, ἀμελήσαντες δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ὡς ἐν

οὐδενὶ δεινῷ καθεστηκότες, καὶ λόγῳ μὲν σφας ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐπ’ Ἀντώνιον προσειληφότες, ^[4] ἔργῳ δ’ ἐκείνῳ καθ’ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν δεδωκότες, ὥσπερ δέον αὐτόν, πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατεύμασιν ἃ κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος συγκροτεῖ, καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺτους προσλαβεῖν, ἵνα μηδὲν μηδὲ τήμερον κατ’ αὐτοῦ ψηφίσθη. 20.

καίτοι τινὲς ἐς τοῦτ’ ἀναιδείας ἐληλύθασιν ὥστε τολμᾶν λέγειν ὡς οὐ πολεμεῖ τῇ πόλει, καὶ τοσαύτην γε εὐήθειαν ὑμῶν κατεγνώκασιν ὥστε ^[p. 444] καὶ νομίζειν τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς ἑαυτῶν πείσειν ὑμᾶς ^[2] προσέχειν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς ἐκείνου. καὶ τίς ἂν ἀφείλ τὸ τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ σκοπεῖν, καὶ τὴν στρατείαν ἣν ἐπὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἡμῶν μήτε τῆς βουλῆς μήτε τοῦ δήμου προστάξαντος πεποιηται, καὶ τὰς χώρας ἃς κατατρέχει, καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἃς πολιορκεῖ, καὶ τὰς ἀπειλὰς ἃς πᾶσιν ἡμῖν ἀπειλεῖ, καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐφ’ αἷς ἅπαντα ταῦτα ποιεῖ, τοῖς τε ῥήμασι τοῖς τούτων καὶ ταῖς ψευδολογίαις αἷς ἀναβάλλουσιν ὑμᾶς, σκῆψεις καὶ προφάσεις λέγοντες, ἐθελήσειε πεισθεὶς ἀπολέσθαι; ^[3] ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ τοσοῦτου δέω ταῦτα ποιοῦντα αὐτὸν ἔννομόν τι καὶ πολιτικὸν πρᾶγμα φάναι πράττειν, ὥστε καὶ ὅτι τὴν τῆς Μακεδονίας ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κλήρου προσταχθεῖσαν αὐτῷ κατέλιπε, καὶ ὅτι τὴν τῆς Γαλατίας ἀρχὴν τὴν ^[4] μηδὲν αὐτῷ προσήκουσαν ἀνθεῖλετο, καὶ ὅτι στρατεύματα ἃ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους προὔπεμψε, συλλαβὼν περὶ αὐτόν, μηδενὸς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ δεινοῦ ὄντος, ἔχει, καὶ ὅτι τὴν πόλιν ἐν τῷ τῆς ὑπατείας χρόνῳ ἐκλιπὼν περιέρχεται τὴν χώραν πορθῶν καὶ λυμαίνόμενος, πάλαι φημί 21. πολέμιον αὐτὸν ἀπάντων ἡμῶν εἶναι. εἰ δὲ μὴ παραχρήμα τότε ἡσθάνεσθε μηδὲ ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν ἡγανακτεῖτε, ἐκείνον μὲν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔτι μᾶλλον μισεῖν ἄξιόν ἐστιν, ὅτι τοιοῦτους ὄντας ὑμᾶς ἀδικῶν οὐ παύεται, καὶ δυνηθεὶς ἂν ἴσως συγγνώμης ἐφ’ οἷς τὸ πρῶτον ἡμαρτε τυχεῖν, ἐς τοσοῦτο τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῆς πονηρίας προελήλυθεν ^[p. 446] ὥστε καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων χρῆναι δίκην ὑποσχεῖν: ^[2] ὑμῖν δὲ ἐς ὑπερβολὴν ἐπιμελητέον ἐστὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, ὁρῶσι καὶ λογιζόμενοις τοῦθ’, ὅτι τὸν τοσαντάκις ὑμῶν ἐν τοσοῦτοις πράγμασι καταπεφρονηκότα ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν ἐκούσιον ὑπὸ τε τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπεικειᾶς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς φιλανθρωπίας ὑμῶν σωφρονισθῆναι, ἀλλ’ ἀνάγκη καὶ ἄκοντα νῦν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον, τοῖς ὅπλοις κολασθῆναι. 22.

μὴ γὰρ ὅτι καὶ καὶ ψηφισασθαι τινα αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν ἀνέπεισεν ὑμᾶς τὰ δὲ ἐξεβιάσατο, ἥττον τι παρὰ τοῦτο ἀδικεῖν αὐτόν καὶ ἐλάττονος διὰ τοῦτο ^[2] ἄξιον τιμωρίας εἶναι νομίσητε. πᾶν γὰρ τοῦναντίον καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τούτου μάλιστα δίκην ὀφείλει δοῦναι, ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ προελόμενος δρᾶσαι δι’ ὑμῶν τέ τινα αὐτῶν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ταῖς παρ’ ὑμῶν ἀφορμαῖς, ἃς οὔτε εἰδότας οὔτε προορωμένους τι τοιοῦτον ἐξαπατήσας ἠνάγκασεν αὐτῷ ψηφισασθαι, ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀπεχρήσατο. ^[3] ποῦ γὰρ ἂν ἐκόντες ὑμεῖς τὰς μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἢ καὶ τοῦ κλήρου δοθείσας ἐκάστοις ἡγεμονίας κατελύσατε, τούτῳ δὲ ἐπετρέπατε τὰ τε ἄλλα πολλὰ τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς ἐταίροις διαδοῦναι, καὶ ἐς μὲν τὴν Μακεδονίαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Γάϊον πέμψαι, τὴν δὲ διὴ Γαλατίαν ἑαυτῷ μετὰ τῶν στρατευμάτων, οἷς οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ

ὕμῶν χρήσασθαι [4] εἶχε, προστάξει; ἢ οὐ μέμνησθε ὅπως ταραττομένους ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος τελευτῇ λαβὼν πάνθ' ὅσα ἡβουλήθη διεπράξατο, τὰ μὲν ἐπικοινῶν ὑμῖν ὑποῦλως καὶ ἀκαίρως, τὰ δὲ αὐτὸς [p. 448] ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσκακουργῶν, πάντα δὲ βιαζόμενος; στρατιώταις γοῦν, καὶ τοῦτοις βαρβάροις, καθ' [5] ὑμῶν ἐχρήσατο. καὶ τοῦτο θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις, εἰ κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ἐψηφίσθη τι οἷον οὐκ ἐχρῆν, ὅποτε μὴδὲ νῦν παρρησιᾶν ἄλλως εἰπεῖν τι καὶ πρᾶξαι τῶν δεόντων, εἰ μὴ μετὰ φρουρᾶς, ἐσχήκαμεν; ἢν εἰ τότε περιβεβλημένοι ἦμεν, οὗτ' ἂν ἐκεῖνος ὧν φήσει τις αὐτὸν τυχεῖν ἔτυχεν, οὗτ' ἂν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐξηθεὶς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔπραξε. [6] μὴ οὖν ὅσα κελευόμενοι καὶ καταναγκαζόμενοι καὶ θρηνοῦντες δεδωκέναι αὐτῷ ἐδόξαμεν, ταῦτά τις ὡς καὶ νομίμως καὶ δικαίως γεγονότα προβαλλέσθω: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις, ὅσα ἂν τις ἕτερος ὑφ' ἑτέρου βιασθεὶς πράξει, κύρια ταῦτα τηρεῖται. 23.

καίτοι ταῦτα μὲν, ὅσα γε ψηφίσασθαι δοκεῖτε, καὶ βραχέα καὶ οὐ πάνυ ἔξω τοῦ καθεστηκότος ὄντα εὐρήσετε. τί γὰρ δεινὸν εἰ ἕτερος ἀνθ' ἑτέρου Μακεδονίας ἢ Γαλατίας ἄρξειν ἔμελλεν; ἢ τί χαλεπὸν εἶ τις στρατιώτας [2] ὑπατεύων ἔλαβεν; ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα χαλεπὰ καὶ σχέτλια, τὸ τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν κακουργεῖσθαι, τὸ τὰς πόλεις τὰς συμμαχίδας πολιορκεῖσθαι, τὸ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὀπλίζεσθαι, τὸ τὰ ἡμέτερα καθ' ἡμῶν ἀναλίσκεσθαι: ἃ μῆτε [3] ἐψηφίσασθε μῆτε ἐμελλήσατε. μὴ τοῖνυν, ὅτι τινὰ ἐδώκατε αὐτῷ, διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἔατε καὶ τὰ μὴ δοθέντα πράττειν: μὴδ' ὅτι τινὰ συνεχωρήσατε, παρὰ τοῦτο οἴεσθε δεῖν καὶ τὰ μὴ συγχωρηθέντα [p. 450] αὐτῷ ποιεῖν ἐξεῖναι. πᾶν γὰρ τοῦναντίον καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ μισεῖν καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὀφείλετε, ὅτι καὶ τῇ τιμῇ καὶ τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τῇ παρ' ὑμῶν οὐκ ἐν τοῦτοις μόνοις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι καθ' ὑμῶν ἐτόλμησε [4] χρήσασθαι. σκοπεῖτε δέ: ἐψηφίσασθε τὴν τε εἰρήνην καὶ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐμοὶ πεισθέντες. ταύτην οὗτος πρυτανεῦσαι κελευσθεὶς οὕτω διῆχε πρόφασιν τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ταφὴν ποιησάμενος, ὥστε πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν πόλιν ὀλίγου καταπρησθῆναι, παμπόλλους δὲ [5] αὖθις φονεῦσθαι. ἐβεβαιώσατε πάντα τὰ δοθέντα τισὶ καὶ νομοθετηθέντα πρὸς τοῦ Καίσαρος, οὐχ ὡς καλῶς πάντ' ἔχοντα πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴδὲν αὐτῶν μετακινήσθαι συνέφερεν, ὅπως ἀνυπόπτως χωρὶς ὑποῦλου τινὸς ἀλλήλοις συνῶμεν. τούτων ἐξεταστὴς οὗτος γενόμενος πολλὰ μὲν τῶν πραχθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταέλυκε, πολλὰ δὲ ἕτερα ἀνεγγέγραφε: [6] καὶ γὰρ χώρας καὶ πολιτείας καὶ ἀτελείας καὶ ἄλλας τινὰς τιμὰς τοὺς τε ἔχοντας ἀφῆρηται, καὶ ἰδιώτας καὶ βασιλέας καὶ πόλεις, καὶ τοῖς μὴ λαβοῦσι δέδωκε, παραποιησάμενος 100 τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπομνήματα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν μὴδὲν ἐθελήσαντας αὐτῷ προῖεσθαι καὶ τὰ δοθέντα αὐτοῖς ἀφελόμενος, τοῖς δ' ὠνητιάσασι 101 καὶ [7] ἐκεῖνα καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα πωλήσας. καίπερ ὑμεῖς αὐτὰ ταῦτα προορώμενοι ἐψηφίσασθε μηδεμίαν στήλην μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος θάνατον, [p. 452] ὡς καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου τῷ 102 δεδομένον τι ἔχουσαν, στήναι. καὶ μέντοι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὡς 103 πολὺ τοῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἔλεγεν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τινὰ τῶν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι τοῖς τοῦ 104 Καίσαρος [8]

εὐρεθέντων ἐκλεχθῆναι τε καὶπραχθῆναι, ὑμεῖς μὲν μετὰ τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν προσετάξατε αὐτῷ ταῦτα διαλέξει, ἐκεῖνος δὲ οὐδὲν αὐτῶν φροντίσας, πάνθ' ὅσα ἐβούλετο μόνος καὶ περὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ περὶ τοὺς φυγάδας καὶ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἃ μικρῷ πρόσθεν εἶπον ἐξειργάσατο. 105 οὕτω που πάντα τὰ δοκοῦντα ὑμῖν ποιεῖν βούλεται. 24.

Ἄρ' οὖν ἐν τούτοις μόνον τοιοῦτος γέγονε, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὀρθῶς διώκηκε; ποῦ; πόθεν; οὐ τὰ χρήματα τὰ κοινὰ τὰ καταλειφθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπιζητῆσαι καὶ ἀποδεῖξαι κελευσθεὶς ἤρπακε, καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῖς δανεισταῖς ἀποδédωκε τὰ δὲ ἐς τρυφὴν κατανάλωκεν, ὥστε μηκέτ' αὐτῷ [2] μηδὲ τούτων τι περιεῖναι; οὐ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ δικτάτορος μισησάντων ὑμῶν διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου δυναστείαν καὶ παντελῶς ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας ἐκβαλόντων, τοῦτο μὲν ὥσπερ τι αὐτὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀδικῆσαι δυνάμενον οὐκ ἐπιτέθεται, τὰ δὲ ἔργα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν ἐν τῷ τῆς [3] ὑπατείας προσρήματι ἐπιδέδεικται; οὐχ ὑμεῖς μὲν πρῦτανιν αὐτὸν τῆς ὁμονοίας ἀπεδείξατε, οὗτος δὲ πόλεμον αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ τηλικούτον, οὔτε προσήκοντα οὔτε ἐγνωσμένον, ἀνήρηται πρὸς Καίσαρα καὶ Δέκιμον, οὐς ὑμεῖς ἐπαινεῖτε; [4] μυρία δ' ἂν εἴη λέγειν, εἴ τις ἐπεξίεναι καθ' [p. 454] ἕκαστον ἐθελήσειεν ὧν ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐπετρέψατε αὐτῷ ὡς ὑπάτῳ διοικῆσαι, ἐκεῖνος δὲ οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν ἐς δέον ἔπραξε, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα τάναντία καθ' ὑμῶν τῇ παρ' ὑμῶν ἐξουσίᾳ δοθείῃ χρώμενος [5] πεποίηκεν. Ἄρ' οὖν ἐς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀναδέξεσθε 106 καὶ ταῦτα τὰ κακῶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπραγμένα, καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντων σφῶν αἵτιοι γεγονέναι φήσετε, ὅτι τὴν διοίκησιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν ἐξετασμόν αὐτῷ [6] προσετάξατε; ἀλλὰ ἄτοπον. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν στρατηγὸς ἢ καὶ πρεσβευτὴς 107 τις αἰρεθεὶς μηδὲν τῶν δεόντων δράσῃ, τούτου τὴν αἰτίαν ὑμεῖς οἱ πέμψαντες αὐτοὺς ἔχετε. καὶ γὰρ ἂν εἴη δεινὸν εἰ πάντες οἱ προχειριζόμενοι τι πρᾶξαι τὰ μὲν κέρδη καὶ τὰς τιμὰς αὐτοὶ λαμβάνοιεν, τὰ δὲ ἐγκλήματα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἐφ' ὑμᾶς 108 ἀναφέροιεν. 25. οὐκ οὐκ οὐδὲ τούτω προσέχειν προσήκει λέγοντι ὑμεῖς γὰρ τὴν Γαλατίαν ἄρχειν ἐπετρέψατε, ὑμεῖς τὰ χρήματα τὰ κοινὰ διοικῆσαι ἐκελεύσατε, ὑμεῖς τὰ στρατεύματα τὰ 109 ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας [2] ἐδώκατε.' ἐψηφίσθη μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα οὕτως, εἶγε δεῖ τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου δίκην παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν, ὅτι ταῦθ' ὑμᾶς 110 ἠνάγκασε γινῶναι: οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸ τοὺς φυγάδας κατὰγειν, 111 οὐδὲ τὸ τοὺς νόμους παρεγγράφειν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὰς πολιτείας καὶ τὰς ἀτελείας πωλεῖν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὰ κοινὰ κλέπτειν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἀρπάζειν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὰς πόλεις κακουργεῖν, οὐδὲ τὸ τῆς πατρίδος τυραννεῖν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐδώκατέ ποτε [3] αὐτῷ. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἄλλῳ τινί, καίτοι πολλὰ [p. 456] πολλοῖς ψηφισάμενοι, συνεχωρήσατε ὅσα ἐβούλοντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ δίκην αἰεὶ ποτε παρὰ τῶν τοιούτων, ὅσων γε καὶ ἡδυνήθητε, 112 ἐλάβετε, ὥσπερ που καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τούτου λήψεσθε, ἂν γε ἔμοι νῦν [4] πεισθῇτε. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τούτων μόνων τοιοῦτος γέγονεν ὅποιον αὐτὸν ἴστε καὶ ἐοράκατε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων ἀπλῶς ὅσα πῶποτε πρὸς τὰ 113 κοινὰ προσελθὼν πέπραχε. 26.

τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ βίον τὰς τε ἰδίας ἀσελγείας καὶ πλεονεξίας ἐκὼν

παρалаίψω, οὐχ ὅτι οὐχὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις εὖροι τις ἂν 114 αὐτὸν πεπονηκότα, ἀλλ' ὅτι αἰδοῦμαι νῆ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀκριβῶς καθ' ἕκαστον, ἄλλως τε καὶ 115 ^[2] πρὸς οὐδὲν ἦττον εἰδότας ὑμᾶς, λέγειν ὅπως μὲν τὴν ὥραν τὴν ἐν παισὶν 116 ὑμῖν διέθετο, ὅπως δὲ τὴν ἀκμὴν τὴν ἐφ' ἥβης ἀπεκῆρυξε, τὰς ἐταιρήσεις αὐτοῦ τὰς λαθραίας, τὰς πορνείας τὰς ἐμφανεῖς, ὅσα ἔπαθεν ἕως 117 ἐνεδέχετο, ὅσα ἔδρασεν ἀφ' οὐπερ ἡδυνήθη, τοὺς κώμους, τὰς μέθας, τὰλλα ^[3] πάντα τὰ τοῦτοις ἐπόμενα. ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἔστιν ἄνθρωπον ἔν τε ἀσελγείᾳ καὶ ἐν ἀναισχυντίᾳ τοσαύτῃ τραφέντα μὴ οὐ πάντα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον μιᾶναι: ὅθενπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ τὴν κιναιδίαν καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν προήγαγε. ^[4] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔασω, καὶ νῆ Δία καὶ τὴν ἐς Αἴγυπτον αὐτοῦ πρὸς Γαβίνιον ἀποδημίαν, τὴν τε ἐς Γαλατίαν πρὸς Καίσαρα ἀπόδρασιν, ἵνα μὴ μέ τις φῇ πάντα ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι, αἰσχυνθεὶς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὅτι τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν ὄντα εἰδότες καὶ ^[p. 458] δῆμαρχον καὶ ἵππαρχον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπατον ἀπεδείξατε: ἃ δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῦτοις ἐπαρώνησε 118 καὶ ἐκακούργησε, μόνα νῦν ἐρῶ. 27.

οὗτος τοίνυν δημαρχήσας πρῶτον μὲν ἀπάντων ἐκώλυσε ὑμᾶς τὰ τότε περιστάντα πράγματα εὐ θέσθαι, βοῶν καὶ κεκραγῶς καὶ μόνος ἐξ ἀπάντων ^[2] ἐναντιούμενος τῇ κοινῇ τῆς πόλεως εἰρήνῃ, ἔπειτα δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἀγανακτήσαντες ἐψηφίσασθε δι' αὐτὸν ἄπερ ἐψηφίσασθε, τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξέδρα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγκαταλιπὼν, ὧς μηδεμίαν ἐκ τῶν νόμων νύκτα ἀποδημῆσαι ἐξῆν, τοῦτο δὲ ἐς τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὄπλα αὐτομολήσας ἐκείνόν τε ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐπήγαγε καὶ ὑμᾶς 119 ἔκ τε τῆς Ρώμης καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης Ἰταλίας ὅλης ἐξήλασε, καὶ ἐνὶ λόγῳ 120 πάντων τῶν κακῶν τῶν ἐμφυλίων τῶν μετὰ ταῦθ' ὑμῖν 121 συμβάντων αἰτιώτατος ἐγένετο. ^[3] εἰ γὰρ μὴ τότε τοῖς βουλήμασιν ὑμῶν 122 ἀντεπεπράχει, οὐκ ἂν ποτε ὁ Καῖσαρ οὔτε 123 σκῆψιν οὐδεμίαν τῶν πολέμων εὐρήκει, οὔτε εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀπηναισχύντει, δύναμιν γέ 124 τινα ἀξιόχρεων παρὰ τὰ δόγματα ὑμῶν 125 ἡθοίκει, ἀλλ' ἦτοι ἐκὼν ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων ἀπήλλακτο 126 ἢ καὶ ^[4] ἄκων ἐσεσφρόνιστο. νῦν δὲ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ καὶ ἐκείνῳ τὰς προφάσεις ἐνδοὺς καὶ τὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀξίωμα καταλύσας, τὸ τε θράσος τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπαυξήσας: οὗτος ὁ τὸ σπέρμα τῶν κακῶν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκφύντων ἐμβαλὼν, οὗτος ὁ κοινὸς ἀλιτήριος οὐχ ἡμῶν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ^[p. 460] οἰκουμένης ὀλίγου πάσης γενόμενος, ὥς που καὶ ^[5] τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐναργῶς ἐσήμηνεν. ὅτε γοῦν τοὺς θαυμαστοὺς ἐκείνους νόμους ἐσέφερε, βροντῶν πάντα καὶ ἀστραπῶν ἐπληρώθη. ὧν οὐδὲν ὁ μιαρὸς οὗτος, καίπερ οἰωνιστῆς εἶναι λέγων, φροντίσας, κακῶν καὶ πολέμων, 127 ὥσπερ εἶπον, οὐ τὴν πόλιν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπλήρωσε.

μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν τί μεν δεῖ λέγειν ὡς ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὅλον ἵππαρχησεν, ὁ μῆπω πρότερον 28. ἐγεγόνει; τί δ' ὅτι καὶ τότε μεθύων 128 τε ἐπαρώνει κἀν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τὴν κραিপάλην ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ^[2] βήματος μεταξὺ δημηγορῶν ἐξήμει; τί δ' ὅτι καὶ πόρνους καὶ πόρνας, καὶ γελωτοποιοὺς οὐχ ὅτι ἄνδρας ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκας, μετὰ τῶν ῥαβδούχων δαφνηφορῶντων ἐπαγόμενος τὴν

Ἰταλίαν περιήει; [3] τί δ' ὅτι τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου οὐσίαν μόνος ἀνθρώπων ἀγοράσαι ἐτόλμησε, μήτε τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἀξίωμα μήτε τὴν ἐκείνου μνήμην αἰδεσθεῖς, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς πάντες ἔτι καὶ τότε ἐθρηνοῦμεν, ταῦτα μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἀρπάσας; καὶ γὰρ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλα πολλὰ ἐπεπήδησεν ὡς μηδεμίαν αὐτῶν τιμὴν [4] ἀποδώσων. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην μετὰ πάσης ὕβρεως καὶ βίας ἐσεπράχθη: οὕτως αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ κατέγνων: καὶ πάνθ' ὅσαπερ ἐκτήσατο, παμπληθῆ τε γενόμενα καὶ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ἀργυρολογηθέντα, κατακεκύβευκε καὶ καταπεπόρνευκε καὶ καταβέβρωκε καὶ καταπέπωκεν ὥσπερ ἡ Χάρυβδις. 29.

ταῦτα μὲν οὖν 129 ἔάσω: τὰς δὲ δὴ ὕβρεις ἅς τὸ κοινὸν ὕβρισε, καὶ τὰς σφαγὰς ἅς κατὰ [p. 462] πᾶσαν ὁμοίως τὴν πόλιν εἰργάσατο, πῶς ἂν τις σιωπήσειεν; ἢ οὐ μέμνησθε πῶς βαρὺς μὲν ὑμῖν καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ ὄψει, βαρὺτατος δὲ [2] τοῖς ἔργοις ἐγένετο; ὅστις, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί, πρῶτον μὲν ἐτόλμησεν ἐνταῦθα, ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους, ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, τὸ τε ἔσθημα ἅμα τὸ περιπόρφυρον ἐνδύεσθαι καὶ ξίφος παραζώννυσθαι ῥαβδούχοις τε χρῆσθαι [3] καὶ ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν δορυφορεῖσθαι: ἔπειτα δυνηθεὶς ἂν καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων θορύβους καταπαῦσαι, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐποίησε τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁμονοοῦντας ὑμᾶς ἐστασίασεν, τῇ μὲν αὐτὸς τῇ δὲ καὶ δι' ἐτέρων. καὶ μέντοι καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ἐν τῷ μέρει προσλαμβάνων, καὶ τότε μὲν συναιρόμενός σφισι τότε δὲ ἐναντιούμενος, 130 αἰτιώτατος μὲν ἐγένετο τοῦ 131 παμπληθεῖς σφον σφαγῆναι, [4] αἰτιώτατος δὲ τοῦ μὴ πάντα τὰ τοῦ Πόντου τῶν τε Πάρθων εὐθὺς τότε ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ τοῦ Φαρνάκου νίκῃ χειρωθῆναι: πρὸς γὰρ τοι τὰ πραττόμενα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δεῦρο διὰ ταχέων ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπειχθεὶς οὐδὲν ἐκείνων, ὥς γε 132 καὶ ἡδυνήθη, παντελῶς κατειργάσατο. 30.

καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα μέντοι αὐτὸν ἐσωφρόνισεν, ἀλλ' ὑπατεὺσας γυμνός, ὦ πατέρες, γυμνός καὶ μεμυρισμένος ἔς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐσῆλθε, πρόφασιν τὰ Λυκαῖα ποιησάμενος, κάνταῦθα πρὸς τὸ βῆμα μετὰ τῶν ῥαβδούχων προσῆλθε, καὶ ἐκεῖ κάτωθεν [2] ἐδημηγόρησεν: ὅπερ, ἄφ' οὗ γέγονεν ἡ πόλις, οὐδένα ἄλλον οὐχ ὅτι ὑπατον ἀλλ' οὐδὲ στρατηγὸν οὐδὲ δήμαρχον οὐδ' ἀγορανόμον οὐδεὶς οἶδε πεποηκότα. [p. 464] τὰ γὰρ Λυκαῖα ἦν, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐταιρικοῦ τοῦ Ἰουλίου ἐτέτακτο: ταῦτα γὰρ ὁ Σέξτος αὐτὸν ὁ Κλώδιος τῶν δισχιλίων πλέθρων τῶν ἐν [3] τῇ Λεοντίνων γῇ δοθέντων ἐξεπαίδευσεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπάτευες, ὦ χρηστέ· ἐρῶ γὰρ ὡς πρὸς παρόντα σέ, καὶ οὔτε ἔπρεπε σοι οὔτε ἐξῆν τοιοῦτῳ ὄντι ἐν 133 τῇ ἀγορᾷ πρὸς τῷ βήματι, πάντων ἡμῶν παρόντων, τοιαυτ' εἰπεῖν, ἴν' ἅμα τε τὸ θαυμαστόν σου σῶμα καὶ εὖσαρκον καὶ βδελυρὸν θεωρῶμεν, καὶ τῆς μιαιῆς σου φωνῆς τῆς μεμυρισμένης [4] τὰ δεινὰ ἐκεῖνα λεγούσης ἀκούωμεν: τοῦτο γὰρ περὶ τοῦ στόματός σου μᾶλλον ἢ τι ἕτερον εἰπεῖν βούλομαι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ Λυκαῖα καὶ ἄλλως ἂν τῆς προσηκούσης θρησκείας οὐκ ἀπέτυχε, 134 σὺ δὲ πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ τὴν πόλιν κατήσχυνας, ἵνα μηδὲν [5] μηδέπω περὶ τῶν τότε λεχθέντων εἴπω: τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι ἡ ὑπατεία δημοσία τοῦ δήμου παντός ἐστι, καὶ δεῖ τὸ ἀξίωμα

αὐτῆς πανταχοῦ σώζεσθαι καὶ μηδαμοῦ μήτε γυμνοῦσθαι μήθ' 31. ὑβρίζεσθαι. τάχα γ' ἂν οὗτος ἢ τὸν Ὀράτιον τὸν παλαιὸν ἐκείνον ἢ καὶ τὴν Κλοιλίαν τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐμιμήσατο, ὣν ἡ μὲν τὴν ἐσθῆτα πᾶσαν ἐνδεδουκυῖα τὸν ποταμὸν διενήξατο, ὁ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων ἐς τὸ ῥέϋμα ἑαυτὸν ἐνέβαλεν. ἄξιόν γε 'οὐ γάρ;' καὶ τοῦτου τινὰ εἰκόνα στήσαι, ἵν' ὁ μὲν καὶ ἐν τῷ Τιβέριδι ὠπλισμένος, ὁ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ γυμνός^[2] ὀρῶτο. καὶ γάρ τοι διὰ ταῦτα ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἔσωζον καὶ ἠλευθέρουν, οὗτος δὲ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡμῶν, ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἦν, ἀφείλετο, ^[p. 466] πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν δημοκρατίαν κατέλυσεν, καὶ δεσπότην μὲν ἀντὶ ὑπάτου τύραννον δὲ ἀντὶ δικτάτορος ἡμῖν ἀντικατέστησε. 135 μένησθε γὰρ οἷα μὲν προσελθὼν πρὸς τὸ βῆμα εἶπεν, οἷα δὲ ἀναβὰς^[3] ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἐπραξε. καίτοι ὅστις ἐτόλμησε, Ῥωμαῖός τε ὦν καὶ ὑπατεῦων, βασιλέα τινὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐν τε τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῇ Ῥωμαίᾳ καὶ πρὸς τῷ βήματι τῷ ἐλευθερίῳ, παντὸς μὲν τοῦ δήμου πάσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς παρούσης ἀνειπεῖν, καὶ τὸ τε διάδημα εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ^[4] ἐπιθεῖναι, καὶ προσκαταφεύσασθαι πάντων ἡμῶν ἀκουόντων ὅτι αὐτοὶ ταῦτα αὐτῷ καὶ εἰπεῖν καὶ πρᾶξαι ἐπεσκήψαμεν, τί μὲν οὐκ ἂν τῶν δεινοτάτων τολμήσειε, τίνος δ' ἂν τῶν χαλεπωτάτων 32. ἀπόσχοιτο; ἡμεῖς, ὦ Ἀντώνιε, ἡμεῖς σοι 136 ταῦτ' ἐνετειλάμεθα, οἱ τοὺς Ταρκυνίους 137 ἐξελάσαντες, οἱ τὸν Βροῦτον ἀγαπήσαντες, οἱ τὸν Καπιτωλῖνον 138 κατακρημνίσαντες, οἱ τὸν Σπούριον ἀποκτείναντες; ^[2] ἡμεῖς βασιλέα τινὰ ἀσπάσασθαι σε προσετάξαμεν, οἱ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὴν τοῦ δικτάτορος δι' ἐκείνην, ἐπάρατον ποιησάμενοι; ἡμεῖς τύραννόν τινα ἀποδεῖξαι σοι ἐκελεύσαμεν, οἱ τὸν Πύρρον ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκβαλόντες, οἱ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ὑπὲρ τὸν Ταῦρον ἀπελάσαντες, οἱ καὶ Μακεδονίαν τυραννουμένην ^[3] παύσαντες; οὐ μὰ τὰς ῥάβδους τὰς Οὐαλερίου καὶ τὸν νόμον τὸν Πορκίου, οὐ μὰ τὸ σκέλος τὸ Ὀρατίου καὶ τὴν χεῖρα τὴν Μουκίου, οὐ ^[4] μὰ τὸ δόρυ τὸ Δεκίου καὶ τὸ ξίφος τὸ Βρούτου. σὺ ^[p. 468] δέ, ὦ παγκάκιστε, καὶ ἐδέου καὶ ἰκέτευες ἵνα δουλεύσης, ὡς Ποστούμιος ὅπως Σαυνίταις ἐκδοθῇ, 139 ὡς Ῥήγουλος ὅπως Καρχηδονίοις ἀποδοθῇ, 140 ὡς Κούρτιος ἵνα ἐς τὸ χάσμα ἐμπέσῃ. 141 καὶ ποῦ τοῦτο γεγραμμένον 142 εὔρες; οὐπὲρ 143 καὶ τὸ τοὺς Κρῆτας ἐλευθέρους μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Βρούτου ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι, ὦν ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖνον μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος θάνατον ἄρξα ἐψηφισάμεθα. 33.

Εἴτ' ἐν τοσούτοις καὶ τηλικούτοις πράγμασι τὴν ἀλιτηριώδη γνώμην αὐτοῦ πεφωρακότες οὐ τιμωρήσεσθε αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ ἀναμενεῖτε 144 καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ μαθεῖν τί ἂν δράσειεν ὑμᾶς ὠπλισμένος ὁ τοιαῦτα ^[2] γυμνὸς εἰργασμένος; ἢ οἴεσθε ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιθυμεῖ τῆς τυραννίδος, ὅτι οὐκ εὐχεται ποτε αὐτῆς τυχεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκβαλεῖ ποτε ἐκ τῆς διανοίας τὴν ἔφεσιν ταύτην, ἣν ἅπαξ ἐς τὸν νοῦν ἐγκατέθετο, καὶ καταβαλεῖ ποτε τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς μοναρχίας, ὑπὲρ ἧς τοιαῦτα καὶ εἰπὼν καὶ ποιήσας ἀτιμώρητος ^[3] ἐγένετο; καὶ τίς ἀνθρώπων ἃ 145 ἄλλῳ τῷ συμπρᾶξαι, τῆς φωνῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ μόνης κυριεύων, ἐπιχειρήσειε, ταῦτ' οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ δυνηθεὶς κατεργάσαιτο; τίς δ' ἂν ἕτερον τύραννον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἅμα ἀποδεῖξαι

τολμήσας οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸς μοναρχῆσαι 34. ἐθέλησειεν; ὥστε εἰ καὶ τότε αὐτοῦ ἐφείσασθε, ἀλλὰ νῦν γε καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνα αὐτὸν μισήσατε: μηδ' ἐθέλησητε μαθεῖν τί κατορθώσας ὅσα 146 βούλεται δράσει, 147 ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἤδη προτετολμημένων αὐτῷ [p. 470] [2] τὸ μηδὲν ἔτι δεινὸν παθεῖν προνοήσατε. καὶ γὰρ τοι τί καὶ φήσειεν ἂν τις; ὀρθῶς τότε τὸν Καίσαρα ποιῆσαι μὴ προσδεξάμενον μήτε τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ βασιλέως μήτε τὸ διάδημα ; οὐκοῦν οὗτος κακῶς ταῦτα αὐτῷ προὔτεινεν ἃ μηδὲ ἐκείνον [3] ἤρρεσεν. ἀλλ' ἁμαρτεῖν ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοιοῦτό τι ἀκούσας καὶ ἰδὼν ἠνέσχετο; οὐκοῦν εἴπερ ἐκεῖνος εἰκότως ἐπὶ τούτοις τέθηγκε, πῶς οὐ καὶ οὗτος, ὁμολογῶν τρόπον τινὰ τυραννῆσαι ἐπιθυμεῖν, [4] δικαιοτάτος ἐστὶν ἀπολέσθαι; ὅτι γὰρ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, δῆλον μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ ἐκ τούτων ὧν προείρηκα, φανερώτατα δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ὧν μετὰ ταῦτ' ἔπραξεν ἐλέγχεται. τίνος μὲν γὰρ ἄλλου ἔνεκα, ἐξὸν αὐτῷ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀσφαλῶς ἄγειν, ταράττειν τὰ πράγματα καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν ἐπιχειρήσκει; [5] τίνος δέ, παρὸν αὐτῷ ἀκινδύνως οἴκοι μένειν, στρατεύεσθαι καὶ πολεμεῖν ἐπανήρηται; διὰ τί, πολλῶν μηδὲ ἐς τὰς ἐπιβαλοῦσας αὐτοῖς ἀρχὰς βουλευθέντων ἐξελθεῖν, οὗτος οὐχ ὅτι τῆς Γαλατίας οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσης ἀντιποιεῖται, ἀλλὰ καὶ [6] ἄκουσαν αὐτὴν βιάζεται; διὰ τί, τοῦ Βρούτου τοῦ Δεκίμου καὶ ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἡμῖν 148 παραδιδόντος, οὗτος οὐχ ὅπως οὐκ ἐμιμήσατο αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολιορκεῖ κατακλείσας; οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐκ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι καὶ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς 149 κάκεῖνα καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα παρασκευάζεται. 35.

Ταῦτ' οὖν ὁρῶντες μέλλομεν καὶ μαλακιζόμεθα, καὶ τηλικούτον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς 150 τύραννον ἀσκοῦμεν; καὶ πῶς οὐκ αἰσχροὺς τοὺς μὲν προγόνους ἡμῶν ἐν δουλείᾳ τραφέντας ἐπιθυμῆσαι ἐλευθερίας, [p. 472] [2] ἡμᾶς δὲ ἐν αὐτονομίᾳ πολιτευθέντας ἐθελοδουλῆσαι, καὶ τῆς μὲν μοναρχίας τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἡδέως, καίπερ 151 πολλὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀγαθὰ προπαθόντας, ἀπαλλαγῆναι, τοῦτον δὲ δεσπότην αὐθαίρετον ἀνθελέσθαι, ὃς τοσοῦτον ἐκείνου χείρων ἐστὶν ὅσον ὁ μὲν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις κρατήσας [3] πολλῶν ἐφείσατο, οὗτος δέ, πρὶν καὶ δυνηθῆναι τι, τριακοσίους στρατιώτας, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἑκατοντάρχους τινάς, μηδὲν ἀδικήσαντας, οἴκοι παρ' ἑαυτῷ, παρούσης τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ βλεπούσης, ἐφόνευσεν, ὥστε καὶ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτὴν ἀναπλῆσαι. [4] καίτοι τὸν οὕτως ὠμῶς ἐκείνοις, ὅτε καὶ θεραπεύειν αὐτοὺς ὤφειλε, χρησάμενον τί οὐκ οἶσθε 152 τῶν δεινотάτων πάντας ὑμᾶς, ἂν καὶ νικήσῃ, ποιήσειν; καὶ τὸν ἀσελγῶς οὕτω μέχρι νῦν βεβιωκότα πῶς οὐκ ἐπὶ πᾶν ὕβρεως, ἂν καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἐξουσίαν προσλάβῃ, χωρήσειν νομίζετε; 36.

μὴ τοίνυν ἀναμείνῃτε παθόντες τι τοιοῦτο μεταγνῶναι, ἀλλὰ πρὶν παθεῖν φυλάξασθε: σχέτλιον γάρ, ἐξὸν προκαταλαβεῖν τὰ δεινὰ, εἴτα περιιδόντας αὐτὰ γένομενα μετανόησαι. μηδὲ ἐθέλησητε, προέμενοι τὰ παρόντα, Κασσίου τινὸς αὔθις ἄλλου καὶ Βρούτων 153 τινῶν ἄλλων δεηθῆναι: γελοῖον γάρ, ἐξὸν αὐτοὺς ἑαυτοῖς τὰ κατὰ καιρὸν βοηθῆσαι, ζητεῖν μετὰ ταῦτα τοὺς ἐλευθεροῦντας [2] ἡμᾶς. οὐς ἴσως οὐδὲ εὐρήσομεν, ἄλλως τε

κἀν οὕτω τοῖς παροῦσι χρῆσώμεθα. τίς γάρ ἂν ἰδίᾳ ὑπὲρ τῆς δημοκρατίας κινδυνεύσαι ἐθελήσειεν, [p. 474] ὁρῶν ἡμᾶς δημοσίᾳ πρὸς τὴν δουλείαν ἐτοίμως ἔχοντας; καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε οὐ στήσεται ποτε ταῦτα ποιῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς πόρρω καὶ ἐλάττωσιν ἐφ' [3] ἡμᾶς αὐξάνεται, παντὶ δῆλόν ἐστιν. οὐ γάρ που δι' ἄλλο τι Δεκίμῳ πολεμεῖ καὶ Μούτιναν πολιορκεῖ ἢ ἵνα νικήσας αὐτοὺς καὶ λαβὼν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς συσκευάσῃται: οὔτε γάρ ἡδίκηται τι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὥστ' ἀμύνασθαι δοκεῖν, οὔτ' αὖ τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν τῶν παρ' ἐκείνοις ἐπιθυμεῖ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πόνους καὶ κινδύνους ὑπομένει, τῶν δ' ἡμετέρων, οἳ καὶ ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ κεκτήμεθα, [4] ἐθελοντὴς ἀφέξεται. τοῦτ' οὖν ἀναμενοῦμεν, ἵνα καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα προσλαβὼν δυσπολέμητος γένηται; καὶ πιστεύσομεν 154 ἐξαπατῶντι 37. αὐτῷ καὶ λέγοντι ὅτι 155 οὐ πολεμεῖ τῇ πόλει; καὶ τίς οὕτως εὐήθης; ἐστὶν ὥστε τοῖς ῥήμασι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἔργοις τὸν πολεμοῦντα ἡμῖν ἢ μὴ σκοπεῖν; ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ οὐ νῦν πρῶτον, ὅτε ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκδεδρακε καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς συμμαχοὺς ἐστράτευκε καὶ Βρούτῳ προσβάλλει καὶ τὰς πόλεις πολιορκεῖ, [2] κακόνουν 156 αὐτὸν ἡμῖν εἶναι φημι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ὧν πρότερόν ποτε, οὐχ ὅτι τελευτήσαντος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀλλὰ καὶ ζῶντος ἔτι, καὶ κακῶς καὶ ἀσελγῶς ἔπραξεν, καὶ ἐχθρὸν καὶ ἐπίβουλον καὶ τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἡμῶν γεγονέναι [3] διορίζομαι: τίς γάρ ἂν τὴν πατρίδα φιλῶν ἢ τίς τυραννίδα μισῶν ἔν γε τι τούτων ἐποίησεν ἢ πολλὰ καὶ παντοδαπὰ οὗτος δέδρακε; πολέμιος μὲν δὴ πάλαι καὶ πανταχόθεν ὧν ἡμῖν ἐλέγχεται, [p. 476] ἔχει δὲ οὕτως. ἂν μὲν ἦδη καὶ τὴν ταχίστην ἀμυνώμεθα αὐτόν, πάντα καὶ τὰ προειμένα 157 [4] ἀναληφόμεθα: ἂν δ' ἀμελήσαντες τοῦτο ποιεῖν περιμένωμεν ἕως ἂν ἡμῖν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐπιβουλεύειν ὁμολογήσῃ, πάντων ἀμαρτησόμεθα. τοῦτο μὲν γάρ οὐδ' ἂν πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν προσελάυνῃ ποιήσῃ, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ὁ Μάριος οὐδ' ὁ Κίννας οὐδ' [5] ὁ Σύλλας: ἂν δὲ ἐν τῷ κράτει τῶν πραγμάτων γένηται, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι οὐ δράσει τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνοις, ἢ καὶ χαλεπώτερον. ἀλλὰ τε γὰρ λέγειν οἱ πρᾶξαι τι 158 γλιχόμενοι καὶ ἄλλα ποιεῖν οἱ κατορθώσαντες εἰώθασι: πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ κρατῆσαι τούτου πάντα πλάττονται, τυχόντες δὲ [6] αὐτοῦ οὐδενὸς ὧν ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἀπέχονται. καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰ τετολμημένα τισὶν οἱ ἐπιγιγνόμενοι νικᾶν αἰεὶ ἐθέλουσι, τὸ μὲν ὁμοιον ὡς καὶ σμικρὸν ἐκ τοῦ προπεπρᾶχθαι νομίζοντες, τὸ δὲ ἄτοπον ὡς καὶ μόνον 159 σφῶν ἄξιον ἐκ τοῦ παραδόξου προαιρούμενοι. 38.

Ταῦτ' οὖν ὁρῶντες, ὦ πατέρες, μηκέτι μέλλωμεν, μηδ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ παρόντι ῥαστώνης δελεαζώμεθα, ἀλλὰ τῆς πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἀσφαλείας [2] προιδώμεθα. πῶς γάρ οὐκ αἰσχρὸν Καίσαρα μὲν, ἄρτι τε ἐκ παιδῶν προεληλυθότα καὶ οὐ πολὺς ἐξ οὗ χρόνος ἐς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐγγεγραμμένον, τοσαύτην τοῦ κοινοῦ πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι ὥστε καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ ἀναλίσκειν καὶ στρατιώτας ἀθροίζειν, ἡμᾶς δὲ μήτ' αὐτοὺς τι τῶν δεόντων πρᾶξαι μήτε ἐκείνῳ [p. 478] συνάρασθαι 160 προελέσθαι, καίπερ πείρᾳ ἔργῳ τῆς [3] εὐνοίας αὐτοῦ εἰληφότας; τίς γάρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι 161 εἰ μὴ μετὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καμπανίας στρατιωτῶν ἐνταῦθα ἀφῆκτο, πάντως ἂν 162 Ἀντώνιος ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου εὐθύς, ὥσπερ εἶχεν, ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν

μετὰ πάντων τῶν στρατευμάτων ὥσπερ τις χειμάρρους ^[4] ἔσεπεπτώκει· καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐκεῖνο δεινόν, τοὺς μὲν πάλαι ἐστρατευμένους ἔκουσίους ἑαυτοὺς ὑμῖν πρὸς τὰ παρόντα πράγματα ἐπιδεδωκέναι, μήτε τὴν ἡλικίαν μήτε τὰ τραύματα, ἃ πρότερόν ποτε πολεμοῦντες ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἔλαβον, ὑπολογισαμένους, ὑμᾶς 163 δὲ μηδὲ ἐπικυρῶσαι τὸν πόλεμον ἐθελῆσαι τὸν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων προκεχειροtonημένον, ^[5] ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτῳ χείρους καὶ τῶν κινδυνευόντων αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι ὥστε ἐπαινεῖν μὲν τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς τὴν τε μιαρίαν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κατιδόντας καὶ ἐκείνου μὲν καὶ ὑπατεῦοντος ἀποστάντας, τῷ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρι, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὑμῖν δι' αὐτοῦ, προσθεμένους, ἃ δ' ὀρθῶς αὐτοὺς πεποικέναι φατέ, ταῦτ' ὀκνήσαι ψηφισασθαι. ^[6] καὶ μέντοι καὶ τῷ Βρούτῳ χάριν ἴσμεν ὅτι μήτε τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐσεδέξατο τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν καὶ νῦν ἐπιστρατεύσαντα ἀπωθεῖται. τί ποτ' οὖν οὐχὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ποιοῦμεν; τί δὲ οὐ τοὺς ἄλλους οὕς ὀρθῶς 39. φρονοῦντας ἐπαινοῦμεν, μιμούμεθα 164 ; καίτοι δυοῖν ἡμᾶς ἀνάγκη θάτερον, ἢ τοὺτους πάντας, τὸν Καίσαρα λέγω, τὸν Βρούτον, τοὺς πάλαι στρατιώτας, ^[p. 480] τὰ στρατόπεδα, 165 κακῶς τε βεβουλεῦσθαι φάναι καὶ τιμωρίαν δεῖν ὑποσχεῖν ὅτι μὴθ' ἡμῶν 166 μήτε τοῦ δήμου ψηφισαμένων ἐτόλμησαν, οἱ μὲν τὸν ὑπατὸν σφον καταλιπόντες οἱ δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ^[2] ἀθροισθέντες, προσπολεμῆσαι αὐτῷ: ἢ τὸν Ἀντώνιον πάλαι τε καὶ νῦν 167 ὑφ' ἡμῶν 168 τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῖς πολέμιον ὁμολογεῖν εἶναι κεκρίσθαι, καὶ χρῆναι καὶ κοινῇ γνώμῃ πρὸς πάντων ἡμῶν κολασθῆναι. καὶ μὴν ὅτι τοῦτο οὐ μόνον δικαιότερον ἀλλὰ καὶ λυσιτελέστερον ἡμῖν 169 ἐστίν, ^[3] οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ 170 οὗτ' αὐτὸς χρήσασθαι πράγμασιν ἐπίσταται ἥτοι γὰρ ἢ πόθεν ἄνθρωπος ἐν μέθαις καὶ κύβοις ζῶν; οὕτε τῶν συνόντων οὐδένα οἷον ἄξιον εἶναι λόγου ἔχει: τοὺς γὰρ τοι ὁμοίους ἑαυτῷ μόνους καὶ ἀγαπᾷ καὶ κοινωνοὺς ^[4] ἀπάντων καὶ ῥητῶν καὶ ἀπορρήτων ποιεῖται. καὶ μέντοι καὶ δειλότατος ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις τῶν κινδύνων καὶ ἀπιστότατος καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πάνυ φίλους ἐστίν: ὧν οὐδέτερον στρατηγία καὶ πολέμῳ 40. προσήκει. τίς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι αὐτὸς ἡμῖν πάντα τὰ ἐμφύλια κακὰ παρασκευάσας ἔπειτ' ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον τῶν κινδύνων μετέσχεν, ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν ἐν 171 τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ καταμεινας 172 ὑπὸ δειλίας, ὥστ' ὀλίγου τὸν Καίσαρα μονωθέντα δι' αὐτὸν παῖσαι, πάντας δὲ τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα πολέμους, τὸν πρὸς Αἰγυπτίους, τὸν πρὸς Φαρνάκην, τὸν ἐν ^[2] Ἀφρικῇ, τὸν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ ἐκστάς; τίς δ' οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι τὸν τε Κλώδιον προσποιησάμενος καὶ τῇ δημαρχίᾳ ^[p. 482] αὐτοῦ πρὸς πάντα τὰ δεινότατα ἀποχρησάμενος κἂν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτοχειρία, εἶγε ἐγὼ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ^[3] αὐτοῦ ταύτην ἐδεδέγμην: καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι τοῦτο μὲν ταμιεῦον στρατηγοῦντι ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ συνεξετασθεῖς, τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τῇ δημαρχίᾳ παρὰ τὴν ἀπάντων ἡμῶν γνώμην προσθέμενος, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ χρήματα παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀμύθητα καὶ τιμὰς ὑπερόγκους λαβὼν, ἐπεχείρησεν αὐτὸν ἐς τε μοναρχίας ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἐς διαβολὴν ἐμβαλεῖν, ὑφ' ὧνπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀπέθανεν; 41.

καίτοι εἶπέ ποτε ὅτι ἐγὼ τοὺς σφαγέας ἐπ' αὐτὸν παρεσκευάσα: οὕτω γὰρ ἀνόητός ἐστιν ὥστε μου καταφεύδεσθαι τολμᾷν τηλικούτους ἐπαίνους.

ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτόχειρα μὲν αὐτὸν οὐ λέγω γεγονέναι τοῦ Καίσαρος, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο κατέδειξε: τοῖς μέντοι πράγμασιν αὐτοῖς φημι ἐκείνον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπολωλέναι. [2] ὁ γὰρ τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῷ τοῦ δικαίως ἐπιβεβουλευσθαι δοκεῖν παρασχών οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸν προσαγορεύσας, ὁ τὸ διάδημα αὐτῷ δοὺς, ὁ καὶ τοῖς φιλοῦσιν αὐτὸν πρότερον διαβαλὼν. ἢ ἐγὼ μὲν χαίρω τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁ μὴδὲν ἔξω τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀπ' 173 [3] αὐτοῦ ἀπολαύσας, Ἀντώνιος δὲ ἄχθεται ὁ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν ἐκείνου οὐσίαν διαρπάσας, πάμπολλα δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν γραμμάτων αὐτοῦ προφάσει κακουργήσας, καὶ τέλος πρὸς τὴν διαδοχὴν τῆς δυναστείας αὐτοῦ ἐπειγόμενος; 42.

Ἄλλ' ἐκέισε ἐπάνειμι, ὅτι οὗτ' αὐτὸς ἀξιοστρατήγητόν τι ἢ ἀξιόνικον ἔχει οὔτε στρατεύματα [p. 484] πολλὰ ἢ ἀξιόμαχα κέκτηται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πλεῖστοι οἳ τε ἄριστοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐγκαταλελοιπάσιν αὐτόν, καὶ νῆ Δία καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐστέρηται: οἱ δὲ δὴ λοιποὶ ὑβρίζειν καὶ ἀρπάζειν τὰ τῶν συμμάχων μᾶλλον ἢ πολεμεῖν μεμελετήκασι. [2] τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦ μὲν τρόπου τῆς προαιρέσεως αὐτῶν, ὅτι καὶ νῦν ἔτ' αὐτῷ συστρατεύονται, τῆς δὲ ἀνανδρίας, ὅτι τὴν Μούτιναν τοσοῦτον ἤδη χρόνον πολιορκοῦντες οὐκ ἠρήκασι. καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τῶν τε συνόντων αὐτῷ [3] τοιαῦτα ὄντα εὐρίσκεται: τὰ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρος τοῦ τε Βρούτου καὶ τῶν συνεξεταζομένων σφίσι δύσμαχα μὲν καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὰ ἐστὶν ἄμέλει Καῖσαρ μὲν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτοῦ συχνοὺς ἐσφετέρισται, Βρούτος δὲ ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας αὐτὸν ἐξείργει, [4] ἂν δὲ δὴ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπικουρήσητε αὐτοῖς, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπαινέσαντές σφας ἐφ' οἷς ἰδιογνωμονήσαντες ἐποίησαν, ἔπειτα δὲ τὰ πραχθέντα ὑπ' αὐτῶν βεβαιώσαντες, πρὸς τε τὸ μέλλον ἐξουσίαν ἔννομον αὐτοῖς δόντες, ἔπειτα τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀμφοτέρους ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκπέμψαντες, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως βοηθήσουσι 174 τινες αὐτῷ τῶν νῦν [5] συνόντων. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἂν τὰ μάλιστα συμμείνωσιν, ἀντισχεῖν γε πρὸς πάντας ἅμα τοὺς ἄλλους δυνήσεται, 175 ἀλλ' ἦτοι ἐκὼν, ἐπειδὴν πρῶτον πύθεται ταῦθ' ὑμᾶς 176 ἐψηφισμένους, τὰ τε ὅπλα καταθήσεται καὶ ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἑαυτὸν ποιήσεται, ἢ καὶ ἄκων ἐκ μιᾶς μάχης ἀλώσεται. [6]

ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταῦθ' ὑμῖν παραινῶ, καὶ εἶγε [p. 486] ὑπατεύων ἔτυχον, πάντως ἂν καὶ ἐποίησα, καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον, ὅτε καὶ τὸν Καπιλίαν καὶ τὸν Λέντουλον, αὐτῷ τούτῳ προσήκοντα 43. ἐπιβουλεύσαντας 177 ὑμῖν ἡμυνάμην. εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν ταῦτα μὲν ὀρθῶς ἠγεῖται λέγεσθαι, πρέσβεις δὲ πρότερον ἡμᾶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποστεῖλαι δεῖν οἶεται, καὶ ἔπειτα μαθόντας τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ, ἂν μὲν ἐκὼν ἀπαλλάττηται τῶν ὅπλων καὶ 178 ὑμῖν αὐτὸν ἐπιτρέπη, τὴν ἡσυχίαν [2] ἄγειν, ἂν δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιμένῃ, τότε καὶ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτῷ ψηφισθῆναι 'ταῦτα γὰρ πυνθάνομαί τινας παραινέσαι ὑμῖν ἐθέλειν', λόγῳ μὲν εὐπρεπέστατον, 179 τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ καὶ αἰσχρὸν καὶ ἐπικίνδυνον τῇ πόλει πρᾶγμα ποιεῖ. πῶς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ αἰσχρὸν κήρυξιν ὑμᾶς καὶ πρεσβείαις πρὸς [3] τοὺς πολίτας χρῆσθαι; τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀλλοφύλοις καὶ ἐπικηρυκεύεσθαι καὶ διαπρεσβεύεσθαι δεῖ πρότερον καὶ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι,

τοῖς δὲ δὴ πολίταις τοῖς ἀδικοῦσι τι παραχρῆμα τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐπάγειν, ἂν μὲν ὑπὸ ταῖς ψήφοις αὐτοὺς λάβητε, δικάζοντας, ἂν δὲ τοῖς ὄπλοις, πολεμοῦντας. ^[4] δοῦλοι γάρ εἰσι πάντες οἱ τοιοῦτοι καὶ ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν νόμων, ἂν τε ἐθέλωσιν ἂν τε καὶ μὴ; καὶ οὔτε θρύπτειν αὐτοὺς οὔτε ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς ἐλευθερωτάτοις ἄγειν προσήκόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τοὺς οἰκέτας τοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας καὶ 44. μετιέναι καὶ κολάζειν ἐκ τοῦ ὑπέρφρονος. πῶς δὲ οὐ δεινὸν ἐκεῖνον μὲν μὴ μελλῆσαι ἡμᾶς ἀδικεῖν, ἡμᾶς δὲ δὴ μέλλειν ἀμύνασθαι; καὶ ^[p. 488] ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἐκ πολλοῦ τὰ ὄπλα ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντα πάντα τὰ τοῦ πολέμου πράττειν, ἡμᾶς δὲ ἐν ψηφίσμασι καὶ πρεσβείαις τοὺς χρόνους κατατρίβειν, καὶ ὃν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἀδικοῦντα πάλαι πεφωράκαμεν, τοῦτον συλλαβαῖς καὶ ^[2] ῥήμασι μόνοις μεταχειρίζεσθαι; τί προσδοκῶντας; ἢ ὅτι ὑπακούσει ποτὲ ἡμῖν καὶ αἰδεσθήσεται ποτε ἡμᾶς; καὶ πῶς, ὅς γε ἐς τοῦτ' ἤδη προκεχώρηκεν ὥστε μηδ' ἂν βούληται δύνασθαι δημοκρατικῶς ἡμῖν συμπολιτεῦσαι; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἴσως καὶ κοινῶς ζῆν ἡβούλετο, οὐδ' ἂν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τοιοῦτοις πράγμασιν ἐπεχείρησεν, εἴ τε καὶ ὑπ' ἀνοίας ἢ καὶ προπετείας τοῦτ' ἐποίησε, πάντως ἂν ἐκὼν ^[3] εὐθύς αὐτῶν ἀπηλλάγη: νῦν δ' ἅπαξ καὶ ἐκ τῶν νόμων καὶ ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας ἐκβάς, καὶ τινα καὶ δύναμιν ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐξουσίαν προσλαβὼν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἂν ἐθελούσιος μεταβάλοιτο 180 καὶ τῶν δογμάτων τι τῶν ὑμετέρων προτιμήσειεν, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη τὸν τοιοῦτον αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὄπλοις, οἷσπερ ἡμᾶς ἀδικεῖν ἐτόλμησε, καὶ κολασθῆναι. 45. καὶ μοι νῦν μάλιστα τὸ λεχθέν ποτε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου μνημονεύσατε, ὅτι οὐχ οἷόν τέ ἐστιν ὑμῖν, ἂν μὴ κρατήσητε, σωθῆναι. οὐδὲν οὖν ἄλλο ποιοῦσιν οἱ κελεύοντες ὑμᾶς πρεσβεύσασθαι ἢ ὅπως ὑμεῖς μὲν βραδύνητε, κἂκ τούτου καὶ τὰ τῶν συμμαχοῦντων ὑμῖν ἀργότερα καὶ ἄθυμότερα ^[2] γένηται, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ καθ' ἡσυχίαν πάνθ' ὅσα ἂν βούληται πράξῃ, καὶ τὸν τε Δέκιμον ^[p. 490] ἐξέλη καὶ τὴν Μούτιναν ἐκπολιορκήσῃ τὴν τε Γαλατίαν πᾶσαν λάβῃ, ὥστε μηκέθ' ἡμᾶς ὅπως αὐτῷ χρησώμεθα εὐρεῖν δυνηθῆναι, ἀλλ' ὑποδεδιέναι τε καὶ θεραπεύειν αὐτὸν καὶ προσκυνεῖν ^[3] ἀνάγκην 181 ἔχειν. ἐν δὲ ἔτι 182 τοῦτο περὶ τῆς πρεσβείας εἰπὼν παύσομαι, ὅτι οὐδὲ ὁ Ἀντώνιος λόγον τινὰ ὑμῖν ἔδωκε περὶ ὧν πράττειν ἔμελλεν, ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς τοῦτο ποιήσητε. ^[4]

ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τᾶλλα πάντα συμβουλεύω ὑμῖν μὴ μέλλειν μηδὲ διατρίβειν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τάχιστα αὐτῷ πολεμῆσαι, λογισαμένους ὅτι τὰ πλείω τῶν πραγμάτων τοῖς ^[5] καιροῖς ἢ ταῖς δυνάμεσι κατορθοῦται, 183 καὶ πάντως που καὶ ἐκ τούτου συνιέναι ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποτε τὴν εἰρήνην, ἐν ἣ καὶ πλεῖστον ἰσχύω καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ δόξαν ἐκτησάμην, ἀφείς, εἶγε καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ εἰρήνην ἦν, 184 πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν, εἰ μὴ γε καὶ συμφέρειν 46. ἡγοῦμην, παρήνεσα. 185 καὶ σοὶ 186 δέ, ὦ Καλῆνε, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις τοῖς ταυτά σοι φρονοῦσι συμβουλεύω καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἐπιτρέψαι τῇ 187 γερουσίᾳ τὰ προσήκοντα ψηφίσασθαι, καὶ μὴ τῆς ἰδίας ὑμῶν πρὸς Ἀντώνιον χάριτος ἔνεκα τὰ κοινῇ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν ^[2] συμφέροντα καταπροδοῦναι. ὥς ἐγώ γε οὕτω γνώμης, ὦ πατέρες, ἔχω ὥστ', ἂν μὲν πεισθῇτέ μοι, καὶ πάννυ 188 ἂν ἡδέως καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας μεθ' ὑμῶν ἀπολαῦσαι, ἂν δ' ἄλλο τι

ψηφίσθησε, τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν ἐλέσθαι. [3] οὐτε γὰρ ἄλλως τὸν θάνατόν ποτε τὸν ἐκ τῆς [p. 492] παρρησίας ἐφοβήθη· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ κατώρθωσα πλεῖστον: τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι καὶ θῦσαι καὶ ἐορτάσαι ἐφ’ οἷς ὑπατεύων ἐποίησα ἐψηφίσασθε, ὅπερ οὐδενὶ πώποτε ἄλλω μὴ οὐκ ἐν πολέμῳ γέ τι καταπράξαντι ἐγένετό, νῦν δὲ καὶ ἥκιστα. [4] καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν 189 θάνατος οὐκ ἂν ἄωρος ἄλλως τε καὶ πρὸ τοσούτων ἐτῶν ὑπατευκότη μοι γένοιτο· καίτοι μνημονεύετε ὅτι τοῦτο καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὑπατείᾳ ὑμῖν εἶπον, ἵνα μοι πρὸς πάντα ὡς καταφρονοῦντι αὐτοῦ προσέχητέ: τὸ δὲ δὴ φοβηθῆναι τινα καθ’ ὑμῶν καὶ τὸ δουλεῦσαι τινι μεθ’ ὑμῶν καὶ πάνυ ἂν μοι ἁωρότατον 190 συμβαίη. [5] ὅθεν περ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ συμφορὰν καὶ ὄλεθρον, οὐ τοῦ σώματος μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς τε δόξης, ὑφ’ ἧς που καὶ μόνης αἰδίοις τρόπον τινὰ γιγνόμεθα, εἶναι νομίζω: τὸ δὲ δὴ λέγοντά τε καὶ πράττοντα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀποθανεῖν ἰσοστάσιον ἀθανασίᾳ 191 ἄγω. 47.

καὶ εἶγε καὶ Ἀντώνιος ταῦτ’ ἐγίνωσκεν, οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἐς τοιαῦτα πράγματα προυχώρησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἂν, ὥσπερ ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ, μᾶλλον ἢ τι τῶν ὁμοίων τῷ Κίννα τῷ ἐκείνῳ [2] ἀποκτείναντι ποιῆσαι προεῖλετο. πρὸς γὰρ αὐτῷ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁ μὲν Κίννας οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἀντεσφάγη διὰ τε τοῦτο καὶ διὰ τᾶλλα ἃ κακῶς ἔπραττε· διόπερ καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τεθαύμακα, ὅτι τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ μιμούμενος οὐ φοβεῖται μήποτε ὁμοίᾳ καταστροφῇ περιπέσῃ, ἐκεῖνος δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ τούτῳ τὸ δοκεῖν τι εἶναι [p. 494] [3] κατέλιπεν. ἀλλ’ οὐτι γέ καὶ σῶζεσθαι διὰ τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἔτι δίκαιός ἐστι, μήτε τὸν πάππον ζηλώσας μήτε τὸν πατέρα τῆς οὐσίας κληρονομήσας. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε τοῦθ’, 192 ὅτι πολλοὺς φεύγοντας καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων δὴ τῶν ἐκείνου καταγαγὼν 193 [4] οὐκ ἐπεκούρησε τῷ θείῳ, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν συγκυβευτήν τὸν Λεντίκουλον τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ βίου ῥαδιουργίᾳ φυγόντα ἐπανήγαγε, καὶ τὸν Βαμβαλίωνα τὸν καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ἐπιβόητον ἀγαπᾷ, τοῖς δὲ δὴ συγγενεστάτοις οὕτως ὥσπερ εἶπον 194 κέχρηται, καθάπερ τινὰ ὀργὴν αὐτοῖς [5] ἔχων ὅτι τοιοῦτος ἐγεννήθη. τοιγαροῦν τῶν μὲν ἐκείνου 195 χρημάτων οὐκ ἐκληρονόμησεν, ἄλλων δὲ δὴ καὶ πάνυ πολλοὺς, τοὺς μὲν μὴτ’ ἰδὼν μὴτ’ ἀκούσας πώποτε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ζῶντας: οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοῦς ἀποδέδυκε καὶ σεσύληκεν ὥστε μηδὲν σφας νεκρῶν διαφέρειν.

τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ ἔκτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

α. ὡς Καλῆνος ὑπὲρ Ἀντωνίου Κικέρωνι ἀντεῖπεν.

β. ὡς Ἀντώνιος ὑπὸ Καίσαρος καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων περὶ Μούτιναν ἡττήθη.

γ. ὡς Καῖσαρ ἐς Ῥώμην ἦλθε καὶ ὕπατος ἀπεδείχθη.

δ. ὡς Καῖσαρ καὶ Ἀντώνιος καὶ Λέπιδος συνώμοσαν.

χρόνου πληθὸς ἔτος ἓν, ἐν ᾧ ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμοῦμενοι οἶδε ἐγένοντο

γ. Οὐίβιος γ. υἱ. Πάνσας Καπρωνιανός

Αὐλ. Ἰρπίος Αὐλ. υἱ. ὕπ. 2

1. τοιαῦτα τοῦ Κικέρωνος εἰπόντος ὁ Καλῆνος ὁ Κύντος ὁ Φούφιος ἀνέστη καὶ ἔλεξεν: ἄλλως μὲν οὐδὲν οὐθ' ὑπὲρ Ἀντωνίου τι ἀπολογήσασθαι οὔτε Κικέρωνος καθάψασθαι ἐδεόμην. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἡγοῦμαι δεῖν ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις σκέψεσιν οἷα ἡ παροῦσα ἐστὶν οὐδέτερον αὐτῶν ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς ἃ τις φρονεῖ ἀποφαίνεσθαι: ἐκεῖνα μὲν γὰρ δικαστηρίου, ταῦτα δὲ συμβουλίας ἔργα ἐστίν. [2] ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὗτος τὸν τε Ἀντώνιον κακῶς διὰ τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν ὑπάρχουσάν σφισι λέγειν ἐπεχείρησεν, ὃν ἐχρῆν, εἴπερ τι ἡδίκηκει, ἐσηγγελκέναι, [p. 4] καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐμοῦ διαβόλως ἐμνημόνευσεν, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δεινότητα διαδείξας εἰ μὴ τινὰς ἀνέδην προπηλακίσειε, [3] προσήκει καὶ ἐμοὶ τὰ μὲν ἀπολύσασθαι τὰ δὲ ἀνταιτιάσασθαι, ἵνα μήτε τοῦτον ἢ τε οἰκεία θρασύτης ἀντιλογίας ἀμαρτοῦσα καὶ ἡ ἐμὴ σιωπὴ πονηροῦ συνειδότος ὑποψίαν λαβοῦσα ὠφελήσῃ, μήθ' ὑμεῖς ἀπατηθέντες ὑφ' ὧν εἶπεν χεῖρον βουλευσῆσθε, τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὀργὴν ἀντὶ τῶν κοινῇ συμφερόντων ἀντικαταλλάξαμενοι. 2. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλο γε οὐδὲν διαπραῖξαι βούλεται ἢ ἵνα ἡμεῖς, τὸ τὰ ἀσφαλέστατα τῷ κοινῷ προῖδεῖν ἀφέντες, στασιάσωμεν αὐθις. τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ νῦν πρῶτον ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ἀφ' οὔπερ πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν προσῆλθεν, ἄνω [2] καὶ κάτω ταραττων διατετέλεκεν. ἦ γὰρ οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὸν τε Καίσαρα τῷ Πομπηίῳ συγκρούσας καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον τῷ Καίσαρι καταλλαγήναι κωλύσας; ὁ πείσας μὲν ὑμᾶς ἐκεῖνα κατὰ Ἀντωνίου ψηφίσασθαι δι' ὧν παρῶξυνε τὸν Καίσαρα, πείσας δὲ τὸν Πομπήιον τὴν τε Ἰταλίαν [3] ἐκλιπεῖν καὶ ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν μετοικῆσαι; ὅπερ πού αἰτιώτατον πάντων τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα συμβάντων ἡμῖν κακῶν ἐγένετο. οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὸν τε Κλώδιον διὰ Μίλωνος ἀποκτείνας καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα διὰ Βρούτου φονεύσας; ὁ τὸν τε Κατίλιναν ἐκπολεμώσας ἡμῖν καὶ

τὸν Λέντουλον 3. ἄκριτον ἀπολέσας; ὅθεν ἔγωγε καὶ πάνυ ἂν ὑμῶν θαυμάσαιμι, εἰ τότε ἐπ’ ἐκείνοις μεταγνόντες καὶ δίκην παρ’ αὐτοῦ λαβόντες, εἴτα καὶ νῦν ὅμοια [p. 6] [2] αὐτῷ καὶ λέγοντι καὶ πράττοντι πεισθήσεσθε. ἢ οὐχ ὁρᾷτε ὅτι καὶ μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος θάνατον, ὅτε μὲν τὰ πράγμαθ’ ἡμῶν δι’ Ἀντώνιον ὅτι μάλιστα, ὥς οὐδ’ αὐτὸς ἀρνήσασθαι δύναται, κατέστη, ἀπεδήμησε, καὶ ἀλλότριον καὶ ἐπικίνδυνον ἑαυτῷ τὸν τῆς ὁμονομίας ἡμῶν βίον εἶναι νομίζων; ἐπεὶ δὲ τεταραγμένα αὐτὰ αὐθις ἦσθετο, μακρὰ χαίρειν τῷ τε υἱεῖ καὶ ταῖς Ἀθήναις φράσας [3] ἐπανήλθε; καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἀντώνιον, ὃν τέως ἀγαπᾶν ἔλεγεν, ὑβρίζει καὶ λοιδορεῖ, τῷ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρι, οὗ καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἀπέκτεινε, συναίρεται κἂν οὕτω τύχη, κάκεινῳ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν [4] ἐπιθήσεται; ἄπιστός τε γὰρ φύσει καὶ ταραχώδης ἐστί, καὶ οὔτε τι ἔρμα ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἔχει καὶ πάντα ἀεὶ κυκᾷ καὶ στρέφει, πλείονας μὲν τροπὰς τρεπόμενος τοῦ πορθμοῦ πρὸς ὃν ἔφυγεν, ἐφ’ ὧπερ καὶ αὐτόμολος ἐπωνομάσθη, πάντας δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀξιώων καὶ φίλον καὶ ἐχθρὸν νομίζειν ὃν ἂν αὐτὸς κελεύσῃ. 4.

διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα φυλάττεσθε τὸν ἄνθρωπον. γόης γάρ ἐστι καὶ μάγος, καὶ ἐκ μὲν τῶν κακῶν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων καὶ πλουτεῖ καὶ αὖξει, συκοφαντῶν ἔλκων σπαράττων τοὺς μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας ὥσπερ οἱ κύνες, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ κοινῇ ὁμονομίᾳ ἀπορεῖ καὶ φθίνει; οὔτε γὰρ ἡ φιλία οὐθ’ ἡ εὐνοία ἡμῶν ἢ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοιοῦτον δύναται τρέφειν ῥήτορα. [2] ἐπεὶ πόθεν ἄλλοθεν πεπλουτηκέναι αὐτὸν οἴεσθε, πόθεν μέγαν γεγονέναι; οὐ γὰρ που καὶ ὁ πατήρ αὐτῷ ὁ κναφεύς, ὁ τὰς τε σταφυλὰς καὶ [p. 8] τὰς ἐλαίας ἀεὶ ποτε ἐργολαβῶν, ἢ γένος ἢ πλοῦτον κατέλιπεν, ἄνθρωπος ἀγαπητῶς ἔκ τε τούτων [3] καὶ ἐκ τῶν πλυνῶν διατρεφόμενος, καὶ καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα τῶν αἰσχίστων ἀναπιμπλάμενος. ἐν οἷς αὐτὸς τραφεὶς οὐκ ἀπεικότως τοὺς κρείσσονας αὐτοῦ καὶ πατεῖ καὶ πλύνει, λοιδορίας τισὶν ἐξ ἐργαστηρίων καὶ τριόδων ἐπιτετηδευμέναις χρώμενος. 5.

εἴτα τοιοῦτος αὐτὸς ὢν, καὶ γυμνὸς ἐν γυμνοῖς αὐξηθεὶς, καὶ οἰσπώτας καὶ ὑσπελέθους καὶ σπατίλας συλλέγων, ἐτόλμησας, ὧ μιαρώτατε, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ὥραν διαβαλεῖν, ἀνθρώπου καὶ παιδαγωγοῖς καὶ διδασκάλοις κατὰ τὴν τοῦ γένους ἀξίαν κεχρημένου, ἔπειτα δὲ κατηγορῆσαι ὅτι τὰ Λυκαῖα τὴν πάτριον ἐορτὴν ποιῶν [2] γυμνὸς ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐσῆλθεν; ἀλλὰ τί, ὧ πάσαις μὲν ταῖς ἀλλοτρίαις ἐσθῆσι διὰ τὴν πατρῶαν τέχνην ἀεὶ χρησάμενος, ὑφ’ ἀπάντων δὲ τῶν ἀπαντῶντων καὶ γνωριζόντων αὐτὰς ἀποδυθεὶς, ἐχρῆν ποιῆσαι ἄνθρωπον μὴ μόνον ἱερέα ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡγεμόνα τῶν συνιερέων ὄντα; μὴ πέμψ’ τὴν πομπήν, μὴ ἐορτάσαι τὴν ἐορτήν, μὴ θῦσαι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, μὴ γυμνωθῆναι, μὴ ἀλείφασθαι [3] ‘ἀλλ’ οὐ τοῦτ’ αὐτῷ,’ φησὶν, ‘ἐγκαλῶν, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τε γυμνὸς ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ὅτι τοιαῦτα ἐδημηγόρησε.’ πάνυ γὰρ πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα ἀκριβῶς ἐν τῷ κναφείῳ μεμάθηκεν, ἵνα καὶ ἀμαρτήματός τινος ἀληθινοῦ αἰσθάνηται καὶ ἐπιτιμᾶν αὐτῷ δικαίως δύνηται. [p. 10] 6.

ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπὲρ μὲν ἐκείνων μετὰ ταῦτα ἃ προσήκει πάντα ἐρῶ, τοῦτον δὲ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀνερέσθαι τι βούλομαι. οὐ σὺ μέντοι ἔν τε τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις κακοῖς ἐντέθραψαι καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῶν πέλας συμφοραῖς [2] ἐκπεπαιδευσαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐλευθέριον μὲν μάθημα οὐδὲν ἐπίστασαι, συνέδριον δὲ τι κατασκευάσας ἐνταῦθα ὥσπερ αἱ πόρνοι τὸν δῶσοντά τι αἰεὶ ἀναμένεις, καὶ προσαγωγέας τῶν λημμάτων πολλοὺς ἔχων πολυπραγμονεῖς τίς τινα ἡδίκηκεν ἢ δοκεῖ γε ἡδίκηκεναι, τίς τινα μισεῖ, τίς [3] τίνι ἐπιβουλεύει; καὶ τοῦτοις συναίρη, καὶ διὰ τούτων τρέφῃ, πωλῶν μὲν αὐτοῖς τὰς παρὰ τῆς τύχης ἐλπίδας, ἐργολαβῶν δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν δικαστῶν ἀποφάσεις, καὶ φίλον μὲν μόνον τὸν τὸ πλεον αἰεὶ διδόντα, ἐχθροὺς δὲ δὴ πάντας τοὺς ἀπράγμονας ἢ καὶ ἄλλω τινὶ συνηγόρῳ χρωμένους [4] νομίζων, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν χερσὶν ἤδη ὄντας οὐδ' εἰδέναι δοκῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ὄχλου ποιούμενος, τοὺς δ' ἄρτι προσιόντας σαίνων καὶ γελῶν ὥσπερ αἱ πανδοκεῦτραι. 7.

καὶ πόσω κρεῖττον ἦν καὶ σὲ Βαμβαλίωνα γεγονέναι, εἴ γέ τις ὁ Βαμβαλίων οὗτός ἐστιν, ἢ τοιοῦτον ἐπανηρῆσθαι βίον ἐν ᾧ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ἦτοι τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίου λόγον πωλεῖν ἢ καὶ [2] τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας σώζειν; καίτοι σύγε οὐδὲ ταῦτα καλῶς ποιεῖν, καίπερ τρία ἐν Ἀθήναις ἔτη κατατρίψας, δύνασαι. ποῦ; πόθεν; ὅστις ὑποτρέμων [p. 12] αἰεὶ πρὸς τὰ δικαστήρια προσέρχῃ καθάπερ ὀπλομαχεῖν μέλλων, καὶ φθειγόμενος ταπεινὸν τι καὶ τεθνηκὸς ἀπαλλάττει, μὴθ' ὧν οἴκοθεν ἐσκεμμένος ἦκεις μνημονεύων, μήτε ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμά τι [3] εἰπεῖν εὐρίσκων. ἐς μὲν γὰρ τὸ φῆσαι καὶ ὑποσχέσθαι τι θρασυτέτι πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὑπερβάλλεις, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς ἀγῶσιν αὐτοῖς, ἔξω τοῦ λοιδορῆσαι τινα καὶ κακῶς εἰπεῖν, καὶ ἀσθενέστατος καὶ δειλότατος εἶ. ἢ οἶει τινὰ ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι μηδὲνα τῶν θαυμαστῶν σου τούτων λόγων οὐς ἐκδέδωκας εἴρηκας, ἀλλὰ πάντας αὐτοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα συγγέγραφας, ὥσπερ οἱ τοὺς τε στρατηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἱπάρχους τοὺς πηλίνους πλάττοντες; [4] εἰ δ' ἀπιστεῖς, ἀναμνήσθητι πῶς μὲν τοῦ Ουέρρου κατηγορήσας, καίπερ καὶ ἐκ τῆς τέχνης τι τῆς πατρώας αὐτῷ παρασχών, ὅτε ἐνούρησας.

ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁκνῶ μὴ τὰ προσήκοντά σοι ἀκριβῶς λέγων αὐτὸς οὐ προσήκοντας ἐμαυτῷ 8. λόγους ποιῆσθαι δόξω. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐάσω, καὶ νῆ Δία καὶ τὸν Γαβίνιον, ᾧ τοὺς κατηγοροὺς παρασκευάσας ἔπειτα οὕτω συνείλες ὥστ' αὐτὸν καταδικασθῆναι, τὰ τε συγγράμματα ἃ κατὰ τῶν φίλων συγγράφεις, ἐφ' οἷς οὕτω σαυτῷ ἀδικοῦντι σύνοισθα ὥστε μηδὲ δημοσιεῦειν αὐτὰ τολμᾶν. καίτοι καὶ σχετιώτατον καὶ ἐλεεινότατόν ἐστι μὴ δύνασθαι ταῦτα ἀρνήσασθαι ἃ πάντων αἰσχιστόν [2] ἐστιν ὁμολογῆσαι. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ταῦτα μὲν παραλείψω, τὰ δὲ δὴ λοιπὰ ἐπεξάξω. [p. 14] ἡμεῖς μὲν γάρ, καίπερ δισχίλια τῷ διδασκάλῳ πλέθρα τῆς Λεοντίνων γῆς, ὡς φῆς, δεδωκότες, οὐδὲν ἄξιον αὐτῶν ἐμάθομεν: τὰ δὲ δὴ σὰ παιδεύματα [3] τίς οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσειεν; τίνα δ' ἐστὶ ταῦτα; φθονεῖς αἰεὶ τῷ κρείττονι, βασκαίνεις αἰεὶ τὸν προήκοντα, διαβάλλεις τὸν προτετιμημένον, συκοφαντεῖς τὸν δεδυνημένον, καὶ μισεῖς μὲν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ὁμοίως πάντας, προσποιῇ δὲ δὴ

φιλεῖν ἑκείνους μόνους δι' ὧν ἂν κακουργήσῃς τι προσδοκήσης. [4] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς τε νεωτέρους ἐπὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους αἰεὶ παροξύνεις, καὶ τοὺς πιστεῦοντάς σοι καὶ ὅτιοῦν ἐς κινδύνους προαγαγὼν προλείπεις. 9.

τεκμήριον δέ, πρᾶξιν μὲν οὐδεμίαν πώποτε ἑλλογίμου ἀνδρὸς ἀξίαν, οὐτ' ἐν πολέμῳ οὔτε ἐν εἰρήνῃ, πέπραχας· ποίους μὲν γὰρ πολέμους ἐνίκησαμεν σοῦ στρατηγοῦντος, ποίαν δὲ χώραν ἐκτησάμεθα σοῦ ὑπατεύοντος; ἐξαπατῶν δὲ αἰεὶ τινὰς τῶν πρώτων καὶ σφετεριζόμενος ἰδίᾳ μὲν διὰ τούτων πολιτεύῃ καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα βούλει [2] διοικεῖς, δημοσίᾳ δὲ βοᾷς ἄλλως, κεκραγώς τοὺς μιαροὺς ἑκείνους λόγους 'ἐγὼ μόνος ὑμᾶς φιλῶ,' καὶ εἰ οὕτω τύχοι, 'καὶ ὁ δεῖνα, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες μισοῦσι,' καὶ 'ἐγὼ μόνος ὑμῖν εὖνοῶ, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες ἐπιβουλεύουσι,' καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἐξ ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἐπαίρων καὶ φυσῶν προδίδως, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐκπλήττων προστίθεις. [3] κἂν μὲν τι χρηστὸν ὑφ' ὅτουδὴ τῶν πάντων γένηται, ἀντιποιῇ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ σεαυτὸν ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἐπιγράφεις, [p. 16] θρυλῶν 'ἐγὼ γὰρ εἶπον, ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔγραψα, καὶ δι' ἐμὲ ταῦτα οὕτω πέπρακται·' ἂν δέ τι συμβῇ οἷον οὐκ ἔδει, σαυτὸν μὲν ἐξαίρεις, τοὺς δὲ δὴ ἄλλους πάντας αἰτίᾳ, λέγων 'μὴ γὰρ ἐστρατήγουν [4] ἐγώ; μὴ γὰρ ἐπρέσβευον; μὴ γὰρ ὑπάτευον;' καὶ λοιδορεῖς μὲν αἰεὶ πάντας πανταχοῦ, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ θρασέως παρρησιάζεσθαι δοκεῖν δύναμιν περὶ πλείονος τοῦ τι τῶν δεόντων εἰπεῖν ποιοῦμενος, 10. ἔργον δε δὴ ῥήτορος οὐδὲν ἄξιον λόγου παρέχῃ. τί μὲν γὰρ τῶν κοινῶν ἢ σέσωσται ἢ ἐπηνώρθωται διὰ σέ; τίνα δὲ ἀδικοῦντα ὄντως τὴν πόλιν ἐσθγγέλκας, τίνα ἐπιβουλεύοντα ἀληθῶς ἡμῖν ἐπιδέδειχας; [2] ἵνα γὰρ τᾶλλα ἐάσω, αὐτὰ ταῦθ' ἃ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ νῦν ἐγκαλεῖς, τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτά ἐστιν ὥστε μηδένα ἂν δίκην ἀξίαν αὐτῶν ὑποσχεῖν. τί ποτ' οὖν, ὁρῶν ἡμᾶς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς γε καὶ φῆς, ἀδικουμένους, οὐδέποτε ἐπεξῆλθες [3] αὐτῷ παραχρήμα οὐδὲ κατηγορήσας, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἡμῖν λέγεις ὅσα δημαρχήσας παρενόμησε καὶ ὅσα ἱππαρχήσας ἐπλημμέλησε καὶ ὅσα ὑπατεύσας ἐκακούργησεν, ἐξόν σοι τότε εὐθὺς καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν τὴν προσήκουσαν παρ' αὐτοῦ δίκην εἰληφέναι, ἵνα αὐτός τε φιλόπολις ὡς ἀληθῶς ὧν ἐπεφάνεις καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ ἀβλαβῇ καὶ ἀσφαλῇ τὴν τιμωρίαν παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ ἀδικήματα ἐπεποιήμεθα. [4] καὶ μὴν ἀνάγκη δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ πεπιστευκότα σε τότε ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν καθυφεικέναι τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀγῶνας, ἢ μὴ δυνηθέντα τινὰ αὐτῶν ἐξελέγχειν μάτην νῦν συκοφαντεῖν. [p. 18]

11.

ὅτι γὰρ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, καθ' ἕκαστον ὑμῖν, ὧ πατέρες, διεξιὼν ἐπιδείξω. ἔλεγέ τινα ἐν τῇ δημαρχίᾳ Ἀντώνιος ὑπὲρ τοῦ Καίσαρος; καὶ γὰρ Κικέρων καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Πομπηίου. τί ποτ' οὖν τοῦτον μὲν αἰτιᾶται ὅτι τὴν φιλίαν τὴν ἐκείνου προεῖλετο, ἑαυτὸν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τάναντία αὐτῷ σπουδάσαντας ἀφίησιν; ἐκώλυσέ τινα ἐκεῖνος ψηφισθῆναι τότε κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος; [2] καὶ γὰρ οὗτος πάνθ' ὡς εἰπεῖν ὅσα ὑπὲρ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐγίνωσκετο. 'ἀλλ' ἐμποδῶν,' φησὶν, 'ἐγίνετο τῇ κοινῇ τῆς βουλῆς γνώμη.' καὶ πρῶτον μὲν πῶς ἂν εἷς ἀνὴρ τοσοῦτον ἴσχυσεν;

ἔπειτα δέ, εἰ καὶ κατεψηφίσθη διὰ τοῦθ' , ὥσπερ λέγει, πῶς οὐκ ἂν καὶ ἐκολάσθη; ἔφυγε γάρ, ^[3] ἔφυγε πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπελθών. οὐκοῦν καὶ σὺ, ὦ Κικέρων, οὐκ ἀπεδήμησας νῦν ἀλλ' ἔφυγες, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον. ἀλλὰ μήτι γε καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας ἡμᾶς τὰ σεαυτοῦ ὄνειδῃ προπετῶς οὕτως ἄγε: φυγεῖν μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦτο ὃ σὺ πεποίηκας, τὸ τε δικαστήριον φοβηθεὶς καὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν ^[4] αὐτὸς σαυτοῦ προκαταγνούς. ἀμέλει καὶ ἐγράφη σοι κάθοδος: πῶς μὲν καὶ διὰ τίνα, οὐ λέγω, ἐγράφη δ' οὖν, καὶ οὐ πρὶν γε ἐπέβης τῆς Ἰταλίας πρὶν ἐκείνην σοι δοθῆναι. Ἀντώνιος δὲ καὶ ἀπῆλθε πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα μηνύσων αὐτῷ τὰ πεπραγμένα, καὶ ἐπανῆλθε μηδενὸς ψηφίσματος ^[5] δεηθεὶς, καὶ τέλος τὴν τε εἰρήνην τὴν τε φιλίαν τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ τότε ^[p. 20] εὐρεθεῖσιν ἐπρυτάνευσεν: ἥς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἂν μετεσχέκεσαν, εἰ μὴ σοὶ πεισθέντες ἐπεφεύγεσαν. 12. Ἐῖτα τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων τολμᾶς λεγείν ὅτι τὸν τε Καίσαρα ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐπήγαγε καὶ τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ἐκίνησε καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα κακῶν αἰτιώτατος ἡμῖν ἐγένετο; οὐ μὲν οὖν, ἀλλὰ σὺ, ὅστις Πομπηίῳ μὲν καὶ στρατεύματα ἀλλότρια καὶ ἡγεμονίαν ἔδωκας, Καίσαρα δὲ καὶ τῶν δεδομένων ἀποστερεῖσαι ἐπεχείρησας: ^[2] ὅστις τῷ τε Πομπηίῳ καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις συνεβούλευσας τὰ μὲν προτεινόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος μὴ προσίεσθαι, τὴν δὲ δὴ πόλιν τὴν τε Ἰταλίαν ὅλην ἐκλιπεῖν: ὅστις Καίσαρα μὲν οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλθόντα εἶδες, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ ^[3] ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἀπέδρας. καὶ οὐδὲ ἐκείνῳ μέντοι οὐδὲν συνήρω, ἀλλὰ περιδὼν τὰ γιγνόμενα ἔπειτ', ἐπειδὴ ἐδυστύχησεν, ἐγκατέλιπες αὐτόν. οὕτως οὐδὲ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὡς δικαιότερα αὐτῷ πράττοντι ἐβροθήσας, ἀλλὰ τὴν τε στάσιν κινήσας καὶ τὰ πράγματα ταραξάς εἴτ' ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς ^[4] αὐτοῖς ἐφῆδρευσας, καὶ τοῦ μὲν πταίσαντος ὡς καὶ ἀδικοῦντός τι διὰ τοῦτ' εὐθύς ἀπέστης, πρὸς δὲ τὸν κρατήσαντα ὡς καὶ δικαιότερον ἀπέκλινας. καὶ οὕτω γε, πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις κακοῖς, καὶ ἀχάριστος εἶ ὥστε οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀγαπᾷς ὅτι ἐσώθης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγανακτεῖς ὅτι μὴ καὶ ἱππάρχης. 13. Ἐῖτα ταῦτα σαυτῷ συνειδὼς τολμᾶς λέγειν ὅτι οὐκ ἐχρῆν τὸν Ἀντώνιον δι' ἔτους ἱππαρχῆσαι; οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸν Καίσαρα δι' ἔτους δικτατορεῦσαι. ^[p. 22] ἀλλ' εἴτε καλῶς εἴτε καὶ ἀναγκαιῶς ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, ἐψηφίσθη τε ὁμοίως ἀμφοτέρω καὶ ἥρεσε καὶ ^[2] ἡμῖν καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. τούτοις οὖν, ὦ Κικέρων, ἐγκάλει, εἴ τι παρενόμησαν, μὴ μὰ Δία μὴ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν τετιμημένοις ὅτι ἀξίους ἑαυτοῦς καὶ τῶν τηλικούτων τυχεῖν παρέσχον: ὡς εἶγε ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων τῶν τότε ἡμᾶς περιστάντων ἠναγκάσθημεν αὐτὰ οὕτω καὶ παρὰ τὸ προσῆκον ποιῆσαι, τί τοῦτο Ἀντωνίῳ νῦν ἐπιφέρεις, ἀλλ' οὐ τότε ἀντέλεγες, εἴπερ ἐδύνασο; ὅτι ἐφοβοῦ νῆ ^[3] Δία. εἴτα σὺ μὲν τότε σιωπῆσας συγγνώμης διὰ τὴν δειλίαν τεύξῃ, οὗτος δὲ ὅτι σοῦ προετιμήθη, δίκην διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑφέξει; καὶ ποῦ ταῦτα τὰ δίκαια ἔμαθες, ἢ που ταῦτα τὰ νόμιμα ἀνέγνως; 14.

(ἀλλ' οὐκ ὀρθῶς τῇ ἱππαρχίᾳ ἐχρήσατο.) διὰ τί; 'ὅτι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα,' φησί, 'τὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου ἡγόρασε.' πόσοι δὲ ἄλλοι πόσα ἄλλα ἐπρίαντο, ὧν οὐδεὶς αἰτίαν ἔχει; καὶ γὰρ που διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐδημεύθη τινὰ καὶ ἐς τὸ

πρατήριον ἐξετέθη καὶ τῇ τοῦ κοινοῦ κήρυκος φωνῇ ἀπεκηρύχθη, [2] ἵνα τις αὐτὰ ἀγοράσῃ. ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐχρῆν τὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου κτήματα πεπραῖσθαι.' οὐκοῦν ἡμεῖς ἡμάρτομεν καὶ κακῶς ἐποιήσαμεν δημεύσαντες αὐτά: ἦ, ἵνα σὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς τις ἀπολύσῃ, πάντως που ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπλημέλησεν ὁ τοῦτο γενέσθαι κελεύσας: ὧ οὐδὲν ἐπεκάλεσας. [3] ἄλλ' ἐν μὲν τούτῳ καὶ πάνυ μωραίνων ἐξελέγχεται. [p. 24] δύο γοῦν ἐναντιώτατα τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κατηγορηκεν, ἐν μὲν ὅτι πλεῖστα τῷ Καίσαρι συμπράξας καὶ πάμπολλα διὰ τοῦτο παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβὼν ἔπειτα [4] τὴν τιμὴν αὐτῶν βιαίως ἀπητήθη, ἕτερον δὲ ὅτι μήτε τοῦ πατρὸς κληρονομήσας, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐκτήσατο καταναλώσας ὥσπερ ἡ Χάρυβδις ἅει γάρ τι ἡμῖν ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας, καθάπερ ἐπιλεησμένοις ὅτι ἐς αὐτὴν ἔφυγε, παραφέρει, τὴν τιμὴν πάντων ὧν ἐπρίατο ἀπέδωκεν. 15.

ἐν μὲν οὖν τούτοις οὕτω τὰ ἐναντιώτατα αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ λέγων ὁ θαυμαστὸς οὗτος ἐξελέγχεται, καὶ νῆ Δία καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις, ὅτι τοτὲ μὲν πάντα αὐτὸν τὰ τῷ Καίσαρι πραχθέντα συνάρασθαι καὶ πάντων διὰ τοῦτο τῶν ἐμφυλίων κακῶν αἰτιώτατον γεγονέναι λέγει, τοτὲ δὲ ἐγκαλεῖ αὐτῷ, δειλίαν ὀνειδίζων, ὅτι μηδενὸς ἄλλου πλην [2] τῶν ἐν τῇ Θεσσαλίᾳ πραχθέντων μετέσχε. καὶ ἔγκλημά τε αὐτοῦ ποιεῖται λέγων ὅτι τῶν φευγόντων τινὰς κατήγαγε, καὶ μέμφεται αὐτὸν ὅτι μὴ καὶ τῷ θεῷ τὴν κάθοδον ἔδωκεν, ὥσπερ τινὸς πιστεύοντος ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἐκείνον πρῶτον, εἴπερ γε καὶ ὀντινοῦν ἠδυνήθη καταγαγεῖν, ἐπανήγαγε, μήτε τι ἐγκαλῶν αὐτῷ μήτε ἐγκαλοῦμενος, [3] ὥς καὶ αὐτὸς οὗτος οἶδεν: ἀμέλει πολλὰ καὶ σχέτλια αὐτοῦ καταφευσάμενος οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον εἰπεῖν ἐτόλμησεν. οὕτω μὲν οὖν οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν αὐτῷ διαφέρει πᾶν ὃ τι ποτ' ἂν ἐπὶ τὴν γλῶτταν αὐτοῦ ἐπέλθῃ, καθάπερ τι πλῦμα, ἐκχέαι. [p. 26] 16.

ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τί ἂν τις ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐπεξιοι; ἐπεὶ δὲ τραγωδεῖ περιῶν, καὶ νῦν γε εἴπέ που λέγων ὅτι βαρυτάτην τὴν τῆς ἱππαρχίας ὄψιν παρέσχετο, πανταχοῦ καὶ διὰ πάντων τῷ τε ξίφει ἅμα καὶ τῇ πορφύρᾳ τοῖς τε ῥαβδούχοις καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις χρώμενος, εἰπάτω μοι σαφῶς, πῶς καὶ τί ἐκ τούτων ἠδίκημεθα. ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι: εἰ γὰρ εἶχεν, οὐδὲν ἂν τούτου πρότερον [2] ἐξελάλησεν. πᾶν γὰρ τοῦναντίον οἱ μὲν στασιάσαντες τότε καὶ πάντα τὰ κακὰ ἐργασάμενοι Τρεβέλλιός τε καὶ Δολοβέλλας ἦσαν, Ἀντώνιος δὲ καὶ οὕτως οὔτε τι ἠδίκησε καὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἔπραττεν ὥστε καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους, οὐχ ὅπως ἀντιλέγοντος τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ τούτου ῥήτορος 'παρῆν γάρ' ἀλλὰ [3] καὶ συναινοῦντος, ἐπετράπη. ἡ δεῖξάτω, τίνα φωνὴν ἔρρηξεν ὁρῶν τὸν ἀσελγῆ καὶ μιαιφόν, ὥς αὐτὸς λοιδορεῖ, πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν αὐτὸν τῶν δεόντων ποιεῖν καὶ ἐξουσίαν τοσαύτην παρ' ὑμῶν προσλαμβάνοντα. ἄλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι δεῖξαι. οὕτω που ὁ μέγας οὗτος καὶ φιλόπολις ῥήτωρ, ὁ πανταχοῦ [4] καὶ ἀεὶ θρυλῶν καὶ λέγων 'ἐγὼ μόνος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνίζομαι, ἐγὼ μόνος ὑπὲρ τῆς δημοκρατίας παρρησιάζομαι: ἐμὲ οὔτε χάρις φίλων οὔτε φόβος ἐχθρῶν ἀπείργει τοῦ μὴ οὐ τὰ συμφέροντα ὑμῖν προσκοπεῖν: ἐγώ, κἂν

ἀποθανεῖν ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν λόγοις δεήσει, καὶ μάλ' ἡδέως τελευτήσω οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν τούτων ὧν νῦν βοᾷ τότε [p. 28] [5] εἵπεῖν ἐτόλμησεν. καὶ πάννυ εἰκότως: λογιζέσθαι γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐπήει τοῦτο, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ῥαβδούχους καὶ τὸ ἔσθημα τὸ περιπόρφυρον κατὰ τὰ πατρια τὰ περὶ τῶν ὑπάρχων νενομισμένα εἶχε, τῷ δὲ δὴ ξίφει καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις κατὰ τῶν στασιαζόντων ἀναγκαίως ἐχρήτο. τί γὰρ οὐκ ἂν τῶν δεινοτάτων ἐποίησαν εἰ μὴ τοῦτοις ἐκεῖνος ἐπέφρακτο, ὁπότε καὶ οὕτως αὐτοῦ κατεφρόνησάν τινες; 17.

ὅτι τοίνυν καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα πάντα ὀρθῶς καὶ κατὰ τὴν γνώμην ὅτι μάλιστα τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐγένετο, δηλοῖ τὰ ἔργα: ἥ τε γὰρ στάσις οὐ περαιτέρω προεχώρησε, καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος οὐχ ὅσον οὐ δίκην ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔδωκεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὕπατος [2] μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπεδείχθη. καὶ μοι καὶ ταύτην αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν θεάσασθε ὡς διέθετο: εὐρήσετε γὰρ αὐτήν, ἂν τάκριβες σκοπῇτε, πάννυ πολλοῦ ἀξίαν τῇ πόλει γεγεννημένην. ὅπερ που καὶ αὐτὸς εἰδὼς οὐκ ἦνεγκε τὸν φθόνον, ἀλλ' ἐτόλμησεν ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτὸν διαβαλεῖν ἃ καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν [3] πεποικέναι εὖξαστο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γε καὶ τὴν γυμνωσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν τε ἀλοιφήν τοὺς τε μύθους τοὺς παλαιοὺς ἐκείνους ἐπεσήγαγεν, οὐχ ὅτι τι προσέδει νῦν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἵνα τὴν τε περιτέχνησιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν κατόρθωσιν τοῖς ἔξωθεν [4] ψόφοις συσκιάσῃ. ὅστις, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί! μεῖζον γὰρ σοῦ βοήσομαι καὶ δικαιότερον αὐτοῦς ἐπικαλέσομαι, τυραννομένην ἤδη τῷ ἔργῳ τὴν πόλιν ἰδὼν τῷ πάντα μὲν τὰ στρατόπεδα ἀκούειν [p. 30] τοῦ Καίσαρος, πάντα δὲ αὐτῷ τὸν δῆμον μετὰ [5] τῆς βουλῆς εἴκειν, οὕτως ὥστε τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ δικτάτορα αὐτὸν διὰ βίου εἶναι τῇ τε σκευῇ τῇ τῶν βασιλέων χρῆσθαι ψηφισασθαι, καὶ ἐξήλεγξε σοφώτατα καὶ ἐπέσχεον ἀσφαλέστατα, ὥστε καὶ αἰδεσθέντα καὶ φοβηθέντα μήτε τὸ ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως μήτε τὸ διάδημα, ἃ καὶ ἀκόντων ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ δώσειν ἔμελλε, [6] λαβεῖν. ἄλλος μὲν γὰρ ἂν τις ὑπὸ τε ἐκείνου ταῦτ' ἔφη ποιῆσαι κεκελευσθαι, καὶ τὴν τε ἀνάγκην ἂν προυτεινάτο καὶ συγγνώμης ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἔτυχε, πῶς γὰρ οὐ, τοιαῦτά τε ἡμῶν τότε ἐψηφισμένων καὶ τοσοῦτο τῶν στρατιωτῶν δεδυνημένων; [7] Ἀντώνιος δέ, ἅτε καὶ τῆς διανοίας τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος διαπεφυκῶς καὶ πάντα ἀκριβῶς ὅσα παρεσκευάζετο συννοῶν, φρονιμώτατα αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπέτρεψεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέσπευσε. [8] τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔτι τὸ παράπαν ὡς καὶ δυναστεύων ἔπραξε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ κοινῶς καὶ ἀφυλάκτως πᾶσιν ἡμῖν συνῆν: ἄφ' οὗπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἡδυνήθη παθεῖν ἃ ἔπαθε. 18.

ταῦθ' οὕτως, ὦ Κικέρων ἢ Κικέρκουλε ἢ Κικεράκιε ἢ Κικερίσκε ἢ Γραίκουλε, ἢ ὅ τι ποτὲ καὶ χαίρεις ὀνομαζόμενος, ἔπραξεν ὁ ἀπαιδευτος, [2] ὁ γυμνός, ὁ μεμυρισμένος: ὧν οὐδὲν σὺ ἐποίησας ὁ δεινός, ὁ σοφός, ὁ πολὺ πλείονι τῷ ἐλαίῳ τοῦ οἴνου χρώμενος, ὁ καὶ μέχρι τῶν σφυρῶν τὴν ἐσθῆτα σύρων, οὐ μὰ Δία οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ ὀρχησταὶ οἱ τὰς ποικιλίας τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων διδάσκοντές [p. 32] σε τοῖς σχήμασιν, ἀλλ' ἵνα τὰ αἴσχη σου τῶν [3] σκελῶν συγκρῦπτῃς. οὐ γὰρ που καὶ ὑπὸ σωφροσύνης τοῦτο ποιεῖς ὁ τὰ πολλὰ ἐκεῖνα περὶ τῆς τοῦ Ἀντωνίου διαίτης εἰρηκώς. τίς μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ὀρᾷ

σου τὰ λεπτά ταῦτα χλανίδια; τίς δ' οὐκ ὁσφραίνεται τῶν πολιῶν σου τῶν κατεκτενισμένων; τίς δ' οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι τὴν μὲν γυναῖκα τὴν προτέραν τὴν τεκοῦσάν σοι δύο τέκνα ἐξέβαλες, ἑτέραν δὲ ἐπεσηγάγου παρθένον ὑπεργήρως ὢν, ἴν' ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῆς τὰ δανείσματα ἀποτίσῃς; [4] καὶ οὐδὲ ἐκείνην μέντοι κατέσχες, ἵνα Καιρελλίαν ἐπ' ἀδείας ἔχῃς, ἣν τοσοῦτω πρεσβυτέραν σαυτοῦ οὖσαν ἐμοίχευσας ὅσω νεωτέραν τὴν κόρην ἔγνμας, πρὸς ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν τοιαύτας ἐπιστολὰς γράφεις οἷας ἂν γράφειεν ἀνὴρ σκωπτόλης ἀθυρόγλωστος πρὸς γυναῖκα ἐβδομηκοντοῦτιν [5] πληκτιζόμενος. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἄλλως ἐξήχθην, ὧ πατέρες, εἰπεῖν, ἵνα μηδὲ ἐν τοῦτοις ἔλαττον ἔχων ἀπέλθῃ. καίτοι καὶ συμπόσιόν τι ἐτόλμησε τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ προενεγκεῖν, αὐτὸς μὲν ὕδωρ, ὡς φησι, πίνων, ἵνα τοὺς καθ' ἡμῶν λόγους νυκτερέων συγγραφῇ, τὸν δὲ υἱὸν ἐν τοσαύτῃ μέθῃ τρέφων ὥστε μήτε νύκτωρ μήτε μεθ' ἡμέραν σωφρονεῖν. [6] καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ διαβάλλειν ἐπεχείρησε, τοσαύτῃ ἀσελγείᾳ καὶ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον χρώμενος ὥστε μηδὲ τῶν συγγενεστάτων ἀπέχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὴν τε γυναῖκα προαγωγεῦεν καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα μοιχεύειν. [p. 34] 19.

ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔασω, ἐπάνειμι δὲ ὅθεν ἐξέβην. ὁ γὰρ Ἀντώνιος ἐκεῖνος, ὃν οὗτος καταδεδράμηκεν, ἰδὼν τὸν Καίσαρα ὑπὲρ τὴν πολιτείαν ἡμῶν αἰρόμενον, ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν μηδὲν ὦν ἐνενόει πρᾶξαι, δι' αὐτῶν ὦν χαρίζεσθαι αὐτῷ ἐδόκει. [2] οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἀποτρέπει τινὰς ὦν ἂν μὴ ὀρθῶς ἐπιθυμοῦντες τυχεῖν διαπράσσωνται, ὡς τὸ τοὺς φοβουμένους αὐτὰ μὴ πάθωσιν ἐθέλοντάς [3] δὴ δοκεῖν ὑπομένειν. τοῦτο μὲν γάρ, ἐξ ὧν ἀδικοῦσιν ἑαυτοῖς συνίσασιν, οὐ πιστεύουσι, πεφωρᾶσθαι δὲ νομίζοντες καὶ αἰσχύνονται καὶ φοβοῦνται, τὰ μὲν λεγόμενα ἄλλως, ὡς καὶ κολακείαν, μετ' ἐλέγχου λαμβάνοντες, τὰ δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποβησόμενα, ὡς καὶ ἐπιβουλήν, μετ' αἰσχύνης [4] ὑποπτεύοντες. ἅπερ που καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀκριβῶς εἰδὼς πρῶτον μὲν τὰ τε Λυκαῖα καὶ τὴν πομπὴν ἐκείνην ἐπελέξατο, ἵν' ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐν τε τῷ ἀνειμένῳ τῆς γνώμης καὶ ἐν τῷ παιγνιώδει τῶν γιγνομένων ἀσφαλῶς σωφρονισθῇ, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸ βῆμα, ἵνα ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν [5] χωρίων αἰσχυνθῇ: τὰς τε ἐντολὰς τὰς παρὰ τοῦ δήμου συνέπλασεν, ἵν' αὐτὰς ἀκούσας λογίσηται οὐχ ὅσα τότε ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔλεγεν, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἂν ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ῥωμαίων εἰπεῖν τι ἐνετείλατο. πόθεν γὰρ ἂν ἐπίστευσε τὸν δῆμον ταῦτ' ἐπεσταλκέναι τῷ, μήτε ἐψηφισμένον τι τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν εἰδὼς μήτε [p. 36] [6] ἐπιβοῶντα αἰσθόμενος; ἀλλ' ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῇ Ῥωμαίᾳ, ἐν ἣ πολλὰ πολλάκις ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐβουλευσάμεθα, καὶ παρὰ τῷ βήματι, ἀφ' οὗ μυρία ἐπὶ μυρίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἐπολιτευσάμεθα, ἐν τε τῇ ἐορτῇ τῶν Λυκαίων, ἵνα ἀναμνησθῇ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑπάτου, ἵν' ἐννοήσῃ τὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ὑπάτων [7] ἔργα, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ δήμου ὀνόματι ταῦτα ἀκοῦσαι, ἵν' ἐνθυμηθῇ τοῦθ', ὅτι οὐκ Ἄφρων οὐδὲ Γαλατῶν οὐδὲ Αἰγυπτίων ἀλλ' αὐτῶν Ῥωμαίων τυραννεῖν ἐπεχείρει. ταῦτα αὐτὸν τὰ ῥήματα ἐπέστρεψεν, ταῦτ' ἔταπεινωσε: καὶ τάχα ἂν τὸ διάδημα, εἴπερ τις ἄλλος αὐτῷ προσήνεγκε, λαβὼν, ἔπειτα δι' ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἐκολούσθη καὶ ἔφριξε καὶ κατέδεισε. [8]

τὰ μὲν οὖν Ἀντωνίου ἔργα σοι ταῦτά ἐστιν, οὐ σκέλος ἄλλως κατὰξαντος ἵνα αὐτὸς φύγῃ, οὐδὲ χεῖρα κατακαύσαντος ἵνα Πορσένναν φοβήσῃ, ἀλλὰ τὴν τυραννίδα τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος σοφία καὶ περιτεχνήσῃ, καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ δόρυ τὸ Δεκίου καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ ξίφος τὸ Βρούτου, παύσαντος. 20. σὺ δ', ὦ Κικέρων, τί ἐν τῇ ὑπατείᾳ σου οὐχ ὅτι σοφὸν ἢ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' οὐ καὶ τιμωρίας τῆς μεγίστης ἄξιον ἔπραξας; οὐχ ἡσυχάζουσιν μὲν καὶ ὁμονοοῦσιν τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν καὶ ἐξετάραξας καὶ ἐστασίασας, τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἄλλων τέ τινων καὶ δούλων παρακλήτων πληρώσας; [2] οὐ τὸν Κατιλίαν σπουδαρχήσαντα μόνον, ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲν δεινὸν ποιήσαντα κακῶς ἀπώλεσας; [p. 38] οὐ τὸν Λέντουλον καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ μῆτ' ἀδικήσαντάς τι μῆτε κριθέντας μῆτε ἐλεγχθέντας οἰκτρῶς διέφθειρας, καίτοι πολλὰ μὲν περὶ τῶν νόμων πολλὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ θρυλῶν; ἂ εἴ τις ἀφέλοιτο [3] τῶν σῶν λόγων, τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδὲν ἐστὶ. Πομπηίῳ μὲν γὰρ ἐνεκάλεις ὅτι τῷ Μίλωνι παρὰ τὰ νενομισμένα τὴν κρίσιν ἐποίησε: σὺ δὲ οὔτε μικρὸν οὔτε μεῖζον οὐδὲν ἐκ τῶν περὶ ταῦτα τεταγμένων Λεντούλῳ παρέσχες, ἀλλὰ ἄνευ λόγου καὶ κρίσεως ἐνέβαλες ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἄνδρα ἐπικεικῇ γέροντα, πολλὰ μὲν καὶ μεγάλα πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα ἐκ προγόνων ἐνέχυρα φιλίας ἔχοντα, μηδὲν δὲ μῆθ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἡλικίας μῆθ' ὑπὸ τῶν τρόπων νεωτερίσαι [4] δυνάμενον. τί μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ κακὸν παρήν, ὃ τῇ μεταβολῇ ἂν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξιάσατο; τί δ' οὐκ ἀγαθὸν εἶχε, περὶ, περὶ οὐ πάντως ἂν νεοχμῶσας τι ἐκινδύνευσε; ποῖα ὄπλα ἡθοροίκει, ποίους συμμάχους παρεσκεύαστο, ἴν' οὕτως οἰκτρῶς καὶ ἀνοσίως ἀνὴρ ὑπατευκῶς, στρατηγῶν, μῆτε τι εἰπὼν μῆτ' ἀκούσας ἕς τε τὸ οἴκημα ἐμπέσῃ καὶ ἐκεῖ ὥσπερ οἱ κακουργότατοι φθαρῇ; [5] τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν ὃ μάλιστα ὁ καλὸς οὗτος Τούλλιος ἐπεθύμησεν, ἴν' ἐν τῷ ὁμωνύμῳ αὐτοῦ χωρίῳ τὸν ἑγγονον τοῦ Λεντούλου ἐκείνου τοῦ προκρίτου ποτὲ τῆς βουλῆς γενομένου ἀποκτείνῃ. 21. καίτοι τί ποτ' ἂν ἐποίησεν ἐνοπλίου ἐξουσίας λαβόμενος ὁ τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα ἐκ μόνων τῶν [p. 40] λόγων εἰργασμένος; ταῦτα γάρ σου τὰ λαμπρὰ ἔργα ἐστί, ταῦτα τὰ μεγάλα στρατηγήματα: ἐφ' οἷς οὕτως οὐχ ὅπως ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων κατεγνώσθης, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς σαυτοῦ κατεψηφίσω, ὥστε πρὶν [2] καὶ κριθῆναι φυγεῖν. καίτοι τίς ἂν ἑτέρα μεῖζον ἀπόδειξις τῆς σῆς μαιφονίας γένοιτο ἢ ὅτι καὶ ἐκινδύνευσας ἀπολέσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐσκήπτου ταῦτα πεποικηκέναι, καὶ ἐφοβήθης αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους οὕς ἔλεγες ἐκ τούτων εὐηργετηκέναι, καὶ οὐχ ὑπέμεινας οὐτ' ἀκούσαι τι αὐτῶν οὐτ' εἰπεῖν τι αὐτοῖς ὁ δεινός, ὁ περιττός, ὁ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις βοηθῶν, ἀλλὰ φυγῇ τὴν σωτηρίαν [3] ὥσπερ ἐκ μάχης ἐπορίσω; καὶ οὕτω γε ἀναισχυντος εἶ ὥστε καὶ συγγράφαι ταῦτα τοιαῦτα ὄντα ἐπεχείρησας: ὃν ἐχρῆν εὐχεσθαι μηδὲ τῶν ἄλλων τινὰ αὐτὰ συνθεῖναι, ἵνα ἀλλὰ τοῦτό γε κερδάνῃς, τὸ συναπολέσθαι σοι τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ μηδεμίαν αὐτῶν μνήμην τοῖς ἔπειτα παραδοθῆναι. καὶ ὅπως γε καὶ γελάσητε, [4] ἀκούσατε τὴν σοφίαν αὐτοῦ. προθέμενος γὰρ πάντα τὰ τῇ πόλει πεπραγμένα συγγράφαι 'καὶ γὰρ σοφιστῆς καὶ ποιητῆς καὶ φιλόσοφος καὶ ῥήτωρ καὶ συγγραφεὺς εἶναι πλάττεται ἔπειτ' οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως αὐτῆς,

ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ τοῦτο ποιοῦντες, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπατείας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἥρξατο, ἵνα ἀνάπαλιν προχωρῶν ἀρχὴν μὲν τοῦ λόγου ἐκείνην, τελευτὴν δὲ τὴν τοῦ Ῥωμύλου βασιλείαν ποιήσῃται. 22.

λέγε τοίνυν, τοιαῦτα γράφων καὶ τοιαῦτα πράττων, οἷα δεῖ τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα καὶ λόγῳ [p. 42] δημηγορεῖν καὶ ἔργῳ ποιεῖν: ἀμείνων γὰρ εἰ ἑτέροις πῶς ὅτιοῦν παραινεῖν ἢ αὐτὸς τὰ προσήκοντα πράττειν, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτιμᾶν ἢ [2] σεαυτὸν ἐπανορθοῦν. καίτοι πόσῳ σε κρεῖττον ἦν, ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς δειλίας ἦν Ἀντωνίῳ ὀνειδίζεις, αὐτὸν τὴν μαλακίαν καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀποθέσθαι, ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς ἀπιστίας ἦν ἐκείνῳ προφέρεις, αὐτὸν μὴτ' ἀπιστὸν τι ποιεῖν μὴτ' αὐτομολεῖν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς ἀχαριστίας ἥς ἐκείνου [3] κατηγορεῖς, αὐτὸν μὴ ἀδικεῖν τοὺς εὐεργέτας; ἔν γάρ τοι καὶ τοῦτο τῶν κακῶν τῶν ἐμφύτων αὐτῷ ἐστίν, ὅτι μισεῖ μάλιστα πάντων τοὺς τι αὐτὸν εὖ πεποιηκότας, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων αἰεὶ τινὰς θεραπεύει, τοῦτοις δὲ ἐπιβουλεύει. ἵνα γοῦν τᾶλλα ἐάσω, ἐλεηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ σωθεὶς ἐξ τε τοὺς εὐπατρίδας ἐγγραφεὶς ἀπέκτεινεν, οὐκ αὐτοχειρίᾳ ἴπθον, δειλὸς τε οὕτω καὶ γύννις ὢν; ἀλλ' ἀναπεισας καὶ παρασκευάσας [4] τοὺς τοῦτο ποιήσαντας. καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα ἀληθῆ λέγω, αὐτοὶ ἐκείνοι ἐδήλωσαν: ὅτε γοῦν γυμνοῖς τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐσέδραμον, ὀνομαστὶ αὐτὸν ἀνεκάλεσαν συνεχῶς εἰπόντες, ὦ Κικέρων, [5] ὥσπερ που πάντες ἠκούσατε. ἐκείνόν τε οὖν εὐεργέτην ὄντα ἐφόνευσσε, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας, ὅτ' ἀπολέσθαι ἐν τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ ὑπὸ τῶν στραπιωτῶν ἐκινδύνευσσε, τυχὼν τοιαύτας αὐτῷ χάριτας ἀνταποδίδωσι, κακηγορῶν τε αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦτοις ᾧ [p. 44] μὴτ' αὐτὸς μὴτ' ἄλλος τις πώποτε ἐμέμψατο, καὶ [6] κατατρέχων ἐφ' οἷς ἄλλους ἐπαινεῖ. τὸν γοῦν Καίσαρα τοῦτον, μὴθ' ἡλικίαν ἄρχειν ἢ τι τῶν πολιτικῶν πράττειν ἔχοντα μὴθ' ὑφ' ἡμῶν προκεχειρισμένον, ὁρῶν καὶ δύναμιν πεπορισμένον καὶ πόλεμον μὴτε ἐψηφισμένων ἡμῶν μὴτε προστεταχότων αὐτῷ ἀνηρημένον, οὐ μόνον οὐκ [7] αἰτιᾶται τι ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγκωμιάζει. οὕτως οὐτε τὰ δίκαια πρὸς τοὺς νόμους οὐτε τὰ συμφέροντα πρὸς τὸ τῷ κοινῷ χρήσιμον ἐξετάζει, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἀπλῶς πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βούλησιν διάγει, καὶ ἐφ' οἷς ἄλλους ἀποσεμνύνει, ταῦθ' ἑτέροις ἐγκαλεῖ, καὶ καταψευδόμενος ὑμῶν καὶ προσδιαβάλλων 23. ὑμᾶς. σύμπαντα γὰρ τὰ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος τελευτὴν ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου πεπραγμένα εὐρήσετε ὑφ' ὑμῶν κεκελευσμένα. καὶ τὸ μὲν περὶ τε τῆς τῶν χρημάτων διοικήσεως καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν γραμμάτων ἐξετάσεως λέγειν περιττὸν εἶναι νομίζω. [2] διὰ τί; ὅτι τὸ μὲν τῷ κληρονομοῦντι αὐτοῦ τῆς οὐσίας προσῆκον ἂν εἴη πολυπραγμονεῖν, τὸ δέ, εἴπερ τινὰ ἀλήθειαν κακουργίας εἶχε, τότε ἐχρῆν παραχρῆμα κεκωλύσθαι. οὐτε γὰρ ὑπὸ μάλης τι αὐτῶν, ὦ Κικέρων, ἐπράχθη, ἀλλ' ἐς στήλας, [3] ὥς καὶ αὐτὸς φῆς, πάντα ἀνεγράφη: εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖνος φανερώς οὕτω καὶ ἀναισχύντως τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐκακούργησεν ὥς λέγεις, καὶ τὴν Κρήτην ὅλην ἥρπασεν ὥς καὶ ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος γραμμάτων ἐλευθέραν μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Βρούτου ἀρχὴν ἀφειμμένην, ἦν ὕστερον ἐκεῖνος παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπετράπη, πῶς μὲν ἂν σὺ ἐσιώπησας, πῶς δ' ἂν τῶν ἄλλων τις [p. 46] [4] ἠνέσχετο; ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, ὥσπερ εἶπον,

παρалаίψω: οὔτε γάρ ὀνομαστὶ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν εἴρηται, οὔτ' Ἀντώνιος ὁ δυνάμενος ὑμᾶς ἀκριβῶς καθ' ἕκαστον ὧν πεποίηκε διδάξει παρέσσι: περὶ δὲ δὴ τῆς Μακεδονίας τῆς τε Γαλατίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν τῶν τε στρατοπέδων ὑμέτερα ἔστιν, ὧ πατέρες, ψηφίσματα, καθ' ἃ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ὡς ἕκαστα προσετάξατε καὶ ἐκείνῳ τὴν Γαλατίαν μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐνεχειρίσατε. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ Κικέρων οἶδεν: παρῆν γάρ, καὶ πάντα γε ^[5] αὐτὰ ὁμοίως ὑμῖν ἐψηφίζετο. καίτοι πόσω κρεῖττον ἦν τότε αὐτὸν ἀντειπεῖν, εἴπερ τι αὐτῶν μὴ δεόντως ἐγίνετο, καὶ διδῶξαι ὑμᾶς ταῦτα ἃ νῦν προΐσχεται, ἢ παραχρῆμα μὲν σιωπῆσαι καὶ περιῖδεῖν ὑμᾶς ἀμαρτάνοντας, νῦν δὲ λόγῳ μὲν Ἀντωνίῳ ἐγκαλεῖν ἔργῳ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς κατηγορεῖν; 24.

οὐδὲ γάρ οὐδὲ τοῦτο δύναιτ' ἂν τις σωφρονῶν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἐκεῖνος ταῦθ' ὑμᾶς ψηφίσασθαι ἐβιάσατο. οὔτε γάρ αὐτὸς ἰσχύν τινα στρατιωτῶν εἶχεν ὥστε παρὰ γνώμην ὑμᾶς ποιῆσαι τι καταναγκάσαι, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως πέπρακται. ^[2] ἐπειδὴ γάρ προυπέπεμπτο μὲν τὰ στρατεύματα καὶ συνειστῆκει, δέος δὲ ἦν μὴ πυθόμενα τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος σφαγῆς στασιάσῃ καὶ τινα φλαῦρον προστησάμενα αὐθις πολεμήσῃ, ἔδοξεν ὑμῖν, ὀρθῶς καὶ καλῶς ποιοῦσι, τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπ' αὐτὰ ἐπιστῆσαι, τὸν ὑπάτον, τὸν τὴν ὁμόνοιαν πρυτανεύσαντα, τὸν τὴν δικτατορίαν ^[3] παντελῶς ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας ἐκκόψαντα. καὶ διὰ ^[p. 48] τοῦτο γε καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν αὐτῷ ἀντὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἀντεδώκατε, ἵν' ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ὧν μήτε τι κακουργήσῃ καὶ τὸ προσταχθὲν εὐθὺς ὑφ' ὑμῶν ποιήσῃ. 25.

ταῦτα μὲν οὖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἶπον, ἵν' εἰδῆτε ὀρθῶς βεβουλευμένοι: πρὸς δὲ δὴ Κικέρωνα καὶ ἐκεῖνός μοι ὁ λόγος ἐξήρκει, ὅτι καὶ παρῆν πᾶσι τούτοις ὅτε ἐγίνετο, καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν αὐτὰ ἐψηφίσατο, μήτε στρατιώτην τινὰ Ἀντωνίου ἔχοντος, μήθ' ὅλως ἐνδείξασθαι τι φοβερὸν ἡμῖν δυναμένου, δι' ὃ καὶ τῶν συμφερόντων ἂν τι παρείδομεν. ^[2] ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τότε ἐσιώπησας, νῦν γε εἰπέ, τί ἐχρῆν ἡμᾶς ποιῆσαι τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων; ἀφεῖναι τὰ στρατεύματα ἀναρχα; καὶ πῶς οὐκ ἂν μυρίων κακῶν καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ^[3] ἐνέπλησεν; ἀλλ' ἐτέρῳ τινὶ προστάξαι; καὶ τίνα ἂν ἀναγκαιότερον καὶ ἐπιτηδειότερον τοῦ Ἀντωνίου εὐρομεν, τοῦ ὑπάτου, τοῦ πάντα τὰ τῆς πόλεως διοικοῦντος, τοῦ τοσαύτην φυλακὴν τῆς ὁμονοίας ἡμῶν πεποιημένου, τοῦ μυρία ἐπιδείγματα τῆς πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν εὐνοίας παρεσχημένου; ^[4] τινὰ τῶν σφαγέων; οἷς οὐδ' ἄλλως ἐν τῇ πόλει διατρίβειν ἀσφαλὲς ἐγίνετο. τινὰ τῶν τάναντία αὐτοῖς φρονούντων; οὓς πάντες ὑπώπτευν. τίς ἀξιώσει προέχων, τίς ἐμπειρία ^[5] προφέρων παρὰ τοῦτον ἄλλος ἦν; ἀλλ' ἀγανακτεῖς ὅτι μὴ σὲ προειλόμεθα. καὶ τίνα μὲν ἀρχὴν εἶχες, τί δ' οὐκ ἂν ἔδρασας ὄπλα καὶ στρατιώτας λαβὼν ὁ τοσαῦτα καὶ τηλικαῦτα ἐν τῇ ὑπατείᾳ ταραξάς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτετηδευμένων ^[p. 50] 26. σοι τούτων ἀντιθέτων, ὧν μόνων ἦς κύριος; ἀλλ' ἐκέῖσε ἐπάνειμι, ὅτι καὶ παρῆς τούτοις ὅτε ἐψηφίζετο, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀντεῖπες, ἀλλὰ καὶ συγκατέθου πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ ἀρίστοις καὶ ἀναγκαιῶς δῆλον ὅτι οὕσιν. οὐ γάρ που καὶ παρρησίας ἐνδεῆς ἦσθα: πολλὰ γοῦν καὶ μάτην ὑλάκτεῖς. ^[2] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ

ἐφοβήθητις τινά: πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἔδεισας τὸν γυμνὸν ὁ μὴ φοβούμενος τὸν ὤπλισμένον; πῶς τὸν μόνον ὁ μὴ τὸν τοσοῦτους στρατιώτας ἔχοντα; καίτοι σύγε καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ σεμνύνῃ, ὅτι πάνυ τοῦ θανάτου, ὥς γε καὶ φῆς, καταφρονεῖς. [3]

οὕτω δὴ τούτων ἐχόντων πότερος ὑμῖν ἀδικεῖν δοκεῖ, Ἀντώνιος ὁ τὰς δυνάμεις τὰς δοθείσας αὐτῷ παρ' ἡμῶν διοικῶν, ἢ Καῖσαρ ὁ τοσαύτην ἰσχὺν ἰδίαν περιβεβλημένος; Ἀντώνιος ὁ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιτραπεῖσαν αὐτῷ παρ' ἡμῶν ἀρχὴν ἀπεληλυθώς, ἢ Βροῦτος ὁ κωλύων αὐτὸν τῆς χώρας [4] ἐπιβῆναι; Ἀντώνιος ὁ τοὺς συμμάχους ἡμῶν ἀναγκάσαι ἐθέλων τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν ἡμῶν πεισθῆναι, ἢ ἐκεῖνοι οἱ τὸν μὲν πεμφθέντα ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἄρχοντα μὴ προσδεδεγμένοι, τῷ δὲ ἀπεψηφισμένῳ [5] προστεθειμένοι; Ἀντώνιος ὁ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἡμετέρους συνέχων, ἢ οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν ἐγκαταλειποῦτες; Ἀντώνιος ὁ μηδένα τούτων τῶν στρατιωτῶν τῶν ὑφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῷ δοθέντων ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσαγαγών, ἢ Καῖσαρ ὁ τοὺς πάλαι ἐστρατευμένους ἀναπείσας χρήμασι [6] δεῦρο ἐλθεῖν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ λόγου τινὸς ἔτι δεῖν ἡγοῦμαι πρὸς τὸ μὴ οὐκ ἐκεῖνον μὲν πάντα [p. 52] τὰ προσταχθέντα αὐτῷ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ὁρθῶς δοκεῖν διοικεῖν, τούτους δὲ καὶ δικὴν ὣν αὐτοὶ καθ' [7] αὐτοὺς ἐτόλμησαν ὑποσχεῖν ὀφείλιν. διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν φυλακὴν ἐλάβετε, ἵν' ἀσφαλῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων, οὐκ Ἀντωνίου ἕνεκα τοῦ μήτε ἰδίᾳ τι πεποιηκότος μήτ' ἔν τινι ὑμᾶς πεφοβηκότος, ἀλλ' ἐκείνου τοῦ καὶ δύναμιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν συνειλοχότος καὶ πολλοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ πόλει πολλάκις ἐσχηκότος, βουλευσῃθε. 27.

ταῦτα μὲν οὖν διὰ Κικέρωνα εἶπον, ἐπειδὴ περ ἀδίκων ἐς ἡμᾶς λόγων ὑπῆρξεν: οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως φιλαπεχθῆμων εἰμὶ ὥσπερ οὗτος, οὐτ' ἐμοὶ μέλει τὰ ἀλλότρια κακὰ πολυπραγμονεῖν, ὅπερ οὗτος ἀεὶ ποιῶν σεμνύνεται. ἃ δ' ὑμῖν παραινῶ μήτ' Ἀντωνίῳ τι χαριζόμενος μήτε Καίσαρα ἢ Βροῦτον διαβάλλων, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῇ συμφερόντων, ὥσπερ που προσήκει, βουλευών, νῦν ἥδη φράσω. [2] φημὶ γὰρ δεῖν μήτε ἐχθρόν πω μηδένα τούτων τῶν τὰ ὅπλα ἐχόντων ποιήσασθαι, μήτ' ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάζειν τί καὶ πῶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν πέπρακται. οὔτε γὰρ ὁ παρῶν καιρὸς ἐπιτήδειός ἐστι πρὸς τοῦτο, καὶ πολιτῶν αὐτῶν ἡμετέρων πάντων ὁμοίως ὄντων, ἂν τέ τις πταισῇ σφῶν, ἡμῖν ἀπολεῖται, ἂν [3] τε καὶ κατορθώσῃ, ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αὐξηθήσεται. δι' οὖν ταῦτα καὶ πολιτικῶς καὶ φιλικῶς αὐτοὺς ἡγοῦμαι χρῆναι μεταχειρίσασθαι, καὶ πέμψαι μὲν πρὸς πάντας ὁμοίως κελεύοντας αὐτοῖς ἔκ τε τῶν ὅπλων ἀπαλλαγῆναι καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν καὶ ἑαυτοὺς [p. 54] καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα ποιήσασθαι, πόλεμον δὲ μηδέπω πρὸς μηδένα αὐτῶν ἐξενεγκεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπαγγελησομένων τοὺς μὲν ἐθελήσαντας ἡμῖν πειθαρχῆσαι ἐπαινέσαι, τοῖς δ' ἀπειθήσασιν [4] πολεμῆσαι. τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ δίκαιον καὶ συμφέρον ἡμῖν ἐστί, μήτε ἐπειχθῆναι μήτε προπετῶς τι πρᾶξαι, ἀλλ' ἐπισχεῖν, καὶ καιρὸν τινα καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐς τὸ μετανοῆσαι δόντας ἔπειθ' οὕτως, ἂν τοῦ πολέμου δεήσῃ, τοῖς ὑπάτοις αὐτὸν προστάξαι. 28.

καὶ σοὶ δέ, ὦ Κικέρων, παραινῶ μῆτε γυναικείως θρασύνεσθαι μῆτε τὸν Βαμβαλιῶνα μιμεῖσθαι, μηδὲ πολεμοποιεῖν, μῆτε διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔχθραν δημοσίᾳ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ^[2] ἐς κίνδυνον αὐθις καθιστάναι. καλῶς μὲν γὰρ ποιήσεις, ἂν καὶ ἐκείνῳ συναλλαγῆς μεθ' οὗ πολλὰ δὴ πολλάκις φιλικὰ ἔπραξας· εἰ δ' οὖν ἀκαταλλάκτως αὐτῷ ἔχεις, ἀλλ' ἡμῶν γε φεῖσαι, μηδὲ ἐσηγητῆς ἡμῖν τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλίας ^[3] γεγονῶς νῦν αὐτὴν καταλύσης, ἀλλὰ ἀναμνησθεὶς τῆς τε ἡμέρας ἐκείνης καὶ τῶν λόγων ὧν ἐν τῷ τῆς Γῆς τεμένει ἐποίησω, χάρισαί τι καὶ τῇ Ὀμονοίᾳ ταύτῃ παρ' ἧς νῦν βουλευόμεθα, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνα διαβάλῃς ὥς οὐκ ἀπ' ὀρθῆς διανοίας ^[4] ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τινος ἄλλου τότε λεχθέντα· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τῇ πόλει συμφέρει καὶ σοὶ πλείστην δόξαν οἴσει. μὴ γάρ τοι νομίσης ὅτι τὸ θρασύνεσθαι ἢ εὐκλεές ἐστιν ἢ ἀσφαλές, μηδ' ἂν εἴπῃς ὅτι τοῦ θανάτου καταφρονεῖς, καὶ ἐπαινέσθαι ἐπὶ τούτῳ ^[p. 56] ^[5] πιστεύσης. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ τοιούτους ὥς καὶ κακὸν ἂν τι ὑπ' ἀπονοίας τολμήσαντας καὶ ὑποπτεύουσι πάντες καὶ μισοῦσιν· οὕς δ' ἂν ἴδωσι περὶ πλείστου τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν ποιουμένους, καὶ ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ ἐγκωμιάζουσιν ὥς μηδὲν ἂν ^[6] ἐκόντας ἄξιον θανάτου ποιήσαντας. καὶ σὺ οὖν, εἴπερ ὄντως σώζεσθαι τὴν πατρίδα ἐθέλεις, τοιαῦτα καὶ λέγε καὶ πράττε ἐξ ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς σωθήσῃ, μὴ μὰ Δι' ἐξ ὧν καὶ ἡμᾶς συναπολείς.

‘ 29. τοιαῦτα τοῦ Καλήνου εἰπόντος ὁ Κικέρων οὐκ ἤνεγκεν· αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀκράτῳ καὶ κατακορεῖ τῇ παρρησίᾳ αἰεὶ πρὸς πάντας ὁμοίως ἐχρῆτο, παρὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ ἥξιον τὴν ὁμοίαν ἀντιλαμβάνειν. καὶ τότε οὖν ἀφείλς τὸ τὰ δημοσία διασκοπεῖν ἐς λοιδορίας αὐτῷ κατέστη, ὥστε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐχ ἥκιστα ^[2] μάτην κατατριβῆναι. τῇ δ' οὖν ὑστεραίᾳ καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἐφ' ἐκάτερα λεχθέντων ἐκράτησαν οἱ τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος πράττοντες, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ καὶ εἰκόνα καὶ τὸ βουλευεῖν ἐν τοῖς τεταμιευκόσι, τὸ τε τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς δέκα ἔτεσι θᾶσσον παρὰ τὸ νενομισμένον ^[3] αἰτῆσαι, καὶ τὸ τὰ χρήματα ἅ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀναλῶκει, παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, ὅτι δὴ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς δὴ παρεσκεύασέ σφας, λαβεῖν, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ ἐκείνοις καὶ τοῖς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐγκαταλιποῦσι, τὸ μὴτ' ἄλλον τινὰ πόλεμον πολεμῆσαι καὶ χώραν εὐθὺς δοθῆναι ^[p. 58] ^[4] ἐψηφίσαντο. πρὸς τε τὸν Ἀντώνιον πρεσβείαν ἔπεμψαν κελεύουσάν οἱ τὰ τε στρατόπεδα καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν ἀφεῖναι καὶ ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἀπελθεῖν. καὶ τοῖς συστρατευομένοις αὐτῷ προεῖπον οἵκαδε ἐντὸς ῥητῆς ἡμέρας ἀναχωρῆσαι, ἢ εἰδέναι ὅτι ἐν πολέμιου μοίρᾳ γενήσονται. καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς τοὺς ἀρχὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντας καταλύσαντες ἑτέρους ^[5] ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἀντιπεμφθῆναι ἔγνωσαν. τότε μὲν ταῦτ' ἐκυρώθη· ὕστερον δὲ οὐ πολλῷ, πρὶν καὶ τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ μαθεῖν, ταραχὴν τε εἶναι ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν βουλευτικὴν ἀπεδύσαντο, τὸν τε πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τοῖς ὑπᾰτοῖς καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, στρατηγοῦ τινα ἀρχὴν ^[6] δόντες, προσέταξαν, καὶ σφισι καὶ τὸν Λέπιδον Λούκιόν τε Μουνάτιον Πλάγκον ἐν

μέρει τῆς ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἄλλεις Γαλατίας ἄρχοντα βοηθῆσαι ἐκέλευσαν. 30. οὕτω μὲν τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ ἄλλως πολεμῶσιν αὐτοὶ τὴν πρόφασιν τῆς ἐχθρας παρέσχον. ἄσμενος γὰρ τῶν ἐψηφισμένων λαβόμενος αὐτίκα τε τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἐξωνείδισεν ὡς οὕτ' ὀρθῶς οὕτ' ἴσως οἱ πρὸς τὸ μεῖράκιον, τὸν Καίσαρα λέγων, ἐχρήσαντο, ^[2] καὶ ἀντιπέμψας ἑτέρους, ὅπως ἐς ἐκείνους τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ πολέμου περιστήσῃ, ἀντιπροτεῖναι τινά, ἃ αὐτῷ μὲν εὐπρέπειαν ἔφευρεν, ἀδύνατα δ' ἦν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ^[3] τῶν συναιρομένων οἱ πραχθῆναι. ἔμελλε μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶν προσταχθέντων ποιῆσειν, εὖ δὲ ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοί τι τῶν προβληθέντων ^[p. 60] ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πράξουσιν, ὑποσχεῖτο δὴθεν πάντ' τὰ δεδογμένα σφίσι ποιῆσειν, ὅπως αὐτός τε ἀναφυγὴν ὡς κἂν πράξας αὐτὰ ἔχῃ, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀρνησάμενων ἃ ἐπήγγελλεν, αἴτια τοῦ ^[4] πολέμου φθάσῃ γενόμενα. τὴν τε γὰρ Γαλατίαν ἐκλείψειν καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα ἀφήσειν ἔλεγεν, ἂν τούτοις τε τὰ αὐτὰ ἄπερ τοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐψηφίσαντο δώσιν, καὶ τὸν Κάσσιον τὸν τε Βροῦτον τὸν Μάρκον ὑπάτους ἔλωνται. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἦτησε προσποιούμενος τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἵνα μηδεμίαν αὐτῷ ὀργὴν τῶν πρὸς τὸν Δέκιμον τὸν συνωμότην σφῶν πραττομένων ἔχοιεν. 31. Ἀντώνιος μὲν ταῦτα προῖσχετο, σαφῶς εἰδὼς μηδέτερον αὐτῶν ἐσόμενον: ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἂν ποτε ὑπέμεινεν οὔτε τοὺς σφαγέας τοὺς τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπατεῦσαι, οὔτε τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ λαβόντας ^[2] προσφιλεστέρους αὐτῷ μᾶλλον γενέσθαι. οὐκ οὐκ οὐδὲ ἐκυρώθη τι αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τῷ τε Ἀντωνίῳ τὸν πόλεμον πάλιν ἐπήγγειλαν, καὶ τοῖς συνοῦσιν οἱ προηγόρευσαν αὐθις ἐγκαταλιπεῖν αὐτόν, ἑτέραν τινὰ ἡμέραν τάξαντες. τὰς τε χλαμύδας τὰς στρατιωτικὰς πάντες, καὶ οἱ μὴ ἐκστρατεύσοντες, ἡμπέσχοντο, καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως ἐπέτρεψαν, ἐκεῖνο δὴ τὸ εἰθισμένον τῷ δόγματι προσγράψαντες, τὸ μηδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ^[3] ἀποτριβῆναι. ἐπειδὴ τε πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐδέοντο, πάντες μὲν τὸ πέμπτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν τῆς ὑπαρχούσης σφίσιν οὐσίας ἐπέδωκαν, οἱ δὲ δὴ βουλευταὶ καὶ τέσσαρας ὀβολοὺς ^[p. 62] καθ' ἑκάστην κεραμίδα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει οἰκιῶν, ὅσας ἢ αὐτοὶ ἐκέκτηντο ἢ ἄλλων οὕσας ὥκουν. ^[4] καὶ χωρὶς ἕτερα οὐκ ὀλίγα οἱ πάνυ πλούσιοι συνετέλεσαν, τὰ τε ὅπλα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν ἀναγκαῖα συχναὶ μὲν πόλεις συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ ἰδιῶται προῖκα ἐξεποίησαν: τοσαύτη γὰρ ἀχρηματία τὸ δημόσιον τότε ἔσχεν ὥστε μηδὲ τὰς πανηγύρεις τὰς ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ γενέσθαι ὀφειλούσας ἐπιτελεσθῆναι, ἔξω βραχέων 32. τινῶν ὅσας ἔνεκα. ταῦτα δὲ ὅσοι μὲν τῷ τε Καίσαρι ἐχαρίζοντο καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐμίσουν προθύμως ἔπραττον: οἱ δὲ δὴ πλείους, ἅτε καὶ ταῖς στρατείαις ἅμα καὶ ταῖς ἐσφοραῖς βαρούμενοι, ἐδυσχέραινον, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι ἄδηλον μὲν ἦν ὁπότερος αὐτῶν κρατήσει, πρόδηλον δὲ ὅτι τῷ ^[2] νικήσαντι δουλεύουσιν. συχνοὶ δ' οὖν καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου βουλόμενοι, οἱ μὲν ἀντικρυς πρὸς αὐτόν, ἄλλοι τε καὶ δήμαρχοι στρατηγοὶ τέτινες, ἀπῆλθον, οἱ δὲ καὶ κατὰ χώραν μέιναντες, ὧν καὶ ὁ Καλῆνος ἦν, ἔπραττον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐδύναντο, τὰ μὲν ἐπικρυπτόμενοι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ ^[3] τοῦ φανεροῦ διαδικαιοῦντες. οὐκ οὐκ οὐδὲ τὴν ἐσθῆτα εὐθὺς ἠλλάξαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ

ἔπεισαν αὖθις τὴν γερουσίαν πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα πέμψαι, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς καὶ πείσοντα αὐτὸν ὁμολογήσαι, ἔργῳ δὲ ἴν' ^[4] ὑπεξαίρεθῇ σφισι. συννοήσας οὖν τοῦτ' ἐκείνος ἐφοβήθη καὶ οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ὄπλα ἐκδοῦναι. κἂκ τοῦτου οὐδ' ἄλλος τις τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ἀπῆρεν. 33. ἐν ᾧσ' δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο, τέρατα αὖθις οὐ ^[p. 64] σμικρὰ καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ ὑπάτῳ τῷ Οὐίβιῳ ἐγένετο. ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, μεθ' ἣν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐξώρμησεν, ἄνθρωπός τις τὴν νόσον που τὴν ἱερὰν καλουμένην ἔχων δημηγοροῦντός ^[2] τι αὐτοῦ κατέπεσεν: καὶ ἀνδριὰς αὐτοῦ χαλκοῦς ἐν τῷ τῆς οἰκίας προθύρῳ ἐστῶς ἀνετράπη αὐτόματος τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τε ὥρᾳ ἣ ἐξεστράτευσεν. τὰ τε ἱερὰ τὰ προπολέμια οἱ μάντις οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ αἵματος διαγνῶναι: καὶ τις ἐν τούτῳ φοίνικα αὐτῷ προσφέρων ἐν τε τῷ αἵματι τῷ προκεχυμένῳ ὥλισθε καὶ πεσὼν τὸν φοίνικα ἐμίανεν. ἐκείνῳ μὲν δὴ ^[3] ταῦτ' ἐγένετο. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἰδιωτεύοντι οἱ συνενήνεκτο, ἐς μόνον ἂν αὐτὸν ἔτεινεν, ἐπεὶ δ' ὑπάτευσεν, καὶ ἐς πάντας ὁμοίως ἤνεγκεν, ὥσπερ τὸ τε τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ὃν 'πρὸς γὰρ τοι τὰς τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς πρότερον βλέπον πρὸς δυσμὰς ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου μετεστράφη ^[4] καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ πρὸς τῇ Μουτίνῃ, παρ' ἣ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐμαχέσαντο, τιμώμενον 'αἶμά τε γὰρ πολὺ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ γάλα ἀνῆκέ, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὸ τοὺς ὑπάτους τὴν ἔξοδον πρὸ τῶν Λατίνων ἀνοχῶν ποιήσασθαι: οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅποτε τοῦτου γενομένου καλῶς ἀπῆλλαξαν. ^[5] ἀμέλει καὶ τότε οἱ ὕπατοι ἀμφοτέρω καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὁμίλου πάμπολυ πλῆθος, τὸ μὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι τὸ δὲ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, τῶν τε ἱππέων καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν πολλοί, καὶ οἱ μάλιστα ἀνὰ ^[6] πρώτους ὄντες, ἀπώλονται. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ αἱ μάχαι, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ οἱ οἴκοι σφαγαὶ τὸν Σύλλειον ^[p. 66] τρόπον αὖθις γενόμεναι πᾶν ὃ τι περ ἦν ἄνθος αὐτῶν, ἐξω τῶν δρώντων σφᾶς, ἔφθειραν. 34. αἵτιοι δὲ τῶν κακῶν τούτων αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοῖς οἱ βουλευταὶ ἐγένοντο. δέον γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἓνα τιτὰ τὸν τὰ ἀμείνῳ φρονοῦντα προστήσασθαι καὶ ἐκείνῳ διὰ παντὸς συνάρασθαι, τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐποίησαν, ὑπολαβόντες δὲ δὴ τινὰς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐτέρους ἐπαυξήσαντες ἔπειτα καὶ ἐκείνους ἀντικαθελεῖν ἐπεχείρησαν, κἂκ τοῦτου φίλον μὲν ^[2] οὐδένα, ἐχθροὺς δὲ πάντας ἔσχον. οὐ γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον πρὸς τε τοὺς λυπήσαντάς τινες καὶ πρὸς τοὺς εὐεργετήσαντας διατίθενται, ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν ὀργῆς καὶ ἄκοντες μνημονεύουσι, τῆς δὲ δὴ χάριτος καὶ ἐκόντες ἐπιλανθάνονται, τὸ μὲν τι ἀπαξιοῦντες εὖ πεπονθέναι δοκεῖν ὑπὸ τινων, ὡς καὶ ἀσθενέστεροί σφων δόξοντες εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἀγανακτοῦντες εἴπερ ἀνατὶ κεκακῶσθαι νομισθῆσονται πρὸς τινος, ὡς καὶ ἀνανδρίαν ὀφλήσοντας. ^[3] καὶ ἐκεῖνοι οὖν ἓνα μὲν μηδένα προσδεξάμενοι, ἄλλῳ δὲ καὶ ἄλλῳ ἐν μέρει προσθέμενοι, καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τὰ δὲ κατ' αὐτῶν καὶ ψηφισάμενοι καὶ πράξαντες, πολλὰ μὲν δι' ^[4] αὐτοὺς πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἔπαθον. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὑπόθεσις τοῦ πολέμου μία πᾶσι σφισιν ἦν, τὸν τε δῆμον καταλυθῆναι καὶ δυναστείαν τιτὰ γενέσθαι: μαχόμενοι δὲ οἱ μὲν ὅτ' δουλεύουσιν, οἱ δὲ ὅστις αὐτῶν δεσπόσει, τὰ μὲν πράγματα ἀμφοτέρω ὁμοίως ἔφθειρον, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὴν τύχην ^[5] διάφορον ἐκάτεροι δόξαν

ἐκτῆσαντο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ^[p. 68] εὖ πράξαντες καὶ εὖβουλοι καὶ φιλοπόλιδες ἐνομίσθησαν, οἱ δὲ δὴ πταίσαντες καὶ πολέμιοι τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ἀλιτῆριοι ὠνομάσθησαν. ἐς τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τότε τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πράγματα προήχθη, λέξω δὲ καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον 35. τῶν γενομένων: καὶ γὰρ καὶ παιδευσίς ἐν τούτῳ τὰ μάλιστα εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ, ὅταν τις τὰ ἔργα τοῖς λογισμοῖς ὑπολέγων τὴν τε ἐκείνων φύσιν ἐκ τούτων ἐλέγχῃ καὶ τούτους ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνων ὁμολογίας τεκμηριοῖ. ^[2] ἐπολιόρκει μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὸν Δέκιμον ἐν τῇ Μουτινῇ ὄντα, ὡς μὲν τάκριβες εἰπεῖν, ὅτι οὐ παρήκεν αὐτῷ τὴν Γαλατίαν, ὡς δ' αὐτὸς ἐπλάττετο, ὅτι τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος σφαγῶν ἐγεγόνει. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὔτε κόσμον οἱ ἡ ἀληθῆς τοῦ πολέμου αἰτία ἔφερε, καὶ ἅμα καὶ τὰ τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ τιμωρίᾳ ἀποβλέποντα ἑώρα, τοῦτο τὸ πρόσχημα τοῦ πολέμου ^[3] προεβάλετο. ὅτι γὰρ ἐσκήπτετο αὐτὸ ἵνα τὴν Γαλατίαν κατὰσχη, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐδήλωσε τὸν τε Κάσσιον καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον τὸν Μάρκον ὑπάτους ἀποδειχθῆναι αἰτήσας: πρὸς γὰρ τοι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ συμφέροντα ἑκάτερον ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντιωτάτου προσεποιεῖτο. ^[4] Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐστράτευτο μὲν ἐπ' αὐτὸν πρὶν καὶ ψηφισθῆναι οἱ τὸν πόλεμον, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐπεποιήκει λόγου ἄξιον οὐδέν. μαθὼν δὲ δὴ τὰ δεδογμένα τὰς μὲν τιμὰς ἀπεδέχετο καὶ ἔχαιρεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι θύοντι αὐτῷ, ὅτε τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἀνέλαβε, διττὰ τὰ ἥπατα ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἱερείοις δώδεκα οὓσιν ^[5] εὐρέθη: τῷ δὲ δὴ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον καὶ πρέσβεις καὶ λόγους πεμφθῆναι, ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐκ ^[p. 70] ἀκήρυκτον εὐθύς αὐτῷ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπαγγελθῆναι, ^[6] ἥσχαλλε, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐκείνῳ τε ἰδίᾳ τι περὶ τῆς ὁμονοίας ἐπεσταλκότας, καὶ γράμματα παρ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τινὰς τῶν βουλευτῶν πεμφθέντα καὶ ἀλόντα τούτοις τε ἀποδόντας καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀποκρυψαμένους, τὸν τε πόλεμον μῆτε σπουδῇ μῆτε παραχρῆμα τῇ τοῦ ^[7] χειμῶνος προφάσει ποιουμένους ἦσθετο. οὐ μέντοι ἔχων ὅπως ἐκφήνειεν αὐτὰ ὅυτε γὰρ ἀλλοτριῶσαι σφας ἤθελεν οὐτ' αὖ πείσαι τι ἢ καὶ βιάσασθαι ἐδύνατό ἡσυχίαν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ Κορνηλίου ἀγορᾷ χειμάζων ἦγε, μέχρις οὗ περὶ τῷ Δεκίμῳ ἐφοβήθη. 36. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ πρότερον μὲν ἰσχυρῶς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἡμύνετο, καὶ ποτε ὑποτοπήσας τινὰς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ διαφθορᾷ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐσπεπέμφθαι συνεκάλεσε πάντας τοὺς παρόντας, καὶ βραχέα ἅττα ὑπειπὼν ἐκήρυξε, δείξας τι χωρίον, τοὺς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπὶ τάδε τοὺς δὲ ἰδιώτας ἐπὶ θάτερα αὐτοῦ ἀπελθεῖν, καὶ οὕτως ἀπορήσαντας τοὺς τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ὅπῃ τράπωνται καὶ μονωθέντας κατεφώρασε καὶ συνέλαβεν: ^[2] ἔπειτα παντελῶς ἀπετειχίσθη. δείσας οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ μὴ βίᾳ ἀλῶ ἢ καὶ ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ὁμολογήσῃ, ἠνάγκασε τὸν Ἴρπιον συνεπιστρατεῦσαι: ὁ γὰρ Οὐίβιος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἔτι τοὺς τε καταλόγους ἐποιεῖτο καὶ τοὺς νόμους τῶν ^[3] Ἀντωνίων κατέλυεν. ὁρμήσαντες οὖν Βονωνίαν μὲν ἐκλειφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν φρουρῶν ἀμαχεῖ παρέλαβον, καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας τοὺς μετὰ τοῦτο ἀπαντήσαντάς σφισιν ἐτρέψαντο, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ πρὸς τῇ ^[p. 72] Μουτινῇ ποταμοῦ τῆς τε ἐπ' αὐτῷ φυλακῆς οὐχ ^[4] οἷοι τε ἐγένοντο περαιτέρω προχωρῆσαι. βουλόμενοι οὖν καὶ ὡς τὴν γε παρουσίαν σφῶν τῷ Δεκίμῳ, μὴ καὶ φθάσῃ τι συμβάς, δηλῶσαι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν ὑψηλοτάτων δένδρων ἐφρυκτῶρουν, ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ

συνίει, ἔς ἐλασμόν μολύβδου λεπτὸν ἐγγράφαντές τινα συνείλιξαν αὐτὸν ὥσπερ τι χαρτίον, καὶ κολυμβητῇ νυκτὸς ^[5] ὑφ'ὄδρῳ διενεγκεῖν ἔδωκαν. καὶ οὕτως ὁ Δέκιμος τὴν τε παρουσίαν ἅμα αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν τῆς ἐπικουρίας μαθὼν ἀντεπέστειλὲ σφισι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, κάκ τοῦτου συνεχῶς ἤδη πάντα ἀλλήλοις διεδήλουν. 37. ὁ οὖν Ἀντώνιος ἰδὼν ὅτι ὁ Δέκιμος οὐκ ἐνδωσείει, ἐκείνῳ μὲν Λούκιον τὸν ἀδελφὸν παρακατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τε τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴρτιον ἐχώρησε. καὶ αὐτῶν ἀντιστρατοπεδευομένων ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἱστομαχίαι ^[2] τινὲς βραχεῖαι καὶ ἰσοπαλεῖς ἐγίνοντο, μέχρις οὗ οἱ Κελτοὶ ἱππῆς, οὓς μετὰ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ὁ Καῖσαρ προσεπεποίητο, πρὸς τε τὸν Ἀντώνιον αὖθις ἀπέκλιναν, κάκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξελθόντες προεξώρμησαν μὲν ὡς καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς ἀντιπροσελάσουσι προσμίζοντες, ὑπέστρεψαν δὲ δι' ὀλίγου, καὶ παρὰ δόξαν μὴ προσδεχομένοις τοῖς ἐφεπομένοις σφισι προσπεσόντες ^[3] συχνοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα προνομεύοντές τινες ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἔς ^[p. 74] χεῖρας ἦλθον, κάκ τοῦτου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐπιβοηθησάντων ἑκατέροις μάχη τέ σφων ὀξεῖα ἐγένετο καὶ ἐκράτησεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος. τούτοις τε οὖν ἐπαιρόμενος, καὶ τὸν Οὐίβιον πλησιάζοντα αἰσθόμενος, προσέβαλε πρὸς τὸ ἔρυμα τῶν ἀντικαθεστηκότων, εἰ πως προεξελὼν αὐτὸ ῥῆον τοῦ ^[4] λοιποῦ πολεμήσειεν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὰ τε ἄλλα πρὸς τε τὰς συμφορὰς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Οὐίβιου διὰ φυλακῆς ἐποιοῦντο καὶ οὐκ ἀντεπεξῆγον, κατέλιπε καὶ ἐκεῖ μέρος τι τοῦ στρατοῦ, προσμιγνύναι τέ σφισι κελεύσας, ὅπως καὶ αὐτὸς ὅτι μάλιστα παρεῖναι δοκοίη, καὶ ἐπιφυλάττειν ἅμα μὴ τινες κατὰ νώτου οἱ προσπέσωσι. ^[5] διατάξας τε ταῦτα ἀπῆρε νυκτὸς λαθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐίβιον ἀπὸ Βωνωνίας προσιόντα, καὶ αὐτὸν τε ἐνεδρεύσας κατέτρωσε καὶ τοὺς πλείους τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς τε λοιποὺς ἔς τὰ ταφρεύματα κατέκλεισεν. κἂν ἐξεῖλεν αὐτούς, ^[6] εἰ καὶ ἐφ' ὅποσονοῦν προσηδρεύκει σφισι. νῦν δ' ἐπειδὴ τῇ πρώτῃ προσβολῇ οὐδὲν ἐπέρανε, ἐφοβήθη μὴ καὶ χρονίῃ καὶ τι ἐν τούτῳ πρὸς τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων πλεονεκτηθῇ, ^[7] καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνους αὖθις ἐτράπετο. καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἴρτιος ἔκ τε τῆς πορείας ἑκατέρας καὶ ἐκ τῆς μάχης πεπονηκότι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐν ἀνελπίστῳ ὄντι μὴ ποτ' ἂν πολέμιόν τινα νενικηκότι οἱ προσμῖξαι, ἀπαντήσας πολὺ ἐκράτησεν: ὡς γὰρ ἔγνωσαν τὸ γιγνόμενον, Καῖσαρ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ στρατοπέδου φυλακῇ κατέμεινεν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐπὶ 38. τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὥρμησεν. ἡττηθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ^[p. 76] αὐτοκράτορες οὐ μόνον ὁ Ἴρτιος ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Οὐίβιος, καίπερ κακῶς ἀπαλλάξας, ὃ τε Καῖσαρ, καίτοι μηδὲ μαχεσάμενος, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ^[2] καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ὠνομάσθησαν. τοῖς τε συναγωνισαμένοις σφισι καὶ τελευτήσασι ταφὴ τε δημοσία καὶ τὸ τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς τε πατράσιν αὐτῶν πάντα τὰ γέρα, ὅσα ἂν αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι ζήσαντες ἔλαβον, ἀποδοθῆναι ἐψηφίσθη. ^[3] ὡς οὖν ταῦτα ἐγένετο, καὶ Πόντιος Ἀκύλας, ἔκ τε τῶν σφαγῶν ὦν καὶ τῷ Δεκίμῳ ὑποστρατηγῶν, Τίτον Μουνάπιον Πλάγκον ἀντιπολεμοῦντα αὐτῷ μάχαις ἐνίκησεν, ὃ τε Δέκιμος βουλευτοῦ τινος αὐτομολήσαντος πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ^[4] οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ὀργὴν αὐτῷ ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ σκευὴ τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅσα ἐν τῇ Μουτινῇ ὑπελέλειπτο πάντα

ἀπέπεμψε, κὰκ τούτου οἱ τε στρατιῶται οἱ Ἀντωνίου ἡλλοιοῦντο καὶ τῶν δῆμων τινὲς τῶν ὁμοφρονούντων οἱ πρότερον ἐστασίαζον, ^[5] ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ὃ τε Ἴρτιος ἐπήρνοντό τε ἐπὶ τούτοις, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔρυμα τὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου προσιόντες προεκαλοῦντο αὐτὸν ἐς χεῖρας, ἐκεῖνος δὲ τέως μὲν κατεπέπληκτο καὶ ἡσύχαζεν, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ δύναμεις τις αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ Λεπίδου ^[6] πεμφθεῖσα ἦλθεν, ἀνεθάρσησεν. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ὁ Λέπιδος οὐκ ἀπεσάφησεν ὅποτέροις τὸ στράτευμα πέμψειε: τὸν τε γὰρ Ἀντώνιον συγγενῇ ὄντα ἠγάπα, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκέκλητο, καὶ διὰ τε ταῦτα, καὶ ἅμα καὶ ἀναχώρησιν ἑαυτῷ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους σφῶς προπαρασκευάζων, οὐδὲν σαφὲς Μάρκῳ Σιλανῷ τῷ στρατιάρχῳ ^[7] ἐνετείλατο: ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἀκριβῶς που τὴν ^[p. 78] γνῶμην αὐτοῦ εἰδὼς πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον αὐτοκέλευστος ἀφίκετο. τούτου οὖν ἐπικουρήσαντος αὐτῷ θαρσῆσας ἐπεκδρομὴν αἰφνιδίαν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ φόνου παρ' ἀμφοτέρων πολλοῦ γενομένου τραπεῖς ἔφυγε. 39. μέχρι μὲν οὖν τούτων ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ πρὸς τοῦ δήμου καὶ πρὸς τῆς βουλῆς ἠῤῥετο, κὰκ τούτου τὰ τε ἄλλα τιμηθῆσεσθαι καὶ ὕπατος εὐθὺς ἀποδειχθῆσεσθαι προσεδόκα: συνέβη γὰρ τὸν τε Ἴρτιον ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου στρατοπέδου καταλήψει καὶ τὸν Οὐίβιον ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων μὴ πολλῷ ὕστερον φθαρῆναι, ὅθεν αἰτίαν τοῦ θανάτου αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς διαδοχὴν ἔσχευ. ^[2] ἡ δὲ γερουσία πρότερον μὲν, ἔως ἔτι ἄδηλον ἦν ὁπότερός σφων κρατήσει, πάνθ' ὅσα ἐν τῷ πρὶν δυναστείας πισὶν ἔξω τῶν πατρίων δοθέντα παρεσκευάκει προκατέλυσαν, 100 ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις μὲν που ταῦτα ψηφισάμενοι ὥς καὶ προκαταληψόμενοι δι' αὐτῶν τὸν νικήσοντα, τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν ἐς τὸν ἕτερον ^[3] τὸν ἡττηθησόμενον μέλλοντες ἀναφέρειν. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἀπέλπον μηδὲνα ἐπὶ πλείῳ 101 χρόνον ἐνιαυτοῦ ἄρχειν, τοῦτο δὲ ἀπηγόρευσαν μήτε τινὰ σίτου ἐπιμελητὴν μήτε τροφῶν ἐπιστάτην ἕνα αἰρεῖσθαι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ πραχθέντα ἔμαθον, τῇ μὲν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἡττῇ ἔχαιρον, καὶ τὰς τε στολὰς μετενέδυσαν καὶ ἱερομηνίας ἐπὶ ἐξήκοντα ἡμέρας ἤγαγον, τοὺς τε συνεξετασθέντας αὐτῷ πάντας ἐν τε πολεμίων μοίρᾳ ἐνόμισαν καὶ τὰς ^[p. 80] οὐσίας, ὥσπερ που καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου, ἀφείλοντο: 40. τὸν δὲ δὴ Καίσαρα οὐχ ὅτι μεγάλου τινὸς ἔτ' ἠξίωσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταλύειν ἐπεχείρησαν, πάνθ' ὅσα ἐκεῖνος ἡλπίζε λήψεσθαι τῷ Δεκίμῳ δόντες. οὐ γὰρ ὅτι βουθυσίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπνίκια αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσαντο, τὰ τε λοιπὰ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ στρατόπεδα ἄλλα τε καὶ τὰ τοῦ Οὐίβιου προσέταξαν: ^[2] τοῖς τε στρατιώταις τοῖς συμπολιορκηθεῖσιν οἱ καὶ ἐπαίνους καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα τοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος πρότερον προεπηγγέλτο, καίπερ μηδὲν ἐς τὴν νίκην συμβαλομένοις 102 ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτὴν ἰδοῦσι, δοθῆναι ἔγνωσαν. καὶ τὸν Ἀκύλαν ἀποθανόντα ἐν τῇ μάχῃ εἰκόνι ἐτίμησαν: τὰ τε χρήματα ἃ ἐς τὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν τοῦ Δεκίμου στρατιωτῶν οἴκοθεν ἀναλώκει, τοῖς κληρονόμοις ^[3] αὐτοῦ ἀπέδωκεν. τό τε σύμπαν ὥς εἰπεῖν, ὅσα τῷ Καίσαρι ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐγεγόνει, ταῦτα ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκείνον ἄλλοις ἐψηφίσθη. καὶ ὅπως γε ἂν μὴδ' ἂν τὰ μάλιστα βουλευθῇ τι κακὸν δρᾶσαι καὶ δυνηθῇ, πάντας αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπήσκησαν: τῷ τε γὰρ Πομπηίῳ τῷ Σεξτῷ τὸ ναυτικὸν καὶ τῷ Βρούτῳ τῷ Μάρκῳ τὴν Μακεδονίαν τῷ τε Κασσιῷ τὴν τε Συρίαν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς τὸν Δολοβέλλαν

ἐνεχείρισαν. [4] πάντως δ' ἂν καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις αἷς εἶχε προσπαρεῖλοντο, 103 εἰ μήπερ ἐφοβήθησαν φανερώς αὐτὸ ψηφισασθαι διὰ τὸ εὖνους οἱ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπίστασθαι ὄντας. στασιάσαι δ' οὖν σφας καὶ ὥς καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐπεχείρησαν. [5] οὐτε γὰρ ἐπαινέσαι τε καὶ τιμῆσαι [p. 82] πάντας αὐτοὺς ἠθέλησαν, μὴ καὶ τὸ φρόνημα αὐτῶν ἐπὶ μείζον ἄρωσιν, οὐτ' ἀτιμάσαι καὶ παριδεῖν πάντας, μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἀλλοτριώσωσι καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ συμφρονεῖν [6] ἀναγκάσωσι. διὰ μέσου οὖν ἐποίησαν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπαινέσαντες αὐτῶν τοὺς δ' οὐ, καὶ τοῖς μὲν στέφανον ἐλαίας ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσι φορεῖν δόντες τοῖς δ' οὐ, καὶ προσέτι καὶ χρήματα τοῖς μὲν δισχιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς τοῖς δὲ οὐδὲ χαλκοῦν ψηφισάμενοι, συγκρούσιν τε αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις κὰκ τούτου καὶ ἀσθενώσιν ἥλπισαν. 41. καὶ τοὺς γε 104 διαγγελοῦντάς σφισι ταῦτα οὐ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκείνους ἔπεμψαν. περιοργῆς οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις γενόμενος ἐπέτρεψε μὲν τῷ λόγῳ τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς ἄνευ ἑαυτοῦ τῷ στρατεύματι συμμῖξαι, προπαραγγείλας μὴτ' ἀπόκρισιν τινα αὐτοῖς δοθῆναι καὶ ἑαυτὸν παραχρηῖμα μεταπεμφθῆναι: ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ συνακούσας σφίσι τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα, πολὺ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων [2] ὠκείωσατο. οἱ τε γὰρ προτετιμημένοι οὐ τοσοῦτον τῇ πλεονεξίᾳ ἔχαιρον ὅσον ὑπώπτευον τὸ γιγνόμενον, τοῦ Καίσαρος σφας ὅτι μάλιστα ἐνάγοντος: καὶ οἱ ἡττησάμενοι ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐδὲν ὠργίζοντο, προσδιαβάλλοντες δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν ἐψηφισμένων τὴν τε ἀτιμίαν σφῶν ἐπὶ πάντας [3] ἦγον καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν αὐτοῖς ἐκοινοῦντο. μαθόντες οὖν ταῦθ' οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ φοβηθέντες, ὕπατον μὲν οὐδ' ὥς αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξαν, οὐπερ που τὰ μάλιστα ἐγλίχeto, ταῖς δὲ δὴ τιμαῖς ταῖς [p. 84] ὑπατικαῖς ἐκόσμησαν, ὥστε καὶ γνώμην ἐν τοῖς ὑπατευκόσιν ἤδη τίθεσθαι. ἐπειδὴ τε ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τοῦτ' ἔσχε, στρατηγὸν τε αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς πρῶτον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὕπατον αἰρεθῆναι [4] ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτω τὸν Καίσαρα, ὥσπερ ὡς ἀληθῶς μεираκίον τέ τι καὶ παῖδα, ἅπερ που διεθρύλουν, ὄντα, σοφῶς μετακεχειρίσθαι ἔδοξαν: ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐπὶ τε τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ, ὅτι παῖς ἦκουε, δεινῶς ἀγανακτῶν οὐκέτ' ἐς ἀναβολὰς ἐποίησατο, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τε τὰ [5] ὄπλα καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτῶν ἐτράπετο. καὶ πρὸς τε τὸν Ἀντώνιον κρύφα 105 διεκηρυκεύσατο, καὶ τοὺς διαφυγόντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης, οὓς αὐτός τ' ἐνενίκηκε καὶ ἡ βουλὴ πολεμίους ἐφήριστο, 106 συνήθοριζε, καὶ κατηγορίας παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ κατὰ τῆς γερουσίας καὶ κατὰ τοῦ δήμου πολλὰς ἐποιεῖτο. 42. ἀκούοντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστει τέως μὲν ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ αὐτὸν ἦγον, ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν τε Ἀντώνιον καὶ τὸν Λέπιδον συμπεφρονηκότας ἦσθοντο, θεραπεύειν τε αὐθις ἥρξαντο, ἀγνοοῦντες τοὺς λόγους οὓς πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπεποιήτο, καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ [2] τῷ πρὸς ἐκείνους προσέταξαν. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ καὶ τοῦτον μὲν, εἰ πως ὕπατος δι' αὐτὸν ἀποδειχθεῖη, ὑπεδέξατο: πάνυ γὰρ τι 107 ἔπρασεν διὰ τε ἄλλων καὶ διὰ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ὅπως χειροτονηθεῖη, οὕτως ὥστε καὶ συνύπατον αὐτὸν ὑποσχέσθαι οἱ ποιήσιν. [3] ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδ' ὥς 108 ἠρέθη, ἡτοιμάζετο μὲν ὡς καὶ πολεμήσων καθάπερ ἐδέδεκτο, παρασκευάσας [p. 86] δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτοῦ, ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν δῆθεν, ὁμόσαι αἰφνιδίως πρὸς μηδὲν τῶν στρατοπέδων τῶν τοῦ

Καίσαρος γενομένων πολεμήσειν ὅπερ που πρὸς τὸν Λέπιδον καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ^[4] ἔφερεν: 109 τὸ γὰρ πλεῖστον τῶν συστρατευομένων σφίσιν ἐξ ἐκείνων ἦν, ἀνέσχε, καὶ πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τούτῳ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν στρατιωτῶν τετρακοσίους ἔπεμψε. 43. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ πρόσχημα τῆς πρεσβείας αὐτοῖς ἦν, τὸ δ' ὅλον τὰ τε χρήματα τὰ ἐψηφισμένα σφίσιν ἀπῆτουν καὶ ὑπατον τὸν Καίσαρα ἀποδειχθῆναι ^[2] ἐκέλευον. ἀναβαλλομένων οὖν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ὡς καὶ σκέψεως δεομένην, ἄδειάν τινι τῶν τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πραξάντων ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὡσερ εἰκὸς ἦν, ἐντολῆς ἤτησαν, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἐβούλοντο αὐτῆς τυχεῖν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἀποπειραθῶσι τε αὐτῶν εἰ ταύτην γε δώσουσι σφίσιν, ἥ καὶ ἀφορμὴν ὀργῆς λάβωσι τὸ καὶ δι' ἐκείνην ^[3] δοκεῖν χαλεπαίνειν. ἀποτυχόντες γοῦν αὐτῆς ἄντεῖπε μὲν γὰρ οὐδείς, πολλῶν δὲ τὸ 110 αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὑπὲρ ἐτέρων ἅμα ἀξιοσάντων, καὶ τὸ κατ' ἐκείνους, ὡς πολὺ ἐγίγνετο, εὐπρεπῶς πῶς διεκρούσθη ^[4] οἱ τε ἄλλοι φανερώς ὠργίζοντο, καὶ εἷς τις αὐτῶν ἐξῆλθέ τε ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου, καὶ τὸ ξίφος λαβὼν ἄοπλοι γὰρ ἐσεληλύθεσαν ἤφατό τε αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν ὅτι, ἄν ὑμεῖς τὴν ὑπατείαν μὴ δώτε τῷ Καίσαρι, τοῦτο δώσει.' καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Κικέρων ὑπολαβὼν ἄν οὕτως,' ἔφη, 'παρακαλῆτε, ^[5] λήψεται αὐτήν.' ἐκείνῳ μὲν καὶ τοῦτο τὸν ὀλεθρον παρεσκεύασεν: ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ τὸ ^[p. 88] μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατιώτου πραχθὲν οὐκ ἐμέμψατο, ὅτι δὲ τὰ τε ὅπλα ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσιόντες ἀποθέσθαι ἠναγκάσθησαν, καὶ τις αὐτῶν ἐπύθετο πότερον παρὰ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἢ παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ^[6] ἐπέμφθησαν, ἔγκλημα ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ τὸν τε Ἀντώνιον καὶ τὸν Λέπιδον 'καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνον κατὰ τὴν φιλίαν αὐτοῦ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον προσετέθειτό σπουδῇ μετεπέμψατο, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην, ἐκβιασθεῖς δῆθεν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, μετὰ πάντων αὐτῶν ὤρμησε. 44. καὶ τῶν τε ἱππέων τινὰ καὶ ἄλλους ὑποτοπήσαντες ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ σφῶν παρεῖναι ἔσφαξαν, καὶ τὰ χωρία τῶν ἀντιγνωμονούντων σφίσιν ἐλυμαίνοντο, ἐπὶ τε τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ καὶ ἄλλα ^[2] πολλὰ ἐκακούργουν. πυθόμενοι οὖν οἱ βουλευταὶ τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν, τὰ τε χρήματα αὐτοῖς πρὶν πλησιάσαι σφᾶς ἔπεμψαν, εἰ πῶς λαβόντες αὐτὰ ἀναχωρήσειαν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὡς ἠπείγοντο, ^[3] ὑπατον τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπέδειξαν. οὐδὲν 111 μέντοι οὐδὲ ἐκ τούτου ἀπώνηντο: 112 ὧν γὰρ οὐχ ἐκόντες ἀλλ' ἀναγκασθέντες ἔπραξαν, οὐδεμίαν σφίσι χάριν οἱ στρατιῶται ἔσχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον, ἅτε καὶ ἐκπεφοβηκότες αὐτούς, ἐθρασύνοντο. ^[4] μαθοῦσα οὖν ταῦθ' ἡ γερουσία μετεβάλετο, 113 καὶ ἐκείνοις τε ἀπηγόρευσε μὴ πελάσαι τῇ πόλει, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑπτακοσίους σταδίους ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀποσχεῖν, καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν τε ἐσθῆτα αὐθις ἠλλάξαντο καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὴν φυλακὴν ^[5] τῆς πόλεως ἐνεχείρισαν, ὡσερ εἴθιστο. καὶ τὰ ^[p. 90] τε ἄλλα ἐν φρουρᾷ ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ τὸ Ἰανίκουλον μετὰ τε τῶν αὐτόθι στρατιωτῶν καὶ μεθ' ἐτέρων ἐκ τῆς Ἀφρικῆς ἐπελθόντων προκατέλαβον. 45. ἕως μὲν δὴ ἐν ὁδῷ ἔθ' ὁ Καῖσαρ ἦν, ταῦτά τε οὕτως ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ὁμοθυμαδὸν αὐτῶν πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τότε ὄντες ἀντελαμβάνοντο, ὡσερ που φιλοῦσιν οἱ πολλοί, πρὶν ἐς τε τὴν ὄψιν καὶ ἐς τὴν πεῖραν τῶν δεινῶν ἀφικέσθαι, θρασύνεσθαι. ^[2] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἐγένετο, ἐφοβήθησαν, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῶν βουλευτῶν τινες,

ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῦ δήμου συχνοὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν μετέστησαν. καὶ τούτου καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἔκ τε τοῦ Ἰανικοῦλου κατέβησαν καὶ τοὺς τε στρατιώτας καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ^[3] αὐτῷ παρέδωκαν. τὴν τε οὖν πόλιν οὕτως ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀμαχείᾳ κατέσχε, καὶ ὑπάτος καὶ πρὸς τοῦ δήμου ἀπεδείχθη, δύο τινῶν ἀντὶ ὑπάτων πρὸς τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας αἰρεθέντων, ἐπειδὴ ἀδύνατον ἦν μεσοβασιλέα δι' ὀλίγου οὕτως ἐπ' αὐτάς κατὰ τὰ πάτρια γενέσθαι, πολλῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν τὰς εὐπάτριδας 114 ^[4] ἀρχὰς ἐχόντων ἀποδημούντων. τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ δύο ἄνδρας 115 διὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τοῦ ἀστυνόμου ψηφισθῆναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ τοὺς ὑπάτους δι' αὐτοῦ χειροτονηθῆναι ὑπέμειναν, ὅτι μηδὲν πλέον τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν ποιήσιν ἔμελλον, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο μηδ' ἀρχὴν τινα ἰσχυροτέραν αὐτοῦ 116 ^[5] ἐσχηκέναι δόξειν. καὶ ἐγίνετο μὲν που ταῦθ' ^[p. 92] ὑπὸ τῶν ὄπλων· ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ, ἵνα δὴ μὴ βεβιάσθαι τι αὐτοὺς δόξῃ, οὐκ ἀπήντησεν ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὥσπερ τινῶν τὴν παρουσίαν ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ φοβουμένων. 46. οὕτω μὲν οὖν ὑπάτος ἦρέθη, καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ συνάρχων, εἶγε τοῦτο δεῖ, ἀλλὰ μὴ ὑπαρχον, ^[2] αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, ὁ Πέδιος ὁ Κύντος ἐδόθη. καὶ ἐπὶ τε τούτῳ μέγιστον ἐφρόνει, ὅτι ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, ὃ μηπώποτε τι ἐγεγόνει, ὑπατεύουσιν ἔμελλε, καὶ ὅτι τῇ 117 πρώτῃ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν ἐς τὸ πεδῖον τὸ Ἄρειον ἐσελθὼν γυῖπας ἔξ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα δημηγορῶν τι πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας ^[3] ἄλλους δώδεκα εἶδε· πρὸς τε γὰρ τὸν Ῥωμύλον καὶ πρὸς τὸ οἰώνισμα τὸ ἐκείνῳ γενόμενον ἀναφέρων καὶ τὴν μοναρχίαν αὐτοῦ λήψεσθαι προσεδόκησεν. οὐ μέντοι ὥς καὶ δευτέρον ὑπατεύων, ὅτι ταῖς τιμαῖς ταῖς ὑπαδικαῖς ἐκεκόσμητο, ἐσεμνύνατο. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν ^[4] ὁμοίων μέχρις ἡμῶν ἐτηρήθη· Σεουήρος 118 γὰρ αὐτοκράτωρ πρῶτος Πλαυτιανὸν ὑπαδικαῖς τιμαῖς τιμήσας, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔς τε τὸ βουλευτικὸν ἐσαγαγὼν καὶ ὑπάτον ἀποδείξας, ὥς καὶ δευτέρον ὑπατεύουσιν 119 ἀνεκήρυξεν, καὶ ἀπ' ^[5] ἐκείνου καὶ ἐφ' ἐτέρων τὸ αὐτὸ ἐγένετο. ὁ δ' οὖν Καῖσαρ τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτῷ κατεστήσατο, καὶ χρήματα τοῖς στρατιώταις, τοῖς μὲν ὅσα τε καὶ ὅθεν ἐψήφιστο, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ὥς ἐκάστοις, λόγῳ μὲν οἴκοθεν ἔργῳ δὲ ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἔδωκε. ^[6] τότε μὲν οὕτω τε καὶ ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας οἱ ^[p. 94] στρατιῶται τὸ ἀργῦριον ἔλαβον· παρακούσαντες δὲ τινες τοῦτο ἔδοξαν αἰεὶ πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς τοῖς πολιτικοῖς στρατοπέδοις, ὅσα ἂν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην μεθ' ὄπλων ἀφίκηται, τὰς δισχιλίαις καὶ πεντακοσίαις ^[7] δραχμαῖς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι δίδοσθαι. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ μετὰ τοῦ Σεουήρου ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ καθαιρέσει ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἐλθόντες φοβερῶτατοι αὐτῷ τε ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἡμῖν ἐγένοντο ἀπαιτοῦντες αὐτάς· καὶ σφας, οὐδ' εἰδόντων τῶν ἄλλων ὃ τι ποτὲ ἤξιουν, ἐθεράπευσεν ὁ Σεουήρος πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίαις δραχμαῖς. 47. ὁ δ' οὖν Καῖσαρ τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις τὰ τε χρήματα ἔδωκε καὶ χάριν καὶ πλείστην καὶ ἀληθεστάτην ἔγνω· ἄνευ γὰρ τῆς παρ' αὐτῶν φρουρᾶς οὐδὲ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσφοιτᾶν ἐτόλμα· τῇ δὲ δὴ γερουσίᾳ χάριν μὲν που, πλαστῶς δὲ δὴ καὶ προσποιητῶς, ἔσχε· ἃ γὰρ βιασάμενός σφας εὗρητο, ταῦθ' ὥς καὶ παρ' ἐκόντων αὐτῶν εἰληφῶς ἐν εὐεργεσίας μέρει δῆθεν ^[2] ἐτίθετο. καὶ ἐκείνοι οὖν ἐπὶ τε τούτοις, ὥς καὶ ἐθέλονται αὐτὰ δεδωκότες, ἐσεμνύνοντο, καὶ προσέτι ὃν οὐδ' ὑπάτον ἐλέσθαι πρότερον ἠθελήκεσαν, τούτῳ καὶ μετὰ τὴν

ἀρχὴν πάντων τῶν ἀεὶ ὑπατευόντων, ὅσακις ἂν ἐν στρατοπέδῳ ᾦ, προτιμᾶσθαι ^[3] ἔδοσαν· ὧς τε δίκας ἐπάξειν ὅτι δυνάμεις καθ' ἑαυτὸν μηδενὸς ψηφισαμένου συνέστησεν ἠπειλήκεσαν, τοῦτῳ καὶ ἑτέρας προσκαταλέξαι προσέταξαν· καὶ ἐφ' οὗ τῇ τε ἀτιμίᾳ καὶ τῇ καταλύσει τῷ Δεκίμῳ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον πολεμῆσαι ἐκεκελεύεσαν, τοῦτῳ καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου στρατοπέδα ^[4] προσέθεσαν. καὶ τέλος τὴν τε φυλακὴν ^[p. 96] τῆς πόλεως, ὥστε πάνθ' ὅσα βούλοιτο καὶ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ποιεῖν ἔχειν, παρέλαβε, καὶ ἐς τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος γένος κατὰ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐσεποιήθη, καὶ ^[5] διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν ἐπικλησιν μετέθετο. ὠνόμαζε μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρότερον αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν, ὥς γέ τισι δοκεῖ, Καίσαρα, ἐξ οὗ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῷ τοῦτο μετὰ τοῦ κλήρου κατελείφθη· οὐ μέντοι οὐτ' ἀκριβῆ τὴν προσηγορίαν οὐτε ἐπὶ πάντας εἶχε, πρὶν δὴ καὶ ἐκ τῶν πατρίων αὐτὴν τότε ἐβεβαιώσατο, καὶ οὕτως ἐξ ἐκείνου Γάιος Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ Ὀκταουιανὸς ^[6] ἐπεκλήθη· νενόμισται γάρ, ἂν τις ἐσποιηθῇ, τὴν μὲν ἄλλην αὐτὸν πρόσρησιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποιησαμένου λαμβάνειν, ἐν δέ τι τῶν προτέρων ὀνομάτων σχηματισθέν ^[7] πως τηρεῖν. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔχει· ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ Ὀκταουιανὸν ἀλλὰ Καίσαρα αὐτόν, ὅτι πᾶσι τοῖς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κράτος λαμβάνουσιν ἢ προσηγορίᾳ αὕτη ἐκνεκίηκεν, ὀνομάσω. ^[8] προσεκτήσατο μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἑτέραν τὴν τοῦ Αὐγουστοῦ, καὶ αὐτὴν διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ ἔπειτα αὐτοκράτορες τίθενται· ἀλλ' ἐκείνη μὲν ὅταν ἐς τὴν συγγραφὴν ἔλθῃ λελέγεται, μέχρι δὲ δὴ τότε ἀρκοῦντως ἢ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπικλησὶς τὴν τοῦ Ὀκταουιανοῦ δήλωσιν ἀποπληρώσει. 48. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τοὺς τε στρατιώτας ὥκειώσατο καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐδουλώσατο, πρὸς τε τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τιμωρίαν ἐτράπετο, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ πῃ τὸν ὅμιλον διὰ τοῦτ' ἐκταράξῃ, οὐ πρότερον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην ἐξέφηγε πρὶν τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τῶν καταλειφθέντων σφίσι ^[2] ποιήσασθαι. ὥς δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τοῖς χρήμασι, καίπερ ἔκ τε τῶν κοινῶν οὗσι καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ^[p. 98] πολέμου προφάσει συναχθεῖσι, κατελήφθησαν, οὕτω δὴ τοὺς σφαγέας μετῆλθε. καὶ ἵνα γε μὴ βιαίως ἀλλ' ἐν δίκῃ τινὶ ποιεῖν αὐτὸ δόξῃ, νόμον τέ τινα περὶ τῆς κρίσεως αὐτῶν ἐσήνεγκε καὶ ^[3] δικαστήρια καὶ ἀποῦσι σφισιν ἐκάθισεν. οἱ τε γὰρ πλείους αὐτῶν ἀπεδήμουν, καὶ τινες καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἐθνῶν εἶχον· καὶ οἱ παρόντες οὐτ' ἀπήντησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους, καὶ προσέτι καὶ διαλαθόντες ἐξεχώρησαν. ἐρήμην οὖν οὐχ ὅπως οἱ τε αὐτόχειρες τοῦ Καίσαρος γενόμενοι καὶ οἱ συνομόσαντές σφισιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί, οὐχ ὅτι μὴ ἐπιβουλεύσαντες τῷ Καίσαρι ἀλλ' ^[4] οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε γε ὄντες, ἤλωσαν. τοῦτο δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Πομπήιον τὸν Σέξτον μάλιστα κατεσκευάσθη· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἥκιστα τῆς ἐπιθέσεως μετασχὼν ὅμως κατὰ τὸ πολέμιον αὐτοῦ κατεψηφίσθη. καὶ αὐτοὶ τε πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος εἴρχθησαν, καὶ αἱ οὐσίαι αὐτῶν ἐδημεύθησαν· τὰ τε ἔθνη, οὐκ ἐκεῖνα μόνον ὧν τινες αὐτῶν ἦρχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα τοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος φίλοις ἐπετράπη. 49. ἐν τούτοις δὲ τοῖς ὑπαίτιοις καὶ ὁ Κάσκας ὁ Πούπλιος ὁ Σερουίλιος ὁ δήμαρχος ἐγένετο· καὶ ἐπειδὴ προὔποτοπῆσας τὸν Καίσαρα ὑπεξῆλθε πρὶν καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν αὐτὸν ἐσελθεῖν, τῆς τε ἀρχῆς ὥς καὶ παρὰ τὰ πάτρια ἀποδημήσας ἐπαύθη, τοῦ πλήθους ὑπὸ Πουπλίου Τιτίου συνάρχοντος αὐτῷ ^[2]

ἄθροισθέντος, καὶ οὕτως ἐάλω. Ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ Τίτιος οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐβεβαιώθη τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ [p. 100] ἀρχαίου τετηρημένον: οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ χρόνου συνάρχοντά τινα καταλύσας ἀπηνιαύτισεν, 120 ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ὁ Βροῦτος ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Κολλατίνου καταπαύσει ἐπαπέθανε, τοῦτο δὲ ὁ Γράκχος ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Ὀκταουίου καταλύσει ἀπεσφάγη, ὃ τε Κίννας ὁ τὸν τε Μάρυλλον καὶ τὸν Φλάουιον ἀπαλλάξας οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἀπεφθάρη. [3] ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω τετήρηται, τῶν δὲ δὴ τοῦ Καίσαρος φονέων συχνοὶ μὲν ἐς τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ χάριν, συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄθλων 121 προσαναπειθόμενοι κατηγοροῦν: χρήματά τε γὰρ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἀλόντος οὐσίας καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τὴν τε ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐκείνου, εἴ τινα ἄρα ἔχων ἦν, τὸ τε μηκέτι μῆτ' αὐτὸν μῆτε τοὺς υἱεῖς τοὺς τε ἐγγόνους [4] αὐτοῦ στρατεῦσθαι ἐλάμβανον. τῶν γε μὴν δικασάντων σφίσιν οἱ μὲν πλείους τῇ τε χάριτι καὶ τῷ δέει τῷ τοῦ Καίσαρος κατεψηφίζοντο αὐτῶν, ἐνδεικνύμενοί πη ὡς καὶ δικαίως αὐτὸ ποιοῦντες: εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τὴν ψῆφον οἱ μὲν τῷ νόμῳ τῷ περὶ τῆς τιμωρίας σφῶν γεγραμμένῳ, οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις τοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔδοσαν. [5] καὶ τις Σιλίκιος Κορωνᾶς βουλευτῆς ἄντικρυς τὸν Βροῦτον τὸν Μᾶρκον ἀπέλυσε. καὶ τότε μὲν αὐτός τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέγα ἠῦχει καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπαίνους κρύφα ἐλάμβανε, τῷ τε Καίσαρι, ὅτι μὴ εὐθὺς ἀπέθανε, δόξαν ἐπικεικίας παρέσχεν, ὕστερον δὲ ἐκ προγραφῆς ἐθανατώθη. 50. Ταῦτ' οὖν πράξας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τε τὸν Λέπιδον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον δῆθεν ἐστράτευσεν. ὁ γὰρ Ἀντώνιος, ὡς τότε ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἔφυγε καὶ αὐτὸν [p. 102] οὐθ' ὁ Καῖσαρ, διὰ τὸ τῷ Δεκίμῳ τὸν πόλεμον ἐγχειρισθῆναι, οὔτε ἐκεῖνος, διὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι τὸν ἀντίπαλον τῷ Καίσαρι ὑπεξαيرهθῆναι, ἐπεδίωξε, [2] συνελέξατο ὅσους ἡδυνήθη τῶν ἐκ τῆς μάχης περισωθέντων, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Λέπιδον ἀφίκετο παρασκευασάμενον μὲν ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατὰ τὸ δόγμα στρατεῦσοντα, προσταχθέντα [3] δὲ αὐθις κατὰ χώραν μέλναι. οἱ γὰρ βουλευταὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐπύθοντο τὸν Σιλανὸν τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πράξαντα, ἐφοβήθησαν τὸν τε Λέπιδον καὶ τὸν Πλάγκον τὸν 122 Λούκιον, μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι αὐτῷ συνάρωνται, 123 καὶ πέμψαντες πρὸς αὐτοὺς [4] οὐδὲν ἔτι δεῖσθαι σφῶν ἔφασαν. ἵνα τε μηδὲν ὑποτοπήσωσι κάκ τούτου τι κακουργήσωσιν, ἐκέλευσαν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἐκ Οὐιέννης τῆς Ναρβωνησίας ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀλλοβρίγων ποτὲ ἐκπεσόντας καὶ ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Ῥοδανοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἀράριδος, ἧ συμμίνγνυνται 124 ἀλλήλοις, ἰδρυθέντας συνοικίσαι. [5] καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνοι ὑπομείναντες τὸ Λουγούδουνον μὲν ὀνομασθὲν νῦν δὲ Λούγδουνον καλούμενον ἔκτισαν, οὐχ ὅτι οὐ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἡδυνήθησαν ἂν ἐλθεῖν, 125 εἴπερ ἠθελήκεσαν ἄσθενέστατα γὰρ ἦδη τὰ ψηφίσματα πρὸς τοὺς τὰς δυνάμεις ἔχοντας [6] ἦγετό, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὴν ἑκβασιν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πολέμου περισκοποῦντες τῇ τε βουλῇ πεπειθαρχηκέναι δόξα καὶ τὰ σφέτερα ἅμα κρατύνασθαι 51. ἐβούλοντο. ἀμέλει τὸν τε Σιλανὸν ὁ Λέπιδος ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου συμμαχίᾳ διεμέμπατο, [p. 104] καὶ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ ἐλθόντι οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐς λόγους ἀφίκετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ προσκατηγορῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπέσειλεν, ὥστε καὶ ἐπαίνους ἐκ τούτου καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν πολέμου λαβεῖν. [2] τὸν μὲν δὴ ἄλλον χρόνον διὰ ταῦτα οὔτε προσίετο τὸν Ἀντώνιον οὔτε

ἀπεωθεῖτο, ἀλλὰ περιεώρα μὲν ἐγγὺς ὄντα καὶ τοῖς συστρατευομένοις οἱ προσομιλοῦντα, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς λόγους αὐτῷ ἦει: ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὴν ὁμολογίαν αὐτοῦ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπύθετο, τότε καὶ αὐτὸς ἀμφοτέροις ^[3] σφίσι συνηνέχθη. μαθὼν δὲ τὸ γιγνόμενον Μᾶρκος Ἰουουέντιος 126 ὑποστράτηγος αὐτοῦ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀποτρέπειν αὐτὸν ἐπειρᾶτο, ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπεισεν, αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὀρώντων ^[4] κατεχρήσατο. καὶ ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἐπαίνους τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἢ βουλή καὶ ἀνδριάντα τὴν τε ταφὴν τὴν δημοσίαν ἐψηφίσατο, τὸν δὲ δὴ Λέπιδον τὴν τε εἰκόνα τὴν ἐν τῷ βήματι ἰδρυμένην ἀφείλοντο καὶ πολέμιον ἐποίησαντο: καὶ τινα καὶ ἡμέραν τοῖς συνοῦσιν αὐτῷ προέθεντο, 127 πόλεμόν σφισιν ἀπειλήσαντες ἂν μὴ ἐντὸς ἐκείνης ἐγκαταλείπωσιν ^[5] αὐτόν. πρὸς δ' ἔτι τὴν τε ἐσθῆτα αὐθις μετέβαλον 'ἐπὶ γὰρ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπατεία τὴν ἀσπικὴν 128 ἀνειλήφεσαν' καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον τὸν Μᾶρκον τὸν τε Κάσσιον καὶ τὸν Σέξτον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μετεπέμψαντο: ἐπειδὴ τε ἐκεῖνοι χρονιεῖν ἐδόκουν, τῷ Καίσαρι, ἀγνοίᾳ τῆς συνωμοσίας 52. αὐτῶν, τὸν πόλεμον ἐπέτρεψαν. καὶ ὅς τῳ μὲν λόγῳ ὑπεδέξατο αὐτόν, καίτοι τοὺς στρατιώτας ^[p. 106] συμβοῆσαι ποιήσας ἅπερ εἴρηται, ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν ἐχόμενον αὐτοῦ ἔπραξεν, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἐκεκοινολόγητο τῷ τε Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ δι' ἐκείνου καὶ τῷ 129 ^[2] Λεπίδῳ 'βραχὺ γάρ τι τούτου ἐφρόντιζεν', ἀλλ' ὅτι ἰσχυροὺς τε αὐτοὺς ἐώρα ὄντας καὶ συμφρονοῦντας ὑπὸ τῆς συγγενείας ἠσθάνετο, καὶ οὔτε βιάσασθαι σφας ἐδύνατο, καὶ ἐπήλπισε τὸν τε Κάσσιον καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον μέγα ἤδη δυναμένους δι' αὐτῶν κατεργάσεσθαι, 130 καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ^[3] ἐκείνους δι' ἀλλήλων χειρώσεσθαι. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα καὶ ἄκων τὰς συνθήκας πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐφύλαξε, καὶ σφισι καὶ καταλλαγὰς πρὸς τε τὴν βουλήν καὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐπρυτάνευσεν, οὐκ αὐτὸς ἐσηγησάμενος, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ὑποπτευθεῖ τι τῶν γεγονότων, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐξεστράτευσεν ὡς καὶ πολεμήσων αὐτοῖς, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κύντος τὴν τε ἄδειαν καὶ τὴν κάθοδόν σφισιν, ὡς καὶ ἀφ' 131 ἑαυτοῦ ^[4] γνώμης, δοθῆναι συνεβούλευσεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἔλαβον αὐτὴν πρὶν τῷ τε Καίσαρι τὴν γερουσίαν ὡς καὶ ἀγνοοῦντι τὸ γιγνόμενον κοινώσασθαι, καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἄκοντα δῆθεν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀναγκασθῆναι συγκαταθέσθαι. 53. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο, ὁ Δέκιμος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς καὶ πολεμήσων αὐτοῖς ὥρμησεν, καὶ τὸν γε Πλάγκον τὸν Λούκιον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ συνύπατός οἱ ἐς τὸ ἐπὶ ἔτος προαπεδέδεικτο, προσηταιρίσατο: ^[2] μαθὼν δὲ δὴ τὴν τε ἑαυτοῦ καταψήφισιν καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων συναλλαγὴν ἠθέλησε μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπιστρατεῦσαι, ἐγκαταλειφθεὶς ^[p. 108] δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλάγκου τὰ τε τοῦ Λεπίδου καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου φρονήσαντος, τὴν τε Γαλατίαν ἐκλιπεῖν καὶ ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν πρὸς τὸν Βροῦτον πεζῇ δι' Ἰλλυριῶν ἐπειχθῆναι ἔγνω, καὶ τινας στρατιώτας, ἐν ᾧ δὴ τὰ ἐν χερσὶ καθίστατο, 132 ^[3] προέπεμψεν. ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνοι τε τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀνθείλοντο, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ὃ τε Λέπιδος καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπιδιώξαντες δι' ἐτέρων προσέθεντο, συνελήφθη τε μονωθεὶς ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ τινος, καὶ μέλλων σφαγῆσεσθαι ἐδεινοπάθει καὶ ὠδύρετο, μέχρις οὗ Ἑλουιὸς τις Βλασίων, εὐνοϊκῶς οἱ ἐκ συστρατείας ἔχων, ἑαυτὸν ἐκὼν ὀρώντος αὐτοῦ προαπέκτεινε. 54. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐπατέθανεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἀντώνιος ὃ τε Λέπιδος ἐν μὲν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ὑποστρατήγους κατέλιπον, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν

Ἰταλίαν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ὥρμησαν, τὸ τε πλεῖστον καὶ τὸ ^[2] κράτιστον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπαγόμενοι. οὐτε γὰρ ἀκριβῶς πω ἐπίστευον αὐτῷ, οὐτε εὐεργεσίαν τινὰ ὀφείλιν ἤθελον, ὥς καὶ δι' ἑαυτοὺς τήν τε σφετέραν ἰσχύν, ἀλλ' οὐ δι' ἐκεῖνον καὶ τῆς ἀδείας καὶ τῆς καθόδου τετυχηκότες· καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἠλπίζον πάνθ' ὅσα ἐβούλοντο καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἅστει τῇ τῶν στρατοπέδων ^[3] σφῶν περιουσίᾳ ἐξεργάσασθαι. τοιαύτη μὲν οὖν γνώμη ὥς καὶ διὰ φιλίας τῆς χώρας ἦσαν· ἐκακουργεῖτο δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῆς τε θρασύτητος αὐτῶν οὐδενὸς πολέμου βραχύτερα. καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ μετὰ πολλῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπήντησε περὶ Βονωνίαν, μάλα εὖ παρεσκευασμένος ἀμύνασθαι σφας ἂν τι βίαιον πάσχη. ^[p. 110] ^[4] οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐδεήθη τότε τῶν ὅπλων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οὐδέν· ἐμίσουν μὲν γὰρ δεινῶς ἀλλήλους, τῷ δὲ δὴ τὰς τε δυνάμεις ἀντιπάλους πως ἔχειν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐχθροὺς προτιμωρήσασθαι 133 δι' ἀλλήλων βούλεσθαι, προσποιητὸν ὁμολογίαν ἐποιήσαντο. 55. συνῆλθον δὲ ἐς τοὺς λόγους οὐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ στρατιώτας ἰσαριθμούς ἔχοντες, ἐν νησιδίῳ τινὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ παρὰ τὴν Βονωνίαν παραρρέοντος, ὥστε μηδὲνα ἄλλον μηδετέροις προσγενέσθαι· ^[2] καὶ οὕτω πολὺ ἀπὸ τῶν παρόντων σφίσιν ἀποστάντες ἀλλήλους τε διηρεύνησαν, μὴ καὶ ξιφιδίον τις ὑπὸ μάλης ἔχοι, καὶ διαλεξάμενοι τινα ἡσυχῇ τὸ μὲν σύμπαν ἐπὶ τε τῇ δυναστείᾳ καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συνώμοσαν, ἵνα δὲ δὴ μὴ καὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας ἀντικρυς ἐφίεσθαι δόξωσι, καὶ τις αὐτοῖς φθόνος κᾶκ τούτου καὶ ἐναντίωσις παρὰ τῶν ^[3] ἄλλων γένηται, τάδε διωμολογήσαντο· κοινῇ μὲν τοὺς τρεῖς πρὸς τε διοίκησιν καὶ πρὸς κατάστασιν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιμελητάς τε τινας καὶ διορθωτάς, καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐς αἰὶ δῆθεν ἀλλ' ἐς ἔτη πέντε, αἰρεθῆναι, ὥστε τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα, κἂν μηδὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μήτε τῷ δήμῳ μήτε τῇ βουλῇ κοινώσωσι, διοικεῖν, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰς τε ἄλλας τιμὰς ^[4] οἷς ἂν ἐθελήσωσι διδόναι, ἰδίᾳ δὲ δὴ, ὅπως μὴ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν σφετεριζέσθαι νομισθῶσι, Καίσαρι μὲν τὴν τε Λιβύην ἐκατέραν καὶ Σαρδῶ καὶ Σικελίαν, Λεπιδῷ δὲ τὴν τε Ἰβηρίαν πᾶσαν καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν 134 Ναρβωνησίαν, 135 Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ τὴν λοιπὴν Γαλατίαν, τὴν τε ἐντὸς τῶν ^[p. 112] Ἄλπεων καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτὰς οὖσαν, ἄρχειν ^[5] δοθῆναι. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ἐκείνη μὲν τογᾶτα, 136 ὥσπερ εἶπον, ὅτι τε εἰρηνικωτέρα παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας ἐδόκει εἶναι καὶ ὅτι καὶ τῇ ἐσθῆτι τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ τῇ Ἀστικῇ ἐχρῶντο ἤδη, αὕτη 137 δὲ δὴ κομᾶτα, 138 ὅτι οἱ Γαλάται οἱ ταύτῃ ἐς κόμην τὸ πλεῖστον τὰς τρίχας ἀνιέντες ἐπίσημοι κατὰ τοῦτο παρὰ τοὺς 56. ἄλλους ἦσαν. ταῦτά τε οὖν οὕτω διέλαχον, ἵνα αὐτοὶ τε τὰ ἰσχυρότατα λάβωσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δόξαν τοῦ μὴ καὶ τῶν πάντων ὀριγνᾶσθαι παράσχωσι, καὶ προσσυνέθεντο τῶν τε ἐχθρῶν σφῶν σφαγὰς ποιήσασθαι, καὶ Λέπιδον μὲν ἐς τὴν τοῦ Δεκίμου χώραν ὑπατον ἀποδειχθέντα τὴν τε Ῥώμην καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν Ἰταλίαν διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχειν, ἐκείνους δὲ ἐπὶ τε τὸν Βροῦτον καὶ ἐπὶ ^[2] τὸν Κάσσιον στρατεῦσασθαι. καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ ὅρκους ἐπιστῶσαντο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὅπως καὶ ἐπήκοοι δῆθεν καὶ μάρτυρες τῶν ὡμολογημένων σφίσι γένωνται, συγκαλέσαντες ἐδημηγόρησαν ὅσα καὶ εὐπρεπὲς καὶ ^[3] ἀσφαλὲς ἦν αὐτοῖς εἰπεῖν. κἂν τούτῳ οἱ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου στρατιῶται τὴν

θυγατέρα τήν τῆς Φουλουίας τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, ἣν ἐκ τοῦ Κλωδίου εἶχε, τῷ Καίσαρι καίτοι ἑτέραν ἡγγυημένῳ 139 προεξένησαν, τοῦ Ἀντωνίου δῆλον ὅτι τοῦτο κατασκευάσαντος. ^[4] καὶ ὃς οὐκ ἀπηρνήσατο: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐμποδισθήσεσθαι τι ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγαμίας πρὸς ἃ ^[p. 114] κατὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πράξειν ἤμελλεν ἐνόμισε: τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τὸν πατέρα τὸν Καίσαρα οὐδέν τι ἥττον ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον συγγενείας πάνθ' ὅσα ἠθέλησε κατ' αὐτοῦ πράξαντα ἠπίστατο.

τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ Δίῳνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν τετταρακοστῇ ἐβδόμῃ

α. ὡς Καῖσαρ καὶ Ἀντώνιος καὶ Λέπιδος ἐς Ῥώμην ἐλθόντες σφαγὰς εἰργάσαντο.

β. περὶ Βρούτου καὶ Κασσίου καὶ ὧν ἔπραξαν πρὸ τῆς πρὸς Φιλίππους μάχης.

γ. ὡς Βροῦτος καὶ Κάσσιος ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἠττήθησαν καὶ ἀπέθανον.

χρόνου πλῆθος τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Γαΐου Οὐίβιου Πάνσου καὶ Αὔλου Ἰρτίου ὑπατείας, καὶ ἄλλο ἔτος ἓν, ἐν ᾧ ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἶδε ἐγένοντο

μ. Αἰμίλιος Μ. υἱ. Λέπιδος τὸ β

λ. Μουνάτιος λ. υἱ. Πλάγκος. ὕπ.

1. ταῦτ' οὖν συνθέμενοι καὶ συννομόσαντες ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, δόξῃ μὲν ὡς καὶ πάντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης ἄρξοντες, γνώμῃ δὲ ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος πᾶν τὸ κράτος ἔξων, ἠπείγοντο, καίπερ ἐναργέστατα μὲν καὶ πρότερον, σαφέστατα δὲ καὶ τότε τὸ μέλλον ^[2] ἔσεσθαι προμαθόντες: τῷ μὲν γὰρ Λεπίδῳ ὄφισ τέ τις ξίφει ἑκατοντάρχου περιπλακεῖς καὶ λύκος ἔς τε τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν δειπνοποιουμένου αὐτοῦ ἐσελθὼν καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν καταβαλὼν τὴν τε ἰσχὺν ἅμα καὶ τὴν δυσχέρειαν τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῇ προεσήμηνεν, τῷ δ' Ἀντωνίῳ γάλα ^[p. 118] τε πέριξ περὶ τὸ τάφρευμα περιρρυέν καὶ συνωδία τις νυκτὸς περιηγήσασα τὰς τε θυμηδίας καὶ ^[3] τὸν ὄλεθρον τὸν ἀπ' αὐτῶν προέδειξεν. ἐκείνοις μὲν οὖν ταῦτα πρὶν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐλθεῖν ἐγένετο: τῷ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρι τότε εὐθύς ἐπὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις ἀετὸς ὑπὲρ τε τῆς σκηνῆς αὐτοῦ ἰδρυθεῖς, καὶ δύο κόρακας προσπεσόντας οἱ τίλλειν τε τῶν πτερῶν πειρωμένους ἀποκτείνας, τὴν νίκην κατ' ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν ἔδωκε. 2. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, πρότερος μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, χωρὶς ἑκάτερος, μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπάντων ἦλθον, καὶ παραχρῆμα τὰ δόξαντὰ σφισι διὰ τῶν δημάρχων ^[2] ἐνομοθέτησαν. ἃ γὰρ ἐπέταττον καὶ ἐβιάζοντο τὸ τε ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ νόμου ἐλάμβανε καὶ προσέτι καὶ παράκλησιν αὐτοῖς ἔφερε: πάνυ γὰρ ἱκετευθῆναι σφας ἔδει ἵνα αὐτὰ ποιήσωσι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ θυσίαι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ ἐπ' εὐτυχήμασι τισιν ἐψηφίσθησαν, καὶ ἡ ἐσθῆς ὡς καὶ εὐδαιμονούντων σφῶν μετεβλήθη, καίπερ πολλοῦ μὲν καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν πραπτομένων, πολλῷ δὲ ἔτι ^[3] πλείονος ἐκ τεράτων δέους αὐτοῖς ὄντος. τὰ τε γὰρ σημεῖα τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ τὴν πόλιν φυλάττοντος ἀραχνίων ἀνεπλήσθη, καὶ ὄπλα ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνιόντα ὤφθη, κτύπος τε ἀπ' αὐτῶν πολὺς ἠκούσθη, καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀσκληπείῳ

μέλισσαι ἐς τὴν ἄκραν πολλαὶ συνεστράφησαν, γυῖπές τε ἐπὶ τε τοῦ νεῷ τοῦ Γενίου τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ τῆς Ὀμονοίας παμπληθεῖς ἰδρῦθησαν. [p. 120] 3. καὶ αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα ἔτι ὡς εἰπεῖν ὄντων αἱ τε σφαγαὶ ἐκεῖναι αἷς ποτε ὁ Σύλλας ἐκ τῶν προγραφῶν ἐκέχρητο ἐπανήχθησαν, καὶ ἡ πόλις ἅπασα νεκρῶν ἐπληρώθη: πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἔν τε ταῖς ἀγοραῖς καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς σποράδην ἀπεκτίννυντο, [2] καὶ αἱ τε κεφαλαὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα αὐθις ἀνετίθεντο, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ σώματα τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ τε ἐρριπτεῖτο καὶ ὑπὸ κυνῶν ὀρνίθων τε ἡσθιετο, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐνεβάλλετο. τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅσα ἐπὶ τοῦ Σύλλου πρότερον ἐπέπρακτο, καὶ τότε συνεφέρετο, πλὴν ὅτι δύο μόνα λευκώματα, χωρὶς μὲν τῶν βουλευτῶν χωρὶς δὲ τῶν [3] ἄλλων, ἐξετέθη. καὶ τὸ μὲν αἵτιον δι' ὃ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο, οὔτε παρ' ἑτέρου τινὸς μαθεῖν οὔτ' αὐτὸς εὖρεῖν ἠδυνήθη: ὁ γὰρ τοι μόνον ἂν τις, τὸ γε ἐλάττους θανατωθῆναι, ἐνενόησεν, ἥκιστα ἀληθές ἐστι: πολλῶ γὰρ πλείους, ἅτε καὶ ὑπὸ πλειόνων, ἐσεγράφησαν. τοῦτο δὲ οὐ παρὰ τὰς σφαγὰς τὰς [4] ἐν τῷ πρὶν γενομένας παρήλλαξεν: ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε οὐκ ἀναμίξ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν πρώτων τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀλλὰ χωρὶς ἐξετέθη, λῆρόν που πολὺν τοῖς γε ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου σφαγησομένοις ἔφερεν. ἀντ' ἐκείνου δὲ δὴ ἕτερα καὶ πάνυ δυσχερῆ, καίπερ μηδεμίαν τῶν προτέρων ὑπερβολὴν, ὡς γε καὶ ἐδόκει, λιπόντων, οὐκ ὀλίγα αὐτοῖς συνηνέχθη. 4. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Σύλλου οἱ τέ τι δρῶντες τὰς τε τὸλμας ἐκ τοῦ παραχρήμα, ἅτε καὶ πρώτον τοῦ [p. 122] τοιοῦτου πειρώμενοι, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ προβουλήs ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' ἦττον τὰ πλείω κακοτρόπως, οἷα οὐκ ἐκ προνοίας ἀλλ' ἐκ συντυχίας, ἔπραττον: καὶ οἱ πάσχοντες ἐξαπιναιαῖς τε καὶ ἀνηκουστοῖς συμφοραῖς περιπίπτοντες ῥαστώνην τινα ἐκ τοῦ ἀνελπίστου τῶν παθῶν ἐλάμβανον. [2] τότε δὲ πάντα μὲν τὰ προτολημθέντα οἱ μὲν αὐτοὶ χειρουργήσαντες, οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες, οἱ δ' ἀκοῇ γοῦν ὑπογύω ἀκριβοῦντες, πολλὰ δ' οὖν ἐν τῷ διὰ μέσου τῇ προσδοκίᾳ τῶν ὁμοίων οἱ μὲν ὡς δράσουσι προσεπινοήσαντες, οἱ δ' ὡς πείσονται [3] προσδεῖσαντες, ἐκεῖνοι τε πλείστην ἀτοπίαν τῇ τε ζηλώσει τῶν προτέρων ἔργων καὶ τῇ ἀπ' αὐτῶν σπουδῇ ἐς τὸ καινῶσαι πως τὰ ἐπιβουλεύματα ἐξ ἐπιτεχνήσεως παρεῖχον, καὶ οἱ ἕτεροι πάνθ' ὅσα παθεῖν ἐδύναντο λογιζόμενοι πολὺ ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ πρὸ τῶν σωμάτων, ὡς καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς 5. ἤδη ὄντες, διεκναίοντο. κἂν τε τούτῳ χαλεπωτέρως ἢ πρὶν ἀπήλλασσον, καὶ διότι τότε μὲν μόνοι οἱ τοῦ Σύλλου τῶν τε περὶ αὐτὸν δυνατῶν ἐχθροὶ διώλοντο, τῶν δὲ δὴ φίλων αὐτοῦ τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων οὐδεὶς ἐκείνου γε κελεύσαντος [2] ἐφθάρη, ὥστε ἔξω τῶν πάνυ πλουσίων 'τούτοις γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε εἰρήνη πρὸς τὸν ἰσχυρότερον ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις γίγνεται οἱ γε λοιποὶ ἐθάρσυν: ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς δευτέραις ταύταις σφαγαῖς οὐχ ὅπως οἱ [p. 124] ἐχθροὶ αὐτῶν ἦ καὶ οἱ πλούσιοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πάνυ [3] φίλοι καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἐκτείνοντο. ἄλλως μὲν γὰρ ἢ τις ἢ οὐδεὶς ἐς ἔχθραν ἀπ' ἰδίας τινὸς αἰτίας τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐκείνοις, ὡς καὶ σφαγῆναι πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἐληλύθει: τὰ δὲ δὴ κοινὰ πράγματα καὶ αἱ τῶν δυναστειῶν διαλλαγαὶ καὶ τὰς φιλίας τὰς τε ἔχθρας τὰς σφοδρὰς αὐτοῖς ἐπεποιήκεσαν. [4] πάντας γὰρ τοὺς τῷ πέλας συναραμένους τέ τι καὶ συμπράξαντας ἐν πολεμίου μοίρᾳ οἱ ἕτεροι ἐτίθεντο: καὶ οὕτω συνέβαινε τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ φίλους τινὶ αὐτῶν καὶ

ἐχθροὺς πάντων γεγονέναι ὥστε, ἐν ᾧ ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστος τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύσαντάς οἱ ἡμύνετο, καὶ τοὺς φιλάτους κοινῇ συναπώλλυσαν. ^[5] Ἐκ γὰρ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους πραγμάτων τὸ τε οἰκειωθέν σφισι καὶ τὸ ἀλλοτριωθέν ἐν λόγῳ τινὶ τιθέμενοι οὔτε τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τις αὐτῶν ἐχθρὸν τιμωρήσασθαι, φίλον ἑτέρου ὄντα, ἐδύνατο μὴ ἀντιδιδούς ἄλλον, καὶ ἐκ τῆς τῶν γεγονότων ὀργῆς τῆς τε ἔπειτα ὑποψίας παρ' οὐδέν τῇν τοῦ ἑταιρικοῦ σωτηρίαν πρὸς τῇν τοῦ διαφόρου τιμωρίαν ποιούμενοι ῥαδίως σφᾶς ἀντεδίδουσιν. 6. καὶ τοῦτου τοὺς τε φιλάτους ἀντὶ τῶν ἐχθίστων ἀλλήλοις προέβαλλον, καὶ τοὺς πολεμιωτάτους ἀντὶ τῶν ἑταιροτάτων, τοῦτο μὲν ἴσους πρὸς ἴσους, τοῦτο δὲ ἀνθ' ἑνὸς πλείονας ἢ καὶ ἀντὶ ^[p. 126] πλείονων ἐλάττονας, ἢ ἐλάττοντο, τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐν ἀγορᾷ τρόπῳ ποιούμενοι, καὶ ὑπερβάλλοντες ^[2] ὥσπερ ἐν πρατηρίῳ. εἰ μὲν γὰρ εἰς τις ἐνός τινος ἀντάξιος ὥστ' ἰσομοιρεῖν εὐρίσκετο, ἀπλῇ ἢ ἀντίδοσις ἐγίγνετο: ὅσους δὲ δὴ ἀρετὴ τις ἢ ἀξίωσις ἢ καὶ συγγένεια ἀνετίμα, ἀντὶ πλείονων ἀπώλλυντο. ἅτε γὰρ ἐν ἐμφυλίοις πολέμοις, καὶ πολλῷ μὲν χρόνῳ πολλαῖς δὲ καὶ πράξεσι γενομένοις, συχνοὶ καὶ τοῖς πάντῃ συγγενέσι κατὰ τὸ ^[3] στασιωτικὸν προσεκεκρούεσαν. ἀμέλει τῷ τε Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ ὁ θεῖος Λούκιος Καῖσαρ καὶ τῷ Λεπίδῳ καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς Λούκιος Παῦλος ἐπεπολέμωτο. ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν ἐσώθησαν, τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων πολλοὶ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς τε φίλοις καὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαιοῖς, ὑφ' ὧν περ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ σωθῆσεσθαι καὶ τιμηθῆσεσθαι προσεδόκων, ἐσφάγησαν. ^[4] ὅπως γὰρ μηδεὶς στερηθῆσεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων φοβηθείς, ὅτι τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ Σύλλου φονεύσαντάς τινας ὁ Κάτων ὁ Μάρκος ταμιεύσας ἀπήτησε πάνθ' ὅσα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἰλήφεσαν, ἥττον τινα ἀποκτείνει, προηγόρευσαν ὅτι οὐδένα αὐτῶν ^[5] ἐς τὰ δημόσια γράμματα ἐσγράψουσι. τοὺς τε οὖν ἄλλους ἐτοιμότερον διὰ τοῦτ' ἔσφαζον καὶ τοὺς εὐπόρους, εἰ καὶ μηδενὶ αὐτῶν ἀπήχθοντο: παμπόλλων τε γὰρ χρημάτων δεόμενοι, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες ὁπόθεν ἄλλοθεν τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποπληρώσωσι, κοινήν τινα κατὰ τῶν ^[p. 128] ^[6] πλουσίων ἐχθραν προσέθεντο. καὶ ἄλλα τε διὰ τοῦτο πολλὰ παρενομήθη, καὶ παιδίσκον τινὰ ἐς ἐφήβους ἐσῆγαγον, ἴν' ὥς ἐς ἄνδρας ἤδη τελῶν ἀποθάνῃ. 7. ταῦτα δὲ ἐπράττετο μὲν ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Λεπίδου καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μάλιστα ἑκὸς τε γὰρ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ προτέρου ἐπὶ μακρότατον τιμηθέντες, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ταῖς τε ἡγεμονίαις ἐπὶ πλείστον γεγόμενοι, πολλοὺς ἐχθροὺς εἶχον', ^[2] ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος κατὰ τὴν τῆς δυναστείας κοινωνίαν γίνεσθαι, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς γε οὐδέν τι συχνοὺς ἀποκτείνειν ἐδεήθη: τῇ τε γὰρ φύσει οὐκ ὤμους ἦν, καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ἡθεσιν ἐνετέθραπτο. πρὸς δ' ἔτι νέος τε ὢν καὶ ἄρτι ἐς τὰ πράγματα παριῶν οὐτ' ἄλλως ἀνάγκην πολλοὺς σφοδρῶς μισεῖν εἶχε καὶ φιλεῖσθαι ^[3] ἤθελε. σημεῖον δὲ ὅτι, ἀφ' οὗ τῆς τε πρὸς ἐκείνους συναρχίας ἀπηλλάγη καὶ τὸ κράτος μόνος ἔσχεν, οὐδὲν ἔτι τοιοῦτον ἔπραξεν. καὶ τότε δὲ οὐχ ὅσον πολλοὺς οὐκ ἔφθειρεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔσωσε πλείστους, τοῖς τε προδοῦσι τοὺς δεσπότας ἢ τοὺς φίλους χαλεπώτατα καὶ τοῖς συναραμένοις ^[4] πιστὴν ἐπικεστάτα ἐχρήσατο. τεκμήριον δέ, Τανουσία γυνὴ ἐπιφανὴς τὸν ἄνδρα Τίτον Οὐίνιον ἐπικηρυχθέντα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐς κιβωτὸν παρὰ ἀπελευθέρῳ τινὶ Φιλοποίμενι κατέκρυπεν, ὥστε καὶ πίστιν τοῦ τεθνηκέναι αὐτὸν

παρᾶσχειν: μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο δημοτελῇ ἑορτῇ, ἣν συγγενῆς τις αὐτῆς ποιήσῃ ἐμελλε, τηρήσασα, τὸν τε Καίσαρα ^[p. 130] διὰ τῆς Ὀκταουσίας τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐς τὸ θέατρον ^[5] μόνον τῶν τριῶν ἐσελθεῖν διεπράξατο, κἀνταῦθα ἐσπηδῆσασα τὸ τε πραχθὲν ἀγνοοῦντί οἱ ἐμήνυσε, καὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν αὐτὴν ἐσκομίσασα ἐκεῖθεν τὸν ἄνδρα ἐξήγαγεν, ὥστε τὸν Καίσαρα θαυμάσαντα πάντας μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀφεῖναι καὶ γὰρ τοῖς συγκρῦψασι τίνα θάνατος προεῖρητό, τὸν δὲ Φιλοποίμενα καὶ ἐς τὴν ἱππᾶδα κατατάξαι. 8. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν πολλοὺς, ὅσους γε καὶ ἡδυνήθη, διεσώσατο: ὃ τε Λέπιδος τῷ τε ἀδελφῷ τῷ Παύλῳ ἐς Μίλητον ἐκδρᾶναι ἐπέτρεψε, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους οὐκ ἀπαραίτητος ἦν: ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ὡμῶς καὶ ἀνηλεῶς οὐχ ὅτι τοὺς ἐκτεθέντας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐπικουρῆσαι τι αὐτῶν ἐπιχειρήσαντας ^[2] ἔκτεινε. τὰς τε κεφαλὰς σφῶν, εἰ καὶ σιτούμενος ἐτύγγανεν, ἐπεσκόπει, καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῆς τε ἀνοσιωπάτης καὶ τῆς οἰκτροτάτης αὐτῶν ὄψεως ἐνεπιμπλατο. καὶ ἦ γε Φουλουία πολλοὺς καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ κατ' ἐχθραν καὶ διὰ χρήματα, καὶ ἔστιν οὖς οὐδὲ γινγνωσκομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ ^[3] ἀνδρός, ἐθανάτωσεν: ἐνὸς γοῦν τινος κεφαλὴν ἰδὼν εἶπεν ὅτι 'τοῦτον οὐκ ἠπιστάμην.' ὥς δ' οὖν καὶ ἡ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ποτε ἐκομίσθη σφίσι 'φεύγων γὰρ καὶ καταληφθεὶς ἐσφάγῃ, ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος πολλὰ αὐτῷ καὶ δυσχερῇ ἐξονειδίσας ἔπειτ' ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὴν ἐκφανέστερον τῶν ἄλλων ἐν τῷ βήματι προτεθῆναι, ἵν' ὅθεν κατ' αὐτοῦ δημηγορῶν ἠκούετο, ἐνταῦθα μετὰ τῆς χειρὸς τῆς ^[4] δεξιᾶς, ὥσπερ ἀπετέμμητο, ὀρύτο: ἡ δὲ δὴ Φουλουία ἔς τε τὰς χεῖρας αὐτὴν πρὶν ἀποκομισθῆναι ^[p. 132] ἐδέξατο, καὶ ἐμπικραναμένη οἱ καὶ ἐμπτύσασα ἐπὶ τε τὰ γόνατα ἐπέθηκε, καὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτῆς διανοίξασα τὴν τε γλῶσσαν ἐξεῖλκυσε καὶ ταῖς βελόναῖς αἷς ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐχρῆτο κατεκέντησε, πολλὰ ἅμα καὶ μιὰρὰ προσεπισκώπτουσα. ^[5] καὶ οὗτοι δ' οὖν ὅμως ἔσωσάν τινες, παρ' ὧν γε καὶ πλείω χρήματα ἔλαβον ἢ τελευτησάντων εὐρήσειν ἤλπισαν: καὶ ἵνα γε μὴ κεναὶ αἱ ἐν τοῖς λευκώμασι χῶραι τῶν ὀνομάτων αὐτῶν ᾧσιν, ἐτέρους ἀντενέγραψαν. πλὴν γε ὅτι τὸν θεῖον ὁ Ἀντώνιος, πολλὰ τῆς μητρὸς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τῆς Ἰουλίας ἱκετευσάσης, ἀφῆκεν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο χρηστὸν εἰργάσατο. 9. πολὺτροποι μὲν οὖν διὰ ταῦτα αἱ σφαγαί, πολυειδεῖς δὲ καὶ σωτηρίαι πῶς ἐγένοντο. συχνοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρὸς τῶν φιλτάτων ἀπώλοντο, συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθίστων ἐσώθησαν. ἄλλοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀπέκτειναν, ἄλλους αὐτοὶ οἱ ἐπελθόντες ὥς καὶ φονεύσοντες ἀπέλυσαν. προδόντες δὲ τινες δεσπότης ἢ καὶ φίλους ἐκολάσθησαν, καὶ ἕτεροι δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐτιμήθησαν: οἳ τε περιποιήσαντές τινες οἱ μὲν δίκην ἔδοσαν οἱ δὲ καὶ ^[2] γέρα ἔλαβον. οἷα γὰρ οὐχ ἐνὸς ἀνδρός ἀλλὰ τριῶν πρὸς τε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐκάστου καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον συμφέρον πάντα ποιούντων, καὶ μήτε τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἢ φίλους ἡγουμένων, σωθῆναι τε πολλάκις ὅν ὁ ἕτερος ἀπολέσθαι, καὶ φθαρῆναι αὖ ὅν ὁ ἕτερος περιγενέσθαι ἠθελε, σπουδαζόντων, πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα συνέβαινεν, ὥς που ^[p. 134] καὶ εὐνοίας ἢ μίσους πρὸς τίνα ἔχοντες ἦσαν. 10. ἐγὼ οὖν τὸ μὲν πάντα αὐτὰ ἀκριβῶς καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπεξελεῖν παραλείψω 'πάμπολὺν τε γὰρ ἔργον ἂν εἴη, καὶ οὐδὲν μέγα τῇ συγγραφῇ παρέξεται, ἃ δὲ ἀξιωμακρόνεντα μάλιστα εἶναι νομίζω, διηγῶμαι. ^[2] τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἐς ἔπαυλιν τις τὸν δεσπότην

κατακρύψας, εἰτ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὥς καθ' ἑτέρου τινὸς μήνυσιν ἀπολεισθαι ἔμελλε, τὴν τε ἐσθῆτα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡλλάξατο, καὶ μετ' αὐτῆς τοῖς ἐπιούσιν ὥς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ὢν προαπήντησε καὶ ἐσφάγη: καὶ οὕτως οἱ μὲν ἀπετράποντο, νομίσαντες ὃν ἐβούλοντο πεφονευκέναι, ὁ δὲ ἀπελθόντων [3] αὐτῶν ἑτέρωσε διέφυγε. τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλος τις τὴν σκευὴν ὁμοίως ἅπασαν πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην διαλλάξας αὐτὸς τε ἐς φορεῖον κατὰστεγον ἐσθῆλα καὶ ἐκεῖνον διφροφορεῖν ἐποίησε: καὶ τοῦτου καταληφθέντες ὁ μὲν οὐδ' ὄφθεις ἐφονεύθη, ὁ δὲ ὥς τις [4] σκευοφόρος διεσώθη. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως ἐκεῖνοι ἐξ εὐεργεσίας τινὸς προὔπαρχούσης σφίσι τοῖς εὖ ποιήσασιν ἀνταπέδωσαν: στιγματίας δὲ τις οὐχ ὅσον οὐ προέδωκε τὸν στίξαντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ προθύμως ἔσωσεν. ὥς γοῦν ὑπεκκομίζων ποι αὐτὸν ἐφωράθη καὶ ἐδιώκετο, ἀπέκτεινέ τε πῖνα ἐντυχόντα οἱ κατὰ τύχην, καὶ τὴν στολὴν αὐτοῦ τῷ δεσπότηι δοὺς τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ πυρὰν ἐπέθηκεν, [5] αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν τε ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον τοῦ δεσπότητος λαβὼν ἀπήντησε τοῖς διώκουσι, καὶ πλασάμενος ὥς καὶ φεύγοντα αὐτὸν ἀπεκτονῶς [p. 136] ἐπιστεύθη ἕκ τε τῶν σκυλῶν καὶ ἕκ τῶν στιγμάτων, καὶ ἐκεῖνόν τε ἅμα ἔσωσε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτιμήθη. [6] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐς οὐδεμίαν ὀνόματος μνήμην ἀνήκει: Ὅσιδιον δὲ δὴ Γέταν ὁ υἱός, ἐκφορὰν δὴ πῖνα αὐτοῦ ὥς καὶ τεθνηκότος σκεύασας, ἐξέσωσε, καὶ Κύντον Κικέρωνα τὸν τοῦ Μάρκου ἀδελφὸν ὁ παῖς ἐξέκλεψε καὶ ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ ἔσωσεν. [7] αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ καὶ κατέκρυψε τὸν πατέρα ὥστε μὴ εὐρεθῆναι, καὶ στρεβλωθεὶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ πάσαις βασάνοις οὐδὲν ἐξελάλησε: μαθὼν δὲ ἐκεῖνος τὸ γιγνόμενον, καὶ θαυμάσας τε ἅμα τὸν παῖδα καὶ ἐλεήσας, ἦλθεν ἐθελοντῆς ἐς τὸ ἐμφανὲς καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν τοῖς σφαγεῦσι παρέδωκεν. 11. ἀρετῆς μὲν δὴ καὶ εὐσεβείας τοσαῦτα τότε ἐπιφανῆ ἔργα ἐγένετο: Ποπίλιος δὲ δὴ Λαίνας τὸν Κικέρωνα τὸν Μᾶρκον ἀπέκτεινε καίπερ [2] εὐεργέτην αὐτοῦ ἐκ συνηγορήματος ὄντα, καὶ ἵνα γε μὴ ἀκουόμενος μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀρώμενος πίστιν τοῦ πεφονευκέναι αὐτὸν λάβῃ, εἰκόνα ἑαυτοῦ πλησίον τῆς ἐκείνου κεφαλῆς ἐστεφανωμένην ἔθηκε, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ ἐπιγεγραμμένον ἔχουσιν. καὶ οὕτω γε καὶ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ διὰ τοῦτ' ἤρρεσεν ὥστε καὶ χρήματα [3] πλείω τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων λαβεῖν. Μᾶρκος δὲ Τερέντιος Οὐάρρων ἠδίκησε μὲν οὐδὲν, ὁμῶνυμος δὲ δὴ τινι τῶν ἐπικεκρυγμένων πλὴν μιᾶς προσηγορίας ὢν, καὶ δεισας μὴ τι κατὰ τοῦτο, οἷα [p. 138] καὶ ὁ Κίννας, πάθῃ, ἐξέθηκε γράμμα αὐτὸ τοῦτο [4] δηλῶν: ἐδημάρχει δέ. καὶ ὁ μὲν διατριβὴν καὶ γέλωτα ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὠφλίσκανεν: τὸ δὲ δὴ ἀστάθμητον τοῦ βίου καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου ἐτεκμηριώθη, ὅτι Λούκιος μὲν Φιλούσκιος ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Σύλλου πρότερον ἐπικηρυχθεὶς καὶ διαφυγὼν ἐς τε τὸ λεύκωμα αὐθις τότε ἐσεγράφη καὶ ἀπέθανε, Μᾶρκος δὲ Οὐαλέριος Μεσσάλας ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου θανατωθεὶς οὐχ ὅπως ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ διεβίω, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὕπατος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου ὕστερον ἀπεδείχθη. [5] οὕτως ἕκ τε τῶν ἀπορωτάτων πολλοὶ περιγίγνονται καὶ ἕκ τῶν θαρσοῦντως ἐχόντων οὐκ ἐλάττους ἀπόλλυνται: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χρὴ μήτε ἐς τὸ ἀνέλπιστον πρὸς τὰς αὐτίκα συμφορὰς ἐκπλήττεσθαι πῖνα μήτε ἐς τὸ ἀφρόντιστον ὑπὸ τοῦ παραχρῆμα περιχαροῦς ἐπαίρεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ μέσον ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ μέλλοντος τιθέμενον ἀσφαλεῖς ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοὺς λογισμοὺς

ποιεῖσθαι. 12. καὶ τότε γοῦν ταῦτα τε οὕτως ἐγένετο, καὶ πλείστοι μὲν τῶν μὴ προγραφέντων διὰ τε ἔχθραν καὶ διὰ χρήματα παραπώλonton, πλείστοι δὲ τῶν ἐπικηρυχθέντων οὐχ ὅτι περιεγένοντο ἀλλὰ καὶ κατῆλθον αὐθις, καὶ τινες αὐτῶν καὶ ἀρχὰς ἔσχον. ἡ δ' ἀναχώρησις σφισι πρὸς τε τὸν Βροῦτον καὶ πρὸς τὸν Κάσσιον τὸν τε Σέξτον ^[2] ἐγένετο. καὶ οἱ γε πλείους πρὸς τοῦτον συγκατέφυγον: ναυαρχεῖν τε γὰρ πρότερον αἰρεθεῖς καὶ χρόνον τινὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ δυνηθεῖς ἰσχύειν τε ^[p. 140] οἰκείαν, καίπερ τῆς ἀρχῆς μετὰ τοῦθ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀποστερηθεῖς, περιεβάλετο, καὶ τὴν Σικελίαν κατασχών, ἔπειθ' ὥς καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἐπεκηρύχθη αἷ τε ἄλλα σφαγαὶ ἐγίννοντο, πλείστον ^[3] τοῖς ὁμοίοις συνήρατο. τῇ γὰρ Ἰταλίᾳ ἐγγύθεν ἐφορμῶν διέπεμπεν ἕς τε τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ ἕς τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, τὰ τε ἄλλα τοῖς τινα περισώσασι καὶ διπλάσια τῶν τοῖς φονεύσουσι προκειμένων ἐπαγγελόμενος, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις καὶ ὑποδοχήν καὶ ἐπικουρίαν καὶ χρήματα καὶ τιμὰς ὑπισχνούμενος. 13. ὅθενπερ συχνοὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦλθον. ἀριθμὸν γὰρ οὔτε τῶν προγραφέντων οὔτε τῶν φονευθέντων ἢ καὶ διαφυγόντων οὐδὲ νῦν ἔγραψα, ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν τὸ πρῶτον ἐς τὰ λευκώματα ἐγγραφέντων ἀπηλίφισαν, πολλοὶ δὲ ὕστερον ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἀντενεγράφησαν, καὶ τούτων τε οὐκ ὀλίγοι διεσώθησαν καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοὶ διεφθάρησαν. ^[2] καὶ αὐτοὺς οὐδὲ πενθεῖν τισιν ἐξουσία ἦν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ καὶ ἐκ τούτου παραπώλonton. καὶ τέλος, ὥς τὸ τε πεπλασμένον αὐτῶν πᾶν αἰ συμφοραὶ ἐξενίκων, καὶ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ τῶν πάνυ ἀνδρικῶν ἀντικαρτερεῖν πρὸς αὐτάς ἐδύνατο, ἀλλ' ἐν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι καὶ ἔργοις καὶ λόγοις ἐσκυθρώπαζον καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ τοῦ ἔτους οὐκ ἤμελλον, ὥσπερ εἰώθασιν, ἐορτάσειν, ἐκελεύσθησαν διὰ προγραφῆς εὐθυμεῖσθαι, θάνατον ὀφλήσοντες ἂν μὴ πειθαρχήσωσιν: οὕτω που, ὥς καὶ ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς, τοῖς κοινοῖς κακοῖς χαίρειν ἠναγκάζοντο. ^[3] καὶ τί τοῦτο εἶπον, ὅποτε καὶ ἐκείνοις 'τοῖς τρισὶν ^[p. 142] ἀνδράσι λέγῳ ἄλλα τε ὥς εὐεργέταις καὶ σωτῆρσι τῆς πόλεως γεγονόσι καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους τοὺς πολιτικοὺς ἐψηφίσαντο; οὐ γὰρ ὅτι τινὰς ἐφόνευον, αἰτίαν ἔχειν ἤξειον, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ πλείονας, ^[4] προσεπαινεῖσθαι ἤθελον. καὶ πρὸς γε τὸν δῆμον φανερώς ποτε εἶπον ὅτι οὔτε τὴν τοῦ Μαρίου τοῦ τε Σύλλου ὠμότητα, ὥστε καὶ μισηθῆναι, οὔτ' αὖ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπείκειαν, ὥστε καὶ καταφρονηθῆναι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπibουλευθῆναι, ἐζηλώκασι. 14. τοιαῦτα μὲν περὶ τὰς σφαγὰς ἐγένετο, πολλὰ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἄτοπα καὶ περὶ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων οὐσίας συνέβαινε. καίτοι ταῖς τε γυναιξὶ ταῖς τῶν φονευομένων τὰς προῖκας καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις τοῖς μὲν ἄρρεσι τὸ δέκατον ταῖς δὲ θηλείαις τὸ εἰκοστὸν τῆς ἐκάστου σφῶν οὐσίας δώσειν, ὥς καὶ δὴ δίκαιοι φιλάνθρωποι τε ὄντες, ἐπηγγείλαντο. ^[2] ἀλλ' οὔτε ταῦτα πλὴν ὀλίγων ἐδόθη, τὰ τε τῶν λοιπῶν καὶ πάνυ πάντα ἀδεῶς ἐπορθεῖτο. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἐνοίκιον ἐνιαύσιον πασῶν τῶν τε ἐν τῷ ἄστει καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰταλίᾳ οἰκιῶν, ὧν μὲν ἐμεμισθώκεσάν τινες, ὅλον, ὧν δὲ αὐτοὶ ὥκουν, ἐξ ἡμισείας, πρὸς τὴν τῆς καταγωγῆς ἀξίαν ἐσέπραξαν: τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς τὰ χωρία ἔχοντας τὸ ^[3] ἡμισυ τῶν προσόδων αὐτῶν ἀφείλοντο. καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τὴν τε τροφήν παρὰ τῶν πόλεων, ἐν αἷς ἐχειμάζον, προῖκα λαμβάνειν ἐποίησαν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν χώραν, ὥς ἐπὶ τὰ δεδημευμένα ^[p. 144] τὰ τε τῶν ἀνθισταμένων

ἔτι, διαπέμποντες 'καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνους, ὅτι μὴ ἐντὸς τῆς προορηθείσης σφίσι
ἡμέρας μετέστησαν, πολεμίους ἐποίησαντὸ πάντα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ
προσδιήρπαζον. [4] ἵνα γὰρ καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἔργων τοὺς μισθοὺς ἔχοντες πᾶν τὸ
πρόθυμόν σφισι παρέχωνται, ταῦτὰ τε αὐτοῖς πράττειν ἐπέτρεπον καὶ πόλεις
χώρας τε δώσειν ὑπισχνοῦντο: καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ γεωνόμους ὁμοῦ καὶ
οἰκιστὰς αὐτοῖς προσαπέδειξαν. τὸ μὲν οὖν πλῆθος τῶν στρατιωτῶν τούτοις
ἀνηρτῶντο, τῶν δὲ δὴ λογιμωτέρων τοὺς μὲν τοῖς κτήμασι τοῖς τῶν
ἀπολλυμένων ἐδεδέαζον, τὰ μὲν ἐπεωνίζοντες τὰ δὲ καὶ προῖκά σφισι
χαριζόμενοι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ταῖς τε ἱερωσύναις [5] αὐτῶν ἐτίμων.
ὅπως γὰρ ἀδεῶς αὐτοὶ τε τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ τῶν χωρίων καὶ τῶν
οἰκοδομημάτων λαμβάνωσι καὶ ἐκείνοις ὅσα βούλονται διδῶσι, προεῖπον
μηδὲνα τῶν ἄλλων μὴ ὠνησεῖοντα ἐς τὸ πρατήριον ἀπαντᾶν, εἰ δὲ μὴ γε,
θνήσκειν τὸν τοῦτο ποιήσαντα. καὶ ἐκείνους γε οὕτω μετεχειρίζοντο ὥστε
μήτε τι καταφωρᾶν καὶ πλείστου ὅσου ἀγοράζειν ὣν ἔχρηζον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
μηδ' ὠνητιᾶν ἔτι. 15. περὶ μὲν οὖν τὰ κτήματα τοῦθ' οὕτως ἐγίνετο, [p. 146]
τὰς δὲ ἀρχὰς τὰς τε ἱερωσυνας τῶν θανατωθέντων οὐ πρὸς τὸ νομιζόμενον
ἐκ τῶν νόμων, ἀλλ' ὥς που καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, διέδωκαν. καὶ ὑπάτους [2] τε,
τοῦ μὲν Καίσαρος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπειπόντος ἥς γὰρ οὕτως ἐπεθύμησεν ὥστε
καὶ πολεμῆσαι δι' αὐτήν, ταύτης ἐκὼν ἐξέστη τοῦ δὲ συνάρχοντος αὐτοῦ
μεταλλάξαντος, ἄλλον τέ τινα καὶ τὸν Οὐεντιδίου τὸν Πούπλιον καίπερ
στρατηγοῦντα ἀπέδειξαν, ἔς τε τὴν στρατηγίαν αὐτοῦ [3] τῶν
ἀγορανομούντων τινὰ ἐσήγαγον: καὶ πάντας μετὰ τοῦτο τοὺς στρατηγοὺς,
πέντε ἡμέρας ἔπι ἄρχοντας, παύσαντες ἐκείνους μὲν ἐς τὰς ἡγεμονίας τῶν
ἐθνῶν ἔστειλαν, ἑτέρους δὲ ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἀντικατέστησαν. νόμους τε τοὺς
μὲν ἀπῆλειψαν τοὺς δὲ ἀντενέγραψαν. καὶ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, καὶ ἄλλα
πάντα ὅπως ποτὲ καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς [4] ἔπρασσον: τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐπικλήσεων
τῶν ἐπιφθόνων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καταλυθεισῶν οὐκ ἀντεποιήσαντο, τὰ δὲ δὴ
πράγματα πρὸς τε τὸ βούλημα καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθύμημα τὸ ἐαυτῶν διήγον,
ὥστε χρυσὸν τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος μοναρχίαν φανῆναι. τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐνιαυτὸν
ἐκεῖνον ταῦτὰ τε οὕτως ἐποίησαν, καὶ νεῶν τῷ τε Σαράπιδι καὶ τῇ Ἰσιδι 16.
ἔψηφισαντο: τοῦ δὲ δὴ Λεπίδου τοῦ Μάρκου τοῦ τε Πλάγκου τοῦ Λουκίου
ὑπατευσάντων λευκώματα αὐθις ἐξετέθη, θάνατον μὲν μηδενὶ ἔπι φέροντα,
τὰς δὲ οὐσίας τῶν ζώντων ἀποσυλῶντα: [2] προσδεόμενοι γὰρ χρημάτων, ἅτε
πολλὰ μὲν καὶ [p. 148] πολλοῖς στρατιώταις προοφειλήσαντες, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ
τοῖς γιγνομένοις δι' αὐτῶν δαπανῶντες, πολλῷ δὲ ἔτι πλείω ἐς τοὺς
προσδοκωμένους πολέμους ἀναλώσειν νομίζοντες, ἡγυρολόγουν. [3] οὐ μὴν
ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν τῶν τελῶν τῶν πρότερον μὲν ποτε καταλυθέντων τότε δὲ αὐθις
ἐπαναχθέντων ἢ καὶ ἐκ καινῆς προσκαταστάντων, τὸ τε τῶν συντελειῶν, ἃς
πολλὰς μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις ἐπράττοντο, μετρίως
πως [4] τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐλύπει: τὸ δὲ δὴ τοὺς καὶ ἐφ' ὅποσονοῦν ἔτι οὐ
μόνον τῶν βουλευτῶν ἢ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐξελευθέρων, καὶ
ἀνδρῶν ὁμοίως καὶ γυναικῶν, εὐποροῦντας ἐς λευκώματα ἐσγραφῆναι καὶ
δεκατεῖαν τινὰ καινὴν δεκατευθῆναι [5] σφόδρα πάντας ἠνίασε. τῷ μὲν γὰρ
λόγῳ τὸ δέκατον τῆς οὐσίας παρ' ἐκάστου σφῶν ἐπράχθη, ἔργῳ δὲ οὐδὲ τὸ

δέκατον τινι κατελείφθη: ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐ ῥητόν τι ἀργύριον πρὸς τὴν τῶν κτημάτων ἀξίαν ἐσενεγκεῖν ἐκελεύσθησαν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς αἱ τιμήσεις τῶν σφετέρων ἐγένοντο, καὶ τοῦτο ὥς οὐκ ὀρθῶς αὐτὰ τετιμημένοι διεβάλλοντο, καὶ τὰ 17. λοιπὰ προσαπώλλυσαν. εἰ δ' οὖν τινες τοῦτο πῶς διέφυγον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τε τῶν τάξεων ἐς στενὸν κατακλειόμενοι καὶ ἀργυρίου δεινῶς σπανίζοντες πάντων καὶ αὐτοὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἀπεστεροῦντο. καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἕτερόν τι τοιόνδε, βαρὺ μὲν καὶ ^[2] ἀκούσαι βαρὺτατον δὲπραχθῆναι, ἐγένετο: τῷ γὰρ βουλομένῳ σφῶν ἐδόθη, πάσης τῆς οὐσίας ἐκστάντι, τὸ τρίτον μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτῆς ἀπαιτῆσαι, τοῦτ' ἔστι μήτε τι λαβεῖν καὶ προσέτι καὶ ^[p. 150] πράγματα σχεῖν. ὅποτε γὰρ βίᾳ τὰ δύο μέρη φανερώς ἐσυλῶντο, πῶς ἂν τὸ τρίτον ἀπέλαβον, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐλαχίστου αὐτῶν πωλουμένων; ^[3] τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ πολλῶν ἅμα ἀποκηρυττομένων, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν πλειόνων καὶ ἀχρῦσων καὶ ἀναργύρων ὄντων, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν μὴ τολμώντων ὥς καὶ ἐχόντων τι ἀγοράσαι, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνο προσαπολέσωσιν, αἱ τιμαὶ ἀνεῖντο: τοῦτο δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις πολὺ παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν πάντα ἐπιπράσκετο. ^[4] ὥστε τῶν μὲν ἰδιωτῶν οὐδεὶς οὐδέν, ὃ τι καὶ ἄξιον εἶπεῖν, διεσώσατο: πρὸς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἄλλοις ἔς τε τὸ ναυτικὸν οἰκέτας, εἰ καὶ μὴ εἶχον τινες, ὠνούμενοι γε ἐδίδοσαν, καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς οἰκείοις οἱ βουλευταὶ δαπανήμασιν ἐπεσκεύαζον. μόνοι δὲ δὴ οἱ τὰ ὄπλα ἔχοντες ὑπερεπλούτησαν. ^[5] οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐξήρκει σφίσιν οὔτε ἡ μισθοφορὰ καίπερ ἐντελὴς οὔσα, οὔτε αἱ ἔξωθεν ἐπιφοραὶ καίτοι παμπληθεῖς γενόμεναι, οὐ τὰ ἄλλα τῶν φόνων μέγιστα δὴ δοθέντα, οὐχ αἱ κτήσεις τῶν χωρίων προικιμαῖαι τρόπον τινὰ αὐτοῖς ὑπάρξασαι: ἀλλὰ καὶ προσέτι οἱ μὲν τὰς οὐσίας τῶν τελευτῶντων ὅλας καὶ ἦτουν καὶ ἐλάμβανον, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ τῶν ζώντων ἔτι γερόντων τε καὶ ἀτέκνων ^[6] γένη ἐσεβιάζοντο. ἐς τοσοῦτον γὰρ τῆς τε ἀπληστίας καὶ τῆς ἀναισχυντίας ἐχώρησαν ὥστε τινὰ καὶ τὴν τῆς Ἀττίας τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος μητρὸς οὐσίαν, ἀποθανούσης τότε καὶ δημοσίᾳ ταφῇ τιμηθείσης, παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος αἰτῆσαι. ^[p. 152] 18. ταῦτά τε οὖν οὕτως οἱ ἄνδρες ἐκεῖνοι οἱ τρεῖς ἐποιοῦν, καὶ ἅμα καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τὸν πρότερον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐσέμνυνον. ἅτε γὰρ τῆς μοναρχίας ἐφιέμενοι καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπιειγόμενοι τοὺς τε ^[2] σφαγέας αὐτοῦ τοὺς λοιποὺς ὀργῇ μετήεσαν, ὥς καὶ ἐκ τοῦτου τὴν τε ἁδείαν σφίσιν ὦν ἐποιοῦν καὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν πόρρωθεν προπαρασκεύασοντες, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐς τιμὴν αὐτοῦ ἔφερε, προθύμως ἔπραττον ἐς ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ καὶ αὐτοὶ ποτε τῶν ὁμοίων ἀξιωθῆναι: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς τε ἐψηφισμένοις ἡγαλλον αὐτὸν καὶ ἑτέροις ἃ τότε ^[3] προσέθεσαν. ἔν τε γὰρ τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρᾳ αὐτοὶ τε ὤμοσαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὠρκωσαν βέβαια νομιεῖν πάντα τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνου γενόμενα καὶ τοῦτο καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τὸ κράτος ἀεὶ ἴσχουσιν, ἢ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ποτε γενομένοις καὶ μὴ ^[4] ἀτιμωθεῖσι, γίγνεται, καὶ ἡρώδῃ οἱ ἔν τε τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ ἐκέκαστο προκατεβάλλοντο, καὶ τι καὶ ἀγαλμα αὐτοῦ ἐν ταῖς ἵπποδρομίαις μεθ' ἑτέρου Ἀφροδισίου ἔπεμπον. εἰ τε νίκη τις ἡγγέλθη ποθέν, χωρὶς μὲν τῷ κρατήσαντι χωρὶς δὲ ἐκείνῳ καὶ τεθνεῶτι τιμὴν ἱερομηνίας ^[5] ἔνεμον. τὰ τε γενέσια αὐτοῦ δαφνηφοροῦντας καὶ εὐθυμουμένους πάντας ἐορτάζειν ἠνάγκασαν, νομοθετήσαντες τοὺς μὲν

ἄλλους τοὺς ἀμελήσαντας αὐτῶν ἐπαράτους τῷ τε Διὶ καὶ αὐτῷ ἔκεινῳ εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ δὴ βουλευτὰς τοὺς τε υἱεῖς [6] σφῶν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας ὀφλισκάνειν. καὶ συνέβαινε γὰρ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ τὰ [p. 154] Ἀπολλώνια γίνεσθαι, ἐψηφίσαντο τῇ προτεραίᾳ τὰ γενέσια ἀγάλλεσθαι, ὡς καὶ λογίου τινὸς Σιβυλλείου ἀπαγορεύοντος μηδενὶ θεῶν τότε πλὴν 19. τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἑορτάζεσθαι. ταῦτά τε οὖν αὐτῷ ἔδωκαν, καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ ἐφονεύθη, κυρίαν αἰεὶ ποτε ἔδραν βουλῆς ἔχουσαν, ἀποφράδα ἐνόμισαν. τὸ τε οἴκημα ἐν ᾧ ἐσφάγη, παραχρῆμά τε ἔκλεισαν καὶ ὕστερον ἐς ἄφοδον μετεσκεύασαν· καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸ Ἰούλιον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ κληθὲν παρὰ τῷ Κομιτίῳ ὠνομασμένῳ ὠκοδόμουν, ὥσπερ [2] ἐψήφιστο. πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις ἀπεῖπον μὲν μηδεμίαν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ θεοῦ τινος ὡς ἀληθῶς ὄντος, ἐν ταῖς τῶν συγγενῶν αὐτοῦ ἐκφοραῖς πέμπεσθαι, ὅπερ ἐκ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου καὶ τότε ἔτι ἐγίγνετο· ἀπηγόρευσαν δὲ μηδένα ἐς τὸ ἡρώιον αὐτοῦ καταφυγόντα ἐπ' ἀδείᾳ μήτε ἀνδρηλατεῖσθαι [3] μήτε συλᾶσθαι, ὅπερ οὐδενὶ οὐδὲ τῶν θεῶν, πλὴν τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου γενομένων, ἐδεδώκεσαν. καίτοι καὶ ἐκεῖνο τὸ χωρίον ὀνόματι τὴν ἀσυλίαν, μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄθροισιν, ἄνευ τοῦ ἔργου αὐτῆς ἔσχεν· οὕτω γὰρ περιεφράχθη ὥστε μηδένα ἔτι τὸ παράπαν ἐσελθεῖν ἐς αὐτὸ δυνηθῆναι. [4] τῷ μὲν δὴ Καίσαρι ταῦτ' ἔδωκαν, ταῖς δὲ ἀειπαρθένοις ῥαβδούχῳ ἐνὶ ἐκάστη χρῆσθαι, ὅτι τις αὐτῶν ἀπὸ δειπνοῦ πρὸς ἐσπέραν οἴκαδε ἐπανιοῦσα ἡγνοήθη τε καὶ ὕβρισθη. τὰς τε [p. 156] ἀρχὰς τὰς ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπὶ πλείῳ ἔτη προαπέδειξαν, τοὺς τε ἐπιτηδεύουσας σφίσι ἅμα δι' αὐτῶν τιμῶντες, καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐπὶ μακρότερον ταῖς τῶν ἀρξόντων διαδοχαῖς κρατυνόμενοι. 20. πράξαντες δὲ ταῦτα, Λέπιδος μὲν αὐτοῦ, τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν διάξων, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ὑπέμεινε, Καῖσαρ δὲ καὶ Ἀντώνιος ἐξεστράτευσαν. ὁ τε γὰρ Βροῦτος καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν ὁμολογίαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον τοὺς τε ἄλλους σφίσι γενομένην καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐσήεσαν, καὶ τὰς στρατηγίας ἐν τῷ [2] αὐτῷ ᾧ καὶ πρὶν κόσμῳ διώκουν· ἐπεὶ δ' ἥρξαντο τινες ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος σφαγῇ χαλεπαίνειν, ἐξεχώρησαν ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἔξω ἀρχάς, ἃς προσετετάχατο, ἐπειγόμενοι. καίτοι καὶ ἀστυνόμος ὁ Κάσσιος ἦν, τὰ τε Ἀπολλώνια οὐδέπω διεωρτάκει. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν δι' Ἀντωνίου τοῦ συστρατηγοῦ καὶ ἀπὼν ἐκπρεπέστατα ἐπετέλεσεν, αὐτὸς [3] δὲ οὐκ εὐθύς ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπέπλευσεν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ Καμπανίᾳ μετὰ τοῦ Βρούτου χρονίσας ἐπετῆρει τὰ γινόμενα. καὶ τινὰ καὶ γράμματα ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἅτε καὶ στρατηγοῦντες, πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἔπεμπον, μέχρις οὗ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὁ Ὀκταουιανὸς τῶν τε πραγμάτων ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ τὸ [4] πλῆθος σφετερίζεσθαι ἤρξατο. τότε γὰρ τῆς τε δημοκρατίας ἅμα ἀπογνόντες καὶ ἐκεῖνον φοβηθέντες ἀπῆραν. καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι λαμπρῶς ὑπεδέξαντο· ἐτιμῶντο μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν [p. 158] ἄλλων σχεδὸν τι πάντων ἐφ' οἷς ἐποίησαν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ καὶ εἰκόνας σφίσι χαλκᾶς παρὰ τε τὴν τοῦ Ἀρμοδίου καὶ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἀριστογείτονος, ὡς καὶ ζηλωταῖς αὐτῶν γενομένοις, ἐψηφίσαντο. 21. κἀν τούτῳ πυθόμενοι τὸν Καῖσαρα ἐπὶ μεῖζον αἵρεσθαι, Κρητῶν μὲν καὶ Βιθυνῶν, ἐφ' οὓς ἐστελλοντο, ἡμέλησαν, οὐδεμίαν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀξιόχρεων ὠφελίαν ὀρῶντες οὔσαν, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὴν τε Συρίαν καὶ

τὴν Μακεδονίαν, καίπερ μηδὲν σφισι προσηκούσας, ἀλλ' ὅτι τῷ καιρῷ καὶ τοῖς χρήμασι ταῖς [2] τε δυνάμεσιν ἤκμαζον, ἐτράποντο. καὶ Κάσσιος μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Σύρους ὡς καὶ συνήθεις οἱ καὶ φίλους ἐκ τῆς μετὰ τοῦ Κράσσου στρατείας ὄντας ὥρμησε, Βρούτος δὲ τὴν τε Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν συνίστη. ἄλλως τε γὰρ ἔκ τε τῆς δόξης τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσι τῶν [3] ὁμοίων προσεῖχον αὐτῷ, καὶ διότι καὶ στρατιώτας συχνούς, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Φαρσάλω μάχης ἐκεῖ που καὶ τότε ἔτι περιπλανωμένους, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν τῷ Δολοβέλλα συνεξεληθόντων ὑπολειφθέντας ἢ διὰ νόσον ἢ διὰ ἀταξίαν, προσλαβὼν εἶχε· καὶ οἱ καὶ χρήματα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας [4] παρὰ τοῦ Τρεβωνίου ἦλθε. τὸ μὲν οὖν Ἑλληνικὸν ἀπονητότατα ἐκ τούτων, ἅτε μηδὲ δύναιμι νῖνα ἀξιόλογον ἔχον, προσεποιήσατο· ἐς δὲ δὴ τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἦλθε μὲν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἐν ᾧ ὁ τε Ἀντώνιος ὁ Γάιος ἄρτι ἀφῖκτο καὶ Κύντος [p. 160] Ὀρτήσιος ὁ προάρχας αὐτῆς ἀπαλλαγῆσθαι [5] ἔμελλεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ πρᾶγμα τι ἔσχεν. οὗτός τε γὰρ εὐθὺς αὐτῷ προσεχώρησε, καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος κωλυθεὶς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ ἐπικράτησιν πράσσειν τι τῶν τῇ ἀρχῇ προσηκόντων [6] ἀσθενὴς ἦν. ὁ τε Οὐατίνιος ἤρχε μὲν Ἰλλυριῶν τῶν πλησιοχώρων, καὶ τὸ τε Δυρράχιον ἐκεῖθεν ἐπελθὼν προκατέλαβε καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ στασιωτικὸν διάφορος, οὐ μὴν ἡδυνήθη τι αὐτὸν βλάψαι· οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται ἀχθόμενοι τε αὐτῷ καὶ προσκαταφρονήσαντες αὐτοῦ διὰ νόσον [7] μετέστησαν. καταλαβὼν οὖν καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ τε τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ ὄντα ἐστράτευσε, καὶ προαπαντήσαντός οἱ αὐτοῦ τοὺς τε στρατιώτας ὤκειώσατο, καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος προκαταφυγόντα ἀπετείχισε μὲν καὶ ἐξώγρησεν ἐκ προδοσίας, κακὸν δὲ οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο. 22. πράξας δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ τὴν τε Μακεδονίαν μετὰ τοῦτο πᾶσαν καὶ τὴν Ἠπειρον προσλαβὼν, ἐπέστειλε τῇ γερουσίᾳ, τὰ τε πραχθέντα οἱ δηλῶν καὶ ἑαυτὸν τὰ τε ἔθνη καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπ' [2] αὐτῇ ποιούμενος. οἱ δὲ ἔτυχον γὰρ ὑπόπτως ἤδη πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἔχοντες ἰσχυρῶς τε αὐτὸν ἐπῆνεσαν καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐκεῖ χωρίων ἄρχειν ἐκέλευσαν. ὡς οὖν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δόγματος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐβεβαιώσατο, αὐτὸς τε ἐπὶ πλεῖον προεθυμήθη καὶ τὸ ὑπήκοον ἀπροφασίστως συναιρόμενον [3] ἔσχε. καὶ τῶς μὲν τῷ τε Καίσαρι πέμπων, ὅτε ἐδόκει τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ πολεμεῖν, παρήνει ἐκείνῳ τε ἀνθίστασθαι καὶ ἑαυτῷ συναλλαγῆναι, [p. 162] καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πλεῦσαι παρεσκευάζετο, ὅτι ἡ γερουσία μετέπεμψεν αὐτόν· [4] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ ἀκριβῶς κατέσχε καὶ τοὺς τοῦ πατρὸς φονέας φανερώς ἐτιμωρεῖτο, κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινε, καὶ διεσκόπει ὅπῃ ποτὲ ἐπιόντα αὐτὸν καλῶς ἀμύναιτο, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἄριστα δὴ τὴν τε Μακεδονίαν διήγαγε, καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα στασιασθέντα οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κατεστήσατο. 23. ἐκεῖνος γάρ, καίτοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ τοῦ στρατηγικοῦ κόσμου στερηθεὶς, οὐκ ἡγάπησε τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἐν τε ἀδείᾳ καὶ ἐν τιμῇ ἔχων, ἀλλ' ἐς τοὺς τοῦ Βρούτου στρατιώτας ἔπραττεν ἀπόστασιν· [2] φωραθεὶς τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ πρὶν μέγα τι κακὸν δρᾶσαι, καὶ τῶν τε ἐπισήμων τῆς στρατηγίας ἀφαιρεθεὶς καὶ φυλακῇ τινι ἀδέσμῳ, ἵνα μηδὲν νεοχμώση, παραδοθεὶς οὐδ' ὡς ἡσυχάσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἢ πρὶν ἐνεωτέρισεν, ὥστε καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς μὲν ἀλλήλοις ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ

ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον ἐς τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν, ὅπως ^[3] ἐξαργάσωσιν αὐτόν, ὀρμῆσαι. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἡδυνήθησαν ποιῆσαι: ὁ γὰρ Βροῦτος ἐκ γραμμάτων τινῶν ἀλόντων προμαθὼν τὸ γενησόμενον ὑπεξήγαγεν αὐτόν, ὥς καὶ νοσοῦντά τινα ἐς δίφρον κατὰστεγον ἐμβαλὼν: οὔτε δὲ ἐκεῖνον εὐρεῖν δυνάμενοι καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον φοβούμενοι λόφον ^[4] ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως κατέλαβον. καὶ αὐτοῦς ὁ Βροῦτος ἐς τε ὁμολογίαν ὑπαγαγόμενος, καὶ ὀλίγους τῶν θρασυτάτων τοὺς μὲν θανατώσας τοὺς δὲ ἀπαλλάξας ἐκ τῆς συστρατείας, οὕτω διέθηκεν ^[p. 164] ὥστε σφᾶς τοὺς τε ἀποπεμφθέντας ὥς καὶ τῆς στάσεως αἰτιωτάτους συλλαβεῖν καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι, καὶ τὸν ταμίαν τοὺς τε ὑποστρατήγους τοῦ Ἀντωνίου 24. ἐξαιτῆσαι. ὁ οὖν Βροῦτος ἐκείνων μὲν οὐδένα σφίσι ἐξέδωκεν, ἀλλ' ἐς πλοῖα αὐτοὺς ἐμβαλὼν ὥς καὶ καταποντώσων ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἀπέπεμψε: φοβηθεῖς δὲ μὴ καὶ αὖθις τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ πραπτομένων ἐπὶ τὸ φοβερώτερον ἀγγελλομένων ^[2] πυνθανόμενοι μεταβάλλονται, τὸν μὲν Ἀντώνιον ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ κατέλιπε, Γαίῳ τινὶ Κλωδίῳ παραδοὺς φυλάσσειν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ τε πλεῖστον καὶ τὸ ἰσχυρότατον τοῦ στρατοῦ λαβὼν ἐς τε τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίαν ἀνεχώρησε, κάντεϋθεν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ὕστερον ἔπλευσεν, ὅπως σφᾶς ὅτι τε πορρωτάτῳ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπαγάγῃ κάκ τῶν ^[3] ἐκεῖ ὑπηκόων διατρέφῃ. καὶ ἄλλους τε ἐν τούτῳ συμμάχους προσεποιήσατο καὶ τὸν Δηϊόταρον, καίπερ ὑπεργήρων τε ὄντα καὶ τῷ Κασσίῳ ἀπειπόντα τὴν βοήθειαν. διατρίβοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτη, ἐκείνῳ τε Γέλλιος Ποπλικόλας ἐπεβούλευσε καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὁ Μᾶρκος ἐξαργάσαι, πέμψας τινάς, ^[4] ἐπεχείρησε. καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ὁ Κλώδιος, ὥς οὐκ ἡδυνήθη σῶον φυλάξαι, ἀπέκτεινεν, εἴτ' αὐτογνωμονήσας εἴτε καὶ ἐξ ἐντολῆς τοῦ Βροῦτου: καὶ γὰρ λόγος ἔχει ὅτι πρότερον μὲν ἐν παντὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ ἐποιεῖτο, ὕστερον δέ, μαθὼν τὸν Δέκιμον ἀπολωλότα, παρ' οὐδὲν αὐτὴν ἦγαγεν. ^[5] ὁ δὲ δὴ Γέλλιος ἐφωράθη μὲν, ἔπαθε δὲ δεινὸν ^[p. 166] οὐδέν: ὁ γὰρ Βροῦτος ἐκεῖνόν τε ἐν τοῖς φιλτάτοις ἀεὶ ποτε νομίσας εἶναι, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Μᾶρκον Μεσσάλαν πάννυ τῷ Κασσίῳ προσκείμενον εἰδώς, ἀφῆκεν αὐτόν. καὶ ὃς ἐπέθετο μὲν καὶ τῷ Κασσίῳ, οὐδὲν δὲ οὐδὲ τότε κακὸν ἔπαθεν. ^[6] αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ Πώλλα προμαθοῦσα τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, καὶ δεισασα περὶ τε τῷ Κασσίῳ μὴ προκαταληφθῇ 'σφόδρα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἡγάπα καὶ περὶ τῷ υἱῷ μὴ καταφωραθῇ, τὸ τε ἐπιβούλευμα αὐτῇ ἐκοῦσα τῷ Κασσίῳ προεμήνυσε καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν τοῦ παιδὸς ἀντέλαβεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ βελτίῳ αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν: πρὸς τε γὰρ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπὸ τῶν εὐεργετῶν ἀπηυτομόλησεν. 25. ὁ δ' οὖν Βροῦτος ὡς τάχιστα τὴν τε τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ Μάρκου πείρασιν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ σφαγὴν ἔμαθεν, ἔδεισε μὴ καὶ ἄλλο τι ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ παρὰ τὴν ἀπουσίαν αὐτοῦ νεωτερισθῇ, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπειχθεὶς τὴν τε χώραν τὴν τοῦ Σαδάλου γενομένην παρέλαβεν 'ἅπαις γὰρ τελευτῶν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις αὐτὴν κατέλιπέ, ^[2] καὶ ἐς Βησσοὺς ἐμβαλὼν, εἴ πως ἀμύναιτό τε ἅμα αὐτοὺς ὧν ἐκακούργουν, καὶ ὄνομα ἀξίωμά τε αὐτοκράτορος, ὥς καὶ ῥᾶον ἐκ τούτου τῷ τε Καίσαρι καὶ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ προσπολεμήσων, περιβάλοιτο, ἀμφοτέρω διεπράξατο, Ῥασκυπόριδος οἱ δυνάστου τινὸς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα βοηθήσαντος. ἐντεϋθεν δὲ ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐλθὼν καὶ πάντα τὰ

ἐκεῖ κρατυνάμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν αὐθις ἀνεκομίσθη. [p. 168] [3] Βροῦτος μὲν ταῦτα τε ἔπρασεν, καὶ ἐς τὰ νομίσματα ἃ ἐκόπτετο εἰκόνα τε αὐτοῦ καὶ πῖλον ξιφιδία τε δύο ἐνετύπου, δηλῶν ἐκ τε τούτου καὶ διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων ὅτι τὴν πατρίδα μετὰ τοῦ 26. Κασσίου ἡλευθερωκῶς εἶη: ἐν δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις χρόνοις ὁ Κάσσιος ἔς τε τὴν Ἀσίαν πρὸς τὸν Τρεβώνιον, φθάσας τὸν Δολοβέλλαν, ἐπεραιώθη, καὶ λαβὼν παρ' αὐτοῦ χρήματα, τῶν τε ἱππέων συχνούς, οὓς ὁ Δολοβέλλας ἐς τὴν Συρίαν προεπεπόμφει, καὶ ἐτέρους πολλοὺς τῶν τε Ἀσιανῶν [2] καὶ τῶν Κιλικίων προσέθετο. καὶ τούτου καὶ τὸν Ταρκονδίμοτον τοὺς τε Ταρσέας καὶ ἄκοντας ἐς τὸ συμμαχικὸν προσηγάγετο: οὕτω γὰρ προσφιλῶς τῷ Καίσαρι τῷ προτέρῳ, καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνον καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ, οἱ Ταρσεῖς εἶχον ὥστε καὶ Ἰουλιόπολιν σφας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μετονομάσαι. ταῦτ' οὖν ὁ Κάσσιος πράξας ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἦλθε, καὶ ἀμαχεῖ πάντα τὰ τε τῶν δῆμων καὶ τὰ τῶν στρατευμάτων [3] προσεποιήσατο. ἡ δὲ δὴ κατάστασις ἡ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ τότε τοιαύδε ἦν. Καικίλιος Βάσσος ἱππεὺς συστρατεύσας τε τῷ Πομπηίῳ καὶ ἀναχωρήσας ἐς Τύρον, ἐκεῖ ἐν τῷ ἐμπορίῳ τὰς διατριβὰς λανθάνων ἐποιεῖτο. ἦρχε δὲ τῶν Σύρων Σέξτος: τοῦτῳ γὰρ καὶ ταμῖα καὶ συγγενεῖ αὐτοῦ ὄντι ὁ Καῖσαρ πάντα τὰ τῇδε κατὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐπὶ τὸν [4] Φαρνάκην ἔλασιν ἐπέτρεπεν. ὁ οὖν Βάσσος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡσυχίαν ἤγεν, ἀγαπῶν εἰ τις αὐτὸν ζῆν ἐάσειεν: ὥς δὲ τῶν τε ὁμοίων τινὲς πρὸς αὐτὸν [p. 170] συνελέγησαν, καὶ τῶν τοῦ Σέξτου στρατιωτῶν ἄλλοτε ἄλλους ἐς φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως φοιτῶντας ἀνηρτήσατο, περὶ τε τοῦ Καίσαρος πολλὰ καὶ [5] δεινὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἀφρικῆς ἠγγέλλετο, οὐκέτι τοῖς παροῦσιν ἔστερξεν, ἀλλ' ἢ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα τὸν τε Κάτωνα καὶ τοὺς Πομπηίους συναιρόμενος, ἢ καὶ ἑαυτῷ δυναστείαν τινὰ περιβαλλόμενος, ἐνεόχμου. φωραθεὶς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Σέξτου πρὶν παρασκευάσασθαι, ἔφη τε τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ τῷ Περγαμηνῷ τὴν ἐπικουρίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Βόσπορον ἀθροίζειν, [6] καὶ πιστευθεὶς ἀπελύθη. καὶ οὕτω μετὰ ταῦτα γράμματά τινα συνέπλασεν ὥς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Σκιπίωνός οἱ πεμφθέντα, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τὸν τε Καίσαρα ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ ἡττησθαι καὶ ἀπολωλέναι διήγγελλε, καὶ ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Συρίας προστετάχθαι [7] ἔλεγε. καὶ τούτου τὴν τε Τύρον μετὰ τῶν προπαρεσκευασμένων κατέλαβε, κάντεῦθεν πρὸς τὰ τοῦ Σέξτου στρατόπεδα προσχωρῶν περιέπεσεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἡττηθεὶς ἐτρώθη. παθὼν δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἰσχυρὸν οὐκέτ' αὐτοῦ ἐπείρασε, τοῖς δὲ δὴ στρατιώταις προσπέμπων τινὰ τρόπον οὕτω τινὰς αὐτῶν ἐσφετερίσατο ὥστε καὶ αὐτόχειρας τοῦ Σέξτου γενέσθαι. 27. ἀποθανόντος δὲ ἐκείνου τὸ τε στρατεύμα πᾶν πλὴν ὀλίγων προσηταιρίσατο 'τοὺς γὰρ ἐν Ἀπαμείᾳ χειμάζοντας ἐπεδίωξε μὲν Κιλικίαν προαποχωρήσαντας, οὐ μὴν καὶ προσεποιήσατό, καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἐπανελθὼν στρατηγός τε ὠνομάσθη καὶ τὴν Ἀπάμειαν ἐκρατύνατο, ὅπως ὀρμητήριόν [2] οἱ τοῦ πολέμου γένηται. τὴν τε ἡλικίαν οὐχ ὅτι τὴν ἐλευθέραν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῶν δούλων κατέλεγε, [p. 172] καὶ χρήματα ἠθροίζε καὶ ὅπλα κατεσκευάζετο. πράσσοντα δὲ αὐτὸν ταῦτα Γάϊός τις Ἀντίστιος ἐς πολιορκίαν κατέκλεισε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀγχώμαλα ἀγωνιζόμενοι, καὶ μηδέτεροι ἰσχυρὸν τι παραλαβεῖν δυνάμενοι, ἀσπόνδῳ διοκωχῇ πρὸς [3] συμμάχων ἐπαγωγὴν διελύθησαν. καὶ Ἀντιστίῳ μὲν ἐκ τε

τῶν περιχώρων οἱ τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος φρονοῦντες καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης στρατιῶται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντες προσεγένοντο, τῷ δὲ δὴ Βάσσῳ ὁ Ἀλχαυδόνιος ὁ Ἀράβιος· οὗτος γὰρ τῷ τε Λουκούλλῳ πρότερον, ὥσπερ εἴρηται μοι, ὁμολογήσας, καὶ τοῖς Πάρθοις μετὰ τοῦτο κατὰ τοῦ ^[4] Κράσσου συναράμενος, τότε παρεκλήθη μὲν ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων, ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς τὸ μέσον τῆς τε πόλεως καὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων, πρὶν τι ἀποκρίνασθαι σφισι, τὴν τε συμμαχίαν ἀπεκήρυξε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Βάσσος ὑπερέβαλε τοῖς χρήμασιν, ἐπεκούρησέ τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πολὺ τοῖς τοξεύμασιν ἐπεκράτησεν. ^[5] οἱ δὲ δὴ Πάρθοι ἦλθον μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ Βάσσῳ ἐπικλητοί, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα συνεγένοντο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ ἔπραξαν τι ἀξιόλογον. καὶ ὁ μὲν δυνηθεὶς τινα χρόνον, ἔπειτα ὑπὸ τε Μαρκίου Κρίσπου καὶ ὑπὸ Λουκίου Σταίου Μούρκου αὔθις κατείρχθη. 28. τοιούτων δὲ δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτοῖς ὄντων, ὁ Κάσσιος ἐπελθὼν τὰς τε πόλεις πάσας εὐθὺς πρὸς τε τὴν δόξαν ὣν ἐν τῇ ταμιεῖᾳ ἐπεποιήκει καὶ πρὸς τὴν λοιπὴν εὐκλειαν ὤκειώσατο, καὶ τὰ ^[p. 174] στρατόπεδα τὰ τε τοῦ Βάσσου καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐτέρων ^[2] οὐδὲν ἐπιπονήσας προσέθετο. καὶ αὐτῷ καθ' ἐν μετὰ πάντων αὐτῶν ἀυλιζομένῳ ὕδωρ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ αἰφνίδιον πολὺ ἐπεγένετο, κἂν τούτῳ σὺς ἄγριοι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον κατὰ πάσας ἅμα τὰς πύλας ἐσπεσόντες πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ὄντα συνέχεαν καὶ συνετάραξαν, ὥστε τινὰς ἐκ τούτων τὴν τε ἰσχὺν αὐτοῦ τὴν αὐτίκα καὶ τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα ^[3] καταστροφὴν τεκμήρασθαι. παραλαβὼν οὖν τὴν Συρίαν ἐς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὤρμησε, πυθόμενος τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος καταλειφθέντας προσίεναι, καὶ ἐκείνους τε ^[4] ἀκονίτι καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους παρεστήσατο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸν μὲν Βάσσον καὶ τὸν Κρίσπον, τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς οὐκ ἐθελήσαντάς οἱ συστρατεῦσαι, ἀπέπεμψε μηδὲν ἀδικήσας, τῷ δὲ δὴ Σταίῳ τὸ τε ἀξίωμα μεθ' οὗ ἀφῖκτο ἐτήρησε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐπέτρεψεν. ^[5] οὕτω μὲν καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος ἰσχυρὸς διὰ ταχέων ἐγένετο, καὶ τῷ τε Καίσαρι περὶ τῶν συναλλαγῶν καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ περὶ τῶν παρόντων ὅμοια τῷ Βρούτῳ ἐπέστειλε. καὶ αὐτῷ διὰ ταῦτα ἡ βουλὴ τὴν τε ἀρχὴν τῆς Συρίας ἐβεβαίωσε καὶ τὸν τοῦ 29. Δολοβέλλου πόλεμον ἐψηφίσατο. οὗτος γὰρ ἐτέτακτο μὲν τῆς Συρίας ἄρχειν καὶ τὴν ἔξοδον ὑπατεύων ἐπεποιήτο, χρόνιος δὲ διὰ τε τῆς Μακεδονίας καὶ διὰ τῆς Θράκης ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν τὸ ἔθνος ^[2] κομισθεὶς καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐνδιέτριψεν. ἐπειδὴ τε ἐνταῦθα ἔτι ὄντι αὐτῷ τὸ δόγμα ἠγγέλθη, πρὸς μὲν τὴν Συρίαν οὐ προεχώρησεν, αὐτοῦ δὲ δὴ καταμείνας τὸν Τρεβώνιον οὕτω μετεχειρίσατο ὥστε δόξαν οἱ ^[p. 176] εὐνοίας πλείστην παρασχεῖν, καὶ τὴν τε τροφὴν τοῖς στρατιώταις παρ' ἐκόντος αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν καὶ ^[3] τὴν δίκαιαν ἀδεῶς σὺν αὐτῷ ποιεῖσθαι. ἐπειδὴ τε ἔν τε τῷ θαρσοῦντι διὰ ταῦτ' ἐγένετο καὶ φυλακὴν οὐδεμίαν ἑαυτοῦ ἐποιεῖτο, τὴν τε Σμύρναν, ἐν ἣ ἦσαν, νυκτὸς ἐξαπναιῶς κατέλαβε, καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἀποκτείνας τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος εἰκόνα ἔρριψε, κάκ τούτου πᾶσαν τὴν ^[4] Ἀσίαν κατέσχε. πυθόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ Ῥωμαῖοι πόλεμον αὐτῷ ἐπήγγειλαν· οὐδέπω γὰρ ὁ Καῖσαρ οὔτε τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐνενικήκει οὔτε τὰ ἐν τῷ ἄστει διὰ χειρὸς ἐπεποιήτο. καὶ τοῖς τε συνοῦσιν οἱ ῥητὴν ἡμέραν ἐς ἔκλειπιν τῆς φιλίας

αὐτοῦ προεῖπον, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐν ἐχθρῶν ^[5] μοίρᾳ γένωνται, καὶ τὴν ἀντίταξιν τὸν τε πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸ μὲν σὺμπαν τοῖς ὑπάτοις προσέταξαν, ἐπειδὴν τὰ παρόντα κατορθώσωσι, ποιήσασθαι τὸν γὰρ Κάσιον οὐδέπω τὴν Συρίαν ἔχοντα ἥδεσαν, ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἐπὶ μεῖζον ἐν τῷ μεταξύ χρόνῳ αὐξηθῇ, τοῖς τῶν προσόρων ἐθνῶν ἄρχουσιν ^[6] ἐνεχείρισαν: καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο μαθόντες τὰ κατὰ τὸν Κάσιον, πρὶν καὶ ὅτιοῦν ὑπ' ἐκείνων πραχθῆναι, ταῦθ' ἄπερ εἶπον ἐψηφίσαντο. 30. ὁ δ' οὖν Δολοβέλλας ἐγκρατὴς οὕτω τῆς Ἀσίας γενόμενος ἐς τὴν Κιλικίαν ἦλθε, τοῦ Κασίου ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ ὄντος, καὶ τοὺς Ταρσεάς ἐκουσίους προσλαβὼν φρουροὺς τινὰς αὐτοῦ ἐν Αἰγείαις ὄντας ^[2] ἐνίκησε, καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἐνέβαλε. καὶ τῆς μὲν Ἀντιοχείας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμφρουρούντων αὐτὴν ἀπεκρούσθη, τὴν δὲ δὴ Λαοδικεῖαν ἀμαχεῖ διὰ τὴν φιλίαν αὐτῶν, ἣν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα τὸν πρότερον ^[p. 178] εἶχον, προσεποίησατο. καὶ τούτων ἡμέρας τινὰς ἰσχύσας ταῖς γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν αὐτῷ διὰ ταχέων ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπῆλθέ διέβαλεν ἐς Ἄραδον, ὅπως καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων καὶ χρήματα καὶ ^[3] ναῦς λάβῃ: κἀνταῦθα ἀποληφθεὶς μετ' ὀλίγων ἐκινδύνευσεν. διαφυγὼν δ' οὖν ἀπήντησέ τε τῷ Κασίῳ προσελάνοντι, καὶ συμβαλὼν αὐτῷ ἡττήθη. κατακλεισθεὶς τε ἐς τὴν Λαοδικεῖαν ἐπορθεῖτο, τῆς μὲν ἡπείρου παντελῶς εἰργόμενος ἄλλοι τε γὰρ τῷ Κασίῳ καὶ Πάρθοι τινὲς ἐβοήθησαν, ^[4] ταῖς δὲ δὴ ναυσὶ ταῖς τε Ἀσιαναῖς καὶ ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις, ἃς ἡ Κλεοπάτρα αὐτῷ ἔπεμψε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοῖς χρήμασι τοῖς παρ' αὐτῆς ἐλθοῦσιν ἰσχύων, μέχρις οὗ ὁ Στάτιος τὸ τε ναυτικὸν συνεκρότησε, καὶ ἐς τὸν τῶν Λαοδικέων λιμένα ἐσπλεύσας τοὺς τε ἀνταναχθέντας ἐκράτησε ^[5] καὶ ἀπέκλεισέν οἱ καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. τότε γὰρ ἀμφοτέρωθεν τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων εἰρχθεὶς ἐπεκδρομὴν μὲν σπάνει τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐποίησατο, καταραχθεὶς δὲ διὰ ταχέων ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ προδιδόμενον αὐτὸ ἰδὼν, ἐφοβήθη μὴ ζῶν ἀλοίῃ καὶ ἑαυτὸν κατεχρήσατο. ὅπερ πού καὶ Μάρκος Ὀκτάουιος ὑποστράτηγος αὐτοῦ ἔπραξε. ^[6] καὶ οἱ μὲν ταρῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κασίου, καίπερ τὸν Τρεβώνιον ἄταφον ῥίψαντες, ἠξιώθησαν: οἱ τε συστρατεύσαντές σφισι καὶ περιγενόμενοι καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ ἀδείας, καίτοι πολέμιοι ὑπὸ τῶν ^[7] οἴκοι Ῥωμαίων νομισθέντες, ἔτυχον. οὐ μέντοι οὐδ' οἱ Λαοδικεῖς κακὸν τι πλὴν συντελείας χρημάτων ἔπαθον. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς, συχνῶν ^[p. 180] μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπibουλεύσαντων τῷ Κασίῳ, ἐκολάσθη. 31. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίνετο, οἱ Ταρσεῖς Τίλλιον Κίμβρον φονέα τε τοῦ Καίσαρος ὄντα καὶ τότε Βιθυνῶν ἄρχοντα πρὸς τε τὴν τοῦ Κασίου ἐπικουρίαν ἐπειγόμενον ἐπεχείρησαν τῶν τοῦ Ταύρου διόδων εἰρξαι, προεκλιπόντες δὲ αὐτὰς ὑπὸ δέους παραχρήμα μὲν ἐσπείσαντο αὐτῷ, νομίσαντες ἰσχυρὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὴν ὀλιγότητα τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατανοήσαντες οὕτε τῇ πόλει αὐτὸν ἐδέξαντο οὕτε τὰ ἐπιτηδεῖα οἱ παρέσχον. ^[2] ἐπειδὴ τε φρουρίον τι ἐπιτειχίσας σφίσιν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἀπῆρε, προτιμότερον τὸ τῷ Κασίῳ βοηθῆσαι τοῦ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὸς ἐξελεῖν ποιησάμενος, τοῦτό τε ἐπιστρατεύσαντες αὐτῷ παρεστήσαντο, καὶ πρὸς τὰ Ἀδανὰ ὁμορὰ τέ σφισι καὶ διάφορα αἰεὶ ὄντα ὥρμησαν, πρόφασιν ὡς καὶ τὰ ^[3] τοῦ Κασίου πρᾶσσοντα ποιησάμενοι. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος πρότερον μὲν, ὡς ἔτι ὁ Δολοβέλλας ἔζη,

Λούκιον Ρούφον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦλθε, καὶ ἥδη γὰρ ἀμαχεί τῷ Ρούφῳ προσεκεχωρήκεσαν' ἄλλο μὲν σφας οὐδὲν δεινὸν εἰργάσατο, τὰ δὲ χρήματα τὰ τε ἴδια ^[4] καὶ τὰ δημόσια πάντα ἀφείλετο. κακ τοῦτου Ταρσεῖς ἐπαίνους τε παρὰ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔκεινοι γὰρ τὰ πράγματα ἥδη τὰ ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ εἶχον' καὶ ἐλπίδα ἀντιλήψεσθαι τι ἀντὶ τῶν ^[5] ἀπολωλότων ἔλαβον: ἢ τε Κλεοπάτρα διὰ τὴν συμμαχίαν ἦν τῷ Δολοβέλλα ἔπεμψεν, εὗρετο τὸν υἱόν, ὃν Πτολεμαῖον μὲν ὠνόμαζεν, ἐπλάττετο ^[p. 182] δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Καίσαρος τετοκένοι καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο Καισαρίωνα προσηγόρευε, βασιλέα τῆς Αἰγύπτου κληθῆναι. 32. Κάσσιος δὲ ἐπειδὴ τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Κιλικίᾳ κατεστήσατο, ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν πρὸς τὸν Βροῦτον ἀφίκετο. ὥς γὰρ τὴν τε συνωμοσίαν τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔμαθον καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατὰ σφῶν ἦσθοντο, συνῆλθόν τε ἐκεῖ καὶ ^[2] τὰ πράγματα ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκοινώσαντο: τὴν τε γὰρ αἰτίαν τὴν τοῦ πολέμου τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον τὸν αὐτὸν προσδεχόμενοι, τὴν τε ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ δήμου ἐλευθερίας γνώμην μὴδὲ τότε ἐξιστάμενοι, καὶ ἐκείνους ἅτε καὶ τρεῖς ὄντας καὶ τοιαῦτα δρῶντας προσκαταλῦσαι γλιχόμενοι, πολλῷ προθυμότερον κοινῇ πάντα καὶ ἐβουλεύοντο ^[3] καὶ ἐποιοῦν. καὶ τὸ μὲν σύμπαν ἔγνωσαν ἔς τε τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐλθεῖν καὶ περαιωθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖσε κωλύσαι, ἢ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν προδιαβῆναι: ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ καθίστασθαι ἔτ' ἐλέγοντο, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σέξτον ἅτε καὶ ἐγγύθεν ἐφεδρεῦντά σφισιν ἀσχολίαν ἔξειν ^[4] ἐνομίζοντο, οὐκ εὐθύς ταῦτ' ἐποίησαν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ τε περιόντες καὶ ἐτέρους διαπέμποντες τοὺς τε μηδέπω ὁμοφρονοῦντάς σφισι προσεκτῶντο καὶ χρήματα καὶ στρατιώτας ἤθροιζον. 33. καὶ αὐτοῖς οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ταύτῃ πάντες, καὶ οἱ πρόσθεν περιορώμενοι, παραχρῆμα ὠμολόγησαν, ὃ δὲ δὴ Ἀριοβαρζάνης οἱ τε Ρόδιοι καὶ οἱ Λύκιοι ἄλλως μὲν οὐκ ἀνθίσταντο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ συμμαχεῖν ^[2] ἤθελον. ὑποπτεύσαντες οὖν αὐτοὺς τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων, ἐπειδὴ εὖ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ ^[p. 184] προτέρου ἐπεπόνθεσαν, φρονεῖν, καὶ φοβηθέντες μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ τε ἀπελθόντων σφῶν ταραξώσι τι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συναποστήσωσι, γνώμην ἐποίησαντο ἐπ' ἐκείνους πρῶτον τραπέσθαι, ἐλπίσαντές σφας, ἅτε καὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις πολὺ αὐτῶν ὑπερέχοντες καὶ ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις ἀφθόνως χρώμενοι, ^[3] διὰ βραχέος πείσειν ἢ καὶ βιάσασθαι. καὶ Κάσσιος μὲν Ροδίους, καίτοι τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ φρονοῦντας ὥστε ἔς τε τὴν ἡπειρον ἐπ' αὐτὸν προδιαπλεῦσαι καὶ τὰς πέδας ἃς ἐκόμιζον ὥς καὶ ζῶντας πολλοὺς αἰρήσοντες ἐπιδεικνύναι σφίσι, ναυμαχίᾳ πρότερον μὲν περὶ Μύνδον, ἔπειτα δὲ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ Ρόδῳ διὰ τοῦ Σταΐου, τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν νεῶν τὴν ἐμπειρίαν ^[4] σφῶν κρατήσας, ἐνίκησε: καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν νῆσον περαιωθεὶς ἄλλο μὲν κακὸν οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἔδρασεν ὅυτε γὰρ ἀντέστησάν οἱ, καὶ εὐνοίαν αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς διατριβῆς ἦν ἐκεῖ κατὰ παιδείαν ἐπεποίητο εἶχέ, τὰς δὲ δὴ ναῦς καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰ ὄσια καὶ τὰ ἱερά, πλὴν τοῦ ἄρματος τοῦ Ἡλίου, παρεσπάσατο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὸν Ἀριοβαρζάνην συλλαβὼν ἀπέκτεινε. 34. Βροῦτος δὲ τὸ τε κοινὸν τῶν Λυκίων στράτευμα ἀπαντήσαν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰ μεθόρια μάχῃ τε ἐκράτησε καὶ συγκαταφυγὸν ἐς τὸ ἔρυμα αὐτοβοεὶ εἶλε, καὶ τῶν πόλεων τὰς μὲν πλείους

ἀμαχεῖ προσηγάγετο, Ξάνθον δὲ ἐς πολιορκίαν κατέκλεισε. [2] καὶ αὐτῶν ἐξαίφνης ἐκδραμόντων καὶ πῦρ ἐς τὰς μηχανὰς ἐμβалόντων, τὰ τε τοξεύματα [p. 186] καὶ ἀκόντια ἅμα ἀφέντων, ἐς πᾶν κινδύνου ἀφίκετο. κἂν πασσυδὶ ἀπώλετο, εἰ μὴ δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πυρὸς ὡσάμενοι οἱ στρατιῶται προσέμιξαν αὐτοῖς ἀπροσδόκητοι γυμνητεύουσιν, καὶ ἐκείνους τε ἐς τὸ [3] τεῖχος κατήραξαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ συνεσπεσόντες σφίσι τοῦ τε πυρὸς ἐς οἰκίας τινὰς ἐνέβαλον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὀρώντας τὸ γιγνόμενον προκατέπληξαν, τοῖς δ' ἄπωθεν οὔσι δόξαν ὡς καὶ πάντα ἄρδην ἡρηκότες παρέσχον· ἐκ γὰρ τούτου καὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τὰ λοιπὰ ἐθελονταὶ συγκατέπρησαν καὶ ἀλλήλους [4] οἱ πλείους ἀνεχρήσαντο. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ Πάταρα ὁ Βροῦτος ἦλθε, καὶ προεκάλεσατο μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐς φιλίαν, ὡς δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν· οἳ τε γὰρ δοῦλοι καὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων οἱ πένητες, οἱ μὲν ἐλευθερίας οἱ δὲ χρεῶν ἀποκοπῆς προτετυχηκότες, ἐκώλυνόν σφας συμβῆναι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τῶν Ξανθίων· καὶ γὰρ ἐν γένει αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐπιγαμίαν πολλοὶ ἦσαν· ἔπεμφέ σφισιν, ἐλπίδα ἔχων δι' ἐκείνων αὐτοὺς προσάξεσθαι· [5] ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐνέδοσαν καίπερ προῖκα αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἀναγκαίους ἐκάστω διδόντος, πρατήριόν τι ὑπ' αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ κατεστήσατο, καὶ παράγων ἕνα ἕκαστον τῶν πρώτων ἀπεκήρυττεν, εἴ πως διὰ γε τούτου τοὺς Παταρέας ὑπαγάγοιτο. ὡς δ' οὐδὲ τότε αὐτῷ προσεχώρησαν, ὀλίγους ἀποδόμενος τοὺς λοιποὺς [6] ἀφῆκεν. ἰδόντες δὲ τοῦτο οἱ ἔνδον οὐκέτ' ἀντήραν, ἀλλ' εὐθύς αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ ἀρετὴν ἔχοντι προσέθεντο, μηδὲν ἔξω τῶν χρημάτων ζημιωθέντες. καὶ τοῦτο [p. 188] καὶ οἱ Μυρεῖς ἐποίησαν, ἐπειδὴ τὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ἐπινείῳ λαβὼν ἀπέλυσε. καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἄλλα δι' ὀλίγου παρεστήσατο. 35. Ταῦτ' οὖν ἀμφοτέροι πρᾶξαντες ἔς τε τὴν Ἀσίαν αὐθις ἦλθον, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐκ διαβολῶν, οἷα ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν, ὑποπτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἶχον, ἔς τε τὸ μέσον καὶ κατὰ μόνας προενεγκόντες καὶ διαλυσάμενοι ἐς τὴν [2] Μακεδονίαν ἡπείγοντο. καὶ αὐτοὺς Γαίος τε Νωρβανὸς καὶ Δεκίδιος Σάξας ἔφθησαν τὸν τε Ἴόνιον, πρὶν τὸν Στάιον ἐλθεῖν, περαιωθέντες, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν μέχρι τοῦ Παγγαίου γῆν προκατασχόντες, καὶ πρὸς τοῖς Φιλίπποις στρατοπεδευσάμενοι. [3] τὸ δὲ δὴ ἄστει τοῦτο παρὰ τε τῷ Παγγαίῳ καὶ παρὰ τῷ Συμβόλῳ κεῖται· σύμβολον γὰρ τὸ χωρίον ὀνομάζουσι καθ' ὃ τὸ ὄρος ἐκεῖνο ἑτέρῳ τινὶ ἐς μεσόγειαν ἀνατείνοντι συμβάλλει, καὶ ἔστι μεταξὺ Νέας πόλεως καὶ τῶν Φιλίππων· ἡ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τῇ θαλάσῃ κατ' ἀντιπέρας Θάσου ἦν, ἡ δὲ ἐντὸς τῶν ὀρῶν ἐπὶ τῷ [4] πεδίῳ πεπόλισται. καὶ ἔτυχον γὰρ τὴν συντομωτάτην αὐτοῦ ὑπερβολὴν ὃ τε Σάξας καὶ ὁ Νωρβανὸς προκαταλαβόντες, ταύτῃ μὲν ὁ Βροῦτος ὃ τε Κάσσιος οὐδὲ ἐπείρασαν διαβῆναι, ἑτέραν δὲ τινα μακροτέραν κατὰ τὰς Κρηνίδας ὠνομασμένας περιελθόντες φυλακῇ μὲν καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐνέτυχον, [5] βιασάμενοι δὲ αὐτὴν εἴσω τε τῶν ὀρῶν ἐγένοντο, καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν κατὰ τὰ μετέωρα ἐπιπαρελθόντες ἐνταῦθα χωρὶς ἑκάτερος, ὥς γε τῷ λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο· τῷ γὰρ ἔργῳ καθ' [p. 190] [6] ἐν ἡύλισαντο. τὰ μὲν γὰρ στρατόπεδα, ὡς καὶ εὐτακτότεροι οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ ῥάους ἄρχειν ὥσι, διχῇ κατέστη, παντὸς δὲ δὴ καὶ τοῦ διὰ μέσου αὐτῶν καὶ τάφρῳ καὶ σταυρώματι περιληφθέντος εἷς τε ὁ πᾶς περίβολος ἀμφοτέρων

ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐν κοινῷ τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀσφάλειαν εἶχον. 36. ἦσαν δὲ πολλοὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἐναντίων τῶν τότε παρόντων καθυπέρτεροι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ τε Σύμβολον ἐκκρούσαντες αὐτοὺς κατέλαβον, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ταύτῃ τε δι' ἐλάττονος ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπήγοντο καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου καταθέοντες [2] ἐλάμβανον. ὁ γὰρ Νωρβανὸς ὃς τε Σάξας πανστρατιᾷ μὲν οὐδὲ ἐτόλμησαν αὐτοῖς προσμῖξαι, ἐκπέμποντες δ' ἱππέας ἐκδρόμους ὅπῃ παρείκοι, οὐδὲν ἐπέραινον, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ τε διὰ φυλακῆς μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ κινδύνων τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τὸν τε Ἀντώνιον [3] σπουδῇ μετεπέμποντο. οὗτοι γὰρ τέως μὲν περὶ τοὺς Ῥοδίους καὶ περὶ τοὺς Λυκίους τὸν τε Κάσσιον καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἀσχόλους ὄντας ἐπυνθάνοντο, ἐπὶ πλεῖον τε αὐτοὺς ἔδοξαν σφισι προσπολεμήσειν, καὶ οὐκ ἠπειχθησαν ἀλλὰ τὸν τε Σάξαν καὶ τὸν Νωρβανὸν ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν [4] προέπεμψαν: αἰσθόμενοι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐαλωκότας, τοῖς μὲν Λυκίοις καὶ τοῖς Ῥοδίοις ἐπαίνους τε ἔδωσαν καὶ χρήματα χαριεῖσθαι ὑπέσχοντο, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐκ μὲν τῆς πόλεως εὐθὺς ἐξώρμησαν, ἐγχρονίσαντες δὲ Ἀντώνιος μὲν περὶ Βρεντέσιον ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ Σταίου καθεῖργετό Καῖσαρ δὲ περὶ Ῥήγιον ἑκαστὸς γὰρ τὸν Σέξτον τὴν τε Σικελίαν [p. 192] ἔχοντα καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας περὶ ὧντα προαπετράπετό διετρίβησαν. 37. ὥς δ' οὖν οὗτός τε οὐ καθαιρετὸς ἔδοξεν εἶναι σφισι, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Κασσίου τοῦ τε Βροῦτου μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἠπειξε, μέρος μὲν τι τοῦ στρατοῦ πρὸς φρουρὰν τῆς Ἰταλίας κατέλιπον, τῷ δὲ δὴ πλείονι [2] τὸν Ἰόνιον ἀσφαλῶς ἐπεραιώθησαν. καὶ Καῖσαρ μὲν ἐν Δυρραχίῳ νοσήσας ὑπελείφθη, Ἀντώνιος δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Φιλίππους ἦλассε, καὶ παραντίκα μὲν ῥώμην τινὰ τοῖς σφετέροις παρέσχεν, ἐνεδρεύσας δὲ τινὰς τῶν ἐναντίων σιταγωγοῦντας καὶ [3] σφαλεῖς οὐκέτ' οὐδ' αὐτὸς 100 ἐθάρσει. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ πυθόμενος τοῦτο καὶ δέισας ἐκάτερον, εἴτε τι ἐλαττωθεῖη κατὰ μόνας συμβαλὼν εἴτε καὶ κρατήσειεν ἕκ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ τὸν τε Βροῦτον καὶ τὸν Κάσσιον, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τὸν Ἀντώνιον πάντως ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἰσχύσειν ἐνόμισεν, ἠπειχθη καίπερ καὶ [4] τότε ἔτι 101 ἀρρωστών. καὶ τοῦτου ἀνεθάρσησαν μὲν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον: ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐφαίνετο τὸ μὴ οὐχ ἅμα πάντας αὐτοὺς αὐλίζεσθαι, ἔς τε χωρίον ἕν καὶ ἐς ἔρμα ἕν τὰ τρία [5] στρατεύματα συνήγαγον. ἀντικαθημένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἀλλήλοις ἐκδρομαὶ μὲν καὶ ἀντεπέξοδοι παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ὥς ἔτυχεν ἐγίγνοντο, μάχη δὲ ἐκ παρατάξεως οὐδεμία χρόνον τινὰ συνηνέχθη, καίτοι καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πᾶν συμβαλεῖν [6] σπουδαζόντων: ταῖς τε γὰρ δυνάμεσι μᾶλλον τῶν ἐναντίων ἔρρωντο, καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων [p. 194] οὐχ ὁμοίως αὐτοῖς ἠϋπόρουν διὰ τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης, ἅτε τοῦ ναυτικοῦ σφων τῷ Σέξτῳ προσπολεμοῦντος, μὴ κρατεῖν. 38. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν δὴ διὰ τε ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τὸν Σέξτον τὴν τε Σικελίαν ἔχοντα καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας περὶ ὧντα, 102 μὴ καὶ χροнисάντων αὐτῶν τὴν τε Ἰταλίαν καταλάβῃ καὶ ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἔλθῃ, [2] ὥργων. ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάσσιος ὃς τε Βροῦτος ἄλλως μὲν οὐκ ὤκνουν τὴν μάχην ὅσον γὰρ τῇ ῥώμῃ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἡλαττοῦντο, τοσοῦτον τῷ πλήθει ἐπλεονέκτου', ἐκλογιζόμενοι δὲ τὰ τε ἐκείνων καὶ τὰ σφέτερα ὁπλομαχοὶ τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς καθ' ἑκάστην [3] ἡμέραν προσεγίγνοντο, καὶ τὴν τροφήν ἄφθονον ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν εἶχον' ἀνεβάλλοντο, εἴ πως ἄνευ κινδύνου καὶ φθόρου τινῶν

ἐπικρατήσκειαν· ἅτε γὰρ δημεράσται τε ἀκριβῶς ὄντες καὶ πρὸς πολίτας ἀγωνιζόμενοι ἐκείνων τε οὐδὲν ἦττον ἢ τῶν συνόντων σφίσι διεσκόπουν, καὶ ἐπεθύμουν ἑκατέροις ὁμοίως καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν [4] παρασχεῖν. χρόνον μὲν οὖν τινα διὰ ταῦτα ἀνέσχον, οὐκ ἐθέλοντές σφισιν ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν· ὥς μέντοι τὰ στρατεύματα, ἅτε ἐκ τοῦ ὑπηκόου τὸ πλεῖστον ὄντα, τῇ τε τριβῇ βαρυνόμενα καὶ τῶν ἀντιπολεμοῦντων καταφρονήσαντα, ὅτι τὸ καθάρσιον τὸ πρὸ τῶν ἀγώνων γιγνόμενον ἐντὸς τοῦ [5] ἐρύματος ὡς καὶ δεδιότες ἐποίησαντο, ἔς τε τὴν μάχην ὥρμησαν καὶ διελάλουν ὅτι, ἂν ἐπὶ πλεῖον 103 διατριφῶσι, τὸ τε στρατόπεδον ἐκλείψουσι καὶ διασκεδασθήσονται, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἄκοντες συνέμιξαν. 39. μέγιστον δὴ τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντας [p. 196] τοὺς ἐμφυλίους τοὺς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις γεγονότας οὐκ ἀπεικότες ἂν τις συμβῆναι νομίσειεν, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἢ καὶ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς τῶν μαχεσαμένων διήνεγκεν 104 αὐτῶν πολλῶν γὰρ καὶ πλείους καὶ ἀμείνους σφῶν πολλαχόθι ἠγωνίσαντο, ἀλλ' ὅτι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας τότε ὡς οὐπώποτε ἐπολέμησαν. [2] συνέπεσον μὲν γὰρ καὶ αὐθις ἀλλήλοις, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον· ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μὲν τοὺς ἀγῶνας ὑπὲρ τοῦ τίνος ἐπακούσουσιν ἐποίησαντο, τότε δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐς δυναστείαν αὐτοὺς ἦγον, οἱ δὲ ἐς αὐτονομίαν ἐξηροῦντο. ὅθεν οὐδ' ἀνέκυψεν ἔτι 105 πρὸς ἀκριβῇ παρρησίαν ὁ δῆμος καίπερ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς [3] ἄλλοτρίου ἠττηθεὶς 'τὸ γὰρ τοι ὑπήκοον τὸ τε συμμαχικὸν τὸ τότε αὐτοῖς παραγενόμενον ἐν προσθήκης μέρει τοῦ πολιτικοῦ ἦν', ἀλλ' αὐτὸς τε ἑαυτοῦ κρείττων τε ἅμα καὶ ἥττων γενόμενος καὶ ἔσφηλεν ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐσφάλη, κάκ τούτου τὸ τε δημοκρατικὸν συμπαρανάλωσε καὶ τὸ μοναρχικὸν [4] ἐκράτυνε. καὶ οὐ λέγω ὡς οὐ συνήνεγκεν αὐτοῖς ἠττηθεῖσι τότε· τί γὰρ ἂν τις ἄλλο περὶ αὐτῶν ἀμφοτέρωθεν μαχεσαμένων εἴποι ἢ ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐνίκηθησαν, Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐκράτησεν; ὁμοφρονῆσαι μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ καθεστῶτι τρόπῳ τῆς πολιτείας [5] οὐκέθ' οἷοι τε ἦσαν· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅπως δημοκρατία ἄκρατος, ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀρχῆς ὄγκον προχωρήσασα, σωφρονῆσαι δύναται· πολλοὺς δ' ἂν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς καὶ αὐθις ἀγῶνας ὁμοίους ἀνελόμενοι πάντως ἂν ποτε ἐδουλώθησαν ἢ καὶ ἐφθάρησαν. [p. 198] 40. παρέσσι δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν σημείων τῶν τότε συμβάντων σφίσι τεκμήρασθαι ὅτι μέγιστος διαφανῶς ὁ ἀγὼν αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο· τὸ γὰρ δαιμόνιον, ὥσπερ που καὶ αἰεὶ πρὸ τῶν ἀτοπωτάτων φιλεῖ προσημαίνειν, πάντα σφίσιν ἀκριβῶς καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ τὰ ἐκβάντα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προεμαντεύσατο. [2] ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἄστει ὃ τε ἥλιος τοτὲ μὲν ἠλαττοῦτο καὶ ἐλάχιστος ἐγίγνετο, τοτὲ δὲ καὶ μέγας καὶ τριττὸς ἐξεφαίνετο, καὶ ποτε καὶ νυκτὸς ἐξέλαμψε· καὶ κεραυνοὶ ἄλλοσέ τε πολλαχόσε καὶ ἐς τὸν τοῦ Νικαίου Διὸς βωμὸν ἐφέροντο, λαμπάδες τε ἐνταῦθα κάκεισε ἦττον, 106 καὶ σαλπίγγων ἡχαὶ ὅπλων τε κτύποι καὶ στρατοπέδων βοαὶ νυκτὸς ἐκ τε τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κήπων, ὁμοχῶρων ἀλλήλοις παρὰ [3] τῷ Τιβέριδι ὄντων, ἠκοῦοντο. 107 καὶ προσέτι καὶ κύνων κυνὸς σῶμα πρὸς τὸ Δημήτριον προσελκύσας τὴν τε γῆν τοῖς ποσὶν ὠρυξε καὶ κατέχωσεν αὐτό. καὶ τι παιδάριον δεκαδακτύλους χεῖρας ἔχον ἐγεννήθη, ἡμίονός τε διφυές τέρας ἔτεκε· τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρόσθια ἵππῳ, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἡμίονῳ ἐώκει. [4] καὶ ὁ τῆς

Ἀθηνᾶς ὄχος πρὸς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐξ ἵπποδρομίας τινὸς ἐπανιών συνετρίβη, τὸ τε ἄγαλμα τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἀλβανῷ ὄν αἷμα παρ' αὐτὰς τὰς ἀνοχαῖς ἐκ τε τοῦ δεξιοῦ ὤμου καὶ [5] ἐκ τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς ἀνέδωκε. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου σφίσι προεδείχθη, ποταμοὶ τε ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν παντάσῃσιν ἐξέλιπον οἱ δ' ἀνάπαλιν ῥεῖν ἤρξαντο: συνενηνέχθαι 108 δὲ πως ἐς [p. 200] ταῦτ' οὐ καὶ ὅσα παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατὰ συντυχίαν [6] ἐπράχθη ἔδοξεν: ἔν τε γὰρ ταῖς ἀνοχαῖς ὁ πολιάρχος τὰ Λατιάρια, οὗτ' ἄλλως προσήκοντα αὐτῷ οὗτ' ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ γίγνεσθαι εἰωθότα, ἐποίησεν, καὶ οἱ ἀγορανόμοι τοῦ πλήθους ὀπλομαχίας ἀγῶνας ἀντὶ τῆς ἵπποδρομίας τῇ Δήμητρὶ [7] ἐπετέλεσαν. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ Πρώμῃ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, καὶ τινα καὶ λόγια 109 καὶ πρὸ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς δημοκρατίας συμβαίνοντα ἤδeto: ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ ταύτης γὰρ τὸ τε Παγγαῖον καὶ ἡ περὶ αὐτὸ γῆ νομίζεται μέλισσαι τε πολλαὶ τὸ τοῦ Κασσίου στρατόπεδον περιέσχον, κἂν τῷ καθαρσίῳ αὐτοῦ τὸν στέφανόν τις [8] τραπέμπαλιν 110 αὐτῷ ἐπέθηκε, παῖς τε 111 ἐν πομπῇ τινι, οἷας οἱ στρατιῶται ἄγουσι, νίκην φέρων ἔπεσε. καὶ ὁ γε μάλιστα τὸν Ὀλεθρόν σφισιν ἐσήμηνεν ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἔκδηλον γενέσθαι, πολλοὶ μὲν γῦπες πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι ὄρνιθες νεκροφάγοι ὑπὲρ τε ἐκείνων μόνων διεφοίτων καὶ ἐς αὐτοὺς κατέβλεπον, δεινὸν τέ τι καὶ φρικῶδες κλάζοντές τε καὶ τρίζοντες. 41. τοῦτοις μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τὸ κακὸν ἔφερε, τοῖς δὲ ἑτέροις τέρας μὲν οὐδέν, ὅσα γε ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν, ἐγένετο, [2] ὅψεις δὲ δὴ ὀνείρων τοιαίδε ἐφάνησαν. ἀνὴρ Θεσσαλὸς ἔδοξεν οἱ τὸν Καίσαρα τὸν πρότερον κεκελευκέναι εἰπεῖν τῷ Καίσαρι ὅτι τε ἐς ἔννης ἢ 112 [p. 202] μάχη γενήσοιτο, καὶ ἵνα ἀναλάβῃ τι ὧν δικτατορεῶν αὐτὸς ἐφόρει: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν δακτύλιον αὐτοῦ τότε τε εὐθὺς περιέθετο καὶ ἔπειτα πολλάκις [3] ἔφερεν. οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοῦτο εἶδεν, ὁ δ' ἱατρός ὁ συνὼν τῷ Καίσαρι ἐνόμισεν οἱ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν προστάσσειν ἐκ τε τῆς σκηνῆς αὐτόν, καίτοι καὶ τότε ἔτι κακῶς ἀρρωστοῦντα, ἐξαγαγεῖν καὶ ἐς τὴν παράταξιν καταστήσαι: ὑφ' οὗπερ καὶ ἐσώθη. ὁ γὰρ τοι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν μὲν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ τε ἐρύματι αὐτοῦ μένουσι σωτηρίαν, 113 ἐς δὲ δὴ τὰ ὄπλα τὰς τε μάχας ἰοῦσι κίνδυνον φέρει, [4] τοῦτο τότε 114 ἐπὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος διηλλάγη: ἐκ τε γὰρ τῆς ἐξόδου τῆς ἐκ τοῦ ταφρευμάτος καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς μαχομένους ὀμιλίας περιφανέστατα, καίπερ χαλεπῶς καὶ ἄνευ τῶν ὀπλῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀσθενείας ἐσῶς, περιεγένετο. 42. ἐπράχθη δὲ ὧδε. οὐχ ὠμολόγησαν μὲν ὅποτε τὴν μάχην ποιήσονται, ὥπερ δὲ ἀπὸ συγκεκριμένου τινὸς πάντες ἅμα ἔω ἐξωπλίσαντο, καὶ ἐς τε τὸ χωρίον τὸ μεταίχιμιόν σφω καθάπερ ἀγωνισταὶ τινες σχολῇ προῆλθον, κἀναυῖθα ἡσυχῇ παρετάξαντο. [2] ὥς δ' ἀντικατέστησαν, παραινέσεις, τοῦτο μὲν ἀθρόοις τοῦτο δὲ καὶ καθ' ἐκάστους, ἀμφοτέροις ἀπὸ τε τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑποστρατηγῶν τῶν θ' ὑπομειόνων ἐγένοντο, πολλὰ μὲν πρὸς τὸ αὐτίκα τοῦ κινδύνου ἀναγκαῖα πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἀρμόζοντα αὐτῶν λεγόντων, οἷα ἂν τινες ἐν τε τῷ παραχρῆμα κινδυνεύοντες καὶ τῷ μέλλοντι προκάμνοντες [p. 204] [3] εἶποιεν. 115 καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὁμοιοτροπώτατα, ἅτε καὶ Ρωμαίων ἀμφοτέρωθεν ὁμοίως μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων σφῶν ὄντων, ἐρρήθη: διήλλαξε δὲ ὅτι οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Βροῦτον τὴν τε ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν τὸ τε

ἀτυράννευτον καὶ τὸ ἀδέσποτον ^[4] τοῖς σφετέροις προεβάλλοντο, καὶ τὰ τε ἐν ἰσονομίᾳ χρηστὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν μοναρχίᾳ ἄτοπα, ὅσα ποτὲ αὐτοὶ τε ἐπεπόνθεσαν καὶ περὶ ἑτέρων ἡκηκόεσαν, προέφερον, παραδεικνύντες τε καθ' ἐν ἑκαστον ἑκάτερα καὶ ἱκετεύοντες 116 σφας τῶν μὲν ὀριγνήσασθαι τὰ δὲ ἐκκλίνειν καὶ τῶν μὲν ^[5] ἔρωτα λαβεῖν τὰ δὲ μὴ παθεῖν φυλάξασθαι, οἱ δὲ ἕτεροι τῷ σφετέρῳ στρατῷ τοὺς τε σφαγέας τιμωρήσασθαι καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀντικαθεστώτων σχεῖν, ἄρξαι τε πάντων τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἐπιθυμῆσαι, παρήνουν, καὶ ὃ γε μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἐπέρρωσε, καὶ κατὰ πεντακισχιλίας σφίσι δραχμὰς δώσειν ὑπέσχοντο. 43. καὶ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν τὰ συνθήματα αὐτοῖς διήλθεν ἣν δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον Ἐλευθερία, τοῖς δὲ ἑτέροις ὅ τι ποτὲ καὶ ἐδόθη, ἔπειτα σαλπικτῆς 117 εἰς ἑκατέρωθεν ὑπεσήμνη, ^[2] καὶ οὕτω καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐπήχησαν, πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ τὸ τε στάσιμον 118 καὶ τὸ παρασκευαστικὸν ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ κυκλοτερεῖ διὰ 119 σαλπίγγων μελωδοῦντες, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ τὸν τε θυμὸν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπεγείροντες καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν σύνοδον αὐτοὺς ἐξοτρύνοντες. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο σιωπῇ τε ^[p. 206] ἐξαπίνης πολλὴ ἐγένετο, καὶ σμικρὸν ἐπισχόντες αὐτοὶ τε διάτορον ἐξεφώνησαν καὶ αἱ τάξεις ^[3] ἑκατέρωθεν συνεβόησαν. καὶ τούτου ἀλαλάξαντες οἱ ὀπλῖται τὰς τε ἀσπίδας τοῖς δορατίοις ἔκρουσαν καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἐξηκόντισαν, καὶ οἱ σφενδονῆται οἳ τε τοξόται βέλη καὶ λίθους ἦκαν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ τε ἵππικὸν ἀντεξήλασαν καὶ τὸ θωρακοφόρον συνεπισπόμενόν σφισιν ἐν χερσὶν ἐγένετο. 44. καὶ πολλῷ μὲν ὠθισμῷ πολλῷ δὲ καὶ ξιφισμῷ ἐχρήσαντο, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα περισκοποῦντες ὅπως τε τρώσουσι τινας καὶ ὅπως αὐτοὶ μὴ τρωθῶσι τοὺς τε γὰρ ἀνθεστηκότας ἅμα ἀποκτεῖναι καὶ ἑαυτοὺς σῶσαι ἐβούλοντο, ἔπειτα δὲ ὡς ἢ τε ὁρμὴ σφων ἠϋξήθη καὶ ὁ θυμὸς ἐφλέγμηνεν, ὁμοσε τε ἀπερισκέπτως χωροῦντες καὶ μηδεμίαν ἔτ' ἀσφάλειαν ἑαυτῶν ποιούμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐπιθυμία τοῦ τοὺς ἀντιπάλους ἀπολέσαι καὶ ἑαυτοὺς προῖέμενοι. ^[2] καὶ τινες τὰς τε ἀσπίδας ἀπερρίπτουν, καὶ ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων οἱ μὲν ἔκ τε τῶν κρανῶν αὐτοὺς ἦγχον καὶ κατὰ νώτου ἔπαιον, οἱ δὲ τὰ τε προβλήματα ἀπέσπων καὶ ἐς τὰ στήθη ἔτυπον. ἄλλοι τῶν ξιφῶν αὐτῶν λαμβανόμενοι τὰ σφέτερα ὡς καὶ ἐς 120 ἀόπλους σφᾶς ἐώθουν· καὶ ἕτεροι τρωθῆναι τι μέρος τῶν σωματων σφῶν προβάλλοντες ἐτοιμότερον τῷ λοιπῷ ^[3] ἐχρῶντο. συμπλεκόμενοι τέ τινες τὸ μὲν παίειν ἀλλήλους ἀφηροῦντο, τῇ δὲ δὴ συμμίζει καὶ τῶν ξιφῶν καὶ τῶν σωματῶν διώλλυντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν μῖα πληγῇ οἱ δὲ καὶ πολλαῖς ἔθνησκον, καὶ οὔτε τῶν τραυμάτων αἴσθησιν εἶχον, τὸ γὰρ ἀλγῆσον ^[p. 208] ὁ θάνατος προελάμβανεν, 121 οὔτε τοῦ ὀλέθρου σφῶν ὀλοφυρμὸν ἐποιοῦντο, ἐς γὰρ τὸ λυπῆσον οὐκ ^[4] ἐξικνοῦντο. ἄλλος τις ἀποκτείνας τινὰ οὐδ' ἀποθανεῖσθαι ποτε ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς περιχαρείας ἡλπιζε· καὶ ὁ αἰεὶ πίπτων ἐς τε τὸ ἀναίσθητον καθίστατο καὶ σύνεσιν τοῦ πάθους οὐκ ἐλάμβανεν. 45. ἔμενον δὲ κατὰ χώραν ἀκριβῶς ἀμφοτέροι, καὶ οὔθ' ὑπαγωγᾷς οὔτε διώξεσιν οὐδέτεροι ἐχρήσαντο, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ εἶχον, ἐτίτρωσκον ἐπιτρώσκοντο, ἐφόνευον ἐφονεύοντο μέχρι πόρρω ^[2] τῆς ἡμέρας. καὶ εἶγε πάντες πᾶσιν, οἷα ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ συμβαίνει, συνεμεμίχσαν, ἢ Βροῦτος μὲν κατὰ Ἀντώνιον Κάσσιος δὲ κατὰ Καίσαρα ἀντετάκτο,

ἰσοπαλεῖς ἂν ἐγεγόνεσαν. νῦν δὲ ὁ τε Βροῦτος τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἄρρωστιαν ἐξεβιάσατο, καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὸν Κάσσιον οὐδέν^[3] οἱ ὅμοιον τὰ πολέμια ὄντα ἐξενίκησε. καὶ τότε δὲ τῷ μὴ πάντα ἅμα τοὺς ἐτέρους, 122 ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μέρει ἀμφοτέρους καὶ ἡττηθῆναι καὶ κρατῆσαι ταύτων ὡς εἶπεῖν ἐγένετο: καὶ γὰρ ἐνίκησαν ἀμφοτέροι καὶ ἡττήθησαν, ἔτρεψάν τε τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους σφίσιν ἐκάτεροι καὶ ἐτράποντο, καὶ αἱ τε διώξεις καὶ αἱ φυγαὶ ἀμφοῖν ὁμοίως συνέβησαν, καὶ τὰ στρατοπέδα ἀμφοτέρωθεν^[4] ἐάλω. τοῦ τε γὰρ πεδίου ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ἅτε καὶ πολλοὶ ὄντες, ἐπέσχον, ὥστε μὴ καθορᾶν ἀλλήλους: καὶ οὕτε ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πλὴν τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος ἔγνω, ἐπεὶ τε ἡ τροπὴ ἐγένετο, ἔς τε τὰ οἰκεῖα ἐρύματα πολὺ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀφροσθηκότες^[5] τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐκάτεροι ἀμεταστρεπτί 123 ἔφυγον, καὶ ^[p. 210] ἀπὸ τε τούτου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ ἀπλέτου γενομένου ἠγνόησαν τὸ τέλος τῆς μάχης, καὶ οἱ τε νενικηκότες πάντα κεκρατηκέναι καὶ οἱ ἡττημένοι πάντα νενικῆσθαι ἐνόμισαν, καὶ οὐ πρότερον τὸ γεγονὸς ἔμαθον πρὶν τὰ τε ταφρεῦματα διαπορθηθῆναι καὶ ἀλλήλοις τοὺς νενικηκότες πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἐκατέρους ἀναχωροῦντας συντυχεῖν. 46. τῆς μὲν δὴ οὖν μάχης ἔνεκα καὶ ἐκράτησαν οὕτως ἀμφοτέροι καὶ ἡττήθησαν: οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐς χεῖρας ἔτι τότε ἀφίκοντο, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἰδόντες ἐν τῇ ὑποστροφῇ ἀλλήλους καὶ τὸ συμβεβηκὸς ἔγνωσαν, ἀντιπαρεξῆλθον μηδὲν μηδέτεροι^[2] τολμήσαντες. ἐπλεονέκτησαν δὲ καὶ ἡλαττώθησαν ἀλλήλων τῷ τὸ τε τάφρευμα τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ τ' Ἀντωνίου πᾶν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα ἀλῶναι ἅψ' οὐπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα τέκμαρσιν τὸ ὄναρ ἔσχεν: εἰ γὰρ τοι κατὰ χώραν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐμεμενῆκει, πάντως ἂν ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπωλώλει^[3] καὶ τῷ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐκ μὲν τῆς μάχης σωθῆναι, τοῦ τε ἐρύματος στερηθέντα ἄλλοσέ ποι διαφυγεῖν, ὑποτοπήσαντα δὲ καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἐσφάλθαι καὶ τινὰς τῶν κεκρατηκόντων ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν^[4] ἐπιέναι, ἐπειχθῆναι πρὸς τὸν θάνατον. ἔπεμψε μὲν γὰρ ἐκατόνταρχον κατασκευόμενον καὶ ἀναγγελοῦντα αὐτῷ ὅπου τε ὁ Βροῦτος εἴη καὶ ὅ τι ποιοίη: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος συμβαλὼν ἱππεῦσιν οὓς ὁ Βροῦτος ζητήσοντας αὐτὸν ἀπεστάλκει ἀνέστρεψε, καὶ σχολῇ μετ' αὐτῶν ὡς οὐδενὸς ἐπείγοντος, ἅτε μηδενὸς δεινοῦ ὄντος, ἦει, ὑπώπτευσέ^[5] τε αὐτοὺς πόρρωθεν ὁρῶν πολεμίους εἶναι, καὶ ^[p. 212] Πινδάρῳ τινὶ ἐξελευθέρῳ ἀποκτείνειν ἑαυτὸν προσέταξε. καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ ἐκατόνταρχος, μαθὼν ὅτι διὰ τὴν βραδυτῆτα αὐτοῦ διώλετο, ἐπαπέθανεν. 47. ὁ οὖν Βροῦτος τὸ μὲν τοῦ Κασσίου σῶμα ἐς Θάσον εὐθὺς κρύφα ἔπεμψεν, ὀκνήσας κατὰ χώραν αὐτὸ θάψαι, μὴ τῷ στρατῷ πένθος τε ἅμα καὶ ἀθυμίαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ποιουμένων ὀψεως ἐμβάλλῃ: ^[2] τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτοῦ παραλαβὼν, καὶ λόγοις τέ σφας παραμυθοῦμενος καὶ δόσει χρημάτων ἀνθ' ὧν ἀπωλώλεκεσαν ἀνακτησάμενος, ἔς τε τὴν ταφρεῖαν αὐτῶν ἐπιτηδειοτέραν 124 οὖσαν μετεστρατοπεδεύσατο, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ὁρμώμενος τὰ τε ἄλλα τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐλύπει καὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ σφῶν νυκτὸς προσέμισγε. ^[3] μάχῃ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκ παρατάξεως οὐ διενοεῖτο αὐθις συνενεχθῆναι, πολλὴν δὲ δὴ ἐλπίδα ἀκινδύνως ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ κατεργάσεσθαι σφας ἔχων θορυβεῖν τε αὐτοὺς ἄλλως καὶ ταράττειν νύκτωρ ἐπειράτο, καὶ ποτε καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν παρατρέψας πολὺ τοῦ ἐρύματος αὐτῶν κατέκλυσεν. ^[4] ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ ὁ τε

Ἀντώνιος ἐσπάνιζον μὲν τῆς 125 τροφῆς καὶ χρημάτων, ὅθεν οὐδὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις τι ἀντὶ τῶν διαρπασθέντων ἔδωκαν· καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσιου ἐπιδιατλέουσαν ἐν ὀλκάσιν ἀπώλεσαν ὑπὸ [5] τοῦ Σταίου· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀσφαλῶς οὗτ' ἄλλοσέ ποι μετανασθῆναι οὗτ' ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀνακομισθῆναι δυνάμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ τότε ἔτι μόνον τὰς ἐλπίδας οὐχ ὅτι τῆς νίκης ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ποιούμενοι, ὠρμηγτο καὶ διακινδυνεύσαι [p. 214] πρὶν ἔκπυστον τοῖς τε σφετέροις καὶ 48. τοῖς ἐναντίοις τὸ θαλάσσιον πάθος γενέσθαι. μὴ βουλομένου δὲ τοῦ Βρούτου συμμῖξαι σφισι βιβλία ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα αὐτοῦ τρόπον τινὰ ἐνέβαλον, προκαλοῦμενοι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἢ τὰ σφέτερα φρονῆσαι· καὶ γὰρ ὑπισχνοῦντό τινα αὐτοῖς· ἢ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, ἂν γε καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον [2] ἰσχύωσι. κὰν τῇ διατριβῇ ταύτῃ ἡυτομόλησαν μὲν καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων πρὸς τὸν Βροῦτον ἐκ τοῦ Κελτικοῦ τινες, ἡυτομόλησαν δὲ καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς Ἀμύντας τε ὁ τοῦ Δημοτάρου στρατηγὸς καὶ ὁ Ῥασκύπορις. 126 καὶ οὗτος μὲν οἴκαδε εὐθύς, ὥς τινὲς φασιν, ἀπεχώρησε· δεῖσας δ' οὖν ἐκ τούτων ὁ Βρούτος μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον τι νεωτερισθῇ, [3] συμμῖξαι σφισιν ἔγνω. καὶ ἐπειδὴ πολλοὶ τε αἰχμάλωτοι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτοῦ ἦσαν, καὶ οὐκ εἶχεν οὗθ' 127 ὅπως διὰ φυλακῆς αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ τῆς μάχης καιρῷ ποιήσῃται οὗθ' ὅπως πιστεύσῃ σφίσι μηδὲν λυμανεῖσθαι, διέφθειρε τοὺς πλείους, τῇ ἀνάγκῃ καὶ παρὰ γνώμην δουλεύσας, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι οἱ ἐναντίοι τοὺς ζωγρηθέντας [4] τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτοῦ ἀπεκτόνεσαν. πράξας δὲ τοῦτο ἐξωπλίστατο. καὶ αὐτῶν ἀντιπαρατεταγμένων ἤδη αἰετοὶ δύο ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ὑπερπτόμενοι ἀλλήλοισι τε ἐμαχέσαντο καὶ ἐκείνοις τὸ τέλος τοῦ πολέμου προέφηναν· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ αἰετὸς ὁ κατὰ τὸν Βρούτον ὦν ἡλαττώθη τε καὶ ἔφυγεν, οὕτω τὸ τε ὀπλιτικὸν αὐτοῦ ἀγχώμαλα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀγωνισάμενον ἠττήθη, κὰκ τούτου πεσόντων πολλῶν καὶ τὸ ἱππικόν, καίτοι γενναίως [p. 216] [5] μαχόμενον, ἐνέδωκε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο φυγόντας αὐτοὺς ἄλλους 128 ἄλλῃ ἐπεδιώξαν μὲν οἱ κεκρατηκότες, οὕτε δὲ ἀπέκτειναν οὗθ' εἰλὸν τινα, ἀλλὰ προσεδρεύσαντες αὐτοῖς τὴν νύκτα ὥς ἐκάστοις οὐκ εἶασαν αὐθις συστραφῆναι. 49. ὁ οὖν Βρούτος ἐπεχείρησε μὲν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδόν πη διαπεσεῖν· ἐς γὰρ χωρίον τι ἐρυμνὸν ἀναπεφευγὼς ἦν, μὴ δυνηθεὶς δέ, καὶ προσέτι καὶ μαθὼν ὅτι τινὲς τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοῖς νικήσασιν ὠμολογήκασιν, οὐδεμίαν ἔτ' ἐλπίδα ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ ἀπογνοὺς μὲν τὴν σωτηρίαν ἀπαξιώσας δὲ τὴν ἄλωσιν ἐς τὸν θάνατον καὶ αὐτὸς κατέφυγεν. καὶ ἀναβοήσας τοῦτο δὴ τὸ Ἡράκλειον, [2] ὧ τλῆμον ἀρετῇ, λόγος ἄρ' ἦσθ', 129 ἐγὼ δέ σε ὥς ἔργον ἥσκουν· σὺ δ' ἄρ' ἐδοῦλευες τύχῃ, παρεκάλεσέ τινα τῶν συνόντων, ἵνα αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνῃ. καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο σῶμα ταφῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἔτυχεν, ἡ δὲ δὴ κεφαλὴ ἐπέμφθη μὲν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, χειμῶνι δ' ἐν τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ Δυρραχίου διάπλῳ περιπεσοῦσα ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν [3] ἐρρίφη. τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτίκα ἀδείας σφισι κηρυχθείσης μετέστη, ἡ δὲ δὴ Πορκία ἄνθρακα [4] διάπυρον καταπιοῦσα 130 ἀπέθανε. τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων τῶν ἀρχὰς τινὰς σχόντων ἢ καὶ ἐκ τῶν σφαγέων τῶν τε ἐπικεκηρυγμένων ἔτι ὄντων οἱ μὲν πλείους ἑαυτοὺς παραχρῆμα ἀπέκτειναν ἢ ἁλόντες, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ

Φαουώνιος, ἐφθάρησαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τότε ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν διέφυγον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῷ Σέξτῳ προσέθεντο.

τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ ὀγδόῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν α. ὡς Καῖσαρ Φουλουῖα καὶ Λουκίῳ Ἀντωνίῳ ἐπολέμησεν. β. ὡς Σέξτος Πομπήιος Σικελίαν κατέσχευ. γ. ὡς Πάρθοι τὰ μέχρι τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου κατέσχον. δ. ὡς Καῖσαρ καὶ Ἀντώνιος πρὸς Σέξτον συνέθεντο. ε. ὡς Πούπλιος Οὐεντίδιος Πάρθους ἐνίκησε καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐκτήσατο. ζ. ὡς Καῖσαρ Σέξτῳ πολεμεῖν ἤρξατο η. περὶ Βαιῶν. χρόνου πληθος ἔτη πέντε, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἶδε ἐγένοντο Λ. Ἀντώνιος Μ. υἱ. Πιέτας Π. Σερουίλιος Π. υἱ. Ἰσαυρικὸς τὸ β ὕπ. Γν. Δομίτιος Μ. υἱ. Καλουῖνος τὸ β Γ. Ἀσίνιος Γν. υἱ. Πωλίων ὕπ. λ. Μάρκιος Λ. υἱ. Κληνωρῖνος Γ. Καλουῖσιος Γ. υἱ. Σαβῖνος ὕπ. Ἀππίος Κλαύδιος γ. υἱ. Ποῦλχος Γ. Νωρβανὸς γ. υἱ. Φλάκκος ὕπ. μ. Οὐιφάνιος Λ. υἱ. Ἀγρίππας Λ. Κανίνιος Λ. υἱ. Γάλλος ὕπ. 9

1. ὁ μὲν οὖν Βροῦτος ὃ τε Κάσσιος οὕτως ἀπώλοντο, τοῖς ξίφεσιν οἷς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπεχρήσαντο σφαγέντες· οἱ τε ἄλλοι οἱ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλῆς μετασχόντες, οἱ μὲν πρότερον, οἱ δὲ τότε, [p. 220] οἱ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα, πλὴν πάνυ ὀλίγων, ἐφθάρησαν, ὥς που τὸ τε δίκαιον ἔφερε καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἦγεν ἄνδρα αὐτοὺς εὐεργέτην σφῶν, ἐς τοσοῦτον καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς τύχης προχωρήσαντα, ἀποκτείναντας [2] παθεῖν. ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοῦ μὲν Λεπίδου παραχρῆμα, ἅτε μὴ συννικήσαντός σφισιν, ἐπλεονέκτησαν, ἔμελλον δὲ καὶ ἐπ' ἀλλήλους οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν τρέφεσθαι· χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἄνδρας τρεῖς ἢ καὶ δύο ὁμοτίμους, ἐγκρατεῖς τηλικούτων ἐκ πολέμου πραγμάτων [3] γενομένους, ὁμοιοῦσαι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὅσα τέως ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνθισταμένων σφίσι καταλύσει συμφρονήσαντες κατέπραξαν, ταῦτα τότε ἄθλα τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλοτιμίας ἤρξαντο ποιεῖσθαι. τὴν τε γὰρ ἀρχὴν αὐτίκα ἀνεδάσαντο, καὶ Καίσαρι μὲν ἢ τε Ἰβηρία καὶ ἡ Νουμιδία, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ἢ τε Γαλατία καὶ ἡ Ἀφρικὴ ἐγένετο· καὶ συνέθεντο ὥστ', ἂν τινα ἀγανάκτησιν ὁ Λέπιδος ἐπὶ τούτῳ 2. ποιήσεται, τῆς Ἀφρικῆς αὐτῷ ἐκστῆναι. ταῦτα δὲ δὴ μόνα διέλαχον, ὅτι Σαρδῶ μὲν καὶ Σικελίαν ὁ Σέξτος ἔτι κατεῖχε, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τὰ ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐν ταραχῇ ἔτι ἦν. ἐκείνης γὰρ δὴ περὶ οὐδὲν δέομαι λέγειν ὅτι ἐξαιρετος αἰεὶ ποτε ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἔμενε· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ὥς περὶ αὐτῆς ποτε, ἀλλ' ὥς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀγωνιζόμενοι τοὺς [2] λόγους ἐποιοῦντο. ἐν κοινῷ οὖν ταῦτα ἀφέντες, Ἀντώνιος μὲν τὴν τε κατάστασιν τῶν ἀντιπολεμησάντων σφίσι καὶ τὴν ἀργυρολογίαν τὴν ἐς τὰ χρήματα τὰ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπαγγελθέντα ἀνεδέξατο, Καῖσαρ δὲ τὸν τε Λέπιδον, ἂν τι παρακινή, [p. 222] κολοῦσαι, καὶ τῷ Σέξτῳ προσπολεμῆσαι, [3] τὴν τε χώραν ἣν τοῖς συστρατευομένοις σφίσιν ὑπέσχητο κατανεῖμαι τοῖς ἔξω τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτῶν οὖσιν, οὓς καὶ εὐθύς διῆκαν. καὶ προσέτι οὗτος μὲν δύο τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ στρατόπεδα τῶν συνόντων οἱ συνέπεμψεν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἕτερα ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ τότε ὄντων ἴσα ἀντιδώσειν αὐτῷ ἐπηγγείλατο. [4] ταῦθ' οὕτω κατὰ μόνας συνθέμενοι καὶ γράψαντες καὶ κατασημηνάμενοι, τὰ τε γραμματεῖα ἀλλήλοις ἀντέδοσαν, ἴν', ἂν τι παραβαθῇ, ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐλεγχθῇ,

καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφωρμήθη. 3. καὶ αὐτὸν ἡ νόσος ἐν τε τῇ πορείᾳ καὶ ἐν τῷ πλῶ ἰσχυρῶς ἐπίεσεν, ὥστε καὶ θανάτου δόξαν τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ παρασχεῖν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀρρωστίας τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἐπὶ παρασκευῇ κακοῦ τινος χρονίζειν αὐτὸν ἐνόμιζον, καὶ τοῦτου πάνθ' ὅσα ἐνεδέχeto σφας παθεῖν ὑπετόπουν. [2] καίτοι ἄλλα τε ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ πολλὰ αὐτοῖς ἐψηφίσαντο, ἅπερ πού καὶ τοῖς ἑτέροις ἂν, εἰ ἐκεκρατήκεσαν, ἐδέδοτο ἔν γάρ δὴ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις τὸ τε ἀπολωλὸς πάντες αἰεὶ κατατρέχουσι καὶ τὸ κρατῆσαν τιμῶσί, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἱερομηνίας ἐν ἅπαντι ὡς εἰπεῖν τῷ ἔτει καὶ ἄκοντες ἄγειν ἔγνωσαν: τοῦτο γάρ σφισιν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν σφαγῶν [3] τιμωρίᾳ ἀντικρυς ποιῆσαι ἐκέλευσε. χρονίζοντος δ' οὖν αὐτοῦ λόγοι τε παντοδαποὶ ἐθρυλοῦντο καὶ παθήματα ἀπ' αὐτῶν παντοῖα συνέβαινε. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ οἱ μὲν ὡς τέθνηκε διεθρόουν, καὶ [p. 224] ἡδονὴν πολλοῖς ἐνέβαλλον, οἱ δὲ ὡς κακὸν τι [4] βουλεύοιτο, καὶ φόβον συχνοῖς ἐνεποιοῦν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν τὰ σφέτερα συνέκρυπτον καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἐν φυλακῇ ἐποιοῦντο, οἱ δὲ ὅπῃ ποτὲ ἀποδράσοιντο διεσκόπουν. ἄλλοι, καὶ οἳ γε πλείους, οὐδὲ ἐπινοῆσαι τι ὑπὸ τοῦ σφοδροῦ δέους δυνάμενοι, παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς καὶ πάντως ἀπολούμενοι. [5] βραχὺ τέ τι καὶ κομιδῇ σμικρὸν τὸ θαρσοῦν ἦν: ἐκ γὰρ δὴ τῆς πρόσθεν πολλῆς καὶ ποικίλης καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων φθορᾶς οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐχὶ καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων καὶ τῶν χειρόνων, ἅτε καὶ παντελῶς κεκρατημένοι, προσεδέχοντο. [6] ὅθεν περ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ φοβηθεὶς μή τι ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ Λεπίδου παρόντος νεοχμώσωσιν, ἐπέστειλε τῇ γερουσίᾳ θαρσεῖν τε αὐτῇ παραινῶν, καὶ προσυπισχνοῦμενος πάντα καὶ πράως καὶ φιλανθρωπῶς κατὰ τὸν πατέρα ποιήσιν. 4. τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει ὀνόματι μὲν ὅ τε Σερουίλιος ὁ Πούπλιος καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὁ Λούκιος, ἔργῳ δὲ οὗτός τε καὶ ἡ Φουλουία ὑπάτευσαν: τοῦ τε γὰρ Καίσαρος πενθερὰ καὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου γυνὴ οὕσα τὸν τε Λέπιδον ὑπὸ νωθείας παρ' οὐδὲν ἦγε καὶ αὐτὴ τὰ πράγματα διεχειρίζεν, ὥστε μήτε τὴν βουλὴν μήτε τὸν δῆμον ἄλλο τι παρὰ τὸ ἐκείνῃ δοκοῦν χρηματίζειν. [2] τοῦ γοῦν Λουκίου αὐτοῦ σπουδάζοντος ἐπινικία τινων ἐν ταῖς Ἄλπεσιν οἰκοῦντων, ὡς καὶ νικήσαντός σφας, πέμψαι, τέως μὲν ἡ Φουλουία ἀντέλεγεν, οὐδείς οἱ συνεχώρησεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκείνη θεραπευθεῖσα [3] ἐπέτρεψε, πάντες ἐψηφίσαντο, ὥστε τῷ [p. 226] μὲν λόγῳ τὸν Ἀντώνιον καθ' ὣν περ κεκρατηκέναι ἔλεγεν 'οὔτε γὰρ ἔπραξέ τι νικητηρίων ἄξιον, οὐθ' ὅλως ἡγεμονίαν ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις ἐκείνοις ἔσχέ, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ τὴν Φουλουίαν ... καὶ πομπεῦσαι. πολὺ γοῦν πλεῖον ἐκείνου, ἅτε καὶ ἀληθέστερον, [4] ἐσεμνύνετο: τὸ γὰρ δοῦναι τινι ἐξουσίαν τῆς τῶν νικητηρίων πέμψεως μεῖζον τοῦ διεορτάσαι αὐτὰ παρ' ἑτέρου λαβόντα ἦν. πλὴν γε ὅτι τὴν τε σκευὴν τὴν ἐπινίκιον ὁ Λούκιος ἐνεδύσατο καὶ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐπέβη, τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ καθήκοντα ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἔπραξεν, αὐτὴ ἡ Φουλουία τὴν πανήγυριν, ὑπὸν ἑκείνῳ χρωμένη, ποιεῖν [5] ἔδοξεν. ἤχθη δὲ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρᾳ. καὶ ἐπὶ τε τούτῳ ὁ Λούκιος ἐξ Ἰσου τῷ Μαρίῳ ἐσεμνύνετο, ὅτι ἐν τῇ νουμηνίᾳ αὐτὴν, ἐν ᾗ ὑπατεύειν ἤρξατο, ἐπετέλεσε: καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου ἠγάλλετο, λέγων αὐτὸς μὲν ἐθελοντὴς τὰ τε

τῆς πομπῆς κοσμήματα ἀποτεθεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγοραίῳ στολή
ἡθροικέναι, τὸν δὲ ^[6] δὴ Μάριον ἄκοντα αὐτὰ πεποικέναι. προσετίθει τε ὅτι
ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἢ τις ἢ οὐδείς στέφανος ἐδόθη, αὐτὸς δὲ ἄλλους τε καὶ παρὰ
τοῦ δήμου κατὰ φυλὴν, ὃ μηδενὶ τῶν προτέρων ἐγεγόνει, διὰ τε τὴν
Φουλουίαν καὶ διὰ τὰ χρήματα ἃ λάθρα τισὶν ἀνάλωσεν, ἔλαβεν. 5. ἐν δ'
οὖν τῷ ἔτει τούτῳ ἔς τε τὴν Ῥώμην ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀφίκετο, καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα
ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ ποιήσας πρὸς τε τὴν διοίκησιν καὶ πρὸς τὴν διαγωγὴν τῶν
πραγμάτων ἐτράπετο. ὅ τε γὰρ ^[p. 228] Λέπιδος, τὰ μὲν τῷ φόβῳ αὐτοῦ τὰ δὲ
καὶ τῇ τῆς γνώμης ἀσθενείᾳ, οὐδὲν ἐνεωτέρισε· καὶ ὁ Λούκιος ἦ τε
Φουλουία, ὡς καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ κοινωνοὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτῷ ὄντες,
ἡσυχάσαν τὴν τε πρώτην. ^[2] προϊόντος γὰρ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου διηνέχθησαν, οἱ
μὲν ὅτι τοῦ μέρους τῆς τῶν ἀγρῶν νομῆς τοῦ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ προσήκοντος οὐ
μετέσχον, ὃ δὲ ὅτι τὰ στρατεύματα παρ' αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀντέλαβε. καὶ τούτων ἦ
τε συγγένεια αὐτῶν ἢ ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγαμίας διελύθη, καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον ἐμφανῇ
προήχθησαν. ^[3] ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ τὴν χαλεπότητα τῆς πενθερᾶς μὴ φέρων
ἑκείνῃ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ διαφέρεισθαι δοκεῖν ἐβούλετό τὴν
θυγατέρα αὐτῆς ὡς καὶ παρθένον ἔπι οὔσαν, ὃ καὶ ὄρκῳ ἐπιστώσατο,
ἀπεπέμψατο, οὐκ ὀκνήσας οὔτε εἰ τοσοῦτον ἄλλως ἢ γυνὴ πεπαρθενεῦσθαι
παρ' αὐτῷ χρόνον νομισθεῖν, οὔτε πρὸς τὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν ἐσομένων εἰ
ἐκ πολλοῦ δόξειεν αὐτὸ προβεβουλευκέναι. ^[4] γενομένου δὲ τούτου οὐδὲν
ἔτι φίλιον ἐποίουν, ἀλλ' ὃ τε Λούκιος μετὰ τῆς Φουλουίας τῶν τε
πραγμάτων, ὡς καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μάρκου ταῦτα δρῶν, ἀντελαμβάνετο καὶ
οὐδενὸς αὐτῷ ὑφίετο· διὰ γὰρ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν εὐσέβειαν καὶ
ἐπωνυμίαν ^[5] ἑαυτῷ Πιέταν ἐπέθετό, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸν μὲν Μᾶρκον οὐδὲν
δῆθεν ἠτιᾶτο, μὴ καὶ ἐκπολεμώσειεν αὐτὸν τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἔθνη διέποντα,
ἐκείνοις δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐπεκάλει καὶ ἀντέπραπτεν ὡς ^[p. 230] καὶ παρὰ τὴν γνώμην
αὐτοῦ πάντα ποιοῦσι καὶ δυναστείας ἰδίας ἐπιθυμοῦσιν. 6. ἦν δὲ ἐν τῇ
κληρουχίᾳ ἀμφοτέροις ἢ πλείστη τῆς δυνάμεως ἐλπίς, καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' ὑπὲρ
αὐτῆς πρῶτον ἀρξάμενοι διεφέροντο. ὅ τε γὰρ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς πᾶσιν τοῖς τε
ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ συστρατευσαμένοις ἤθελεν αὐτὴν κατὰ τὰς
συνθήκας τὰς μετὰ τὴν νίκην αὐτοῖς γενομένας, ὅπως ^[2] ἔς εὐνοίαν σφας
ὑπαγάγηται, ποιήσασθαι· καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τὴν τε ἐπιβάλλουσιν τοῖς σφετέροις
κληρουχίᾳ καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτοὶ ἀποικίσαι ἠξίουσαν, ἵνα τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτῶν
σφετερίσωνται. καὶ γὰρ ἐτοιμότατον ἀμφοτέροις ἐδόκει εἶναι τὰ τῶν
ἀόπλων τοῖς συμπολεμήσασιν χαρίσασθαι. ὡς δ' οὖν παρὰ τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν
πολλὴ ταραχὴ ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔς πόλεμον προήγετο ^[3] πᾶσαν γὰρ
κατ' ἀρχὰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, πλὴν εἴ τι τις τῶν ἐστρατευμένων ἐν δωρεᾷς μέρει
λαβὼν ἢ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου πριάμενος εἶχε, μετὰ τε τῆς δουλείας καὶ μετὰ
τῆς ἄλλης κατασκευῆς τοὺς δεσπότας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀφηρεῖτο καὶ ἐκείνοις
ἐδίδου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶν κτημάτων ἀποστεροῦμενοι ^[4] δεινῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν
ἡγανάκτουν, μετεβάλλοντο ἢ τε Φουλουία καὶ ὁ ὕπατος, πλείω δύναμιν ἐν
τοῖς ἑτέροις τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις σχήσειν ἐλπίσαντες, καὶ τῶν μὲν ληψομένων
τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἡμέλησαν, πρὸς δὲ ἐκείνους, ἅτε καὶ πλείονας ὄντας καὶ ὀργὴν
δικαίαν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπεστεροῦντο ^[5] ποιοῦμένους, ἐτράποντο. καὶ τούτου

ὑπολαμβάνοντες [p. 232] αὐτοὺς ὡς ἑκάστους καὶ συνήρουντο καὶ συνίστων, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ πρὶν τὸν Καίσαρα φοβουμένους τότε προστατῶν ἐπιλαβομένους ἀναθαρσῆσαι καὶ μηδενὸς ἔτι τῶν οἰκείων ἀφείσθαι: καὶ γὰρ καὶ τῷ Μάρκῳ ταῦτα συνδοκεῖν ἐνόμιζον. 7. τοὺτους τε οὖν ὃ τε Λούκιος καὶ ἡ Φουλουῖα προσεποιοῦντο, καὶ τοῖς ἑτέροις τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα οὐδὲν προσέκρουον. οὐ γὰρ ὡς οὐ δέον αὐτοὺς κληρουχῆσαι τινα προεβάλλοντο, ἀλλὰ ἀρκοῦντα αὐτοῖς τὰ τῶν ἀντιπολεμησάντων [2] σφίσιν ἀπέφαινον, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι καὶ χωρία καὶ ἔπιπλα τὰ μὲν ἔτι τότε ὄντα τὰ δὲ καὶ πεπραμένα ἀπεδείκνυσαν, ὧν τὰ μὲν αὐτὰ τῶν δὲ τὴν τιμὴν ἔφασκον αὐτοῖς δοθῆναι χρῆναι. εἰ δ' οὖν μηδὲ ταῦτά σφίσιν ἀρκέσειε, ταῖς γε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐλπίσι πάντας αὐτοὺς ἀνηρτῶντο. [3] ὥστε ταχὺ ἐκ τούτων συνέβη Καίσαρα μὲν, ἅτε καὶ βίᾳ τὰ τῶν κεκτημένων τι ἀφαιρούμενον καὶ πόνους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ κινδύνους πᾶσιν ὁμοίως προσάγοντα, ἀμφοτέροις αὐτοῖς προσκροῦσαι, ἐκείνους δὲ δῆ, οἷα μήτε τι ἀποστεροῦντάς τινα καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σφίσι τὴν πλήρωσιν τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν ἀμαχεῖ τοῖς ληφομένοις αὐτὰ ὑποδεικνύοντας, [4] ἐκατέρους προσθέσθαι. ἔκ τε οὖν τούτων καὶ ἐκ τοῦ λιμοῦ, ὃς τότε τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς μὲν κατὰ Σικελίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σέξτου τῆς δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ ὑπὸ Γναίου Δομίτιου Ἀηνοβάρβου κατεχομένης δεινῶς αὐτοὺς ἐπίεσεν, ἐν πολλῇ [5] ἀμνηχανία ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐγένετο. ὁ γὰρ Δομίτιος [p. 234] ἦν μὲν τῶν σφαγέων, ἐκ δὲ δῆ τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς Φιλίπποις γενομένης διαφυγῶν ναυτικόν τι συνεκρότησε, καὶ τοῦ τε κόλπου χρόνον τινὰ ἐκράτησε καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἔφθειρε. 8. ταῦτά τε οὖν τὸν Καίσαρα δεινῶς ἐλύπει, καὶ ὅτι ἐν ταῖς διαφοραῖς ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς βουλευτάς καὶ πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος τὸ τοὺς ἀγροὺς κεκτημένον τοῖς ἐστρατευμένοις συμβαινούσαις 'πλεῖστα δὲ δῆ ἅτε καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων ἀγωνιζομένοις σφίσιν ἐγίγνοντό οὐδετέροις ἀκινδύνως [2] προσετίθετο. ἀμφοτέροις μὲν γὰρ ἀδύνατον ἦν αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι: οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑβρίζειν οἱ δ' ἀπαθεῖς εἶναι, καὶ οἱ μὲν καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια λαβεῖν οἱ δὲ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἔχειν ἤθελον. ὁσάκις δὲ δῆ τὰ τούτων ἢ τὰ ἐκείνων, ὥς που καὶ ἡναγκάζετο, προέλοιτο, τοῖς ἑτέροις ἀπήχθετο, καὶ οὐ τοσαύτης γε χάριτος ἐξ ὧν ὑπουργεῖ τισίν, ὅσης ὀργῆς [3] ἐξ ὧν μὴ συνεχώρει, ἐτύγχανεν: οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὡς καὶ ὀφειλόμενά σφίσι πάντα τὰ διδόμενα λαμβάνοντες ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ αὐτὰ εὐεργεσίᾳ ἐτίθεντο, οἱ δὲ ὡς καὶ τῶν οἰκείων στερισκόμενοι ἐχαλέπαινον. καὶ ἐκ τούτου διετέλει ἢ τούτοις ἢ ἐκείνοις προσκρούων καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ὡς φιλόδημος τοτὲ δὲ ὡς [4] φιλοστρατιώτης ἐγκαλοῦμενος. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἐπειδὴ μήτε τι ἦνυε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἔμαθεν ὅτι οὐδὲν τὰ ὄπλα πρὸς τὸ τοὺς ἀδικουμένους εὐνοϊκῶς οἱ ἔχειν ἐδύνατο, ἀλλὰ ἀπολέσθαι μὲν πᾶν τὸ μὴ ὑπεῖκον δι' αὐτῶν οἶόν τε ἦν, ἀναγκασθῆναι δὲ τινα φιλεῖν ὃν μὴ [p. 236] βούλεται ἀδύνατον ὑπάρχει, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἄκων [5] ὑποκατέκλινε, καὶ οὐκέτ' οὔτε τῶν βουλευτῶν τι ἀφείλετο 'πρότερον γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων πάντα κατανεῖμαι ἡξίου, διερωτῶν σφας 'πόθεν οὖν τὰ γέρα τοῖς ἐστρατευμένοις ἀποδώσομεν;' ὥσπερ τινὸς αὐτῷ πολεμεῖν ἢ καὶ τοσαῦτά σφίσιν ὑπισχεῖσθαι κεκελευκότος, τῶν τε ἄλλων ὅσα ἢ γυναῖκες ἐς τὰς προῖκας ἐντετιμημένα ἢ καὶ ἕτεροι τινες ἐλάττω τῆς κατ' ἄνδρα τοῖς ἐστρατευμένοις

διδομένης γῆς ἐκέκτηντο, ἀπέσχετο. 9. πραχθέντος δὲ τούτου ἡ μὲν γερουσία καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ μηδενὸς στερόμενοι πρῶως πως πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔσχον, οἱ δὲ ἐστρατευμένοι τὴν τε φειδῶ καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τὴν ἐς ἐκείνους ἀτιμίαν τε ἅμα καὶ ζημίαν ἑαυτῶν, ὡς καὶ ἐλάττω ληφιομένων, νομίζοντες [2] εἶναι ἐδυσχέрайινον, καὶ τῶν τε ἐκατοντάρχων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐπιτηδείως τε τῷ Καίσαρι ἐχόντων καὶ θορυβεῖν αὐτοὺς κωλύοντων συχνοὺς ἀπέκτειναν, αὐτὸν τε ἐκεῖνον παρ' ὀλίγον ἦλθον ἀποχρήσασθαι, πᾶσαν αὐτάρκη πρόφασιν [3] τῆς ὀργῆς ποιούμενοι. καὶ οὐ πρότερόν γε ἐπαύσαντο χαλεπαίνοντες πρὶν τοῖς τε συγγενέσι σφῶν καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις πεσόντων πατράσι καὶ παισὶ τὴν χώραν, ὅσῃν τινὲς αὐτῶν εἶχον, ἀφεθῆναι. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰ μὲν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπιτηδειότερά οἱ αὖθις ἐγένετο, ὁ δὲ δῆμος κατ' αὐτὸ [4] δὴ τοῦτο πάλιν ἠγανάκτει. καὶ ἔς τε χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ἦσαν καὶ μάχαι σφῶν συνεχεῖς ἐγίνοντο, ὥστε καὶ πιτρώσκεσθαι καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν παρ' [p. 238] ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως πολλοὺς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ δὴ τῇ τε τῶν ὄπλων παρασκευῇ καὶ τῇ τῶν πολέμων ἐμπειρίᾳ, οἱ δὲ τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ τῷ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν [5] τεγῶν αὐτοὺς βάλλειν ἐπεκράτουν, ὥστε καὶ οἰκίας διὰ τοῦτο συχνὰς καταπρησθῆναι, καὶ τὸ ἐνοίκιον τοῖς μὲν ἐν τῷ ἅσκει μέχρι πεντακοσίων δραχμῶν οἰκοῦσι πᾶν, τοῖς δ' ἐν τῇ λοιπῇ Ἰταλίᾳ κατὰ τὸ τέταρτον ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐνὸς ἀνεθῆναι. ἐν πάσαις γὰρ δὴ ταῖς πόλεσιν ὁμοίως, ὅπῃ ποτὲ συντύχοιεν ἀλλήλοις, ἐμάχοντο. 10. ὡς οὖν ταῦτά τε οὕτως ἐγίνετο, καὶ στρατιῶται ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος προπεμφθέντες θόρυβόν τέ τινα ἐν Πλακεντίᾳ ἐποίησαν, καὶ οὐ πρότερον πρὶν χρήματα παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων λαβεῖν κατέστησαν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καλήνου τοῦ τε Οὐεντιδίου τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἀλπεῖς ἐχόντων ἐκωλύθησαν ὑπερβαλεῖν [2] αὐτάς, ἐφοβήθη τε ὁ Καῖσαρ μὴ καὶ σφαλῇ τι, καὶ καταλλαγῆναι τῇ τε Φουλουίᾳ καὶ τῷ ὑπάτῳ ἠθέλησεν. ἐπειδὴ τε οὐδὲν ἰδίᾳ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν προσπέμπων σφίσιν ἐπέβαινε, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐστρατευμένους ὥρμησε καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τὰς συναλλαγὰς [3] ἔπραττεν. ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τούτοις ἐπαιρόμενοι καὶ τοὺς στερομένους τῆς χώρας προσποιούμενοι, Λούκιος μὲν πανταχόσε συνιστάς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀποσπῶν περιῖει, Φουλουία δὲ τὸ τε Πραινέστε κατέλαβε καὶ προσεταιριστοὺς βουλευτάς τε καὶ ἱππέας ἔχουσα τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα μετ' αὐτῶν ἐβουλεύετο, καὶ τὰς παραγγέλσεις [4] ὡς ἐκασταχόσε ἐχρῆν ἔπεμπε. καὶ τί ταῦτα θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις, ὅποτε καὶ ξίφος παρεζώννυτο [p. 240] καὶ συνθήματα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐδίδου, ἐδημηγόρει τε ἐν αὐτοῖς πολλάκις; ὥστε καὶ 11. ἐκεῖνα τῷ Καίσαρι προσίστασθαι. οὐ μέντοι ἔχων ὅπως αὐτοὺς καταλύσῃ 'οὐ γὰρ μόνον τῇ δυνάμει ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων εὐνοίᾳ πολὺ αὐτῶν ἡλαττοῦτο: αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ πολλοὺς ἐλύπει, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ πάντα ἐπὶ ἡλπίσιν' πολλάκις μὲν σφας ἰδίᾳ διὰ τῶν φίλων ἐς τὰς καταλλαγὰς προεκαλέσατο, ὡς δ' οὐδὲν ἦνυτεν, ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατευμένων [2] πρέσβεις πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπέστειλε. μάλιστα μὲν γὰρ τεύξεσθαι τε αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ παρόντα καταστήσεσθαι ἔς τε τὸ ἔπειτα ἀντισχύσειν ἐκ τούτου ἡλπισεν: ἂν δὲ δὴ καὶ διαμάρτη σφῶν, τὴν γοῦν αἰτίαν τῆς διαφορᾶς οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀλλ' [3] ἐκείνους ἔξειν ἐνόμισεν. ὁ καὶ ἐγένετο. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ διὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν

ἐπέρανε, βουλευτὰς ἔστειλε, τὰς τε συνθήκας σφίσι τὰς πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον αὐτῷ γενομένας ἐκφήνας καὶ δικαστὰς τῶν διαφορῶν δῆθεν αὐτοὺς ποιήσας. [4] ὥς δ' οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τότε ἐπράχθη 'καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τοῦτο μὲν πολλὰ καὶ ὅσα ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἔμελλε ποιήσῃν ἀντιπροσείνοντο, τοῦτο δὲ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐποιοῦν, ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ Μάρκου ἐντολῆς πράττειν ἔλεγον', οὕτω δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἐστρατευμένους αὖθις ἀπέκλινε. 12. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκεῖνοι πλήθει πολλῶ, ὥς καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῇ τε βουλῇ κοινωσόμενοι τι, συνελθόντες τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν ἐφρόντισαν, ἀθροισθέντες δ' ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον τὰς τε συνθήκας, ἃς ὁ τε Ἀντώνιος καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεποίητο, ἀναγνωσθῆναι σφισιν ἐκέλευσαν, καὶ [p. 242] ἐκείνας τε ἐπεκύρωσαν, καὶ περὶ ὧν διεφέροντο [2] ἑαυτοὺς δικαστὰς γενέσθαι ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ ταῦτά τε ἐς δέλτους γράψαντες καὶ κατασημνήμενοι ταῖς ἀειπαρθένοις φυλάττειν ἔδοσαν, καὶ τῷ μὲν Καίσαρι παρόντι, τοῖς δὲ ἑτέροις διὰ πρεσβείας, ἐς Γαβίους ἐν ῥητῇ τινι ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς τὴν [3] δίκην ἀπαντῆσαι προσέταζαν. ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἔτοιμος διαδικασθῆναι ἐγένετο, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ὑπέσχοντο μὲν ἀφίξεσθαι, οὐκ ἦλθον δέ, φοβηθέντες ἢ καὶ ἀπαξιῶσαντες 'διέσκωπτον γοῦν σφας, ἄλλα τε καὶ βουλὴν καλιγᾶταν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν στρατιωτικῶν ὑποδημάτων χρήσεως ἀποκαλοῦντες', τοῦ τε Λουκίου καὶ τῆς Φουλουίας ὥς καὶ ἀδικούντων τι κατεψηφίσαντο καὶ τὰ τοῦ [4] Καίσαρος ἐπρέσβευσαν. κἄκ τούτου πολλάκις αὖθις βουλευσάμενοι τὸν τε πόλεμον αὖθις ἀνείλοντο καὶ τὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐχ ἡσυχῇ ἡτοιμάζοντο. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ χρήματα ἀπανταχόθεν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἡθροισαν: τὰ γὰρ ἀναθήματα, ὅσα γε καὶ ἐξαργυρισθῆναι ἐδύνατο, τὰ τε ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰταλία τῇ ἐν τῇ ἐπικρατείᾳ αὐτῶν οὖση καὶ τὰ ἐν [5] αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἀνακείμενα καθεῖλον. καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας τῆς τογάτης, ἢ καὶ ἐς τὸν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἥδη νομόν, ὥστε μηδὲνα ἄλλον προφάσει τῆς ἐνταῦθα ἀρχῆς στρατιώτας ἐντὸς τῶν Ἀλπεων τρέφειν, ἐσεγγράπτο, καὶ χρήματα καὶ στρατιῶται ἦλθον. 13. ὁ τε οὖν Καῖσαρ παρεσκευάζετο, καὶ ἡ Φουλουία καὶ ὁ Λούκιος τὰ τε πρόσφορα ἐπορίζοντο [p. 244] καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις συνεκρότουν. κἂν τούτῳ καὶ ἀντεπρεσβεύοντο καὶ διέπεμπον ἐκασταχόσε καὶ στρατιώτας καὶ στρατιάρχους ἐκάτεροι, καὶ τὰ μὲν προκατελάμβανον τῶν δ' ἀπεκρούοντο. καὶ αὐτῶν ἐγὼ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ, καὶ ἐν οἷς οὔτε τι μέγα οὐτ' ἀξιόλογον ἐπράχθη, παρήσω, τὰ δὲ δὴ λόγου μάλιστα ἄξια συντόμως διηγῆσομαι. [2] ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ Νουρσίαν ἐς τοὺς Σαβίνους στρατεύσας τὴν μὲν φρουρὰν τὴν προκαθημένην σφῶν ἐτρέψατο, τῆς δὲ δὴ πόλεως ὑπὸ Τισιήνου Γάλλου ἀπεκρούσθη. μεταστὰς οὖν ἐς τὴν Ὀμβρικήν Σεντινάτας ἐπολιόρησε μὲν, οὐ μέντοι [3] καὶ εἶλεν αὐτοῦς: τοῦ γὰρ Λουκίου ἐν τούτῳ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον στρατιώτας λάθρᾳ κατ' ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην πρόφασιν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην πρὸς τοὺς φίλους πέμψαντος, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐξαίφνης ἐπελθόντος, καὶ τὸ τε ἵππικὸν ἀπαντῆσάν οἱ κρατήσαντος καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐς τὸ τεῖχος καταράξαντος, [4] κἄκ τούτου καὶ τὸ ἄστυ, συνεπιθεμένων τοῖς ἔνδοθεν ἀμυνομένοις τῶν προαφικμένων, λαβόντος 'οὔτε γὰρ ὁ Λέπιδος ὁ τὴν φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπιτετραμμένος ἀντέπραξέ τι ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμφύτου νωθείας, οὔτε ὁ Σερονίλιος ὁ ὕπατος ἡσυχαιτέρως πως ὦν', πυθόμενος ταῦθ' ὁ

Καῖσαρ τοῖς μὲν Σεντινάταις Κύντον Σαλουιδιῆνον Ροῦφον παρακατέλιπεν,
[5] αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην ὥρμησε. μαθὼν οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Λούκιος
προὔπεξήλθε, διαπραξάμενος ψηφισθῆναι οἱ ὡς ἐπὶ πολέμῳ τινὶ
ἐκστρατεῦσαι· καὶ ἔν γε τῇ στρατιωτικῇ σκευῇ ἐδημηγόρησεν, ὃ μηδεὶς
ἄλλος ἐπεποιήκει. καὶ [p. 246] οὕτως ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀμαχεί τε ἐς τὸ ἄστὺ ἐσεδέχθη,
καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐπιδιώξας αὐτὸν οὐ κατέλαβεν, ἀνέστρεψεν, καὶ φρουρὰν τῆς
πόλεως ἀκριβεστέραν [6] ἐποίησατο. κὰν τούτῳ ὁ Ροῦφος, ὡς τάχιστα
ἐκεῖνός τε ἀπὸ τῶν Σεντινατῶν ἀπεχώρησε καὶ Γάιος Φοῦρνιος ὁ τὸ τεῖχος
φρουρῶν ἐπέξῃλθεν ἐπὶ πολὺ διώκων αὐτόν, προσέβαλέ τε ἀπροσδοκῆτοις
τοῖς ἔνδον οὔσι, καὶ ἐλὼν τὴν πόλιν διήρπασε καὶ κατέκαυσεν. Νουρσίνοι
δὲ ἐς μὲν ὁμολογίαν μηδὲν κακὸν παθόντες ἦλθον, ἐπεὶ μέντοι τοὺς ἐν τῇ
μάχῃ τῇ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρά σφισι γενομένη πεσόντας θάψαντες ἐπέγραψαν
τοῖς μνημείοις αὐτῶν ὅτι ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνιζόμενοι ἐτελεύτησαν,
παμπόλλοις χρήμασιν ἐζημιώθησαν, ὥστε καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἅμα
πᾶσαν ἐκλίπειν. 14. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔπραττον, ὃ δὲ Λούκιος ὡς τότε ἐκ τῆς
Ῥώμης ἀπῆρεν, ὥρμησε μὲν ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν, εἰρχθεὶς δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ πρὸς
Περουσίαν Τυρσηνίδα πόλιν ἀπετράπετο· καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα πρότεροι μὲν
οἱ ὕπαρχοι τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἀπολαβόντες
ἐπολιόρκουν. [2] χρονίου δὲ δὴ τῆς προσεδρείας σφισι γιγνομένης 'τό τε γὰρ
χωρίον τῇ τε φύσει καρτερόν ἐστι καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις ἱκανῶς
παρεσκεύαστο, καὶ ἱππῆς προεκπεμφθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, πρὶν παντελῶς
περιστοιχισθῆναι, δεινῶς σφας ἐλύπουν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἕτεροι πολλοὶ
σπουδῇ ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν ἐπήμυνον [3] αὐτῷ· πολλὰ μὲν πρὸς τοὺτους ὡς
ἐκάστους, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐπράχθη, μέχρις οὔ καίτοι
πλεονεκτοῦντες τὰ πλείω οἱ περὶ τὸν [p. 248] Λούκιον ὅμως ὑπὸ λιμοῦ
ἐάλωσαν. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἄλλοι τέ τινες ἄδειαν εὗροντο, οἱ δὲ δὴ πλείους
τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἐφθάρησαν. [4] καὶ λόγος γε ἔχει ὅτι οὐδ'
ἀπλῶς τοῦτο ἔπαθον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τὸν τῷ Καίσαρι τῷ προτέρῳ
ῳσιωμένον ἀχθέντες ἱππῆς τε τριακόσιοι καὶ βουλευταὶ ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ
Καννούτιος ὁ Τιβέριος, ὅς ποτε ἐν τῇ δημαρχίᾳ τὸ πλῆθος τῷ Καίσαρι [5] τῷ
Ὀκταουιανῷ ἠθροισεν, ἐτύθησαν. τῶν δὲ Περουσίνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν
ἐκεῖ ἀλόντων οἱ πλείους ἀπώλοντο, καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτῇ, πλὴν τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου
τοῦ τε τῆς Ἥρας ἔδους, πᾶσα κατεκαύθη. [6] τοῦτο δὲ ἐσώθη γὰρ πως κατὰ
τύχην' ἀνήχθη τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐξ ὅψεως ὄνειρου ἦν ὁ Καῖσαρ εἶδε καὶ
παρέσχε καὶ τῇ πόλει πρὸς τῶν βουλομένων συνοικισθῆναι, πλὴν ὅτι τῆς
χώρας οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ ἑπτὰ καὶ ἥμισυ σταδίους ἐκτήσαντο. 15. ἐκείνης δ' οὖν
ἐπὶ τε Γναίου Καλουίνου δεῦτερον καὶ ἐπ' Ἀσινίου Πωλίωνος ὑπάτων
αἰούσης καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, τὰ μὲν βία τὰ δὲ ἐθελοντί, τῷ Καίσαρι
προσεχώρησε· καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' ἦ τε Φουλουία πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα μετὰ τῶν [2]
τέκνων ἀπέδρα, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρώτων συχνοὶ οἱ μὲν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον οἱ
δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σέξτον ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἀπεχώρησαν. ἦ τε Ἰουλία ἡ τῶν
Ἀντωνίων μήτηρ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐνταῦθα ἦλθε, καὶ πάνυ φιλικῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ
Σέξτου ὑπεδέχθη, ἔπειτα δὲ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν τὸν Μᾶρκον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπέμφθη,
λόγους τέ οἱ ὑπὲρ φιλίας καὶ [3] πρέσβεις ἄγουσα. μετὰ τούτων τῶν τότε πρὸς

[p. 250] τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκχωρησάντων καὶ Κλαύδιος Τιβέριος Νέρων ἔφυγε. φρουρὰν γὰρ τινα ἐν τῇ Καμπανίᾳ εἶχε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ καθυπέρτερα τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐγένετο, ἀπῆρε σὺν τε τῇ γυναικὶ Λιουία Δρουσίλλῃ καὶ σὺν τῷ υἱεῖ Τιβερίῳ ^[4] Κλαυδίῳ Νέρωνι, ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς παραδοξοτάτοις συμβῆναι: ἢ τε γὰρ Λιουία αὕτη ἢ τὸν Καίσαρα τότε φυγοῦσα μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτῷ ἐγήματο, καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος οὗτος ὁ σὺν τοῖς τοκεῦσι τότε ἐκδράς τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ διεδέξατο. 16. ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο: τότε δὲ τὴν τε εἰρηνικὴν ἐσθῆτα οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὄντες ἀνέλαβον ἔκδεδυκότες γὰρ αὐτὴν ἄνευ ψηφίσματος ἀνάγκῃ τοῦ δήμου ᾗσαν καὶ αὐτοὶ τε ἐώρταζον, καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐν τε στολῇ ἐπινικίῳ ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἐσεκόμισαν καὶ δαφνίνῳ στεφάνῳ ἐτίμησαν, ὥσθ' ὅσாகις οἱ τὰ νικητήρια πέμπαντες εἴωθεσαν αὐτῷ ^[2] χρῆσθαι, καὶ ἐκεῖνόν οἱ κοσμεῖσθαι. Καῖσαρ δέ, ἐπειδὴ τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ κατειργαστο καὶ ὁ κόλπος ὁ Ἰόνιος ἡλευθέρωτο ὃ γὰρ Δομίτιος, ἀπογνοὺς μηκέτι καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἰσχύσειν, ἀπέπλευσε πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον, παρεσκευάζετο μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Σέξτον ὀρμήσων, αἰσθόμενος δὲ τὴν τε δύναμιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅτι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ διὰ τε τῆς μητρὸς καὶ διὰ τῶν πρέσβων ἐκεκοινολόγητο, ἔδεισε μὴ καὶ ἀμφοῖν ^[3] ἅμα πολεμήσῃ, καὶ τὸν Σέξτον ὡς καὶ πιστότερον ἢ καὶ ἰσχυρότερον τοῦ Ἀντωνίου προτιμήσας τὴν τε μητέρα αὐτῷ Μουκίαν ἔπεμψε, καὶ τὴν τοῦ πενθεροῦ αὐτοῦ Λουκίου Σκριβωνίου Λίβωνος ^[p. 252] ἀδελφὴν ἔγνημεν, εἴ πως ἔκ τε τῆς εὐεργεσίας καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας φίλον αὐτὸν ποιήσαιο. 17. ὁ γὰρ Σέξτος, ὡς τότε ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας κατὰ τὰς πρὸς τὸν Λέπιδον συνθήκας ἀπηλλάγη καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ναύαρχος οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον κατέστη, τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος παρελύθη, τοῦ δὲ δὴ ναυτικοῦ καὶ ὡς ἀντεχόμενος ἐτόλμησε μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πλεῦσαι, ἐπικρατούντων δὲ ἤδη ^[2] τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα αὐτῆς, μαθὼν ὅτι ἐν τοῖς σφαγεῦσι τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐάλωκε, τῆς μὲν ἡπείρου ἀπέσχετο, κατὰ δὲ δὴ τὰς νήσους περιπλέων τὰ τε γιγνόμενα ἐκαπαδόκει καὶ τὴν τροφὴν οὐκ ἐξ ἀδικημάτων ἐπορίζετο: ἄτε γὰρ μὴ μετεσχηκῶς τοῦ φόνου, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος ^[3] ἤλπιζε καταχθῆσεσθαι. ἐπεὶ μέντοι καὶ ἐν τῷ λευκώματι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐξετέθη καὶ ἔγνω καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπικεκηρυγμένον, ἀπέγνω τε τὴν δι' αὐτοῦ κάθοδον καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον ἡτοιμάζετο: ναυπηγίαν τε γὰρ τριήρων ἐποιεῖτο καὶ τοὺς αὐτομολοῦντας ἐδέχετο, τοὺς τε καταποντιστὰς προσηταιρίζετο καὶ τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας ὑπελάμβανε. ^[4] κἀκ τούτων ἐν ὀλίγῳ τε ἰσχυρὸς ἐγένετο καὶ τῆς πρὸς τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ θαλάσσης ἐκράτησεν, ἐς τε τοὺς λιμένας αὐτῆς ἀπέβαινε καὶ τὰ πλοῖα ἀπέσπα, ἀρπαγὰς τε ἐποιεῖτο. προχωρούντων δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν πραγμάτων ὥστε καὶ στρατιώτας καὶ χρήματα ἀπ' αὐτῶν πορίζειν, ἐς Σικελίαν ἔπλευσε, καὶ Μύλας μὲν τὴν τε Τυνδαρίδα ἀμαχεὶ κατέσχε, τῆς δὲ Μεσσήνης ὑπὸ Πομπηίου Βιθυνικοῦ τοῦ τότε τῆς Σικελίας ἄρχοντος ἀπεκρούσθη. ^[5] οὐ μέντοι καὶ παντελῶς αὐτῆς ἀπέστη, ^[p. 254] ἀλλὰ τὴν τε χώραν κατατρέχων καὶ τὴν ἐσκομιδὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων κωλύων, τῶν τε προσβοηθησάντων σφίσι τοὺς μὲν φόβῳ μὴ καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ πάθωσι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἐνέδρας τινὸς κακῶσει προσθέμενος, τὸν τε ταμίαν σὺν τοῖς χρήμασι προσεποιήσατο, καὶ τέλος καὶ τὴν Μεσσήνην τὸν τε Βιθυνικὸν ὡς καὶ ἀπὸ

τῆς Ἰσῆς οἱ ἄρξοντα καθ' [6] ὁμολογίαν ἔλαβε. καὶ τοῦτον μὲν οὐδέν τότε γε κακὸν εἰργάσατο, ἐκείνους δὲ τὰ τε ὄπλα καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀφείλετο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰς τε Συρακούσας καὶ ἄλλας τινὰς πόλεις ὑπηγάγετο, καὶ στρατιώτας τε ἀπ' αὐτῶν πλείους καὶ ναυτικὸν ἰσχυρότατον συνήγαγε: καὶ τινὰ αὐτῷ δύναμιν καὶ Κύντος Κορνούφικιος ἐκ τῆς Ἀφρικῆς ἔπεμψε. 18. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἠϋξέτο, Καῖσαρ δὲ τέως μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἐπιστροφὴν αὐτοῦ τῇ τε ἐκείνου καταφρονήσει καὶ τῇ τῶν ἐν χερσὶν ἀσχολίᾳ ἐποίησατο: ἐπεὶ δ' ὑπὸ τε τοῦ λιμοῦ φθορὰ πολλὴ ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἐγένετο καὶ ὁ Σέξτος καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπείρασεν, οὕτω δὴ ναυτικὸν τέ τι κατασκευάζεσθαι ἤρξατο, καὶ τὸν Ροῦφον τὸν Σαλουιδιῆνον [2] σὺν δυνάμει πολλῇ ἐς Ῥήγιον προέπεμψε. καὶ ὅς ἐκ μὲν τῆς Ἰταλίας τὸν Σέξτον ἀπέωσατο, ἀναχωρήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν δερμάτινα πλοῖα κατὰ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ὠκεανῷ πλέοντας ἐκποιῆσαι ἐπεχείρησεν, ἔνδοθεν μὲν ῥάβδοις αὐτὰ κούφαις διαλαμβάνων, ἔξωθεν δὲ βοδὸς δέρμα ὠμόν ἐς ἀσπίδος κυκλοτεροῦς τρόπον περιτείνων. [p. 256] [3] ὥς δὲ γέλωτὰ τε ὠφλίσκανεν καὶ κινδυνεύσειν, εἰ πειραθεῖν αὐτοῖς διὰ τοῦ πορθμοῦ χρήσασθαι, ἐπίστευσεν, ἐκείνων μὲν ἀφείτο, τῷ δὲ δὴ ναυτικῷ τῷ κατασκευασθέντι τε καὶ ἐλθόντι ἐπετόλμησε μὲν διαπλεῦσαι, οὐκ ἡδυνήθη δέ: τὸ τε γὰρ πλῆθος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν νεῶν αὐτοῦ πολὺ τῆς τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ ἐμπειρίας καὶ τόλμης ἡλαττώθη. [4] αὐτόπτης οὖν τῆς ναυμαχίας ὁ Καῖσαρ γενόμενος 'κατὰ γὰρ τὴν στρατείαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐπράχθη χαλεπῶς ἦνεγκε, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι τότε πρῶτον συμβαλὼν ἦττητο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἰσχυρὸν οὐκέτι, καίτοι τοῦ πλείονος ναυτικοῦ σωθέντος οἱ, περαιωθῆναι [5] ἐτόλμησε: λάθρα δὲ πολλάκις ἐπιχειρήσας ὡς πάντως, ἂν τῆς νήσου ἐπιβῇ, πολὺ τῷ πεζῷ κρατήσων, ἔπειθ' ὡς οὐδέν, ἅτε καὶ ἰσχυρᾶς πανταχόθεν φυλακῆς αὐτοῦ οὔσης, ἐπέβαινε, τῇ μὲν Σικελίᾳ ἄλλους τινὰς ἐφεδρεῦειν προσέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τε τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἀφίκετο, κάντεῦθεν τῇ τῶν νεῶν βοηθείᾳ τὸν Ἴόνιον διέβαλε. 19. γενομένου δὲ τούτου τὴν τε νῆσον πᾶσαν ὁ Σέξτος κατέσχε, καὶ τὸν Βιθυνικὸν ὡς καὶ ἐπιβουλεύσαντα αὐτῷ ἀπέκτεινε, θέας τε ἐπινικίους ἦγαγε, καὶ ναυμαχίαν τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Ῥήγιον, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ὀρᾶν, ἐποίησε, πλοιάριά τινα ξύλινα πρὸς ἕτερα βύρσινα ἐς τὸν τοῦ Ροῦφου κατάγελων [2] συμβαλὼν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ναῦς τε πλείους ἐναυπηγήσατο καὶ τῆς πέριξ θαλάσσης ἐκράτησε, δόξαν τέ τινα καὶ φρόνημα ὡς καὶ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος παῖς ὢν, ὅτι πάσης ποτὲ ὁ πατήρ [p. 258] αὐτοῦ τῆς θαλάσσης ἤρξε, προσέθετο. ταῦτα μὲν, ἕως ἔτι τὰ τε τοῦ Κασσίου καὶ τὰ τοῦ Βρούτου [3] συνειστῆκει, ἔπραξε: φθαρέντων δὲ ἐκείνων ἄλλοι τε πρὸς αὐτὸν συγκατέφυγον καὶ ὁ Στάιος ὁ Λούκιος. καὶ αὐτὸν τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀσμένως ἐδέξατο 'καὶ γὰρ τὴν δύναμιν ἧς ἦρχεν ἐπηγάγετό, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ δραστήριον καὶ φρονηματώδη ἰδὼν ὄντα ἀπέκτεινεν, ἔγκλημα αὐτῷ προδοσίας [4] ἐπενεγκών. κάκ τούτου τὸ τε ἐκείνου ναυτικὸν καὶ τὸ τῶν δούλων τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀφικνουμένων πλῆθος προσλαβὼν πάμπολυ ἠϋξήθη: τοσοῦτοι γὰρ δὴ ἠυτομόλουν ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἀειπαρθένους καθ' ἱερῶν εὐξασθαι ἐπισχεθῆναι σφω τὰς αὐτομολίας. 20. διὰ τε οὖν ταῦτα καὶ

διὰ τὸ τοὺς φεύγοντας αὐτὸν ὑποδέχεσθαι τὴν τε τοῦ Ἀντωνίου φιλίαν πράττειν καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας πολλὰ πορθεῖν, καταλλαγῆναι οἱ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεθύμησε: διαμαρτῶν δὲ τούτου ἐκείνῳ μὲν Μᾶρκον Οὐίπανιον Ἀγρίππαν πολεμῆσαι ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς Γαλατίαν ^[2] ἀπῆρε. μαθὼν οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Σέξτος ἐτήρησε τὸν Ἀγρίππαν περὶ τὰ Ἀπολλώνια ἔχοντα: ἐστρατήγει γάρ, καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ, ἅτε καὶ πάνυ φίλος ὢν τῷ Καίσαρι, ἐλαμπρύνατο, καὶ τὴν ἵπποδρομίαν ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας ἐποίησε, τῇ τε Τροίᾳ καλουμένην διὰ τῶν εὐγενῶν παίδων ἐγαυρώθη. ταῦτ' οὖν αὐτοῦ πράττοντος ἐπεραιώθη τε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ ἐνέμεινεν ἐν αὐτῇ λεηλατῶν, μέχρις οὗ ἐκεῖνος ἀφίκετο: τότε γὰρ φρουρὰν ἐν χωρίοις ^[3] τισὶ καταλιπὼν ἀνέπλευσεν. ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ τὴν Γαλατίαν πρότερον μὲν δι' ἐτέρων, ὥσπερ ^[p. 260] εἴρηται, καταλαβεῖν ἐπεχείρησε, μὴ δυνηθεὶς δὲ διὰ τε τὸν Καλῆνον καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πράττοντας αὐτὸς τότε κατέσχε, τὸν τε Καλῆνον τεθηγκότα νόσῳ εὐρῶν καὶ τὸ ^[4] στράτευμα αὐτοῦ ἀκονιτὶ προσθέμενος. κὰν τοῦτω τὸν Λέπιδον ἀγανακτοῦντα τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐπιβαλλούσης αὐτῷ στερήσει ἰδὼν ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικὴν ἐπεμψεν, ἵν' ὥς παρ' ἑαυτοῦ μόνου αὐτὴν, ἀλλ' οὐ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου λαβὼν οἰκειότερόν οἱ προσφέρηται. 21. δύο μὲν δὴ ἔθνη τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐν τῇ Λιβυῇ ἐκείνῃ, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἦν: ἥρχον δὲ πρὸ τῆς τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν συνωμοσίας τοῦ μὲν Νομαδικοῦ Τίτος Σέξτιος, τοῦ δὲ ἐτέρου ὃ τε Κορνούφικιος καὶ Δέκιμος Λαίλιος, ὁ μὲν τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, οἱ ^[2] δὲ τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος φρονοῦντες. καὶ τέως μὲν ὁ Σέξτιος ἀνέμενεν ὥς καὶ ἐκείνων πολὺ γὰρ πλείω δύναμιν εἶχον' ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐσβαλόντων, καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ὥς καὶ ἐνταῦθα αὐτοὺς ἀμυνόμενος: ἐπεὶ δὲ διέμελλον, κατεφρόνησέ τε αὐτῶν, καὶ προσεπαρθεὶς ὑπὸ τε βοδὸς φθεγξαμένης, ὥς φασιν, ἀνθρωπίνῃ φωνῇ καὶ κελυσάσης ^[3] αὐτῷ τῶν προκειμένων ἔχεσθαι, καὶ ἐξ ἐνυπνίου δι' οὗ ταῦρός τις κατορωρυγμένος ἐν τῇ πόλει Τούκκῃ παρηνεκέσαι οἱ ἔδοξε τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἀνελέσθαι καὶ ἐπὶ κάμακος, ὥς καὶ ἐκ τούτου νικήσονται, περιφέρειν, οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι τὸν ταῦρον ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἐν ᾧ τὸ ^[p. 262] ἐνύπνιον εἶναι ἔφη εὔρεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν ^[4] Ἀφρικὴν προενέβαλε. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τὸ τε Ἀδρυμητον καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα χωρία, ἀνελπίστοις σφίσι προσπεσών, κατέσχε: ἔπειτα δὲ ἀφυλάκτως δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἔχων ἐλοχίσθη τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ταμίου, καὶ πολὺ μέρος τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀποβαλὼν ἐς τὴν Νουμιδιάν ἀνεχώρησε. καὶ ἔτυχε γὰρ ἄνευ τῆς τοῦ ταύρου κεφαλῆς δυστυχήσας, τὴν τε ἦτταν ἐς τοῦτο ἀνέφερε, καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ^[5] ὥς καὶ αὖθις στρατεύσων. κὰν τοῦτω φθάσαντες οἱ ἐναντιοὶ ἀντεσέβαλον ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ: καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Κίρταν ἐπολιόρκουν, ὁ δὲ δὴ ταμίας ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ὥρμησε, καὶ τισιν ἱππομαχίαις κρατήσας τὸν συνταμίαν προσεποιήσατο. πραχθέντων δὲ τούτων ὁ Σέξτιος νεαλῇ τινα ἐπικουρίαν προσλαβὼν ἀνεκινδύνευσεν, καὶ τὸν τε ταμίαν ἀντενίκησε καὶ τὸν Λαίλιον κατατρέχοντα τὴν χώραν ἐς τὸ ἔρυμα ^[6] κατέκλεισε. τὸν τε Κορνούφικιον ἐπαμνυοῦντα ἀπατήσας ὥς καὶ ἐαλωκότος ἐκείνου καὶ ἐς ἀθυμίαν ἐμβαλὼν ἥττησε, καὶ αὐτόν τε ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὸν Λαίλιον ἐπεξελθόντα ὥς καὶ κατὰ νώτου σφίσι προσπεσοῦμενον. 22. πράξας δὲ ταῦτα τὴν τε Ἀφρικὴν κατέσχε καὶ ἐκατέρου

τοῦ ἔθνους ἀδεῶς ἦρχε, μέχρις οὗ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκ τῶν συνθηκῶν τῶν πρὸς τε τὸν Ἀντώνιον καὶ τὸν Λέπιδον οἱ γενομένων τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν λαβὼν Γαίον σφισι Φουφίκιον Φάγγωνα προσέταξε: τότε γὰρ ἐκὼν δὴ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐξέστη.
[2] ὡς μέντοι ἢ τε μάχη ἢ κατὰ τὸν Βροῦτον τὸν τε Κάσσιον ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὃ τε Ἀντώνιος τὰ [p. 264] τε ἄλλα ἀνεδάσαντο, καὶ τῆς Λιβύης Καῖσαρ μὲν τὴν Νουμιδιαν Ἀντώνιος δὲ τὴν Ἀφρικὴν ἔλαβεν ὁ γὰρ Λέπιδος ἐν αὐτοῖς ὀνόματι μόνον, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἦρχε, καὶ πολλάκις γε οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς [3] γράμμασι προσενεγράφετό, ὡς οὖν ταῦτα τε οὕτως ἐγένετο καὶ ἡ Φουλουία τὴν Ἀφρικὴν αὐτῷ παραλαβεῖν ἐκέλευσεν ἔν γὰρ τῇ Λιβύῃ καὶ τότε ἔτι, πρόφασιν μὲν διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα, ἔργῳ δὲ εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι νεωτερισθῆσοιτό τι, ἐνδιέτριψέ, τὸν μὲν Φάγγωνα οὐκ ἔπεισε τῆς χώρας ἐκστῆναι, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιχωρίους ἀχθομένους οἱ ἔν τε γὰρ τῷ μισθοφορικῷ ἐστράτευτο: πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὥσπερ εἴρηται μοι, κατελελέχато: καὶ κακῶς αὐτῶν ἦρχέ προσηταιρίσατο. [4] γενομένου δὲ τούτου ὁ Φάγγων ἐς τὴν Νουμιδιαν ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ τοὺς τε Κιρτησίους καταφρονήσαντας αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα κακῶς μετεχειρίσατο, καὶ Ἀραβίωνά τινα δυναστεύοντα ἐν τοῖς προσοικοῦσι σφισι βαρβάροις, καὶ πρότερον μὲν τῷ Λαίλιῳ συναράμενον, ὕστερον δὲ τῷ Σεξιῳ προσθέμενον, ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς, [5] ἐπειδὴ οἱ μὴ ἠθέλησε συμμαχεῖσαι. καταφυγόντα τε αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν Σέξιον ἐξαιτήσας καὶ μὴ λαβὼν ὀργὴν τε ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικὴν ἐμβαλὼν τῆς μὲν χώρας ἐκάκωσεν, ἀντιστρατοπεδευσασμένου δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ Σεξιῦ μάχαις βραχείαις μὲν πολλαῖς δ' οὖν ἡττήθη, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' [6] ἐς τὴν Νουμιδιαν αὐθις ἀνεκομίσθη. καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Σέξιος ἀντεπελθὼν ἐλπίδα μὲν ὡς καὶ διὰ βραχείας τῇ τοῦ Ἀραβίωνος μάλιστα ἱππεῖα νικήσων [p. 266] ἔσχεν, ὑποτοπήσας δὲ τι καὶ δολοφονήσας ἐκείνον οὐδὲν ἔτι τότε γε ἔπραξεν: οἱ γὰρ ἱππῆς χαλεπῶς ἐπὶ τῷ ὀλέθρῳ αὐτοῦ σχόντες ἐγκατέλιπον αὐτόν, καὶ οἱ γε πλείους σφῶν τὰ τοῦ 23. Φάγγωνος ἀνθεῖλοντο. ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι φιλιαν, ὡς καὶ τῆς προφάσεως σφισι τοῦ πολέμου ὑπεξηρημένης, συνέθεντο: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τηρήσας ὁ Φάγγων τὸν Σέξιον ἀδεῶς ὑπὸ τῶν σπονδῶν [2] ἔχοντα ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικὴν ἐσέβαλε. κἀνταῦθα συμμίζαντες ἀλλήλοις τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ ἐνίκησαν ἀμφοτέρω καὶ ἡττήθησαν ὁ μὲν γὰρ τῷ ἱππικῷ τῷ Νομαδικῷ, ὁ δὲ τῇ ἀσπίδι τῇ πολιτικῇ ἐκράτησεν, ὥστε καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα αὐτοὺς τὰ ἀλλήλων διαρπάσαι, μηδὲν μηδετέρους περὶ τῶν συστρατιωτῶν [3] εἰδότας: ὡς δ' ἐπαναχωροῦντες ἦσθοντο τὸ γεγονός, ἐς χεῖρας αὐθις ἦλθον, καὶ τροπῆς τῶν Νομάδων γενομένης ὁ Φάγγων τότε μὲν ἐς τὰ ὄρη ἀνέφυγε, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς βουβαλίδων διαδραμουσῶν ὤηθη τε τὴν πολεμίαν ἵππον παρεῖναι [4] καὶ ἑαυτὸν κατεχρήσατο. καὶ οὕτως ὁ Σέξιος τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀπόνως ἔλαβε, Ζάμην δὲ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀντισχοῦσαν λιμῷ κατεστρέψατο. κακὰ τουτου ἀμφοτέρων αὐθις τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγεῖτο, [5] μέχρις οὗ ὁ Λέπιδος ἐπέμφθη: ἐκείνῳ γὰρ, ὡς καὶ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ συνδοκοῦν, ἢ καὶ ὅτι ταῖς δυνάμεσι πολὺ αὐτοῦ ἡλαττοῦτο, οὐδὲν ἀντέπραξεν, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ ἑαυτοῦ χάριν τὴν ἀνάγκην τιθέμενος ἡσύχαζε. καὶ οὕτως ὁ Λέπιδος ἀμφοτέρα τὰ ἔθνη κατέσχε. 24. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐγένετο, κατὰ δὲ δὴ τοὺς [p. 268] αὐτοῦς

τούτους χρόνους, μετὰ τὴν μάχην τὴν πρὸς τοῖς Φιλιπποῖς συμβῶσαν, ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὁ Μάρκος ἔς τε τὴν Ἀσίαν τὴν ἡπειρον ἦλθε, κάνταῦθα τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς περιιών, ἔς δὲ τὰ ἄλλους πέμπων, τὰς τε πόλεις ἡργυρολόγει καὶ τὰς δυναστείας [2] ἐπίπρασκε. κὰν τοῦτῳ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἐν Κιλικίᾳ οἱ ὀφθείσης ἐρασθεῖς οὐκέτ' οὐδεμίαν τοῦ καλοῦ φροντίδα ἐποιήσατο, ἀλλὰ τῇ τε Αἰγυπτίᾳ ἐδοῦλε καὶ τῷ ἐκείνης ἔρωτι ἐσχόλαζε. καὶ ἄλλα τε διὰ τοῦτο πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα ἔπραξε, καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν [3] Ἐφέσῳ Ἀρτεμίου ἀποσπάσας ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ τέλος Πλάγκον μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τῷ ἔθνει, Σάξαν δὲ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ καταλιπὼν ἔς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀπῆρεν. ὁθενπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἄλλα τε ταραχώδῃ πολλὰ ἐπεγένετο, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς Ἀραδίους τοὺς νησιώτας μὴ ὑπακοῦσαι τι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς σφᾶς ἐπὶ χρήματα πεμφθεῖσι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ φθεῖραι τινὰς αὐτῶν, καὶ οἱ Πάρθοι καὶ πρὶν [4] κινούμενοι, τότε δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπέθεντο. ἦγον δὲ αὐτοὺς Λαβιῆνος καὶ Πάκορος, οὗτος μὲν Ὀρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐκεῖνος δὲ τοῦ Λαβιήνου τοῦ Τίτου παῖς ὢν. ἦλθε δὲ ὧδε ἔς τοὺς Πάρθους, καὶ τότε σὺν τῷ Πακόρῳ ἔπραξεν. [5] ἐτύγχανε μὲν τῷ τε Κασσίῳ καὶ τῷ Βρούτῳ συμμαχῶν, πεμφθεὶς δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ὀρώδην πρὸ τῆς μάχης ὅπως τινὰ βοήθειαν λάβῃ, συχνὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ χρόνον διετρίβη περιορωμένου καὶ ὀκνοῦντος μὲν συνθέσθαι οἱ, δεδιότος δὲ ἀπαρνήσασθαι. [p. 270] [6] καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὥς ἢ τε ἀγγελία τῆς ἡττης ἀφίκετο καὶ οἱ κρατήσαντες ἐδόκουν μηδενὸς τῶν ἀντιπολεμησάντων σφίσι φείσεσθαι, κατέμεινε παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις, τὸν μετ' αὐτῶν βίον πρὸ τοῦ οἴκοι ὀλέθρου προτιμήσας. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Λαβιῆνος ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τὴν τε ἔκλυσιν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τὸν ἔρωτα τὴν τε ἔς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὁδὸν ἦσθετο, ἔπεισε τὸν Πάρθον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις [7] ἐπιχειρῆσαι. τὰ τε γὰρ στρατεύματα αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν παντελῶς ἐφθάρθαι τὰ δὲ κεκακῶσθαι, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐν στάσει τε εἶναι καὶ πολεμήσειν αὐθις ἔφη: κάκ τούτου παρήνευσεν αὐτῷ τὴν τε Συρίαν καὶ τὰ ὄμορα αὐτῇ καταστρέψασθαι, ἐν ᾧ Καῖσαρ μὲν ἔν τε τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ περὶ τὸν Σέξτον [8] ἀσχολίαν ἦγεν, Ἀντώνιος δὲ ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἦρα. ἡγεμῶν θ' ὑπέσχετο τοῦ πολέμου γενήσεσθαι, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἅτε καὶ ἄλλοτρίως τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις διὰ τὴν συνεχῇ κάκωσιν ἔχοντα, μεταστήσειν ἐπηγγείλατο. 25. Τοιαῦτ' οὖν εἰπὼν, καὶ πείσας αὐτὸν πολεμῆσαι, καὶ δύναμιν πολλὴν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν Πάκορον ἐπετράπη, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἔς τε τὴν Φοινίκην ἐνέβαλε, καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἀπάμειαν προσελάσας τοῦ μὲν τείχους ἀπεκρούσθη, τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῇ [2] χώρᾳ φρουροὺς ἐθέλοντάς προσέθετο. ἐκ γὰρ τῶν τῷ τε Κασσίῳ καὶ τῷ Βρούτῳ συνεστρατευμένων ἦσαν: ἔς τε γὰρ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ στρατόπεδα Ἀντώνιος αὐτοὺς κατέταξε, καὶ τότε τὴν Συρίαν ὥς καὶ ἐμπείρως αὐτῆς ἔχοντας φρουρεῖν ἐκέλευσε. τούτους τε οὖν ὁ Λαβιῆνος ῥαδίως ὥς καὶ συνήθεις [p. 272] οἱ ὄντας, πλὴν τοῦ Σάξου τοῦ τότε αὐτῶν ἡγούμενου, ἐσφετερίσατο ἑκεῖνος γὰρ καὶ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ στρατιάρχου ὢν καὶ ταμιεύων μόνος αὐτῷ οὐ προσεχώρησέ, [3] καὶ τὸν Σάξαν τὸν ἄρχοντα μάχῃ τε ἐκ παρατάξεως καὶ τῷ πλήθει καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ τῶν ἱππέων ἐνίκησε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐκδράντα νυκτὸς ἐκ τῆς ταφρείας ἐπεδίωξεν: ὁ γὰρ Σάξας φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ οἱ συνόντες οἱ τὰ τοῦ Λαβιήνου, ὑπαγομένου σφᾶς

διὰ βιβλίων τινῶν ἃ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ^[4] ἐσετόξευε, φρονήσωσιν, ἔφωγεν. καταλαβὼν οὖν αὐτοὺς ὁ Λαβιῆνος τοὺς μὲν πλείους ἔφθειρε, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Σάξου ἐς Ἀντιόχειαν διαφυγόντος τὴν τε Ἀπάμειαν, οὐδὲν ἔτι ὥς καὶ τεθνεῶτος αὐτοῦ ἀντάρασαν, ἔλαβε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἐκλειφθεῖσαν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ παρεστήσατο, καὶ τέλος καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείνον ἐς Κιλικίαν φυγόντα ἐπιδιώξας καὶ συλλαβὼν ἀπέκτεινε. 26. τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ μὲν Πάκορος τὴν Συρίαν ἐχειροῦτο, καὶ πᾶσάν γε αὐτὴν πλὴν Τύρου κατεστρέψατο: ταύτην γὰρ οἱ τε Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ περιλιπεῖς καὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι οἱ ὁμοφρονοῦντές σφισι προκατέλαβον, καὶ οὗτ’ ἀναπεισθῆναι οὔτε βιασθῆναι ‘ναυτικὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν εἶχεν 76’ ἡδυνήθησαν. ^[2] οὔτοι μὲν οὖν ἀνάλωτοι ἔμειναν: τὰ δ’ ἄλλα ὁ Πάκορος λαβὼν ἐς Παλαιστίνην ἐσέβαλε, καὶ τὸν τε Ὑρκανόν, ὃς τότε τὰ πράγματα αὐτῶν παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιτραπεῖς εἶχεν, ἔπαυσε, καὶ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἄρχοντα ^[p. 274] ^[3] κατὰ τὸ ἐκείνων ἔχθος ἀντικατέστησεν. ὁ δὲ δὴ Λαβιῆνος ἐν τούτῳ τὴν τε Κιλικίαν κατέσχε, καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας τὰς ἡπειρώτιδας πόλεις ‘ὁ γὰρ Πλάγκος φοβηθεὶς αὐτὸν ἐς τὰς νήσους ἐπεραιώθῃ παρεστήσατο πλὴν Στρατονικείας, τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα ἄνευ πολέμου, Μύλασα δὲ καὶ Ἀλάβανδα ^[4] διὰ κινδύνων ἐλὼν. οὔτοι γὰρ ἐδέξαντο μὲν παρ’ αὐτοῦ φρουροὺς, φονεύσαντες δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν ἑορτῇ τινι ἀπέστησαν: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς μὲν Ἀλαβανδέας αὐτοὺς λαβὼν ἐκόλασε, τὰ δὲ δὴ Μύλασα ἐκλειφθέντα κατέσκαψε. τῇ γὰρ Στρατονικείᾳ προσήδρευσε μὲν πολὺν χρόνον, οὐδένα δὲ αὐτὴν τρόπον ἐλεῖν ἡδυνήθη. ^[5] καὶ ὁ μὲν χρήματά τε ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐπράσσετο καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐσύλα, αὐτοκράτορά τε αὐτὸν καὶ Παρθικὸν γε ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντιωτάτου τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἔθους ὠνόμαζεν: οὓς γὰρ κατ’ αὐτῶν ἐπῆγεν, ἀπὸ τούτων ἑαυτὸν, ὥς καὶ ἐκείνους ἄλλ’ οὐ τοὺς πολίτας 27. νικῶν, ἐπεκάλει: Ἀντώνιος δὲ ἐπυνθάνετο μὲν καὶ ταῦτα ὥσπερ που καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ δρώμενα ‘οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν τὸ παράπαν ἡγνόμεί, οὐ μέντοι καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν οὐδετέροις ἤμυνεν, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ τε τοῦ ἔρωτος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς μέθης οὔτε τῶν συμμάχων τι οὔτε τῶν πολεμίων ^[2] ἐφρόντισε. τέως μὲν γὰρ κάτω τε ἐτέτακτο καὶ τῶν πρωτείων ἐφίετο, ἐντόνως τοῖς πράγμασι προσεῖχεν: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ κράτει ἐγένετο, οὐκέτ’ οὐδενὸς ^[p. 276] αὐτῶν ἀκριβῶς ἐπεμελήθη, ἀλλὰ τῇ τε Κλεοπάτρᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Αἰγυπτίοις συνετρυφά, ^[3] μέχρις οὗ παντελῶς κατελύθη. ὁψὲ δ’ οὖν ποτε ἀναγκασθεὶς ἐξαναστῆναι ἔπλευσε μὲν πρὸς τὴν Τύρον ὥς καὶ βοηθήσων σφίσιν, ἰδὼν δὲ δὴ τὰ ἄλλα προκατειλημμένα ἐγκατέλιπεν αὐτοὺς, πρόφασιν τὸν τοῦ Σέξτου πόλεμον ποιησάμενος: καίτοι καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνον βραδυτῆτος τὰ τῶν ^[4] Πάρθων σκηπτόμενος προεβάλλετο. καὶ οὕτως οὔτε τοῖς συμμάχοις διὰ τὸν Σέξτον δῆθεν οὔτε τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ δι’ ἐκείνους ἐπεκούρησεν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὴν ἡπειρον μέχρι τῆς Ἀσίας παρακομισθεὶς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διέβαλε, κάνταῦθα τῇ τε μητρὶ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ συμμιξας τὸν τε Καίσαρα πολέμιον ἐποίησατο ^[5] καὶ τῷ Σέξτῳ φιλίαν ἐσπέισατο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν περαιωθεὶς Σειφοῦντα μὲν ἔσχε, Βρεντέσιον δὲ μὴ ἐθελῆσάν οἱ προσχωρῆσαι ἐπολιόρκει. 28. πράσσοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα ὁ Καῖσαρ τὰς τε δυνάμεις ‘ἐκ γὰρ τῆς Γαλατίας ἤδη παρῆν’ ἤθροισε, καὶ Πούπλιον μὲν Σερούιλιον

Ροῦλλον πρὸς Βρεντέσιον, Ἀγρίππαν δὲ ἐπὶ Σειφοῦντα ἔπεμψε: καὶ οὗτος μὲν βίᾳ τὴν πόλιν εἴλε, τῷ δὲ δὴ Σερουιλίῳ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐξαίφνης προσπεσὼν πολλοὺς μὲν ἔφθειρε [2] πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ παρεστήσατο. συνερρωγόντων τε οὖν αὐτῶν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ διατεμπόντων πρὸς τε τὰς πόλεις καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐστρατευμένους, ὁπόθεν τινὰ ὠφελίαν προσλήψεσθαι ἐνόμιζον, ἢ τε ἄλλῃ Ἰταλίᾳ αὐθις ἐταράσσετο καὶ ἡ Ῥώμη [p. 278] ὅτι μάλιστα, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἤδη πρὸς ἐκάτερον μεθίσταντο, οἱ δὲ ἔμελλον. μετεώρων δὲ αὐτῶν τε ἐκείνων καὶ τῶν συμπολεμησόντων σφίσιν ὄντων, [3] ἡ Φουλουία ἐν Σικυῶνι, ἐν ἣ ἦν, ἐτελεύτησε. καὶ αἰτίαν μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοῦ θανάτου αὐτῆς πρὸς τε τὸν τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἔρωτα καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνης ἀσέλγειαν ἔσχεν: ὡς δ' οὖν τοῦτ' ἠγγέλη, τὰ τε ὅπλα ἀμφοτέροι κατέθεντο καὶ συνηλλάγησαν, εἴτ' οὖν ὄντως ἐκπολεμοῦμενοι πρότερον ὑπὸ τῆς Φουλουίας, εἴτε καὶ πρόφασιν τὸν θάνατον αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸ παρ' ἀλλήλων δέος, ὥστε καὶ ἀντιπάλους καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχοντες, ποιησάμενοι. [4] κὰν τοῦτω Καῖσαρ μὲν Σαρδῶ τε καὶ Δελματίαν τὴν τε Ἰβηρίαν καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν, Ἀντώνιος δὲ πάντα τᾶλλα τὰ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἴονιον, τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὄντα, ἀπέλαχε: τὰ τε γὰρ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ ἔθνη ὁ Λέπιδος καὶ τὴν Σικελίαν ὁ Σέξτος εἶχε. 29. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴν οὕτως αὐθις διεδάσαντο, τὸν δὲ δὴ πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς τὸν Σέξτον ἐκοινώσαντο, καίτοι τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ὄρκους πρὸς αὐτὸν [2] δι' ἀγγέλων ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι πεποιημένου. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γε οὐχ ἥκιστα ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπέμεινε πάντας μὲν τοὺς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ κατὰ τὸν Λούκιον τὸν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἀδελφὸν μεταστάντας πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν γε τῶν σφαγέων ἔστιν οὐς ὄντας, ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν Δομίτιον, πάντας δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐκτεθέντας ἐν τοῖς λευκώμασιν, ἢ καὶ ἄλλως πως τῷ τε Βρούτῳ καὶ τῷ Κασσίῳ συμπολεμήσαντας [p. 280] καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου [3] πράξαντας, καταδέξασθαι ἐπ' ἀδείᾳ. τοσοῦτος μὲν δὴ καὶ τῶν στάσεων καὶ τῶν πολέμων παράλογός ἐστι, δικὴ μὲν οὐδὲν τῶν τὰ πράγματα ἐχόντων νομιζόντων, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὰς τε αἰεὶ χρείας καὶ τὰ συμφέροντά σφων τὸ τε φίλιον καὶ τὸ πολέμιον ἐξεταζόντων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοτὲ μὲν ἐχθροὺς τοτὲ δὲ ἐπιτηδείους σφίσι πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν ἡγουμένων. 30. συνθέμενοι δ' οὖν ταῦτ' ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις τοῖς περὶ τὸ Βρεντέσιον εἰστίασαν ἀλλήλους, Καῖσαρ μὲν στρατιωτικῶς τε καὶ ῥωμαϊκῶς, [2] Ἀντώνιος δὲ Ἀσιανῶς τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίως. κατηλλαγμένων δὲ αὐτῶν, ὡς γε ἐδόκουν, περιστάντες τὸν Ἀντώνιον οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ τότε τῷ Καίσαρι συνόντες ἀπῆτουν παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰ χρήματα ἃ πρὸ τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς τοῖς Φιλίπποις γενομένης ὑπέσχοντό σφίσι: δι' ἃ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὅπως [3] ὅτι πλεῖστα ἀθροίσειεν, ἔσταλτο. κὰν ἐξειργάσαντό τι αὐτὸν μηδὲν διδόντα, εἰ μὴ σφας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπελπίσας πῃ κατέσχε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τοὺς τε ἀφηλικεστέρους τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐς τὰς ἀποικίας, μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον στασιάσωσιν, ἐξέπεμψαν, [4] καὶ τοῦ πολέμου ἤπτοντο. ὁ γὰρ Σέξτος ἦλθε μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον οἱ γενομένας ὡς καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι μετ' αὐτοῦ πολεμήσων, μαθὼν δὲ τὴν σύμβασιν σφων αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἀνεκομίσθη, Μηνᾶ δὲ ἐξελευθέρῳ οἱ, ᾧ πάνυ

προσέκειτο, ἐκέλευσε μέρει τοῦ ναυτικοῦ περιπλέοντι [p. 282] [5] κακουργεῖν τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων. καὶ ὃς τῆς τε Τυρσηνίας πολλὰ ἐκάκωσε, καὶ Μάρκον Τίτιον Τίτιου, τῶν τε ἐπικηρυχθέντων καὶ τότε τῷ Σεξτῷ συνόντων, υἱὸν ὄντα καὶ ναῦς ἐπὶ ἰδίᾳ δυναστείᾳ συγκροτοῦντα, κὰν τῷ Ναρβωνησίῳ ἔθνει ναυλοχοῦντα, [6] ἐζώγρησε. καὶ ὃς ἔπαθε μὲν κακὸν οὐδέν· διὰ τε γὰρ τὸν πατέρα, καὶ διότι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Σεξτοῦ ἐν ταῖς ἀσπίσιν οἱ στρατιῶται αὐτοῦ ἔφερον, ἐσώθῃ, οὐ μέντοι καὶ καλῶς τὸν εὐεργέτην ἡμείψατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατεπολέμησεν αὐτὸν καὶ κατεφόνευσεν, ὥστε καὶ τοῦτ' ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα [7] τῶν ὁμοίων μνημονευθῆναι. ὁ δ' οὖν Μηναῖς ταῦτά τε οὕτως ἔπραξε, καὶ ἐπὶ Σαρδῶ πλεύσας συνέβαλε Μάρκῳ Λουρίῳ τῷ ἄρχοντι αὐτῆς, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐτράπετο, ἔπειτα δὲ παρὰ δόξαν αὐτὸν ἀπερισκέπτως ἐπιδιώκοντα ὑποστὰς ἀντεπεκράτησε. [8] καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐκλιπόντος αὐτοῦ τὴν νῆσον κατέσχε τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὁμολογία, τὴν δὲ Κάραλιν πολιορκίᾳ: συχνοὶ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐς αὐτὴν κατεπεφεύγεσαν. τῶν γε μὴν ἀλόντων ἄλλους τε καὶ Ἑλενον, ἐξελεύθερόν τε τοῦ Καίσαρος ὄντα καὶ ἀρέσκοντα αὐτῷ τὰ μάλιστα, ἀφῆκεν ἄνευ λύτρων, εὐεργεσίαν τε ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα πόρρωθεν προκατατιθέμενος καὶ καταφυγὴν ἑαυτῷ προπαρασκευάζων, εἴ τι παρ' αὐτοῦ δεσθῇ. 31. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἐποίει: οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ὡς ἦ τε Σαρδῶ εἶχετο καὶ ἡ παραλία ἐπορθεῖτο, [p. 284] τῆς τε σιτοπομπίας ἐστέρηντο, καὶ ὁ λιμὸς τὰ τε τέλη πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα καθιστάμενα καὶ προσέτι καὶ συντέλειαι τοῖς τοὺς δούλους ἔχουσι [2] προστασσόμεναι δεινῶς αὐτοὺς ἐλύπουν, οὐκέθ' ἡσυχάζον, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐπὶ ταῖς τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος καταλλαγαῖς, ὡς καὶ σφετέρας εἰρήνης τῆς ἐκείνων ὁμονοίας οὔσης, ἦσθησαν, τοσοῦτον ἢ καὶ πλεῖον ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς τὸν Σεξτόν [3] σφῶν πολέμῳ ἡσχαλλον. ἐν δ' οὖν τῷ τότε ἐπὶ τε ἵππων αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ ἐν ἐπνικίοις πσιὼν ἐσαγαγόντες, καὶ τῇ νικητηρίᾳ στολῇ ἐξ Ἰσου τοῖς πέμψασιν αὐτὰ κοσμήσαντες, τὰς τε πανηγύρεις ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχικῶν διφρῶν θεωρεῖν ποιήσαντες, καὶ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς [4] ἐτετελευτήκει, καὶ κυοῦσαν προμνησάμενοι, τοσαύτη μεταβολῇ ἐχρήσαντο ὥστε τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κατὰ συστάσεις γινόμενοι ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ θέαν τινὰ ἀθροιζόμενοι παρεκάλουν σφᾶς εἰρηνῆσαι καὶ πολλὰ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐπεβόων, ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, ἡλλοτριώθησάν τε αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς τὸν [5] Σεξτόν ἀπέκλιναν. καὶ ἄλλα τε ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ αὐτοῦ διεθρόουν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἵπποδρομίαις κρότῳ τε πολλῷ τὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἄγαλμα πομπεῦον ἐτίμων καὶ ἡδονὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ πολλὴν ἐποιοῦντο. ἐπεὶ τε ἡμέραις πσιὼν οὐκ ἐσήχθη, τοὺς τε ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὄντας λίθοις ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐξήλασαν καὶ ἐκείνων τὰς εἰκόνας κατέβαλον, καὶ τέλος, [p. 286] ἐπειδὴ μὴδ' ὥς τι ἐπεραίνετο, σπουδῇ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς [6] ὡς καὶ ἀποκτενοῦντές σφας ὥρμησαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ, καίτοι τρωθέντων τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ὄντων, τὴν τε ἐσθῆτα περιερρήξατο καὶ πρὸς ἱκετείαν αὐτῶν ἐτράπετο, ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος βιαιότερόν σφισι προσηνέχθη. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὅτι μάλιστα ὀργισθέντων τέ σφῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ δεινόν τι πράξειν προσδοκηθέντων, ἡναγκάσθησαν τῷ Σεξτῷ καὶ ἄκοντες ἐπικηρυκεύσασθαι. 32. κὰν τούτῳ τοὺς τε στρατηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους, καίπερ ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ ἦδη

τοῦ ἔτους ὄντος, παύσαντες ἄλλους ἀντικατέστησαν, βραχὺ φροντίσαντες [2] εἰ καὶ ἐπ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἄρξουσιν. καὶ εἷς γε τῶν τότε ὑπατευσάντων Λούκιος Κορνήλιος Βάλβος ἐγένετο, Γαδειρεὺς τε ὢν καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ μεγαλονοίᾳ τοσοῦτον τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπους ὑπερενεγκὼν ὥστε καὶ δωρεὰν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀνὰ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δραχμὰς τελευτῶν [3] καταλιπεῖν. τοῦτό τε οὖν ἐποίησαν, καὶ ἐν τῇ τελευταίᾳ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρᾳ ἀγορανόμου τινὸς ἀποθανόντος ἕτερον ἐς τὰς λοιπὰς ὥρας ἀνθειλοντο. κὰν τῷ αὐτῷ τοῦτω χρόνῳ τὸ τε ὕδωρ τὸ Ἰούλιον [4] ὠνομασμένον ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐπωχετεύθη, καὶ ἡ πανήγυρις ἡ ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς τοὺς σφαγέας εὐχθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐποιήθη. τὰ τε τοῖς ἐπτὰ ἀνδράσιν ὠνομασμένοις προσήκοντα οἱ ποντίφικες, ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς ἐκείνων παρῆν, ἐπετέλεσαν: καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλοτε πολλάκις ἐγένετο. 33. ταῦτά τε οὖν οὕτως ἐν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ ἐπράχθη, [p. 288] καὶ Σφαῖρον ὁ Καῖσαρ παιδαγωγὸν τε καὶ ἐξελεύθερον αὐτοῦ γενόμενον δημοσίᾳ ἔθαψε. τὸν τε Ροῦφον τὸν Σαλουιδιῆνον ὡς καὶ ἐπιβουλεύσαντά [2] οἱ ἀπέκτεινεν. οὗτος δὲ ἦν μὲν ἐξ ἀφανεστάτων, καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ κεφαλὴ ποιμαίνοντι φλόγα ἀνέδωκεν: ἐς τοσοῦτον δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος προήχθη ὥστε αὐτὸν τε ὕπατον μηδὲ βουλευόντα ἀποδειχθῆναι, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ προαποθανόντα διὰ τοῦ Τιβέριδος, γεφύρας ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιηθείσης, [3] ἐξενεχθῆναι. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων βέβαιόν ἐστι, κατηγορήθη τε ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ ὡς πολέμιος ἐκείνου καὶ τοῦ δήμου παντὸς ἐσφάγη, ἱερομηνίαί τε ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἡ φυλακὴ τῆς πόλεως τοῖς τρισὶν ἀνδράσι μετὰ τῆς εἰθισμένης προσθήκης, τοῦ μηδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀποτριβῆναι, ἐπετράπη. [4] Ἐν τε τῷ πρὸ τούτου ἔτει θηρία τε ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀπολλωνίων 100 ἵπποδρομίᾳ ἄνδρες ἐς τὴν ἵππάδα τελοῦντες κατέβαλον, καὶ ἡμέρα ἐμβόλιμος παρὰ τὰ καθεστηκότα ἐνεβλήθη, ἵνα μὴ ἡ νομηνία τοῦ ἐχομένου ἔτους τὴν ἀγορὰν τὴν διὰ τῶν ἐννέα ἡμερῶν ἀγομένην λάβῃ, ὅπερ ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου σφόδρα ἐφυλάσσετο: καὶ δῆλον ὅτι ἀνθυφηρέθη αὕθις, ὅπως ὁ χρόνος κατὰ τὰ τῷ [5] Καίσαρι τῷ προτέρῳ δόξαντα συμβῇ. κάστορι τέ τινα ἦ τε τοῦ Ἀττάλου καὶ ἡ τοῦ Δημοτάρου ἀρχὴ ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ τελευτησάντων ἐδόθη: καὶ ὁ νόμος ὁ Φαλκίδιος ὠνομασμένος, πλείστην καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἰσχὺν ἐς τὰς τῶν κλήρων διαδοχάς, ὥστε τινὰ τὸ τέταρτον τῆς καταλειφθείσης οἱ οὐσίας. ἂν γέ [p. 290] πῃ βαρύνηται, λαβόντα τὸ λοιπὸν ἀφεῖναι, ἔχων, ὑπὸ Πουπλίου Φαλκιδίου δημαρχοῦντος ἐτέθη. 34. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τοῖς δύο ἔτεσιν ἐγένετο, τῷ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένῳ, ἐν ᾧ Λούκιος τε Μάρκιος καὶ Γάιος Σαβῖνος ὑπάτευσαν, τὰ τε ὑπὸ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν πραχθέντα ἀφ' οὗ ἐς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν ἐσῆλθον [2] κῦρος παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἔλαβε, καὶ τέλη τινὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν προσκατέστη 101 διὰ τὸ τὰ ἀναλώματα πολλῶ πλείω ἥπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος ἐτέτακτο γίνεσθαι: πάμπολλα γὰρ αὐτοὶ καὶ μάλιστα ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας δαπανῶντες ἡσχύνοντο 102 [3] μόνον 103 παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἀναλίσκοντες. ἀμέλει τὸν πώγωνα ὁ Καῖσαρ τότε πρῶτον ξυράμενος αὐτὸς τε μεγάλως ἐώρτασε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν δημοτελῇ ἐορτὴν παρέσχε. καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπελειούτο 104 τὸ γένειον, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι: ἤδη γὰρ καὶ τῆς Λιουίας

ἐρᾶν ἤρχετο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν Σκριβωνίαν τεκοῦσαν οἱ θυγάτριον [4] ἀπεπέμψατο αὐθημερόν. τῶν δ' οὖν ἀναλωμάτων πολὺ μειζόνων ἢ πρότερον γιγνομένων, καὶ τῶν προσόδων οὐτ' ἄλλως ἄρκουσῶν καὶ τότε ἐλαττόνων διὰ τὰς στάσεις προσιουσῶν, καινὰ τινα τέλη ἐσήγαγον, ἔς τε τὸ βουλευτήριον πλείστους ὅσους οὐχ ὅτι τῶν συμμάχων ἢ καὶ στρατιώτας παῖδας τε ἀπελευθέρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ δούλους [5] ἐνέγραψαν. Μάξιμον γοῦν τινα ταμιεῦσιν μέλλοντα [p. 292] ἐγνώρισέ τε ὁ δεσπότης καὶ ἀπήγαγε. καὶ τούτῳ 105 μὲν ἀδεὲς ἐγένετο τολμήσαντι τὴν ἀρχὴν αἰτῆσαι: ἕτερος δὲ ἐν τοῖς στρατηγούσι 106 φωραθεὶς κατὰ τῶν τοῦ Καπιτωλίου πετρῶν ἐώσθη, προελευθερωθεὶς ἵνα ἀξίωμα ἢ τιμωρία αὐτοῦ λάβῃ. 35. πρόφασιν δὲ σφισι τοῦ τῶν βουλευσόντων πλήθους ἢ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου στρατεία, ἣν ἐπὶ τοῦς Πάρθους ἡτοιμάζετο, παρέσχεν: ἀφ' οὐπὲρ καὶ ἀρχὰς ἄλλας τε ἐπὶ πλείω ἔτη καὶ τὴν τῶν ὑπάτων ἐς ὅκτῳ ὅλα προκατεστήσαντο, τοὺς μὲν ἀμειβόμενοι τῶν συναραμένων 107 σφισι, τοὺς δὲ [2] ὑπαγόμενοι. ὑπάτους δὲ οὐ 108 δύο ἐτήσιους, ὥσπερ εἶθιστο, ἀλλὰ πλείους τότε πρῶτον εὐθὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαιρεσίαις εἵλοντο. καὶ πρότερον μὲν γὰρ μεθ' ἐτέρους τινὲς μὴτ' ἀποθανόντας μὴτ' ἐπ' ἀτιμία ἢ καὶ ἄλλως πως παυθέντας ἤρξαν: 109 ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν, ὥς που τοῖς ἐς ὅλον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν χειροτονηθεῖσιν ἔδοξε, κατέστησαν, τότε δὲ ἐνιαύσιος μὲν οὐδεὶς ἡρέθη, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὰ τοῦ χρόνου [3] μέρη ἄλλοι καὶ ἄλλοι ἀπεδείχθησαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς ὑπατείας κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ ἔτους, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν γίγνεται, ἔσχον: τοὺς δ' ἐτέρους αὐτοὶ μὲν οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ τε [p. 294] ἄλλῃ Ἰταλίᾳ ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν χρόνῳ ὠνόμαζον, ὃ καὶ νῦν ποιεῖται, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἢ τινας αὐτῶν ἢ οὐδένας ἤδεσαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σμικροτέρους σφᾶς ὑπάτους ἐπεκάλουν. 36. οἴκοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔπραττον, τῷ δὲ δὴ Σέξτῳ πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τῶν ἐταίρων, καὶ ὅπως καὶ ἐφ' οἷς καταλλαγῇσιντο, συνέβησαν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς Μισσηνῶ ἐς λόγους ἦλθον. εἰστήκεσαν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ, ὃ δὲ ἐν χώματι τι ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο περιρρύτῳ οὐ πόρρῳ σφῶν πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν αὐτῷ πεπονημένῳ: [2] καὶ παρῆν πᾶς μὲν ὁ τούτου ναυτικὸς πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἐκείνων πεζικὸς ὄχλος, οὐχ ἀπλῶς, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ἐξωπλισμένοι παρετετάχατο, ὥστε καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τούτου δῆλον πᾶσι γενέσθαι ὅτι ἔκ τε τοῦ φόβου τῆς παρασκευῆς σφῶν καὶ ἐξ ἀνάγκης, οἱ μὲν διὰ τὸν δῆμον ὃ δὲ διὰ [3] τοὺς συνόντας οἱ, ἐσπείσαντο. 110 αἱ δὲ δὴ συνθῆκαι ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἐγένοντο, τοὺς τε αὐτομολήσαντας τῶν δούλων ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ἐκπεσόντας πλὴν τῶν σφαγέων κατελθεῖν: τούτους γὰρ δῆθεν ὑπεξείλοντο, ἐπεὶ τῷ γε ἔργῳ καὶ ἐκείνων τινὲς κατιέναι ἔμελλον: καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ Σέξτος εἰς ἐξ [4] αὐτῶν γεγονέναι ἐδόκει. ἀλλ' ἐνγράφῃ γε τοὺς ἄλλους πλὴν τούτων πάντας ἐπὶ τε ἀδείᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τετάρτῳ τῆς δημευθείσης σφῶν οὐσίας ἐπανελθεῖν, καὶ ἐκείνων μὲν τισι καὶ δημαρχίας καὶ στρατηγίας ἱερωσύνας τε εὐθὺς 111 δοθῆναι, αὐτὸν [p. 296] δὲ τὸν Σέξτον ὑπατὸν τε αἰρεθῆναι καὶ οἰωνιστὴν [5] ἀποδειχθῆναι, ἔκ τε τῆς οὐσίας τῆς πατρώας χιλίας καὶ ἐπτακοσίας καὶ πεντήκοντα μυριάδας δραχμῶν κομίσασθαι, καὶ Σικελίας καὶ Σαρδοῦς τῆς τε Ἀχαιῆς ἐπὶ πέντε ἔτη ἄρξαι μὴτ' αὐτομόλους δεχόμενον μὴτε ναῦς

ἐπικτώμενον μήτε τινα^[6] φρουρία ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἔχοντα, ἀλλὰ τὴν τε εἰρήνην αὐτῇ τὴν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης πρυτανεύοντα καὶ σῖτον τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει τακτὸν πέμποντα. τὸν δὲ δὴ χρόνον αὐτῷ τοῦτον προσέγραψαν, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς καιρὸν 112 δὴ τινα τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀλλ’ οὐκ αἰδιον ἔχειν δοκεῖν ἤθελον. 37. ταῦτα μὲν 113 οὖν συνθέμενοι καὶ συγγραψάμενοι τὰ τε γραμματεῖα ταῖς ἱερείαις ταῖς ἀειπαρθένοις παρακατέθεντο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δεξιὰς τέ σφισιν ἔδοσαν καὶ ἐφίλησαν ἀλλήλους. γενομένου δὲ τούτου πολλὴ καὶ ἄπλετος βοή καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου^[2] ἅμα καὶ ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ἠγέρθη. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ στρατιῶται πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἰδιῶται παρόντες ἀθρόον καὶ ἐξαπιναιῶς, ἅτε καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ δεινῶς ἀχθόμενοι καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἰσχυρῶς ἐπιθυμοῦντες, ἐξέκραγον, ὥστε καὶ τὰ ὄρη συνηχῆσαι, κᾶκ τοῦτου καὶ φρίκην σφισι καὶ ἐκπληξιν μεγάλην ἐγγενέσθαι, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τούτων ἐκθανεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ συμπατηθέντας ἢ καὶ ἀποπνιγέντας^[3] ἀπολέσθαι. οἱ τε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς σκάφεσιν ὄντες οὐκ ἀνέμειναν τῇ γῇ αὐτῇ προσελθεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐξεπῆδων ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ οἱ ἕτεροι ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν βυθὸν ἐπεσέβαινον. κᾶν τούτῳ ἡσπάζοντό τε ἀλλήλους ἅμα νηχόμενοι καὶ περιέβαλλον^[p. 298] κολυμβῶντες, ὥστε ποικίλην μὲν αὐτῶν^[4] θέαν ποικίλην δὲ καὶ ἀκοὴν συμβῆναι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς τε συγγενεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους ζῶντας εἰδότες καὶ τότε παρόντας ὁρῶντες ἀπλήστῳ τῇ ἡδονῇ ἐχρῶντο: οἱ δὲ ἀπολωλέναι τέ σφας πρότερον νομίζοντες καὶ τότε παρὰ δόξαν θεωροῦντες ἄποροι τε ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐγίγνοντο καὶ ἀφασίᾳ συνείχοντο, ἀπιστοῦντές τε ἅμα τῇ ὄψει καὶ εὐχόμενοι ἀληθῆ ταύτην εἶναι: καὶ οὐ πρότερόν γε ἐγνώριζόν σφας πρὶν τὰ τε ὀνόματα αὐτῶν ἀνακαλέσασθαι καὶ^[5] φθεγγομένων τι ἀκοῦσαι: οὕτω δὲ ἔχαιρον μὲν ὥς καὶ ἀναβιωσκομένων σφῶν, ἀναγκαζόμενοι δὲ ἀθρόως ἥδεσθαι οὐκ ἀδακρυτὶ διῆγον. καὶ ἕτεροι ἀγνοοῦντές τε τοὺς φιλότατους ἀπολωλότας, καὶ ζῆν παρεῖναι τε αὐτοὺς ἠγούμενοι, ἐζήτουν τέ σφας ἅμα περιφοιτῶντες, καὶ πάντα τὸν προστυγχάνοντα^[6] περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπηρώτων: καὶ τέως μὲν οὐδὲν ἀκριβὲς 114 ἐμάνθανον, μαινομένοις τε ἐώκεσαν καὶ ἐν ἀπόρῳ καθειστήκεσαν, ἐλπίζοντές τε ἅμα αὐτοὺς εὐρήσειν καὶ φοβούμενοι μὴ τεθνήκασιν, καὶ μὴτ’ ἀπογνῶναι πρὸς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν μὴτ’^[7] ἀπαλγῆσαι πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα δυνάμενοι: μαθόντες δὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τὰς τε τρίχας ἐσπαράττοντο καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας περιερρήγγυντο, ὀνομαστί τε αὐτοὺς ἀνεκάλουν ὥς καὶ ἐπακοῦσαι τι δυναμένους, καὶ πένθος ὥς καὶ τότε τελευτώντων αὐτοῦ τέ που^[8] κειμένων σφῶν ἐποιοῦντο. καὶ εἶγε πισὶ μηδὲν αὐτοῖς τοιοῦτο παρῆν, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ γε τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων παθήμασιν ἐταράττοντο: ἢ γὰρ χαίροντι τινι συνήδοντο ἢ πενθοῦντι συνελυποῦντο, καὶ οὕτως εἰ καὶ ἔξω οἴκειον πάθους ἦσαν, ὅμως οὐκ ἐδύναντο^[p. 300] διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ὁμιλίαν ἡσυχάζειν.^[9] καὶ ἐκ τούτου οὔτε κόρον οὔτ’ αἰσχύνην, ἅτε καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς συμφερόμενοι, ἐλάμβανον, ἀλλὰ τὴν τε ἡμέραν ὅλην καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς τὰ πλείω ἐς ταῦτα κατανάλωσαν. 38. μετὰ δὲ δὴ ταῦθ’ οἱ τε ἄλλοι ὑπεδέχοντο ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀνθειστίων 115 καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι, πρότερος μὲν ὁ Σέξτος ἐν τῇ νηϊ, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὃ τε Ἀντώνιος ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ: τοσοῦτον γὰρ ὁ Σέξτος τῇ δυνάμει σφῶν περιῆν ὥστε μὴ πρότερον αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν ἡπείρον ἐκβῆναι πρὶν ἐκείνους^[2] ἐς τὴν ναῦν ἐσελθεῖν. καὶ τοῦτο μέντοι ποιήσας,

δυνηθείς τ' ἂν ἀμφοτέρους ἐν τῷ σκάφει σὺν ὀλίγοις παρόντας, ὥσπερ που καὶ ὁ Μηνᾶς αὐτῷ συνεβούλευε, φονεῦσαι, οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλὰ καίπερ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ἐπειδὴ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ τὴν πατρώαν τὴν ἐν ταῖς Καρίναις κατεῖχε ἵτοπος γὰρ τις τῆς 116 τῶν Ῥωμαίων πόλεως οὕτω καλούμενός ἐστιν, ἀποσκώψας τρόπον τινὰ ἡδιστον^[3] ταῖς γὰρ τροπίσι ταῖς τῶν νεῶν τῆς αὐτῆς ὀνομασίας οὔσης, ἐν ταῖς Καρίναις αὐτοὺς ἐστιᾶν ἔφη, ὅμως οὐδὲν ὥς καὶ μνησικακῶν σφισιν ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τε 117 ὑστεραία ἀνθιστιάθῃ, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα Μάρκῳ Μαρκέλλῳ τῷ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀδελφιδῷ ἡγγύησεν. 118 39. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὁ πόλεμος ἀνεβέβλητο, τὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Λαβιήνου τῶν τε Πάρθων ὧδε διεπολεμήθη. ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπανελθὼν ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐνεχρόνισεν, ^[p. 302] τὰς τε ἐπιθυμίας ἅμα ἀποπιμπλὰς καὶ τὰς πόλεις κακῶν, ἴν' ὅτι ἀσθενέσταται τῷ Σέξτῳ^[2] παραδοθῶσι. καὶ ἄλλα τε ἐν τούτῳ πολλὰ ἔξω τῶν πατρίων ἐξεδιητήθη, καὶ Διόνυσον ἑαυτὸν νέον αὐτὸς τε ἐκάλει καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὀνομάζεσθαι ἤξιον· ἐπειδὴ τε οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς τε τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν αὐτῷ κατηγγύησαν, δέχεσθαι τε τὸν γάμον ἔφη καὶ προῖκα μυριάδας ἑκατὸν παρ' αὐτῶν ἐξέπραξεν. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν περὶ ταῦτα εἶχε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Οὐεντιδίου τὸν ^[3] Πούπλιον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν προῦπεμψεν. καὶ ὃς ἦλθέ τε ἐπὶ τὸν Λαβιήνον πρὶν ἔκπυστος γενέσθαι, καὶ καταπλήξας αὐτὸν τῷ τε αἰφνιδίῳ τῆς ἐφόδου καὶ τοῖς στρατεύμασιν ἄνευ γὰρ τῶν Πάρθων μετὰ τῶν αὐτόθεν στρατιωτῶν μόνων ἦν, ἐκεῖθεν τε μηδὲ ἐς χεῖράς οἱ ὑπομείναντα εὐθύς ἐξέωσε, καὶ φεύγοντα ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἐπεδίωξε, ^[4] τὸ κουφότατον τοῦ στρατοῦ λαβῶν. καὶ αὐτὸν πρὸς τῷ Ταύρῳ καταλαβὼν οὐκέτι περαιτέρω προχωρῆσαι εἶασεν, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας καταστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἡσύχαζον· Λαβιήνος μὲν γὰρ τοὺς Πάρθους, Οὐεντιδίου δὲ 40. τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἀνέμεινεν. ὥς οὖν καὶ οὗτοι ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἅμα ἀμφοτέροις ἡμέραις ἦλθον, Οὐεντιδίου μὲν δέει τῆς ἵππου τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν τῷ μετεώρῳ, ^[2] οὐπὲρ ἠυλίζετο, κατέμεινεν, οἱ δὲ δὴ Πάρθοι ἔκ τε τοῦ πλήθους σφῶν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ προνομικηκέναι ποτὲ καταφρονήσαντες πρὸς τε τὸν γήλοφον ἅμα τῇ ἔω, πρὶν καὶ τῷ Λαβιήνῳ συμμῖξαι, προσήλασαν, ^[p. 304] καὶ ὥς οὐδεὶς σφισιν ἀντεπεξῆει, καὶ πρὸς ^[3] τὸ ὄρθιον αὐτὸ προσέβαλον. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐνταῦθα ἤδη ὄντας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπιδραμόντες ῥαδίως πρὸς τὸ κάταντες ἐτρέψαντο. καὶ σφῶν πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν χερσὶν ἀπέθανον, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖον ἐν τῇ ἀναστροφῇ περὶ ἀλλήλοισι, οἱ μὲν ἤδη τετραμμένοι οἱ δὲ ἔτι 119 προσιόντες, ἐσφάλησαν· οἱ τε περιλειφθέντες οὐ πρὸς τὸν Λαβιήνον ἀλλ' ἐς Κιλικίαν ^[4] ἔφυγον. ὁ οὖν Οὐεντιδίου ἐπεδίωξε μὲν αὐτοὺς μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἰδὼν δὲ ἐνταῦθα τὸν Λαβιήνον ἐπέσχε. καὶ ὃς παρετάξατο μὲν ὥς καὶ ἐς χεῖρας αὐτῷ ἦξων, αἰσθόμενος δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀθύμως διὰ τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων φυγὴν ἔχοντας οὕτε τότε ἐθάρσησέν οἱ ἀντάραι, καὶ τῆς ^[5] νυκτὸς ἀποδρᾶναι ποι ἐπεχείρησε. προγνοὺς οὖν τοῦτο ἐξ αὐτομόλων ὁ Οὐεντιδίου πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει ἐνεδρεύσας ἔκτεινε, πάντας δὲ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐγκαταλειφθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ Λαβιήνου παρεστήσατο. καὶ ἐκεῖνος δὲ τότε μὲν τὴν ἐσθῆτα μετεκδὺς διέφυγε, καὶ χρόνον τινὰ ἐν τῇ

Κιλικίᾳ ^[6] διέλαθεν, ὕστερον δὲ ὑπὸ Δημητρίου ἑάλω: οὗτος γὰρ ἐξελευθερός τε τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ προτέρου ὢν, καὶ τότε τῇ Κύπρῳ πρὸς τοῦ Ἀντωνίου προστεταγμένος, ἀνεζήτησέ τε αὐτὸν μαθὼν ὅτι κρύπτοιτο, καὶ συνέλαβε. 41. μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο ὁ Οὐεντίδιος τὴν τε Κιλικίαν ἐκομίσατο, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ταύτην καθίστατο, Πουπήδιον 120 δὲ δὴ Σίλωνα μεθ' ἱππέων πρὸς τὸν ^[2] Ἀμανὸν προὔπεμψε. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ὄρος ἔν τε τῇ ^[p. 306] μεθορίᾳ τῆς τε Κιλικίας καὶ τῆς Συρίας ἐστί, καὶ στενοπορίαν τοσαύτην δὴ τινα ἔχει ὥστε καὶ πύλας ποτὲ ἐν αὐτῇ μετὰ τείχους ἐνοικοδομηθῆναι ^[3] καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπονομασθῆναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ κατασχεῖν αὐτὸ ὁ Σίλων ἠδυνήθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκινδύνευσε ὑπὸ Φρανσπάτου ὑπάρχου τε τοῦ Πακόρου ὄντος καὶ τὴν δίοδον φυλάττοντος ἀπολέσθαι. κἂν ἔπαθε τοῦτο, εἰ μὴ ὁ Οὐεντίδιος μαχομένων αὐτῷ κατὰ τύχην ἐπιστὰς ἐπήμυνεν: ^[4] ἀνελπίστοις τε γὰρ ἅμα καὶ ἐλάττοσι τοῖς βαρβάροις σφῶν οὔσι προσπεσὼν τὸν τε Φρανσπάτην καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς ἐφόνευσε, καὶ οὕτω τὴν τε Συρίαν ἐκλειφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν Πάρθων ἀμαχεῖ πλήν τῶν Ἀραδίων παρέλαβε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν Παλαιστίνην, Ἀντίγονον τὸν βασιλεύοντα ^[5] αὐτῆς ἐκφοβήσας, ἀπόνως κατέσχε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτά τε διηγέ, καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ μὲν παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὡς ἐκάστων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ τε Ἀντιόχου καὶ Μάλχου τοῦ Ναβαταίου, ὅτι τῷ Πακόρῳ συνήραντο, ἐσέπραξε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς, ἅτε οὐκ αὐτοκράτωρ ὢν ἀλλ' ἐτέρῳ ὑποστρατηγῶν, εὔρετο, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος καὶ ἐπαίνους καὶ ^[6] ἱερομηνίας ἔλαβεν. οἱ γε μὴν Ἀράδιοι δεισαντες μὴ καὶ δίκην ὦν ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐτετολήμικεσαν ὑπόσχωσιν, ἐκείνῳ μὲν, καίτοι χρόνον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πολιορκηθέντες, οὐ προσεχώρησαν, ὕστερον δὲ ὑπ' ἄλλων μόλις ποτὲ ἑάλωσαν. ^[7] κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον 121 ἐγένετο μὲν καὶ ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς 122 τοῖς Παρθινοῖς 123 κίνησις, ^[p. 308] καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Πωλίων μάχαις ἔπαυσεν, ἐγένετο 42. δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ Κερητανῶν, 124 καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Καλοῦϊνος 125 κατεστρέψατο, προκατορθώσας τέ τι καὶ προδυστυχήσας διὰ τοῦ ὑποστρατήγου λοχισθέντος τε ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ἐγκαταλειφθέντος 126 ^[2] ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν. καὶ οὐ πρότερόν γε ἐπεχείρησε τοῖς πολεμίοις πρὶν ἐκείνους τιμωρήσασθαι: συγκαλέσας γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλοι τι τῷ λοιπῷ στρατῷ περιέσχε, καὶ δύο τε ἑκατονταρχίας ἐδεκάτευσε, καὶ ἑκατοντάρχους συχνούς, ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ πῖλῳ ^[3] καλουμένῳ στρατευόμενον, ἐκόλασε. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας ὥστε καὶ ὄνομα κατὰ τὸν Κράσσον τὸν Μᾶρκον ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ στρατοῦ δικαιοῶσει λαβεῖν, πρὸς τε τοὺς ἐναντίους ὥρμησε καὶ οὐ χαλεπῶς ^[4] αὐτοὺς κατειργάσατο. τυχῶν τε τῶν ἐπινικίων καίτοι τῆς Ἰβηρίας τῷ Καίσαρι προστεταγμένης ἵπρος γὰρ τὰς τῶν κρατούντων βουλήσεις καὶ αἱ τιμαὶ τοῖς ὑποστρατηγοῦσι σφισιν ἐγίγνοντό, τὸ τε χρυσίον τὸ παρὰ τῶν πόλεων ἐς αὐτὰ εἰσθὸς διδοσθαι ἐκ μόνων τῶν Ἰβηρικῶν ἔλαβε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν τι ἐς τὴν ἐορτὴν ἀνάλωσε, ^[5] τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖον ἐς τὸ βασιλεῖον. κατακαυθὲν γὰρ αὐτὸ ἀνωκοδόμησε καὶ καθιέρωσεν, ἄλλοις τέ πῃσι λαμπρῶς κοσμήσας καὶ εἰκόσιν, ἅς παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὡς καὶ ἀποδώσων ἤτήσατο. καὶ αὐτὰς ἀπαιτηθεὶς ὕστερον οὐκ ἀπέδωκεν, εὐτραπελίᾳ ^[6] χρησάμενος: ὡς γὰρ οὐκ ἔχων ἱκανοὺς ^[p. 310]

ὕπηρετας 'πέμψον τινάς,' ἔφη 'καὶ ἄρον αὐτάς,' καὶ οὕτως ἐκείνος ὀκνήσας τὴν ἱεροσυλίαν ἀνακεῖσθαι σφας εἶασε. 43. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἐγένετο: ἐπὶ δ' Ἀππίου τε Κλαυδίου καὶ Γαίου Νωρβανοῦ ὑπάτων, οἷς πρῶτοις δύο ἐκατέροις ταμίαι συνεγένοντο, τὸ τε πλῆθος πρὸς τοὺς τελῶνας βαρὺτατὰ σφισιν ἐγκειμένους ἑστασίασε, καὶ αὐτοῖς τε ἐκείνοις καὶ τοῖς ὑπηρεταῖς τοῖς τε στρατιώταις τοῖς συνεσπράσσουσι σφισι τὰ χρήματα ἐς [2] χεῖρας ἦσαν, 127 καὶ στρατηγοὶ ἐπτὰ καὶ ἐξήκοντα ἄλλοι ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἀποδειχθέντες ἦρξαν. ταμιεῦσαι τέ τις ἐν παισὶν αἰρεθεῖς ἔπειτα τῆς ὑστεραίας ἐς ἐφήβους ἐσῆλθε, καὶ ἕτερος ἐς τὸ βουλευτικὸν [3] ἐσγραφεῖς μονομαχεῖν ἠθέλησε: καὶ ἐκείνός τε 128 ἐκωλύθη τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, καὶ προσαπηγορεύθη μήτε βουλευτὴν μονομαχεῖν μήτε δοῦλον ῥαβδουχεῖν, μήτε τὰς καύσεις τῶν νεκρῶν ἐντὸς πεντεκαίδεκα ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως σταδίων γίνεσθαι. [4] πολλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ πρὸ 129 ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου τερατώδη συνηνέχθη ἄλλα τε γὰρ καὶ ἑλαῖον τι παρὰ τῷ Τιβερίδι ἀνέβλυσέ, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τότε. ἢ τε γὰρ σκηνὴ ἢ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου ἐξ ἱεουργίας τινός, ἣν οἱ ποντίφικες ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπεποιήκεσαν, ἐκαύθη: καὶ Ἀρετῆς ἄγαλμα πρὸ 130 πυλῶν τινων ἐστὸς ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ στόμα, κάτοχοι τέ τινες ἐκ τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν γενόμενοι ὀργίζεσθαι [5] σφισι τὴν θεὸν 131 ἔφασαν. καὶ ἀνεγνώσθη μὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὰ Σιβύλλεια ἔπη: ὥς δὲ καὶ ἐκείνων [p. 312] ταῦτά 132 τε εἰπόντων, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐπὶ τε τὴν θάλασσαν καταχθῆναι καὶ τῷ ὕδατι αὐτῆς καθαρθῆναι προσταξάντων, ἢ θεὸς πλεῖστόν τε ὅσον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐς τὸν βυθὸν ἐχώρησε καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνεχρόνισε καὶ μόλις ὀψέ ποτε ἀνεκομίσθη, [6] φόβος αὖ καὶ ἐκ τούτου οὐ σμικρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἔλαβεν, οὐδ' ἀνεθάρσησαν πρὶν φοίνικας τέσσαρας περὶ τὸν νεῶν αὐτῆς καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀναφῦναι. ταῦτά τε οὖν τότε ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὴν 44. Λιουίαν ἔγημεν. ἣν δὲ θυγάτηρ μὲν Λιουίου Δρούσου, ὅς ἔν τε τοῖς ἐκτεθεῖσιν ἐν τῷ λευκῷματι ἐγεγόνει καὶ ἑαυτὸν μετὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ ἦτταν κατεκέχρητο, 133 γυνὴ δὲ τοῦ Νέρωνος, μεθ' οὗ συνδιέφυγεν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται: καὶ ἐκὺει γε [2] ἐξ αὐτοῦ μῆνα ἔκτον. διστάζοντος γοῦν τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ πυθομένου τῶν ποντιφίκων εἰ οἱ ὅσιον ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσιν αὐτὴν ἀγαγέσθαι εἶη, ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι εἰ μὲν ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ τὸ κῆμα ἦν, ἀναβληθῆναι τὸν γάμον ἐχρῆν, ὁμολογουμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν κωλύει ἦδη αὐτὸν γενέσθαι, τάχα μὲν που καὶ ὄντως ἐν τοῖς πατρίοις τοῦτο εὐρόντες, πάντως δ' ἂν, εἰ καὶ μὴ εὖρον αὐτό, εἰπόντες. [3] ἐξέδωκε δὲ αὐτὴν αὐτὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ ὥσπερ τις πατήρ. καὶ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον ἐν τῇ ἐστιάσει σφῶν συνηνέχθη: παιδίον τι τῶν ψιθύρων, οἷα αἱ γυναῖκες γυμνὰ ὥς πλήθει ἀθύρουσαι τρέφουσιν, ἰδὼν χωρὶς μὲν τὴν Λιουίαν μετὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος χωρὶς δὲ τὸν Νέρωνα μεθ' ἑτέρου τινὸς κατακείμενον, [p. 314] προσῆλθέ τε αὐτῇ καὶ ἔφη, 'τί ποιεῖς ἐνταῦθα, κυρία; ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ σου,' δεῖξας αὐτόν, [4] 'ἐκεῖ κατάκειται.' ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐπράχθη, συνοικοῦσα δὲ ἦδη ἢ γυνὴ τῷ Καίσαρι τίκτει Κλαύδιον Δρούσον Νέρωνα. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ἀνείλετο καὶ τῷ πατρὶ ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐς τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐγγράψας, ὅτι Καῖσαρ τὸ γεννηθὲν Λιουία τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὶ [5] παιδίον Νέρωνι 134 τῷ πατρὶ ἀπέδωκε. καὶ ἐκείνος 135 τελευτῶν οὐ 136 πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐπίτροπον καὶ

τοῦτῳ καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ αὐτὸν τὸν Καίσαρα κατέλειπεν. ὁ δ' οὖν ὁμιλος ἅλλα τε ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ πολλὰ διεθρύλει, καὶ τοῖς εὐτυχουσι τρίμηνα παῖδια γεννᾶσθαι ἔλεγεν, ὥστε καὶ ἐς παροιμίαν τὸ ἔπος προχωρήσῃ. 45. ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ πόλει ταῦτα 137 ἐγίνετο, ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον ὁ Βογούας ὁ Μαῦρος ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, εἴτ' οὖν κατ' ἐντολὴν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου εἶτε καὶ ἄφ' ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης, πλεύσας, πολλὰ μὲν ἐλυμήνατο πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀντέπαθε, [2] κὰν τοῦτῳ τῶν οἴκοι τῶν περὶ τὴν Τιγγιν 138 ἐπαναστάντων αὐτῷ τῆς τε Ἰβηρίας ἐξέστη καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν οὐκ ἐκομίσατο: οἱ τε γὰρ τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ πράσσοντες καὶ ὁ Βόκχος προσγενόμενός σφισι κρείττους αὐτοῦ ἐγένοντο. [3] καὶ ἐκεῖνος μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπῆλθεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Βόκχος τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ αὐτίκα τε κατέσχε καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐβεβαιώσατο: τοῖς τε Τιγγιτανοῖς πολιτεία ἐδόθη. [p. 316] [4] ἐν δὲ τοῦτῳ, καὶ ἔτι πρότερον, καὶ ὁ Σέξτος ὃ τε Καῖσαρ ἐπολέμησαν: οἷα γὰρ οὐκ ἔθελονταὶ οὐδ' ἐκ προαιρέσεως ἀλλὰ ἀναγκαστοὶ τὴν ὁμολογίαν πεποιημένοι, χρόνον οὐδένα αὐτῇ ὥς εἰπεῖν ἐνέμειναν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς τὰς σπονδὰς λύσαντες διηνέχθησαν. [5] ἔμελλον μὲν γὰρ πού καὶ ἄλλως, εἰ καὶ μηδεμίαν σκῆψιν εὖρον, πολεμήσειν: αἰτίαι δ' οὖν αἶδε αὐτοῖς ἐγένοντο. ὁ Μηνᾶς ἐν τῇ Σαρδοῖ καὶ τότε ἔτι καθάπερ τις στρατηγὸς ὦν ὑπωπτεύθη τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Σέξτου διὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἐλένου ἄφεσιν καὶ ὅτι καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι ἐκεκοινολόγητο, καὶ πῃ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων φθόνῳ τῆς [6] δυναστείας διεβλήθη. κάκ τοῦτου μεταπεμφθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, πρόφασιν ὅπως περὶ τοῦ οἴτου καὶ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων ὧν διωκῆκει ἀπολογίσηται, 139 οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς κατὰ 140 τοῦτο πεμφθέντας συλλαβὼν ἀπέκτεινε, πρὸς τε τὸν Καίσαρα προκληρυκευσάμενος τὴν τε νῆσον αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ τε ἄλλο στράτευμα καὶ ἑαυτὸν παρέδωκε. [7] καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνος ἀσμένως ἰδὼν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸν Σέξτον τοὺς τε αὐτομολοῦντας παρὰ τὰ συγκείμενα ὑποδέχεσθαι καὶ ναυπηγίαν τριήρων ποιεῖσθαι ἐν τε τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ φρουρὰς ἔχειν ἔλεγεν. οὔτε ἐξέδωκεν ἐξαιτηθέντα καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐν τιμῇ μεγάλῃ ἦγαγε δακτυλίοις τε χρυσοῖς ἐκόσμησε [8] καὶ ἐς τὸ τῶν ἱππέων τέλος ἐσέγραψε. τὸ δὲ δὴ τῶν δακτυλίων τοιόνδε ἐστίν. οὐδενὶ τῶν πάλαι Ῥωμαίων, οὐχ ὅτι τῶν δουλευσάντων ποτέ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἐν ἐλευθέρῳ γένει τραφέντων, δακτυλίοις χρυσοῖς πλὴν τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ [p. 318] τῶν ἱππέων χρῆσθαι, ὥσπερ εἴρηται μοι, ἐξῆν: [9] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς ἐξελευθέροις, οἷς ἂν ὁ τὸ κράτος ἔχων ἐθελήσῃ, καίτοι καὶ ἄλλως χρυσοφοροῦσιν, ὅμως ἐν τιμῆς μέρει, ὥς καὶ βελτίοσιν ἢ κατὰ ἀπελευθερίαν ἱππεύειν τε δυναμένοις, δίδονται. 46. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Σέξτος ταῦτά τε τῷ Καίσαρι ἐγκαλῶν, καὶ ὅτι ἡ Ἀχαΐα ἐκεκākωτο καὶ οὔτε αὐτῷ οὔτε τοῖς κατελθοῦσι τὰ ὁμολογηθέντα ἐγίνετο, ἔπεμψε Μενεκράτην ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἐξελεύθερον καὶ αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῦ ὄντα, καὶ δι' ἐκείνου ἄλλα τε τῆς Καμπανίας καὶ [2] Οὐόλτουρνον ἐπόρθησεν. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ μαθὼν τοῦτο τὰ τε γραμματεῖα τὰ τῆς συμβάσεως ἀνείλετο παρὰ τῶν ἀειπαρθένων, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον τὸν τε Λέπιδον μετεπέμψατο. καὶ αὐτῷ Λέπιδος μὲν οὐκ εὐθὺς ὑπήκουσεν, Ἀντώνιος δὲ ἦλθε μὲν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἔν γὰρ τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἔτι ὦν ἐτύγχανε, [3] πρὶν δὲ ἢ συμμῖξαι τῷ

Καίσαρι ἐν Τυρσηνίᾳ ὄντι, δεισας ὅτι λύκος ἔς τε τὸ στρατήγιον 141 αὐτοῦ ἐσῆλθε καὶ στρατιώτας ἔφθειρεν, ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα αὖθις, πρόφασιν τὰ τῶν Πάρθων ὡς ^[4] κατεπείγοντα ποιησάμενος, 142 ἀνέπλευσεν. πρὸς οὖν τοῦτο ὁ μὲν 143 Καῖσαρ, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐγκαταλελείφθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὅπως μόνος τῷ πολέμῳ συσχεθῇ, ἐνόμιζεν, ἀλλ' οὕτι γε καὶ φανερώς ὠργίζετο· ὁ δὲ δὴ Σέξτος ἐθρύλει τε ὡς μὴ δικαιοῦντος τοῦ Ἀντωνίου αὐτόν, καὶ προθυμότερον τῶν προκειμένων εἶχετο, καὶ τέλος τῇ τε ^[p. 320] Ἰταλίᾳ ἐπέπλει καὶ ἀποβάσεις ποιούμενος πολλὰ ^[5] μὲν ἐκάκου πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀντέπασχε. κὰν τούτῳ ναυμαχία πρὸς Κύμη τοῦ τε Μενεκράτους καὶ Καλουσίου Σαβίνου γίγνεται· καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ νῆες μὲν πλείους τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἅτε πρὸς θαλασσοურγούς ἀντικαθισταμένους, ἀπώλοντο, ὁ δὲ δὴ Μενεκράτης τῷ Μηνᾷ συμπεσὼν ἐκ φιλονεικίας καὶ φθαρεῖς ἀντίρροπον τὴν συμφορὰν τῷ Σέξτῳ ^[6] παρέσχε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐτε ἐκεῖνος προσεποιήσατό τι τῆς νίκης καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ παρεμυθεῖτο 47. ἑαυτὸν τῆς ἡττης. καὶ ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐν τῷ Ῥηγίῳ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ὦν, δεισαντες οἱ Σέξτειοι 144 μὴ καὶ ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν περαιωθῇ, καὶ τι καὶ πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Μενεκράτους θάνατον ἀθυμήσαντες, ἀπῆραν ^[2] ἐκ τῆς Κύμης. ὁ οὖν Σαβῖνος ἐπιδιώκων αὐτοὺς μέχρι μὲν Σκυλλαίου τοῦ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀκρωτηρίου ἀπόνως ἦλθε· περιβάλλοντι δ' αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνο ἄνεμος μέγας προσπεσὼν πολλὰς τῶν νεῶν τὰς μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἄκραν προσήραξε, τὰς δὲ καὶ μετεώρους κατέδυσε, πάσας δὲ τὰς λοιπὰς διεσκέδασε. ^[3] πυθόμενος οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Σέξτος ἔπεμψεν ἐπ' αὐτὰς τὸ ναυτικόν, Ἀπολλοφάνει προστάξας. καὶ ὃς εὐρών τὸν Καίσαρα ταύτῃ που παραπλέοντα, ἵνα μετὰ τοῦ Σαβίνου ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν διαβάλλῃ, ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤϊξε. 145 κὰκ τούτου ἐκεῖνος τὰς τε ναῦς συνορμίσας καὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἐπ' αὐτῶν παρατάξας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πάνυ γενναίως ^[4] αὐτὸν ἀπεκρούσατο· αἱ τε γὰρ νῆες ἀντίπρωροι τεταγμένα οὐδεμίαν οἱ ἀσφαλῆ ἐμβολὴν ποιήσασθαι ἐπέτρεπον, ἀλλ' οἷα καὶ παχύτεραι ^[p. 322] καὶ ὑψηλότεραι οὔσαι πλεῖον τοὺς πλησιάσαντας ἔβλαπτον, καὶ οἱ ὀπλῖται ἐς χεῖράς σφισιν ἰόντες ^[5] πολὺ κρείττους ἐγίνοντο. ἔπειτα δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλοφάνους τοὺς μὲν τραυματίας τοὺς τε αἰὲ πονουμένους ἐς ἑτέρας ναῦς ἐπιτεταγμένους οἱ μετεκβιάζοντος ἐξ ἀνακρούσεως, ἄλλους δὲ ἀκραιφνεῖς μεταλαμβάνοντος, καὶ τοὺς τε πρόσπλους συνεχεῖς ποιουμένου καὶ πυρφόροις βέλεσι χρωμένους, ἐτράπετο καὶ πρὸς τὴν γῆν καταφυγὼν καθωρμίσατο. ^[6] καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὡς οἱ ἐναντίοι σφισιν ἐνέκειντο, τὰς τε ἀγκύρας τινὲς ἐξαίφνης ἀπέκοψαν καὶ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀπροσδόκητοι ἀντεξώρμησαν. καὶ τοῦτό τε ἐπέσχε μὴ πάσας τὰς ναῦς τὸν Ἀπολλοφάνη τὰς μὲν καταπρῆσαι τὰς δ' ἀναδήσασθαι, καὶ ὅτι νῦν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐπεγένετο. 48. τούτου δὲ τοιοῦτου συμβάντος, ἄνεμός τις τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐξάσιος τῷ τε Καίσαρι καὶ τῷ Σαβίνῳ καθ' ἐν ὁμοῦσιν ἐπιπεσὼν σμικρὸν τὸ πρότερον πάθος αὐτῶν ἀπέφηνε. καὶ τὸ μὲν τοῦ Σαβίνου ^[2] ναυτικὸν ἦττον ἐπόνησεν· ὁ γὰρ Μηνᾶς, ἅτε ἐκ πολλοῦ θαλαττουργὸς ὢν, τὸν τε χειμῶνα προείδετο καὶ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος εὐθὺς τὰς ναῦς ἀνώρμισε, 146 καὶ αὐτὰς ἀγκύραις χαλαραῖς, ἵνα μὴ τὰ σχοινία τεινόμενα διαρραγῇ, διαλαβὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν ἄνεμον ἀντήρεττε, καὶ οὕτως οὐτε τι σχοινίον ἔτεινε καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ αἰὲ

ἔμενε, πᾶν ὅσον ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀπεωθείτο, ἐκ τῆς εἰρεσίας ἀνοκωχεύων. 147^[3] οἱ δ' ἕτεροι, ἅτε τῇ προτεραιᾷ δεινῶς τεταλαιπωρηκότες καὶ τὰ θαλάττια μηδέπω ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες, πρὸς τε τὴν γῆν ἐγγὺς οὖσαν ἐξεβράσθησαν ^[p. 324] καὶ πολλὰς ναῦς ἀπέβαλον. ἢ τε νῦξ ὥσπερ πρότερον οὐκ ἐλάχιστα αὐτοῖς ἐβεβοηθήκει, οὕτω τότε ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐλυμήνατο: ὁ γὰρ ἄνεμος καὶ δι' αὐτῆς πολὺς γενόμενος ἀπερρήγνυ τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγκυρῶν τὰ σκάφη καὶ ^[4] πρὸς τὰς πέτρας ἐξεώθει. καὶ ἐκεῖνὰ τε οὕτω διώλλυτο, καὶ οἱ ναῦται οἱ τε ἐπιβάται μήτε προῖδεῖν τι ὑπὸ τοῦ σκότους μήτ' ἐπακοῦσαι διὰ τὸν θόρυβον καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡχὴν τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀντιπαταγοῦντός ^[5] σφισι, δυνάμενοι μᾶτην προσαπώλλυντο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ τε Καῖσαρ τῆς μὲν Σικελίας ἀπέγνω, τῆς δ' ἡπείρου τῆς παραθαλασσίας φυλακὴν ἀγαπητῶς ἐποίησατο, καὶ ὁ Σέξτος ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἦρθη, καὶ τοῦ τε Ποσειδῶνος υἱὸς ὄντως 148 ἐπίστευεν εἶναι, καὶ στολὴν κυανοειδῆ ἐνεδύσατο, ἵππους τε, καὶ ὡς γέ τινές φασι, καὶ ἄνδρας ἐς τὸν ^[6] πορθμὸν ζῶντας ἐνέβαλε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἦγε καὶ ἔφερεν, ἐς δὲ Λιβύην τὸν Ἀπολλοφάνην ἔπεμψε. καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ὁ Μηνᾶς ἐπιδιώξας καὶ καταλαβὼν ἐκάκωσε: μεθισταμένων δὲ τῶν περὶ τὴν Σικελίαν νησιωτῶν πρὸς τὸν Σέξτον ὁ Καῖσαρ τοὺς Λιπαραιούς προκατέλαβε, καὶ ἔκ τε τῆς νήσου ἐξανέστησε καὶ ἐς Καμπανίαν ἐκόμισε, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐν Νέα πόλει κατοικεῖν μέχρις οὗ 49. ἂν πόλεμος ἦ ἠνάγκασε. κἂν τοῦτω πλοῖα τε κατὰ πᾶσαν ὡς εἶπεῖν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐναυπηγεῖτο, καὶ ἐρέτας τὰ μὲν πρῶτα παρὰ τῶν φίλων ὡς καὶ ἐκόντων διδόντων, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν τε δημοτῶν τῶν εὐπόρων δούλους συνέλεγεν, ^[p. 326] ὀπλίτας τε κατελέγετο, καὶ χρήματα παρὰ τε τῶν πολιτῶν 149 καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων τῶν τε ὑπηκῶν, τῶν τε ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τῶν ἔξω πάντων, ἤθροιζε. ^[2] καὶ τὸν γε ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦτόν τε καὶ τὸν 150 ὕστερον ἔς τε τὴν ναυπηγίαν τῶν νεῶν καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄθροισιν τὴν τε ἄσκησιν τῶν ἐρετῶν κατανάλωσε, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐφορῶν καὶ διατάττων ταῦτά τε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ 'κίνησις γὰρ τις παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐγένετό, τῷ δ' Ἀγρίππᾳ ^[3] τὴν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ παρασκευὴν ἐγχειρίσας. τοὺς γὰρ Γαλάτας αὐτὸν τοὺς νεωτερίσαντας προσπολεμούμενον, ὅτεπερ καὶ τὸν Ῥήνον δευτέρος δὴ Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ πολέμῳ διέβη, μετεπέμψατο, καὶ τῇ τε δόσει τῶν νικητηρίων ἐτίμησε καὶ ἐκπονήσας ^[4] ἐξασκῆσαι τε τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐκέλευσε. καὶ ὅς ὕπατευσεν δὲ μετὰ Λουκίου Γάλλου τὰ μὲν ἐπινίκια οὐκ ἐπέμψεν, αἰσχρὸν εἶναι νομίσας τοῦ Καίσαρος κακῶς πεπραγότες γαυρωθῆναι, τὸ δὲ δὴ ναυτικὸν πάννυ προθύμως ἐξειργάσατο. ἐγένετο μὲν γὰρ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ παραθαλασσίᾳ Ἰταλίᾳ τὰ σκάφη: ^[5] ὡς δ' οὐδείς αἰγιαλὸς ἐγκαθορμίσασθαι αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλῆς εὕρισκετο 'ἀλίμενα γὰρ ἔτι καὶ τότε τὰ πλείω τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης ἦν', ἔργον μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ ἐνενόησε 151 καὶ ἐξεποίησεν, ὃ ἐγὼ διὰ πλειόνων ἐξηγησάμενος ἐκείνῳ τε ἐπιδείξω τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ κατ' αὐτὸ νῦν ὄντα. 50. ἐν τῇ Κύμῃ τῇ Καμπανίδι χωρίον τι μεταξὺ Μισηνοῦ καὶ Ποντεόλων μηνοειδές ἐστίν: ὅρεσί τε ^[p. 328] γὰρ σμικροῖς καὶ ψιλοῖς, πλὴν βραχέων, περιεῖληπται, ^[2] καὶ θάλασσαν τριπλὴν κολπῶδι ἔχει. ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἔξω τε καὶ πρὸς ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐστίν, ἢ δ' ὀλίγη

διαφυγῇ ἀπ' αὐτῆς διείργεται, ἄλλη ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ μυχῷ λιμνώδης ὀράται. καὶ καλεῖται αὕτη μὲν Ἀουερνίς, ἡ δὲ μέση Λουκρινίς: 152 ἡ γὰρ ἔξω, τοῦ Τυρσηνικοῦ οὖσα, ἐς ἐκεῖνο καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ^[3] τελεῖ. ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ θαλάσσῃ τῇ ἐντὸς ἐκατέρας στενοῖς τότε ἔσπλοις τὸ διείργον τὴν Λουκρινίδα ἀπὸ τοῦ πελάγους ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἡπειρον ὁ Ἀγρίππας συντρήσας λιμένας ^[4] ναυλοχωτάτους ἀπέδειξεν. ἐργαζομένων δ' αὐτῶν εἰκὼν τις ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀουερνίδος, εἴτ' οὖν τῆς Καλυψοῦς, ἣ τὸ χωρίον ἀναπιθέασιν, ἐς ὃ καὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσεὰ ἐσπλευσαι λέγουσιν, εἴτε καὶ ἐτέρας τινὸς ἡρωϊνῆς οὖσα, ἰδρῶτος ὥσπερ τι σῶμα ἀνθρώπινον ἀνεπλήσθη. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὅπῃ ποτ' ἐσήμαινεν, 153 οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν: τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὅσα ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐκείνῳ ἀξιαφήγητα ἐθεασάμην, φράσω. 51. τὰ ὅρη ταῦτα πρὸς ταῖς ἔνδον θαλάσσαις ὄντα πηγὰς πυρὸς τε ἅμα πολλοῦ καὶ ὕδατος συμμιγοῦς ἔχει: καὶ αὐτὸ μὲν καθ' ἑαυτὸ ἐκάτερον οὐδαμοῦ εὐρίσκεται ὅτε γὰρ πῦρ αὐτὸ οὐθ' ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν αὐτὸ φαίνεται, ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῆς ὁμιλίας σφῶν τὸ τε ὕδωρ θερμαίνεται καὶ τὸ πῦρ ὑγραίνεται: ^[2] καὶ ἐκεῖνο μὲν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν διὰ τῶν προπόδων ἐς τὰς δεξαμενὰς χωρεῖ, τὴν δ' ἀτμίδα αὐτοῦ ἐς τε οἰκήματα μετέωρα διὰ σωλῆνων ἀνάγουσι, κάνταῦθα αὐτῇ πυριῶνται: ὅσω 154 γὰρ ἂν ^[p. 330] ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀπὸ τε 155 τῆς γῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀναδράμῃ, ξηροτέρα γίγνεται. κατασκευαὶ τε οὖν περὶ ἀμφοτέρα πολυτελεῖς ἤσκηνται, καὶ ἔστιν ἐς τε βίου διαγωγὴν καὶ ἐς ἄκεσιν ἐπιτηδεϊότατα. ^[3] ταῦτά τε οὖν τὸ ὅρος ἐκεῖνο καὶ προσέτι καὶ γῆς φύσιν τοιάνδε παρέχεται. τοῦ πυρὸς τὸ μὲν καίειν οὐκ ἔχοντος ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς τοῦ ὕδατος συνουσίας πᾶν τὸ φλογῶδες αὐτοῦ σβέννυται, διακρίνειν δὲ δὴ καὶ διατήκειν τὰ προστυχόντα οἱ καὶ ὡς δυναμένου, συμβαίνει τῆς γῆς τὸ μὲν λιπαρὸν ἐκτῆκεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ τραχὺ καὶ ^[4] ὀστώδες ὡς εἰπεῖν ὑπολείπεσθαι. σηραγγώδεις τε οὖν οἱ ὅγκοι ἐξ ἀνάγκης γίνονται, καὶ αὐχμῷ μὲν δοθέντες ἐς κόνιν διαλύονται, ὕδατι δὲ σὺν κονίᾳ φυραθέντες συνίστανται, καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον γ' ἂν ἐν τῷ ὑγρῷ ᾧσι, πηγνυνται τε καὶ πετροῦνται. αἷτιον δὲ ὅτι τὸ μὲν κραῦρον αὐτῶν ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ πυρὸς ὁμοφυοῦς οἱ ὄντος ἐπιτείνεται τε καὶ θραύεται, τῇ δὲ δὴ συμμιξει τῆς νοτίδος ἀναψύχεται, κάκ τούτου εἴσω διὰ παντὸς συμπιληθὲν ἄλυτον ^[5] γίγνεται. τοιαῦτα μὲν αἱ Βαῖαι εἰσι, καὶ ἐς αὐτὰς τότε ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τοὺς ἔσπλους ἐξεποίησε, τὰς τε ναῦς καὶ τοὺς ἐρέτας ἤθροισε, καὶ τὰς μὲν κατέφραττε, τοὺς δὲ ἐπ' ἰκρίων ἐρέττειν ἤσκει. 52. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Πρώμῃ ἐταράττοντο μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ σημείων. ἄλλα τε γὰρ συχνὰ σφισιν ἐσηγγέλθη, καὶ ὅτι δελφῖνες πολλοὶ περὶ τὴν Ἀσπίδα τὴν τῆς Ἀφρικῆς πόλιν ἐμαχέσαντο τε ἀλλήλοισι ^[2] καὶ διεφθάρσαν: καὶ τι καὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῷ ἄστει αἶμα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ῥυέν ὄρνιθες διεφόρησαν. ^[p. 332] ἐπειδὴ τε ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει τῇ τῶν Ρωμαίων οὐδεὶς τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, ὥσπερ εἴθιστο, εἰστιάθη, ἐν τέρατος λόγῳ καὶ τοῦτ' ^[3] ἔλαβον. τὸ τε τῇ Λιουίᾳ συμβὰν ἐκείνῃ μὲν καθ' ἡδονὴν ἐγένετο, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις δέος ἐνεποίησε: λευκὴν γὰρ ὄρνιθα, κλωνιον δάφνης ἐγκάρπου φέρουσιν, ἀετὸς ἐς τὸν κόλπον αὐτῆς ἐνέβαλε. καὶ ἐδόκει γὰρ οὐ σμικρὸν τὸ σημεῖον εἶναι, τὴν τε ὄρνιθα ἐν ἐπιμελείᾳ ἦγε καὶ τὴν ^[4] δάφνην ἐφύτευσε. καὶ ἡ μὲν ῥιζωθεῖσα ἠῤῥησεν ὥστε καὶ τοῖς τὰ ἐπινίκια μετὰ

τοῦτο πέμψασιν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐξαρκέσαι, ἥ τε Λιουία ἐγκολπώσεσθαι 156
καὶ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἰσχὺν καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν 53. αὐτοῦ κρατήσιν ἔμελλε: τοὺς
δὲ δὴ ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταῦτά τε καὶ αἱ διαλλαγαὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων
ἰσχυρῶς ἐτάρασσον: οὐ γὰρ ὅπως οἱ τε ὑπατοὶ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ
οἱ ταμίαι ἐπ’ ἀλλήλοις ἀντικαθίσταντο, καὶ τοῦτ’ ἐπὶ ^[2] χρόνον ἐγένετο.
αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι πάντες οὐχ οὕτως ἴν’ οἴκοι ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἄρξωσιν, ὥς ἵνα ἐν τοῖς
ἄρξασιν ἀριθμῶνται καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις τὰς ἔξω
λαμβάνωσιν 157 ἐσποῦδαζον. οὐκουν οὐδὲ ἐς ῥητὸν ἔτι τινὲς χρόνον
ἤροῦντο, ἀλλ’ ὥστε ἐπιβῆναι τε τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀποστῆναι
ὅταν τοῖς τὸ κράτος ἔχουσι ^[3] δόξη: καὶ πολλοὶ γε ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας
ἐκάτερον ἔπραξαν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ παντάπασιν τὰς ἀρχὰς ὑπὸ πενίας
ἐγκατέλιπον: τῶν γὰρ σὺν τῷ Σέξτῳ τότε ὄντων, ὥς καὶ κατὰ δίκην δὴ ^[4]
τινα ἀτιμασθέντων, οὐ μνημονεύω. βουλευομένου ^[p. 334] δ’ οὖν καὶ Μάρκου
τινὸς Ὀππίου ἀγορανομίας ὑπ’ ἀπορίας ἕκ γὰρ τῶν ἐπικεκρηυγμένων καὶ
αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ ἦν’ ἐκστῆναι τὸ πλῆθος οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν, 158 ἀλλ’
ἐς τε τὰ ἄλλα τὰ πρὸς τὸν βίον ἀναγκαῖα καὶ ἐς τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀνάλωμα ^[5]
ἀργῦριον αὐτῷ συνεσήνεγκε. καὶ λόγος γε 159 ἔχει καὶ τῶν κακούργων
τινὰς ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ θέατρον ἐν προσωπείοις, ὥς καὶ ὑποκρινουμένους 160 τι,
ἐσελθόντας συγκαταβαλεῖν 161 τὰ χρήματα. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω ζῶν τε ὑπὸ τοῦ
ὀμίλου ἠγαπήθη, καὶ ἀποθανὼν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐς τε τὸ Ἄρειον πεδῖον ^[6]
ἐκομίσθη καὶ ἐκεῖ καὶ ἐκαύθη καὶ ἐτάφη: ἡ δὲ δὴ βουλή ἀγανακτήσασα τῇ
πάσῃ τοῦ πλήθους περὶ αὐτὸν σπουδῇ τὰ ὁστᾶ αὐτοῦ, ὥς οὐχ ὁσίως ἐν τῷ
ἱερῷ χωρίῳ κείμενα, ἀνείλετο, πεισθεῖσα τοῖς ποντιφίξι, καίπερ πολλοὺς
ἄλλους ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ πρότερον καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα θάψασα. 54. κὰν τῷ αὐτῷ
τούτῳ χρόνῳ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἦλθε μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν αὐθις ἐκ τῆς Συρίας,
πρόφασιν μὲν ὥς καὶ τοῦ Σεξτείου πολέμου διὰ τὰς τοῦ Καίσαρος
συμφορὰς μεθέξων, οὐ μέντοι ^[2] καὶ παρέμεινεν αὐτῷ, ἀλλ’ ἅτε 162 ἐς
κατασκοπὴν αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ καὶ ἔργου τινὸς ἔνεκα ἀφιγμένος, ἐκείνῳ μὲν
ναῦς ἔδωκε καὶ ἐτέρας πέμψειν ὑπέσχετο, ἀνθ’ ὧν ὀπλίτας ἀντέλαβεν,
αὐτὸς δὲ ὥς ^[3] καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους στρατεύσων ἀπῆρε. πρὶν δὲ ἢ
ἀποπλεῖν αὐτὸν 163 ἠτιάσαντο ἀλλήλους, πρότερον ^[p. 336] μὲν διὰ τῶν
ἐταίρων, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ δι’ ἑαυτῶν: καὶ οὐ γὰρ πῶ σχολὴν πολεμῆσαι σφισιν
ἦγον, συνηλλάγησαν τρόπον τινά, τῆς ^[4] Ὀκταουίας ὅτι μάλιστα τοῦτο
πρασοῦσης. καὶ ὅπως γε πλείοσι τοῖς τῆς συγγενείας συνδέσμοις
συνέχοιντο, ὃ τε Καῖσαρ Ἀντύλλῳ τῷ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου υἱεὶ τὴν θυγατέρα, καὶ
ἐκεῖνος τῷ Δομιτίῳ, καίτοι τοῦ Καίσαρος σφαγῇ τε γενομένῳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς
ἀπολουμένοις ἐκτεθέντι, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἐκ ^[5] τῆς Ὀκταουίας οἱ
γεννηθεῖσαν ἠγγύησε. 164 ταῦτά τε ἅμα 165 πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπλάσσοντο:
οὐ γὰρ πῶ καὶ ποιήσιν τι αὐτῶν ἡμελλον, ἀλλ’ ἐς τὴν χρεῖαν τῶν
παρόντων σφίσι πραγμάτων ὑπεκρίνοντο. 166 ἀμέλει καὶ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν
αὐτὴν εὐθύς ἐκ τῆς Κερκύρας ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἵνα δὴ μὴ
συγκινδυνεύσῃ οἱ τοῖς Πάρθοις ^[6] πολεμοῦντι, ἀπέπεμψεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ ἐν γε
τῷ τότε ἐκεῖνά τε οὕτως ἔπραξαν, καὶ τὸν μὲν Σέξτον τῆς τε ἱερωσύνης ἅμα
καὶ τῆς ὑπατείας ἐς ἣν ἀπεδέδεκτο ἔπαυσαν, ἑαυτοῖς δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐς

ἄλλα ἔτη πέντε, ἐπειδὴ τὰ πρότερα ἐξεληλύθει, ἐπέτρεψαν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἡπείγετο, Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον [7] καθίστατο. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ γνώμην αὐτῷ ἐχώρει, ὁ δὲ δὴ Μηνᾶς ἄπιστός τε φύσει ὦν καὶ τὰ τοῦ κρείττονος ἀεὶ θεραπέων, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἀγανακτήσας ὅτι μηδεμίαν ἀρχὴν εἶχεν ἀλλὰ τῷ Σαβίνῳ ὑπετέτακτο, πρὸς τὸν Σέξτον αὖθις ἠϋτομόλησεν.

BOOK 49

τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ ἐνάτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

α. ὡς Καῖσαρ Σέξτον ἐνίκησε καὶ Λέπιδον καθεῖλεν.

β. ὡς Οὐεντίδιος Πάκορον νικήσας ἀπέκτεινεν καὶ τοὺς Πάρθους

ὕπερ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἐξήλασεν.

γ. ὡς Ἀντώνιος ὑπὸ Πάρθων ἠττήθη.

δ. ὡς Καῖσαρ Παννονίους κατεστρέψατο.

ε. ὡς Ἀντώνιος Ἀρταουάσδην τὸν Ἀρμενίων βασιλέα ἀπατήσας εἴλεν.

ζ. ὡς ἡ Παύλου στοὰ καθιερώθη.

η. ὡς Μαυριτανία ἡ περὶ Καισάρειαν Ῥωμαίων ἐγένετο.

χρόνου πλῆθος ἔτη τέτταρα ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἶδε ἐγένοντο

λ. Γέλλιος Α. υἱ. Ποπλικόλας 2

μ. Κοκκήιος ... υἱ. Νέρουας ὕπ.

λ. Κορνουφίκιος Α. υἱ.

Σέξτος Πομπήιος Σέξτου υἱ. ὕπ. 9

μ. Ἀντώνιος Μ. υἱ. τὸ β

λ. Σκριβώνιος Α. υἱ. Λίβων ὕπ.

Καῖσαρ τὸ β

λ. Οὐολκάκιος Α. υἱ. Τοῦλλος ὕπ. 11

1. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ χειμῶνι ἐν ᾧ Λουκίος τε Γέλλιος καὶ Κοκκήιος Νέρουας ὑπάτευσαν, ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐγένετο: Καῖσαρ δέ, ὡς τὸ τε ναυτικὸν ἡτοίμαστο καὶ τὸ ἔαρ ἐνέστη, ἦρε τε ἐκ τῶν Βαιῶν καὶ παρὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐκομίζετο, ἐλπίδα οὐκ ἐλαχίστην ἔχων ἀπανταχόθεν πέριξ τὴν [p. 340] Σικελίαν

περισχῆσιν. αὐτός τε γὰρ πολλαῖς ναυσὶν ἐπέπλει, καὶ αἱ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἐς τὸν πορθμὸν ἤδη παρήσαν· ὁ τε Λέπιδος ἄκων μὲν, [2] ὑπέσχητο δ' οὖν αὐτῷ βοηθήσειν. μέγιστον δὲ τῷ τε ὕψει τῶν σκαφῶν καὶ τῇ παχύτητι τῶν ξύλων ἐθάρσει· ὑπερπαχῇ τε γὰρ καὶ υπερμεγέθει κατεσκευάσθη, ὥστε ἐπιβάτας τε πλείστους ὅσους ἄγειν 'καὶ γὰρ πύργους ἔφερον, ὅπως ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τείχους ἐξ ὑπερδεξιῶν ἀγωνίζωνται καὶ αὐτὰ πρὸς τε τὰς ἐμβολὰς τῶν ἐναντίων ἀντέχειν, καὶ τοὺς ἐμβόλους αὐτῶν, ἅτε καὶ βιασιότεραν τὴν σύγκρουσιν ποιουμένων, ἀποστρέφειν. [3] τοιοῦτοις μὲν λογισμοῖς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἠπειγέτο. καὶ αὐτῷ τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τὸ Παλίνουρον ὀνομαζόμενον ὑπερβάλλοντι χειμῶν μέγας ἐπέπεσε· καὶ οὕτως τε πολλὰς ναῦς ἔφθειρε, καὶ ὁ Μηνῆς ταραττομέναις ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐπιγενόμενος [4] συχνὰς τὰς μὲν ἔκασσε τὰς δ' ἀνεδήσατο. εἰ δὲ μὴ αὐθις ἐπὶ τε τῇ ἀδείᾳ καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλαις τισὶν ἐλπίσι μετέστη, καὶ τριῆρεις ψευδαντομόλους δεξάμενος πᾶν τὸ ναυτικὸν οὗ ἦρχε προέδωκε, διὰ κενῆς ἂν καὶ τότε ὁ ἐπίπλους τῷ Καίσαρι ἐγένετο. τοῦτο δὲ ἔπραξεν, ὅτι οὐτε τῷ Λεπίδῳ πολεμῆσαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Σέξτου ἐπετράπη καὶ πρὸς [5] πάντα τᾶλλα ὑπωπτεύετο. Καῖσαρ δὲ προσήκατο μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ τότε ἄσμενέστατα, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπίστευσέ τι ἔτ' αὐτῷ. ὥς δ' οὖν τὰς τε πεποννηκυίας ναῦς ἐπεσκευάσατο, καὶ τοὺς δούλους τοὺς τριηρίτας ἠλευθέρωσε, τοὺς τε περίνεως 'πολλοὶ γὰρ φθειρομένων ἐν τῇ ναυαγίᾳ τῶν σκαφῶν ἀπεκολύμβησαν' ἐς τὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ναυτικὸν [p. 342] [6] ὀλιγανδροῦν κατέταξεν, ἔς τε Λιπάραν ἦλθε, κάνταῦθα τὸν τε Ἀγρίππαν καὶ τὰς ναῦς καταλιπὼν ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον ἐκομίσθη, ἵνα καὶ τὸν πεζὸν ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν, ὅταν καιρὸς γένηται, περαιώσῃ. 2. μαθὼν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Σέξτος αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν Μεσσήνῃ ὑφώρμει, τὸν διάπλουν αὐτοῦ τηρῶν, τῷ δ' Ἀγρίππᾳ Δημοχάρην ἀνθορμεῖν ἐν Μύλαις ἐκέλευσεν. [2] οὗτοι οὖν τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον τοῦ χρόνου ἀποπειρώμενοι μὲν ἀλλήλων κατὰ τὸ παρεῖκον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐναποκινδυνεῦσαι παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ τολμῶντες, κατανάλωσαν· οὔτε γὰρ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀλλήλων ἥδεσαν, καὶ πάντα πρὸς τε τὸ μέζον καὶ πρὸς τὸ φοβερώτερον παρ' ἀμφοτέροις περὶ [3] τῶν ἐτέρων ἐλογοποιεῖτο. τέλος δὲ ὁ Ἀγρίππας συνιὲς ὅτι οὐ συμφέρει οἱ διατρίβειν 'οἱ γὰρ τοῦ Σέξτου, ἅτε ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ ναυλοχοῦντες, οὐδὲν ἐδέοντο σπεύδειν' τὰς τε ἀρίστας τῶν νεῶν ἔλαβε, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς Μύλας πρὸς κατασκοπὴν τοῦ τῶν ἐναντίων πλήθους ὥρμησε. καὶ ἐπειδὴ μήτε πάντας αὐτοὺς ἰδεῖν ἠδυνήθη μήτ' ἀναχθῆναι τις αὐτῶν ἠθέλησε, κατεφρόνησεν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐπανελθὼν παρεσκευάζετο ὥς καὶ πάσαις ταῖς ναυσὶ τῆς ὑστεραίας ἐπὶ τὰς Μύλας ἐπιπλευσούμενος. [4] τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Δημοχάρης ἔπαθε· μόνας τε γὰρ τὰς ἀφικομένας ναῦς ὑποτοπήσας εἶναι, καὶ βραδύτατα αὐτὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους πλεούσας ἰδὼν, τὸν τε Σέξτον τῆς νυκτὸς μετεπέμψατο, καὶ ἡτοιμάζετο ὥς καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ Λιπάρᾳ προσμιξῶν. ἡμέρα τε ὑπέφηνε, καὶ ἀμφοτέροι ἅμα ὥς καὶ ἐπ' ἐλάττους σφῶν ἀλλήλους ὄντας ἔπλεον. [p. 344] 3. ἐγγὺς δὲ δὴ γενόμενοι, καὶ παρὰ δόξαν πολλῷ πλείους τοὺς ἐναντίους ἑκάτεροι ὦν ὦντο εἶναι ἰδόντες, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐταράχθησαν ὁμοίως ἀμφοτέροι, καὶ τινες καὶ πρῦμναν ἐκρούσαντο· ἔπειτα δὲ τὴν φυγὴν τῆς μάχης μᾶλλον φοβηθέντες, καὶ ἐν μὲν ταύτῃ καὶ κρατῆσαι ἂν ἐλπίσαντες, ἐν δὲ ἐκείνῃ πασσοῦδι ἀπολεισθαι

προσδοκήσαντες, ἀντεξώρμησαν καὶ συμμίζαντες ἐναυμάχησαν. [2] ἦσαν δὲ οἱ μὲν τῷ πληθεὶ τῶν νεῶν, οἱ δὲ ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις τῶν ναυτικῶν προφέροντες, καὶ τοῖς μὲν τὸ τε ὕψος τῶν σκαφῶν καὶ τὸ πάχος τῶν ἐπωτιδῶν οἳ τε πύργοι συνήροντο, τοὺς δ' ἑτέρους οἳ τε διέκπλοι ἀνέφερον, πρὸς τε τὴν ῥώμην τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπιβατῶν ἡ τόλμα αὐτῶν ἀντήρκει: αὐτόμολοι γὰρ οἱ πλείους ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας [3] ὄντες ἀπονοῖα πολλῇ ἐχρῶντο. κάκ τούτου πλεονεκτοῦντές τε ἅμα ἀλλήλων καὶ ἐλαττοῦμενοι οἷς εἶπον, ἴσῃν τὴν ἰσχὺν ἐκ τοῦ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σφίσιν ἀντιπάλου εἶχον: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χρόνῳ καὶ ἀγχώμαλα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἡγωνίσαντο. [4] οἳ τε γὰρ Σέξτειοι τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐναντίους τῷ ῥοθίῳ ἐξέπλησσον, καὶ τινὰς ναῦς, ῥύμῃ τέ σφισι προσπιπτοντες καὶ τὰς παρεξιρεσίας αὐτῶν ἀναρρηγνύντες, ἐτίτρωσκον, ἀπὸ δὲ δὴ τῶν πύργων ἐν τῇ προσμίζῃ βαλλόμενοι καὶ χειρῶν ἐπιβολαῖς σιδηρῶν προσαρτῶμενοι [5] οὐδὲν ἔλαττον ὦν ἔδρων ἔπασχον: καὶ [p. 346] οἱ Καيسάρειοι ἐς χεῖρας μὲν σφισιν ἰόντες καὶ ἐς τὰς ναῦς σφῶν μετεκβαίνοντες κρείττους ἐγίνοντο, ἐκπηδώντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ὅποτε βαπτίζοντο, καὶ ἑτέρων σκαφῶν ῥαδίως ἐκ τε τοῦ καλῶς νεῖν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ κούφως ἐσκευάσθαι [6] ἐπιβαινόντων, ἀντιρρόπως ἡλαττοῦντο. κἂν τούτῳ καὶ τῶν νεῶν ἢ τε τῆς ναυτιλίας τῶν ἑτέρων ὀξύτης ἰσοπαλῆς τῇ τῶν ἐναντίων βεβαιότητι καὶ ἡ τούτων βαρύντης ἰσοστασία τῇ ἐκείνων λεπτότητι ἐγίνετο. 4. ὅπῃ δ' οὖν ποτε καὶ πρὸς νύκτα ἤδη οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκράτησαν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπεδιώξαν τινὰ, ὥς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ καὶ τὸ εἰκὸς συμβάλλεται, ὅτι μήτε καταλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐδύναντο, καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν, βράχῃ ὦν ἄπειροι ἦσαν ἔχουσας, ἐφοβήθησαν ἐξοκεῖλαι: ὥς δὲ τινες λέγουσιν, ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ἅτε καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ μαχόμενος, ἐξαρκεῖν οἱ τὸ τρέφαι [2] τοὺς ἀντιπάλους ἡγεῖτο. καὶ γὰρ εἰώθει λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς πάνυ ἐταίρους ὅτι οἱ πλείους τῶν ἐν ταῖς δυναστείαις ὄντων οὐδένα ἐθέλουσι κρείττω σφῶν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πλεῖω, ὅσα γε καὶ πρόχειρον τὴν νίκην ἔχει, αὐτοὶ δι' ἑαυτῶν ποιοῦνται, τὰ δὲ δὴ χεῖρω καὶ ἀτοπώτερα ἄλλοις [3] προστάττουσι. κἂν ἄρα ποτὲ τῶν ἀμεινόνων τι ἀναγκασθῶσιν σφισιν ἐπιτρέψαι, βαρύνονται τε καὶ ἄχθονται τῇ εὐδοξίᾳ αὐτῶν: ἡττᾶσθαι μὲν γὰρ σφας καὶ κακῶς πράττειν οὐκ εὐχονται, οὐ μέντοι καὶ παντελῶς τι καταπράξαντας τὴν [4] δόξαν αὐτοὺς λαβεῖν αἰροῦνται. δεῖν οὖν παρῆναι τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν σωθησόμενον τῆς μὲν δυσχερείας [p. 348] αὐτοῦς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπαλλάττειν, τὴν δὲ δὴ κατόρθωσιν σφῶν ἐκείνοις φυλάττειν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅτι μὲν ταῦθ' οὕτω πέφυκε καὶ ὅτι καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἐπεμελεῖτο αὐτῶν οἶδα, οὐ μὴν ἐν γε τῷ τότε παρόντι τοῦτ' αἵτιον τῆς οὐ διώξεως αὐτοῦ γράφω: οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' εἰ πάνυ ἐβούλετο, οἷός τε ἦν ἐπισπένθαι σφίσιν. 5. ἐν ᾧ δ' οὖν ἡ ναυμαχία ἐγίνετο, ὁ Καῖσαρ ὥς τάχιστα τὸν τε Σέξτον ἐκ τῆς Μεσσηνίας ἀπεληλυθότα καὶ τὸν πορθμὸν φυλακῆς ἔρημον ὄντα ἦσθετο, τὸ μὲν καινὸν τοῦ πολέμου οὐ παρέλιπεν, ἀλλ' εὐθύς ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀντωνιείων νεῶν πρὸς Ταυρομένιον ἐπεραιώθη, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐν τύχῃ αὐτῷ [2] ἐχρήσατο. πλεοντα μὲν γὰρ οὐδ' ἀποβαίνοντα αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἐκώλυσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ καθ' ἡσυχίαν τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐποίησατο: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ τε ναυμαχία ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ Σέξτος ἔς τε

τὴν Μεσσηνίην σπουδῇ ἀφίκετο, καὶ μαθὼν παρόντα αὐτὸν ἄλλους τε διὰ ταχέων [3] ἀκραίφνεϊς ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἀντενεβίβασε καὶ ἐκείναις τε αὐτῷ ἅμα καὶ τοῖς ὀπλίταις κατὰ γῆν προσέμιξε, τοῦτοις μὲν οὐδ' ἐπέξηλθεν, ἀνταναρχεῖς δὲ καταφρονήσει τῆς τε ὀλιγότητος τῶν ἐναντίων νεῶν καὶ ὅτι καὶ προήττηντο, τοῦ τε ναυτικοῦ τὸ πλεῖον ἀπέβαλε καὶ αὐτὸς ὀλίγου προσδιεφάρη. [4] οὐκ οὐκ οὐδ' ἡδυνήθη πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ ὄντας διαφυγεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητῶς ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον ἀπεσώθη. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ ἦν, ὁρῶν δὲ τὸ στράτευμα ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἀπειλημμένον [5] δεινῶς ἦχθετο. καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀνεθάρσυνε πρὶν [p. 350] ἰχθύν τινα ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης αὐτόματον ἀναθρόντα πρὸς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ προσπεσεῖν: ἐκ γὰρ τούτου πιστεύσας τοῖς μάντεσιν, εἰποῦσιν οἱ ὅτι δουλώσεται αὐτῇ, ἀνερρώσθη. 6. καὶ ὁ μὲν τὸν Ἀγρίππαν σπουδῇ πρὸς τὴν ἐπικουρίαν αὐτῶν μετεπέμπετο, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἐπολιορκοῦντο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὰ τε ἐπιτηδεῖα ἐπιλείπειν σφᾶς ἤρχετο καὶ βοήθεια οὐδεμία πω ἐφαίνετο, φοβηθεῖς ὁ Κορνούφικιος 'οὔτος γὰρ αὐτῶν ἤρχε μὴ καὶ ὑπὸ λιμοῦ τῷ χρόνῳ κατὰ χώραν [2] μένων ἐκπολιορκηθῇ, καὶ νομίσας διατρίβοντι μὲν οἱ αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ μηδένα τῶν πολεμιῶν ἐς χεῖρας, ἅτε καὶ κρείττονι τοῖς ὀπλίταις ὄντι, ἤξειν, ἂν δὲ πῃ προχωρῇ, δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ προσμιξαντάς σφισιν αὐτοὺς κρατήσιν, ἢ μὴ βουληθέντων αὐτῶν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι πρὸς τε τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἀποχωρήσιν καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδεῶν εὐπορήσιν καὶ τινα καὶ ὠφελίαν παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἢ καὶ τοῦ [3] Ἀγρίππου σχήσιν, τὰ τε σκάφη ὅσα ἔκ τε τῆς ναυμαχίας ὑπελέλειπτο καὶ πρὸς τὸ τάφρευμα ἐξεπεπτῶκει κατέκαυσε, καὶ αὐτὸς ἄρας ὡς πρὸς τὰς Μύλας ἐπορεύετο. καὶ αὐτῷ προσβαλόντες καὶ ἱππῆς καὶ ψιλοὶ πόρρωθεν 'οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁμόσε χωρῆσαι ἐτόλμων' ἄποροι δεινῶς [4] ἐγίνοντο. αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐπήεσαν ὅποτε καιρὸς εἴη, καὶ ἀνέστρεφον διὰ βραχέος: οἱ δέ, ὡς γε ὀπλῖται, οὐτ' ἄλλως ἐπιδιώκειν σφᾶς ὑπὸ τοῦ βάρους ἐδύναντο, καὶ τοὺς ἀόπλους τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ σωθέντας περιέστελλον. κἄκ τούτου [p. 352] ἔπασχον μὲν πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ, ἀντέδρων δὲ οὐδέν: εἰ γὰρ που καὶ ἐπάξειάν τισιν, ἔτρεπον μὲν αὐτοὺς, πέρα δ' οὐ δυνάμενοι διώκειν χαλεπωτέρους σφᾶς ἐν τῇ ἀναστροφῇ, ἅτε καὶ μονούμενοι [5] ταῖς ἐκδρομαῖς, εἶχον. ἐν τε οὖν τῇ ἄλλῃ πορείᾳ καὶ ἐν ταῖς διαβάσεσι τῶν ποταμῶν μάλιστα ἰσχυρῶς ἐταλαιπύρουν: περιστοιχιζόμενοι γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐναντίοι κατ' ὀλίγους, οἷα ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ, καὶ σπουδῇ ἀτάκτως χωροῦντας, ἔς τε τὰ καίρια παραγυμνουμένους ἔπαιον, καὶ ἐς τὰ πηλῶδη τὰ τε ῥοώδη ἐσπίπτοντάς πῃ καὶ ἐνισχομένους ἢ καὶ παραφερομένους ἔβαλλον. 7. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ τρεῖς ὅλας ἡμέρας ἐποίησαν, καὶ τῇ γε τελευταίᾳ παντελῶς αὐτοὺς ἐκάκωσαν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ Σέξτου τῷ ὀπλιτικῷ προσγενομένου σφισιν, ὥστε τῶν μὲν ἀπολλυμένων οὐδένα ἔτι λόγον ἐποιοῦντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν κέρδει τὸ μηκέτ' αὐτοὺς κακοπαθεῖν ἐτίθεντο, καὶ ἤθελον καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν ἤδη τεθνηκότων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνελπιστίας [2] εἶναι. οἱ δὲ δὴ τραυματῖαι πολλοὶ τε καὶ πλείους τῶν τελευτώντων ὄντες 'ἅτε γὰρ καὶ λίθοις καὶ ἀκοντίοις πόρρωθεν βαλλόμενοι, καὶ μηδεμίαν ἐκ χειρὸς πληγὴν ὑπομένοντες, πολλαχῇ τε καὶ οὐ πάντῃ καιρίαν ἐπιτρώσκοντο αὐτοὶ τε δεινῶς [3] ἐταλαιπύρουν, καὶ τοῖς περιλοιπίοις πολὺ πλείω πόνον ἢ οἱ

πολέμιοι παρείχον· εἴτε γὰρ φέροντο, καὶ τοὺς ἀνέχοντάς σφας
προσαπώλλυσαν, εἴτε [p. 354] καὶ κατελείποντο, τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν ἐς ἄθυμiam
ὀλοφυρόμενοι καθίστασαν. κἄν πασσυδι διεφθάρησαν, εἰ μήπερ οἱ πολέμιοι
καὶ ἄκοντές σφων [4] ἀπέσχοντο. ὃ τε γὰρ Ἀγρίππας τότε μὲν νικήσας τὴν
ναυμαχiam πρὸς τὴν Λιπάραν ἀνέπλευσε, μαθὼν δὲ τὸν τε Σέξτον ἐς τὴν
Μεσσήνην πεφευγότα καὶ τὸν Δημοχάρην ἄλλοσέ ποι ἀπεληλυθότα,
ἐπεραιώθη ἐς τὴν Σικελiam καὶ καταλαβὼν τὰς τε Μύλας καὶ τὴν Τυνδαρίδα
οἴτον τέ σφισι καὶ [5] στρατιώτας ἔπεμψε· καὶ ὁ Σέξτος οἰηθεὶς καὶ αὐτὸν
ἐκεῖνον ἦξειν ἐφοβήθη καὶ σπουδῇ προανεχώρησεν, ὥστε καὶ σκευὴ τινὰ
καὶ ἐπιτήδεια ἐν τῷ ἐρύματι καταλιπεῖν, ἐξ ὧν τὴν τροφὴν ἄφθονον οἱ περὶ
τὸν Κορνουφίκιον ἔχοντες πρὸς τὸν [6] Ἀγρίππαν ἀπεσώθησαν. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ
Καῖσαρ καὶ ἐπαίνοις καὶ δωρεαῖς ἀνεκτήσατο, καίπερ ὑπεροπτικώτατά
σφισιν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου νακρατία, ὡς καὶ διαπεπολεμηκότος,
χρησάμενος. τοσοῦτον γὰρ που καὶ ὁ Κορνουφίκιος ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν στρατιωτῶν
σωτηρίᾳ ἐφρόνει ὥστε καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ ἐλέφαντος, ὁσάκις ἔξω τῆς
οἰκίας ἐδείκνυε, ἀνακομιζεσθαι. 8. τῷ δ' οὖν Καίσαρι ἐς τὴν Σικελiam μετὰ
τοῦτ' ἐλθόντι ὁ Σέξτος περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσατο· καὶ μάχην
μὲν οὐδεμίαν εὐθὺς μεγάλην ἐμαχέσαντο, ἵππομαχίας δὲ τινὰς βραχείας
ἐποιοῦντο. ἀντικαθημένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἀλλήλοις, τῷ μὲν Σέξτῳ ὁ Γάλλος ὁ
Τισιῆνος, τῷ δὲ Καίσαρι [2] ὁ Λέπιδος σὺν ταῖς δυνάμεσι προσεγένοντο.
οὗτός τε γὰρ περιπεσὼν τῷ χειμῶνι οὐπὲρ ἐμνημόνευσα καὶ τῷ Δημοχάρει,
ναῦς τε συχνὰς ἀπέβαλε καὶ [p. 356] οὐκ εὐθὺς πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἦλθεν, ἀλλ'
εἴτε δὴ διὰ τὸ πάθος, εἴθ' ὅπως καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐκεῖνος πονοῖτο, εἴτε καὶ
ἀπαγαγεῖν τὸν Σέξτον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ βουλευθεὶς, Λιλυβαίῳ προσέβαλε· καὶ ὁ
Γάλλος ἐνταῦθα αὐτῷ πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σέξτου προσεπολέμει. [3] καὶ οὕτως
ἐκεῖθεν ἀμφοτέροι, ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἐπέραινον, πρὸς τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἀφίκοντο.
καὶ ὁ μὲν Γάλλος ἐπέρρωσε τὸν Σέξτον, ὁ δὲ δὴ Λέπιδος τῷ τε Καίσαρι
διηνέχθη 'αὐτός τε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου πάντα αὐτῷ διοικεῖν ὡς καὶ συνάρχων
ἦξιον, καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐς πάντα αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ ὑποστρατήγῳ οἱ ἐχρήτό, κάκ
τούτου πρὸς τε τὸν Σέξτον ἀπέκλινε [4] καὶ ἐκοινολογεῖτο αὐτῷ δι'
ἀπορρήτων. ὑποτοπήσας οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Καῖσαρ, καὶ μήτε ἐκφῆναι τολμῶν,
μὴ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ αὐτὸν πολεμώσεται, μήτ' αὖ ἀποκρύψασθαι
ἀσφαλῶς δυνάμενος ὑποπτον μὲν γὰρ ἐνόμιζεν εἰ μὴ συμβουλευοιτό τι
αὐτῷ, δεινὸν δ' εἰ πάντα ἀνακοινοῖτο ', διακινδυνεῦσαι ὅτι τάχιστα, πρὶν
νεοχρωθῆναι τι, ἔγνω, καίτοι [5] τῶν ἄλλων ἕνεκα ἥκιστα ἐπειγόμενος· οὕτε
γὰρ οἶτος οὕτε χρήματα τῷ Σέξτῳ ὑπῆν, ἐξ ὧν ἠλπίζεν αὐτὸν ἀμαχεῖ οὐ
πολλῷ ὕστερον καταλύσειν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν ἔκρινε τοῦτο, αὐτός τε κατὰ γῆν
τὸν στρατὸν ἐξάγων πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου προπαρέτασε, καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας
ἅμα ἐπιπλέων ἀπεσάλειεν· ὁ γὰρ Σέξτος πολὺ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν αὐτῶν
ἐλαττούμενος [6] οὐδετέρωσε ἀντεπεξῆει. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας
ἐγένετο. τέλος δὲ δεισας μὴ καὶ καταφρονηθεὶς διὰ ταῦθ' ὑπὸ τῶν
συμμάχων ἐγκαταλειφθῇ, ἀνταναχθῆναι ποτε ταῖς ναυσὶ προσέταξε· [p. 358]
καὶ γὰρ τινὰ ἐλπίδα ἐν ταύταις μᾶλλον εἶχεν. 9. ὡς οὖν τὸ τε σημεῖον ἦρθη
καὶ ἡ σάλπιγξ ὑπεσήμενεν, ἐκεῖναί τε ἅπασαι πρὸς τῇ γῇ συνέμιξαν καὶ ὁ

πεζὸς ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως ἐπ’ αὐτῆς τῆς ῥαχίας παρετάξατο, ὥστε τὴν θέαν ἀξιολογώτατην ^[2] γενέσθαι. ἥ τε γὰρ θάλασσα ἢ ἐκεῖ πᾶσα τῶν νεῶν ἐπεπλήρωτο ‘πολλαὶ γὰρ οὔσαι ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐπέσχον’, καὶ ἡ χώρα ἢ μὲν ἐγγὺς αὐτῆς ὑπὸ τῶν ὠπλισμένων, ἢ δ’ ἄλλη ἢ προσεχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ λοιποῦ ἐκατέρων ὁμίλου κατείχeto. ὅθενπερ καὶ ὁ ἀγὼν ἔδοξε μὲν τῶν ναυμαχοῦντων μόνων εἶναι, τῇ δ’ ἀληθείᾳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐγένετο: ^[3] οἱ τε γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ὄντες προθυμότερον ἐς τὴν τῶν ὀρώντων σφᾶς ἐπίδειξιν ἡμιλλῶντο, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀπείχοντο ἀλλήλων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς γε τὴν τῶν δρωμένων ὄψιν καὶ αὐτοὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἡγωνίζοντο. ἀντιπάλου γὰρ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς μάχης γενομένης ‘ὁμοιοτροπώτατα γὰρ τοῖς πρόσθεν ἐνανμάχησαν’ ἰσορρόπῳ καὶ ^[4] αὐτοὶ συστάσει τῆς γνώμης συνέσχοντο. μάλιστα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὸν πόλεμον πάντα ἐν αὐτῇ καταλυθήσεσθαι ἤλπιζον: εἰ δὲ μὴ, οἱ μὲν, εἰ καὶ τότε κρατήσειαν, οὐδὲν ἔτι μέγα ἐπιπονήσειν, οἱ δέ, εἰ τότε γε νικήσειαν, οὐκέθ’ ἡττηθήσεσθαι προσδοκῶντες ^[5] ἔρρωντο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ σιωπῇ, ὅπως αὐτοὶ ^[p. 360] τε πρὸς τὰ γιγνόμενα ἀποβλέπωσι καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ μὴ ἀποτριβῶσι, καὶ κραυγῇ μικρὰ ἐχρῶντο, τοὺς τε ναυμαχοῦντας ἀνακαλοῦντες καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπιβόωμενοι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν κρατοῦντάς σφω ^[6] ἐπαινοῦντες τοὺς δ’ ἡττωμένους λοιδοροῦντες, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐκείνοις ἀντιπαρακελευόμενοι πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἀντιβοῶντες, τοῦ τε τοὺς σφετέρους ῥᾶον τὰ λεγόμενα ἀκούειν καὶ τοῦ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἥττον τῶν οἰκείων ἐπαῖειν. 10. τέως μὲν οὖν ἰσοπαλεῖς ἦσαν, οὕτω τε ταῦτα παρ’ ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως ἐγίγνετο, καὶ τι καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ὡς καὶ ἰδεῖν καὶ νοῆσαι δυναμένοις σφίσι ἐνεδείκνυντο: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτράποντο οἱ τοῦ Σέξτου, ἐνταῦθα ἤδη ἄθροοι καὶ ἀπὸ μιᾶς ὁρμῆς οἱ μὲν ^[2] ἐπαιώνισαν οἱ δὲ ὠλοφύραντο. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ συννενικημένοι, πρὸς τὴν Μεσσήνην εὐθύς ἀπεχώρησαν: ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ τοὺς τε ἐκπίπτοντας τῶν ἡττωμένων ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐξεδέχετο, καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπεσβαίνων πάντα τὰ σκάφη τὰ γε ἐς τὸ τεναγῶδες ὀκέλλοντα κατεπίμπερ, ^[3] ὥστε μήτε τοῖς ἔτι πλέουσιν ἀσφάλειαν εἶναι ‘πρὸς γὰρ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου ἐκόπτοντό μήτε τοῖς προσίσχουσιν πῇ ‘πρὸς γὰρ τοῦ Καίσαρος διώλλυντό, πλὴν ὀλίγων, ὅσοι ἐς τὴν Μεσσήνην προκατέφυγον. κἂν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ὁ μὲν Δημοχάρης ^[4] ἀλίσκόμενος ἑαυτὸν ἀπέσφαξεν, ὁ δ’ Ἀπολλοφάνης ἄθραυστον τὴν ναῦν ἔχων καὶ δυνηθεὶς ἂν φυγεῖν προσεχώρησε τῷ Καίσαρι. τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ ^[p. 362] τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλοι, ὃ τε Γάλλος καὶ οἱ ἱππῆς οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πάντες, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ πεζοὶ τινες 11. ἐποίησαν. ἀφ’ οὐπερ οὐχ ἥκιστα ὁ Σέξτος ἀπογνοὺς τὰ παρόντα φυγεῖν ἐβουλεύσατο, καὶ παραλαβὼν τὴν τε θυγατέρα καὶ ἄλλους, τὰ τε χρήματα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐς τὰς ναῦς τὰς ἄριστα τῶν σωθειῶν πλεούσας ἐσθέμενος, νυκτὸς ἀπῆρεν. οὐδὲ ἐπεδίωξέ τις αὐτόν: ἐκεῖνός τε γὰρ λάθρα ἐξέπλευσε, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐν μεγάλῃ ταραχῇ παραχρῆμα ἐγένετο. ^[2] ὁ γὰρ Λέπιδος τῇ τε Μεσσήνῃ προσέπεσε, καὶ ἐσδεχθεὶς ἐς αὐτὴν τὰ μὲν ἐνέπιμπερ τὰ δ’ ἥρπαζεν: ἐπεὶ δὲ τε ἐκεῖνος αἰσθόμενος τοῦτ’ ἐπῆλθε τέ οἱ διὰ ταχέων καὶ ἐμποδῶν ἐγίγνετο, τῆς μὲν πόλεως ὑπεξῆλθε φοβηθεὶς, ἐπὶ δὲ λόφον τινὰ καρτερὸν ἀναστρατοπεδευσάμενος ἐγκλήματα ἐποιεῖτο, καταλέγων πάνθ’

ὅσα ἐλαττοῦσθαι ἐνόμιζε, ^[3] καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀπῆται ὅσα αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν
πρώτην σφῶν συνωμοσίαν ἐδέδοτο, καὶ τῆς Σικελίας ὡς καὶ
συγκαταστρεφάμενος αὐτὴν ἀντεποιεῖτο. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτά τε τῷ Καίσαρι
πέμπων τινὰς ^[4] ἐπεκάλει, καὶ ἐς δίκην αὐτὸν προυκαλεῖτο· εἶχε δὲ τὰς τε
δυνάμεις ἅς ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης ἐπῆκτο, καὶ τοὺς ἐγκαταλειφθέντας ἐν τῇ
Μεσσηνί πάντας, ἐπειδὴ καὶ πρώτως ἐς αὐτὴν ἐσεληλύθει καὶ τινα καὶ
ἐλπίδα νεωτέρων σφίσι πραγμάτων ὑπεβεβλήκει: 12. Καῖσαρ δὲ πρὸς μὲν
ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἀντεῖπε, νομίσας δὲ δὴ πάντα τὰ δίκαια παρὰ τε ἑαυτῷ καὶ
παρὰ τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἅτε καὶ ἰσχυρότερος αὐτοῦ ὢν, ἔχειν, εὐθύς ἐπ’ αὐτὸν
μετ’ ὀλίγων τινῶν ὥρμησεν ὡς καὶ ἐκεῖνόν τε ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου, οἷα ^[p. 364]
μηδὲν δραστήριον ἔχοντα, καταπλήξων, καὶ τοὺς ^[2] στρατιώτας αὐτοῦ
προσποιοσόμενος. καὶ ἐσῆλθε μὲν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον δόξας σφίσι διὰ τὴν
ὀλιγότητα τῶν συνακολουθούντων οἱ εἰρηνικὸν τι πράξειν: ὡς δ’ οὐδὲν
κατὰ γνώμην αὐτοῖς ἔλεγε, παρωξύνθησαν καὶ ἐπέθεντο αὐτῷ, καὶ τινας
τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἀπέκτειναν: ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐν τάχει βοηθείας ^[3] τυχὼν ἐσώθη.
καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ’ ἐπῆλθέ τε αὐθις αὐτοῖς μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ
κατακλείσας σφᾶς ἐς τὸ τάφρουμα ἐπολιόρκει. φοβηθέντες οὖν τὴν ἄλωσιν
κοινῇ μὲν οὐδὲν διὰ τὴν τοῦ Λεπίδου αἰδῶ ἐνεόχμωσαν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ κατ’
ὀλίγους ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐγκατέλιπον αὐτὸν καὶ μεθίσταντο: καὶ οὕτω καὶ
ἐκεῖνος ἠναγκάσθη ἐθελοντῆς δὴ ἐν ^[4] ἐσθῆτι φαῖᾶ ἰκέτης αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι.
καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τούτου τῆς τε ἐξουσίας πάσης παρελύθη, καὶ δίαίταν ἐν τῇ
Ἰταλίᾳ οὐκ ἄνευ φυλακῆς εἶχε: τῶν δὲ δὴ τὰ τοῦ Σέξτου πραξάντων οἱ μὲν
ἵππεύοντες ἢ καὶ βουλεύοντες ἐκολάσθησαν πλὴν ὀλίγων, τοῦ δὲ ἐν τῷ
τεταγμένῳ ὄντος τὸ μὲν ἐλεύθερον ἐς τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατόπεδα
κατελέχθη, τὸ δὲ δεδουλευκὸς τοῖς δεσπόταις πρὸς ^[5] τιμωρίαν ἀπεδόθη: εἰ
δὲ του μηδεὶς κύριος εὕρισκετο, ἀνεσκολοπιζέτο. τῶν τε πόλεων αἱ μὲν
ἐκούσiai οἱ προσχωρήσασαι συγγνώμης ἔτυχον, αἱ δ’ ἀντάρασαι
ἐδικαιώθησαν. 13. πράσσοντι δ’ αὐτῷ ταῦτα οἱ στρατιῶται ἐστασίασαν:
ἄλλως τε γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγοι ὄντες πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ πλῆθους σφῶν
ἐθρασύνοντο, καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους τὰς τε ἐλπίδας τὰς ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς
ἐκλογιζόμενοι ^[p. 366] πρὸς τε τὰ γέρα ἀπλήστως εἶχον, καὶ συλλεγόμενοι κατ’
ἀλλήλους ἥτουν ὅ τι τις ἐπόθει. ^[2] ἐπειδὴ τε μάτην ἐθρύλουν ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ,
ἅτε μηδενὸς ἔτι πολέμιου οἱ παρόντος, ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ αὐτοὺς ἐποιεῖτο,
ἐθορύβουν: καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ προφέροντες πάνθ’ ὅσ’ ἐτεταλαιπώρηντο, καὶ
προβάλλοντες εἰ τί που ὑπέσχητό σφίσι, πολλὰ ἐπηπείλουν, καὶ ἐνόμιζον καὶ
ἄκοντα αὐτὸν καταδουλώσεσθαι. ^[3] ἐπεὶ δ’ οὐδὲν ἐπέβαινον, τῆς γοῦν
στρατείας ὡς καὶ κεκηκότες ἀφεθῆναι ἤξιουν, θυμῷ καὶ βοῇ ἀπλέτῳ
χρώμενοι, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἐβούλοντο αὐτῆς ἀπαλλαγῆναι· καὶ γὰρ ἡκμαζόν
σφων οἱ πλείονες, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον οἱ
ἐσόμενον ὑπετόπουν καὶ διὰ τοῦθ’ ἑαυτοὺς ἀνετίμων: ὢν γὰρ ἀπαιτοῦντες
οὐκ ἐτύγχανον, ταῦτ’ ἐγκαταλείπειν αὐτὸν ἀπειλοῦντες ^[4] λήψεσθαι
προσεδόκων. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτό σφίσι προυχώρησεν: ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ, εἰ καὶ
τὰ μάλιστα τὸν τε πόλεμον ἀκριβῶς ᾗδει γενησόμενον καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων
βουλήματα σαφῶς συνίει, ἀλλ’ οὗτοι καὶ ὑπεῖξεν αὐτοῖς, νομίζων μηδὲν

δεῖν τὸν ἄρχοντα παρὰ γνώμην ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν βίας ποιεῖν, ὥς καὶ ἄλλο τι αὐθις σφων 14. διὰ τοῦτο πλεονεκτῆσαι ἐθελησόντων. προσποιησάμενος οὖν εὐλογά τε αὐτοὺς ἀξιοῦν καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων δεῖσθαι, διῆκε πρῶτους μὲν τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον πρὸς τὴν Μούρταν στρατεύσαντας αὐτῷ, ἔπειτα δὲ ὥς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐνέκειντο, καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνων πάντας τοὺς δέκατον ἔτος ἐν τῇ στρατείᾳ ἔχοντας. καὶ ἵνα γε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπισχῇ, προσανεῖπεν [p. 368] ὅτι οὐδενὶ ἔτ' αὐτῶν, οὐδ' ἂν τὰ μάλιστα [2] ἐθελήσῃ, χρήσεται. ἀκούσαντες δὲ τοῦτο οὐδὲν ἔτ' ἐφθέγγαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ προσέχειν αὐτῷ ἤρξαντο, ὅτι τοῖς τε ἀφειμένοις, οὐ πᾶσι, πλὴν τῶν προτέρων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀξιοτάτοις, τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅσα ὑπέσχητο δώσειν καὶ χώραν νεμεῖν ἐπηγγείλατο, καὶ σφισι πᾶσι μὲν πεντακοσίας δραχμάς, τοῖς δὲ δὴ ναυκρατήσασι καὶ στέφανον ἐλαίας ἔδωκε. [3] κάκ τούτου τοὺς τε ἄλλους πολλὰ ὥς ἐκάστους, καὶ τοὺς ἑκατοντάρχους ὥς καὶ ἐς τὰς βουλὰς αὐτοὺς τὰς ἐν ταῖς πατρίσι καταλέξων, ἐπήλπισε. τοῖς τε ὑποστρατήγοις ἄλλοις τε ἄλλα καὶ τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ στέφανον χρυσοῦν ἐμβόλοις ἡσκημένον ἔδωρήσατο: ὃ μῆτε πρότερον μῆτ' αὐθις ἄλλω [4] τῷ ἐγένετο. καὶ ὅπως γε διὰ παντός, ὅσάκις οἱ τινα ἐπινίκια πέμψαντες τὸν στέφανον τὸν δάφνινον φοροῖεν, ἐκεῖνος τούτῳ τῷ ναυκρατητικῷ χρώτῳ, δόγματι ὕστερον ἐβεβαιώθη. οὕτω μὲν τότε τοὺς στρατιώτας κατέστησε: καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀργύριον αὐτοῖς αὐτίκα, τὴν δὲ χώραν οὐ πολλῶν [5] ὕστερον ἔδωκεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἐξήρκεσεν ἡ ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ ἔτι τότε οὖσα, προσεξεπρίατο ἄλλην τε καὶ παρὰ Καμπανῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Καπύῃ οἰκούντων συχνήν· καὶ γὰρ ἐποίκων ἡ πόλις πολλῶν ἔδειτό, καὶ αὐτοῖς τὸ τε ὕδωρ τὸ Ἰούλιον ὠνομασμένον, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα διὰ πάντων ἀγάλλονται, τὴν τε χώραν τὴν Κνωσίαν, ἣν καὶ νῦν ἔτι καρποῦνται, ἀντέδωκε. [p. 370] [6] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ἐγένετο: τότε δὲ τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ διώκησε, καὶ τὴν Λιβύην ἐκατέραν ἀμαχεὶ διὰ Σταπιλίου Ταύρου παρεστήσατο, τῷ τε Ἀντωνίῳ τὸν ἴσον ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολομένων νεῶν 15. ἀριθμὸν ἀντέπεμψε. κἂν τούτῳ τὰ τε τῶν Τυρσηνῶν στασιάσαντα ἔπειτα ἅμα τῷ τῆς νίκης αὐτοῦ πυθέσθαι κατέστη, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἐπαίνους τε αὐτῷ ὁμοθυμαδὸν καὶ εἰκόνας καὶ προεδρίαν ἀψιδὰ τε τροπαιοφόρον, καὶ τὸ ἐφ' ἵππου ἐσελάσαι τὸ τε στεφάνῳ δαφνίνῳ ἀεὶ χρῆσθαι, καὶ τὸ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ᾗ ἐνενικήκει, ἱερομηνία αἰδίῳ οὔσῃ, ἐν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου μετὰ τε τῆς γυναικὸς [2] καὶ μετὰ τῶν παιδῶν ἐστιάσθαι ἔδωκαν. ταῦτα μὲν εὐθύς σφισι μετὰ τὴν νικὴν ἔδοξεν, ἡγγεῖλαν δὲ αὐτὴν πρῶτον μὲν στρατιώτης τις τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε ὄντων, κάτοχος ἐν αὐτῇ ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ θεοῦ δὴ πινος γενόμενος, καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ εἰπὼν καὶ πράξας, καὶ τέλος ἐς τε τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀναδραμὼν καὶ τὸ ξίφος πρὸς τοὺς τοῦ Διὸς πόδας ὥς μηκέτ' αὐτοῦ χρείας οὔσης θείς, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ παραγενόμενοι τε ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ πεμφθέντες ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπὸ τοῦ [3] Καίσαρος. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀφίκετο, καὶ σφας συναγαγὼν ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τὰ τε πεπραγμένα οἱ ἀπελογίσαστο καὶ τῶν ψηφισθέντων τινὰ παρήκατο, τὸν τε φόρον τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀπογραφῶν, καὶ εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο ἔτι τῷ δημοσίῳ ἐς τὸν πρὸ τοῦ ἐμφυλίου πολέμου χρόνον ἐπωφείλετο, ἀφῆκε, τέλη τέ τινα κατέλυσε, καὶ τὴν τοῦ Λεπίδου [p. 372]

ἰερωσύνην διδομένην οἱ οὐκ ἔλαβεν ὅυδὲ γὰρ ἐξῆν ζῶντά τινα ἀφελέσθαι, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ αὐτῷ ^[4] προσεψηφίσαντο. ἤδη μὲν γάρ τινες διεθρόνησαν ὅτι ἐπὶ τε τῇ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Λεπίδου διαβολῇ, καὶ ὥστε τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν πρότερον ἀδίκως γενομένων ἐς ἐκείνους μόνους ἀπώσασθαι, ταῦθ' οὕτω τότε ἐμεγαλοφρονήσατο: ἄλλοι δὲ ὅτι, ἐπειδὴ μηδένα τρόπον ἀπολαβεῖν τὰ ὀφειλόμενα ἐδύνατο, χάριν τινὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἀζημίον τὴν ἐκείνων ἀδυναμίαν ^[5] ἐποίησατο. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἄλλως ἐθρυλεῖτο, τότε δὲ οἰκίαν τε αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου δοθῆναι ἔγνωσαν: τὸν γὰρ τόπον ὃν ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ, ὥστ' οἰκοδομῆσαι τινα, ἐώνητο, ἐδημοσίωσε καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἰέρωσεν, ἐπειδὴ κεραυνὸς ἐς αὐτὸν ἐγκατέσκηψε. τὴν τε οὖν οἰκίαν αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ τὸ μήτε ἔργῳ μήτε λόγῳ τι ὑβρίζεσθαι: ^[6] εἰ δὲ μή, τοῖς αὐτοῖς τὸν τοιοῦτό τι δράσαντα ἐνέχεσθαι οἷσπερ ἐπὶ τῷ δημάρχῳ ἐτέτακτο. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βάθρων συγκαθεζεσθαι σφισιν ἔλαβε. 16. τῷ μὲν οὖν Καίσαρι ταῦτα παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐδόθη, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν τε Μεσσάλαν τὸν Οὐαλέριον, ὃν πρότερον ἐν ταῖς προγραφαῖς ἐτεθανάτωκει, ἐς τοὺς οἰωνιστὰς ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐσέγραψε, καὶ τοὺς Οὐτικησίους πολίτας ἐποίησατο, τὴν τε ἐσθῆτα τὴν ἀλουργῇ μηδένα ἄλλον ἔξω τῶν βουλευτῶν τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὄντων ἐνδύεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν: ἤδη γάρ τινες καὶ τῶν τυχόντων αὐτῇ ἐχρῶντο. ^[p. 374] ^[2] κὰν τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἔτει οὗτ' ἀγορανόμος τις ἀπορία τῶν αἰρεθησομένων ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' οἱ στρατηγοὶ οἳ τε δήμαρχοι τὰ προσήκοντα αὐτοῖς ἔπραξαν, οὔτε πολιάρχος ἐς τὰς ἀνοχὰς ἀπεδείχθη, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν στρατηγῶν τινες τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα αὐτῷ διήγαγον. τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ τε λοιπῇ Ἰταλίᾳ Γαίος τις Μαικίνας, ἀνὴρ ἱππεύς, καὶ τότε καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπὶ πολὺ διώκησεν. 17. ὁ δὲ δὴ Σέξτος ἐκ τε τῆς Μεσσηνίας ἐξαναχθεὶς καὶ τὴν διωξίν φοβηθεὶς, προδοσίαν τέ τινα ἀπὸ τῶν συνακολουθούντων οἱ ἔσεσθαι ὑποτοπήσας, προεῖπε μὲν σφισιν ὥς διὰ πελάγους τὸν πλοῦν ^[2] ποιησόμενος, ἀποσβέσας δὲ τὸ φῶς ὃ ἐν τοῖς νυκτερινοῖς πλοῖς αἱ στρατηγίδες νῆες, ὅπως καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ κατὰ πόδας αὐτῶν ἐφέπωνται, προδεικνύουσι, παρὰ τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν παρέπλευσε, καὶ διαβαλὼν ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν ἐς Κεφαλληνίαν ἐκείθεν ἦλθε: κάνταῦθα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι κατὰ τύχην ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἐκπεσόντες αὐθις αὐτῷ συνεγένοντο. ^[3] συγκαλέσας οὖν αὐτοὺς τὴν τε σκευὴν τὴν στρατηγικὴν ἀπεδύσατο, καὶ εἰπὼν ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι ἀθρόοι μὲν ὄντες οὗτ' ὠφελίαν τινὰ ἀλλήλοις διαρκῇ παρέξουσιν οὔτε λήσουσι, σκεδασθέντες δὲ ῥάῳ τὴν διάφευξιν ποιήσονται, παρήνεσέ σφισιν ἰδίᾳ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐκάστῳ τῆς σωτηρίας προσκοπῆσαι. ^[4] κὰκ τούτου πεισθέντων οἱ τῶν πλειόνων, καὶ ἄλλων ἄλλοσε ἀποχωρησάντων, αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐπεραιώθη, γνῶμην ἔχων πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον εὐθὺς ὀρμῆσαι. γενόμενος ^[p. 376] δὲ ἐν Λέσβῳ, καὶ ἐκεῖνόν τε ἐπὶ Μήδους ἐστρατευκέναι καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν Λέπιδον πεπολεμῶσθαι μαθὼν, διενοεῖτο μὲν κατὰ χώραν ^[5] χειμάσαι: τῶν δὲ Λεσβίων προθυμώτατα αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μνήμην καὶ δεξαμένων καὶ κατεχόντων, ἐπειδὴ τὸν τε Ἀντώνιον δυστυχῆσαντα ἐν τῇ Μηδίᾳ ἐπύθετο καὶ Γαίος Φοῦρνιος ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας τότε ἄρχων οὐκ εὐνοϊκῶς οἱ ἐχρῆτο, ^[6] οὐ κατέμεινε, ἀλλὰ ἐλπίσας τὴν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἀρχὴν

διαδέξεσθαι, ὅτι τε ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας συχνοὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφίκοντο καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἕτεροι, οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ δόξαν οἱ δὲ καὶ βίου δεόμενοι, συνελέγησαν, τὸ τε σχῆμα τὸ στρατηγικὸν ἀνέλαβε, καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ τὴν 18. περαίαν καταληψόμενος. κἀν τούτῳ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἕς τε τὴν φιλίαν ἀποσωθέντος καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ μαθόντος, καὶ τὴν τε ἄδειαν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν εὐνοίαν, ἃν τὰ ὄπλα κατὰθῃται, ὑποσχομένου δώσειν, ἀντέγραψε μὲν ὡς καὶ πεισθησόμενός οἱ, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐποίησε τοῦτο, ἀλλ’ ἕκ τε τῶν συμφορῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὴν Αἴγυπτον αὐτίκα ἀπῆρε, καταφρονήσας τῶν τε παρόντων εἶχετο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Πάρθους διεκηρυκεύετο. [2] πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀντώνιος οὐκ ἀνέστρεφεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τε ναυτικὸν καὶ τὸν Τίτιον τὸν Μάρκον, μεταστάντα τε πρὸς ἑαυτὸν πρότερον ἀπὸ τοῦ Σέξτου καὶ τότε συνόντα οἱ, ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἔπεμψε. καὶ ὃς προαισθόμενός τε τοῦτο καὶ φοβηθεὶς ὁὐδέπω γὰρ ἱκανῶς παρεσκευάσθ’ ἐξανήχηθη, [3] καὶ προχωρῶν ἧ μάλιστα διαφεύξεσθαι ἐδόκει, ἕς [p. 378] τε Νικομήδειαν ἀφίκετο, κἀνταῦθα καταληφθεὶς ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο μὲν αὐτῷ, ἅτε καὶ ἐλπίδα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἦν εὐηργέτητο ἔχων· ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἔφη οἱ σπείσεσθαι ἂν μὴ τὰς τε ναῦς καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ προπαραλάβῃ, τῆς τε κατὰ θάλασσαν σωτηρίας ἀπέγνω, καὶ τὰ σκεύη τὰ βαρύτερα ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐμβαλὼν ταύτας [4] τε κατέκαυσε καὶ ἐς τὴν μεσόγειον ὤρμησε. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιδιώξαντες ὁ τε Τίτιος καὶ ὁ Φούρνιος ἔν τε Μιδαεῖω τῆς Φρυγίας κατέλαβον καὶ περισχόντες ἐζώγρησαν. μαθὼν δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Ἀντώνιος εὐθὺς μὲν ὑπ’ ὀργῆς ἐπέστειλέ σφισιν ἵνα ἀποθάνῃ, αὐθις δ’ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον μετανοήσας ἵνα σωθῇ [5] ... τοῦ οὖν δευτέρου γραμματοφόρου τὸν πρότερον φθάσαντος, ὕστερον τὰ περὶ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ γράμματα ὁ Τίτιος λαβὼν, καὶ νομίσας ὄντως δευτέρα εἶναι, ἣ καὶ γνοὺς μὲν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὐκ ἔθελῃσας δὲ αὐτῇ πιστεῦσαι, τῇ τάξει τῆς κοιμηθεῖς αὐτῶν ἀλλ’ οὐ τῇ γνώμῃ προσέσχε. [6] καὶ οὕτως ὁ τε Σέξτος ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Κορνούφικιου τοῦ Λουκίου καὶ ἐπὶ Σέξτου τινὸς Πομπηίου ὑπάτων ἀπέθανε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἵπποδρομίαν τε ἐποίησε καὶ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ ἄρμα τε ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος καὶ εἰκόνας ἐν τῷ Ὀμονοεῖω ἔστησε, τὸ τε ἐξουσίαν σὺν τε τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ἐστιᾶσθαι ἐνταῦθ’ ἔχειν ἔδωκεν, [7] ὥσπερ ποτὲ καὶ αὐτῷ ἐψήφιστο· φίλος τε γὰρ ἔτι οἱ εἶναι ἐπλάττετο, καὶ ἐκεῖνόν τε ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν Πάρθων συμφοραῖς παρεμυθεῖτο δῆθεν, καὶ [p. 380] ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ἐπίφθονον πρὸς τε τὴν νίκην καὶ πρὸς τὰ ψηφισθέντα ἐπ’ αὐτῇ ἐξηκεῖτο. 19. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔπραττε, τὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τῶν τε βαρβάρων ὥδε ἔσχεν. ὁ Οὐεντιδῖος ὁ Πούπλιος τὸν Πάκορον στράτευμά τε ἀθροίζειν καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἐμβάλλειν μαθὼν ἔδεισεν, ἐπειδὴ μήτε αἱ πόλεις πω καθειστήκεσαν καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐν τοῖς χειμαδίοις ἔτι διέσπαρτο, καὶ τοιόνδε τι ἕς τε τὴν διατριβὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐς τὴν βραδυτῆτα [2] τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐποίησε. Χανναῖόν τινα δυνάστην γνωρίμως μὲν καὶ αὐτῷ ἔχοντα, τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν Πάρθων μᾶλλον φρονούντα εἰδώς, τὰ τε ἄλλα ὡς καὶ πιστότατόν οἱ ὄντα ἐτίμα καὶ σύμβουλον ἔστιν ὦν ἐποιεῖτο, ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν βλαβήσεσθαι, ἐκείνῳ δὲ δὴ πίστιν τοῦ καὶ τὰ ἀπορρητότατα δῆθεν αὐτῷ συνειδέναι παρέξιεν ἔμελλεν. [3] ἐπειδὴ τε

ένταῦθα ἦν, φοβεῖσθαι τε ἐπλάσατο μή πως οἱ βάρβαροι τὴν συνήθη σφίσι διάβασιν τοῦ Εὐφράτου, παρ' ἧ τὸ Ζεῦγμα ἡ πόλις ἔστι, παραλιπόντες ἑτέρα τινὶ ὁδῷ κάτω τοῦ ποταμοῦ χρήσονται 'τῇ μὲν γὰρ πεδία τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπιτήδεια, τῇ δὲ γηλόφους ἑαυτοῖς πρέποντας [4] εἶναι ἔλεγέ, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸν τ' ἀνέπεισε πιστεῦσαι, καὶ τὸν Πάκορον δι' αὐτοῦ προσεξηπάτησε: τὴν γὰρ πεδιάδα, ἣν προσεποιεῖτο ὁ Οὐεντιδιος μὴ βούλεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, μακροτέραν τῆς ἑτέρας οὖσαν τραπεῖς παρέσχεν οἱ 20. καιρὸν τὰς δυνάμεις ἀθροῖσαι. καὶ οὕτως ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ αὐτῷ τῇ Κυρηστικῇ γενομένῳ συμβαλὼν ἐνίκησεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὔτε τὸν ποταμὸν διαβῆναι [p. 382] σφας ἐκώλυσεν οὐτ' αὖ διαβᾶσιν εὐθὺς ἐπέθετο, μαλακίαν τέ τινα καὶ ἄρρωστίαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατέγνωσαν, κάκ τοῦτου πρὸς τὸ ἔρυμα αὐτῶν καίπερ ἐν μετεώρῳ ὃν προσήλασαν ὥς καὶ [2] αὐτοβοεῖ σφας αἰρήσοντες. ἐπεκδρομῆς τε αἰφνιδίου γενομένης κατὰ τε τοῦ πρανοῦς οὐ χαλεπῶς, ἅτε καὶ ἱππῆς ὄντες, ἀπεώσθησαν, κἀνταῦθα ἀνδρεῖως μὲν ἀμυνόμενοι 'κατάφρακτοι γὰρ οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν ἦσαν' ταραπτόμενοι δὲ πρὸς τε τὸ ἀνέλπιστον καὶ περὶ ἀλλήλοις, ὑπὸ τε τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν σφενδονητῶν μάλιστα ἠττήθησαν: πόρρωθεν γὰρ σφοδραῖς ταῖς βολαῖς [3] ἐξικνούμενοι χαλεπώτατοι αὐτοῖς ἐγίνοντο. κἀν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ καὶ ὁ Πάκορος πεσὼν πλεῖστον αὐτοῦς ἔβλαπεν: ὥς γὰρ τάχιστα τὸν ἄρχοντά σφον ἀπολωλότα ἦσθοντο, ὀλίγοι μὲν περὶ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ προθύμως ἠγωνίσαντο, φθαρέντων δὲ καὶ τούτων πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ ἐνέδοσαν. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν διὰ τῆς γεφύρας οἴκαδε διαφυγεῖν ἐθελήσαντες οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν, ἀλλὰ προκαταληφθέντες ἀπώλοντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν [4] Ἀντίοχον ἐς τὴν Κομμαγενὴν κατέφυγον. Οὐεντιδιος δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τὰ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ μετέωρα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου ἔκβασιν γινόμενα 'τὸν γὰρ Πάκορον ὅμοια τοῖς μάλιστα τῶν πώποτε βασιλευσάντων καὶ ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ἐπὶ πρᾶότητι ὑπερηγάπων' ῥαδίως, τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ [5] κατὰ τὰς πόλεις περιπέμψας, κατεστήσατο: αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον, πρόφασιν μὲν ὅτι τοὺς ἰκέτας οἱ οὐκ ἐξέδωκε, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ διὰ τὰ χρήματα ἃ πάμπολλα εἶχεν, ἐπεστράτευσεν. [p. 384] 21. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἤδη αὐτῷ ὄντι ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐξαίφνης ἐπιστάς οὐ μόνον οὐχ ἦσθη ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐφθόνησεν, ὅτι ἔδοξε τι καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἠνδραγαθίσθαι: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτὸν ἔπαυσε, καὶ ἐς οὐδὲν ἔτι οὐτ' αὐτίκα οὐθ' ὕστερον αὐτῷ ἐχρήσατο, καίτοι καὶ ἱερομηνίας ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς [2] ἔργοις καὶ ἐπινίκια δι' αὐτὸν λαβὼν. οἷ γε μὴν ἐν τῷ ᾧσται Ῥωμαῖοι ἐψηφίσαντο μὲν τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ ταῦτα πρὸς τε τὸ προὔχον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου, ὅτι ἡ στρατηγία ἐκείνου ἦν, ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ καὶ τῷ Οὐεντιδίῳ, ἅτε καὶ τὴν συμφορὰν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Κράσσου σφίσι γενομένην ἱκανώτατα τοῖς Πάρθοις διὰ τοῦ Πακόρου, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἑκατέρου τοῦ ἔτους ἀμφοτέρα συνηνέχθη, [3] νομίζοντες ἀνταποδεδωκέναι. καὶ συνέβη γε τῷ Οὐεντιδίῳ μόνῳ τε τὰ νικητήρια ἐορτάσαι ὥσπερ καὶ μόνος ἐνίκησεν 'ὁ γὰρ Ἀντώνιος προαπώλετό, καὶ δόξαν ἀπὸ τε τούτου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ παραλόγου ἅμα τῆς τύχης μείζω λαβεῖν: ἐν γὰρ τοῖς τοῦ Πομπηίου τοῦ Στράβωνος ἐπινικίοις πομπεύσας ποτὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων αἰχμαλώτων αὐτὸς ἐπινίκια τῶν Πάρθων πρῶτος Ῥωμαίων ἤγαγε.

22. ταῦτα μὲν χρόνῳ ὕστερον ἐγένετο, τότε δὲ ὁ Ἀντώνιος προσέβαλε μὲν τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ, καὶ κατακλείσας αὐτὸν ἐς Σαμόσατα ἐπολιόρκει· ὥς δ' οὐδὲν ἐπέραινε, ἀλλ' ὃ τε χρόνος ἄλλως ἀναλοῦτο καὶ τὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἄλλοτρίως οἱ διὰ τὴν τοῦ Οὐεντιδίου ἀτιμίαν ἔχειν ὑπόπτεισε, [p. 386] διεκρηκεύσατο αὐτῷ κρύφα, καὶ πλαστὰς πρὸς αὐτὸν συνθήκας, ὅπως εὐπρεπῶς ἀπαναστῇ, ἐποιήσατο. [2] ἀμέλει αὐτὸς μὲν οὔτε ὁμήρους, πλὴν δύο καὶ τούτων οὐκ ἐπιφανῶν, οὔτε τὰ χρήματα ἃ ἤτησεν ἔλαβε, τῷ δ' Ἀντιόχῳ θάνατον Ἀλεξάνδρου τινὸς αὐτομολήσαντος παρ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐχαρίσατο. καὶ ὁ μὲν [3] ταῦτα πράξας ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφωρμήθη, Γάιος δὲ δὴ Σόσσιος τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς τε Συρίας καὶ τῆς Κιλικίας παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβὼν τοὺς τε Ἀραδίους πολιορκηθέντας τε μέχρι τότε καὶ λιμῷ καὶ νόσῳ ταλαιπωρηθέντας ἐχειρώσατο, καὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον τοὺς φρουροὺς τοὺς παρ' ἑαυτῷ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὄντας ἀποκτείναντα μάχῃ τε ἐνίκησε, καὶ καταφυγόντα ἐς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πολιορκίᾳ κατεστρέψατο. [4] πολλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ δεινὰ καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἔδρασαν 'τὸ γάρ τοι γένος αὐτῶν θυμωθὲν πικρότατόν ἐστί, πολλῷ δὲ δὴ πλείω αὐτοὶ ἔπαθον. ἐάλωσαν μὲν γὰρ πρότεροι μὲν οἱ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τεμένους τοῦ θεοῦ ἀμυνόμενοι, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κρόνου καὶ τότε ἡμέρᾳ [5] ὠνομασμένη. καὶ τοσοῦτόν γε τῆς θρησκείας αὐτοῖς περιῆν ὥστε τοὺς προτέρους τοὺς μετὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ χειρωθέντας παραιτήσασθαι τε τὸν Σόσσιον, ἐπεὶ δὴ ἡμέρα αὖθις ἡ τοῦ Κρόνου ἐνέστη, καὶ ἀνελθόντας ἐς αὐτὸ πάντα μετὰ τῶν [6] λοιπῶν τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιῆσαι. ἐκείνους μὲν οὖν Ἡρώδῃ τινὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἄρχειν ἐπέτρεψε, τὸν δ' [p. 388] Ἀντίγονον ἐμασίγῳσε σταυρῷ προσδήσας, ὃ μηδεὶς βασιλεὺς ἄλλος ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπεπόνθει, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀπέσφαξεν. 23. ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τοῦ τε Κλαυδίου τοῦ τε Νωρβανοῦ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἐγένετο, τῷ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένῳ ἔτει οἱ μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ λόγου ἄξιον ἔπραξαν· Ἀντώνιος μὲν γὰρ ἐς τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφικνούμενος καὶ ἐκεῖσε αὖθις ἐπανιὼν πάντα τὸν [2] ἐνιαυτὸν κατέτριψε, Σόσσιος δέ, ἅτε τὰ ἐκείνου ἀλλ' οὐ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπαύξων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν φθόνον τὴν τε ὀργὴν αὐτοῦ φοβούμενος, διετέλεσε διασκοπῶν οὐχ ὅπως προσκατορθώσας τι ἀπεχθήσοιτό οἱ, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἡσυχίαν ἄγων χαρίσασαιτο· τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν Πάρθων ἰσχυρῶς αὐτὰ καθ' ἑαυτὰ [3] ἐκ τοιοῦδέ τινος ἐνεωτερίσθη. ὁ Ὀρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν ἐπεὶ δὴ τῇ τε ἡλικίᾳ καὶ τῷ πένθει τῷ τοῦ Πακόρου ἔκαμνε, Φραάτῃ τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ τῶν λοιπῶν παίδων τὴν ἀρχὴν ζῶν ἔτ' ἐνεχείρισε, καὶ ὃς παραλαβὼν αὐτὴν ἀνοσιώτατος ἀνθρώπων [4] ἐγένετο· τοὺς τε γὰρ ἀδελφοὺς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Ἀντιόχου θυγατρὸς γεγεννημένους ἐδολοφόνησεν, ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ μητρόθεν ἀμείνους αὐτοῦ ἦσαν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον δυσανασχετοῦντα ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐπαπέκτεινε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα [5] καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς γεννασιότατους ἔφθειρε, καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα καὶ δεινὰ ἐποίει, ὥστε συχνοὺς τῶν πρώτων ἐγκαταλιπόντας αὐτὸν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλοσε τοὺς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀποχωρῆσαι, ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ Μοναΐσης ἦν. τοῦτο μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ 24. Γάλλου ὑπατευόντων ἐγένετο· ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ λοιπῷ [p. 390] χειμῶνι, τοῦ τε Γελλίου καὶ τοῦ Νέρουα ἀρχόντων, Πούπλιος Κανίδιος Κράσσοις ἐπὶ

Ἰβηρας τοὺς ταύτῃ στρατεύσας μάχῃ τε τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν Φαρνάβαζον ἐνίκησε καὶ ἐς συμμαχίαν προσηγάγετο, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν Ἀλβανίδα τὴν ὁμορον ἐμβαλὼν, καὶ ἐκείνους τὸν τε βασιλέα αὐτῶν Ζόβηρα κρατήσας, ὁμοίως αὐτοὺς ὤκειώσατο. [2] τοῦτοις τε οὖν ἐπαρθεῖς ὁ Ἀντώνιος, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Μοναίσι πολλὰ ἐπελπίσας 'καὶ γὰρ ὑπέσχετο αὐτῷ τῆς τε στρατείας ἡγήσασθαι καὶ τὰ πλείω τῆς Παρθίας ἀκονιτὶ προσποιήσιν' τὸν τε πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐς χεῖρας ἦγετο καὶ τῷ Μοναίσι ἄλλα τε καὶ τρεῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων πόλεις, μέχρις ἂν διαπολεμήσῃ, νέμεσθαι ἔδωκε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὴν τῶν Πάρθων [3] βασιλείαν ὑπέσχετο. πραττόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ταῦτα δείσας ὁ Φραάτης, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν Πάρθων χαλεπῶς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Μοναίσου φυγῇ φερόντων, ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο τε αὐτῷ οὐδὲν ὃ τι οὐκ ἐπαγγελλλόμενος, καὶ ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν ἐπαναχωρῆσαι. [4] γνοὺς οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὀργὴν μὲν, ὥσπερ εἰκός, ἐποιεῖτο, οὐ μὲντοι ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Μοναίσην, καίπερ ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐπικρατείᾳ ἔτ' ὄντα: οὔτε γὰρ ἂν ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἂν γέ τι τοιοῦτο ποιήσῃ, σφετερίσασθαι προσεδόκησε, καὶ [5] τινὰ ἀπάτην ἐπ' αὐτοὺς παρεσκευάζετο. ἐκείνόν τε οὖν ἀφῆκεν ὥς καὶ τὰ τῶν Πάρθων οἱ προσποιήσοντα, καὶ πρέσβεις μετ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Φραάτην ἔπεμψε. καὶ λόγῳ μὲν τὴν εἰρήνην ἔπραττεν ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ τε σημεῖα καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους [p. 392] τοὺς ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κράσσου συμφορᾷ ἀλόντας κομίσασθαι, ἵνα ἀπαράσκευον τὸν βασιλέα διὰ τὴν τῆς συμβάσεως ἐλπίδα λάβῃ, ἔργῳ δὲ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου πάντα ἡτοιμάζετο. 25. καὶ ἦλθε μέχρι τοῦ Εὐφράτου, νομίζων ἔρημον αὐτὸν φρουρᾶς εἶναι: ἐπεὶ μὲντοι πάντα τὰ ταύτῃ διὰ φυλακῆς ἀκριβοῦς ὄντα εὗρεν, ἐκεῖθεν μὲν ἀπετράπετο, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν τῶν Μήδων βασιλέα Ἀρταουάσδην τῷ τῆς Ἀρμενίας τῆς μεζονος βασιλεῖ, ὁμωνύμῳ τέ οἱ καὶ ἐχθρῷ ὄντι, πεισθεὶς στρατεῦσαι πρὸς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν εὐθύς ὥσπερ εἶχεν [2] ἐχώρησε, καὶ μαθὼν ἐνταῦθα τὸν Μῆδον πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Πάρθου συμμαχίᾳ ἀπηρκότα, τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ μέρος μετ' Ὀππίου Στατιανοῦ ὑπελίπετο, ἐπακολουθεῖν σφας κελεύσας, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς τε ἵππεας καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ κράτιστον λαβὼν ἠπειχθη ὥς καὶ αὐτοβοεῖ πάντα τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων αἰρήσων, [3] καὶ τοῖς Πραάσποις τῷ βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν προσπεσῶν χώματά τε ἔχου καὶ προσβολὰς ἐποιεῖτο. πυθόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα ὃ τε Πάρθος καὶ ὁ Μῆδος ἐκείνον μὲν μάτην εἶων πονεῖσθαι 'τὰ τε γὰρ τειχὴ ἰσχυρὰ ἦν καὶ συχνοὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἡμύνοντο, [4] τῷ δὲ δὴ Στατιανῷ ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ τε ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ καὶ κεκμηκότι προσπεσόντες πάντας, πλὴν τοῦ Πολέμωνος τοῦ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ βασιλεύοντος καὶ τότε συστρατεύοντος αὐτῷ, ἐφόνευσαν: τοῦτον γὰρ δὴ μόνον καὶ ἐξώγησαν καὶ ἀπέλυσαν χρήματα λαβόντες. [5] ἡδυνήθησαν δὲ ταῦτα πρᾶξαι, ὅτι ὁ μὲν Ἀρμένιος οὐ παρεγένετο τῇ μάχῃ, ἀλλὰ καὶ δυνηθεὶς [p. 394] ἂν, ὥς φασι τινες, ἐπικουρῆσαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις οὔτε τοῦτ' ἐποίησεν οὔτε πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀφίκετο, 26. ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀνεχώρησεν, ὃ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἠπειχθη μὲν πρὸς τὴν πρώτην πεμφθεῖσάν οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ Στατιανοῦ ἀγγελίαν ὥς καὶ βοηθήσων αὐτῷ, ὑστέρησε δέ: ἔξω γὰρ τῶν νεκρῶν οὐδένα εὔρε. καὶ κατὰ μὲν τοῦτ' ἐφοβήθη, ὅτι δὲ οὐδενὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐνέτυχεν, ὑπετόπησέ τε ἀπεληλυθῆναι ποι αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ δέους καὶ

ἀνεθάρσησε. [2] κὰκ τούτου συμβαλὼν σφισιν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τροπὴν μὲν αὐτῶν ἐποίησατο: οἱ γὰρ σφενδονῆται πολλοὶ τε ὄντες καὶ μακροτέραν τῶν τόξων ἰέντες πάντα καὶ τὸν κατάφρακτον ἰσχυρῶς ἐλυμαίνοντο: οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀξιόλογόν τι πληθος ἔφθειρεν: οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι διὰ ταχέων ἵππευον. [3] τοῖς τε οὖν Πραάσποις αὖθις προσέμιξε καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐπολιόρκει, τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους μηδὲν μέγα λυπῶν 'οἱ τε γὰρ ἔνδον ὄντες ἰσχυρῶς αὐτὸν ἀπεκρούοντο, καὶ οἱ ἔξωθεν οὐ ῥαδίως αὐτῷ συνέμισγον', τῶν δὲ δὴ σφετέρων πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καὶ ζητήσει καὶ ἐπαγωγῇ ἀποβάλλων, [4] συχνοὺς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς κολάζων. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον, ἕως ἔτι αὐτόθεν ποθὲν τὴν τροφήν ἐλάμβανον, ἐξήρκουν ἐς ἀμφοτέρα, ὥστε καὶ τὴν προσεδρεῖαν καὶ τὴν λῆψιν αὐτῆς ἀσφαλῆ ποιεῖσθαι: ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τε ἐγγὺς πάντα κατανάλωτο καὶ πόρρω ποι οἱ στρατιῶται προχωρεῖν ἤναγκάζοντο, [5] συνέβαινε αὐτοῖς, εἰ μὲν ὀλίγοι ποι πεμφθεῖεν, μὴ μόνον μηδὲν φέρειν ἀλλὰ καὶ προσαπτόλλυσθαι, [p. 396] εἰ δὲ δὴ πλείους, ἔρημον τὸ τεῖχος τῶν πολιορκησόντων καταλείπειν, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας ἐν τούτῳ πολλὰς δὲ καὶ μηχανάς, ἐπεξιόντων σφίσι 27. τῶν βαρβάρων, ἀποβάλλειν. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀντώνιος καὶ κριθὴν πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τοῦ σίτου ἔδωκε καὶ ἑδεκάτευσέ τινας, τὸ τε σύμπαν πολιορκεῖν [2] δοκῶν τὰ τῶν πολιορκουμένων ἔπασχεν: οἱ τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ τείχει τοὺς καιροὺς τῶν ἐπεκδρομῶν ἀκριβῶς ἐτήρουν, καὶ οἱ ἔξω τοῖς τε κατὰ χώραν μένουσιν αὐτῶν, ὅποτε δίχα γένοιτο, δεινῶς, καὶ προσελαύνοντες ἐξαπίνης καὶ ὑποστρέφοντες δι' ὀλίγου, ἐνέκειντο, καὶ τοῖς σιταγωγοῦσιν ἐπὶ μὲν τὰς κώμας ἀπιοῦσιν οὐκ ἠνώχλουν, σκεδαννυμένοις δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀνακομιζομένοις προσέπιπτον [3] ἀνέλπιστοι. προσκαθημένου δ' οὖν καὶ ὡς αὐτοῦ τῇ πόλει, δέισας ὁ Φραάτης μὴ καὶ κακόν τι αὐτῇ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ, ἦτοι καθ' ἑαυτὸν τρόπον τινὰ ἢ καὶ συμμαχίαν ποθὲν προσλαβὼν, ἐργάσεται, ἔπεισεν αὐτόν, ὑποπέμψας τινας, ἐπικηρυκεύσασθαι οἱ ὡς καὶ ῥᾶστα τῶν σπονδῶν τευξόμενον. [4] κὰκ τούτου τοῖς τε πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐχρημάτισεν ἐπὶ τε χρυσοῦ δίφρου καθήμενος καὶ τὴν νεურὰν τοῦ τόξου ψάλλων, καὶ καταδραμῶν αὐτοὺς πολλὰ τέλος τὴν εἰρήνην, ἂν γε παραχρῆμα ἀποστρατοπεδεύσωνται, δώσειν ὑπέσχετο. [5] ἀκούσας οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Ἀντώνιος, καὶ φοβηθεὶς τε ἅμα τὴν μεγαλαυχίαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ πιστεύσας ὅτι, ἂν που μεταστῇ, σπείσεται, ἀπανέστη, μηδὲν τῶν [p. 398] ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν παρεσκευασμένων ὡς καὶ ἐν φιλίᾳ φθείρας. 28. ποιήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦτο καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς προσδεχομένου, οἱ τε Μῆδοι καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα κατέκαυσαν καὶ τὰ χῶματα διεσκέδασαν, καὶ οἱ Πάρθοι λόγον μὲν οὐδένα ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης αὐτῷ ἔπεμψαν, προσπεσόντες δὲ αἰφνίδιοι πολλὰ καὶ [2] δεινὰ ἐίργασαντο. ὡς οὖν ἔμαθεν ὅτι ἠπάτηται, πρεσβεύσασθαι μὲν οὐκέτ' ἐτόλμησεν 'οὔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ μετρίοις τισὶ καταλύσεσθαι προσεδόκησε, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐς ἄθυμίαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν σπονδῶν διαμαρτίας ἐμβαλεῖν οὐκ ἠθέλησεν', ἐπειχθῆναι δέ, ἐπειδὴ περ ἅπαξ ἐξανειστήκει, ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν [3] ἔγνω. καὶ ἑτέραν τινὰ ὁδὸν ἣν γὰρ ἦλθον, ἀποκεκλεισθαι σφισι παντελῶς ἐνόμιζον' ἰόντες πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα ἔπαθον. ἔς τε γὰρ χωρία ἄγνωστα ἐσπίπτοντες ἐσφάλλοντο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι τὰ στενόπορα αὐτῶν

προκαταλαμβάνοντες τὰ μὲν ἀπέσκαπτον τὰ δὲ ἀπεσταύρουν, τὴν τε ὕδρειαν πανταχοῦ ἐδυσχέraitνον καὶ τὰς ^[4] νομὰς ἐξέτριβον: καὶ εἶγε που κατὰ τύχην δι' ἐπιτηδειοτέρων τινῶν τόπων χωρήσειν ἔμελλον, ἐκείνων μὲν σφας ὡς καὶ προκατεिल्μμένων ψευδαγγελίαις ἀπέτρεπον, ἑτέρας δ' ὁδοὺς προλελοχισμένας ἰέναι ἐποίουν, ὥστε πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν τῷ 29. τοιοῦτῳ πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἐφθείροντο. καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ αὐτομολία τις ἐγένετο. κἂν πάντες μετέστησαν, εἰ μήπερ οἱ βάρβαροι τοὺς τολμήσαντας αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων ὀφθαλμοῖς ^[p. 400] ^[2] κατετόξευσαν. τούτου τε οὖν ἐπέσχον, καὶ τι καὶ τοιόνδε παρὰ τῆς τύχης εὔροντο. ἐσπεσόντες ποτὲ ἐς ἐνέδραν καὶ πυκνοῖς τοξεύμασι βαλλόμενοι τὴν τε χελώνην ἐξαπιναίως συνασπίσαντες ἐποίησαν καὶ τὰ γόνατά σφωv τὰ ^[3] ἄριστερὰ πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἤρεισαν. νομίσαντες οὖν αὐτοὺς οἱ βάρβαροι 'οὐ γάρ πω τοιοῦτόν τι ἐωράκεσαν' καταπεπτωκέναι τε ὑπὸ τῶν τραυμάτων καὶ μιᾷς ἐπικοπῆς εἶναι, τὰ μὲν τόξα ἀπέρριψαν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ἀπεπήδησαν, τοὺς δ' ἀκινάκας σπασάμενοι ἐγγὺς σφισιν ὡς καὶ ἐπισφάζοντες ^[4] αὐτοὺς προσῆλθον. κἂν τούτῳ ἐξαναστάντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πᾶσάν τε ἀπὸ παραγγέλσεως τὴν φάλαγγα ἅμα ἀνέπτυξαν, καὶ τοῖς πλησίοις ἀντιπρόσωποι ὡς ἕκαστοι προσπεσόντες παμπληθεῖς, οἷα γυμνοὺς ὠπλισμένοι, ἀπροσδοκῆτους παρεσκευασμένοι, τοξότας ὀπλῖται, βαρβάρους Ῥωμαῖοι, κατέκοψαν, ὥστε τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντας παραχρῆμα ἀποχωρῆσαι καὶ μηκέτι μηδέν' αὐτοῖς ἐπακολουθῆσαι. 30. ἡ δὲ δὴ χελώνη αὕτη τοιάδε τις ἐστὶ καὶ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον γίγνεται. τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα καὶ οἱ ψιλοὶ οἱ τε ἱππῆς ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ στρατεύματος τετάχεται: τῶν δ' ὀπλιτῶν οἱ μὲν ταῖς προμηκείσιν ἀσπίσι ταῖς κοίλαις ταῖς σωληνοειδέσι χρώμενοι περὶ τε τὰ ἔσχατα ὥσπερ ἐν πλινθίῳ τινὶ τάσσονται, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἔξω τε βλέποντες καὶ τὰ ὄπλα προβεβλημένοι, περιέχουσιν: ^[2] οἱ δ' ἑτέροι οἱ τὰς πλατείας ἀσπίδας ἔχοντες ἔν τε ^[p. 402] τῷ μέσῳ συσπειρῶνται καὶ ἐκείνας καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ὑπεραίρουσιν, ὥστε μήτ' ἄλλο τι πλὴν ἀσπίδων διὰ πάσης ὁμοίως τῆς φάλαγγος ὀρᾶσθαι, καὶ ἐν σκέπη τῶν βελῶν πάντας αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς πυκνότητος τῆς ^[3] συντάξεως γίνεσθαι. οὕτω γάρ τοι δεινῶς ἰσχυρίζεται ὥστε καὶ βαδίζειν τινὰς ἐπάνωθεν αὐτῆς, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἵππους καὶ ὀχήματα, ὅσακίς ἂν ἐν κοίλῳ τινὶ καὶ στενῷ χωρίῳ γένωνται, ἐνελαύνεσθαι. τοιοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς τάξεως ταύτης ἐστὶ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν τῆς χελώνης ἐπὶ κλησιν, πρὸς τε τὸ ἰσχυρὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸ εὐσκέπαστον ^[4] αὐτῆς, εἶληφε. χρῶνται δὲ αὐτῇ διχῆ: ἡ γὰρ πρὸς φρούριόν τι προσμίσγοντες προσπορεύονται, καὶ πολλάκις καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἀναβιβάζουσι τινας, ἡ ὑπὸ τοξοτῶν ποτε περιστοιχισθέντες κυπτάζουσι πάντες ἅμα 'καὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἵπποι ὀκλάζειν καὶ κατακλίνεσθαι διδάσκονται, κἂν τούτῳ δόκησιν σφισιν ὡς καὶ κεκμηκότες παρασχόντες ἐξεγείρονται τε πελασάντων αὐτῶν ἐξαίφνης, καὶ ἐς ἐκπληξιν σφας καθιστᾶσιν. 31. ἡ μὲν οὖν χελώνη αὕτη τοιουτότροπός ἐστιν, Ἀντώνιος δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πολεμίων οὐκέτ' οὐδὲν δεινὸν ἔπαθεν, ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τοῦ ψύχους ἰσχυρῶς ἑταλαιπώρησεν: χειμῶν τε γὰρ ἦδη ἦν, καὶ ἡ Ἀρμενία ἡ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι, δι' ὧν περ καὶ μόνων ἀγαπητῶς ἐπορεύθη, κρυσταλλώδης αἰεὶ ποτὲ ἐστὶ. τὰ τε

τραύματα, ἃ πολλὰ εἶχον, ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ ^[2] μάλιστα αὐτοῖς συνεπέθετο. ὅθενπερ συχνῶν μὲν ἀπολλυμένων συχνῶν δὲ καὶ ἀπομάχων γιγνομένων, ^[p. 404] οὐκ ἦνεγκε τὴν καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν πύστιν, ἀλλὰ ἀπηγόρευσε μηδὲν τοιοῦτο μηδὲνα οἱ ἀγγέλλειν. καὶ τὸν τε Ἀρμένιον, καίτοι ἐν ὀργῇ τε ὅτι ἐγκατέλιπέ σφας ἔχων καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι ἐπιθυμῶν, καὶ ὑπῆλθε καὶ ἐθεράπευσεν, ἵνα τὰ τε ^[3] ἐπιτήδεια καὶ χρήματα παρ' αὐτοῦ λάβῃ: καὶ τέλος, ὡς οὗτ' ἀρκέσαι πρὸς πλείω πορείαν οἱ στρατιῶται, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν χειμῶνι, ἐδύναντο, καὶ ἅμα καὶ μάτην ταλαιπωρήσειν ἔμελλον ὑποστρέψαι γὰρ ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐνενόει, πολλὰ μὲν ἐθώπευσεν αὐτόν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ καθυπέσχετο αὐτῷ, ὅπως σφίσι χειμάσαι κατὰ χώραν ἐπιτρέψῃ, λέγων ὅτι τῷ ἥρι ἐπὶ ^[4] τοὺς Πάρθους αὖθις ἐπιστρατεύσει. καὶ οἱ καὶ παρὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας χρήματα ἤλθεν, ὥστε τοῖς τε ὀπλίταις καθ' ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ ἱκνούμενον δοθῆναι. ἐπειδὴ τε οὐκ ἐξήρκεσέ σφισι τὰ πεμφθέντα, προσεπέδωκε τοῖ; λοιποῖς οἴκοθεν, τὸ μὲν ἀνάλωμα ἑαυτοῦ τὴν δὲ δὴ τῆς χάριτος δόξαν τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ποιούμενος: πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἠράνισε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἡργυρολόγησε. 32. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα πράξας ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀπῆρεν, οἱ δὲ δὴ οἱκοι Ῥωμαῖοι ἠγνόουν μὲν οὐδὲν τῶν γεγονότων, οὐχ ὅτι τάληθές ἐκεῖνος ἐπέστειλέ σφισι 'πάντα γὰρ δὴ τὰ δυσχερῆ συνέκρυπτε, καὶ ἔστιν ἃ γε αὐτῶν καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐναντιώτατον, ὡς ^[2] καὶ εὐπραγῶν, ἔγραφεν', ἀλλ' ὅτι ἢ τε φήμη τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐσήγγελλε, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ οἱ τε ἄλλοι οἱ συνόντες αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπολυπραγμόνουν ἀκριβῶς αὐτὰ ^[p. 406] καὶ διεθρύλουν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ διήλεγchon, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐβουθύτουν καὶ ἐώρταζον: τοῦ γὰρ Καίσαρος πρὸς τὸν Σέξτον ἔτι καὶ τότε προσπαιόντος οὔτε εὐπρεπῆς οὔτε ἐπικαιρὸς ὁ ἔλεγχος ^[3] αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι ἐδύνάτο. ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀντώνιος ταῦτά τε οὕτως ἔπραξε, καὶ δυναστείας Ἀμύντα μὲν Γαλατίας, καίπερ γραμματεῖ τοῦ Δημοτάρου γενομένῳ, ἔδωκε, καὶ Λυκαονίας Παμφυλίας τέ τινα αὐτῷ προσθείς, Ἀρχελάῳ δὲ Καππαδοκίας, ἐκβαλὼν τὸν Ἀριαράθην. ὁ δ' Ἀρχέλαος οὗτος πρὸς μὲν πατρός ἐκ τῶν Ἀρχελάων ἐκείνων τῶν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀντιπολεμησάντων ἦν, ἐκ δὲ μητρὸς ^[4] ἑταίρας Γλαφύρας ἐγεγέννητο. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν τούτοις ἡττόν πως ὁ Ἀντώνιος 'ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοτριῖσις ἐμεγαλοφρονεῖτό κακῶς παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις ἤκουεν: ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ μεγάλως διεβλήθη, ὅτι τε παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς, πρεσβυτέρους μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Κλεοπάτραν 'καὶ δίδυμοι γὰρ ἐτέχθησαν' νεώτερον δὲ Πτολεμαῖον ^[5] τὸν καὶ Φιλάδελφον ἐπικληθέντα, ἀνείλετο, καὶ ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν τῆς Ἀραβίας τῆς τε Μάλχου καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἰτυραίων 'τὸν γὰρ Λυσανίαν, ὃν αὐτὸς βασιλέα σφῶν ἐπεποιήκει, ἀπέκτεινεν ὡς τὰ τοῦ Πακόρου πράξαντά, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς Φοινίκης τῆς τε Παλαιστίνης, Κρήτης τέ τινα καὶ Κυρήνην τὴν τε Κύπρον αὐτοῖς ἐχαρίσατο. 33. τότε μὲν ταῦτ' ἔπραξε, τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει, ἐν ᾧ ὁ τε Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Κόρινθικὸς ὑπάτευσαν, ^[p. 408] στρατεύσαι ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρμένιον ἐπεχείρησεν, ἐλπίδα τοῦ Μήδου οὐκ ἐλαχίστην ἔχων, ὅτι πρὸς τε τὸν Φραάτην ἀνανακτῆσας ἐπὶ τῷ μήτε τῶν λαφύρων πολλὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ μὴτ' ἄλλην τινα τιμὴν λαβεῖν, καὶ τὸν Ἀρμένιον τιμωρήσασθαι τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπαγωγῆς ἐθελήσας, τὸν Πολέμωνα αὐτῷ

προσέπεμψε [2] καὶ φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν αἰτῶν. οὕτω γάρ που ὑπερήσθη τῷ πράγματι ὥστε καὶ ἐκείνῳ σπείσασθαι καὶ τῷ Πολέμῳ μισθὸν τῆς κηρυκείας τὴν μικροτέραν Ἀρμενίαν μετὰ ταῦτα δοῦναι. τὸν δ' οὖν Ἀρμένιον πρότερον μὲν ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὡς καὶ φίλον, ὅπως ἐνταῦθα αὐτὸν ἀπόνως περιλαβὼν κατεργάσθαι, μετεπέμψατο· ἐπεὶ δ' ὑποτοπήσας τοῦτ' οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν, ἕτερόν τινα τρόπον [3] ἐξαπατῆσαι ἐπεβούλευσε. φανερώς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ὠργίζετο αὐτῷ, μὴ καὶ πολεμωθείη· ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους καὶ τότε στρατεύσων, ἵνα ἀπαράσκειον αὐτὸν εὖρη, ἦρε μὲν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, μαθὼν δὲ καθ' ὁδὸν τὴν Ὀκταουίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Ρώμης ἀφικνεῖσθαι, οὐκέτι περαιτέρω προεχώρησεν [4] ἀλλὰ ἀνεκομίσθη, καίτοι καὶ παραντῖκα οἴκαδε αὐτῇ ἐπανελθεῖν κελεύσας, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰ δῶρα τὰ πεμφθέντα παρ' αὐτῆς, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας οὓς παρὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ῥητήκει, λαβὼν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον τῷ τε ἔρωτι καὶ τῇ 34. γοητείᾳ τῇ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἐδούλευε· Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ, ἐπειδὴ ὁ τε Σέξτος ἀπωλώλει καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ καταστάσεως ἐδεῖτο, ἦλθε μὲν ἐς τὴν [p. 410] Σικελίαν ὡς καὶ ἐκεῖσε πλεουσούμενος, ἐγγχρονίσας δὲ ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος οὐκέτ' ἐπεραιώθη. [2] οἱ τε γὰρ Σάλασσοι καὶ οἱ Ταυρίσκοι Λιβυρνοὶ τε καὶ Ἰάπυδες οὐδὲν μὲν οὐδὲ ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν μέτριον ἐς τοὺς Ρωμαίους ἔπρασσον, ἀλλὰ τὴν τε συντέλειαν τῶν φόρων ἐξέλιπον καὶ ἐσβάλλοντες ἔστιν ὅτε ἐς τὰ ὁμοροῦντά σφισιν ἐκακούργουν· τότε δὲ φανερώς πρὸς τὴν ἀπουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπανεόστησαν. [3] δι' οὖν τοῦτ' ἀναστρέψας τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς παρεσκευάσατο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τινες τῶν ἀφθεντῶν ὅτε ἐστασίασαν καὶ μηδὲν λαβόντων στρατεύσασθαι αὐθις ἠθέλησαν, ἐς ἔν σφας στρατόπεδον κατεχώρισεν, ἴν' ἰδίᾳ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ὄντες μῆτε προσδιαφθεῖρωσί τινα, κἂν ἄρα νεωτερίσαι τι βουλευθῶσιν, [4] ἐκδηλοὶ παραχρῆμα γένωνται. ὡς δ' οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐσωφρονίσθησαν, ὀλίγους ἐξ αὐτῶν τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους ἐς Γαλατίαν κληρουχήσοντας ἔπεμψε, νομίσας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐπελπίσειν καὶ καταστήσειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐθρασύνοντο, δίκη τινὰς αὐτῶν ἔδωκε. παροξυνθέντων τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν λοιπῶν συνεκάλεσέ τε αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι, καὶ περισχὼν τῷ στρατῷ τὰ τε ὅπλα ἀφείλετο καὶ τῆς στρατείας [5] ἔπαυσε. καὶ οὕτω τὴν τε ἑαυτῶν ἀσθένειαν ἅμα καὶ τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος φρόνημα μαθόντες ἀληθῶς τε μετεβάλοντο, καὶ πολλὰ αὐτὸν ἱκετεύσαντες ἀνεστρατεύσαντο. ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ στρατιωτῶν τε δεόμενος, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτοὺς [p. 412] σφετερισθῇ, συγγιγνώσκειν τέ σφισιν ἔφη καὶ χρησιμωτάτους πρὸς πάντα αὐτοὺς ἔσχε. 35. τοῦτο μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο, τότε δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐτέροις τισὶ καταστρέφασθαι προσέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰάπυδας ἐστράτευσε. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐντὸς τῶν ὁρῶν, οὐ πάνυ πόρρω τῆς θαλάσσης οἰκοῦντας, ἀπονώτερον προσηγάγετο, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τε τῶν ἄκρων καὶ ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα αὐτῶν οὐκ [2] ἀταλαιπώρως ἐχειρώσατο. τὸ γὰρ Μέτουλον, τὴν μεγίστην σφῶν πόλιν, κρατυνόμενοι πολλὰς μὲν προσβολὰς τῶν Ρωμαίων ἀπεκρούσαντο, πολλὰ δὲ μηχανήματα κατέφλεξαν, αὐτὸν τε ἐκείνον ἀπὸ πύργου τινὸς ξυλίνου ἐπιβῆναι τοῦ περιβόλου [3] πειρώμενον κατέστρωσαν. καὶ τέλος, ὡς οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀπανίστατο ἀλλὰ καὶ δυνάμεις

προσμετεπέμπετο, συμβῆναι τε βούλεσθαι ἐπλάσαντο, καὶ φρουροὺς ἐς τὴν ἄκραν ἐσδεξάμενοι ἐκείνους τε ^[4] τῆς νυκτὸς ἅπαντας ἔφθειραν καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἐνέπρησαν, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἑαυτοὺς οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τὰ τε παῖδια προσαπέκτειναν, ὥστε μὴδ' ὅτιοῦν ἅπ' αὐτῶν τῷ Καίσαρι περιγενέσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ὅτι ἐκείνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ζωγρηθέντες σφῶν ἐκούσιοι οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐφθάρησαν. 36. ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν οὗτοί τε ἀπωλώλεσαν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι κατεστράφατο μὴδὲν ἀξιόλογον πράξαντες, ἐπὶ Παννονίους ἐπεστράτευσεν, ἔγκλημα μὲν οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπιφέρων 'οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἡδίκητό τι ὑπ' αὐτῶν', ἵνα δὲ δὴ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀσκήῃ τε ἅμα καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλοτριῶν τρέφῃ, πᾶν τὸ τῷ ^[p. 414] κρείττονι τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀρέσκον δίκαιον ἐς τοὺς ^[2] ἀσθενεστέρους ποιοῦμενος. οἱ δὲ δὴ Παννόνιοι νέμονται μὲν πρὸς τῇ Δελματία, παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν Ἰστρον, ἀπὸ Νωρικοῦ μέχρι τῆς Μυσίας τῆς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, κακοβιώτατοι δὲ ἀνθρώπων ὄντες 'οὔτε γὰρ γῆς οὔτε ἀέρων εὖ ἤκουσιν: οὐκ ἔλαιον, οὐκ οἶνον, πλὴν ἐλαχίστου καὶ τούτου κακίστου, ^[3] γεωργοῦσιν, ἅτε ἐν χειμῶνι πικροτάτῳ τὸ πλεῖστον διαιτῶμενοι, ἀλλὰ τὰς τε κριθὰς καὶ τοὺς κέγχρους καὶ ἐσθίουσιν ὁμοίως καὶ πίνουσιν' ἀνδρειότατοι δ' οὖν διὰ πάντων ὧν ἴσμεν νομίζονται: θυμικώτατοι γὰρ καὶ φονικώτατοι, οἷα μὴδὲν ^[4] ἄξιον τοῦ καλῶς ζῆν ἔχοντες, εἰσί. ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἀκούσας οὐδ' ἀναγνοὺς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργῳ μαθὼν ὥστε καὶ ἄρξας αὐτῶν, οἶδα: μετὰ γὰρ τοι τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ ἡγεμονίαν τῇ τε Δελματία, ἥς ποτε καὶ ὁ πατήρ μου χρόνον τινὰ ἥρξε, καὶ τῇ Παννονίᾳ τῇ ἄνω καλουμένη προσετάχθην, ὅθεν ἀκριβῶς πάντα τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς εἰδὼς γράφω. ^[5] ὀνομάζονται δὲ οὕτως ὅτι τοὺς χιτῶνας τοὺς χειριδωτοὺς ἐξ ἱματίων τινῶν ἐς πάννους ἐπιχωρίως πῶς καὶ κατατέμνοντες καὶ προσαγορεύοντες συρράπτουσι. καὶ οἱ μὲν εἴτ' οὖν διὰ τοῦτο εἴτε καὶ δι' ἄλλο τι οὕτως ὠνομάδεται: ^[6] τῶν δὲ δὴ Ἑλλήνων τινὲς τάληθὲς ἀγνοήσαντες Παιονὰς σφας προσεῖπον, ἀρχαίου μὲν που τοῦ προσρήματος τούτου ὄντος, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκεῖ, ^[p. 416] ἀλλ' ἐν τε τῇ Ῥοδόπῃ καὶ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ τῇ νῦν μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης. ὑφ' οὗπερ καὶ ἐγὼ ἐκείνους μὲν Παίονας τούτους δὲ Παννονίους, ὥσπερ που καὶ αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ Ῥωμαῖοί σφας καλοῦσι, προσαγορεύσω. 37. ἐπὶ οὖν τούτους ὁ Καῖσαρ τότε στρατεύσας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὔτε τι ἐδήϊου οὔτε τι ἡρπαζε, καίπερ καὶ τὰς κώμας αὐτῶν τὰς ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις ἐκλιπόντων: ἤλπιζε γὰρ ἐθελοντὰς αὐτοὺς ὑπάξεσθαι: ὥς δὲ καὶ προχωροῦντα αὐτὸν πρὸς Σισκίαν ἐλύπησαν, ὠργίσθη καὶ τὴν τε χώραν σφῶν ἔκαie ^[2] καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐδύνατο λείαν ἐποιεῖτο. πλησιάσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ τῇ πόλει οἱ ἐπιχώριοι παραντίκα μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν δυνατῶν ἀναπεισθέντες ὠμολόγησάν τε αὐτῷ καὶ ὁμήρους ἔδοσαν, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὰς τε πύλας ἀπέκλεισαν καὶ ἐς πολιορκίαν κατέστησαν. εἶχον μὲν γὰρ καὶ τεῖχη ἰσχυρά, τὸ δ' ὅλον ποταμοῖς ^[3] δύο ναυσιπόροις ἐθάρσουν. ὁ γὰρ Κόλοψ ὀνομαζόμενος παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν περίβολον παραρρέων ἐς τὸν Σάουον ὀλίγον ἀπέχοντα αὐτοῦ ἐμβάλλει καὶ νῦν πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ἐγκεκύκλωται, Τιβερίου τάφρῳ τινὶ μεγάλῃ ἐς τοῦτο αὐτὸν καταστήσαντος, δι' ἧς ἐς τὸ ἀρχαῖον αὐθις ῥεῖθρον ἐπανερχεται. ^[4] τότε δὲ τῇ μὲν τοῦ Κόλοπος παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ τεῖχη παρεξιώντος, τῇ δὲ τοῦ Σάουου ὀλίγον ἄπωθεν παραρρέοντος διάκενόν τι κατελέλειπτο, ὃ καὶ ^[5]

σταυρώμασι καὶ ταφρεύμασιν ὠχύρωτο. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ πλοῖα παρὰ τῶν ταύτῃ συμμάχων ποιηθέντα λαβών, καὶ διὰ τε τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ἐς τὸν Σάουον [p. 418] καὶ δι' ἐκείνου ἐς τὸν Κόλοπα αὐτὰ ἀγαγών, προσέβαλε 100 σφισι τῷ πεζῷ ἅμα καὶ ταῖς ναῦσι, καὶ τινας καὶ ναυμαχίας ἐν αὐτῷ 101 ἐποίησατο. [6] καὶ γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι μονόξυλα πλοῖα ἀντικατασκευάσαντες διεκινδύνευον, καὶ ἐν τε τῷ ποταμῷ ἄλλους τε συχνούς καὶ τὸν Μηνᾶν τὸν τοῦ Σέξτου ἐξελεύθερον ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ ἰσχυρῶς 102 αὐτὸν ἡμύνοντο, μέχρις οὗ τῶν συμμάχων τινὰς ἐνηδρεῦσθαι 103 τε καὶ ἐφθάρθαι ἐπύθοντο: τότε γὰρ ἀθυμήσαντες ἐνέδοσαν. καὶ οὕτως ἀλόντων ἐκείνων καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Παννονικὸν ὁμολογίᾳ προσηγάγετο. 38. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκεῖ μὲν Φούφιον Γέμινον σὺν δυνάμει πινὶ κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ρώμην ἀνεκομίσθη, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπινίκια ψηφισθέντα οἱ ἀνεβάλετο, 104 τῇ δ' Ὀκταουίᾳ τῇ τε Λιουίᾳ καὶ εἰκόνας καὶ τὸ τὰ σφέτερα ἄνευ κυρίου τινὸς διοικεῖν, τὸ τε ἄδεξ καὶ τὸ ἀνύβριστον ἐκ τοῦ [2] ὁμοίου τοῖς δημάρχους ἔχειν ἔδωκεν. ὠρμημένου δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν κατὰ τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς ζῆλον στρατεῦσαι, καὶ ἤδη καὶ ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν μετὰ τὸν χειμῶνα ἐν ᾧ ὁ τε Ἀντώνιος τὸ δεῦτερον καὶ Λούκιος Λίβων ὑπάτευον προκεχωρηκότος, τῶν τε νεοαλῶτων τινὲς καὶ Δελμάται [3] σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐπανέστησαν. καὶ Παννονίους μὲν ὁ Γέμινος, καίτοι τῆς Σισκίας ἐκπεσών, ὅμως μάχαις ἀνεκτήσατο, τοὺς τε Σαλάσσους 105 καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς μετ' αὐτῶν νεωτερίσαντας ὁ Μεσσάλας ὁ 106 Οὐαλέριος ἐχειρώσατο: ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τοὺς [p. 420] Δελμάτας πρότερος μὲν ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ἔπειτα δὲ [4] καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεστράτευσεν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλείους σφῶν αὐτοὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ παθόντες, ὥστε καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τρωθῆναι καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πισι κριθῆν ἀντὶ τοῦ σίτου δοθῆναι, καὶ ἐτέρους τὴν τάξιν ἐκλιπόντας δεκατευθῆναι, κατεστρέψαντο, τοῖς δὲ δὴ λοιποῖς ὁ Ταῦρος Στατίλιος ἐπολέμησεν. 39. Ἀντώνιος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς αὐθημερὸν ἐξέστη, Λούκιον Σεμπρόνιον Ἀτρατῖνον ἀντικαταστήσας: ὅθεν εἰσὶν οἱ τοῦτον ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκεῖνον ἐν [2] τῇ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀπαριθμῇσι ὀνομάζουσι: πράττων δ' ὅπως ὥς ὅτι ἀπονώτατα τὸν Ἀρμένιον τιμωρήσεται, τὴν τε θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ ὥς καὶ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ υἱεῖ συνοικίσων ἦτησε, Κύντον τινα Δέλλιον παιδικὰ ποτε ἑαυτοῦ γενόμενον πέμψας, [3] καὶ πολλὰ τινα αὐτῷ δώσειν ὑπέσχετο. καὶ τέλος ἔς τε τὴν Νικόπολιν τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου αἰφνιδιον ἅμα τῷ ἦρι ἦλθε, κάνταῦθα αὐτὸν ὥς καὶ συμβουλευόντα καὶ συμπράξοντά τινα κατὰ τῶν Πάρθων μετεπέμψατο. ἐπειδὴ τε οὐκ ἀφίκετο τὴν ἐπιβουλήν ὑποπτεύσας, τὸν τε Δέλλιον αὖθις ἐς λόγους οἱ προσέπεμψε, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐδὲν ἦττον σπουδῇ [4] πρὸς τὰ Ἀρτάξατα ἤλασε. καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸν ὀφείποτε, τὰ μὲν πείθων διὰ τῶν ἐταίρων, τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καταπλήσων, πάντα τε ἀπλῶς ὥς πρὸς φίλον καὶ γράφων καὶ πράττων, [5] ἐπηγάγετο ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐσελθεῖν. κάνταῦθα συλλαβὼν τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἄδετόν τε εἶχε, καὶ κατὰ [p. 422] τὰ φρούρια ἐν οἷς οἱ θησαυροὶ ἦσαν περιῆγεν, εἴ πως ἅμαχεϊ σφας λάβοι, σκηπτόμενος δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλο αὐτὸν συνειληφέναι 107 ἢ ἵνα τοὺς Ἀρμενίους καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ [6] δασμολογήσῃ. ὥς δ' οὔτε οἱ χρυσοφύλακες 108 προσεῖχον αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ τὰ

ὄπλα ἔχοντες Ἀρτάξην τὸν πρεσβύτατον τῶν παιδῶν αὐτοῦ βασιλέα ἀνθελοντο, ἔδρησεν αὐτὸν ἀργυραῖς ἀλύσεσιν: αἰσχροὺν γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἦν βασιλέα αὐτὸν γεγονότα 40. σιδηραῖς δεθῆναι. κάκ τούτου τοὺς μὲν ἐθελοντὶ 109 τοὺς δὲ καὶ βία λαβὼν πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀρμενίαν κατέσχευεν: ὁ γὰρ Ἀρτάξης ἐπειδὴ συμβαλὼν οἱ ἡλαττοῦτο, [2] πρὸς τὸν Πάρθον ἀπεχώρησε. πράξας δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ τῷ υἱεῖ τὴν τοῦ Μήδου θυγατέρα, ὅπως ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν προσεταιρίσεται, μνηστεύσας, τὰ τε στρατόπεδα ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ κατέλιπε καὶ ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀνεκομίσθη, τὴν τε ἄλλην λείαν πολλὴν καὶ τὸν Ἀρμένιον μετὰ τε τῆς γυναικὸς [3] καὶ μετὰ παιδῶν ἄγων. καὶ σφας σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις αἰχμαλώτοις καὶ ἐν ἐπινικίοις πισὶν ἐς 110 τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν προπέμψας αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἄρματος ἐσήλασε, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ ἐχαρίσατο καὶ τὸν Ἀρμένιον μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἐν χρυσοῖς δεσμοῖς προσήγαγε. προεκάθητο δὲ ἐν μέσῳ τῷ πλήθει ἐπὶ τε βήματος ἐπαργύρου καὶ [4] ἐπὶ δίφρου ἐπιχρύσου. οἱ γε μὴν βάρβαροι οὐθ' ἰκέτευσαν αὐτὴν οὔτε προσεκύνησαν, καίτοι πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἀναγκαζόμενοι πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐλπίσιν [p. 424] ἀναπειθόμενοι, ἀλλ' ὄνομαστὶ ἐπροσαγορεύσαντες δόξαν μὲν φρονήματος ἔλαβον, κακουχίᾳ δὲ πολλῇ διὰ τοῦτο συνέσχοντο. 41. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοὺς τε Ἀλεξανδρέας εἰστίασε, καὶ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν τοὺς τε παῖδας αὐτῆς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεκαθίστατο, δημηγορήσας τέ τινα ἐκείνην τε βασιλίδι βασιλέων καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, ὃν Καισαρίωνα ἐπωνόμαζον, βασιλέα βασιλέων [2] καλεῖσθαι ἐκέλευσε. καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον τὴν τε Κύπρον, ἄλλην διανομὴν τινα ποιησάμενος, ἔδωκε: τοῦ τε γὰρ προτέρου Καίσαρος τὴν μὲν γυναῖκα τὸν δὲ υἱὸν ὄντως γεγονέναι ἔλεγε, καὶ ἐς τὴν ἐκείνου δὴ χάριν ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἐσκήπτετο, ὅπως τὸν Καίσαρα τὸν Ὀκταουιανὸν ἐκ τούτου, ὅτι ποιητὸς ἀλλ' οὐ γνήσιος αὐτοῦ παῖς [3] ἦν, διαβάλλοι. ἐκείνοις μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔνειμε, τοῖς δὲ δὴ αὐτοῦ παισὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας οἱ γεγονόσι, Πτολεμαίῳ μὲν τὴν τε Συρίαν καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ Εὐφράτου μέχρι τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου πάντα, Κλεοπάτρᾳ δὲ τὴν Λιβύην τὴν περὶ Κυρήνην, τῷ τε ἀδελφῷ αὐτῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν τε Ἀρμενίαν καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ πέραν τοῦ Εὐφράτου μέχρις Ἰνδῶν δώσειν ὑπέσχετο: καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα [4] ὡς ἔχων ἤδη ἐχαρίζετο. καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ μόνον εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ρώμην, ἵνα καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων τὸ κύρος λάβῃ, ἐπέστειλεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τι αὐτῶν ἀνεγνώσθη: ὁ τε γὰρ Δομίτιος καὶ ὁ Σόσσιος ὑπατεύοντες ἤδη τότε, καὶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα αὐτῷ προσκείμενοι, οὐκ ἠθέλησαν, καίπερ τοῦ Καίσαρος [5] ἐγκειμένου σφίσιν, ἐς πάντας αὐτὰ ἐκφῆναι. νικησάντων δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἐκείνων, ἀντεπεκράτησεν ὁ [p. 426] Καῖσαρ μηδὲν τῶν περὶ τοῦ Ἀρμενίου γραφέντων δημοσιεῦσθαι: τοῦτόν τε 111 γὰρ ἡλέει ἅτε καὶ λάθρᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ κεκοινολογημένος, [6] καὶ ἐκείνῳ τῶν νικητηρίων ἐφθόνηι. τοιαῦτα δ' οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος πράττων ἐτόλμα τῇ βουλῇ γράφειν ὅτι τῆς τε ἀρχῆς παύσασθαι καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ τῷ τε δήμῳ πάντα τὰ πράγματα ποιήσασθαι ἐθέλει, 112 οὐχ ὅτι καὶ πράξειν αὐτῶν ἔμελλεν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ταῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐλπίσι τὸν Καίσαρα ἥτοι ἀναγκάσωσιν, ἅτε καὶ παρόντα, τῶν ὄπλων προαποστῆναι, ἢ καὶ ἀπειθήσαντα μισήσωσι. 42. τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτά τε ἐγένετο, καὶ τὴν

πανήγυριν τὴν τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ τῇ γενεθλίῳ τελουμένην οἱ ὕπατοι ἐποίησαν· ἔν τε ταῖς ἀνοχαῖς αἰρετοὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος πολίарχοι, παῖδες ἄνηβοι, ἐξ ἱππέων ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐκ βουλευτῶν γεγονότες, ἦρξαν. [2] καὶ τὴν στοὰν τὴν Παύλου καλουμένην Αἰμίλιος Λέπιδος Παῦλος ἰδίῳις τέλεσιν ἐξωκοδόμησε κὰν τῇ ὑπατεῖᾳ καθιέρωσεν· ὑπάτευσε γὰρ ἐν μέρει τοῦ ἔτους τούτου. ὁ τε Ἀγρίππας τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ Μάρκιον ὠνομασμένον, ἐκλιπὸν φθορᾷ τῶν ὀχετῶν, καὶ ἀνεκτῆσατο δαπάνῃ οἰκείᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ [3] τῆς πόλεως ἐπωχέτευσεν. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν, καίπερ ἐξ ἰδίων χρημάτων φιλοτιμούμενοι, καὶ ὑπεστέλλοντο καὶ ἐμετρίαζον· ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ ἐλαχίστην τινα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντες καὶ ἐπινίκια διεπράττοντο σφισιν, οἱ μὲν διὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου οἱ δὲ διὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ψηφίζεσθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει [p. 428] ταύτῃ χρυσίον πολὺ παρὰ τῶν δήμων ἐς τοὺς στεφάνους ἐσέπραττον. 43. τῷ δ’ ὑστέρω ἔτει ἀγορανόμος ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἐκὼν ἐγένετο, καὶ πάντα μὲν τὰ οἰκοδομήματα τὰ κοινὰ πάσας δὲ τὰς ὁδοὺς, μηδὲν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου λαβὼν, ἐπεσκεύασε, τοὺς τε ὑπονόμους ἐξεκάθηρε, καὶ [2] ἐς τὸν Τίβεριν δι’ αὐτῶν ὑπέπλευσε. κὰν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ σφαλλομένους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους περὶ τὸν τῶν διαύλων ἀριθμὸν ὀρῶν τοὺς τε δελφίνας καὶ τὰ ὠσειδῆ δημιουργήματα κατεστήσατο, ὅπως δι’ αὐτῶν αἱ περίοδοι τῶν περιδρόμων ἀναδεικνύωνται. καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ ἄλας πᾶσι [3] διέδωκε, τὰ τε βαλανεῖα προῖκα δι’ ἔτους καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ λοῦσθαι 113 παρέσχε· καὶ τοὺς κουρέας ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσιν, ἃς πολλὰς καὶ παντοδαπὰς ἐποίησεν ὥστε καὶ τοὺς τῶν βουλευτῶν παῖδας τὴν Τροίαν ἱππεῦσαι, ἐμισθώσατο, [4] ἵνα μηδεὶς μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀναλώσῃ. καὶ τέλος σύμβολά τε τινα ἐς τὸ θέατρον κατὰ κορυφὴν ἔρριψε, τῷ μὲν ἀργύριον τῷ δὲ ἐσθῆτα τῷ δὲ ἄλλο τι φέροντα, καὶ ἄλλα ἀάμπολλα ὦνια ἐς τὸ μέσον [5] καταθεῖς διαρπάσαι σφισιν ἐπέτρεψεν. Ἀγρίππας μὲν δὴ ταῦτά τε ἐποίει, καὶ τοὺς ἀστρολόγους τοὺς τε γόητας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξήλασεν· ὑπὸ δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας δόγμα ἐγένετο μηδένα τῶν ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν τελούντων ἐπὶ ληστεία κρίνεσθαι, καὶ οὕτως οἱ τε τότε ἐν τοιαύτῃ τινὶ αἰτίᾳ ὄντες [p. 430] ἀφειθήσαν, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἄδειά τισι κακουργεῖν [6] ἐδόθη. ὁ δ’ οὖν Καῖσαρ τὴν τε ὑπατεῖαν ἦρξε γὰρ μετὰ Λουκίου Τούλλου 114 δευτέρον’ τῇ πρώτῃ εὐθύς ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τρόπον ἀπεῖπε, καὶ ἐς τὸ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν γένος ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους τινὰς ψηφισαμένης τῆς βουλῆς ἐσήγαγεν. [7] ἔπειδ’ ἡ τε Λουκίος τις Ἀσέλλιος 115 στρατηγῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν διὰ μακρὰν ἀρρωστίαν ἀφεῖναι ἠθέλησε, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἀνταπέδειξε· καὶ στρατηγοῦ ἐτέρου τῇ τελευταίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ ἀποθανόντος ἄλλον ἐς τὰς περιλιπεῖς ὥρας ἐφείλετο. 116 τοῦ τε Βόκχου τελευτήσαντος οὐδενὶ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ ἔδωκεν, ἀλλ’ ἐς τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔθνη αὐτὴν ἐσέγραψεν. [8] ἔπειδ’ ἡ τε οἱ Δελμάται παντελῶς ἐκεχείρωντο, τὰς τε στοὰς ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἀποθήκας τῶν βιβλίων τὰς Ὀκταουιανὰς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ κληθείσας κατεσκεύασεν. 44. Ἀντωνίος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἤλασε μὲν μέχρι τοῦ Ἀράξου ὥς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους στρατεύσων, ἠρκέσθη δὲ τῇ πρὸς τὸν Μῆδον ὁμολογίᾳ· συμμαχήσειν τε γὰρ ἀλλήλοις, ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους [2] ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Καίσαρα, συνθέντο, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ στρατιώτας τέ τινας ἀντέδοσάν σφισι, καὶ ὁ μὲν τῆς Ἀρμενίας τῆς νεοκτῆτου

τινὰ ἔλαβεν, ὁ δὲ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ Ἰωτάπην ὥς καὶ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
συνοικήσουσαν, καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τὰ στρατιωτικὰ τὰ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Στατιανοῦ
μάχῃ ἀλόντα. [3] καὶ τούτου ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος τῷ τε Πολέμωνι τὴν [p. 432]
μικροτέραν Ἀρμενίαν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, χαρισάμενος, καὶ Λούκιον Φλάουιον
117 ποιήσας τε ἅμα ὕπατον καὶ παύσας ἔσυνῃν γὰρ αὐτῷ, ἔς τε τὴν Ἰωνίαν
καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Καίσαρος πολέμῳ [4] ὥρμησεν· ὁ τε Μῆδος
τὰ μὲν πρῶτα συμμάχοις τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις χρώμενος τοὺς τε Πάρθους καὶ τὸν
Ἀρτάξην ἐπελθόντας οἱ ἐνίκησε, τοῦ δ' Ἀντωνίου τοὺς τε ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας
μεταπέμψαντος καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου κατασχόντος ἀνθηττήθη 118 τε
καὶ ἐάλω, καὶ οὕτως ἡ Ἀρμενία μετὰ τῆς Μηδίας ἀπώλετο.

τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

α. ὡς Καῖσαρ καὶ Ἀντώνιος πολεμεῖν ἀλλήλοις ἤρξαντο.

β. ὡς Καῖσαρ Ἀντώνιον περὶ Ἄκτιον ἐνίκησεν.

χρόνου πληθὸς ἔτη δύο ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἶδε ἐγένοντο

Γν. Δομίτιος Λ. υἱ. Γν. ἐγγ. Ἀηνόβαρβος

γ. Σόσσιος Γ. υἱ. τ. ἐγγ. Ὑπ.

Καῖσαρ τὸ γ

μ. Οὐαλέριος Μ. υἱ. Μεσσάλας Κορουῖνος Ὑπ. 4

1. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῆς μὲν δημοκρατίας ἀφήρητο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς μοναρχίαν ἀκριβῆ ἀπεκέκριτο, ἀλλ' ὁ τε Ἀντώνιος καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐξ ἴσου ἔτι τὰ πράγματα εἶχον, τὰ τε πλείω σφῶν διειληχότες, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῷ μὲν λόγῳ κοινὰ νομίζοντες, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ, ὡς που πλεονεκτῆσαι τι ἐκάτερος αὐτῶν ἐδύνατο, ἰδιούμενοι. [2] μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο, ὡς ὁ τε Σέξτος ἀπωλώλει καὶ ὁ Ἀρμένιος ἐαλώκει τὰ τε προσπολεμήσαντα τῷ Καίσαρι ἡσύχαζε καὶ ὁ Πάρθος οὐδὲν παρεκίνει, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι φανερώς ἐπ' ἀλλήλους [p. 436] ἐτράποντο καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀκριβῶς ἐδουλώθη. αἰτία δὲ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ σκήψεις αἶδε αὐτοῖς ἐγένοντο. [3] Ἀντώνιος μὲν Καίσαρι ἐπεκάλει ὅτι τὸν τε Λέπιδον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπεπαύκει καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν τε δύναμιν τὴν τε ἐκείνου καὶ τὴν τοῦ Σέξτου, κοινήν σφων ὀφείλουσαν εἶναι, ἐσφετέριστο: καὶ τούτων τε τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἀπῆτει, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὓς ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας τῆς ἀμφοτέροις σφίσι [4] προσηκούσης κατεῖλετο. Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐκείνῳ ὅτι ἄλλα τε καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον μὴ λαχὼν εἶχε, τὸν τε Σέξτον ἀπεκτόνει· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐκὼν πεφείσθαι αὐτοῦ ἔλεγέ, καὶ τὸν Ἀρμένιον ἐξαπατήσας καὶ συλλαβὼν καὶ δῆσας πολλὴν τῷ δήμῳ κακοδοξίαν [5] προσετέτριπτο: τὰ τε ἡμίσεια καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν λαφύρων ἀπῆτει, καὶ παρὰ πάντα ἐπέφερεν αὐτῷ τὴν τε Κλεοπάτραν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας οὓς ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀνήρητο, τὰ τε δωρηθέντα σφίσι, καὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ὅτι τὸν Καισαρίωνα ἐπωνόμαζεν 2. οὕτω καὶ ἐς τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος γένος ἦγε. ταῦτά τε οὖν ἀλλήλοις ἀντενεκάλουν καὶ πῃ καὶ ἀνταπελογοῦντο, τὰ μὲν ἰδία σφίσιν ἐπιστέλλοντες, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ λέγων μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ γράφων δὲ ὁ Ἀντώνιος: πρέσβεις τε ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ συνεχῶς ἀνταπέστελλον, ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα τὰ τε ἐγκλήματα δικαιοτάτα ποιεῖσθαι δόξωσι [2] καὶ τὰ ἀλλήλων ἅμα κατασκοπῶσι: κὰν τούτῳ καὶ χρήματα ὡς καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι ἡθορίζον, καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν τοῦ

πολέμου παρασκευήν ὡς καὶ ἐφ' [p. 438] ἑτέρους τινὰς ἐποιοῦντο, μέχρις οὗ ὃ τε Δομίτιος ὁ Γναῖος καὶ ὁ Σόσσιος ὁ Γάιος, ἀμφότεροι τῆς τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μερίδος ὄντες, ὑπάτευσαν. τότε γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔτ' ἐπεκρύψαντο, ἀλλ' ἀντικρυς ἐπολεμώθησαν. ἐπράχθη δὲ ὥδε. [3] ὁ μὲν Δομίτιος οὐδὲν φανερώς, ὡς γε καὶ συμφορῶν πολλῶν πεπειραμένος, ἐνεόχμωσεν· ὁ δὲ δὴ Σόσσιος, οἷα κακῶν ἄπειρος ὢν, πολλὰ μὲν τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐν αὐτῇ εὐθύς τῇ νουμηνίᾳ ἐπήνεσε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα κατέδραμε. κἂν παραχρῆμα ἐπ' αὐτῷ τι ἐξηρημάτισεν, εἰ μὴ [4] Νώνιος Βάλλος δημαρχῶν ἐκώλυσεν. ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ ὑποτοπήσας τὸ μέλλον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενήσεσθαι, καὶ μῆτε περιδεῖν αὐτὸ μῆτ' αὖ ἐναντιωθεὶς προκατάρχειν τοῦ πολέμου δόξα ἐθέλησας, τότε μὲν οὔτε ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσῆλθεν οὐθ' ὅλως ἐν τῇ πόλει διητήθη, ἀλλὰ τινα αἰτίαν πλάσάμενος ἐξεδήμησε, διὰ τε ταῦτα καὶ ἵνα κατὰ σχολὴν πρὸς τὰ ἀγγελθέντα οἱ βουλευσάμενος [5] τὸ δέον ἐκ πλείονος λογισμοῦ πράξει· ὕστερον δὲ ἐπανελθὼν τὴν τε γερουσίαν ἡθροισε φρουρὰν τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν φίλων ἐγχειρίδια κρύφα ἐχόντων περιβαλόμενος, καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπὶ δίφρου ἀρχικοῦ ἰζήσας, πολλὰ μὲν αὐτόθεν ἐκ τῆς ἔδρας καὶ μέτρια ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ διελέχθη, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοῦ Σοσίου τοῦ τε Ἀντωνίου [6] κατηγορήσεν. ἐπειδὴ τε οὔτε ἄλλος τις οὐτ' αὐτῶν τῶν ὑπάτων οὐδέτερος φθέγγασθαι τι ἐτόλμησεν, ἐκέλευσέ σφας ἐν ῥητῇ ἡμέρᾳ αὐθις συνελθεῖν ὡς καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων τινῶν ἀδικοῦντα [p. 440] τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐξελέγξων. οἱ οὖν ὑπατοὶ μῆτ' ἀντειπεῖν αὐτῷ θαρσοῦντες μῆτε σιωπῆσαι ὑπομένοντες τῆς τε πόλεως λάθρᾳ προεξεχώρησαν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπῆλθον, καὶ σφισι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βουλευτῶν οὐκ ὀλίγοι [7] συνεφέσποντο. μαθὼν δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκὼν τε αὐτοὺς ἐκπεπομφέναι ἔφασκεν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ὡς ἀδικῶν τι ἐγκαταλελειφθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν δοκῇ, καὶ ἐπιτρέπῃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐθέλουσι πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον μετὰ ἀδείας ἀπᾶραι. 3. τοῦτο δ' οὖν τοιοῦτον ὑπ' ἐκείνων γενόμενον ἀνεσῆκωσαν παρὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου αὖ φυγόντες καὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐλθόντες ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ Τίτιος καὶ ὁ Πλάγκος, καίπερ ἀνὰ πρῶτους τε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τιμώμενοι καὶ τὰ ἀπόρρητα αὐτοῦ [2] πάντα εἰδότες. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ταῦτα τε οὕτως ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπέπρακτο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ αὐτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ τὴν τε γερουσίαν συνήγαγε καὶ ἀνέγνω καὶ εἶπεν ὅσα ἠθέλησε, καὶ αὐτὰ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀκούσας βουλὴν τέ τινα ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἡθροισε καὶ λεχθέντων ἐφ' ἑκάτερα πολλῶν τὸν τε πόλεμον ἀνείλετο καὶ τὴν τῆς Ὀκταουίας συνοίκησιν ἀπέλιπε, προσκρούσαντές τι αὐτῷ ἐκείνοι, ἢ καὶ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ τι ἀχθεσθέντες, [3] ἠτύομόλησαν. καὶ σφας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀσμενέστατα δεξάμενος τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου παρ' αὐτῶν πάντα, καὶ ἃ ἐπραττε καὶ ἃ ἐνενόει, καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένα τὸν τε ἔχοντα αὐτὰς ἔμαθε· καὶ γὰρ σεσημασμένοι [4] σφᾶς ἦσαν. κάκ τούτου περιοργῆς ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον γενόμενος οὐκ ὥκνησεν οὐτ' ἀναζητῆσαι [p. 442] αὐτὰς οὔτε λαβεῖν οὔτε ἔς τε τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν ἐσκομίσαι καὶ ἀναγνῶναι. τοιαῦτα γάρ που ἐν αὐταῖς ἀνεγέγραπτο ὥστε μηδ' αἰτίαν τινὰ παρ' αὐτῶν, καίτοι [5] παρανομώτατον πρᾶγμα ποιήσας, σχεῖν· τῷ τε γὰρ Καισαρίῳνι ὡς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὄντως γεγονότι ἐμεμαρτυρῆκει, καὶ

τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Αἰγυπτίας οἱ τρεφομένοις ὑπερόγκους δὴ τινὰς δωρεὰς ἐδεδώκει, τὸ τε σῶμα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἐν τε τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ καὶ σὺν ἐκείνῃ ταφῆναι ἐκεκελεύκει. 4. δι' οὗν ταῦτα ἀγανακτήσαντες ἐπίστευσαν ὅτι καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ θρυλούμενα ἀληθῆ εἶη, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὅτι, ἂν κρατήσῃ, τὴν τε πόλιν σφῶν τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ χαριεῖται καὶ τὸ κράτος ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ^[2] μεταθήσει. καὶ τοσαύτῃ γε ἐπὶ τοῦτοις ὀργῇ ἐχρήσαντο ὥστε πάντας, οὐχ ὅπως τοὺς διαφόρους αὐτῷ ἢ καὶ ἐκ μέσου ἀμφοῖν ὄντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πάνυ φίλους, δεινῶς αὐτὸν αἰτιάσασθαι: τοῖς τε γὰρ ἀναγνωσθεῖσιν ἐκπλαγέντες, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑποψίαν ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι, τὰ αὐτὰ ^[3] τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔλεγον. καὶ τὴν τε ὑπατείαν αὐτόν, ἐς ἣν προεκεχειροτόνητο, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐξουσίαν πᾶσαν ἀφείλοντο: πολέμιόν τε λόγῳ μὲν οὐκ ἀπέφηναν, φοβηθέντες τοὺς συνόντας αὐτῷ, ὅτι καὶ ἐκείνους ἐν ἐχθρῶν μοίρᾳ, ἂν μὴ προλείψωσιν αὐτόν, νομισθῆναι ἐχρῆν, ἔργῳ δὲ παντὸς μᾶλλον ^[4] ἀπέδειξαν. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ συνεξεταζομένοις οἱ τὴν τε ἄδειαν καὶ ἐπαίνους, ἂν ἐγκαταλείπωσιν αὐτόν, ἐψηφίσαντο, τῇ δὲ Κλεοπάτρᾳ τὸν πόλεμον ἀντικρὺς ἐπήγγειλαν, καὶ τὰς τε χλαμύδας ὡς ^[p. 444] ^[5] καὶ ἐν χερσὶν ὄντος αὐτοῦ μετῃμπίσχοντο, καὶ πρὸς τὸ Ἐννεῖον ἐλθόντες πάντα τὰ προπολέμια κατὰ τὸ νομιζόμενον, διὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὡς καὶ φητιαλίου, ἐποίησαν: ἅπερ ^[6] ^[7] ^[8] ^[9] ^[10] ^[11] ^[12] ^[13] ^[14] ^[15] ^[16] ^[17] ^[18] ^[19] ^[20] ^[21] ^[22] ^[23] ^[24] ^[25] ^[26] ^[27] ^[28] ^[29] ^[30] ^[31] ^[32] ^[33] ^[34] ^[35] ^[36] ^[37] ^[38] ^[39] ^[40] ^[41] ^[42] ^[43] ^[44] ^[45] ^[46] ^[47] ^[48] ^[49] ^[50] ^[51] ^[52] ^[53] ^[54] ^[55] ^[56] ^[57] ^[58] ^[59] ^[60] ^[61] ^[62] ^[63] ^[64] ^[65] ^[66] ^[67] ^[68] ^[69] ^[70] ^[71] ^[72] ^[73] ^[74] ^[75] ^[76] ^[77] ^[78] ^[79] ^[80] ^[81] ^[82] ^[83] ^[84] ^[85] ^[86] ^[87] ^[88] ^[89] ^[90] ^[91] ^[92] ^[93] ^[94] ^[95] ^[96] ^[97] ^[98] ^[99] ^[100] ^[101] ^[102] ^[103] ^[104] ^[105] ^[106] ^[107] ^[108] ^[109] ^[110] ^[111] ^[112] ^[113] ^[114] ^[115] ^[116] ^[117] ^[118] ^[119] ^[120] ^[121] ^[122] ^[123] ^[124] ^[125] ^[126] ^[127] ^[128] ^[129] ^[130] ^[131] ^[132] ^[133] ^[134] ^[135] ^[136] ^[137] ^[138] ^[139] ^[140] ^[141] ^[142] ^[143] ^[144] ^[145] ^[146] ^[147] ^[148] ^[149] ^[150] ^[151] ^[152] ^[153] ^[154] ^[155] ^[156] ^[157] ^[158] ^[159] ^[160] ^[161] ^[162] ^[163] ^[164] ^[165] ^[166] ^[167] ^[168] ^[169] ^[170] ^[171] ^[172] ^[173] ^[174] ^[175] ^[176] ^[177] ^[178] ^[179] ^[180] ^[181] ^[182] ^[183] ^[184] ^[185] ^[186] ^[187] ^[188] ^[189] ^[190] ^[191] ^[192] ^[193] ^[194] ^[195] ^[196] ^[197] ^[198] ^[199] ^[200] ^[201] ^[202] ^[203] ^[204] ^[205] ^[206] ^[207] ^[208] ^[209] ^[210] ^[211] ^[212] ^[213] ^[214] ^[215] ^[216] ^[217] ^[218] ^[219] ^[220] ^[221] ^[222] ^[223] ^[224] ^[225] ^[226] ^[227] ^[228] ^[229] ^[230] ^[231] ^[232] ^[233] ^[234] ^[235] ^[236] ^[237] ^[238] ^[239] ^[240] ^[241] ^[242] ^[243] ^[244] ^[245] ^[246] ^[247] ^[248] ^[249] ^[250] ^[251] ^[252] ^[253] ^[254] ^[255] ^[256] ^[257] ^[258] ^[259] ^[260] ^[261] ^[262] ^[263] ^[264] ^[265] ^[266] ^[267] ^[268] ^[269] ^[270] ^[271] ^[272] ^[273] ^[274] ^[275] ^[276] ^[277] ^[278] ^[279] ^[280] ^[281] ^[282] ^[283] ^[284] ^[285] ^[286] ^[287] ^[288] ^[289] ^[290] ^[291] ^[292] ^[293] ^[294] ^[295] ^[296] ^[297] ^[298] ^[299] ^[300] ^[301] ^[302] ^[303] ^[304] ^[305] ^[306] ^[307] ^[308] ^[309] ^[310] ^[311] ^[312] ^[313] ^[314] ^[315] ^[316] ^[317] ^[318] ^[319] ^[320] ^[321] ^[322] ^[323] ^[324] ^[325] ^[326] ^[327] ^[328] ^[329] ^[330] ^[331] ^[332] ^[333] ^[334] ^[335] ^[336] ^[337] ^[338] ^[339] ^[340] ^[341] ^[342] ^[343] ^[344] ^[345] ^[346] ^[347] ^[348] ^[349] ^[350] ^[351] ^[352] ^[353] ^[354] ^[355] ^[356] ^[357] ^[358] ^[359] ^[360] ^[361] ^[362] ^[363] ^[364] ^[365] ^[366] ^[367] ^[368] ^[369] ^[370] ^[371] ^[372] ^[373] ^[374] ^[375] ^[376] ^[377] ^[378] ^[379] ^[380] ^[381] ^[382] ^[383] ^[384] ^[385] ^[386] ^[387] ^[388] ^[389] ^[390] ^[391] ^[392] ^[393] ^[394] ^[395] ^[396] ^[397] ^[398] ^[399] ^[400] ^[401] ^[402] ^[403] ^[404] ^[405] ^[406] ^[407] ^[408] ^[409] ^[410] ^[411] ^[412] ^[413] ^[414] ^[415] ^[416] ^[417] ^[418] ^[419] ^[420] ^[421] ^[422] ^[423] ^[424] ^[425] ^[426] ^[427] ^[428] ^[429] ^[430] ^[431] ^[432] ^[433] ^[434] ^[435] ^[436] ^[437] ^[438] ^[439] ^[440] ^[441] ^[442] ^[443] ^[444] ^[445] ^[446] ^[447] ^[448] ^[449] ^[450] ^[451] ^[452] ^[453] ^[454] ^[455] ^[456] ^[457] ^[458] ^[459] ^[460] ^[461] ^[462] ^[463] ^[464] ^[465] ^[466] ^[467] ^[468] ^[469] ^[470] ^[471] ^[472] ^[473] ^[474] ^[475] ^[476] ^[477] ^[478] ^[479] ^[480] ^[481] ^[482] ^[483] ^[484] ^[485] ^[486] ^[487] ^[488] ^[489] ^[490] ^[491] ^[492] ^[493] ^[494] ^[495] ^[496] ^[497] ^[498] ^[499] ^[500] ^[501] ^[502] ^[503] ^[504] ^[505] ^[506] ^[507] ^[508] ^[509] ^[510] ^[511] ^[512] ^[513] ^[514] ^[515] ^[516] ^[517] ^[518] ^[519] ^[520] ^[521] ^[522] ^[523] ^[524] ^[525] ^[526] ^[527] ^[528] ^[529] ^[530] ^[531] ^[532] ^[533] ^[534] ^[535] ^[536] ^[537] ^[538] ^[539] ^[540] ^[541] ^[542] ^[543] ^[544] ^[545] ^[546] ^[547] ^[548] ^[549] ^[550] 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^[694] ^[695] ^[696] ^[697] ^[698] ^[699] ^[700] ^[701] ^[702] ^[703] ^[704] ^[705] ^[706] ^[707] ^[708] ^[709] ^[710] ^[711] ^[712] ^[713] ^[714] ^[715] ^[716] ^[717] ^[718] ^[719] ^[720] ^[721] ^[722] ^[723] ^[724] ^[725] ^[726] ^[727] ^[728] ^[729] ^[730] ^[731] ^[732] ^[733] ^[734] ^[735] ^[736] ^[737] ^[738] ^[739] ^[740] ^[741] ^[742] ^[743] ^[744] ^[745] ^[746] ^[747] ^[748] ^[749] ^[750] ^[751] ^[752] ^[753] ^[754] ^[755] ^[756] ^[757] ^[758] ^[759] ^[760] ^[761] ^[762] ^[763] ^[764] ^[765] ^[766] ^[767] ^[768] ^[769] ^[770] ^[771] ^[772] ^[773] ^[774] ^[775] ^[776] ^[777] ^[778] ^[779] ^[780] ^[781] ^[782] ^[783] ^[784] ^[785] ^[786] ^[787] ^[788] ^[789] ^[790] ^[791] ^[792] ^[793] ^[794] ^[795] ^[796] ^[797] ^[798] ^[799] ^[800] ^[801] ^[802] ^[803] ^[804] ^[805] ^[806] ^[807] ^[808] ^[809] ^[810] ^[811] ^[812] ^[813] ^[814] ^[815] ^[816] ^[817] ^[818] ^[819] ^[820] ^[821] ^[822] ^[823] ^[824] ^[825] ^[826] ^[827] ^[828] ^[829] ^[830] ^[831] ^[832] ^[833] ^[834] ^[835] ^[836] 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ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἀποικισθέντας, τὰ μὲν ἐκφοβήσας ἅτε ὀλίγους ὄντας, τὰ δὲ καὶ εὐεργετήσας, προσετέθειτο: τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς τὴν Βωνωνίαν ἐποικοῦντας αὐτὸς αὖθις, ἵνα δὴ καὶ ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀπωρῶσθαι δοκῶσι, προσκατεστήσατο^[4] — ἥ τε οὖν Ἰταλία καὶ ἡ Γαλατία τὸ τε Ἰβηρικὸν καὶ τὸ Ἰλλυρικόν, καὶ Λίβυες οἳ τε ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν ῥωμαΐζοντες πλὴν τῶν περὶ τὴν Κυρήνην^[p. 448] καὶ οἱ τοῦ Βογοῦου τοῦ τε Βόκχου γεγονότες, Σαρδῶ τε καὶ Σικελία καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι νῆσοι αἱ ταῖς^[5] εἰρημέναις ἡπείροις προσεχεῖς συνεμάχισαν, τῷ δ' Ἀντωνίῳ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τῇ ἡπείρῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀκούοντα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ, ἥ τε Ἑλλάς καὶ ἡ Μακεδονία, καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι οἳ τε Κυρηναῖοι μετὰ τῶν περιχώρων, καὶ οἱ νησιῶται οἱ προσοικοῦντές σφισιν, οἳ τε βασιλῆς καὶ οἱ δυνάσται πάντες ὡς εἰπεῖν οἱ τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ τῇ τότε ὑπ' ἐκείνον οὔσῃ γειννῶντες, οἳ^[6] μὲν αὐτοῖς οἱ δὲ δι' ἑτέρων. καὶ τοσαύτῃ γε προθυμίᾳ ἀμφοτέροις ὁμοίως ἐχρήσαντο ὥστε καὶ ἐνόρκους τὰς συμμαχίας σφῶν ἐκατέρῳ ποιήσασθαι. 7. οὗτοι τε οὖν οὕτως ἔρρωντο, καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοῦτο μὲν ἀντάμοσε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώταις ἀκηρυκτὴ πολεμήσειν, τοῦτο δὲ ὑπέσχετο τὴν τε ἀρχὴν ἐντὸς δύο μηνῶν μετὰ τὴν νίκην ἀφήσειν καὶ τὸ πᾶν αὐτῆς κράτος τῇ τε γερουσίᾳ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ^[2] ἀποδώσειν. μόλις τε διῆθ' ἔτι τινες ἔπεισαν αὐτὸν ἔκτῳ μηνὶ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἵνα δὴ κατὰ σχολὴν τὰ πράγματα καταστήσῃται. καὶ ὁ μὲν, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα μὴ ἔμελλεν αὐτὸ πράξειν, ἀλλ' ὡς πάντῃ γε πάντως κρατήσων ἐπηγγέλλετο. τὰ τε γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ πολὺ τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἰσχυρότερα ἑώρα ὄντα, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐναντιῶν ἀσθενώσων δωροδοκίαις^[3] ἤλπιζε: χρυσίον γὰρ ὡς ἐκασταχόσε, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἕς τε τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν καὶ ἕς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσπέμπων διεκίνει τε ὡς ἕκαστα καὶ σφετερίζεσθαι^[p. 450] ἐπειράτο. ὅθεν περ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὰ τε ἄλλα δι' ἀκριβεστέρας φυλακῆς ἐποίησατο καὶ χρήματα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔδωκε. 8. τοιαύτης δ' οὖν τῆς τε ὁρμῆς καὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς αὐτῶν οὔσης πολλὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ποικίλα ἐθρυλεῖτο, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἐναργῆ προεδείκνυτο. πῆθηκός τε γὰρ ἕς τὸ Δημήτριον ἐν ἱερουργίᾳ τινὶ ἐσελθὼν πάντα^[2] τὰ ἔνδον συνέχεε, καὶ βύας πρῶτον μὲν ἕς τὸν τῆς Ὀμονοίας ναόν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ὡς εἰπεῖν τοὺς ἀγιωτάτους ἐπέπτετο, καὶ τέλος, ἐπειδὴ πανταχόθεν ἀπηλαύνετο, ἐπὶ τε τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Γενίου τοῦ δήμου ἰδρῦθη καὶ οὔτε ἐάλω οὔτ' ἐξανέστη πλὴν ὅψε ποτε. ὃ τε ὄχρος ὁ τοῦ Διὸς ἐν τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἵπποδρομίᾳ συνετρίβη, καὶ λαμπὰς ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς θαλάσσης αἰωρηθεῖσα ἕς τὸν αἰθέρα ἀνέδραμε.^[3] καὶ συχνὰ μὲν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἐπόννησεν, ὥστε καὶ τρόπαιόν τι ἐν τῷ Ἀουεντίνῳ ἐστὸς καὶ νίκης ἄγαλμα ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεάτρου σκηνῆς πεσεῖν, τὴν τε γέφυραν τὴν ξυλίνην πᾶσαν καταρραγῆναι: συχνὰ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἐφθάρη, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐκ τῆς Αἵτνης πλεῖστον τε ἔρρῳ καὶ πόλεσι καὶ^[4] χώραις ἐλυμήνατο. ταῦτ' οὖν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ μὲν ὀρώντες τὰ δ' ἀκούοντες, ἀνεμιμνήσκοντο καὶ τὸ τοῦ δράκοντος, ὅτι ἄρα καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἕς τὰ τότε παρόντα σφίσις ἐσήμηνεν: ἐν γὰρ τῇ Τυρσηνίδι ὀλίγον πρὸ τούτων πρότερον δράκων δικέφαλος, μέγας ὥστε καὶ ἕς πέντε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα πόδας ἐξικνεῖσθαι, αἰφνιδίον ἀνεφάνη καὶ πολλὰ κακώσας^[5] ἔκεραννώθη. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ πάντας αὐτοῦς^[p. 452]

ἔφερε: Ῥωμαῖοι τε γὰρ τὸ προμαχόμενον ἀμφοτέρωθεν ὁμοίως ἦν, καὶ ἔμελλον ἔν τε τῷ τότε παρόντι πολλοὶ ἐκατέρωθεν φθαρῆσθαι, καὶ ἔπειτα τοῦ κρατήσαντος πάντες οἱ περιλειφθέντες ^[6] γενήσεσθαι. τῷ δὲ δὴ Ἀντωνίῳ τὴν μὲν ἦτταν οἱ παῖδες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὄντες προεμαντεύσαντο ὅτις γὰρ γενόμενοι μηδενὸς κελεύσαντος, καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀντωνιεύς οἱ δὲ Καισαρεύς σφᾶς ἐπικαλέσαντες, συνέμιξαν ἀλλήλοις ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας, καὶ ἡττήθησαν οἱ τὸ ἐκείνου ὄνομα φέροντες, τὸν δ' ὀλεθρον εἰκὼν τις αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἀλβανῷ παρὰ τῷ Διὶ ἀνακειμένη: λιθίνη γὰρ οὕσα αἷμα πολὺ ἀνῆκε. 9. μετεώρων δ' οὖν πάντων ὁμοίως ἐπὶ τούτοις ὄντων ἐν μὲν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ πλέον οὐδὲν ἐγένετο. ὃ τε γὰρ Καῖσαρ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὰ χρήματα παρὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου παρόντα ἦσθετο, καθιστάμενος οὐκ ἡδυνήθη πρὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος ^[2] ἀπαντῆσαι: καὶ ἐκεῖνος ὥρμησε μὲν ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ τὸν πόλεμον ἀδοκῆτως σφίσι ποιησόμενος, ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Κέρκυραν, καὶ πυθόμενος τὰς ναῦς τὰς πρόπλους τὰς ἐς τὴν προσκοπὴν αὐτοῦ πεμφθείσας περὶ τὰ Κεραῦνια ὄρη ναυλοχεῖν, ὑπετόπησεν αὐτὸν τὸν Καῖσαρα μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ ^[3] ναυτικοῦ ἀφίχθαι, καὶ οὐκέτι περαιτέρω προεχώρησεν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἦδη γὰρ ἐκ μετοπώρου ἦν ἀναπλεύσας αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν Πάτραις παρεχέμασεν, τοὺς δὲ δὴ στρατιώτας πανταχόσε ^[p. 454] διέπεμψεν, ἵνα τὰ τε χωρία φυλάττωσι καὶ τῶν ^[4] ἐπιτηδείων ῥᾶον εὐπορῶσι. κἂν τούτῳ ἦλθον μὲν καὶ ἐθελονταὶ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν πρὸς ἐκατέρους καὶ βουλευταὶ καὶ ἄλλοι τινές, ἐάλω δὲ καὶ κατάσκοπος ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος Λούκιος Μέσσιος: καὶ αὐτὸν καίπερ τῶν ἐν τῇ Περουσίᾳ πρότερον ἀλόντων ὄντα ἀφῆκε, πᾶσαν οἱ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ^[5] προεπιδείξας. τῷ τε Ἀντωνίῳ ἐπέστειλεν ὅπως ἡ ἀναχωρήσῃ ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ἵππου δρόμον ἡμερήσιον καὶ ἐφῇ οἱ ἀδεῶς προσπλεῦσαι ἐπὶ τῷ ἐντὸς πέντε ἡμερῶν συμμιῖσαι σφας, ἢ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ ^[6] τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν περαιωθῇ, οὐχ ὅτι τι γενήσεσθαι σφω ἐνόμιζεν ὃ γοῦν Ἀντώνιος πολλὰ τε αὐτοῦ κατεγέλασε, καὶ εἶπεν 'καὶ τίς ἡμῖν δικάσει, ἂν τι παρὰ τὰ συγκείμενα πραχθῇ;') ἀλλ' ὅτι τοῖς τε ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώταις θάρσος καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐκπληξιν ἐμβαλεῖν ἐκ τούτου προσεδόκησε. 10. μετὰ δὲ δὴ ταῦτα ἦσαν μὲν ὕπατοι ἐς τὸ ἐχόμενον ἔτος ὃ τε Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος προαποδεδειγμένοι τότε ὅτε ἐς τὰ ὀκτῶ ἔτη τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐσάπαξ προκατεστήσαντο, καὶ τὸ γε τελευταῖον ἐκεῖνο ἦν: παραλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, ὡς περ εἶπον, ὁ Μεσσάλας ὁ Οὐαλέριος ὁ προγραφεῖς ^[2] ποτε ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὑπάτευσσε μετὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος. κἂν τούτῳ ἀνθρωπὸς τέ τις μανιώδης ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἐν πανηγύρει τινὶ ἐσπηδῆσας τὸν στέφανον τὸν τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος ἀνείλετο καὶ περιέθετο, καὶ διεσπάσθη ὑπὸ τῶν περιεστηκότων: καὶ λύκος τε ^[p. 456] ἐς τὸ Τυχαῖον ἐσπίπτων συνελήφθη καὶ κατεσφάγη, ^[3] κύων τε κύνα ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἄμιλλαν τῶν ἵππων κατειργάσατο καὶ κατέφαγε. καὶ πῦρ ἄλλα τε οὐκ ὀλίγα καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου πολὺ τὸ τε Δημήτριον καὶ ἕτερον ναὸν ^[4] ἐλπίδος ἐφθειρεν. ἔδοξαν μὲν γὰρ οἱ ἐξελεύθεροι αὐτὸ πεποιηκέναι: πᾶσι γὰρ τοῖς ἐν τε τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ αὐτῶν οὖσι καὶ πέντε μυριάδων οὐσίαν ἢ καὶ πλείω κεκτημένοις τὸ ὄγδοον αὐτῆς συντελέσαι ἐκελεύσθη, κάκ τούτου καὶ ταραχαὶ καὶ φόνοι καὶ ἐμπρήσεις ὑπ' αὐτῶν πολλαὶ ἐγένοντο, καὶ οὐ

πρότερόν γε κατέστησαν πρὶν ἢ τοῖς ὅπλοις ^[5] καταδαμασθῆναι. ἀφ' οὗπερ καὶ οἱ ἐλεύθεροι οἳ τι χωρίον ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ κεκτημένοι φοβηθέντες ἡσυχασαν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνοις τὸ τέταρτον τῆς ἐπετησίας προσόδου δοῦναι προσετάχθη, μελλήσαντές τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ κινήθησθαι οὐδὲν ἔτι νεοχμῶσαι ἐτόλμησαν, ἀλλ' ἀμαχεῖ καὶ ἄκοντες αὐτὸ ^[6] συνεσήνεγκαν. ἔδοξε μὲν οὖν διὰ ταῦθ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων τὸ πῦρ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς γεγονέναι, οὐ μέντοι ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸ ἐς τὰ πάνυ τέρατα διὰ τὸ τῶν καυθέντων πλῆθος ἐσεγράφη.

11. τοιούτων δὴ σημείων προφανέντων σφίσιν οὔτε ἐφοβήθησαν οὐθ' ἡττόν τι ἐπολέμησαν, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν χειμῶνα κατασκοπαῖς τε χρώμενοι καὶ παραλυποῦντες ἀλλήλους διετέλεσαν ὃ γὰρ Καῖσαρ ἐξανήχθη μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου καὶ ἔπλευσε μέχρι τῆς Κερκύρας ὡς καὶ ἀπροσδοκῆτοίς τοῖς πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ ὁρμοῦσιν ἐπιθροσόμενος, χειμῶνι ^[2] δὲ περιπεσὼν καὶ πονηθεὶς ἀνεχώρησέ, τοῦ δὲ δὴ ^[p. 458] ἦρος ὃ μὲν Ἀντώνιος οὐδαμῇ ἐκινήθη ὅτι τε γὰρ τριηρῖται, ἅτε καὶ σύμμικτοι ἐκ παντοδαπῶν ἐθνῶν ὄντες καὶ πόρρω ἀπ' αὐτοῦ χειμάζοντες, οὔτε τινὰ ἄσκησιν ἐπεποιήντο καὶ νόσῳ αὐτομολίαις ^[3] τε ἡλάττωντο· καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας τὴν τε Μεθώνην ἐκ προσβολῆς λαβὼν καὶ τὸν Βογοῦαν ἐν αὐτῇ κτεῖνας, τὰς τε κατάρσεις τῶν ὀλκάδων ἐπιτηρῶν καὶ ἀποβάσεις ἄλλοτε ἄλλη τῆς Ἑλλάδος ποιοῦμενος, ^[4] ἰσχυρῶς αὐτὸν ἐτάραπτεν, ὃ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τε τούτοις θαρσῆσας καὶ βουληθεὶς ὅτι τάχιστα τῇ τοῦ στρατεύματος ὁρμῇ λαμπρῶς ἡσκημένου χρήσασθαι, τὸν τε πόλεμον καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἐκείνου μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν τε τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ^[5] καὶ πρὸς τῇ Ῥώμῃ ποιήσασθαι, πάντας μὲν τοὺς στρατιώτας ὧν τι ὄφελος ἦν, πάντας δὲ τοὺς τι δυναμένους καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον συνήγαγε, τοὺς μὲν ὅπως τι συμπράξωσιν αὐτῷ, τοὺς δ' ὅπως μηδὲν μονωθέντες νεοχμώσωσι, τὸ τε μέγιστον ὅπως ἐνδείξεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὅτι καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον καὶ τὸ κράτιστον ^[6] τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁμογνωμονοῦν ἔχοι. κάντεϋθεν τακτόν τε τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀριθμὸν πᾶσιν ἐπαγαγέσθαι καὶ τὴν τροφήν αὐτοὺς ἑαυτοῖς, πλὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἐπικομίσασθαι κελεύσας, ἀθρόα τῇ παρασκευῇ 12. τὸν Ἴονιον διέβαλεν. ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ Ἄκτιον, ἐν ᾧ τὸ πλεῖον αὐτῷ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ὥρμει, εἰ πῶς σφας ἐθελοντὰς ἢ καὶ ἄκοντας προπαραστήσαιοτο. ^[p. 460] Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν τε πεζὸν ὑπὸ τὰ ὄρη τὰ ^[2] Κεραυνία ἐκβιβάσας ἐκέλευε ἔπεμψε, καὶ αὐτὸς ταῖς ναυσὶ τὴν Κέρκυραν ἐκλειφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμφρουρούντων λαβὼν ἐς τὸν λιμένα τὸν γλυκὺν ὠνομασμένον κατέσχε· καλεῖται δὲ οὕτως ὅτι πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐσβάλλοντος γλυκαίνεται, καὶ ναύσταθμόν τε ἐν αὐτῷ ἐποίησατο καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ὁρμώμενος ἐπὶ τὸ Ἄκτιον ^[3] ἐπέπλει. ὡς δ' οὐδεὶς οἱ οὐτ' ἀντανήγετο οὐτ' ἐς λόγους ἦει, καίτοι δυοῖν αὐτοῦ θάτερον ἢ πρὸς ὁμολογίαν σφᾶς ἢ πρὸς μάχην προκαλουμένου· τὴν μὲν γὰρ τῇ πίστει τὴν δὲ τῷ δέει οὐκ ἐδέχοντό, κατέλαβε τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο ἐν ᾧ νῦν ἡ ^[4] Νικόπολις ἐστί, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ μετέωρου, ὅθεν ἐπὶ πάντα ὁμοίως τῆς τε ἔξω τῆς πρὸς Πάξις θαλάσσης καὶ τῆς εἰσῶ τῆς Ἀμπρακικῆς τῆς τε ἐν τῷ μέσῳ αὐτῶν, ἐν ᾧ οἱ λιμένες οἱ πρὸς τῇ Νικοπόλει εἰσὶν, ἀποπτόν ἐστιν, ἰδρῦθη. καὶ αὐτὸ τε ἐκρατύνατο καὶ τεῖχη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸν ^[5] λιμένα τὸν

ἔξω τὸν Κόμαρον καθῆκε, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐφῆδρευε καὶ ἐφώρμει τῷ Ἀκτίῳ καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν. ἤδη μὲν γὰρ ἤκουσα ὅτι καὶ τριῆρεις ἐκ τῆς ἔξω θαλάσσης ἐς τὸν κόλπον διὰ τοῦ τειχίσματος ὑπερήνευκε, βύρσαις νεοδάρτοις ἀντὶ ὀλκῶν ἐλαίῳ ἐπαληθιμμέναις ^[6] χρυσάμενος· ἔχω δ' οὐδὲν ἔργον τῶν νεῶν τούτων ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ γενόμενον εἰπεῖν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ πιστεῦσαι τῷ μυθολογήματι δύναμαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ σμικρὸν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἦν, διὰ χωρίου οὕτως ὀλίγου καὶ ἀνωμάλου τριῆρεις ἐπὶ βυρσῶν διαγαγεῖν. ^[p. 462] ^[7] τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὕτω λέγεται γενέσθαι· τὸ δ' Ἄκτιον Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐστὶ, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ πορθμοῦ τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Ἀμπρακικοῦ κατ' ἀντιπέρας τῶν πρὸς τῇ Νικοπόλει λιμένων κέῖται. ὁ τε πορθμὸς ἴσος ἐπὶ πολὺ διὰ στενοῦ τείνει, καὶ ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ πρὸ αὐτοῦ πάντα καὶ ἐνορμίσασθαι καὶ ἐνναυλοχῆσασθαι. ^[8] ταῦτ' οὖν προκατασχόντες οἱ Ἀντωνίειοι ἐπὶ τε τοῦ στόματος πύργους ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπιωκοδόμησαν καὶ τὸ μέσον ναυσὶ διέλαβον, ὥστε σφίσι καὶ τοὺς ἔκπλους καὶ τὰς ἀναχωρήσεις ἀσφαλεῖς εἶναι· αὐτοὶ τε ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ πορθμοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἑρὸν, ἐν χωρίῳ ὁμαλῷ μὲν καὶ πλατεῖ, ἐμμαχέσασθαι δὲ ἢ ἐνστρατοπεδεύσασθαι ἐπιτηδειοτέρῳ, ἐνυλιζόντο· ἐξ οὗπερ οὐχ ἤκιστα τῇ νόσῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι, καὶ ἐν τῷ θέρει πολὺ μᾶλλον, ἐπέεσθσαν. 13. ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀντώνιος ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἄφιξιν ἐπύθετο, οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ Ἄκτιον μετὰ τῶν συνόντων οἱ ἡπείχθη. καὶ ἦλθε μὲν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς ^[2] ἀγῶνα εὐθύς κατέστη, καίτοι ἐκείνου τὸν τε πεζὸν πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου σφῶν συνεχῶς προπαράτασσοντος καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶ πολλάκις σφίσιν ἐπιπλέοντος, τὰς τε ὀλκάδας αὐτῶν κατάγοντος, ὅπως πρὶν πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῷ συνελθεῖν, μόνοις ^[3] τοῖς τότε παροῦσιν οἱ συμμῆξι· ἐκ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τούτου οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἐς ἅπαν ἀναρρῖψαι, ἀλλὰ ^[p. 464] πείραις καὶ ἀκροβολισμοῖς ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἐχρήσατο, μέχρις οὗ τὰ στρατεύματα συνελέξατο. τούτοις δέ, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος μηκέθ' ὁμοίως ἐγκειμένου, τὸν τε πορθμὸν ἐπιδιέβη καὶ ^[4] οὐ πόρρω αὐτοῦ ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἱππικὸν περὶ τὸν κόλπον περιπέμψας ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτῷ προσῆδρευεν. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς μὲν ἡσύχαζε καὶ οὐδένα ἐπὶ κίνδυνον αὐθαίρετον ἀνηρεῖτο, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὴν τε Μακεδονίαν ἔπεμψε πινας, ὅπως τὸν Ἀντώνιον πρὸς ἐκεῖνα ^[5] ἀπαγάγῃ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔπραττον, Ἀγρίππας δὲ τότε μὲν τὴν τε Λευκάδα καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ σκάφη αἰφνιδίως ἐπεσπλεύσας ἔλαβε, καὶ Πάτρας εἴλε Κύνιντον Νασιδίων ναυμαχίᾳ νικήσας, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τὴν Κόρινθον παρεστήσατο. ὥς οὖν ταῦτά τε συνέβη, καὶ ὁ Τίτιος ὁ Μάρκος ὁ τε Ταῦρος ὁ Στατίλιος τὸ τε ἱππικὸν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἐξαίφνης ἐπεκδραμόντες ἐκράτησαν καὶ Φιλάδελφον βασιλέα ^[6] Παφλαγονίας προσεποιήσαντο, κἀν τούτῳ καὶ ὁ Δομίτιος ὁ Γναῖος ἀχθεσθεῖς τι τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ μετέστη, — καὶ χρήσιμος μὲν οὐδὲν τῷ Καίσαρι ἐγένετο· νοσήσας γὰρ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἔδοξε δ' οὖν ὥς καὶ κατεγνωκῶς τῶν πραγμάτων παρ' οἷς ἦν ἡὑτομοληκέναι· καὶ ^[7] γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι αὐτὸν συχνοὶ ἐμιμήσαντό, — οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐθάρσει, ἀλλ' ὑπετόπει τε πάντας καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν ἐκ τούτου ἄλλους τε καὶ Ἰαμβλίχον Ἀραβίων τινῶν βασιλέα βασανίσας, Κύνιντόν τε Ποστούμιον βουλευτὴν

διασπάσασθαι [8] τισιν ἐπιτρέψας. καὶ τέλος φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ὁ Δέλλιος ὁ
 Κύντος ὁ τε Ἀμύντας ὁ Γαλάτης [p. 466] ἔτυχον δὲ ἐπὶ μισθοφόρους ἕς τε τὴν
 Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἕς τὴν Θράκην πεπεμμένοι τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀνθέλονται,
 ὥρμησε πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ ἐπικουρήσων σφίσιν, ἂν τι πολέμιον προσπέσῃ.
 14. κὰν τούτῳ ναυμαχία τις ἐγένετο. ὁ γὰρ Σόσσιος Λουκίου Ταρρίου
 ναυσὶν ὀλίγαις ἐφορμοῦντός σφισιν ἐλπίσας ἄξιόν τι λόγου πράξειν, ἂν πρὶν
 τὸν Ἀγρίππαν, ὃ πᾶν τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐπετέτραπτο, [2] ἐπελθεῖν, συμβάλῃ αὐτῷ,
 ἐξανήχθη τε ἐξαπναιῶς ὑπὸ τὴν ἔω, ὁμίχλην βαθεῖαν τηρήσας ἵνα μὴ τὸ
 πληθὸς σφον προΐδων φύγῃ, καὶ παραχρῆμα τῇ πρώτῃ προσβολῇ
 τρεψάμενος αὐτὸν ἐπεδίωξε μὲν, οὐχ εἶλε δέ: τοῦ γὰρ Ἀγρίππου κατὰ τύχην
 ἀπαντήσαντός οἱ οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν τῆς νίκης ἀπώνητο, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 προσδιεφάρη μετὰ τε τοῦ Ταρκονδιότου καὶ μετ' ἄλλων πολλῶν. [3] ὁ οὖν
 Ἀντώνιος διὰ τε τοῦτο, καὶ ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπανελθὼν ἵππομαχίᾳ τινὶ πρὸς
 τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος προφυλακῆς ἡτήθη, οὐκέτ' ἔγνω δίχα στρατοπεδεύεσθαι,
 ἀλλ' ἐκλιπὼν τῆς νυκτὸς τὸ πλησίον τῶν ἐναντίων τάφρευμα ἀνεχώρησεν
 ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ πορθμοῦ, ἔνθα αὐτῷ τὸ πλεόν τοῦ [4] στρατοῦ ηὐλίζετο. καὶ
 ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια αὐτόν, ἅτε καὶ τῆς σιτοπομπίας εἰργόμενον,
 ἐπιλείπειν ἤρχετο, διαγνώμην ἐποίησατο πότερον κατὰ χώραν μείναντες
 διακινδυνεύσωσιν ἢ μεταστάντες που χρόνῳ τὸν πόλεμον διενέγκωσιν. [p. 468]
 15. εἰπόντων δὲ ἄλλων ἄλλα ἐνίκησεν ἡ Κλεοπάτρα, τὰ τε ἐπικαιρότατα τῶν
 χωρίων φρουραῖς παραδοθῆναι καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἕς τὴν Αἴγυπτον μεθ'
 ἑαυτῶν ἀπᾶραι συμβουλεύσασσα. ταύτην γὰρ τὴν γνώμην ἔσχεν, ἐπειδὴ
 ὑπὸ σημείων ἐταράχθη. [2] χελιδόνες τε γὰρ περὶ τε τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτῆς καὶ ἐν
 τῇ νηὶ τῇ στρατηγίδι, ἐφ' ἧς ἐπέπλει, ἐνεόττευσαν, καὶ γάλα αἶμά τε ἐκ
 κηροῦ ἐρρῦν: τὰς τε εἰκόνας αὐτῶν, ἃς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τὸ
 τῶν θεῶν σχῆμα ἐχούσας ἔστησαν, κεραυνοὶ [3] ἕς τὸ θέατρον κατήραξαν. ἔκ
 τε οὖν τούτων καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ στρατεύματος καὶ ἀθυμίας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ
 ἄρρωστίας ἡ Κλεοπάτρα αὐτὴ τε ἔδεισε καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐξεφόβησεν. οὐ
 μέντοι καὶ κρύφα, ἣ καὶ φανερώς ὡς καὶ φεύγοντες, ἐκπλεῦσαι, μὴ καὶ ἕς
 δέος τοὺς συμμάχους ἐμβάλωσιν, ἠθέλησαν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν
 παρασκευαζόμενοι, ἵνα ἅμα, ἂν τι ἀνθίστηται, βιάσωνται τὸν ἔκπλου. [4]
 κάκ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ἄριστα τῶν σκαφῶν, ἐπειδὴ ἐλάττους οἱ ναῦται
 ἔκ τε τῆς φθορᾶς καὶ ἐκ τῆς αὐτομολίας ἐγεγόνεσαν, ἐπιλεξάμενοι τὰ λοιπὰ
 κατέπρησαν, ἔπειτα δὲ νύκτωρ πάντα τὰ τιμιώτατα λαθραῖως ἕς αὐτὰς
 ἐσεφόρησαν. ἐπειδὴ τε ἔτοιμα ἦν, συνεκάλεσεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοὺς στρατιώτας
 καὶ εἶπε τοιάδε: 16. ὅσα μὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ προσῆκον ἦν ἐκπορισθῆναι πρὸς
 τὸν πόλεμον, πάνθ' ἱκανῶς, ὧ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, προπαρεσκεύασται. καὶ
 γὰρ πληθὸς πολὺ ὑμῶν ἐστί, πᾶν ὃ τι περ ἄνθος καὶ παρὰ τῶν [p. 470]
 ὑπηκόων καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐξειλεγμένον: καὶ παντὸς εἶδους μάχης,
 ὅσα γε καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν νομίζεται, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον χειροτέχναι ἐστὲ ὥστε καὶ
 καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἕκαστοι φοβεροὶ τοῖς ἀντιπάλοις [2] εἶναι. ὁρᾶτε δὲ που καὶ
 αὐτοὶ ὅσον μὲν καὶ οἶον ναυτικὸν ἔχομεν, ὅσους δὲ καὶ οἶους ὀπλίτας
 ἵππεας σφενδονήτας πελταστὰς τοξότας ἵπποτοξότας: ὧν τὰ μὲν πλείω οὐδ'
 ὑπάρχει ἀρχὴν τοῖς ἐναντίοις, ὅσα δὲ κέκτηνται, πολὺ ἐλάττονα [3] καὶ

ἀσθενέστερα τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐστί. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐκείνοις μὲν ὀλίγα καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ συντελείας βιαίου πεπορισμένα οὐτ' ἂν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐξαρκέσειεν ἄν, καὶ τοὺς συνεσσηνοχότας αὐτὰ οἰκειοτέρους ἡμῖν ἢ τοῖς λαβοῦσι πεποίηκεν εἶναι, ὥστε μὴτ' ἄλλως εὐνοϊκῶς σφας αὐτοῖς ἔχειν καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ στασιάζειν: ἡμῖν δὲ ἐκ περιουσίας παρεσκευασμένα οὔτε λελύπηκέ τινα καὶ πάντας ἡμᾶς ὠφελήσει. 17.

πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις τοσοῦτοις τε καὶ τοιοῦτοις οὖσιν ὥκνησα μὲν ἄλλως αὐτὸς περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ σεμνὸν τι εἰπεῖν: ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ τοῦθ' ἐν τῶν πρὸς τὸ τοῦ πολέμου κράτος φερόντων ἐστὶ καὶ μέγιστόν γε παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις εἶναι πεπίστευται, λέγω δὲ τὸ καὶ στρατηγοῦ τινος ἀρίστου τοὺς καλῶς [2] πολεμήσοντας τυχεῖν, ἀναγκαιότατόν μοι τὸν περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ λόγον αὐτῇ ἢ χρεῖα πεποίηκεν, ἵν' ἔτι μᾶλλον εἰδῇτε τοῦθ', ὅτι αὐτοὶ τε τοιοῦτοὶ ἐστε οἷοι καὶ ἄνευ ἄρχοντος ἀγαθοῦ νικᾶν, καὶ ἐγὼ τοιοῦτος [p. 472] οἷος καὶ μετὰ κακῶν στραπιωτῶν κρατεῖν δύνασθαι. [3] τὴν τε γὰρ ἡλικίαν ταύτην ἄγω ἐν ἧ καὶ μάλιστα ἀνθρωποὶ καὶ τῷ σώματι καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ ἀκμάζουσι, καὶ μὴτε τῇ τῆς νεότητος προπετεῖα μὴτε τῇ τοῦ γήρως ἐκλύσει κακύνονται, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ μέσον ἐκατέρου ἔχοντες ἔρρωνται τὰ μάλιστα: [4] καὶ προσέτι τοιαύτη μὲν φύσει τοιαύτη δὲ καὶ παιδεῖα κέχρημαι ὥστε καὶ γινῶναι πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα καὶ εἰπεῖν ῥᾶστα δύνασθαι. τὴν τε ἐμπειρίαν, ἥπερ που καὶ τοὺς ἀνοήτους καὶ τοὺς ἀπαιδεύτους λόγου τινὸς ἀξίους δοκεῖν εἶναι ποιεῖ, διὰ πάντων μὲν τῶν πολιτικῶν πάντων δὲ τῶν [5] στρατιωτικῶν προσεῖληφα: ἔκ τε γὰρ μεираκίου δεῦρο αἰεὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐξήτασμαι, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἤρχθην πολλὰ δὲ ἤρξα, ἀφ' ὧν τοῦτο μὲν ὅσα τε καὶ οἷα χρὴ προστάσσειν, τοῦτο δ' ὅσα καὶ οἷα χρὴ πειθαρχοῦντα πράττειν, μεμάθηκα. ἐφοβήθην, [6] ἐθάρσησα: ἐξ ὧν τοῦ μὲν τὸ μὴ ῥαδίως τι δεδιέναι, τοῦ δὲ τὸ μὴ προχειρῶς ἀποτολμᾶν εἶθισμαι. εὐτύχησα, ἔπαισα: παρ' ὧν τὸ μὴτ' ἀπογινώσκειν τι μὴθ' ὑπερφρονεῖν ἔχω. 18.

λέγω δὲ ταῦτα ἐν εἰδόσι, μάρτυρας ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἀκούοντας αὐτῶν ποιούμενος, οὐχ ἵν' ἄλλως τι περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ κομπάσαιμι ἵκανὸν γάρ μοι πρὸς εὐκλειαν τὸ συνειδὸς ὑμῶν ὑπάρχει ἄλλ' ἵνα καὶ ἐκ τούτων καταμάθῃτε ὅσω βέλτιον τῶν ἐναντίων [2] παρεσκευάσμεθα. ἐλαττούμενοι γὰρ ἡμῶν καὶ τῷ [p. 474] πλήθει τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν ἅμα καὶ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τῷ πολυειδεῖ τῆς παρασκευῆς, οὐδενὶ τῶν πάντων τοσοῦτον ἐλλείπουσιν ὅσον τῇ τε ἡλικίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἀπειρίᾳ τοῦ στρατηγοῦντος αὐτῶν. περὶ οὗ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐδὲν δέομαι καθ' ἕκαστον ἀκριβῶς [3] εἰπεῖν, κεφαλαιώσας δὲ ἐρῶ τοῦτο ὃ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε, ὅτι τε ἀρρωστότατος τῷ σώματι ἐστί, καὶ ὅτι οὐδεμίαν πώποτε ἐπιφανῆ μάχην οὔτε ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ οὔτε ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ αὐτὸς νενίκηκεν. ἀμέλει καὶ ἐν τοῖς Φιλίπποις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἀγῶνι ἐγὼ μὲν ἐκράτησα ἐκείνος δὲ ἡττήθη. [4]

τοσοῦτον μὲν ἀλλήλων διαφέρομεν, τὰ δὲ δὴ πολλὰ τῶν ἄμεινον παρεσκευασμένων καὶ αἱ νῖκαι γίνονται. εἰ δ' οὖν τινα καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἰσχύν

ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' ἔν τε τῷ ὀπλιτικῷ καὶ κατὰ τὴν γῆν εὐροίτ' ἂν αὐτὴν οὖσαν, ταῖς δὲ δὴ ναυσὶν οὐδ' ἀντᾶραι ^[5] τὸ παράπαν ἡμῖν δυνήσονται. ὁρᾶτε γάρ που καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ πάχος τῶν ἡμετέρων σκαφῶν, ὥστε εἰ καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἰσοπαλεῖς αὐταῖς ἐκεῖναι ἦσαν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ γε τούτων οὐδὲν ἂν οὔτε ταῖς ἐμβολαῖς οὔτε ταῖς προσβολαῖς ἐκακούρηγαν: τὸ μὲν γάρ ἡ παχύτης τῶν ξύλων, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ ὕψος τῶν νεῶν, καὶ εἰ μηδεὶς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ^[6] ἡμύνετο, πάντως ἂν ἐπέσχε. ποῦ δὴ καὶ τοξοτῶν καὶ σφενδονητῶν τοσοῦτων ἐπιπλεόντων, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἄνωθεν αὐτῶν ἐφικνουμένων, δυνήσεται τις σφισι προσμῖξαι; εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ πλησιάσειε τις, πῶς μὲν οὐκ ἂν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν κωπῶν βαπτισθεῖη, πῶς δ' οὐκ ^[p. 476] ἂν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν τε ἀπὸ τῶν καταστροφμάτων καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων βαλλόμενος καταποντωθεῖ; 19. μὴ γάρ, ὅτι περὶ Σικελίαν Ἀγρίππας ἐναυκράτησε, παρὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦς ναυτικὴν ἔχειν ἡγεῖσθε: οὔτε γὰρ πρὸς τὸν Σέξτον ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ, οὔτε πρὸς ὁμοίαν ἡμῖν ἀντιπαρασκευὴν ἀλλὰ πρὸς πολὺ διάφορον ^[2] ἠγωνίσαντο. εἰ τέ τις τὴν εὐτυχίαν αὐτῶν ἐκείνην ἐν μεγάλῳ τιθεῖη, δίκαιός ἐστι καὶ τὴν ἥτταν τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἣν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σέξτου ἐνίκηθη, ἀντιλογίσασθαι: καὶ οὕτως οὐχ ὅπως ἴσα πρὸς ἴσα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ πλείω καὶ κρείττω πάντα τὰ ἡμέτερα τῶν ἐκείνοις ὑπαρχόντων εὐρήσει. ^[3] τὸ δ' ὅλον, πόστην μὲν ἡ Σικελία μερίδα τῆς ἄλλης ἀρχῆς, πόστην δὲ ἡ τοῦ Σέξτου δύναμις τῆς ἡμετέρας παρασκευῆς εἶχεν, ὥστε τινὰ εἰκότως ἂν τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα ὄντα καὶ μήτε πλείω μήτ' ἀμείνω γεγονότα, καταδεῖσαι μᾶλλον ἐξ ὧν ἠτύχησεν ἢ θαρσῆσαι ἐξ ὧν ἔπαισεν. ^[4] ὅθεν που καὶ ἐγὼ ταῦτα λογιζόμενος οὐκ ἠθέλησα τῷ πεζῷ προαποκινδυνεῦσαι, ἐν ᾧ δὴ δοκοῦσι τρόπον τινὰ ἰσχύειν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ὑμῶν πταίσματός τινος ἐν ἐκείνῳ γενομένου ἀθυμήσῃ, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ναυσὶν, αἷς κράτιστοι τε ἐσμέν καὶ παμπληθεῖς αὐτῶν περιέσμεν, ἴν' ἐν ταύταις κρατήσαντες ^[5] καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ σφον καταφρονήσωμεν. εὔ γάρ δὴ τοῦτο ἴστε, ὅτι πᾶσα ἡ τοῦ πολέμου ῥοπή ἐντεῦθεν ἐκ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἀμφοτέροις ἡμῖν ἥρτηται: κἂν τούτῳ περιγενώμεθα, οὐδὲν ἔτι δεινὸν οὐδ' ^[p. 478] ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πεισόμεθα, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν νησιδίῳ τινὶ αὐτοῦς, ἅτε πάντων τῶν πέριξ ἡμετέρων ὄντων, ἀπειληφότες ἀκονίτι, κἂν μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ, τῷ γε λιμῷ χειρωσόμεθα. 20.

καὶ μὴν ὅτι οὐχ ὑπὲρ μικρῶν οὐδ' ὑπὲρ φαύλων τινῶν ἀγωνιούμεθα, ἀλλ' ὥστε προθυμηθέντες μὲν τῶν μεγίστων τυχεῖν ἀμελήσαντες δὲ τὰ δεινότατα παθεῖν, οὐδὲ λόγου προσδεῖν ^[2] ἠγοῦμαι. τί γάρ οὐκ ἂν ἡμᾶς, ἂν γε καὶ κρατήσωσιν, ἐργάσαιντο, πάντας μὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν τοὺς μετὰ τοῦ Σέξτου τῶν ἐλλογίμων γενομένους ἀπεκτονότες, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν μετὰ τοῦ Λεπίδου ^[3] συναραμένων σφίσιν ἀπολωλεκότες; καὶ τί λέγω ταῦτα, ὅποτε καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Λέπιδον, μήτε τι ἀδικήσαντα καὶ προσέτι καὶ συμμαχήσαντα αὐτοῖς, τῆς τε ἡγεμονίας ἀπάσης παραλελύκασι καὶ ὥσπερ τινὰ αἰχμάλωτον ἐν φρουρᾷ ἔχουσι, καὶ τοὺς τε ἐξελευθέρους πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τὰ χωρία κεκτημένους ἡργυρολογήκασιν οὕτως ὥστε καὶ ἐς ὅπλα τινὰς αὐτῶν ἐλθεῖν ἀναγκάσαι, κἂκ τούτου ^[4]

συχνούς φθεΐραι; ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅπως φείσσονται ἡμῶν οἱ τῶν συμμάχων μὴ πεφεισμένοι; ἀρέζονται τῶν ἡμετέρων οἱ τὰ τῶν οἰκείων δεδασμολογηκότες; φιλανθρωπεύονται τι νικήσαντες οἱ καὶ πρὶν κρατῆσαι τί πεπονηκότες; καὶ ἵνα γε μὴ πάντα τὰ τῶν ἄλλων λέγων διατρίβω, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ ^[5] τὰ ἐς ἡμᾶς αὐτοῖς τετολμημένα καταλέξω, τίς μὲν οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι κοινωνὸς ἐγὼ καὶ συνάρχων τοῦ ^[p. 480] Καίσαρος ἀποδειχθεὶς, καὶ τὴν τε προστασίαν τῶν κοινῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσου αὐτῷ λαβὼν καὶ τιμῶν καὶ ἀρχῶν τῶν ὁμοίων τυχών, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἤδη χρόνον ἐν αὐταῖς ὢν, πάντων αὐτῶν ὅσον ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ ἐστίν, ἀπεστέρημαι, καὶ ἰδιώτης μὲν ἐξ ^[6] ἡγεμόνος ἄτιμος δὲ ἐξ ὑπάτου γέγονα, οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἵπῳ γάρ, ὁπότε καὶ ἔφυγον ἄντικρυς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ οἱ ὑπατοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι τινές, ἵνα μηδὲν τοιοῦτο ψηφίσωνται; ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τε αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντων, οἵτινες οὐκ αἰσθάνονται μόναρχον αὐτὸν ^[7] ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς πρώτους ἀσκοῦντες; ὁ γὰρ τολμήσας τὰς διαθήκας μου ζῶντος, δύναμιν τοσαύτην ἔχοντος, Ἀρμενίους νικῶντος, καὶ ζητῆσαι καὶ βίᾳ τοὺς λαβόντας αὐτὰς ἀφελέσθαι καὶ ἀνοῖξαι καὶ δημοσίᾳ ἀναγνῶναι πῶς ἂν ἡ ὑμῶν ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς ^[8] φείσαιο; καὶ ὅ γε τοιοῦτος ἐς ἐμὲ τὸν φίλον τὸν ὁμοτράπεζον τὸν συγγενῇ γεγονῶς πῶς ἂν φιλάνθρωπόν τι πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους, πρὸς οὓς οὐδὲν αὐτῷ συμβόλαιόν ἐστι, ποιήσειεν; 21.

καὶ μὴν εἰ δεῖ τι τοῖς ἐψηφισμένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τεκμαίρεσθαι, ὑμῖν μὲν καὶ φανερώς ἀπειλεῖ ἵπολεμίους γοῦν ἄντικρυς τοὺς πλείονας ὑμῶν πεπονηταί, ἐμοὶ δ' οὐδὲν αὐτῷ τοιοῦτον ἐπήγγελκε, καίτοι καὶ πολεμῶν μοι καὶ πάντα οὐχ ὅπως τὰ τοῦ κεκρατηκότος ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τοῦ πεφονευκότος με ἤδη ποίω. ^[2] ὥσθ' ὁπότε ἐμέ, ὃν μηδέπω καὶ νῦν πολέμιον ἔχειν προσποιεῖται, τοιαῦτα δέδρακεν, ἥκιστα ἂν ὑμῶν ^[p. 482] ἀπόσχοιτο, οἷς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι σαφῶς ^[3] ὁμολογεῖ. τί ποτ' οὖν αὐτῷ βούλεται τὸ τὰ μὲν ὅπλα πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ἡμῖν ἐπιφέρειν, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ ψηφίσματι τοῖς μὲν πολεμεῖν τοῖς δὲ μὴ φάσκειν; οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐχ ἵνα διαφορότητα τινα ἐν ἡμῖν ἐργάσῃται, οὐδ' ἵνα τοῖς μὲν ἄλλως τοῖς δὲ ἄλλως, ἂν γε καὶ κρατήσῃ, χρήσῃται, ἀλλ' ἵν' ἡμᾶς στασιάσας συγκρούσῃ καὶ κατὰ τοῦτ' ἀσθενεστερούς ^[4] ποιήσῃ. οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοεῖ γε ὅτι ὁμοφρονούντων μὲν ἡμῶν καὶ καθ' ἓν πάντα πραττόντων οὐδαμῇ οὐδαμῶς κρείττων ἂν γένοιτο, διενεχθέντων δέ, καὶ τῶν μὲν ταῦτα τῶν δὲ ἐκεῖνα ἐλομένων, τάχ' ἂν κρατήσῃ: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῦτον ἡμῖν τὸν τρόπον προσφέρεται. 22.

ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ οἱ συνόντες μοι Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν τε κίνδυνον, καίπερ ἄδειάν τινα τῶν ἐψηφισμένων ἔνεκα ἔχοντες, προορώμεθα καὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν αὐτοῦ συνιέμεν, καὶ οὐτε προϊέμεθα ὑμᾶς οὐτ' αὖ ἰδίᾳ τὸ συμφέρον ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς προσκοποῦμεν, ^[2] οὕτω που καὶ ὑμᾶς, οὓς οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἀρνεῖται μὴ οὐκ ἐχθροὺς καὶ ἐχθίστους γε ἡγεῖσθαι, χρή πάντα ταῦτ' ἐνθυμηθέντας, καὶ κοινοὺς μὲν τοὺς κινδύνους κοινὰς δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ποιησαμένους, καὶ συνάρασθαι τὰ πράγματα παντοίως καὶ συσπουδάσαι προθύμως, θέντας παρ' ἄλληλα καὶ ἃ πεισόμεθα, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἡττηθέντες, ^[3]

καὶ ὧν τευξόμεθα κρατήσαντες. μέγα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὸ μηδὲν μῆθ' ὕβριστικὸν μήτε πλεονεκτικὸν ἐλαττωθέντας πῃ ἡμᾶς παθεῖν, μέγιστον δὲ τὸ νικήσαντας πάνθ' ὅσα τις ἂν εὕξαιτο πρᾶξαι. [p. 484] αἰσχιστον δὲ τοσοῦτους καὶ τοιοῦτους ὄντας, καὶ ὄπλα καὶ χρήματα καὶ ναῦς καὶ ἵππους ἔχοντας, τὰ χεῖρονα ἀντὶ τῶν ἀμεινόνων ἐλέσθαι, καὶ παρὸν καὶ ἐκείνοις τὴν ἐλευθερίαν παρασχεῖν, συνδουλεῦσαι [4] μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ἐθελῆσαι. τοσοῦτον γὰρ που διαφέρομεν ἀλλήλων ὥσθ' ὁ μὲν καὶ ὑμῶν μοναρχῆσαι ἐπιθυμεῖ, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἐκείνους ἐλευθερῶσαι βούλομαι, καθάπερ που καὶ τοῖς ὄρκοις πεπίστωμαι. ὥς οὖν ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως ἀγωνιούμενοι, καὶ κοινὰ τὰ ἀγαθὰ πᾶσι κατακτησόμενοι, σπουδάσωμεν, ὧ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, ἔν τε τῷ παραχρῆμα κρατῆσαι καὶ διὰ παντὸς εὐδαιμονῆσαι.

‘ 23. τοιαῦτά τινα ὁ Ἀντώνιος εἰπὼν πάντας μὲν τοὺς πρώτους τῶν συνόντων οἱ ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐσεβίβασε, μή τι νεωτερίσωσι καθ' ἑαυτοὺς γενόμενοι, ὥσπερ ὁ τε Δέλλιος καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς αὐτομολήσαντες, παμπληθεῖς δὲ καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας [2] καὶ ὀπλίτας ἀνεβίβάσατο: ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τῷ τε μεγέθει τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος νεῶν καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἐπιβατῶν αὐτοῦ ὁ Σέξτος οὐχ ἥκιστα ἥττητο, τὰ τε σκάφη κατεσκεύασε πολὺ τῶν ἐναντίων ὑπερέχοντα ἑτρήρεις μὲν γὰρ ὀλίγας, τετρήρεις δὲ καὶ δεκῆρεις καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ διὰ μέσου πάντα ἐξεποίησέ [3] καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰ πύργους τε ὑψηλοὺς ἐπικατεσκεύασε καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐπανεβίβασεν, ὥστε καθάπερ ἀπὸ τειχῶν αὐτοὺς μάχεσθαι. Καῖσαρ δὲ καθεώρα μὲν τὴν παρασκευὴν αὐτῶν καὶ εὐτρεπίετο, μαθὼν δὲ διὰ καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν σφων παρὰ τε ἄλλων καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Δελλίου συνήγαγε καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ στράτευμα καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε: [p. 486] 24. ‘ὄρῳ, ὧ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἀκοῇ μεμάθηκα καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἔργῳ πεπειράμαι, τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν πολεμικῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις πραγμάτων, τοῖς τὰ τε δικαιότερα καὶ τὰ εὐσεβέστερα καὶ φρονοῦσι καὶ πράττουσι κατορθούμενα, τοῦτο που καὶ αὐτὸς οὐχ [2] ἥκιστα ἐννοῶ καὶ ὑμῖν παραινῶ προσκοπεῖν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ πολλὴν καὶ μεγάλην ἰσχύν, ἀφ' ἧς ἂν τις καὶ τὰ ἥττον δίκαια προελόμενος κρατήσῃ ἐλπίσειεν, ἔχομεν, ὅμως πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πολέμου ὑποθέσει ἢ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ [3] θαρσῶ. τὸ γὰρ τοι Ῥωμαίους τε ὄντας καὶ τῆς πλείστης καὶ ἀρίστης οἰκουμένης ἄρχοντας καταφρονεῖσθαι καὶ καταπατεῖσθαι πρὸς γυναικὸς Αἰγυπτίας ἀνάξιον μὲν τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν τῶν τὸν Πύρρον τὸν Φίλιππον τὸν Περσέα τὸν Ἀντίοχον καθελόντων, τῶν τοὺς Νουμαντίνους τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἀναστησάντων, τῶν τοὺς Κίμβρους [4] τοὺς Ἀμβρόνας κατακοψάντων, ἀνάξιον δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν τῶν τοὺς Γαλάτας κατεστραμμένων, τῶν τοὺς Παννονίους κεχειρωμένων, τῶν μέχρι τοῦ Ἰστροῦ προκεχωρηκότων, τὸν Ῥῆνον διαβεβηκότων, [5] ἐς Βρεττανίαν πεπεραιωμένων. πῶς μὲν γὰρ οὐ μέγα ἂν ἀλγήσειαν πάντες ἐκείνοι οἱ τὰ προειρημένα κατειργασμένοι, εἰ αἰσθοιντο ἡμᾶς ὀλέθρῳ γυναικὶ ὑποπεπτωκότας; πῶς δ' οὐκ ἂν ἡμεῖς μεγάλως ἀσημονήσῃμεν, εἰ πάντων ἀρετῇ πανταχοῦ περιόντες ἔπειτα τὰς τούτων ὕβρεις [p. 488] [6] πρᾶως φέροισιν, οἷτινες, ὧ Ἡράκλεις, Ἀλεξανδρεῖς τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ὄντες 'τί γὰρ

ἂν ἄλλο τις αὐτοὺς χεῖρον ἢ ἀληθέστερον εἰπεῖν ἔχοι; καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔρπετά καὶ τᾶλλα θηρία ὥσπερ τινὰς θεοὺς θεραπεύοντες, τὰ δὲ σώματα τὰ σφέτερα ἐς δόξαν [7] ἀθανασίας ταριχεύοντες, καὶ θρασύνεσθαι μὲν προπετέστατοι ἀνδρίσασθαι δὲ ἀσθενέστατοι ὄντες, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον γυναικὶ ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς δουλεύοντες, ἐτόλμησαν τῶν τε ἡμετέρων ἀγαθῶν ἀντιποιήσασθαι καὶ δι' ἡμῶν αὐτὰ κατακτήσασθαι, ὥστε σφίσιν ἐκουσίους ἡμᾶς τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ἡμῖν 25. εὐδαιμονίας παραχωρήσαι; τίς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ὀδύρατο ὀρῶν στρατιώτας Ῥωμαίους δορυφοροῦντας τὴν βασιλίδα αὐτῶν; τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν στενάξειεν ἀκούων ἱππέας καὶ βουλευτὰς Ῥωμαίων κολακεύοντας [2] αὐτὴν ὥσπερ εὐνούχους; τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν θρηνήσκει καὶ ἀκούων καὶ ὀρῶν αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀντώνιον τὸν δις ὕπατον, τὸν πολλακίς αὐτοκράτορα, τὸν τὴν προστασίαν μετ' ἐμοῦ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιτραπέντα, τὸν τοσαύτας μὲν πόλεις τοσαῦτα δὲ στρατόπεδα [3] ἐγχειρισθέντα, νῦν πάντα μὲν τὰ πάτρια τοῦ βίου ἦθη ἐκλελοιπότα, πάντα δὲ τὰλλότρια καὶ βαρβαρικὰ ἐξηλωκότα, καὶ ἡμῶν μὲν ἢ τῶν νόμων ἢ τῶν θεῶν τῶν προγονικῶν μηδὲ προτιμῶντα, τὴν δ' ἄνθρωπον ἐκείνην καθάπερ τινὰ Ἰσιν ἢ Σελήνην προσκυνοῦντα, καὶ τοὺς τε παῖδας [4] αὐτῆς Ἥλιον καὶ Σελήνην ὀνομάζοντα, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον καὶ ἑαυτὸν Ὅσιριν καὶ Διόνυσον ἐπικεκληκότα, κἄκ τούτων, καθάπερ πάσης μὲν τῆς γῆς πάσης δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης κυριεύοντα, καὶ νήσους ὅλας καὶ τῶν ἡπείρων τινὰ κεχαρισμένον; [5] ἅπιστα μὲν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ θαυμαστὰ ταῦθ' ὑμῖν, [p. 490] ὧ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, φαίνεται: διὰ τοῦτο δὲ δὴ μᾶλλον ἀγανακτεῖν ὀφείλετε. εἰ γὰρ ἂ μηδ' ἀκούσαντες πιστεύετε, ταῦτ' ὄντως γίνεταί, καὶ ἐφ' οἷς οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις οὐκ ἂν ἀλγήσειε μαθὼν, ταῦτ' ἐκείνος ποιεῖ τρυφῶν, πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ὑπεροργισθίητε; 26.

καίτοι ἔγωγε καὶ τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς οὕτω περὶ αὐτὸν ἐσπούδασα ὥστ' αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἡγεμονίας μεταδοῦναι καὶ τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ ἀδελφὴν συνοικίσαι καὶ στρατεύματα χαρίσασθαι: καὶ [2] μετὰ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἐπικικῶς, οὕτω φιλικῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔσχον ὥστε μὴθ' ὅτι τὴν ἀδελφὴν μου ὕβρισε, μὴθ' ὅτι τῶν γεννηθέντων οἱ ἐξ αὐτῆς τέκνων ἡμέλησε, μὴθ' ὅτι τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν αὐτῆς προετίμησε, μὴθ' ὅτι τοῖς ἐκείνης παισὶ πάνθ' ὥς εἰπεῖν τὰ ὑμέτερα ἐδωρήσατο, μήτε δι' ἄλλο [3] μηδὲν ἐθέλῃσαι αὐτῷ πολεμήσαι. αἵτιον δὲ ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ἐνόμιζον οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν δεῖν τρόπον πρὸς τε τὴν Κλεοπάτραν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον προσφέρεσθαι: ἐκείνην μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄλλοφύλου πολεμίαν εὐθύς οἷς ἐπραττεν εἶναι, τοῦτον δέ, ἅτε καὶ πολίτην, ἐνδέχεσθαι σωφρονισθῆναι. [4] ἔπειτα δὲ ἡλπίζον ὅτι εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐθελούσιος, ἀλλ' ἄκων γε ἐκ τῶν ἐπ' ἐκείνη ψηφισθέντων μεταγνώσεται. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα οὐδένα αὐτῷ πόλεμον ἐπήγγειλα: ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπεριδὼν αὐτὰ καὶ καταφρονήσας οὕτ' ἀφιέντων αὐτῶν ἡμῶν ἀφεθῆναι οὕτ' ἐλεούντων ἐλεθῆναι βούλεται, ἀλλ' εἴτε ὥς ἀλόγιστος εἶθ' ὥς μαινόμενος [5] 'καὶ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐγὼ ἀκηκοὺς πεπίστευκα, ὅτι [p. 492] ὑπ' ἐκείνης τῆς καταράτου μεμάργευταί τῆς μὲν ἡμετέρας εὐεργεσίας καὶ τῆς παρ' ἡμῶν φιλανθρωπίας οὐδὲν προτιμᾷ, τῇ δὲ γυναικὶ δουλεύων τὸν τε πόλεμον καὶ

τοὺς κινδύνους τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς αὐθαιρέτους καὶ καθ' ἡμῶν καὶ κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἀναιρεῖται, τί λοιπὸν ἄλλο πλὴν ἀμύνασθαι καὶ τοῦτον μετὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἡμῖν προσήκει; 27.

Μήτ' οὖν Ῥωμαῖον εἶναι τις αὐτὸν νομιζέτω, ἀλλὰ τινα Αἰγύπτιον, μήτ' Ἀντώνιον ὀνομαζέτω, ἀλλὰ τινα Σαραπίωνα: μὴ ὕπατον, μὴ αὐτοκράτορα γεγενῆσθαι ποτὲ ἠγείσθω, ἀλλὰ γυμνασίαρχον. [2] ταῦτα γὰρ ἀντ' ἐκείνων αὐτὸς ἐβελοντῆς ἀνθείλετο, καὶ πάντα τὰ πάτρια σεμνολογήματα ἀπορρίψας εἷς τῶν ἀπὸ Κανώβου κυμβαλιστῶν γέγονε. μὴ μέντοι μηδὲ δείσῃ τις αὐτὸν ὥς καὶ ῥοπήν τῷ [3] πολέμῳ παρέξοντα. ἦν μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ πρὶν ἄξιός τις, ὥς που σαφῶς ἴστε οἱ περὶ Μούτιναν αὐτοῦ κεκρατηκότες: εἰ δ' οὖν ποτε καὶ ἐκ τῆς σὺν ἡμῖν στρατείας ἀρετὴν τινα ἔσχεν, ἀλλ' εὖ ἴσθ' ὅτι νῦν πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ τοῦ βίου μεταβολῇ [4] διέφθοσκεν. ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἐστὶ βασιλικῶς τέ τινα τρυφῶντα καὶ γυναικείως θρυπτόμενον ἀνδρῶδες τι φρονῆσαι καὶ πρᾶξι, διὰ τὸ πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην εἶναι, οἷοις ἂν τις ἐπιτηδεύμασι συνῇ, [5] τούτοις αὐτὸν ἐξομοιοῦσθαι. τεκμήριον δέ, ἓνα πόλεμον ἐν παντὶ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ πεπολεμηκῶς καὶ μίαν στρατείαν πεποιημένος παμπόλλους μὲν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις πολίτας ἀπολώλεκεν, αἰσχιστὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Πραάσπων ἀποκεχώρηκε, πλείστους [p. 494] [6] δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ φυγῇ προσαποβέβληκεν. ὥστ' εἰ μὲν γελοιῶς πως ὀρχεῖσθαι καὶ κορδακίζειν τινὰ ἡμῶν ἐχρήν, πάντως ἂν ἔλαττον αὐτοῦ ἠνέγκατο 'ταῦτα γὰρ μεμελέτηκεν': ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὅπλων καὶ μάχης δεῖ, τί τις ἂν αὐτοῦ φοβηθεῖ; τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ σώματος; ἀλλὰ παρήβηκε καὶ ἐκτεθῆλυνται. τὴν ῥώμην τῆς γνώμης; ἀλλὰ γυναικίζει [7] καὶ ἐκκεκιναιδισται. τὴν εὐσέβειαν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἡμῶν; ἀλλὰ πολεμεῖ καὶ ἐκείνοις καὶ τῇ πατρίδι. τὴν πιστότητα τὴν πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους; καὶ τίς οὐκ οἶδεν ὅπως τὸν Ἀρμένιον ἐξαπατήσας ἔδησε; τὴν ἐπείκειαν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους; καὶ τίς οὐχ ἐόρακε τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κακῶς ἀπολωλότας; τὴν εὐδοξίαν τὴν παρὰ τοῖς στρατιώταις; καὶ τίς οὐχὶ καὶ ἐκείνων αὐτοῦ [8] κατέγνωκε; σημεῖον δὲ ὅτι συχνοὶ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν πρὸς ἡμᾶς μεθίστανται. νομίζω δὲ ἔγωγε ὅτι καὶ πάντες οἱ πολῖται ἡμῶν τοῦτο ποιήσουσιν, ὥσπερ ποτὲ καὶ πρότερον, ὅτε ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου [9] πρὸς τὴν Γαλατίαν ἦει. μέχρι μὲν γὰρ πλουτήσιν ἀκινδύνως ἥλπίζον, καὶ μάλα ἄσμενοί τινες αὐτῷ συνῆσαν: μάχεσθαι δὲ δὴ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους ὑπὲρ τῶν μηδὲν σφισι προσηκόντων, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς ἀδεῶς σὺν ἡμῖν καὶ σῶζεσθαι καὶ εὐδαιμονεῖν, οὐκ ἐβελήσουσιν. 28.

Ἄλλ' ἐρεῖ τις ὅτι καὶ συμμάχους πολλοὺς καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ ἔχει. οὐκοῦν ὅπως μὲν τοὺς τὴν Ἀσίαν τὴν ἡπειρον οἰκοῦντας νικᾷν εἰώθαμεν, οἶδε μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων ἐκεῖνος ὁ Ἀσιατικός, οἶδε δὲ [p. 496] καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ὁ εὐτυχής, ὁ Λούκουλλος, ὁ Πομπήιος, ὁ Καῖσαρ ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐμός, ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ οἱ τοὺς μετὰ τε τοῦ Βρούτου καὶ τοῦ Κασσίου [2] στρατευσαμένους κεκρατηκότες. τούτου δὲ δὴ οὕτως ἔχοντος, καὶ τὸν πλοῦτόν σφω ὅσω πλείονα ἐτέρων νομίζετε εἶναι, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον σπουδάσατε σφετερίσασθαι: ὑπὲρ γὰρ τῶν μεγίστων ἄλλων μεγίστους καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἄξιόν [3] ἐστί

ποιεῖσθαι. καίτοι μείζον οὐδὲν ἂν ἄλλο φῆσαιμι ὑμῖν προκεῖσθαι τοῦ τὸ ἀξίωμα τὸ τῶν προγόνων διασῶσαι, τοῦ τὸ φρόνημα τὸ οἰκεῖον φυλάξαι, τοῦ τοὺς ἀφροσθηκότας ἀφ' ἡμῶν τιμωρῆσασθαι, τοῦ τοὺς ὑβρίζοντας ὑμᾶς ἀμύνασθαι, τοῦ πάντων ἀνθρώπων νικήσαντας ἄρχειν, τοῦ μηδεμίαν γυναῖκα περιορᾶν μηδενὶ ἀνδρὶ παρισουμένην. [4] ἢ πρὸς μὲν Ταυρίσκους καὶ Ἰάπυδας καὶ Δελμάτας καὶ Παννονίους προθυμότατα αὐτοὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ νῦν παρόντες ὑπὲρ ὀλίγων τινῶν τειχῶν καὶ γῆς ἐρήμου πολλάκις ἐμαχέσασθε, καὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς καίτοι πολεμικωτάτους ὁμολογουμένως ὄντας ἐχειρώσασθε, καὶ νῆ Δία καὶ πρὸς Σέξτον ὑπὲρ Σικελίας μόνης καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τοῦτον τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὑπὲρ Μουτινῆς μόνης ὁμοίως ἠγωνίσασθε, [5] ὥστ' ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν κρατῆσαν πρὸς δὲ δὴ γυναῖκα πᾶσι τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἐπιβουλεύουσιν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς τὸν τὰ ὑμέτερα τοῖς ἐκείνης παισὶ διαδεδωκότα, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς καλοὺς αὐτῶν ἐταίρους καὶ τραπεζίς, οὓς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι κοπρίας ἀποκαλοῦσιν, ἥττον τι [6] προθυμηθήσεσθε; διὰ τί; διὰ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν; [p. 498] ἀλλ' οὐδὲν πλῆθος σωμάτων ἀρετῆς κρατεῖ. διὰ τὸ γένος; ἀλλ' ἀχθοφορεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ πολεμεῖν μεμελετήκασι. διὰ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν; ἀλλ' ἐρέττειν μᾶλλον ἢ ναυμαχεῖν ἴσασι. ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ αἰσχύνομαι ὅτι πρὸς τοιοῦτους ἀνθρώπους ἀγωνίζεσθαι μέλλομεν, ὧν καὶ κρατήσαντες οὐκ εὐδοκίμησομεν καὶ ἡττηθέντες ἀσχημονήσομεν. 29.

μὴ γάρ που τὸ μέγεθος τῶν σκαφῶν αὐτῶν ἢ τὸ πάχος τῶν ξύλων ἀντίπαλον ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ἡμῶν εἶναι νομίζετε. ποῖα μὲν γὰρ ναὺς αὐτὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἢ ἔτρωσέ τινα ἢ ἀπέκτεινε; πῶς δ' οὐ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ τε ὕψους καὶ τοῦ πάχους καὶ δυσκινητότεραι ἔσονται τοῖς ἐλαύνουσιν αὐτὰς [2] καὶ ἀπειθέστεραι τοῖς κυβερνῶσι; τί δ' ἂν ὄφελος τοῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶν μαχομένοις γένοιτο μῆτε διεκπλεῖν μῆτε περιπλεῖν, ἅπερ που ναυμαχίας ἔργα ἐστί, δυναμένοις; οὐ γάρ που πεζομαχεῖν ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ μέλλουσιν, οὐδ' αὖ ὥσπερ ἐν τείχεσιν τισὶ κατακεκλειμένοι πολιορκηθῆναι παρεσκευάδαται, [3] ἐπεὶ τοῦτο γε καὶ πάνυ πρὸς ἡμῶν ἂν εἴη, λέγω δὲ τὸ πρὸς ξύλινα παραφράγματα προσμῖξαι. ἂν τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καθάπερ ἐμπεπηγῆται αἱ νῆες αὐτῶν μένωσιν, ἐξέσται μὲν ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐμβόλοις αὐτὰς ἀναρρηγνύναι, ἐξέσται δὲ καὶ μηχαναῖς πόρρωθεν τιτρώσκειν, ἐξέσται δὲ καὶ [4] πυρφόροις βέλεσι καταπιμπράναι: ἂν τε καὶ κινηθῆναι πῇ τολμήσωσιν, οὗτ' ἂν διώκουσαι τινα καταλάβοιεν οὗτ' ἂν τραπεῖσαι ἐκφύγοιεν, ἀργόταται [p. 500] μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς βαρύτητος ἐς τὸ δρᾶσαι τι, ἐτοιμόταται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους ἐς τὸ παθεῖν οὔσαι. 30.

καὶ τί δεῖ πλείω λέγοντα περὶ αὐτῶν διατρίβειν, ὅποτε πολλάκις ἤδη πειραθέντες σφῶν, καὶ περὶ Λευκάδα καὶ ἐνταῦθα πρῶην, οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἡλαττώθημεν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πανταχοῦ κρείττους ἐγενόμεθα; ὥστε μὴ τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ὑμετέροις αὐτῶν ἔργοις ἐπιρρωσθέντες ἐπιθυμήσατε παντὶ ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι. [2] εὖ γὰρ ἴστε τοῦθ', ὅτι ἂν καὶ τήμερον αὐτοὺς νικήσωμεν, οὐδὲν ἔτι πρᾶγμα ἔξομεν. ἄλλως τε γὰρ φῶσει πᾶν τὸ ἀνθρώπειον, ὅταν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἀγῶσιν σφαλῇ, καὶ πρὸς τὰ

λοιπὰ ἀθυμότερον γίγνεται: καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀναμφιλόγως ἐν τῇ γῇ ἁμεινους αὐτῶν ἔσμεν, ὥστε καὶ ἀκεραίων σφῶν^[3] ὄντων κρατῆσαι. καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτω καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἴσασιν ὥστε 'οὐ γὰρ ἀποκρύψομαι ὑμᾶς ὅσα ἀκήκοά ἀθυμεῖν τε ἐπὶ τοῖς ἤδη γεγονόσι καὶ ἀπογιγνώσκειν κατὰ χώραν μένοντας σωθήσεσθαι, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα διαδρᾶναι τέ πη ἐπιχειρεῖν, καὶ τὸν ἔκπλουν τοῦτον οὐχ ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἀλλ' ὡς ἐς^[4] φυγὴν ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ τὰ γε ἄριστα καὶ τιμιώτατα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς κτημάτων ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐντέθεινται, ἴνα, ἂν δυνηθῶσι, μετ' αὐτῶν διαφυγῶσιν. ὥς οὖν καὶ ὁμολογοῦντας αὐτοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους ἡμῶν εἶναι, καὶ τὰ ἄθλα τῆς νίκης ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ φέροντας, μὴ περιιδῶμεν ἄλλοσέ ποι πλεύσαντας, ἀλλὰ αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ κρατήσαντες πάντα αὐτὰ ἀφελώμεθα.

‘ [p. 502] 31. τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ εἶπε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐβουλεύσατο μὲν παρεξεῖναι αὐτοὺς, ὅπως φεύγουσὶ σφισι κατὰ νώτου ἐπιθῆται 'αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ταχυναντῶν διὰ βραχείος σφᾶς αἰρήσειν ἤλπισε, καὶ ἐκείνων ἐκδήλων ὅτι ἐκδρᾶναι πη ἐπιχειροῦσι γενομένων ἀμαχεῖ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐκ τούτου προσᾶξεσθαι^[2] προσεδόκησεν', κωλυθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου φοβηθέντος μὴ ὑστερήσωσιν αὐτῶν ἱστίοις χρήσεσθαι μελλόντων, καὶ τι καὶ θαρσῆσας ὡς οὐ χαλεπῶς κρατήσων ὅτι ὑετός τε ἐν τούτῳ λάβρος καὶ ζάλη πολλή ἐς τε τὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ναυτικὸν μόνον ἐσέπεσε καὶ πᾶν αὐτὸ^[3] συνετάραξε, τούτου μὲν ἐπέσχε, παμπόλλους δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς πεζοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐπιβιβάσας, καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐταίρους ἐς ὑπηρετικά ἐμβαλὼν, ὅπως ἐν τάχει περιπλέοντες τοῖς τε ναυμαχοῦσι τὰ δέοντα παραινέσωσι καὶ ἑαυτῷ τὰ προσήκοντα^[4] διαγγέλλωσι, τὸν ἔκπλουν σφῶν ἐπετήρει. καὶ αὐτῶν ἀναχθέντων τε ὑπὸ σάλπιγγος, καὶ πυκναῖς ταῖς ναυσὶν ὀλίγον ἔξω τῶν στενῶν παραταξαμένων καὶ μηδαμῇ πρίοντων, ὥρμησε μὲν ὡς καὶ ἐστῶσι σφισι προσμιζῶν ἢ καὶ ἀναχωρήσαι σφας ποιήσων: ἐπεὶ δ' οὕτ' ἀντεξώρμησαν οὕτ' ἀνέστρεψαν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ χώραν ἔμενον καὶ προσέτι^[5] καὶ ἰσχυρῶς τῇ συντάξει ἐπεπύκνωντο, ἐν ἀπόρῳ τε ἔσχετο, καὶ τὰς κώπας ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ τοῖς ναύταις καθεῖναι κελεύσας ἀνέσχε χρόνον τινά, καὶ μετὰ [p. 504] τοῦτο τὰ κέρατα ἐξαίφνης ἀμφοτέρα ἀπὸ σημείου ἐπεξαγαγὼν ἐπέκαμψεν, ἐλπίσας μάλιστα μὲν περιστοιχειεῖσθαι σφας, εἰ δὲ μή, τὴν γοῦν τάξιν^[6] αὐτῶν διαλύσειν. ὁ οὖν Ἀντώνιος φοβηθεὶς τὴν τε ἐπίκαμψιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν περίσχεσιν ἀντεπεξηγάγετο ὅσον ἐδύνατο, καὶ ἐς χεῖρας οἱ καὶ ἄκων ἦλθε. 32. καὶ οὕτω συμπεσόντες ἐναυμάχησαν, πολλὰ μὲν παρακελεύσματα ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἐκάτεροι καὶ τῆς τέχνης καὶ τῆς προθυμίας ποιούμενοι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ κελεύματα παρὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου σφίσιν^[2] ἐπιβοώντων ἐσακούοντες. ἡγωνίζοντο δὲ οὐχ ὁμοιοτρόπως, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἅτε καὶ μικροτέρας καὶ ταχυτέρας τὰς ναῦς ἔχοντες, ῥοθίῳ τε ἐχρῶντο καὶ ἐνέβαλλον πεφραγμένοι πάντῃ τοῦ μὴ τιτρώσκεσθαι: καὶ εἰ μὲν κατέδυσάν τινα, εἰ^[3] δὲ μή, ἀνεκρούοντο πρὶν ἐς χεῖρας ἔλθεῖν, καὶ ἥτοι τοῖς αὐτοῖς αὐθις ἐξαίφνης ἐνέβαλλον, ἢ τοὺς μὲν εἰὼν ἐπ' ἄλλους δὲ ἐτρέποντο, καὶ τι καὶ τούτους ὡς διὰ βραχείος ἐργασάμενοι πρὸς ἄλλους καὶ πάλιν μάλ᾽ ἄλλους ἐχώρουν, ὅπως ὡς μάλιστα^[4] ἀπροσδοκῆτοίς τισὶ προσφέρωνται. οἷα

γὰρ φοβούμενοι μὲν τὴν ἐκ πολλοῦ αὐτῶν ἀλκὴν φοβούμενοι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν
χερσὶ μάχην, οὔτε ἐν τῷ πρόσπλῳ οὔτε ἐν τῇ συμμίξει ἐνεχρόνιζον, ἀλλ’
ὑποδραμόντες αἰφνιδιον ὥστε τὴν τοξείαν σφῶν φθῆναι, καὶ τρώσαντές τινα
ἢ καὶ συνταράξαντες μόνον ὥστε τὴν κάθεξιν ἐκφυγεῖν, ἀνεχώρουν ἔξω [5]
βέλους. οἱ δ’ ἕτεροι τοὺς τε προσπλέοντάς σφισι [p. 506] πολλοῖς καὶ πυκνοῖς
καὶ λίθοις καὶ τοξεύμασιν ἔβαλλον, καὶ ἐς τοὺς προσμιγνύντας χεῖρας
σιδηρεῖς [6] ἐπερρίπτουν. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐπιτύχοιεν αὐτῶν, κρείττους ἐγίνοντο, εἰ
δ’ ἀμάρτοιεν, τρωθέντων ἄν σφισι τῶν σκαφῶν ἐβαπτιζοντο, ἢ καὶ περὶ τὸ
μὴ 100 παθεῖν τοῦτο ἀποδιατρίβοντες εὐεπιθετώτεροι ἄλλοις 101 τισὶν
ἐγίνοντο: δύο τε γὰρ ἢ καὶ τρεῖς ἅμα τῇ αὐτῇ νηὶ προσπίπτουσαι αἱ μὲν
ἔδρων ὅσα [7] ἐδύναντο, αἱ δὲ ἔπασχον. ἐπονοῦντο δὲ καὶ ἔκαμνον τοῖς μὲν
οἷ τε κυβερνήται καὶ οἱ ἐρέται μάλιστα, τοῖς δὲ οἱ ἐπιβάται: καὶ ἐώκεσαν οἱ
μὲν ἵππεῦσι τοτὲ μὲν ἐπελαύνουσι τοτὲ δὲ ἐξαναχωροῦσι διὰ τὸ τοὺς τε
ἐπίπλους καὶ τὰς ἀνακρούσεις ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς εἶναι, οἱ δὲ ὀπλίταις τοὺς τε
πλησιάζοντάς σφισι φυλασσομένοις καὶ κατέχειν αὐτοὺς [8] ὅτι μάλιστα
πειρωμένοις. κᾶκ τούτου ἐπλεονέκτουν τε ἀλλήλων, οἱ μὲν ἔς τε τοὺς
ταρσοὺς τῶν νεῶν ὑποπίπτοντες καὶ τὰς κώπας συναράσσοντες, οἱ δὲ
ἄνωθεν αὐτοὺς καὶ πέτραις καὶ μηχανήμασι βαπτιζοντες: καὶ ἡλαττοῦντο αὖ
οἱ μὲν ὅτι τοὺς 102 προσιόντας σφίσιν οὐδὲν κακουργεῖν ἐδύναντο, οἱ δὲ
ὅτι, εἰ μὴ καὶ 103 κατέδυσάν τινας ἐμβαλόντες, οὐκέτ’ ἐξ ἴσου σφίσιν ἐν τῇ
συνέρξει ἡγωνίζοντο. 33. ἀγχωμάλου οὖν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς ναυμαχίας 104
οὔσης καὶ μηδετέρων ὑπερέχειν πῃ δυναμένων τέλος τοιοῦνδε τι ἐγένετο. ἡ
Κλεοπάτρα κατόπιν τῶν μαχομένων ἀποσαλεύουσα οὐκ ἦνεγκε τὴν πολλὴν
[2] καὶ ἄκριτον τοῦ ἀδήλου μέλλησιν, ἀλλ’ ἀποκναισθεῖσα, [p. 508] ἀπὸ τε τοῦ
γυναικείου καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου, τῇ τε ἐπὶ πολὺ μετεώρῳ ἀγωνίᾳ καὶ τῇ
αἰεὶ ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα περιδεεὶ προσδοκίᾳ αὐτὴ τε ἐς φυγὴν ἐξαπνιαίως ὥρμησε
καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ὑπηκόοις [3] σημεῖον ἦρε. καὶ οὕτω τὰ τε ἱστία αὐτῶν
εὐθύς ἀραμένων καὶ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφέντων, ἀνέμου τινὸς κατὰ τύχην
φοροῦ συμβάντος, νομίσας ὁ Ἀντώνιος οὐχ ὑπὸ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας αὐτοὺς ἐκ
παραγγέλσεως ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ δέους ὥς καὶ νενικημένους [4] φεύγειν ἐφέσπετό
σφισι. γενομένου δὲ τούτου καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ στρατιῶται καὶ ἡθύμησαν καὶ
ἐταράχθησαν, καὶ προσαποδρᾶναι 105 καὶ αὐτοὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἐθέλησαντες οἱ
μὲν τὰ ἱστία ἦρον, 106 οἱ δὲ τοὺς τε πύργους καὶ τὰ ἐπιπλά ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν
[5] ἐρρίπτουν, ὅπως κουφίσαντες διαφύγωσι. καὶ αὐτοῖς περὶ ταῦτα ἔχουσιν
οἱ ἐναντίοι προσπεσόντες ‘τοὺς γὰρ φεύγοντας, ἅτε καὶ ἄνευ ἱστίων ὄντες
καὶ πρὸς τὴν ναυμαχίαν μόνην παρεσκευασμένοι, οὐκ ἐπεδιώξαν’ πολλοὶ
107 ἐκάστη νηὶ καὶ ἕκαθεν καὶ ἐν χρῶ ἐμαχέσαντο, ὥστε καὶ ποικιλώτατον
καὶ ὀξύτατον ἀπ’ ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως τὸν ἀγῶνα [6] γενέσθαι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὰ
τε κάτω τῶν νεῶν πάντα πέριξ ἐκακούργουν καὶ τὰς κώπας συνέθραυνον τὰ
τε πηδάλια ἀπήραττον, καὶ ἐπαναβαίνοντες ἐπὶ τὰ καταστρώματα τοὺς μὲν
κατέσπων ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι 108 τοὺς δὲ ἐώθουν, τοῖς δὲ ἐμάχοντο ἅτε [7]
καὶ ἰσοπληθεῖς αὐτοῖς ἤδη ὄντες: οἱ δὲ τοῖς τε κοντοῖς σφᾶς διεωθοῦντο
109 καὶ ταῖς ἀξίναις ἔκοπτον, [p. 510] πέτρους τε καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς ὄγκους ἐπ’
αὐτὸ τοῦτο παρεσκευασμένους ἐπικατέβαλλον, καὶ τοὺς τε ἀναβαίνοντας

ἀπεκρούοντο καὶ τοῖς ἐς χεῖρας ^[8] ἰοῦσι συνεφέροντο. εἵκασεν ἄν τις ἰδὼν τὰ γιγνόμενα, ὥς μικρὰ μεγάλοις ὁμοιωσαι, τειχεσί τισιν ἢ καὶ νήσοις πολλαῖς καὶ πυκναῖς ἐκ θαλάσσης πολιορκουμέναις. οὕτως οἱ μὲν ἐπιβῆναι τε τῶν σκαφῶν ὥσπερ ἡπείρου 110 καὶ ἐρύματός τινος ἐπειρῶντο, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐς τοῦτο φέροντα σπουδῇ προσῆγον· οἱ δὲ ἀπεωθοῦντο αὐτούς, ὅτι ποτὲ ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ φιλεῖ δρᾶσθαι μηχανώμενοι. 34. ἀντιπάλως οὖν αὐτῶν μαχομένων ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπορήσας ὅτι πράξει, πῦρ ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μετεπέμφατο. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἠθέλησεν αὐτῷ, ὅπως τὰ χρήματα περιποιήσεται, χρήσασθαι· τότε δὲ ἰδὼν ὅτι ἀδύνατόν οἱ εἶη ἄλλως πως κρατῆσαι, ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνο ὥς καὶ μόνον σφίσιν ^[2] ἐπικουρήσον κατέφυγε. κάνταῦθα ἄλλο 111 αὖ εἶδος μάχης συνηνέχθη. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλαχῇ ἅμα προσπλέοντές τισι βέλη τε πυρφόρα ἐπ’ αὐτούς ἐξετόξευον καὶ λαμπάδας ἐκ χειρὸς ἐπηκόντιζον καὶ τινας καὶ χυτρίδας ἀνθράκων καὶ πίττης πλήρεις πόρρωθεν μηχαναῖς ἐπερρίπτουν· ^[3] οἱ δὲ ταῦτά τε ὥς ἕκαστα διεκρούοντο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τινα αὐτῶν διεκπίπτοντα τῶν τε ξύλων ἥπτετο καὶ φλόγα αὐτίκα πολλήν, ἅτε ἐν νηί, ἤγειρε, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῷ ποτίμῳ ὕδατι ὧ ἐπέφέροντο ἐχρῶντο, καὶ τινα κατέσβεσαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνο ^[4] καταναλώθη, ἦντλουν τὸ θαλάττιον. καὶ εἰ μὲν πολλῶν τε καὶ ἀθρόω αὐτῷ ἐχρῶντο, ἐπεῖχόν πως ^[p. 512] τῇ βίᾳ τὸ πῦρ· ἀδύνατοι δὲ δὴ πανταχῇ τοῦτο ποιεῖν ὄντες· οὐτε γὰρ πολλὰ ἢ καὶ μεγάλα τὰ ἀντλητήρια εἶχον, καὶ ἡμιδεῖα 112 αὐτὰ ἅτε ταραπτόμενοι ἀνέφερον· οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ὠφελοῦντό τι, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσπαρώξυνον αὐτό· ἢ γὰρ ἄλμη ἢ θαλαττία ἂν κατ’ ὀλίγον ἐπιχέηται φλογί, ἰσχυρῶς αὐτὴν ^[5] ἐκκαίει. ὥς οὖν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἦττους ἐγίνοντο, τὰ τε ἱμάτια αὐτῶν 113 τὰ παχέα καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐπέβαλλον· καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα ἐκολούθη τε ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τὸ πῦρ καὶ ἔδοξε πη λωφᾶν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ ἀνέμου σφοδρῶς ἐπισπέρξαντος ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐξέλαμψεν, ἅτε καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ^[6] αὐξανόμενον. καὶ μέχρι μὲν μέρος τι νεῶς ἐκαίετο, προσίσταντό τέ τινες αὐτῷ καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσεπήδων, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀπέκοπτον τὰ δὲ διεφόρουν· καὶ αὐτὰ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐρρίπτουν, εἰ πως καὶ ἐκείνους τι ^[7] λυμῆναιντο. καὶ ἕτεροι πρὸς τὸ ἀεὶ ὑγιὲς αὐτῆς μεθιστάμενοι ταῖς τε χερσὶ ταῖς σιδηραῖς καὶ τοῖς δόρασι τοῖς μακροῖς τότε δὴ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐχρῶντο, ὅπως τινὰ ἀντίπαλον ναῦν προσαρτήσαντές σφισι μάλιστα μὲν μετεκβῶσιν ἐς αὐτήν, 35. εἰ δὲ μὴ, καὶ ἐκείνην συγκαταφλέξωσιν. ὥς δ’ οὐτε τινὲς ἐπέλαζόν σφισιν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο φυλασσόμενοι, καὶ τὸ πῦρ τοὺς τε τοίχους περίεξ ἐπενέμετο καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος κατῆι, ἐνταῦθα τὰ δεινότερα ^[2] αὐτοῖς ἐπεγένετο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ καπνοῦ, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ναῦται, πρὶν καὶ πλησιάσαι σφισι τὴν φλόγα ἐφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ μέσῃ ὥσπερ ἐν καμίνοις ὠπτῶντο. ἄλλοι ὑπὸ τῶν ^[3] ὅπλων πυρουμένων κατετήκοντο. ἄλλοι πρὶν τι ^[p. 514] τοιοῦτο παθεῖν, ἢ καὶ ἡμίκαντοι, οἱ μὲν ἀπορριπτοῦντες τὰ ὅπλα ἐτιτρώσκοντο ὑπὸ τῶν πόρρωθεν βαλλόντων, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκπηδῶντες ἀπεπνίγοντο ἢ καὶ παιόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐβαπτίζοντο ἢ καὶ ὑπὸ θηρίων ἐσπαράττοντο. ^[4] μόνοι τε ἀνεκτῶς, ὥς ἐν τοιούτοις παθήμασιν, ἀπήλλαξαν ὅσοι, πρὶν τινι αὐτῶν συνενεχθῆναι, οἱ μὲν ἀλλήλους οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς

ἀπέκτειναν: οὔτε γὰρ κολαστήριόν τι ὑπέμειναν, καὶ νεκροὶ ὥσπερ ἐν πυρᾷ ταῖς ναυσὶ συγκατεκαύθησαν. ^[5] Ὁρῶντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Καισάρειοι πρότερον μὲν, ὥς ἔτι ἀμύνεσθαι τινες αὐτῶν ἐδύναντο, οὐ προσέμισγόν σφισιν: ἔπει δὲ τὰ τε σκάφη τὸ πῦρ συνήρει, καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὐδὲ ἑαυτοῖς ἔτι βοηθῆσαι, μὴ ὅτι πολέμιόν τινα λυπῆσαί τι ἐδύναντο, σπουδῇ τε προσέπλεον αὐτοῖς, εἴ πως τὰ χρήματα περιποιήσαιντο, καὶ κατασβεννύναι τὸ πῦρ, ^[6] ὃ αὐτοὶ παρεσκεύασαν, ἐπειρῶντο. κακ τοῦτου συχνοὶ καὶ ἐκείνων καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς φλογὸς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρπαγῶν 114 ἀπώλοντο.

τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

α. ὡς Καῖσαρ νικήσας περὶ Ἄκτιον τὰ παρόντα διέθετο.

β. περὶ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας καὶ ὧν ἔπραξαν μετὰ τὴν ἦτταν.

γ. ὡς Ἀντώνιος ἡττηθεὶς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἑαυτὸν ἀπέκτεινεν.

δ. ὡς Καῖσαρ Αἴγυπτον ἐχειρώσατο.

ε. ὡς Καῖσαρ ἐς Ῥώμην ἦλθε καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια ἤγαγεν.

ζ. ὡς τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸ Ἰούλιον καθιερώθη.

η. ὡς Μυσία ἐάλω. χρόνου πλῆθος τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Καίσαρος τὸ γ καὶ Μ. Οὐαλερίου Κορουνίου Μεσσάλου ὑπατείας καὶ ἄλλα ἔτη δύο ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἶδε ἐγένοντο

Καῖσαρ τὸ δ

μ. Λικίνιος Μ. υἱ. Κράσσος ὕπ.

Καῖσαρ τὸ ε

Σέξτος Ἀπουλείος Σέξτου υἱ. ὕπ. 3

1. τοιαύτη τις ἡ ναυμαχία αὐτῶν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου ἐγένετο. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἄλλως εἶπον 'οὐδὲ γὰρ εἴωθα αὐτὸ ποιεῖν' ἀλλ' ὅτι τότε πρῶτον ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸ κράτος πᾶν μόνος ἔσχεν, [2] ὥστε καὶ τὴν ἀπαρίθμησην τῶν τῆς μοναρχίας [p. 4] αὐτοῦ ἐτῶν ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἀκριβοῦσθαι. καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἀκτίῳ τριήρη τε καὶ τετρήρη, τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ ἐξῆς μέχρι δεκῆρους, ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων νεῶν ἀνέθηκε, καὶ ναὸν μείζω ὠκοδόμησεν, ἀγῶνά τε τινα καὶ γυμνικὸν καὶ μουσικῆς ἵπποδρομίας τε πεντετηρικὸν ἱερὸν 'οὕτω γὰρ τοὺς τὴν σίτησιν ἔχοντας ὀνομάζουσί κατέδειξεν, Ἄκτια αὐτὸν προσαγορεύσας. [3] πόλιν τε τινα ἐν τῷ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τόπῳ, τοὺς μὲν συναγείρας τοὺς δ' ἀναστήσας τῶν πλησιοχώρων, συνώκισε, Νικόπολιν ὄνομα αὐτῇ δοῦς. τὸ τε χωρίον ἐν ᾧ ἐσκήνησε, λίθοις τε τετραπέδοις ἐκρηπίδωσε καὶ τοῖς ἀλοῦσιν ἐμβόλοις ἐκόσμησεν, ἔδος τι ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὑπαίθριον ἰδρυσάμενος. [4] ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο, τότε δὲ μέρος μὲν τι τῶν νεῶν ἐς διωξιν τοῦ τε Ἀντωνίου καὶ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἔστειλε· καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐπέδιωξαν μὲν αὐτούς,

ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐν καταλήψει ἐφαίνοντο, ἀνεχώρησαν: ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς τὸ τάφρευμα αὐτῶν, μηδενὸς ἐναντιουμένου δι' ὀλιγότητα, ἔλαβε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν στρατὸν ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἀπὸντα καταλαβὼν ἀμαχεῖ παρεστήσατο. ^[5] ἤδη δὲ καὶ διέφυγον ἄλλοι τε καὶ τῶν πρώτων οἱ μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον, οἱ δ' ἕτεροι οἱ συμμαχήσαντες αὐτῷ οἴκαδε. οὐ μέντοι γε καὶ ἀντεπολέμησαν οὗτοι γε ἔτι τῷ Καίσαρι, ^[p. 6] ἀλλὰ καθ' ἡσυχίαν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ οἱ δῆμοι πάντες, ὅσοι καὶ πρότερον ἐρρωμαίζον, οἱ μὲν 2. εὐθύς οἱ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ' ὠμολόγησαν. καὶ ὅς τὰς μὲν πόλεις χρημάτων τε ἐσπράξει καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ἐς τοὺς πολίτας σφῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐξουσίας παραιρέσει μετήλθε, τοὺς δὲ δὴ δυνάστας τοὺς τε βασιλέας τὰ μὲν χωρία, ὅσα παρὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου εἰλήφεσαν, πάντας πλὴν τοῦ τε Ἀμύντου ^[2] καὶ τοῦ Ἀρχελάου ἀφείλετο, Φιλοπάτορα δὲ τὸν Ταρκονδιμότου καὶ Λυκομήδην ἐν μέρει τοῦ Καππαδοκικοῦ Πόντου βασιλεύοντα τὸν τε Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν τοῦ Ἰαμβλίου ἀδελφὸν καὶ τῶν δυναστεῶν ἔπαυσε: καὶ τοῦτον, ὅτι μισθὸν αὐτῇ τῆς ἐκείνου κατηγορίας εἰλήφει, καὶ ἐς τὰ ^[3] ἐπινίκια παραγαγὼν ἀπέκτεινε. τὴν δὲ τοῦ Λυκομήδους Μηδεῖω τινὶ ἔδωκεν, ὅτι τοὺς τε Μυσοὺς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πρὸ τῆς ναυμαχίας ἀπέστησε, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν τοῖς ἐν τῇ μεριδι αὐτοῦ οὗσιν ἐπολέμησε. Κυδωνιάτας τε καὶ Λαμπαίους ἐλευθέρους ἀφῆκεν, ὅτι τινὰ αὐτῷ συνήραντο: καὶ τοῖς γε Λαμπαίοις καὶ τὴν πόλιν ^[4] ἀνεστῶσαν συγκατῴκισε. τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν κορυφαίων τῶν συμπραξάντων τι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ πολλοὺς μὲν χρήμασιν ἐζημίωσε, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐφόνευσε, καὶ τινων καὶ ἐφείσατο. καὶ ἐν μὲν τούτοις ὃ τε Σόσσιος ἐπιφανὴς ἐγένετο 'πολλάκις τε γὰρ ἀντιπολεμήσας αὐτῷ καὶ τότε φυγὼν καὶ κατακρυφθεὶς, χρόνῳ τε ὕστερον εὐρεθείς, ὅμως ἐσώθῃ ^[5] καὶ Μᾶρκος τις Σκαῦρος: ἀδελφὸς τε γὰρ τοῦ Σέξτου ὁμομήτριος ὢν καὶ θανατωθῆναι κελευσθεὶς ^[p. 8] εἶτα διὰ τὴν μητέρα τὴν Μουκίαν ἀφείθη. τῶν δὲ κολασθέντων Ἀκύλιοι τε Φλῶροι καὶ Κουρίων ὄνομα μάλιστα' ἔσχον, οὗτος μὲν ὅτι τοῦ Κουρίωνος ἐκείνου τοῦ ποτε τῷ Καίσαρι τῷ προτέρῳ πολλὰ ^[6] συναραμένου υἱὸς ἦν, οἱ δὲ δὴ Φλῶροι ὅτι τὸν ἕτερον τὸν λαχόντα κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ σφαγῆναι ἀμφοτέρω διεφθάρησαν. ἦσαν μὲν γὰρ πατήρ τε καὶ παῖς: ὥς δ' οὗτος πρὶν λαχεῖν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν τῷ σφαγεῖ ἐκὼν παρέδωκε, περιήλγησέ τε ἐκεῖνος καὶ αὐτοχειρία αὐτῷ ἐπαπέθανεν. 3. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἀπῆλλαξαν, ὃ δ' ὁμιλος τῶν Ἀντωνιέων στρατιωτῶν ἐς τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατόπεδα κατετάχθη, καὶ ἔπειτα τοὺς μὲν πολίτας τοὺς ἔξω τῆς ἡλικίας ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων, μηδὲν μηδενὶ δοὺς, ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπέπεμψε, ^[2] τοὺς δὲ δὴ λοιποὺς διέσπειρεν: ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ φοβεροὶ οἱ μετὰ τὴν νίκην ἐγένοντο, ἔδεισε μὴ καὶ αὐθις θορυβήσωσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἔσπευσε, πρὶν καὶ ὅτιοῦν ὑποκινηθῆναι, τοὺς μὲν παντελῶς ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων ἀπελάσαι, τῶν δὲ τὸ ^[3] πλῆθος διασπάσαι. τοὺς τε ἐξελευθέρους δι' ὑποψίας ἔτι καὶ τότε ἔχων τὴν τετάρτην αὐτοῖς ἐσφορὰν ἀφῆκεν, ἣν ἐκ τῶν προσταχθέντων σφίσι χρημάτων ἐπώφειλον. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οὐχ ὅτι ἐστέρηντό τινων ἐμνησικάκουν ἔτι, ἀλλ' ὥς καὶ ^[4] λαβόντες ὅσα μὴ συνεσήμεγκαν ἔχαιρον: οἳ τε ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ ἔτι καὶ τότε ὄντες, τὸ μὲν τι

πρὸς τῶν στρατιαρχῶν κατεχόμενοι, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον [p. 10] τῇ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου πλούτου ἐλπίδι, οὐδὲν ἐνεόχμωσαν: οἱ δὲ δὴ συννικήσαντες αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς στρατείας ἀφεθέντες ἥσχαλλον ἅτε μηδὲν γέρας εὐρόμενοι, καὶ στασιάζειν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἤρξαντο. [5] καίτοι ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑποτοπήσας τε αὐτούς, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ τοῦ Μαικήνου, ᾧ καὶ τότε ἦ τε Ρώμη καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ Ἰταλία προσετέτακτο, καταφρονήσωσιν ὅτι ἱππεὺς ἦν, τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ὡς καὶ κατ' ἄλλο τι ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἔπεμψε. καὶ τοσαύτην γ' ἐπὶ πάντα καὶ ἐκείνῳ καὶ τῷ Μαικήνῳ ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκεν ὥστε σφᾶς καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς, ἃς τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔγραφε, προαναγιγνώσκειν, καὶ τοῦτου καὶ μεταγράφειν ὅσα ἐβούλοντο. [6] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ δακτύλιον ἔλαβον παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἵν' ἐπισφραγιζέσθαι αὐτὰς ἔχωσι. διπλὴν γάρ δὴ σφραγίδα, ἥ μάλιστα τότε ἐχρήτο, ἐπεποιήτο, σφίγγα ἐν ἑκατέρῃ ὁμοίαν ἐκτυπώσας. ὕστερον γὰρ τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐγγλύψας ἐκείνῃ τὰ [7] πάντα ἐσημαίνεται. καὶ αὐτῇ καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοκράτορες, πλὴν Γάλβου, ἐχρήσαντο: οὗτος γὰρ προγονικῶς τινι σφραγίσματι, κύνα ἐκ πρῶρας νεὼς προκύπτοντα ἔχοντι, ἐνόμισεν. ἐπέστελλε δὲ καὶ ἐκείνοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς πάνυ φίλοις, ὅποτε τι δέοιτο δι' ἀπορρήτων σφίσι δηλῶσαι, τὸ δεῦτερον αἰεὶ στοιχεῖον τοῦ τῷ ῥήματι προσήκοντος ἀντ' ἐκείνου ἀντεγγράφων. 4. καὶ ὁ μὲν, ὡς οὐδενὸς ἔτι δεινοῦ παρὰ τῶν ἐστρατευμένων ἐσομένου, τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι διώκησε καὶ τῶν τοῖν θεοῖν μυστηρίων μετέλαβεν, ἔς τε τὴν Ἀσίαν κομισθεὶς καὶ ἐκεῖνα προσκαθίστατο, [p. 12] [2] τὰ τε τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἅμα ἐκαρᾷ δέκεται: οὐ γὰρ πῶ σαφές τι ὅπῃ διεπεφεύγει ἐπέτυστο, καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὀρμήσων, ἃν τι ἀκριβώσῃ. θορυβησάντων δ' αὐτῶν ἐν τούτῳ φανερώς ἅτε καὶ πολὺ ἀπὸ σφῶν ἀπαρτῶντος αὐτοῦ, ἐφοβήθη μὴ τι κακὸν προστάτου τινὸς [3] λαβόμενοι δράσωσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' Ἀντώνιον μὲν ἄλλοις ἀναζητηῆσαι προσέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἡπείχθη μεσοῦντος τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐν ᾧ τὸ τέταρτον μετὰ Μάρκου Κράσσου ἦρχεν: οὗτος γάρ, καίπερ τὰ τε τοῦ Σέξτου καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πράξας, τότε μηδὲ στρατηγήσας συνυπάτευσεν αὐτῷ. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον οὐκέτι [4] περαιτέρω προυχώρησεν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦ τε γερουσία πυθομένη τὸν πρόσπλουν αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἐκέισε, πλὴν τῶν τε δημάρχων καὶ στρατηγῶν δύο κατὰ δόγμα καταμεινάντων, ἀπήντησε, καὶ ἡ ἱππὶς τοῦ τε δήμου τὸ πλεῖον καὶ ἔτεροι, οἱ μὲν κατὰ πρεσβείας οἱ δὲ ἐθέλονται, πολλοὶ συνήλθον, [5] οὐκέτ' οὐδὲν ὑπ' οὐδενὸς πρὸς τε τὴν ἀφίξιν αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν πλειόνων σπουδὴν ἐνεοχμώθη. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνοι, οἱ μὲν φόβῳ, οἱ δὲ ἐλπίσιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ μετὰ πεμπτοί, πρὸς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἀφίκοντο: καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις χρήματα ἔδωκε, τοῖς δὲ διὰ παντὸς αὐτῷ συστρατεύουσαι [6] καὶ γῆν προσκατένειμε. τοὺς γὰρ δήμους τοὺς [p. 14] ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ τοὺς τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου φρονήσαντας ἐξοικίσας τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις τὰς τε πόλεις καὶ τὰ χωρία αὐτῶν ἔχαρίσατο, ἐκείνων δὲ δὴ τοῖς μὲν πλείοσι τὸ τε Δυρράχιον καὶ τοὺς Φιλίππους ἄλλα τε ἐποίκειν ἀντέδωκε, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ἀργύριον ἀντὶ τῆς χώρας τὸ μὲν ἔνειμε τὸ [7] δ' ὑπέσχετο. συχνὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τῆς νίκης ἐκτήσατο, πολλῷ δὲ ἔτι πλείω ἀνήλπισκε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ προέγραψεν ἐν τῷ πρατηρίῳ τὰ τε ἑαυτοῦ κτήματα καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐταίρων, ἵνα ἃν τε πρίασθαι

τι αὐτῶν ἂν τε καὶ ἀντιλαβεῖν τις [8] ἐθελήσῃ, τοῦτο ποιήσῃ. καὶ ἐπράθη μὲν οὐδέν, οὐδ' ἄντεδόθη οὐδέν: τίς γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἐτόλμησεν ὅποτερονοῦν αὐτῶν πρᾶξαι; τῆς δὲ δὴ ἐπαγγελίας ἀναβολὴν ἐκ τούτου εὐπρεπῇ λαβὼν ὕστερον αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων λαφύρων ἀπὴλλαξε. 5. ταῦτά τε οὖν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐπείγοντα διοικήσας, τοῖς τέ τινα ἄδειαν λαβοῦσι καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ διαιτᾶσθαι 'οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν' δούς, καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὑπολειφθέντα παρέμενος ὅτι μὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦλθεν, ἐς τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα αὐθις τριακοστῇ μετὰ τὴν ἄφιξιν ἡμέρᾳ ἀπῆρε, [2] καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τοῦ τῆς Πελοποννήσου τὰς ναῦς ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος ὑπερενεγκὼν οὕτω ταχέως ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀνεκομίσθη ὥστε καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον τὴν τε Κλεοπάτραν ἐκάτερον ἅμα, καὶ ὅτι ἀφωρμήθη [3] καὶ ὅτι ἐπανῆλθε, μαθεῖν. ὥς γὰρ τότε ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας ἔφυγον, μέχρι μὲν τῆς Πελοποννήσου [p. 16] ὁμοῦ ἀφίκοντο, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τῶν συνόντων τινάς, ὅσους ὑπώπτευνον, ἀποπέμψαντες πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀκόντων αὐτῶν ἀπεχώρησαν' Κλεοπάτρα μὲν ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον, μὴ τι τῆς συμφορᾶς σφῶν [4] προπυθόμενοι νεωτερίσωσιν, ἡπειχθη, καὶ ὅπως γε καὶ τὸν πρόσπλουν ἀσφαλῆ ποιήσῃται, τὰς τε πύρας ὥς καὶ κεκρατηκυῖα κατέστεψε καὶ ὥδᾶς τινὰς ἐπινικίους ὑπ' αὐλητῶν ἦδεν: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἐγένετο, πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν πρώτων, ἅτε καὶ αἰεὶ οἱ ἀχθομένων καὶ τότε ἐπὶ τῇ συμφορᾷ [5] αὐτῆς ἐπηρμένων, ἐφόνευσε, πολὺν δὲ καὶ πλοῦτον ἐκ τε τῶν ἐκείνων κτημάτων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ὀσίων καὶ θείων, μηδενὸς μηδὲ τῶν πάνυ ἀβάτων ἱερῶν φειδομένη, ἡθροίζε, δυνάμεις τε ἐξηρτύετο καὶ συμμαχίας περιεσκόπει, τὸν τε Ἀρμένιον ἀποκτείνασα τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ τῷ Μῆδῳ, ὥς καὶ ἐπικουρήσοντί σφισι διὰ τοῦτ', [6] ἔπεμψεν. Ἀντώνιος δὲ ἔπλευσε μὲν ἐς τὴν Λιβύην πρὸς τε Πινάριον Σκάρπον καὶ πρὸς τὸ στράτευμα τὸ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς Αἰγύπτου φυλακῇ ἐνταῦθα προσυνειλεγμένον: ἐπεὶ δ' οὔτε προσδέξεσθαι αὐτὸν ἔφη, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοὺς προπεμφθέντας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἔσφαξε, τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν ὧν ἦρχεν ἀγανακτήσαντάς τινας ἐπὶ τούτῳ διέφθειρεν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν μηδὲν περάνας ἐκομίσθη. 6. καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα ὥς ἐπὶ ταχεῖ πολέμῳ παρεσκευάζοντο, καὶ τοὺς υἱεῖς, Κλεοπάτρα μὲν Καισαρίωνα Ἀντώνιος δὲ Ἀντυλλον, ὃν ἐκ τῆς Φουλουῖας γεννηθέντα οἱ εἶχεν, ἐς ἐφήβους ἐσέγραψαν, [p. 18] ἵν' οἱ τε Αἰγύπτιοι ὥς καὶ ἀνδρὸς πινος ἦδη βασιλεῦοντός σφῶν προθυμηθῶσι, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι προστάτας ἐκείνους, ἂν γέ τι δεινὸν σφισι [2] συμβῇ, ἔχοντες καρτερήσωσι. καὶ τοῖς μὲν μεираκίοις καὶ τοῦτο αἷτιον τοῦ ὀλέθρου ἐγένετο: οὐδετέρου γὰρ αὐτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὥς καὶ ἀνδρῶν ὄντων καὶ πρόσχημά τι προστασίας ἐχόντων, ἐφείσατο: ἐκείνοι δ' οὖν παρεσκευάζοντο μὲν ὥς καὶ ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ναοὶ καὶ πεζῷ πολεμήσοντες, [3] καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ὁμόχωρα τοὺς τε βασιλεῖας τοὺς φιλίους σφίσι προσπαρεκάλουν, ἡτοιμάζοντο δ' οὐδὲν ἤττον ὥς καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, ἂν τι κατεπείξῃ, πλεουσούμενοι καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ ἄλλως τε καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν χρημάτων ἀποστήσοντες, ἢ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν [4] μεταστησόμενοι. καὶ ὅπως γε ἐπὶ πλεῖστον βουλευόμενοι ταῦτα διαλάβωσιν, ἢ καὶ ἐξαπατήσωσι πῃ τὸν Καῖσαρα ἢ καὶ δολοφονήσωσιν, ἔστειλάν τινας ἐκείνῳ μὲν λόγους ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης τοῖς δὲ δὴ συνοῦσιν αὐτῷ χρήματα

φέροντας. [5] κὰν τοῦτῳ καὶ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα σκηπτρόν τέ τι χρυσοῦν καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν τὸν τε δίφρον τὸν βασιλικόν, κρύφα τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, ὡς καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν οἱ δι' αὐτῶν διδοῦσα ἔπεμψεν, ἵν' ἂν καὶ [6] ἐκεῖνον ἐχθῆρῃ, ἀλλ' αὐτὴν γε ἐλέησῃ. ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν δῶρα ἔλαβεν οἴωνόν ποιούμενος, ἀπεκρίνατο δὲ τῷ μὲν Ἀντωνίῳ οὐδέν, τῇ δὲ Κλεοπάτρᾳ φανερώς μὲν ἄλλα τε ἀπειλητικὰ καὶ ὅτι, ἂν τῶν τε ὅπλων καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἀποστῇ, βουλεύσεται [p. 20] περὶ αὐτῆς ὅσα χρή πρᾶξαι, λάθρᾳ δὲ ὅτι, ἐὰν τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀποκτείνῃ, καὶ τὴν ἄδειαν αὐτῇ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀκέραιον δώσει. 7. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίνετο, τὰς τε ναῦς τὰς ἐν τῷ Ἀραβικῷ κόλπῳ πρὸς τὸν ἐς τὴν ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν πλοῦν ναυπηγηθείσας οἱ Ἀράβιοι, πεισθέντες ὑπὸ Κυίντου Διδίου τοῦ τῆς Συρίας ἄρχοντος, κατέπρηναν, καὶ τὰς ἐπικουρίας καὶ οἱ [2] δῆμοι καὶ οἱ δυνάσται πάντες ἀπρηνήσαντο. καὶ μοι θαυμάσαι ἐπέρχεται ὅτι ἄλλοι μὲν συχνοί, καίπερ πολλὰ παρ' αὐτῶν εἰληφότες, ἐγκατέλιπόν σφας, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς ὀπλομαχίαις ἐν τοῖς ἀτιμότατα τρεφόμενοι προθυμία τε ἐς αὐτοὺς πλείστη [3] ἐχρήσαντο καὶ ἀνδρείοτατα ἡγωνίσαντο. οὗτοι γὰρ ἐν Κυζίκῳ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπινικίους ἀγῶνας, οὓς ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι ἄξειν ἤλπιζον, ἀσκούμενοι, τότε ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τῶν γεγονότων ἦσθοντο, ὥρμησαν [4] ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὡς καὶ βοηθήσοντες αὐτοῖς, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τὸν Ἀμύνταν ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Ταρκονδιμότου παῖδας ἐν τῇ Κιλικίᾳ, φίλους μὲν σφισιν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα γενομένους, τότε δὲ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα μεταστάντας, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τὸν Δίδιον κωλύοντά σφας τῆς διόδου ἔδρασαν. [5] οὐ μέντοι καὶ διαπεσεῖν ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἡδυνήθησαν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πανταχόθεν περιεστοιχίσθησαν, λόγον μὲν οὐδ' ὡς οὐδένα, καίτοι τοῦ Διδίου συχνὰ σφισιν ὑπισχνουμένου, προσεδέξαντο, [p. 22] τὸν δὲ Ἀντώνιον μεταπέμψαντες ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ἄμεινον μετ' αὐτοῦ πολεμήσοντες, [6] ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνος μὴτ' αὐτὸς ἦλθε μὴτ' ἀγγελίαν τινὰ αὐτοῖς ἔπεμψεν, οὕτω δὴ νομίσαντες αὐτὸν ἀπολωλέναι καὶ ἄκοντες ὡμολόγησαν ἐπὶ τῷ μηδέποτε μονομαχεῖν, καὶ τὴν γε Δάφνην παρὰ τοῦ Διδίου, τὸ τῶν Ἀντιοχέων προάστειον, ἐνοικεῖν μέχρις ἂν τῷ Καίσαρι ταῦτα δηλωθῇ ἔλαβον. [7] καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μεσσάλου ὕστερον ἀπατηθέντες ἐπέμφθησαν ἄλλος ἄλλοσε ὡς καὶ ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα καταλεχθσόμενοι, καὶ ἐκ τρόπου δὴ 8. τινος ἐπιτηδεῖου ἐφθάρησαν: Ἀντώνιος δὲ καὶ Κλεοπάτρα ἀκούσαντες τῶν πρέσβεων τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρός σφισιν ἐπισταλέντα, ἔπεμψαν αὐτοῖς, ἢ μὲν χρήματα αὐτῷ πολλὰ δώσειν ὑπισχνουμένη, ὁ δὲ τῆς τε φιλίας καὶ τῆς συγγενείας αὐτὸν ἀναμιμνήσκων, καὶ προσέτι καὶ περὶ τῆς συνουσίας τῆς πρὸς τὴν Αἴγυπτίαν ἀπολογούμενος, ὅσα τε συνηράσθησάν ποτε καὶ ὅσα [2] συνενεανιεύσαντο ἀλλήλοις ἐξαριθμούμενος. καὶ τέλος Πούπλιον Τουρούλλιον βουλευτὴν τε ὄντα καὶ σφαγέα τοῦ Καίσαρος γεγονότα τότε τε φιλικῶς οἱ συνόντα ἐξέδωκεν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἑαυτὸν, ἂν γε καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' ἡ Κλεοπάτρα σωθῇ, καταχρήσεσθαι [3] ἐπηγγείλατο. Καῖσαρ δὲ τὸν μὲν Τουρούλλιον ἀπέκτεινε 'καὶ ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ἐν Κῷ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ὕλης ξύλα ἐς ναυτικὸν κεκοφώς, δίκην τινὰ καὶ τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι ἐκεῖ ἐδικαιώθη, δοῦναι ἔδοξέ, τῷ δ' Ἀντωνίῳ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τότε [4] ἀπεκρίνατο. τρίτην τε οὖν πρεσβείαν ἔστειλε, [p. 24] καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τὸν Ἀντυλλον μετὰ χρυσοῦ πολλοῦ

αὐτῷ ἔπεμψεν· ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν χρήματα ἔλαβεν, ἐκείνον δὲ διὰ κενῆς ἀνταπέστειλε, μηδεμίαν ἀπόκρισιν δοῦς. τῇ μέντοι Κλεοπάτρα πολλά, ὥσπερ τὸ πρῶτον, οὕτω καὶ τὸ δεῦτερον τὸ τε ^[5] τρίτον καὶ ἐπηπειλῆσε καὶ ὑπέσχετο. φοβηθεῖς δ' οὖν καὶ ὥς μὴ πως ἀπογνόντες συγγνώμης παρ' αὐτοῦ τεύξεσθαι διακατερήσωσι, καὶ ἦτοι καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς περιγέωνται, ἥ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν τὴν τε Γαλατίαν ἀπάρωσιν, ἥ καὶ τὰ χρήματα, ^[6] ἃ παμπληθῆ ἦκουεν εἶναι, φθειρώσιν ἥ γὰρ Κλεοπάτρα πάντα τε αὐτὰ ἐς τὸ μνημεῖον, ὃ ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ κατεσκεύαζεν, ἠθροίκει, καὶ πάντα, ἂν γέ τινος καὶ ἐλαχίστου διαμάρτη, κατακαύσειν μεθ' ἑαυτῆς ἠπειλεί, Θύρσον ἐξελεύθερον ἑαυτοῦ ἔπεμψεν ἄλλα τε πολλά καὶ φιλάνθρωπα αὐτῇ ^[7] ἑροῦντα, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἑρῶν αὐτῆς τυγχάνει, εἰ πως ἔκ γε τούτου, οἷα ἀξιοῦσα πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐρᾶσθαι, τὸν τε Ἀντώνιον ἀναχρήσαιτο καὶ ἑαυτὴν τὰ τε χρήματα ἀκέραια τηρήσειε. καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως. 9. πρὶν δὲ δὴ ταῦτα γίγνεσθαι, μαθὼν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὅτι Κορνήλιος Γάλλος τὸ τε τοῦ Σκάρπου στράτευμα παρείληφε καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν τὸ Παραιτόνιον ἐξαίφνης παρελθὼν κατέσχηκεν, ἐς μὲν τὴν Συρίαν, καίτοι βουλευθεῖς κατὰ τὴν τῶν μονομάχων μετὰπεμψιν ὀρμῆσαι, οὐκ ἔπορεύθη, ^[2] ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκείνον ἐχώρησεν ὥς μάλιστα μὲν ἀκονιτὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας προσθησόμενος ἥσαν γὰρ εὐνοίαν τινα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς συστρατείας ἔχοντες, εἰ δὲ μὴ, βίᾳ γε χειρωσόμενος ἄτε καὶ ^[p. 26] δύναμιν πολλὴν καὶ ναυτικὴν καὶ πεζὴν ἐπαγόμενος. ^[3] οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ διαλεχθῆναι τι αὐτοῖς ἡδυνήθη, καίπερ πρὸς τε τὸ τεῖχος προσελθὼν καὶ γεγωνὸν βοήσας· ὁ γὰρ Γάλλος τοὺς σαλπικτάς συνεχεῖν κελεύσας οὐδὲν οὐδενὶ ἑσακοῦσαι ἐπέτρεψε. καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπεκδρομῇ αἰφνιδίῳ ἔπταισε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐσφάλῃ. ^[4] ἀλύσεις γὰρ τινὰς ὑφύδρους νύκτωρ διὰ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ λιμένος ὁ Γάλλος διατείνας οὐδεμίαν αὐτοῦ φανεράν φυλακὴν ἐποίησατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ ἀδεῶς εἴσω μετὰ καταφρονήματος ἐσπλέοντάς σφας περιεῖδεν· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἔνδον ἐγένοντο, τὰς τε ἀλύσεις μηχαναῖς ἀνέσπασε, καὶ πανταχόθεν ἅμα τὰς ναῦς αὐτῶν ἔκ τε τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν τῆς τε θαλάσσης περιοχῶν ^[5] τὰς μὲν κατέπρησε τὰς δὲ κατεπόντωσε. κἀν τούτῳ καὶ τὸ Πηλούσιον ὁ Καῖσαρ, λόγῳ μὲν κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν ἔργῳ δὲ προδοθὲν ὑπὸ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας, ἔλαβεν. ἐκείνη γὰρ ὥς οὐτε τις ἐβοήθησέ σφισι καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἀνανταγώνιστον ὄντα ἦσθετο, τὸ τε μέγιστον ἀκούσασα τοὺς διὰ τοῦ Θύρσου πεμφθέντας οἱ λόγους, ἐπίστευσεν ὄντως ἐρᾶσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι καὶ ἐβούλετο, ἔπειτα δὲ ὅτι καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ τὸν τε ^[6] Ἀντώνιον ὁμοίως ἐδεδούλωτο. κἀκ τούτου οὐχ ὅπως τὴν τε ἄδειαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλείαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κράτος ἔξειν προσεδόκησε, τὸ τε Πηλούσιον εὐθύς αὐτῷ προήκατο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο προσελάνοντι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐκώλυσε τοὺς Ἀλεξανδρέας λάθρα ἐπεξελεῖν, ^[p. 28] ἐπεὶ ὅσον γε ἀπὸ βοῆς καὶ πάνυ σφᾶς προετρέψατο τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. 10. ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀντώνιος ἐκ τοῦ Παραιτονίου πρὸς τὴν περὶ τοῦ Πελουσίου πύστιν ἐπανελθὼν προαπήντησε πρὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ αὐτὸν κεκμηκότα ἐκ τῆς πορείας ὑπολαβὼν τοῖς ^[2] ἵππευσιν ἐνίκησεν. ἀναθαρσήσας τε ἔκ τε τούτου καὶ ὅτι βιβλία ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ τοξεύμασιν ἐσέπεμψε πεντακοσίας σφίσι καὶ χιλίας

δραχμὰς ὑπὸσχονόμενος, συνέβαλε καὶ τῷ πεζῷ [3] καὶ ἡττήθη: ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς τὰ βιβλία ἐθέλοντῆς τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀνέγνω, τὸν τε Ἀντώνιον διαβάλλων καὶ ἐκείνους ἕς τε τὴν τῆς προδοσίας αἰσχύνῃ καὶ ἕς τὴν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ προθυμίαν ἀντικαθιστὰς, ὥστε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὺς τῇ τε τῆς πείρας ἀγανακτήσει καὶ τῇ τοῦ μὴ ἐθέλοκακεῖν [4] δόξαι ἐνδείξει σπουδάσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπειδὴ παρὰ δόξαν ἡλαττώθη, πρὸς τε τὸ ναυτικὸν ἀπέκλινε, καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ ναυμαχίῃσιν ἢ πάντως γε ἕς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν πλευσούμενος: ἰδοῦσα δὲ τοῦθ' ἡ Κλεοπάτρα τάς τε ναῦς αὐτομολῆσαι [5] ἐποίησε, καὶ αὐτὴ ἕς τὸ ἥριον ἐξαίφνης ἐσεπήδησε, λόγῳ μὲν ὡς τὸν Καίσαρα φοβουμένη καὶ προδιαφθεῖραι τρόπον τινὰ ἑαυτὴν βουλομένη, ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐκεῖσε ἐσελθεῖν προκαλουμένη: ὑπετόπει μὲν γὰρ προδίδοσθαι, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπίστευεν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον [6] ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐκείνην ἢ ἑαυτὸν ἡέει. ὅπερ που ἡ Κλεοπάτρα ἀκριβῶς εἰδοῦσα ἡλπισεν ὅτι, ἂν πύθεται αὐτὴν τετελευτηκυῖαν, οὐκ ἐπιβιώσεται ἀλλὰ παραχρῆμα ἀποθανεῖται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἕς [p. 30] τε τὸ μνημεῖον σὺν τε εὐνοῦχῳ τινὶ καὶ σὺν θεραπαίναϊ δύο ἐσέδραμε, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἀγγελίαν αὐτῷ [7] ὡς καὶ ἀπολωλυῖα ἔπεμψε. καὶ ὅς ἀκούσας τοῦτο οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐπαποθανεῖν αὐτῇ ἐπεθύμησε. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῶν παρόντων τινὸς ἐδεήθη ἵνα αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνῃ: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἑαυτὸν κατειργάσατο, ζηλῶσαι τε αὐτὸν ἠθέλησε καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔτρωσεν, καὶ ἔπεσέ τε ἐπὶ στόμα καὶ δόξαν τοῖς παροῦσιν ὡς καὶ τεθνηκώς [8] παρέσχε. θορύβου τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ γενομένου ἦσθετό τε ἡ Κλεοπάτρα καὶ ὑπερέκυψεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μνημείου: αἱ μὲν γὰρ θύραι αὐτοῦ συγκλεισθεῖσαι ἅπας οὐκέτ' ἀνοιχθῆναι ἐκ μηχανήματός τινος ἐδύναντο, τὰ δ' ἄνω πρὸς τῇ ὀροφῇ οὐδέπω παντελῶς [9] ἐξείργαστο. ἐντεῦθεν οὖν ὑπερκύψασαν αὐτὴν ἰδόντες τινὲς ἀνεβόησαν ὥστε καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἑσακοῦσαι: καὶ ὅς μαθὼν ὅτι περίεστιν, ἐξανέστη μὲν ὡς καὶ ζῆσαι δυνάμενος, προχυθέντος δ' αὐτῷ πολλοῦ αἵματος ἀπέγνω τε τὴν σωτηρίαν, καὶ ἰκέτευσε τοὺς παρόντας ὅπως πρὸς τε τὸ μνημα αὐτὸν κομίσωσι καὶ διὰ τῶν σχοινίων τῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀνολκὴν τῶν λίθων κρεμαμένων ἀνιμήσωσι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐνταῦθα οὕτω καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῆς Κλεοπάτρας 11. κόλποις ἐναπέθανεν, ἐκείνη δὲ ἐθάρσησε μὲν πως τὸν Καίσαρα, καὶ εὐθύς αὐτῷ τὸ γεγονὸς ἐδήλωσεν, οὐ μὴν καὶ πάνυ ἐπίστευε μηδὲν κακὸν πείσεσθαι. κατεῖχεν οὖν ἑαυτὴν ἔνδον, ἵν' εἰ καὶ διὰ μηδὲν ἄλλο σωθεῖη, τῷ γε φόβῳ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τὴν ἄδειαν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκπρίηται. [2] οὕτω που καὶ τότε ἐν τηλικαύτῃ συμφορᾷ οὔσα τῆς δυναστείας ἐμέμνητο, καὶ μᾶλλον γε ἔν τε τῷ [p. 32] ὀνόματι καὶ ἐν τῷ σχήματι αὐτῆς ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ἰδιωτεύσασα ζῆν ἡρεῖτο. ἀμέλει εἶχε μὲν καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν, εἶχε δὲ καὶ ἀσπίδας ἄλλα τε ἐρπετὰ ἐφ' ἑαυτῇ, προπειραθεῖσα αὐτῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ὄντινα τρόπον ἕκαστόν σφω ἀποκτίννυσι. [3] Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐπεθύμει μὲν καὶ τῶν θησαυρῶν ἐγκρατὴς γενέσθαι καὶ ἐκείνην ζῶσαν τε συλλαβεῖν καὶ ἕς τὰ νικητήρια ἀναγαγεῖν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸς πίστιν τινὰ αὐτῇ δοὺς ἀπατεῶν δόξαι γεγονέναι ἠθέλησεν, ἵν' ὡς καὶ αἰχμαλώτῳ καὶ ἀκουσίᾳ [4] τρόπον τινὰ χειρωθεῖσθαι χρήσεται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἔπεμψε πρὸς αὐτὴν Γαῖόν τε Προκουλείον ἱππέα καὶ Ἐπαφρόδιτον

ἔξελευθρον, ἐντειλάμενός σφισιν ὅσα καὶ εἰπεῖν καὶ πρᾶξι ἐχρῆν. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνοι συμμιζαντες τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ καὶ μέτριά τινα διαλεχθέντες, ἔπειτ' ἐξαίφνης συνήρπασαν ^[5] αὐτὴν πρὶν τι ὁμολογηθῆναι. κάκ τούτου ἐκποδῶν πάντα ἅφ' ὧν ἀποθανεῖν ἐδύνατο ποιησάμενοι, ἡμέρας μὲν τινὰς κατὰ χώραν αὐτῇ τὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου σῶμα ταριχευοῦσῃ διατρῖψαι ἐπέτρεψαν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐς τὰ βασιλεία αὐτὴν ἦγαγον, μήτε τῆς ἀκολουθίας τι μήτε τῆς θεραπείας τῆς συνήθους οἱ παραλύσαντες, ὅπως ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐλπισῇ τε ὅσα ἐβούλετο καὶ μηδὲν κακὸν ἑαυτὴν δράσῃ. ^[6] ἀμέλει καὶ ὀφθῆναι καὶ διαλεχθῆναι τι τῷ Καίσαρι ἐθελήσασα ἐπέτυχε: καὶ ἵνα γε ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀπατηθῇ, αὐτὸς ἀφίξεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὴν ὑπέσχετο. 12. οἶκόν τε οὖν ἐκπρεπῇ καὶ κλίνην πολυτελεῇ παρασκευάσασα, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἑαυτὴν ἡμελημένως πῶς κοσμήσασα 'καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ πενθίμῳ ^[p. 34] σχήματι δεινῶς ἐνέπρεπεν' ἐκαθέζετο ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης, πολλὰς μὲν εἰκόνας τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ παντοδαπὰς παραθεμένη, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τὰς παρ' ἐκείνου οἱ πεμφθείσας ἐς τὸν κόλπον ^[2] λαβοῦσα. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐσελθόντος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀνεπήδησέ τε ἐρρυθμισμένη, καὶ ἔφη 'χαῖρε ὦ δέσποτα: σοὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦτο θεὸς ἔδωκεν, ἐμὲ δὲ ἀφείλετο. ἀλλ' ὄρᾳς μὲν που καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν πατέρα σου τοιοῦτον οἶος πολλάκις πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐσῆλθεν, ἀκούεις δὲ ὅπως τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐτίμησέ με καὶ δὴ καὶ βασιλῖδα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ^[3] ἐποίησεν. ἵνα δ' οὖν τι καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου περὶ ἐμοῦ πύθῃ, λάβε καὶ ἀνάγνωθι τὰ γράμματα ἃ μοι αὐτοχειρία ἐπέστειλε.' Ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἔλεγε, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἐρωτικά αὐτοῦ ῥήματα ἀνεγίνωσκε. καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ἔκλαε καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς κατεφίλει, τοτὲ δὲ πρὸς τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ προσέπιπτε καὶ ἐκείνας προσεκύνει. ^[4] τὰ τε βλέφαρα ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπενέκλα, καὶ ἐμμελῶς ἀνωλοφύρετο, θρυπτικόν τέ τι προσεφθέγγετο, ἄλλοτε μὲν λέγουσα 'ποῦ μοι, Καῖσαρ, ταῦτά σου τὰ γράμματα;' ἄλλοτε δὲ ὅτι 'ἀλλ' ἐν τούτῳ καὶ σὺ μοι ζῆς,' εἶτα αὐθις 'εἶθε σου προεθεθήκειν,' καὶ μάλα αὐθις 'ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτον ἔχουσα σὲ ἔχω.' ^[5] τοιαύτη τινὶ ποικιλίᾳ καὶ τῶν ῥημάτων καὶ τῶν σχημάτων ἐχρῆτο, μελιχρὰ ἄττα καὶ προσβλέπουσα αὐτῷ καὶ λαλοῦσα. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ συνίει μὲν αὐτῆς καὶ παθαινομένης καὶ πληκτιζομένης, ^[p. 36] οὐ μέντοι καὶ προσεποιεῖτο, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν γῆν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐρείσας τοῦτο μόνον εἶπεν, 'θάρσει, ὦ γύναι, καὶ θυμὸν ἔχε ἀγαθόν: οὐδὲν γὰρ κακὸν ^[6] πείσῃ.' περιαλγήσασα οὖν ἐκείνη ὅτι μήτε προσεῖδεν αὐτὴν μήτε τι ἢ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἢ καὶ ἐρωτικόν τι ἐφθέγγετο, πρὸς τε τὰ γόνατα αὐτοῦ προσέπεσε καὶ ἀνακλαύσασα 'ζῆν μὲν' ἔφη, 'Καῖσαρ, οὔτε ἐθέλω οὔτε δύναμαι: ταύτην δὲ σε τὴν χάριν ἐς τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς μνήμην αἰτῶ, ἵν' ἐπειδὴ με Ἀντωνίῳ μετ' ἐκείνων ὁ δαίμων παρέδωκε, ^[7] μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποθάνω. εἶθε μὲν γὰρ ἀπωλώλιν εὐθὺς τότε μετὰ τὸν Καίσαρα: ἐπεὶ δέ μοι καὶ τοῦτο παθεῖν ἐπέπρωτο, πέμψον με πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, μηδὲ μοι τῆς σὺν αὐτῷ ταφῆς φθονήσης, ἵν' ὥσπερ δι' ἐκείνων ἀποθνήσκω, οὕτω καὶ ἐν Αἰδοῦ αὐτῷ συνοικήσω.' 13. καὶ ἡ μὲν τοιαῦτα ὡς καὶ ἐλεηθησομένη ἔλεγε, Καῖσαρ δὲ πρὸς μὲν ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο, φοβηθεὶς δὲ μὴ ἑαυτὴν διαχρήσεται, θαρσεῖν τε αὐτῇ αὐθις παρεκελεύσατο, καὶ οὔτε τὴν θεραπείαν αὐτῆς ἀφείλετο καὶ ἐν ἐπιμελείᾳ αὐτὴν ^[2] ἐποιεῖτο, ὅπως οἱ τὰ ἐπινίκια

ἐπιλαμπρύνῃ. τοῦτό τε οὖν ὑποτοπήσασα, καὶ μυρίων θανάτων χαλεπώτερον αὐτὸ νομίσασα εἶναι, ὄντως τε ἀποθανεῖν ἐπεθύμησε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὅπως τροπον τινὰ ἀπόληται, ἐδεῖτο, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτῇ ^[3] ἐμῆχανᾷτο. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἐπέραινε, μεταγινώσκειν τε ἐπλάσαστο ὡς καὶ ἐλπίδα πολλὴν μὲν καὶ ἐς ἐκείνον πολλὴν δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Λιουίαν ἔχουσα, καὶ ἔκουσία τε πλευσεῖσθαι ἔλεγε, καὶ κόσμους τινὰς ἀποθέτους ἐς δῶρα ἡτοιμάζετο, εἴ πως πίστιν ^[p. 38] ἐκ τούτων μὴ τεθνήξειν λαβοῦσα ἡττόν τε ^[4] τηρηθεῖη καὶ ἑαυτὴν ἐξεργάσαιτο. ὃ καὶ ἐγένετο. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ὁ Ἐπαφρόδιτος, ὥπερ ἐπετέτραπτο, πιστεύσαντες ταῦθ' ὡς ἀληθῶς φρονεῖν, τῆς ἀκριβοῦς φυλακῆς ἡμέλησαν, παρεσκευάζετο ὅπως ὡς ἀλυπότατα ἀποθάνῃ. καὶ γραμματεῖόν τι, δι' οὗ ἐδεήθη τοῦ Καίσαρος ἵνα αὐτὴν μετὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ταφῆναι κελεύσῃ, αὐτῷ τῷ ^[5] Ἐπαφροδίτῳ σεσημασμένον, ὅπως προφάσει τῆς ἀποκομιδῆς αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ ἄλλο τι ἔχοντος ἐκποδὼν οἱ γένηται, δοῦσα ἔργου εἶχετο. τὴν τε γὰρ ἐσθῆτα τὴν περικαλλεστάτην ἐνδύσα, καὶ ἑαυτὴν εὐπρεπέστατα εὐθετήσασα, τὸ τε σχῆμα τὸ βασιλικὸν πᾶν ἀναλαβοῦσα, ἀπέθανε. 14. καὶ τὸ μὲν σαφές οὐδεὶς οἶδεν ὧ τρόπῳ διεφθάρη: κεντήματα γὰρ λεπτὰ περὶ τὸν βραχίονα αὐτῆς μόνα εὐρέθη: λέγουσι δὲ οἱ μὲν ὅτι ἀσπίδα ἐν ὕδριᾳ ἢ καὶ ἐν ἄνθεσι πρὶν ἐσκομισθεῖσάν οἱ ^[2] προσέθετο, οἱ δὲ ὅτι βελόνην, ἣ τὰς τρίχας ἀνεῖρεν, ἰὼ τι, δύναμιν τοιαύτην ἔχοντι ὥστε ἄλλως μὲν μηδὲν τὸ σῶμα βλάπτειν, ἂν δ' αἵματος καὶ βραχυτάτου ἄψηται, καὶ τάχιστα καὶ ἀλυπότατα αὐτὸ φθεῖρειν, χρίσασα τέως μὲν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ ἐφόρει ὥσπερ εἰώθει, τότε δὲ προκατανύξασά τι τὸν βραχίονα ἐς τὸ αἶμα ἐνέβαλεν. ^[3] οὕτω μὲν, ἢ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα, μετὰ τῶν δύο θεραπειῶν ἀπώλετο: ὃ γὰρ εὐνοῦχος ἅμα τῷ συλληφθῆναι αὐτὴν τοῖς τε ἔρπετοῖς ἑαυτὸν ἐθέλοντῆς ^[p. 40] παρέδωκε, καὶ δηχθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐς σορὸν προπαρεσκευασμένην οἱ ἐσεπεπηθήκει. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὴν τελευτὴν αὐτῆς ἐξεπλάγη, καὶ τὸ τε σῶμα αὐτῆς εἶδε, καὶ φάρμακα αὐτῷ καὶ Ψύλλους, ^[4] εἴ πως ἀνασφίλειε, προσήνεγκεν. οἱ δὲ δὴ Ψύλλοι οὗτοι ἄνδρες μὲν εἰσι 'γυνὴ γὰρ οὐ γίγνεται Ψύλλά, δύνανται δὲ πάντα τε ἰὼν παντὸς ἔρπετοῦ παραχρῆμα, πρὶν θνήσκειν τινὰ, ἐκμυζᾶν, καὶ αὐτοὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ μηδενὸς αὐτῶν δηχθέντες ^[5] βλάπτεσθαι. φύονται δὲ ἐξ ἀλλήλων, καὶ δοκιμάζουσι τὰ γεννηθέντα ἥτοι μετ' ὀφείων που εὐθύς ἐμβληθέντα, ἢ καὶ τῶν σπαργάνων αὐτῶν ἐπιβληθέντων πρὶν: οὕτε γὰρ τῷ παιδίῳ τι λυμαίνονται, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐσθῆτος αὐτοῦ ναρκῶσι. ^[6] τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὃ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ μηδένα τρόπον ἀναβίωσασθαι τὴν Κλεοπάτραν δυνηθεὶς ἐκείνην μὲν καὶ ἐθαύμασε καὶ ἠλέησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἰσχυρῶς ἐλυπήθη ὡς καὶ πάσης τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ δόξης ἐστερημένος. 15. Ἀντώνιος μὲν δὴ καὶ Κλεοπάτρα, πολλῶν μὲν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις πολλῶν δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις κακῶν αἵτιοι γενόμενοι, οὕτω τε ἐπολέμησαν καὶ οὕτως ἐτελεύτησαν, ἔν τε τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ ἐταριχεύθησαν, κἂν τῇ αὐτῇ θήκῃ ἐτάφησαν. ἔσχον δὲ τὴν τε φύσιν τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὴν τύχην τοῦ ^[2] βίου τοιάνδε. ὃ μὲν συνεῖναι τε τὸ δέον οὐδενὸς ἥσσω ἐγένετο καὶ πολλὰ ἀφρόνως ἔπραξεν, ἀνδρεία τε ἔν τισι διέπρεψε καὶ ὑπὸ δειλίας συχνὰ ἐσφάλη, τῇ τε μεγαλοψυχίᾳ καὶ τῇ δουλοπρεπείᾳ ^[p. 42] ἐξ ἴσου ἐχρήτο, καὶ

τά τε ἄλλότρια ἥρπαζε καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα προΐετο, ἤλεει τε ἀλόγως συκνοὺς καὶ
[3] ἐκόλαζεν ἀδίκως πλείονας· κάκ τούτων ἰσχυρότατός τε ἐξ ἀσθενεστάτου
καὶ πλουσιώτατος ἐξ ἀπορωτάτου γενόμενος οὐδετέρου αὐτῶν ἀπώνητο,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κράτος τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων μόνος ἔξειν [4] ἐλπίσας αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν
ἀπέκτεινε. Κλεοπάτρα δὲ ἄπληστος μὲν Ἀφροδίτης ἄπληστος δὲ χρημάτων
γενομένη, καὶ πολλῇ μὲν φιλοτιμίᾳ φιλοδόξῳ πολλῇ δὲ καὶ περιφρονήσει
θρασεῖα χρησαμένη, τὴν τε βασιλείαν τὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὑπ' ἔρωτος
ἐκτήσατο, καὶ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων λήψεσθαι δι' αὐτοῦ ἐλπίσασα ταύτης τε
ἐσφάλη καὶ ἐκείνην προσαπώλεσε, δύο τε ἀνδρῶν Ῥωμαίων τῶν καθ'
ἑαυτὴν μεγίστων κατεκράτησε, καὶ διὰ τὸν τρίτον ἑαυτὴν κατεχρήσατο. [5]
οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτοί τε ἐγένοντο καὶ οὕτως ἀπῆλλαξαν· τῶν δὲ δὴ παίδων
αὐτῶν Ἀντυλλος μὲν, καίτοι τὴν τε τοῦ Καίσαρος θυγατέρα ἡγυγημένος καὶ
ἐς τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἡρώον, ὃ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα ἐπεποιήκει, καταφυγών,
εὐθύς ἐσφάγη, Καισαρίων δὲ ἐς Αἰθιοπίαν φεύγων κατελήφθη [6] τε ἐν τῇ
ὁδῷ καὶ διεφθάρη. ἢ τε Κλεοπάτρα Ἰούβᾳ τῷ τοῦ Ἰούβου παιδί συνώκησε·
τούτῳ γὰρ ὁ Καῖσαρ τραφέντι τε ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ συστρατευσάμενῳ οἱ
ταύτην τε καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν πατρῶν ἔδωκε, καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν
Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐχαρίσατο. [7] ταῖς τε ἀδελφιδαῖς, ἃς ἐκ τοῦ
Ἀντωνίου ἡ Ὀκταουία ἀνήρητό τε καὶ ἐτετρόφει, χρήματα ἀπὸ [p. 44] τῶν
πατρῶν ἀπένειμε. καὶ τῷ Ἰούλλῳ τῷ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τῆς τε Φουλουίας υἱεῖ
τοὺς ἐξελευθέρους αὐτοῦ πάνθ' ὅσα τελευτῶντάς σφας καταλιπεῖν αὐτῷ
κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἔδει παραχρῆμα δοῦναι 16. ἐκέλευσε. τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν
τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μέχρι τότε πραξάντων τοὺς μὲν ἐκόλασε τοὺς δὲ ἀφῆκεν,
ἢ δι' ἑαυτὸν ἢ διὰ τοὺς φίλους. ἐπειδὴ τε συκνοὶ παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ δυναστῶν
καὶ βασιλέων παῖδες οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ὀμηρεῖα οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ὕβρει τρεφόμενοι
εὐρέθησαν, τοὺς μὲν οἴκαδε αὐτῶν ἀπέστειλε, τοὺς δὲ ἀλλήλοις συνώκισεν,
ἐτέρους [2] τε κατέσχεν. ὦν ἐγὼ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἔασω, δύο δὲ δὴ μόνων
ὀνομαστὶ μνησθήσομαι· τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἰωτάπην τῷ Μῆδῳ καταφυγόντι μετὰ
τὴν ἦτταν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκὼν ἀπέδωκε, τῷ δ' Ἀρτάξῃ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καίπερ
αἰτήσαντι οὐκ ἔπεμψεν, ὅτι τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ Ῥωμαίους
ἀπεκτόνει. [3] περὶ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους τοιαῦτα ἐγίνετο, τῶν δὲ Αἰγυπτίων
τῶν τε Ἀλεξανδρέων πάντων ἐφείσατο ὥστε μὴ διολέσαι τινά, τὸ μὲν
ἀληθὲς ὅτι οὐκ ἤξιωσε τοσούτους τε αὐτοὺς ὄντας καὶ χρησιμωτάτους τοῖς
Ῥωμαίοις ἐς πολλὰ ἂν γενομένους [4] ἀνῆκεστόν τι δρᾶσαι· πρόφασιν δὲ
ὅμως προυβάλλετο τὸν τε θεὸν τὸν Σάραπιν καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν
οἰκιστὴν αὐτῶν, καὶ τρίτον Ἀρεῖον τὸν πολίτην, ᾧ που φιλοσοφοῦντι τε καὶ
συνόντι οἱ ἐχρήτο. καὶ τὸν γε λόγον δι' οὗ συνέγνω σφίσιν, ἐλληνιστί, ὅπως
συνῶσιν αὐτοῦ, [5] εἶπε. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ μὲν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου σῶμα εἶδε,
καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ προσήφατο, ὥστε τι τῆς ῥίνος, ὥς φασι, θραυσθῆναι· τὰ δὲ
δὴ τῶν [p. 46] Πτολεμαίων, καίτοι τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων σπουδῇ βουλευθέντων
αὐτῷ δεῖξαι, οὐκ ἐθεάσατο, εἰπὼν ὅτι 'βασιλέα ἄλλ' οὐ νεκροὺς ἰδεῖν
ἐπεθύμησα.' κάκ τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης αἰτίας οὐδὲ τῷ Ἀπιδι ἐντυχεῖν ἠθέλησε,
λέγων θεοὺς ἄλλ' οὐχὶ βοῦς 17. προσκυνεῖν εἰθίσθαι. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὴν τε
Αἴγυπτον ὑποτελῆ ἐποίησε καὶ τῷ Γάλλῳ τῷ Κορνηλίῳ ἐπέτρεψε· πρὸς τε

γὰρ τὸ πολὺάνδρον καὶ τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῆς χώρας, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ῥάδιον τὸ τε κοῦφον τῶν τρόπων αὐτῶν, τὴν τε σιτοπομπίαν καὶ τὰ χρήματα, οὐδενὶ βουλευτῇ οὐχ ὅπως ἐγχειρίσαι αὐτὴν ἐτόλμησεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐνεπιδημεῖν αὐτῇ ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκεν, ἂν μὴ τινι αὐτὸς [2] ὀνομαστὶ συγχωρήσῃ. οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ ἐκείνοις βουλευεῖν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐφῆκεν. ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ὡς ἐκάστοις, τοῖς δ' Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν ἄνευ βουλευτῶν πολιτεῦσθαι ἐκέλευσε: τοσαύτην που [3] νεωτεροποιίαν αὐτῶν κατέγνω. καὶ σφων οὕτω τότε ταχθέντων τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καὶ νῦν ἰσχυρῶς φυλάσσεται, βουλευούσι δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, ἐπὶ Σεουήρου αὐτοκράτορος ἀρξάμενοι, καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ἐπ' Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ υἱέος αὐτοῦ πρῶτον ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν ἐσγραφέντες. [4] Αἴγυπτος μὲν οὕτως ἐδουλώθη: πάντες γὰρ οἱ ἀντισχόντες αὐτῶν χρόνον τινὰ ἐχειρώθησαν, ὡς που καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον σφισιν ἐναργέστατα προέδειξεν. ὥς τε γὰρ οὐχ ὅπως ὕδατι, ἔνθα μὴδὲ ἐψέκασέ ποτε, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἵματι: ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἐκ τῶν νεφῶν ἐξέπιπτε καὶ ὅπλα παρεφαινετο. [5] κτυπήματά τε τινὰ ἐτέρωθι καὶ τυμπάνων καὶ κυμβάλων καὶ βοήματα καὶ αὐτῶν [p. 48] καὶ σαλπίγγων ἐγίνετο, καὶ τις δράκων ὑπερμεγέθης ἐξαίφνης σφισιν ὀφθελὶς ἀμήχανον ὅσον ἐξεσύρισε. κὰν τοῦτω καὶ ἀστέρες κομῆται ἐωρῶντο, καὶ νεκρῶν εἰδῶλα ἐφαντάζετο, τὰ τε ἀγάλματα ἐσκυθρώπασε, καὶ ὁ Ἄπις ὀλοφυρτικόν τι ἐμυκήσατο καὶ κατεδάκρυσε. [6] ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐγένετο, χρήματα δὲ πολλὰ μὲν ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ εὐρέθη ἅπαντα γὰρ ὡς εἰπεῖν καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγιωτάτων ἱερῶν ἀναθήματα ἢ Κλεοπάτρα ἀνελομένη συνεπλήθυσε τὰ λάφυρα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἄνευ τινὸς οἰκείου αὐτῶν μίσματος 35', πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' ἐκάστου τῶν αἰτιαθέντων [7] τι ἡθροίσθη. καὶ χωρὶς οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες, ὅσοι μὴδὲν ἴδιον ἐγκλημα λαβεῖν ἐδύναντο, τὰ δύο μέρη τῶν οὐσιῶν ἡτήθησαν. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν πάντες μὲν οἱ στρατιῶται τὰ ἐποφειλόμενά σφισιν ἐκομίσαντο, οἱ δὲ δὴ καὶ τότε τῷ Καίσαρι συγγενόμενοι πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας δραχμάς, ὥστε [8] μὴ διαρπάσαι τὴν πόλιν, προσεπέλαβον. τοῖς τε προδανείασσι τι πάντα ἀπηλλάγη, καὶ τοῖς συμμετασχοῦσι τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων πάμπολλα ἐδόθη, τὸ τε σύμπαν ἢ τε ἀρχὴ ἢ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπλουτίσθη καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ αὐτῶν ἐκοσμήθη. 18. ὁ δ' οὖν Καῖσαρ ὡς τὰ τε προειρημένα ἔπραξε, καὶ πόλιν καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐν τῷ τῆς μάχης χωρίῳ συνώκισε, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα αὐτῇ ὁμοίως τῇ προτέρᾳ δούς, τὰς τε διώρυχας τὰς μὲν ἐξεκάθηρε τὰς δὲ ἐκ καινῆς διώρυξε, καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ προσήκοντα προσδιώκησεν, ἐς τε τὴν Ἀσίαν [p. 50] τὸ ἔθνος διὰ τῆς Συρίας ἦλθε, κἀνταῦθα παρεχείμασε, τὰ τε τῶν ὑπηκόων ὡς ἕκαστα καὶ τὰ [2] τῶν Πάρθων ἅμα καθιστάμενος. στασιασάντων γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ τινος Τιριδάτου τῷ Φραάτῃ ἐπαναστάντος, πρότερον μὲν, καὶ ἕως ἔτι τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἀνθεισθήκει, οὐχ ὅσον οὐ προσέθετό τῳ αὐτῶν συμμαχίαν αἰτησάντων, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀπεκρίνατο ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἢ ὅτι βουλευέσεται, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς καὶ περὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀσχολίαν ἔχων, ἔργῳ δὲ ἴν' ἐκτρυχωθεῖεν [3] ἐν τοῦτω μαχόμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. τότε δὲ ἐπειδὴ ὁ τε Ἀντώνιος ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ ἐκείνων ὁ μὲν Τιριδάτης ἡττηθεὶς ἐς τὴν Συρίαν κατέφυγεν, ὁ δὲ Φραάτης κρατήσας πρέσβεις ἔπεμψε, τοῦτοις τε

φιλικῶς ἐχρημάτισε, καὶ τῷ Τιριδάτῃ βοηθήσειν μὲν οὐχ ὑπέσχετο διαιτᾶσθαι δὲ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ἐπέτρεψεν, υἱὸν τέ τινα τοῦ Φραάτου ἐν εὐεργεσίας μέρει παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβὼν ἕς τε τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνήγαγε καὶ ἐν ὁμηρεΐᾳ ἐποίησατο. 19. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἔτι πρότερον συχνὰ μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ναυμαχίας νικῇ οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐψηφίσαντο. τὰ τε γὰρ νικητήρια αὐτῷ, ὡς καὶ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας, καὶ ἀψίδα τροπαιοφόρον ἐν τε τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ καὶ ἑτέραν ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίᾳ ἀγορᾷ ^[2] ἔδωκαν: τὴν τε κρηπίδα τοῦ Ἰουλιεῖου ἡρώου τοῖς τῶν αἰχμαλωτῶν νεῶν ἐμβόλοις κοσμηθῆναι, καὶ πανήγυριν οἱ πεντετηρίδα ἄγεσθαι, ἔν τε τοῖς γενεθλίοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ τῆς ἀγγελίας τῆς νίκης ἡμέρᾳ ἱερομηνίαν εἶναι, καὶ ἕς τὴν πόλιν ἐσιόντι αὐτῷ τὰς τε ἱερείας τὰς ^[p. 52] ἀειπαρθένους καὶ τὴν βουλὴν τὸν τε δῆμον μετὰ τε τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἀπαντῆσαι ^[3] ἔγνωσαν. τὰς γὰρ εὐχὰς τὰς τε εἰκόνας καὶ τὴν προεδρίαν καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ τοιουτότροπα περιττόν ἐστιν ἤδη λέγειν. τὴν μὲν οὖν πρώτην ἐκείνῳ τε ταῦτ' ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κοσμήματα τὰ μὲν καθεῖλον τὰ δ' ἀπῆλειψαν, τὴν τε ἡμέραν ἐν ἣ ἐγεγέννητο μιὰρὰν ἐνόμισαν, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Μάρκου πρόσρημα ἀπέλπιον ^[4] μηδενὶ τῶν συγγενῶν αὐτοῦ εἶναι. ὡς μέντοι καὶ θενεῶτα αὐτὸν ἐπύθοντο ἡγγέλθη δὲ τοῦτο Κικέρωνος τοῦ Κικέρωνος παιδὸς ἐν μέρει τοῦ ἔτους ὑπατεύοντος, τοῦτο τέ τινες ὡς οὐκ ἄθεεϊ δὴ συμβὰν ἐλάμβανον, ἐπειδὴ περ ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ ^[5] Ἀντωνίου ὅτι μάλιστ' ἐτεθνήκει, καὶ προσεψηφίσαντο τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ στεφάνους καὶ ἱερομηνίας πολλὰς, καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἕτερα ἐπινίκια ὡς καὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀγαγεῖν ἔδωκαν: τὸν γὰρ Ἀντώνιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ῥωμαίους τοὺς σὺν ἐκείνῳ νικηθέντας οὐτε πρότερον οὐτε τότε, ὡς καὶ ἑορτάζειν ^[6] σφᾶς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς δεόν, ὠνόμασαν. τὴν τε ἡμέραν ἐν ἣ ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἔαλω, ἀγαθὴν τε εἶναι καὶ ἕς τὰ ἔπειτα ἔτη ἀρχὴν τῆς ἀπαριθμήσεως αὐτῶν νομιζεσθαι, καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τὴν τε ἐξουσίαν τὴν τῶν δημάρχων διὰ βίου ἔχειν, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιβωμένοις αὐτὸν καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ πωμηρίου καὶ ἔξω μέχρις ὀγδόου ἡμισταδίου ἀμύνειν, ὃ μηδενὶ ^[p. 54] ^[7] τῶν δημαρχούντων ἐξῆν, ἔκκλητόν τε δικάζειν, καὶ ψήφον τινα αὐτοῦ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ὥσπερ Ἀθηνᾶς φέρεσθαι, τοὺς τε ἱερέας καὶ τὰς ἱερείας ἐν ταῖς ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς βουλῆς εὐχαῖς καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου ὁμοίως εὐχεσθαι, καὶ ἐν τοῖς συσσιτίοις οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις πάντας αὐτῷ σπένδειν ἐκέλευσαν. 20. τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐγνώσθη, ὑπατεύοντος δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ πέμπτον μετὰ Σέξτου Ἀπουλείου τὰ τε πραχθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ Ἰανουαρίου νομηνίᾳ ὄρκοις ἐβεβαιώσαντο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν Πάρθων γράμματα ἦλθεν, ἕς τε τοὺς ὕμνους αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἰσου τοῖς θεοῖς ἐσγράφεσθαι, ^[2] καὶ φυλὴν Ἰουλίαν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπονομάζεσθαι, τῷ τε στεφάνῳ αὐτὸν τῷ ἐπινικίῳ διὰ πασῶν τῶν πανηγύρεων χρῆσθαι, καὶ τοὺς συννικήσαντάς οἱ βουλευτὰς ἐν περιποφύροις ἱματίοις ^[3] τὴν πομπὴν αὐτῷ συμπέμψαι, τὴν τε ἡμέραν ἐν ἣ ἂν ἕς τὴν πόλιν ἐσέλθῃ θυσίαις τε πανδημεὶ ἀγαθῆναι καὶ ἱερὰν ἀεὶ ἄγεσθαι, ἱερέας τε αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὅσους ἂν ἀεὶ ἐθελήσῃ, προαιρεῖσθαι προσκατεστήσαντο: ὅπερ που ἐξ ἐκείνου παραδοθὲν ἐς ἀόριστον ἐπηυξήθη, ὥστε μηδὲν ἔτι χρῆναί με περὶ τοῦ πλήθους ^[4] αὐτῶν

ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πλὴν βραχέων ἐδέξατο, τὸ δὲ δὴ σύμπαντας αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντας ἀπαντῆσαι [p. 56] παρητήσατο ἄντικρυς μὴ γενέσθαι. πλεῖστον δὲ ὅμως ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ψηφισθέντα οἱ ὑπερήσθη ὅτι τὰς τε πύλας τὰς τοῦ Ἰανοῦ ὡς καὶ πάντων σφίσι τῶν πολέμων παντελῶς πεπαυμένων ἔκλεισαν, καὶ τὸ οἰώνισμα τὸ τῆς Ὑγείας ἐποίησαν: [5] καὶ γὰρ τότε δι' ἅπερ εἶπον διελέλειπτο. ἦσαν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ὅπλοις ἔτι καὶ Τρήουροι Κελτοὺς ἐπαγαγόμενοι καὶ Κάνταβροι καὶ Οὐακκαῖοι καὶ Ἄστυρες: καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ταύρου τοῦ Σταπιλίου, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ὑπὸ Νωνίου Γάλλου κατεστράφησαν: ἄλλα τε ὡς καθ' ἑκάστους ταραχώδῃ συχνὰ ἐγίνετο: ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ μὴδὲν μέγα ἀπ' αὐτῶν συνηνέχθη, οὕτε ἐκεῖνοι τότε πολεμεῖσθαι ἐνόμιζον οὕτε ἐγὼ ἐπιφανές τι περὶ αὐτῶν γράψαι ἔχω. [6] Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐχρημάτιζε, καὶ τεμένη τῇ τε Ῥώμῃ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, ἥρωα αὐτὸν Ἰούλιον ὀνομάσας, ἐν τε Ἐφέσῳ καὶ ἐν Νικαίᾳ γενέσθαι ἐφῆκεν: αὐταὶ γὰρ τότε αἱ πόλεις ἐν τε τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ [7] προετείμηντο. καὶ τούτους μὲν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐποικοῦσι τιμὰν προσέταξε: τοῖς δὲ δὴ ξένοις, Ἑλληνὰς σφας ἐπικαλέσας, ἑαυτῷ τινα, τοῖς μὲν Ἀσιανοῖς ἐν Περγάμῳ τοῖς δὲ Βιθυνοῖς ἐν Νικομηδεῖᾳ, τεμενίσαι ἐπέτρεψε. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκεῖθεν ἀρξάμενον καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων αὐτοκρατόρων οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀκούει, [8] ἐγένετο. ἐν γάρ τοι τῷ ἄστει αὐτῷ τῇ τε ἄλλῃ [p. 58] Ἰταλίᾳ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις τῶν καὶ ἐφ' ὅποσονοῦν λόγου τινὸς ἀξίων ἐτόλμησε τοῦτο ποιῆσαι: μεταλλάξας μέντοι κἀνατυθὰ τοῖς ὀρθῶς αὐταρχήσασιν ἄλλαι τε ἰσόθεοι τιμαὶ δίδονται καὶ δὴ καὶ ἡρῶα ποιεῖται. [9] ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι ἐγένετο, καὶ ἔλαβον καὶ οἱ Περγαμηνοὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν ἱερὸν ὠνομασμένον 21. ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ναοῦ αὐτοῦ τιμῇ ποιεῖν. τοῦ δὲ δὴ θέρους ἔς τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἔς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεραιώθη, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἔς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθόντος οἱ τε ἄλλοι ἔθυσαν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, καὶ ὁ ὑπατος Οὐαλέριος Ποτῖτος: ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο πᾶν τὸ ἔτος, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ δύο τὰ πρότερα, ὑπάτευσε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Σέξτον ὁ [12] Ποτῖτος διεδέξατο. οὗτος οὖν δημοσίᾳ καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀφίξει ἐβουθύτησεν: ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρότερον ἐπὶ μηδενὸς ἄλλου ἐγεγόνει. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τοὺς τε ὑποστρατήγους καὶ ἐπήγεσε [3] καὶ ἐτίμησεν ὥσπερ εἴηστο, καὶ τὸν τε Ἀγρίππαν ἄλλοις τέ τισι καὶ σημείῳ κυανοειδεῖ ναυκρατητικῷ προσεπεσέμνυνε, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔδωκε τινα: τῷ τε δήμῳ καθ' ἑκατὸν δραχμάς, προτέροις μὲν τοῖς ἐς ἄνδρας τελοῦσιν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς παισὶ διὰ τὸν Μάρκελλον τὸν [4] ἀδελφιδοῦν, διένειμε. καὶ ἐπὶ τε τούτοις, καὶ ὅτι παρὰ τῶν πόλεων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ τὸ χρυσίον τὸ τοῖς στεφάνοις προσῆκον οὐκ ἐδέξατο, [p. 60] καὶ ὅτι καὶ πάντα ἃ τε αὐτὸς ὠφειλέ τισιν ἀπέδωκε, καὶ ἃ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐπῶφειλον οὐκ ἐσέπραξεν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, τῶν τε δυσχερῶν πάντων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπελάθοντο, καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια αὐτοῦ ἡδέως ὡς καὶ ἀλλοφύλων ἀπάντων τῶν ἡττηθέντων [5] ὄντων εἶδον: τοσοῦτον γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν χρημάτων διὰ πάσης ὁμοίως τῆς πόλεως ἐχώρησεν ὥστε τὰ μὲν κτήματα ἐπιτιμηθῆναι, τὰ δὲ δανείσματα ἀγαπητῶς ἐπὶ δραχμῇ πρότερον ὄντα τότε ἐπὶ τῷ τριτημορίῳ αὐτῆς γενέσθαι. ἐώρτασε

δὲ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τὰ τε τῶν Παννονίων καὶ τὰ τῶν Δελματῶν, τῆς τε Ἰαπυδίας καὶ τῶν προσχώρων σφίσι, Κελτῶν τε καὶ Γαλατῶν τινων. [6] Γάιος γὰρ Καρρίνας τοὺς τε Μωρίνους καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς συνεπαναστάντας αὐτοῖς ἐχειρώσατο, καὶ τοὺς Σουήβους τὸν Ῥήνον ἐπὶ πολέμῳ διαβάνας ἀπέωσατο: καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἦγαγε μὲν καὶ ἐκεῖνος τὰ νικητήρια, καίτοι τοῦ τε πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλου θανατωθέντος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἄρξει ποτὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὁμοίων οἱ κωλυθεῖς, ἦγαγε δὲ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἀναφορὰ τῆς νίκης τῇ αὐτοκράτορι αὐτοῦ ἀρχῇ προσήκουσα [7] ἦν. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ταῦτα διεωρτάσθη, ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ ἡ πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ ναυκρατία, κὰν τῇ τρίτῃ ἢ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καταστροφή. ἐπιφανεῖς μὲν δὴ καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι πομπαὶ διὰ τὰ ἀπ' αὐτῆς λάφυρα ἐγένοντο ἵσοσθαι γὰρ ἡθροίσθη ὥστε πάσαις ἐπαρκέσαι, πολυτελεστάτῃ [8] δ' οὖν καὶ ἀξιοπρεπεστάτῃ αὕτῃ ἢ Αἰγυπτία. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα ἐπὶ κλίνης ἐν τῷ [p. 62] τοῦ θανάτου μιμήματι παρεκομίσθη, ὥστε τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ἐκείνην μετὰ τε τῶν ἄλλων αἰχμαλώτων καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ καὶ Ἡλίου, τῆς τε Κλεοπάτρας τῆς καὶ Σελήνης, τῶν τέκνων, ὡς [9] πομπεῖον ὀφθῆναι. μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐφ' ἅπασιν αὐτοῖς ἐσελάσας τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ τὸ νομιζόμενον ἔπραξε, τὸν δὲ δὴ συνύπατον τοὺς τε λοιποὺς ἄρχοντας περιεῖδε παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἐπισπομένους οἱ μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν βουλευτῶν τῶν συννενικηκότων: εἰώθεσαν γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι οἱ δὲ ἐφέπεσθαι. 22. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα διετέλεσε, τὸ τε Ἀθήναιον τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν ὠνομασμένον καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸ Ἰουλίειον, τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ τιμῇ γενόμενον, καθιέρωσεν. ἐνέστησε δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ τῆς Νίκης τὸ καὶ νῦν ὄν, δηλῶν, ὡς [2] ἔοικεν, ὅτι παρ' αὐτῆς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκτήσατο: ἦν δὲ δὴ τῶν Ταραντίνων, καὶ ἐκείθεν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην κομισθὲν ἐν τε τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἰδρῦθη καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις λαφύροις ἐκοσμήθη. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τῷ τοῦ [3] Ἰουλίου ἡρώῳ ὀσιωθέντι τότε ὑπῆρξε: συχνὰ γὰρ καὶ ἐς ἐκεῖνο ἀνετέθη, καὶ ἕτερα τῷ τε Διὶ τῷ Καπτωλίῳ καὶ τῇ Ἥρᾳ τῇ τε Ἀθηνᾷ ἱερώθη, πάντων τῶν πρότερον ἐνταῦθα ἀνακεῖσθαι δοκούντων ἢ καὶ ἔτι κειμένων ἐκ δόγματος τότε καθαιρεθέντων ὡς καὶ μεμιασμένων. καὶ οὕτως ἡ Κλεοπάτρα καίπερ καὶ ἡττηθεῖσα καὶ ἀλοῦσα [p. 64] ἐδοξάσθη, ὅτι τὰ τε κοσμήματα αὐτῆς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἡμῶν ἀνάκειται καὶ αὐτὴ ἐν τῷ Ἀφροδισίῳ χρυσῇ ὀρᾷται. [4] ἐν δ' οὖν τῇ τοῦ ἡρώου ὀσίῳσι ἀγῶνές τε παντοδαποὶ ἐγένοντο, καὶ τὴν Τροίαν εὐπατρίδα παῖδες ἵππευσαν, ἄνδρες τε ἐκ τῶν ὁμείων σφίσιν ἐπὶ τε κελήτων καὶ ἐπὶ συνωριδῶν ἐπὶ τε τεθρίππων ἀντηγωνίσαντο, Κύνιός τε τις Οὐιτέλλιος [5] βουλευτὴς ἐμονομάχησε. καὶ θηρία καὶ βοτὰ ἄλλα τε παμπληθῆ καὶ ῥινόκερος ἵππος τε ποτάμιος, πρῶτον τότε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὀφθέντα, ἐσφάγη. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἵππος ὁποῖός ἐστι, πολλοῖς τε εἴρηται καὶ πολὺ πλείοσιν ἐώραται: ὁ δὲ δὴ ῥινόκερος τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐλέφαντι πη προσέοικε, κέρας δὲ τι κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ῥίνα προσέχει, καὶ διὰ [6] τοῦτο οὕτω κέκληται. ταῦτά τε οὖν ἐσήχθη, καὶ ἄθροοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους Δακοὶ τε καὶ Σουῆβοι ἐμαχέσαντο. εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι μὲν Κελτοί, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ δὴ Σκύθαι τρόπον τινά: καὶ οἱ μὲν πέραν τοῦ Ῥήνου ὡς γε τὰκριβὲς εἰπεῖν ἄλλοι γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι τοῦ τῶν Σουήβων ὀνόματος ἀντιποιοῦνται, οἱ δὲ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω τοῦ Ἰστρου

νέμονται, [7] ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰδε αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τῇ Τριβαλλικῇ οἰκοῦντες ἔς τε τὸν τῆς Μυσίας νομὸν τελοῦσι καὶ Μυσοί, πλὴν παρὰ τοῖς πάνυ ἐπιχωρίοις, ὀνομάζονται, οἱ δὲ ἐπέκεινα Δακοὶ κέκληνται, εἴτε δὴ Γέται τινὲς εἴτε καὶ Θοῤῃκες τοῦ Δακικοῦ γένους τοῦ τὴν Ῥοδόπην ποτὲ ἐνοικήσαντος [8] ὄντες. οὗτοι οὖν οἱ Δακοὶ ἐπρεσβεύσαντο μὲν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου τούτου πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα, [p. 66] ὥς δ' οὐδενὸς ὧν ἐδέοντο ἔτυχον, ἀπέκλιναν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον, καὶ ἐκείνον μὲν οὐδὲν μέγα ὠφέλησαν στασιάσαντες ἐν ἀλλήλοις, ἀλόντες δὲ ἐκ τούτου τινὲς ἔπειτα τοῖς Σουήβοις συνεβλήθησαν. [9] ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ θεωρία ἅπασα ἐπὶ πολλὰς, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, ἡμέρας, οὐδὲ διέλιπε καίτοι τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀρρωστήσαντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπόντος αὐτοῦ δι' ἐτέρων ἐποιήθη. καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς οἱ βουλευταὶ μίαν τινὰ ὥς ἕκαστοι ἡμέραν ἐν τοῖς τῶν οἰκιῶν σφῶν προθύροις εἰστιάθησαν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅθεν ἔς τοῦτο προαχθέντες· οὐ γὰρ παραδεδόται. 23. τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐπράχθη, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρος τὸ τέταρτον ἔτι ὑπατεύοντος ὁ Ταῦρος ὁ Στατίλιος θεάτρον τι ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ κυνηγετικὸν λίθινον καὶ ἐξεποίησε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ τέλεσι καὶ καθιέρωσεν ὀπλομαχίᾳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο στρατηγὸν ἓνα παρὰ τοῦ δήμου κατ' ἔτος αἰρεῖσθαι ἐλάμβανε. [2] κατὰ δὲ δὴ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους χρόνους ἐν οἷς ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, ὁ Κράσσος ὁ Μάρκος ἔς τε τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πεμφθεὶς τοῖς τε Δακοῖς καὶ τοῖς Βαστάρναις ἐπολέμησε. καὶ περὶ μὲν ἐκείνων, οἵτινές τέ εἰσι καὶ διὰ τί ἐπολεμώθησαν, [3] εἴρηται· Βαστάρναι δὲ Σκύθαι τε ἀκριβῶς νενομίδαται, καὶ τότε τὸν Ἰστρον διαβάντες τὴν τε Μυσίαν τὴν κατ' ἀντιπέρασ σφῶν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ Τριβαλλοὺς ὁμόρους αὐτῇ ὄντας τοὺς τε Δαρδάνους ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ ἐκείνων οἰκοῦντας ἐχειρώσαντο. τέως μὲν οὖν ταῦτ' ἐποιοῦν, οὐδὲν σφισι πρᾶγμα πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους [p. 68] [4] ἦν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν τε Αἷμον ὑπερέβησαν καὶ τὴν Θοράκην τὴν Δενθελητῶν ἔνσπονδον αὐτοῖς οὔσαν κατέδραμον, ἐνταῦθα ὁ Κράσσος τὸ μὲν τι τῷ Σιτᾷ τῷ τῶν Δενθελητῶν βασιλεῖ τυφλῷ ὄντι ἀμύνων, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον περὶ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ φοβηθεὶς ἀντεπῆλθέ σφισι, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς προσόδου μόνης καταπλήξας ἐξέωσεν ἀμαχείᾳ ἐκ [5] τῆς χώρας. καὶ τούτου οἵκαδε ἀναχωροῦντας ἐπιδιώκων τὴν τε Σεγετικὴν καλουμένην προσεποίησατο καὶ ἐς τὴν Μυσιίδα ἐνέβαλε, καὶ τὴν τε χώραν σφῶν ἐκάκωσε καὶ πρὸς τεῖχος τι καρτερόν προσελάσας τοῖς μὲν προδρόμοις ἔπαισε ἴμους γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ Μυσοὶ οἰηθέντες εἶναι ἐπέξεδον ἐποίησαντό, προσβοηθήσας δὲ σφισι παντὶ τῷ λοιπῷ στρατεύματι καὶ ἀνέκοψεν αὐτοὺς καὶ 24. προσεδρεύσας ἐξέειλε. πρᾶσσοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα οἱ Βαστάρναι τῆς τε φυγῆς ἐπέσχον καὶ πρὸς τῷ Κέδρῳ ποταμῷ κατέμειναν, περιορώμενοι τὰ γενησόμενα. ἐπειδὴ τε νικήσας τοὺς Μυσοὺς καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνους ὥρμησε, πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν ἀπαγορεύοντες αὐτῷ μὴ διώκειν σφᾶς, ὥς οὐδὲν τοὺς [2] Ῥωμαίους ἡδικηκότες. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Κράσσος κατασχὼν ὥς καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν δώσων, τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐφιλοφρονήσατο καὶ κατεμέθυσεν ὥστε πάντα τὰ βουλευόμενα αὐτῶν ἐκμαθεῖν· ἀπλήστως τε γὰρ ἐμφορεῖται πᾶν τὸ Σκυθικὸν φῦλον οἴνου, καὶ ὑπερκορὲς αὐτοῦ ταχὺ [3] γίγνεται. Κράσσος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐς ὕλην τινὰ προχωρήσας, καὶ προσκόπους πρὸ αὐτῆς

καταστήσας, ἀνέπανσέ τε τὸ στράτευμα, [p. 70] καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῶν Βασταρνῶν μόνους τε ἐκείνους εἶναι νομισάντων καὶ ἐπιδραμόντων σφίσιν, ἔς τε τὰ λάσια ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐπακολουθησάντων, πολλοὺς μὲν ἐνταῦθα πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ [4] φυγόντας ἔφθειρεν: ὑπὸ τε γὰρ τῶν Ἀμαξῶν κατόπιν αὐτοῖς οὐσῶν ἐνεποδίσθησαν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τὰς τε γυναῖκας σῶσαι ἐθέλησαντες ἔπταισαν. καὶ τὸν γε βασιλέα αὐτῶν Δέλδωνα αὐτὸς ὁ Κράσσος ἀπέκτεινε: κἂν τὰ σκῦλα αὐτοῦ τῷ Φερετρίῳ Διὶ ὡς καὶ ὀπίμα ἀνέθηκεν, εἴπερ αὐτοκράτωρ στρατηγὸς ἐγεγόνει. [5] ἐκεῖνά τε οὖν οὕτως ἐπράχθη, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς ἄλλος τι καταφυγόντες περιεπρήσθησαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τεῖχος τι ἐσπηδήσαντες ἐξηρέθησαν. ἄλλοι ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον ἐμπεσόντες, ἄλλοι κατὰ τὴν χώραν [6] σκεδασθέντες ἐφθάρησαν. περιλειφθέντων δ' οὖν καὶ ὥς τινων, καὶ χωρίον ἰσχυρὸν καταλαβόντων, ἡμέρας μὲν τινας μάτην σφίσιν ὁ Κράσσος προσήδρευσεν, ἔπειτα Ῥώλου οἱ Γετῶν τινων [7] βασιλέως ἐπικουρήσαντος ἐξεῖλεν αὐτούς. καὶ ὁ τε Ῥώλης πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐλθὼν φίλος τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ σύμμαχος αὐτοῦ ἐνομίσθη, καὶ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι τοῖς στρατιώταις διεδόθησαν. 25. πράξας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κράσσος ἐπὶ τοὺς Μυσοὺς ἐτράπετο, καὶ τὰ μὲν πείθων τινὰς τὰ δὲ ἐκφοβῶν τὰ δὲ καὶ βιαζόμενος, πάντας μὲν πλὴν πάνυ ὀλίγων, ἐπιπόνως δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐπικινδύνως κατεστρέψατο. [2] καὶ τότε μὲν ἡμιῶν γὰρ ἦν' ἐς τὴν φιλίαν ἀνεχώρησε, πολλὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ψύχους [p. 72] πολλῶ δὲ ἔτι πλείω ὑπὸ τῶν Θρακῶν, δι' ὧν ὡς φίλων ἐπανήει, παθῶν: ὅθενπερ γνώμην ἔσχεν ἄρκεσθῆναι τοῖς κατειργασμένοις. καὶ γὰρ καὶ θυσίαι καὶ νικητήρια οὐχ ὅτι τῷ Καίσαρι ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἐψηφίσθη: οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα, ὡς γέ τινές φασιν, ἔλαβεν, [3] ἀλλ' ὁ Καῖσαρ μόνος αὐτὸ προσέθετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Βαστάρναι ταῖς τε συμφοραῖς ἀχθόμενοι, καὶ μηκέτ' αὐτὸν ἐπιστρατεύσειν σφίσι πυθόμενοι, πρὸς τε τοὺς Δευθελήτας καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σιτᾶν αὐθις ὡς καὶ αἰπιώτατον αὐτοῖς τῶν κακῶν γεγονότα ἐτράποντο, οὕτω καὶ ἄκων ἐξανέστη, καὶ σπουδῇ χωρήσας ἀνέλπιστός τε αὐτοῖς ἐπέπεσε, καὶ κρατήσας σπονδὰς ὁποίας ἠθέλησεν [4] ἔδωκεν. ὡς δ' ἅπαξ τῶν ὄπλων αὐθις ἦψατο, ἐπεθύμησεν ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς Θρακὰς τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀνακομιδῇ τῇ ἐκ τῆς Μυσίας λυπήσαντας αὐτόν: καὶ γὰρ τότε χωρία τε ἐντειχιζόμενοι καὶ πολεμῆσειοντες ἠγγέλλοντο. καὶ σφῶν Μαίδους μὲν καὶ Σερδοὺς μάχαις τε κατακρατῶν, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας τῶν ἀλισκομένων ἀποτέμνων, οὐκ ἀπόνως μὲν, ἐχειρώσατο δ' οὖν: τὰ δ' ἄλλα πλὴν τῆς τῶν [5] Ὀδρυσῶν γῆς κατέδραμε. τούτων γάρ, ὅτι τῷ τε Διονύσῳ πρόσκεινται καὶ τότε ἄνευ τῶν ὄπλων ἀπήντησάν οἱ, ἐφείσατο: καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐν ἣ καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀγάλλουσιν ἐχαρίσατο, Βησοὺς τοὺς κατέχοντας αὐτὴν ἀφελόμενος. 26. πράσσοντα δὲ αὐτὸν ταῦτα ὁ Ῥώλης Δάπυγι Γετῶν τινων καὶ αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ πολεμῶθεις μετεπέμψατο. [p. 74] καὶ ὃς ἐπικουρήσας οἱ τὴν τε ἵππον τῶν ἐναντίων ἐς τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐσῆραξε, καὶ συμφοβήσας ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐκείνους μάχην μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἔτ' ἐποίησατο, φόνον δὲ δὴ φευγόντων [2] ἐκατέρων πολλὴν εἰργάσατο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸν Δάπυγα πρὸς φρούριόν τι καταφυγόντα ἀπολαβὼν ἐπολιόρκει: κἂν τῇ προσεδρεῖα ἑλληνιστί τις αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀσπασάμενος ἔς τε λόγους οἱ ἦλθε καὶ προδοσίαν συνέθετο.

ἀλισκόμενοι οὖν οὕτως οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ὤρμησαν, καὶ ὁ τε Δάπυξ ἀπέθανε καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί. τὸν μέντοι ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ζωγρήσας ὁ Κράσσοις οὐχ ὅτι τι κακὸν ἔδρασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀφῆκε. ^[3] ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὸ σπήλαιον τὴν Κεῖριν καλουμένην ἐστρατεύσατο· τοῦτο γὰρ μέγιστόν τε ἅμα καὶ ἐχυρώτατον οὕτως ὃν ὡς καὶ τοὺς Τιτᾶνας ἐς αὐτὸ μετὰ τὴν ἦτταν τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν δὴ σφισι γενομένην συγκαταφυγεῖν μυθεύεσθαι, καταλαβόντες οἱ ἐπιχώριοι πλήθει πολλῶ τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ τιμιώτατα καὶ τὰς ἀγέλας ἐς αὐτὸ ^[4] πάσας ἐσεκομίσαντο. ὁ οὖν Κράσσοις τὰ τε στόμια αὐτοῦ πάντα σκολιὰ καὶ δυσδιερευνήτα ὄντα ἀναζητήσας ἀπωκοδόμησε, καὶ τούτου κάκεινους λιμῶ κατεστρέψατο. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα αὐτῷ προεχώρησεν, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων Γετῶν, καίπερ ^[5] μηδὲν τῷ Δάπυγι προσηκόντων, ἀπέσχετο, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Γένουκλα τὸ εὐεργέστατον τῆς Ζυράξου ἀρχῆς τεῖχος ἦλθεν, ὅτι τὰ σημεῖα, ἃ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ Γαίου οἱ Βαστάρναι πρὸς τῇ τῶν Ἰστριανῶν πόλει ἀφῆρηντο, ἐνταῦθα ἤκουεν ὄντα· καὶ αὐτὸ ^[p. 76] πεζῇ τε ἅμα καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ἰστρου ἔπρως γὰρ τῷ ὕδατι ἐπεπόλιστό προσβαλὼν οὐκ ἐν πολλῷ μὲν χρόνῳ, σὺν πολλῷ δὲ δὴ πόνῳ, καίτοι τοῦ Ζυράξου ^[6] μὴ παρόντος, εἶλεν. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ὡς τάχιστα τῆς ὁρμῆς αὐτοῦ ἦσθετο, πρὸς τε τοὺς Σκύθας ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων ἀπῆρε, καὶ οὐκ ἔφθη ἀνακομισθεῖς. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν Γέταις ἔπραξε, τῶν δὲ δὴ Μυσῶν τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν κεχειρωμένων ἐπαναστάντας δι' 27. ἐτέρων ἀνεκτήσατο, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀρτακίους ἄλλους τε τινας οὕθ' ἁλόντας ποτὲ οὕτ' αὐτῷ προσχωρήσαι οἱ ἐθέλοντας, καὶ αὐτοὺς τε μέγιστον ἐπὶ τούτῳ φρονοῦντας καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὀργὴν τε ἅμα καὶ νεωτερισμὸν ἐμποιοῦντας, αὐτὸς τ' ἐπεστράτευσεν, καὶ σφας τὰ μὲν βίᾳ, δράσαντας οὐκ ὀλίγα, τὰ δὲ καὶ φόβῳ τῶν ἀλισκομένων προσηγάγετο. ^[2] ταῦτα μὲν ἐν χρόνῳ ἐγένετο, γράφω δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα ὡς πού παραδέδοται, καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ὀνόματα. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πάλαι Μυσοὶ τε καὶ Γέται παῖσαν τὴν μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Αἴμου καὶ τοῦ Ἰστρου οὔσαν ἐνέμοντο, προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἐς ἄλλα ^[3] τινὲς αὐτῶν ὀνόματα μετέβαλον, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐς τὸ τῆς Μυσίας ὄνομα πάνθ' ὅσα ὁ Σάουος ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον ἐμβάλλων, ὑπὲρ τε τῆς Δελματίας καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Μακεδονίας τῆς τε Θράκης, ἀπὸ τῆς Παννονίας ἀφορίζει, συγκεχώρηκεν. καὶ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἄλλα τε ἔθνη πολλὰ καὶ οἱ Τριβαλλοὶ ποτε προσαγορευθέντες, οἳ τε Δαρδάνιοι καὶ νῦν

οὕτω καλοῦμενοι.

τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν:

α. ὡς Καῖσαρ ἐβουλεύσατο τὴν μοναρχίαν ἀφεῖναι.

β. ὡς αὐτοκράτωρ καλεῖσθαι ἤρξατο.

χρόνου πλήθος τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Καίσαρος τὸ ε καὶ Σέξτου Ἀπουλείου ὑπατείας. 2

1. ταῦτα μὲν ἔν τε τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ταῖς τε δυναστείαις, πέντε τε καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑπτακοσίοις ἔτεσι, καὶ ἔπραξαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἔπαθον: ἐκ δὲ τούτου μοναρχεῖσθαι αὐθις ἀκριβῶς ἤρξαντο, καίτοι τοῦ Καίσαρος βουλευσαμένου τὰ τε ὅπλα καταθέσθαι καὶ τὰ πράγματα τῇ τε γερουσίᾳ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἐπιτρέψαι. ^[2] ἐποίησατο δὲ τὴν διάγνωσιν μετὰ τε τοῦ Ἀγρίππου καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Μαικήνου 'τούτοις γὰρ πάντα τὰ ἀπόρρητα ἀνεκοίνου, καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀγρίππας πρότερος εἶπε τοιάδε: 2. 'μὴ θανμάσης, ὦ Καῖσαρ, εἰ μέλλω σε ἀποτρέπειν ἀπὸ τῆς μοναρχίας, καίπερ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ ἀπολαύσας ἂν ἀπ' αὐτῆς σοῦ γε αὐτὴν ἔχοντος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ σοὶ ὠφέλιμος γενήσεσθαι ἔμελλε, καὶ πάνυ ἂν αὐτὴν ἐσπούδασα: ^[2] ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐδὲν ὅμοιον τοῖς τε αὐταρχοῦσι καὶ ^[p. 80] τοῖς φίλοις σφῶν παρέχεται, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν καὶ ἀνεπιφθόνως καὶ ἀκινδύνως πάνθ' ὅσα ἐθέλουσι καρποῦνται, τοῖς δὲ καὶ φθόνοι καὶ κίνδυνοι συμβαίνουσιν, οὐ τὸ ἐμαντοῦ ἴδιον, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀλλὰ τὸ σὸν τό τε κοινὸν προῖδέσθαι ἐδικαίωσα. ^[3]

σκεψώμεθα δὲ καθ' ἡσυχίαν πάντα τὰ προσόντα αὐτῇ, καὶ ὅπη ποτ' ἂν ὁ λογισμὸς ἡμᾶς ἀγάγῃ τραπώμεθα: οὐ γὰρ που καὶ ἐξ ἅπαντος τρόπου φήσει τις δεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐλέσθαι ^[4] αὐτήν, κἂν μὴ λυσιτελοῦσα ᾖ. εἰ δὲ μὴ, δόξομεν ἦτοι τῆς τε εὐπραγίας ἡττησθαι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν κατωρθωμένων ἐκπεφρονηκέναι, ἢ καὶ πάλαι αὐτῆς ἐφιέμενοι τὸν τε πατέρα καὶ τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν εὐσέβειαν ἐσκήφθαι καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὴν τε γερουσίαν προβεβλήσθαι, οὐχ ἵνα αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων σφίσιν ἀπαλλάξωμεν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ^[5] ἑαυτοῖς δουλωσώμεθα. ἐκάτερον δὲ ὑπαίτιον. τίς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀγανακτήσειεν ἄλλα μὲν ὀρῶν ἡμᾶς εἰρηκότας, ἄλλα δὲ αἰσθανόμενος πεφρονηκότας; πῶς δ' οὐκ ἂν μᾶλλον νῦν μισήσειεν ἡμᾶς ἢ εἰ κατ' ἀρχὰς εὐθὺς τὴν τε ἐπιθυμίαν ἀπεγυμνώσαμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν μοναρχίαν ἀντικρυς ^[6] ὠρμήσαμεν; τὸ μὲν γὰρ βίαιόν τι τολμᾶν προσήκειν πῶς τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσει, κἂν πλεονεκτικὸν εἶναι δοκῇ, πεπίστευται: πᾶς γὰρ ὁ προφέρων ἔν τινι πλεον ἄξιοι τοῦ καταδεεστέρου ἔχειν, καὶ κατορθώσας τέ τι ἐς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ^[p. 82] ἰσχὺν ἀναφέρεται, καὶ διαμαρτῶν τινος τῇ τοῦ ^[7] δαιμονίου φορᾷ προστίθεται. ὁ δὲ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ κακουργίας τοιοῦτό τι ποιῶν πρῶτον μὲν δολερὸς καὶ σκολιὸς καὶ κακοήθης καὶ κακότροπος εἶναι νομίζεται,

ἄπερ εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι περὶ σοῦ οὐδέναν ἂν ὑπομείνεις εἰπεῖν ἢ φρονῆσαι, οὐδ' εἰ πάσης ἐκ τούτου τῆς οἰκουμένης ἄρξεις· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ κατορθώσας ἄδικον τὴν πλεονεξίαν πεποιῆσθαι καὶ σφαλὲς δικαίαν τὴν κακοπραγίαν 3. εἰληφέναι δοκεῖ. τούτου δὲ δὴ οὕτως ἔχοντος, οὐδὲν ἂν ἦττον ἐπικαλέσειέ τις ἡμῖν καὶ εἰ μηδὲν τοιοῦτον ἀπὸ πρώτης ἐνθυμηθέντες ἔπειτα νῦν ἐπιθυμήσασιν αὐτοῦ. τὸ γὰρ τοι τῶν τε παρόντων νικᾶσθαι καὶ μῆτε ἑαυτοὺς κατέχειν τοῖς τε παρὰ τῆς τύχης δοθεῖσι μὴ καλῶς χρῆσθαι πολὺ [2] χεῖρόν ἐστι τοῦ ἐκ κακοπραγίας ἀδικεῖν τινα· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν συμφορῶν πολλάκις ἀναγκάζονται πρὸς τὴν τοῦ συμφέροντός σφισι χρεῖαν καὶ ἄκοντες πλημμελεῖν, οἱ δ' ἐθελονταὶ ἀκράτορες ἑαυτῶν καὶ παρὰ τὸ λυσιτελοῦν γίνονται. τοὺς δὲ δὴ μὴθ' ἀπλότητά τινα ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἔχοντας μῆτε τὰ δοθέντα σφίσιν ἀγαθὰ μετριάσαι δυναμένους πῶς ἂν τις προσδοκῇσιεν ἥτοι τῶν ἄλλων καλῶς ἡγεμονεύσειν ἢ ταῖς [3] συμφοραῖς ὀρθῶς χρῆσθαι; ὥς οὖν μηδέτερον αὐτῶν πεπονθότες, μὴδ' ἄλόγως τι πρᾶξαι ἐπιθυμοῦντες, ἀλλ' ὅ τι ποτ' ἂν βουλευσαμένοις ἡμῖν ἄριστον φανῇ τοῦθ' αἰρησόμενοι, τὴν διάγνωσιν [p. 84] αὐτοῦ ποιησώμεθα. λέξω δὲ μετὰ παρρησίας· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἄλλως ἂν τι εἰπεῖν δυναίμην, οὔτε σοὶ σύνοιδα τὰ ψευδῇ μετὰ κολακείας ἡδέως ἀκούοντι. 4.

ἡ μὲν τοίνυν ἰσονομία τὸ τε πρόσρημα εὐώνυμον καὶ τὸ ἔργον δικαιοτάτον ἔχει. τὴν τε γὰρ φύσιν τὴν αὐτὴν τινὰς εἰληχότας καὶ ὁμοφύλους ἀλλήλοις ὄντας, ἐν τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἡθεσι τεθραμμένους καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις νόμοις πεπαιδευμένους, [2] καὶ κοινὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τὴν τῶν ψυχῶν χρῆσιν τῇ πατρίδι παρέχοντας, πῶς μὲν οὐ δίκαιον καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα κοινοῦσθαι, πῶς δ' οὐκ ἄριστον ἐν μηδενὶ πλὴν ἀπ' ἀρετῆς [3] προτιμᾶσθαι; ἡ τε γὰρ ἰσογονία ἰσομοιρίας ὀριγνᾶται, καὶ τυχοῦσα μὲν αὐτῆς χαίρει, διαμαρτοῦσα δὲ ἄχθεται· καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον πᾶν, ἅτε ἐκ τε θεῶν γεγονὸς καὶ ἐς θεοὺς ἀφῆξον, ἄνω βλέπει, καὶ οὔτε ἐθέλει ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ διὰ παντός [4] ἄρχεσθαι, οὔθ' ὑπομένει τῶν μὲν πόνων καὶ τῶν κινδύνων τῶν τε δαπανημάτων μετέχον, τῆς δὲ κοινωνίας τῶν κρείττωνων στερόμενον, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἀναγκασθῇ τι τοιοῦτον ὑποστῆναι, μισεῖ τὸ βεβιασμένον, κἂν καιροῦ λάβηται, τιμωρεῖται τὸ [5] μεμισημένον. ἄρχειν τε γὰρ πάντες ἀξιοῦσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ἐν τῷ μέρει ὑπομένουσι· καὶ πλεονεκτεῖσθαι οὐκ ἐθέλουσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδ' αὐτοὶ πλεονεκτεῖν ἀναγκάζονται. ταῖς τε τιμαῖς ταῖς παρὰ τῶν ὁμοτίμων χαίρουσι, καὶ [6] τὰς τιμωρίας τὰς ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἐπαινοῦσι. κἂν οὕτω πολιτευόμενοι, κοινὰ μὲν τὰ ἀγαθὰ κοινὰ [p. 86] δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐναντία νομίζοντες εἶναι, οὔτε τι κακὸν οὐδενὶ τῶν πολιτῶν γίνεσθαι βούλονται, καὶ πάντα τὰ κρεῖττω πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς συνεὺχονται. [7] καὶ ἂν τε τις αὐτὸς ἀρετὴν τινα ἔχῃ, καὶ προφαίνει αὐτὴν προχείρως καὶ ἄσκεῖ προθύμως καὶ ἐπιδείκνυσιν ἀσμενέστατα, ἂν τε καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ ἴδῃ, καὶ προάγει ἐτοίμως καὶ συναυξεῖ σπουδαίως [8] καὶ τιμᾷ λαμπρότατα. καὶ μέντοι κἂν κακύνηται τις, πᾶς αὐτὸν μισεῖ, κἂν δυστυχῇ, πᾶς ἐλεεῖ, κοινὴν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν ζημίαν καὶ τὴν αἰσχύνην τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἶναι νομίζων. 5.

αὕτη μὲν ἢ τῶν δῆμων κατάστασις, ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς τυραννίσι πάντα τάναντία συμβαίνει. καὶ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ τί δεῖ μηκύνειν λέγοντα; τὸ δὲ δὴ κεφάλαιον, χρηστὸν μὲν οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν οὐτ' εἰδέναι οὐτ' ἔχειν δοκεῖν βούλεται ἑπολέμιον γὰρ αὐτῷ πᾶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸ κρατοῦν ὡς πλήθει γίγνεται, [2] τὸν δὲ ἐκείνου τις τρόπον κανόνα τοῦ βίου ποιησάμενος, ὃ τι ποτ' ἂν ἐλπίσῃ δι' αὐτοῦ πλεονεκτήσας ἀκινδύνως κερδανεῖν, μετέρχεται. καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' οἱ πλείους σφῶν τό τε καθ' ἑαυτοὺς μόνον σπεύδουσι καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους μισοῦσι, τὰς τε εὐπραγίας αὐτῶν οἰκείας ζημίας καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς ἴδια κέρδη ποιοῦμενοι. [3]

τοιούτων δὲ δὴ τούτων ὄντων οὐχ ὁρῶ τί ποτ' ἂν εἰκότως ἐπάρειέ σε μοναρχῆσαι ἐπιθυμῆσαι. πρὸς γὰρ τῷ τοῖς δῆμοις χαλεπὸν εἶναι τὸ πολιτεύμα, πολὺ δυσχερέστερον αὐτῷ σοι γένοιτο ἄν. [p. 88] ἢ οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅπως ἢ τε πόλιν καὶ τὰ πράγματα [4] αὐτῆς ἔτι καὶ νῦν ταράττεται; καὶ χαλεπὸν μὲν ἔστι τὸ τὸν ὅμιλον ἡμῶν, τοσούτοις ἔτεσιν ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ βεβιωκότα, καταλῦσαι, χαλεπὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ τοὺς συμμάχους τοὺς τε ὑπηκόους, τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ δημοκρατουμένους τοὺς δ' ὑφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἡλευθερωμένους, ἐς δουλείαν αὐθις καταστῆσαι, τοσούτων πέριξ πολεμίων ἡμῖν προσκειμένων. 6.

καὶ ἵνα γε ἀπὸ πρώτου τοῦ βραχυτάτου ἄρξωμαι, χρήματά σοι πολλὰ καὶ πανταχόθεν ἀναγκαῖον ἔσται πορίζειν: ἀδύνατον γὰρ τὰς νῦν οὖσας προσόδους πρὸς τε τᾶλλα καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν τροφήν ἐξαρκέσαι. τοῦτο δὲ ἔστι μὲν καὶ ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις: οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε [2] πολιτείαν τινὰ ἄνευ δαπάνης συστήναι. ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν ἐκείναις μάλιστα μὲν ἐκόντες πολλοὶ πολλὰ ἐπιδιδόασιν, ἐν φιλοτιμίας μέρει τὸ πρᾶγμα ποιοῦμενοι καὶ τιμὰς ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἀξίας ἀντιλαμβάνοντες: ἂν δὲ που καὶ ἀναγκαῖα παρὰ πάντων ἐσφορὰ γένωνται, ἑαυτοὺς τε πείθοντες [3] καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν συντελοῦντες ἀνέχονται. ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς δυναστείαις τὸ τε ἄρχον πάντες μόνον ὡς καὶ ὑπερπλουτοῦν ἀξιοῦσι δαπανᾶσθαι, τὰς μὲν προσόδους αὐτοῦ ἐτοιμῶς ἐξερευνώμενοι, τὰ δ' ἀναλώματα οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ἐκλογιζόμενοι: καὶ οὐτ' ἴδια ἡδέως ἢ καὶ ἐκόντες ἐπιδιδόασιν τι, οὔτε τὰς [p. 90] [4] κοινὰς συντελείας αὐθαίρετους ποιοῦνται. ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ οὐτ' ἂν ἐθέλησεί τις ὅτι οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ὁμολογήσειεν ἂν ῥαδίως πλουτεῖν οὔτε συμφέρει τῷ κρατοῦντι γίνεσθαι: αὐτίκα γὰρ ἂν δόξαν παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὡς καὶ φιλόπολις ἔχων ὀγκωθεῖ καὶ νεωτερίσειε. τὸ δ' ἕτερον πάνυ τοὺς πολλοὺς βαρύνει, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι τὴν μὲν ζημίαν αὐτοὶ ὑπομένουσι, τὸ δὲ δὴ κέρδος ἕτεροι [5] λαμβάνουσιν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις καὶ στρατεῦνται ὡς πλήθει οἱ τὰ χρήματα συνεσφέροντες, ὥστε τρόπον τινὰ αὐθις αὐτὰ ἀπολαμβάνουσιν: ἐν δὲ ταῖς μοναρχίαις ἄλλοι μὲν ὡς τὸ πολὺ καὶ γεωργοῦσι καὶ δημιουργοῦσι καὶ ναυτίλλονται καὶ πολιτεύονται, παρ' ὧν περ καὶ αἱ λήψεις μάλιστα γίνονται, ἄλλοι δὲ τὰ ὅπλα ἔχουσι καὶ τὸν μισθὸν φέρουσιν. 7.

ἔν μὲν δὴ τοῦτο τοιοῦτον ὃν πράγματα σοι παρέξει, ἕτερον δὲ ἐκείνο. πάντως μὲν τινα δεῖ δίκην τὸν αἰεὶ κακουργοῦντα διδόναι: οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ νοθεσίας οὔτε ἐκ παραδειγμάτων οἱ πολλοὶ σωφρονίζονται, ἀλλὰ ἀνάγκη πᾶσα αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀτιμία καὶ φυγῇ καὶ θανάτῳ ζημιοῦσθαι, οἷα ἔν τε ἀρχῇ τηλικαύτῃ καὶ ἐν πλῆθει ἀνθρώπων τοσοῦτῳ, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν μεταβολῇ πολιτείας, [2] φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν. τοῦτοις δ' ἂν μὲν ἑτέρους δικαστὰς καθίζησ, ἀπολύοντό τε ἂν διασπευδόμενοι, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσους ἂν ἐχθραίνειν νομισθῇς: καὶ γὰρ προσποιήσιν τινα ἐξουσίας οἱ δικάζοντες λαμβάνουσιν, ὅταν τι παρὰ τὸ δοκοῦν τῷ [3] κρατοῦντι ποιήσωσι: κἄν ἄρα τινὲς ἀλίσκωνται, [p. 92] διὰ σὲ δόξουσιν ἐκ κατασκευάσματος κατεψηφίσθαι. ἂν δ' αὐτὸς δικάζησ, πολλοὺς ἀναγκασθήσῃ καὶ τῶν ὁμοτίμων κολάζειν 'τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ εὐτυχές', καὶ πάντως τινὰς αὐτῶν ὀργῇ [4] μᾶλλον ἢ δικαίῳσει δόξεις εὐθύνειν: τοὺς γὰρ βιάζεσθαι δυναμένους οὐδεὶς δικάζοντας δικαιοπραγεῖν πιστεύει, ἀλλ' οἷονται πάντες αὐτοὺς σχῆμα καὶ σκιαγραφίαν πολιτείας αἰσχύνῃ πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας προπεταννύντας, ὀνόματι ἐννόμῳ δικαστηρίου τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐπιθυμίαν ἀποπιπλάναι. ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς μοναρχίαις ταῦθ' οὕτω [5] γίγνεται: ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις, ἂν τ' ἴδια τις ἀδικεῖν αἰτίαν λάβῃ, ἴδιαν δίκην παρὰ δικασταῖς ἴσοις φεύγει, ἂν τε δημοσίᾳ, καὶ ἐκείνῳ δικασταὶ καθίζουσιν ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων οὐς ἂν ὁ κλῆρος ἀποδείξῃ, ὥστε ῥᾶον τὰ ἀποβαίνοντα ἀπ' αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φέρειν, μῆτ' ἰσχυρὶ δικαστοῦ μῆτε χάριτι ἀναγκαστῇ νομίζοντάς τι πεπονθέναι. 8.

ἔτι τοίνυν πολλοὶ χωρὶς τῶν τι ἀδικούντων, οἱ μὲν γένει, οἱ δὲ πλούτῳ, οἱ δὲ ἑτέρῳ τινὶ ἐπαιρόμενοι, ἄλλως μὲν οὐ κακοὶ ἄνδρες, τῇ δὲ δὴ προαιρέσει τῇ τῆς μοναρχίας ἐναντίοι φύονται: καὶ αὐτοὺς οὗτ' αὖξεσθαι τις ἔων ἀσφαλῶς δύναται ζῆν, οὗτ' αὖ κολοῦειν ἐπιχειρῶν δικαίως [p. 94] [2] τοῦτο ποιεῖν. τί ποτ' οὖν τοῦτοις χρήσῃ; πῶς αὐτοὺς μεταχειρίσῃ; ἂν μὲν γὰρ τὰ τε γένη σφῶν καθέλης καὶ τοὺς πλούτους ἐλαττώσῃς τὰ τε φρονήματα ταπεινώσῃς, οὐδεμίαν ἂν εὐνοίαν παρὰ τῶν ἀρχομένων λάβοις: πῶς γὰρ, εἰ μῆτε γεννηθῆναι τῷ καλῶς μῆτε πλουτῆσαι δικαίως, μῆτ' ἰσχυρῶ μῆτ' ἀνδρεῖω μῆτε συνετῶ γενέσθαι ἐξεῖς; [3] ἂν δὲ ἐάσῃς ταῦθ' ὥς ἕκαστα αὖξειν, οὐκ ἂν ῥαδίως αὐτὰ διάθοιο. καὶ γὰρ εἰ αὐτὸς μόνος πρὸς τε τὸ τὰ πολιτικὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ τὰ πολεμικὰ καλῶς καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν πράττειν ἐξήρκεις, καὶ μηδενὸς συνεργοῦ πρὸς μηδὲν αὐτῶν ἐχρηζες, [4] ἕτερος ἂν ἦν λόγος: νῦν δὲ πᾶσά σε ἀνάγκη συναγωνιστὰς πολλοὺς, ἅτε τοσαύτης οἰκουμένης ἄρχοντα, ἔχειν, καὶ προσήκει που πάντας αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνδρείους καὶ φρονίμους εἶναι. οὐκοῦν ἂν μὲν τοιοῦτοις τισὶ τὰ τε στρατεύματα καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐγχειρίζησ, κίνδυνος ἔσται καὶ σοὶ καὶ τῇ [5] πολιτεία καταλυθῆναι: οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν οὗτ' ἄνευ φρονήματος ἀξιόλογον ἄνδρα φῦναι, οὗτ' αὖ φρόνημα μέγα λαβεῖν ἐκ δουλοπρεποῦς ἐπιτηδεύσεως, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ φρονηματίαν γενόμενον μὴ οὐκ ἐλευθερίας ἐπιθυμῆσαι καὶ πᾶν τὸ δεσπότην [6] μισῆσαι. ἂν δὲ δὴ τοῦτοις μὲν μηδὲν ἐπιτρέπῃς, τοῖς δὲ δὴ φαύλοις καὶ τοῖς τυχοῦσι τὰ πράγματα προστάσῃς, τάχιστα μὲν ἂν ὀργὴν παρ' ἐκείνων ὥς ἀπιστομένων λάβοις, τάχιστα [7] δ' ἂν ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις πταισείας. τί μὲν

γὰρ ἂν ἀγαθὸν ἀμαθὴς ἢ ἀγεννὴς ἄνθρωπος ἐργάσαιτο; τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν καταφρονήσειεν αὐτοῦ τῶν πολεμίω; [p. 96] τίς δ' ἂν πειθαρχήσειεν οἱ τῶν συμμάχων; τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπαξιώσειεν ὑπὸ τοιοῦτου τινὸς ἄρχεσθαι; καὶ μὴν ὅσα ἐκ τοῦτου κακὰ γίνεσθαι πέφυκε, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα [8] οὐδὲν δέομαι σοι σαφῶς εἶδοτι διηγείσθαι, ἐκεῖνο δὲ δὴ μόνον ἀναγκαιῶς ἐρῶ, ὅτι ἂν μὲν μηδὲν δέον ὁ τοιοῦτος πράττη, πολὺ πλείω ἂν σε τῶν πολεμίω βλάψειεν, ἂν δέ τι τῶν προσηκόντων ποιῇ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν σοι φοβερὸς ἐκφρονήσας ὑπ' ἀπαιδευσίας γένοιτο. 9.

οὐ μέντοι καὶ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις τοιοῦτό τι πρόσεστιν, ἀλλ' ὅσω ἂν πλείους καὶ πλουτῶσι καὶ ἀνδρίζωνται, τόσω μᾶλλον αὐτοὶ τε φιλοτιμοῦνται καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὔξουσιν, καὶ σφισι καὶ ἐκείνη κέχρηται καὶ χαίρει, πλὴν ἂν τις τυραννίδος ἐπιθυμήσῃ: τοῦτον γὰρ ἰσχυρῶς κολάζουσι. [2] καὶ ὅτι ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει καὶ πολλῶ κρείττους αἱ δημοκρατίαι τῶν μοναρχιῶν εἰσι, δηλοῖ μὲν καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν: τέως μὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἐπολιτεύοντο, οὐδὲν μέγα κατέπραξαν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκείνως ζῆν [3] ἤρξαντο, ὀνομαστότατοι ἐγένοντο: δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἐν τυραννίδι καὶ νῦν ἔτι διαγόμενοι αἰεὶ τε δουλεύουσι καὶ αἰεὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐπιβουλεύουσιν, οἱ δὲ δὴ προστατείας ἐπετησίους ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω τινὰ χρόνον χρώμενοι καὶ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ αὐτόνομοι διατελοῦσιν [4] ὄντες. ἀλλὰ τί δεῖ ἡμᾶς ἄλλοτρίοις παραδείγμασιν οἰκεῖα ἔχοντας χρῆσθαι; ἡμεῖς γὰρ αὐτοὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἄλλως τὸ πρῶτον πολιτευόμενοι, [p. 98] ἔπειτα ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἐπάσχομεν, τῆς τε ἐλευθερίας ἐπεθυμήσαμεν καὶ λαβόντες αὐτὴν [5] πρὸς τοσοῦτον ὄγκον προήλθομεν, οὐκ ἄλλοις τισὶν ἢ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἀγαθοῖς ἰσχύσαντες, ἐξ ὧν ἢ τε γερουσία προεβούλευε καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπεκύρου τὸ τε στρατευόμενον προεθυμεῖτο καὶ τὸ στρατηγοῦν ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο. ὧν οὐδὲν ἂν ἐν τυραννίδι πραχθεῖν. ἀμέλει τοσοῦτον αὐτῆς διὰ ταῦτα μῖσος οἱ πάλαι Ῥωμαῖοι ἔσχον ὥστε καὶ ἐπάρατον τὸ πολίτευμα ποιήσασθαι. 10.

χωρὶς δὲ τούτων, εἰ δεῖ τι καὶ περὶ τῶν ἰδία σοὶ αὐτῷ συμφερόντων εἰπεῖν, πῶς μὲν ἂν ὑπομεινείας τοσαῦτα καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ διοικῶν, πῶς δ' ἂν μὴ ὑγιαίνων ἐξαρκέσειας; τίνος δ' ἂν τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀπολαύσειας, πῶς δ' ἂν στερόμενος αὐτῶν εὐδαιμονήσειας; τίνι δ' ἂν ἀκριβῶς ἡσθεῖης, πότε δ' οὐκ [2] ἂν ἰσχυρῶς λυπηθεῖης; πᾶσα γὰρ ἀνάγκη τὸν τηλικαύτην ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα καὶ φροντίζειν πολλὰ καὶ δεδιέναι πολλὰ, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἡδίστων ἐλάχιστα ἀπολαύειν, τὰ δὲ δυσχερέστατα αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ καὶ ἀκούειν καὶ ὁρᾶν καὶ ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν. ὅθεν, οἴμαι, καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ βάρβαροι τινες οὐδὲ διδομένας σφίσι βασιλείας ἐδέξαντο. [3]

Ταῦτ' οὖν προϊδόμενος προβούλευσαι πρὶν ἐν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι: αἰσχροὺς γὰρ, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἀδύνατον ἔστι παρακύψαντά τινα ἅπαξ ἐς αὐτὰ [p. 100] ἀναδύναναι. μηδὲ σε ἐξαπατήσῃ μήτε τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἐξουσίας μήθ' ἢ περιουσία τῶν κτημάτων, μὴ τὸ στίφος τῶν σωματοφυλάκων, μὴ ὁ ὄχλος [4] τῶν θεραπευόντων. οἳ τε γὰρ πολὺ δυνάμενοι πολλὰ πράγματα ἔχουσι, καὶ

οἱ συχνὰ κεκτημένοι συχνὰ ἀναλίσκουν ἀναγκάζονται, τὰ τε πλήθη τῶν δορυφόρων διὰ τὰ πλήθη τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων ἀθροίζεται, καὶ οἱ κολακεύοντες ἐπιτρίψειαν ἂν τινα μᾶλλον ἢ σώσειαν. ὥσθ' ἔνεκα μὲν τούτων οὐδ' ἂν εἷς εὖ φρονῶν αὐταρχῆσαι 11. ἐπιθυμήσειεν: εἰ δ' ὅτι καὶ πλουτίζειν καὶ σώζειν τινὰς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ δρᾶν οἱ τοιοῦτοι δύνανται, καὶ νῆ Δία καὶ ὑβρίζειν σφίσι καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν ὃν ἂν ἐθέλῃσωσιν ἔξεστιν, ἀξίαν τις διὰ ταῦτα σπουδῆς τὴν τυραννίδα εἶναι νομίζει, [2] τοῦ παντὸς ἀμαρτάνει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀσελγαίνειν καὶ κακὸν τι ποιεῖν οὐθ' ὡς αἰσχροῖ οὐθ' ὡς σφαλερὰ καὶ μεμισημένα καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ, δέομαί σοι λέγειν: οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως τοιοῦτος εἶ, οὐτ' ἂν διὰ ταῦτα μοναρχῆσαι ἔλοιο. προῆρημαί τε ἐγὼ νῦν οὐ πάνθ' ὅσα ἂν τις κακῶς τὸ πρᾶγμα μεταχειριζόμενος ἐξεργάσαιτο εἴπειν, ἀλλ' ὅσα καὶ οἱ πάνυ ἄριστα αὐτῷ χρώμενοι καὶ [3] ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν ἀναγκάζονται. τὸ δ' ἕτερον, τὸ τινα ἀφθόνως εὐεργετεῖν ἔχειν, ἀξιοσπούδαστον μὲν, ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν ἰδιώτῃ γιγνόμενον καὶ καλὸν καὶ σεμνὸν καὶ εὐκλεές καὶ ἀσφαλές ἐστίν, ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς μοναρχίαις πρῶτον μὲν οὐκ ἀνταξίον [p. 102] τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀτοπωτέρων, ὥστε τινὰ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐλέσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ μέλλοντα τὴν μὲν ἐκ τούτου ἀπόλαυσιν ἑτέροις 12. δώσειν τὴν δὲ ἐξ ἐκείνων ἀηδῖαν αὐτὸν ἔχειν, ἔπειτα δ' οὐδ' ἀπλοῦν, ὡς τις οἶεται. οὔτε γὰρ ἂν πᾶσι τοῖς δεομένοις τινὸς ἐπαρκέσειέ τις. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀξιοῦντές τι παρ' αὐτοῦ λαμβάνειν πάντες ὡς εἴπειν εἰσιν ἀνθρωποὶ, κἂν μηδεμία [2] εὐθύς εὐεργεσία αὐτοῖς ὀφείληται: πᾶς γὰρ τις φύσει καὶ αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ ἀρέσκει, κάγαθόν τι ἐπαυρέσθαι παρὰ τοῦ δοῦναι δυναμένου βούλεται: ἃ δὲ ἐνδέχεται αὐτοῖς δίδοσθαι 'τιμὰς τε καὶ ἀρχὰς λέγω, καὶ ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ χρήματ' ἀπάνυ ἂν εὐαρίθμητα ὡς πρὸς τοσοῦτο πλῆθος εὐρεθῇ. τούτου τε οὕτως ἔχοντος ἔχθος ἂν αὐτῷ παρὰ τῶν διαμαρτανόντων ὧν χρήζουσι μᾶλλον ἢ φιλία παρὰ τῶν τυγχανόντων ὑπάρξειεν. [3] οἱ μὲν γάρ, ὡς καὶ ὀφειλόμενον τι λαμβάνοντες, οὐτ' ἄλλως μεγάλην οἶονται δεῖν τῷ διδόντι αὐτὸ χάριν ἔχειν ἅτε μηδὲν παρὰ δόξαν εὐρισκόμενοι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὀκνοῦσι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἀναξίους ἐν τούτῳ σφᾶς τοῦ [4] καλῶς πάσχειν ἀποφῇνωσιν: οἱ δὲ ὧν ἐλπίζουσιν ἀτυχοῦντες λυποῦνται κατ' ἀμφοτέρα, τοῦτο μὲν ὡς οἰκείου τινὸς στερισκόμενοι 'πάντες γὰρ ἔχειν ἤδη νομίζουσιν ὧν ἂν ἐπιθυμήσωσί, τοῦτο δὲ ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐαυτῶν ἀδικίαν τινὰ [p. 104] καταγινώσκοντες, ἂν ῥαδίως ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ τυχεῖν [5] ὧν ἂν προσδοκῇσωσι φέρωσι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ ὀρθῶς διδοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα τὸ τε κατ' ἀξίαν ἐκάστου δῆλον ὅτι πρὸ πάντων προσκοπεῖ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τιμᾷ τοὺς δὲ παρορᾷ, ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης τοῖς μὲν φρόνημα τοῖς δ' ἀγανάκτησιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ συνειδότης σφῶν προσγίγνεσθαι. ὡς ἂν γέ τις τοῦτ' εὐλαβοῦμενος ἀνωμάλως αὐτὰ διανέμειν ἐθέλῃσῃ, [6] τὸ σύμπαν ἀμαρτήσεται: οἱ τε γὰρ πονηροὶ παρὰ τὸ προσῆκον τιμώμενοι χεῖρους ἂν, ἦτοι καὶ ἐπαινέσθαι ὡς ἀγαθοὶ ἢ πάντως γε θεραπεύεσθαι ὡς φοβεροὶ δοκοῦντες, γίγνοιτο, καὶ οἱ χρηστοὶ μηδὲν πλεῖον αὐτῶν εὐρισκόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἴσου σφίσις ἀγόμενοι, μᾶλλον ἂν ἐκ τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνους ἰσομοιρίας λυποῖντο ἢ τῷ καὶ αὐτοὶ τινος ἀξιοῦσθαι [7] χαίροιεν, καὶ τούτου τὴν τε

ἐπιτήδευσιν τῶν κρειπτόνων ἔῳεν ἂν καὶ τὴν ζήλωσιν τῶν χειρόνων μετέρχοντο, καὶ οὕτω κἂν ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν τιμῶν οὐθ' οἱ διδόντες αὐτὰς ἀγαθὸν τι καρποῖντο καὶ οἱ λαμβάνοντες κακίους γίγνοιτο. ὥστε σοι τοῦτο, ὃ μάλιστα ἂν τισιν ἐν ταῖς μοναρχίαις ἀρέσειε, δυσμεταχειριστότατον συμβῆναι. 13.

ταῦτά τε οὖν καὶ τᾶλλα ἃ μικρῷ πρόσθεν [p. 106] εἶπον ἐνθυμηθεῖς φρόνησον ἕως ἔξεστι σοι, καὶ ἀπόδος τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰ χρήματα. ἂν μὲν γὰρ ἤδη τε καὶ ἐκὼν αὐτὸ ποιήσης, ἐνδοξότατός τε ἅμα ἀνθρώπων ἔσῃ καὶ ἀσφαλέστατος: ἂν δ' ἀναμεινῆς βίαν τινὰ σοι προσαχθῆναι, τάχ' ἂν τι [2] δεινὸν μετὰ κακοδοξίας πάθοις. τεκμήριον δέ, Μάριος μὲν καὶ Σύλλας καὶ Μέτελλος, καὶ Πομπήιος τὸ πρῶτον, ἐν κράτει τῶν πραγμάτων γενόμενοι οὕτ' ἠθέλησαν δυναστεῦσαι οὕτ' ἔπαθον παρὰ τοῦτο δεινὸν οὐδέν: Κιννας δὲ δὴ καὶ Στράβων, ὃ τε Μάριος ὁ ἕτερος καὶ ὁ Σερτώριος, ὃ τε Πομπήιος αὐτὸς μετὰ ταῦτα, τῆς δυναστείας ἐπιθυμήσαντες [3] κακῶς ἀπώλοντο. δυσχερὲς γὰρ ἐστὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην, τοσοῦτοις τε ἔτεσι δεδημοκρατημένην καὶ τοσοῦτων ἀνθρώπων ἄρχουσαν, δουλεῦσαι τινὶ ἐθελῆσαι. καὶ ἀκούεις μὲν ὅτι τὸν Κάμιλλον ὑπερώρισαν, ἐπειδὴ λευκοῖς ἵπποις [4] ἐς τὰ ἐπινίκια ἐχρήσατο, ἀκούεις δὲ ὅτι τὸν Σκιπίωνα κατέλυσαν, ἐπειδὴ τινὰ πλεονεξίαν αὐτοῦ κατέγνωσαν, μέμνησαι δὲ ὅπως τῷ πατρὶ σου προσηνέχθησαν, ὅτι τινὰ ὑποψίαν ἐς αὐτὸν μοναρχίας ἔσχον. καίτοι τούτων μὲν ἀμείνους ἄνδρες οὐδένες ἄλλοι γεγόνασιν. [5]

οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀπλῶς οὕτω συμβουλευῶ σοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφεῖναι, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ συμφέροντα τῷ δημοσίῳ προπρᾶξαι καὶ δόγμασι καὶ νόμοις ἃ προσήκει κατακλεῖσαι, καθάπερ πού καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ἐποίησε: καὶ γὰρ εἴ τινα αὐτῶν μετὰ ταῦτα [p. 108] ἀντετράπη, ἀλλὰ τὰ γε πλείω καὶ μείζω διαμένει. [6] καὶ μὴ εἴπῃς ὅτι καὶ ὥς στασιάζουσιν τινες, ἴνα μὴ καὶ ἐγὼ αὐθις εἴπω ὅτι πολλῷ μᾶλλον οὐκ ἂν ἀνάσχοιντο μοναρχούμενοι. ὥς εἶγε πάνθ' ὅσα ἐνδέχεται πῶς συνενεχθῆναι προσκοποιμέθα, ἀλογώτατα ἂν τὰς διχοστασίας τὰς ἐκ τῆς δημοκρατίας συμβαινούσας φοβηθῆμεν ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς τυραννίδας τὰς ἐκ τῆς μοναρχίας [7] ἐκφυομένας. περὶ ὧν τῆς δεινότητος οὐδὲ ἐπεχείρησά τι εἶπεῖν: οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ καταδραμεῖν ἄλλως εὐκατηγόρητον οὕτω πρᾶγμα ἠθέλησα, ἀλλὰ δεῖξαι σοι τοῦθ' ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἐστὶ τῇ φύσει ὥστε μηδὲ τοὺς χρηστοὺς ἄνδρας ...

14. (οὕτε πεῖσαι τι ῥαδίως ὑπὸ παρρησίας τοὺς οὐχ ὁμοίους δύνανται κἂν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἅτε μὴ ὁμογνωμονούντων σφῶν κατορθοῦσιν. ὥστε εἴ τι κήδη τῆς πατρίδος, ὑπὲρ ἧς τοσοῦτους πολέμους πεπολέμηκας, ὑπὲρ ἧς καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἠδέως ἂν ἐπιδόῃς, μεταρρῦθμισον αὐτὴν καὶ κατακόσμησον [2] πρὸς τὸ σωφρονέστερον. τὸ γὰρ ἐξεῖναι πῶς [p. 110] πάνθ' ἀπλῶς ὅσα βούλονται καὶ ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν, ἂν μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν εὖ φρονούντων ἐξετάζης, εὐδαιμονίας ἅπασιν αἶτιον γίγνεται, ἂν δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνοήτων, συμφορᾶς: καὶ

διὰ τοῦτο ὁ μὲν τοῖς τοιοῦτοῖς τὴν ἐξουσίαν διδοὺς παιδὶ δὴ τινι καὶ
μαινομένῳ ξίφος ὀρέγει, ὁ δ' ἐκείνοις τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ αὐτοὺς τούτους καὶ μὴ
βουλομένους σώζει. [3] διόπερ καὶ σὲ ἀξιῶ μὴ πρὸς τὰς εὐπρεπείας τῶν
ὀνομάτων ἀποβλέψαντα ἀπατηθῆναι, ἀλλὰ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἐξ αὐτῶν
προσκοπήσαντα τὴν τε θρασύτητα τοῦ ὁμίλου παῦσαι καὶ τὴν διοίκησιν
τῶν κοινῶν ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἀρίστοις προσθεῖναι, ἵνα
βουλεύωσι μὲν οἱ φρονιμώτατοι, ἄρχωσι δὲ οἱ στρατηγικώτατοι,
στρατεῦνται δὲ καὶ μισθοφορῶσιν οἳ τε ἰσχυρότατοι καὶ οἱ πενέστατοι. [4]
οὕτω γὰρ τὰ τε ἐπιβάλλοντά σφισιν ἕκαστοι προθύμως ποιοῦντες, καὶ τὰς
ὠφελίας ἀλλήλοις ἐτοιμῶς ἀντιδίδοντες, οὔτε τῶν ἐλαττωμάτων, ἐν οἷς
καταδέουσί τινων, ἐπαισθήσονται, καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν τὴν ἀληθῆ τὴν τε
ἐλευθερίαν [5] τὴν ἀσφαλῆ κτήσονται: ἐκείνη μὲν γὰρ ἡ τοῦ ὄχλου
ἐλευθερία τοῦ τε βελτίστου δουλεία πικροτάτη γίγνεται καὶ κοινὸν ἀμφοῖν
ὄλεθρον φέρει, αὕτη δὲ τὸ τε σῶφρον πανταχοῦ προτιμῶσα καὶ τὸ ἴσον
ἅπασι κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἀπονέμουσα πάντας ὁμοίως εὐδαίμονας τοὺς
χρωμένους αὐτῇ ποιεῖ. [p. 112] 15.

μὴ γάρ τοι οἰηθῆς ὅτι τυραννῆσαι σοι, τὸν τε δῆμον καὶ τὴν βουλὴν
δουλωσαμένῳ, παραινῶ. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ οὐτ' ἂν ἐγὼ ποτε εἴπεῖν οὐτ' ἂν σὺ
πρᾶξαι τολμήσεις: ἐκεῖνα δὲ δὴ καὶ καλὰ καὶ χρήσιμα καὶ σοὶ καὶ τῇ πόλει
γένοιτο ἂν, τὸ τε πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα αὐτόν σε μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν
νομοθετεῖν, μηδενὸς τῶν πολλῶν μὴτ' ἀντιλέγοντος αὐτοῖς μὴτ'
ἐναντιουμένου, [2] καὶ τὸ τοὺς πολέμους πρὸς τὰ ὑμέτερα βουλήματα
διοικεῖσθαι, πάντων αὐτίκα τῶν ἄλλων τὸ κελευόμενον ποιοῦντων, τὸ τε τὰς
τῶν ἀρχόντων αἰρέσεις ἐφ' ὑμῖν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ τὰς τιμὰς τὰς τε τιμωρίας
ὑμᾶς ὀρίζειν, ἵνα καὶ νόμος εὐθύς ἢ πᾶν ὅ τι ἂν βουλευσαμένῳ σοι μετὰ
τῶν ὁμοτίμων [3] ἀρέσῃ, καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι κρύφα καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν
πολεμῶνται, οἳ τε τι ἐγχειριζόμενοι ἀπ' ἀρετῆς ἀλλὰ μὴ κλήρῳ καὶ
σπουδαρχίᾳ ἀποδεικνύωνται, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀγαθοὶ ἄνευ φθόνου τιμῶνται, οἱ
δὲ [4] κακοὶ ἄνευ συστάσεως κολάζονται. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα τὰ τε
πραπτόμενα ὀρθῶς διοικηθῇ, μῆτε ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἀναφερόμενα μῆτε ἐν τῷ
φανερῷ βουλευόμενα μῆτε τοῖς παρακελευστοῖς ἐπιτρεπόμενα μῆτε ἐκ
φιλοτιμίας κινδυνεύόμενα, καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν ἡδέως
ἀπολαύσαιμεν, μῆτε πολέμους ἐπικινδύνους μῆτε [p. 114] [5] στάσεις ἀνοσίους:
ποιοῦμενοι. ταῦτα γὰρ πᾶσα μὲν δημοκρατία ἔχει: οἱ γὰρ δυνατώτεροι, τῶν
τε πρωτείων ὀρεγόμενοι καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους μισθοῦμενοι, πάντα ἄνω
καὶ κάτω φύρουσι: πλεῖστα δὲ δὴ παρ' ἡμῖν γέγονε, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν [6] ὅπως
ἄλλως παύσεται. τεκμήριον δέ, πάμπολυς ἐξ οὗ χρόνος καὶ πολεμοῦμεν καὶ
στασιάζομεν. αἷτιον δὲ τὸ τε πλῆθος τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν
πραγμάτων: ἐκεῖνοί τε γὰρ παντοδαποὶ καὶ τὰ γένη καὶ τὰς φύσεις ὄντες καὶ
ποικίλας καὶ τὰς ὀργὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἔχουσι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τοσοῦτον
προῆκται ὥστε καὶ πάνυ δυσχερῶς ἂν διοικηθῆναι. 16.

καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα ἀληθῆ λέγω, μαρτυρεῖ τὰ γεγονότα. τέως μὲν γὰρ οὔτε

πολλοὶ ἤμεν οὔτε μεγάλῳ τινὶ τῶν πλησιοχώρων διεφέρομεν, καλῶς τε ἐπολιτευόμεθα καὶ πᾶσαν ὀλίγου τὴν Ἰταλίαν ^[2] κατεστρεφάμεθα: ἀφ' οὗ δὲ ἔξω αὐτῆς ἐξήχθημεν, καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ καὶ τῶν ἡπείρων καὶ τῶν νήσων ἐπεραιώθημεν, καὶ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν θάλασσαν πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν γῆν καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἡμῶν ἐνεπλήσαμεν, οὐδενὸς χρηστοῦ μετεσχίκαμεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἴκοι καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους κατὰ συστάσεις ἐστασιάσαμεν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα τὸ νόσημα τοῦτο ^[3] προηγάγομεν. καὶ διὰ ταῦθ' ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν, ὥσπερ ὀλκὰς μεγάλη καὶ πλήρης ὄχλου παντοδαποῦ χωρὶς κυβερνήτου, πολλὰς ἤδη γενεὰς ἐν κλύδωνι πολλῷ φερομένη σαλεύει τε καὶ ἄττει δεῦρο ἀκείσει, καθάπερ ἀνερμάτιστος οὔσα. μήτ' οὖν ^[4] χειμαζομένην ἔτ' αὐτὴν περιιδῆς, ὀρᾷς γὰρ ὡς ^[p. 116] ὑπέραντλός ἐστι, μήτε περὶ ἔρμα περιρραγῆναι ἐάσης, σαθρὰ γὰρ ἐστι καὶ οὐδένᾳ ἔτι χρόνον ἀντισχεῖν δυνήσεται: ἀλλ' ἐπειδήπερ οἱ θεοὶ ἐλεήσαντες αὐτὴν καὶ ἐπιγνώμονά σε καὶ ἐπιστάτην αὐτῆς ἐπέστησαν, μὴ προδῶς τὴν πατρίδα, ἴν' ὥσπερ νῦν διὰ σὲ μικρὸν ἀναπέπνευκεν, οὕτω καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν αἰῶνα μετ' ἀσφαλείας διαγάγῃ. 17.

ὅτι μὲν οὖν ὀρθῶς σοι παραινῶ, μοναρχεῖσθαι τὸν δῆμον ἀξιῶν, πάλαι σε ἠγοῦμαι πεπεῖσθαι: τούτου δὲ δὴ οὕτως ἔχοντος καὶ ἐτοιμῶς καὶ προθύμως τὴν προστασίαν αὐτοῦ ἀνάδεξαι, μᾶλλον δὲ μὴ προῆ. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαβεῖν τι βουλευόμεθα, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἀπολέσαι καὶ ^[2] προσέτι καὶ κινδυνεῦσαι. τίς γὰρ σου φείσεται, ἂν τε ἐς τὸν δῆμον τὰ πράγματ' ἀνώσης, ἂν τε καὶ ἑτέρῳ τινὶ ἐπιτρέψῃς, παμπόλλων μὲν ὄντων τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ λελυπημένων, πάντων δ' ὡς εἴτελιν τῆς μοναρχίας ἀντιποιοισμένων, ὧν οὐδεὶς οὔτε μὴ ἀμύνασθαί σε ἐφ' οἷς πεποίηκας οὔτ' ἀντίπαλον ^[3] ὑπολιπέσθαι ἐθελήσει. τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐκστὰς τῆς δυναστείας καὶ κατεφρονήθη καὶ ἐπεβουλεύθη, κάκ τούτου μηκέτ' αὐτὴν ἀναλαβεῖν δυνηθεὶς ἐφθάρη, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὁ πατήρ ὁ σὸς τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιήσας προσαπώλετο. πάντως δ' ἂν καὶ ὁ Μάριος καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ὅμοια αὐτοῖς ἐπεπόνθεσαν, εἰ μὴ προετηνέκεσαν. ^[p. 118] ^[4] καίτοι τὸν Σύλλαν φασὶ τινες αὐτὸ τοῦτο φοβηθέντα φθῆναι καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀναχρήσασθαι: συχνὰ γοῦν τῶν νομοθετηθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ζῶντος ἔτ' αὐτοῦ λυεσθαι ἤρξατο. ὥστε καὶ σὺ πολλοὺς μὲν Λεπιδούς πολλοὺς δὲ Σερτωρίους Βρούτους Κασσίους γενήσεσθαι σοι προσδόκα. 18.

ταῦτά τε οὖν ἰδὼν καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα λογισάμενος, μὴ προῆ καὶ σεαυτὸν καὶ τὴν πατρίδα, ἵνα μὴ δόξης πσιὴν ἐθελούσιος τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐφεῖσθαι. πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, ἂν καὶ τοῦτο τις ὑποπτεύσῃ, οὔτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τρόπου τὸ ἐπιθύμημά ἐστι, καὶ καλὸς ὁ κίνδυνος αὐτοῦ: ἔπειτα δὲ τίς οὐκ οἶδε τὴν ἀνάγκην ὑφ' ἧς ἐς τὰ ^[2] πράγματα ταῦτα προήχθης; ὥστε εἴπερ τι αἰτίαμα αὐτῆς ἐστι, τοῖς τοῦ πατρός σου σφαγεῦσι δικαιότατα ἂν τις αὐτὸ ἐγκαλέσειεν: εἰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι μήτ' ἀδίκως μήτ' οἰκτρῶς οὕτως αὐτὸν ἀπεκτόνεσαν, οὔτ' ἂν τὰ ὅπλα ἀντήρῳ, οὔτ' ἂν τὰ στρατεύματα συνελέξω, οὔτ' ἂν Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ Λεπιδῷ συνέθου, οὔτ' ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ἡμύνω. ^[3]

καὶ ὅτι μὲν ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως πάντα ταῦτ' ἐποίησας, οὐδεὶς ἄγνοεῖ· εἰ δ' οὖν τι καὶ πεπλημμέληται, ἀλλ' οὐτι καὶ μεταθέσθαι ἔτ' ἀσφαλῶς δυνάμεθα. ὥστε καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς πόλεως πεισθῶμεν τῇ τύχῃ τῇ τὴν μοναρχίαν σοι ^[4] διδοῦσῃ. καὶ χάριν γε μεγάλην αὐτῇ ἔχωμεν, ὅτι μὴ μόνον τῶν κακῶν τῶν ἐμφυλίων ἀπέλυσεν ^[p. 120] ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κατάστασιν τῆς πολιτείας ἐπὶ σοὶ πεποιήται, ἵν' ἐπιμεληθεὶς αὐτῆς ὥσπερ προσήκει, δεῖξις ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ὅτι ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἄλλοι καὶ ἐτάραξαν καὶ ἐκακούργησαν, σὺ δὲ δὴ χρηστὸς εἶ. ^[5]

καὶ μὴ μοι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς φοβηθῆς. ὅσω τε γὰρ πλείων ὑπάρχει, τόσω πλείω καὶ τὰ σῶζοντα ἔχει, καὶ μακρῷ τὸ φυλάξαι τι τοῦ κτήσασθαι ῥᾶον ἐστὶ· πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ τάλλότηρια προσποιήσασθαι καὶ πόνων καὶ κινδύνων δεῖ, πρὸς δὲ τὸ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα σῶσαι βραχεῖα φροντίς ^[6] ἄρκεῖ. μὴ μέντοι μηδὲ δεῖσις ὅτι οὐχὶ καὶ ἀσφαλέστατα ἐν αὐτῇ βίωσῃ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύσεις, ἂν γε ἐθελήσῃς αὐτὴν ὡς παραινέσω σοι διοικῆσαι. καὶ με μὴ νομίσης ἀπαρτᾶν ἀπὸ τῆς παρούσης ὑποθέσεως τὸν λόγον, ἂν ἐπὶ πλεῖόν σοι περὶ αὐτῆς διαλεχθῶ· ^[7] οὐ γὰρ που καὶ ὑπ' ἀδολεσχίας τινὸς ἄλλως τοῦτο ποιήσω, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἀκριβῶς καταμάθῃς ὅτι καὶ δυνατόν καὶ ῥάδιον τῷ γε ἔμφορον τὸ καὶ καλῶς καὶ ἀκινδύνως ἄρξαι ἐστὶ. 19.

φημὶ τοίνυν χρῆναί σε κατὰ πρῶτας εὐθύς τὸ βουλευτικὸν πᾶν καὶ φυλοκρινῆσαι καὶ διαλέξαι, ἐπειδὴ τινες οὐκ ἐπιτήδειοι διὰ τὰς στάσεις βεβουλεύκασι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀρετὴν τινα αὐτῶν ἔχοντας κατασχεῖν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀπαλεῖψαι. ^[2] μὴ μέντοι καὶ διὰ πενίαν τινὰ ἀγαθὸν γε ἄνδρα ὄντα ἀπαλλάξῃς, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήματα αὐτῷ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δός. ἀντὶ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς τε γενναιοτάτους καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους τοὺς τε πλουσιωτάτους ^[p. 122] ἀντεσάγαγε, μὴ μόνον ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων τῶν τε ὑπηκόων ^[3] ἐπιλεξάμενος· οὕτω γὰρ σὺ τε πολλοῖς συνεργοῖς χρήσῃ, καὶ τοὺς κορυφαίους ἐξ ἁπάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ ποιήσῃ, καὶ οὕτε ἐκεῖνα νεοχμῶσει τι μηδὲνα ἐλλόγιμον προστάτην ἔχοντα, καὶ οἱ πρωτεύοντες παρ' αὐτοῖς φιλήσουσι σε ἅτε καὶ κοινωνοὶ σοι τῆς ἀρχῆς γεγονότες. ^[4]

τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππέων ποιήσον. τοὺς γὰρ τὰ δευτερεῖα ἐκασταχόθι καὶ γένει καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ πλούτῳ φερομένους ἐς τὴν ἱππάδα κατάλεξον, τοσοῦτους ἐκατέρους ἀντεγγράφας ὅσοι ποτ' ἂν ἀρέσωσί σε, μηδὲν περὶ τοῦ πλήθους αὐτῶν ἀκριβολογούμενος· ὅσω γὰρ ἂν πλείους εὐδόκιμοι ἄνδρες συνῶσί σοι, τοσοῦτῳ ῥᾶον αὐτός ^[5] τε ἐν δέοντι πάντα διοικήσεις, καὶ τοὺς ἀρχομένους πείσεις ὅτι οὕτε ὡς δούλοις σφίσιν οὕθ' ὡς χειροσὶ πῃ ἡμῶν οὕσι χρῆ, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἡμῖν καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτοῖς κοινοῖ, ὅπως ὡς οἰκείαν αὐτὴν ^[6] σπουδάζωσι. καὶ τοσοῦτόν γε δέω τοῦθ' ὡς οὐκ ὀρθῶς εἰρημένον ἀναθέσθαι, ὥστε καὶ τῆς πολιτείας πᾶσί σφισι μεταδοθῆναι φημι δεῖν, ἵνα

καὶ ταύτης ἰσομοιροῦντες πιστοὶ σύμμαχοι ἡμῖν ὦσιν, ὥσπερ τινὰ μίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν οἰκοῦντες, καὶ ταύτην μὲν ὄντως πόλιν τὰ δὲ δὴ σφέτερα ἀγροὺς καὶ κώμας νομίζοντες εἶναι. [p. 124]

ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτου αὖθις ἀκριβέστερον σκεψόμεθα ἃ χρὴ πρᾶξαι, ἵνα μὴ καὶ πάντα 20. ἀθρόα αὐτοῖς χαρισώμεθα: καταλέγεσθαι δὲ χρὴ ἐς μὲν τὴν ἱππᾶδα ὀκτωκαιδεκέτους, ἐν γὰρ ταύτῃ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ μάλιστα ἢ τε τῶν σωμάτων αὐτῶν εὐεξία καὶ ἡ τῶν ψυχῶν ἐπιτηδειότης διαφαίνεται, ἐς δὲ τὸ συνέδριον πεντεκαιεκοσιέτεϊς: πῶς γὰρ οὐκ αἰσχρὸν καὶ σφαλερόν ἐστι τὰ μὲν οἰκεῖα μηδενὶ πρὸ ταύτης τῆς ἡλικίας ἐπιτρέπεσθαι, τὰ δὲ δημόσια καὶ νεωτέροις τισὶν ἐγχειρίζεσθαι; [2] ταμιεύσαντές τε καὶ ἀγορανομήσαντες ἢ δημαρχήσαντες στρατηγεῖτωσαν, τριακοντοῦται γενόμενοι. ταύτας τε γὰρ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς τῶν ὑπάτων μόνας οἴκοι, τῆς τε τῶν πατρίων μνήμης ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ μὴ παντελῶς τὴν πολιτείαν μεταλλάττειν δοκεῖν, ἀποδεικνύναι σέ φημι χρῆναι. [3] αὐτὸς μέντοι σὺ πάντας αὐτοὺς αἰροῦ, καὶ μῆτε ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει ἢ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἔτι τινὰ αὐτῶν ποιήσῃ, στασιάσουσι γάρ, μῆτε ἐπὶ τῷ συνεδρίῳ, διασπουδάσσονται γάρ. μὴ μέντοι καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις σφῶν τὰς ἀρχαίας τηρήσῃς, ἵνα μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ αὖθις γένηται, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν τιμὴν φύλαξον, τῆς δ' ἰσχύος παράλυσον τοσοῦτον ὅσον μῆτε τοῦ ἀξιώματός τι αὐτῶν ἀφαιρήσει καὶ τοῖς νεωτερίσιν [4] τι ἐθελήσουσι μὴ ἐπιτρέψει. ἔσται δὲ τοῦτο, ἂν [p. 126] τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ἐνδήμους αὐτοὺς ἀποφήνῃς, καὶ μῆτε ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς καιρῷ ὅπλα τινὲς αὐτῶν ἐγχειρίσῃς μῆτε εὐθύς, ἀλλὰ χρόνου διελθόντος, ὅσον ἂν αὐτάρκη ἐκάστω σφῶν νομίσῃς εἶναι. οὕτω γὰρ οὔτε τινὲς νεοχμώσουσι, στρατοπέδων κύριοι ἐν τῷ τῶν ὀνομάτων φρονήματι γενόμενοι, καὶ χρόνον τινὰ ἰδιωτεύσαντες πεπανθήσονται. [5] καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τὰς τε πανηγύρεις, οἳ γε καὶ προσήκοντές σφισιν, ἐπιτελείτωσαν, καὶ τὰς δίκας πάντες ὡς ἕκαστοι, πλὴν τῶν φονικῶν, ἐν τῷ τῆς ἐνδήμου ἀρχῆς χρόνῳ δικαζέτωσαν: συναγέσθω μὲν γὰρ δικαστήρια καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων βουλευτῶν τῶν τε ἱππέων, τὸ δ' ὅλον ἐς ἐκείνους ἀνακείσθω. 21.

Πολιάρχος δὲ δὴ τις ἕκ τε τῶν προηκόντων καὶ ἐκ τῶν πάντα τὰ καθήκοντα προπεπολιτευμένων ἀποδεικνύσθω, οὐχ ἵνα ἀποδημησάντων που [2] τῶν ὑπάτων ἄρχῃ, ἀλλ' ἵνα τὰ τε ἄλλα αἰὲ τῆς πόλεως προστατῇ, καὶ τὰς δίκας τὰς τε παρὰ πάντων ὧν εἶπον ἀρχόντων ἐφεσίμους τε καὶ ἀναπομπίμους καὶ τὰς τοῦ θανάτου τοῖς τε ἐν τῇ πόλει, πλὴν ὧν ἂν εἴπω, καὶ τοῖς ἔξω αὐτῆς μέχρι πενήκοντα καὶ ἑπτακοσίων σταδίων οἰκοῦσι κρίνῃ. [3]

ἕτερός τέ τις ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων καὶ αὐτὸς αἰρείσθω ὥστε τὰ τε γένη καὶ τὰς οὐσίας τοὺς τε [p. 128] τρόπους καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων, ἀνδρῶν τε ὁμοίως καὶ παίδων γυναικῶν τε τῶν προσηκουσῶν [4] αὐτοῖς, ἐξετάζειν τε καὶ ἐπισκοπεῖν, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτὸν ἐπανορθοῦν ὅσα μῆτε τινὸς τιμωρίας ἄξιά ἐστι καὶ παρορώμενα πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων κακῶν αἷτια γίγνεται, τὰ δὲ

δὴ μείζω σοὶ ἐπικοινοῦσθαι. βουλευτῇ γάρ τινι, καὶ τῷ γε ἀρίστῳ μετὰ τὸν πολίαρχον, μᾶλλον ἢ τινι τῶν ἱππέων [5] προστετάχθαι τοῦτο δεῖ. καὶ τὸ γε ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῆς οἷας τιμαρχίας πάντως γὰρ σε προσεστάναι τῶν τιμήσεων προσήκει εἰκότως ἂν λάβοι, ὥστε ὑποτιμητῆς καλεῖσθαι. ἀρχέτωσαν δὲ δὴ οἱ δύο οὗτοι διὰ βίου, ἂν γε μὴ κακυνθῇ τις αὐτῶν τρόπον τινὰ ἢ καὶ νοσῶδης ἢ καὶ ὑπεργήρως [6] γένηται. ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τῆς χρονίου ἀρχῆς οὐδὲν ἂν δεινόν, ἅτε ὁ μὲν παντελῶς ἄσπλος ὦν, ὁ δ' ὀλίγους τε στρατιώτας ἔχων καὶ ἐν τοῖς σοῖς [7] ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸ πλεῖστον ἄρχων, ἐργάσαιντο: ἐκ δὲ δὴ τοῦ ἐτείου καὶ ὀκνήσειαν ἂν προσκροῦσαί τινι καὶ φοβηθεῖεν ἐρρωμένως τι πρᾶξαι, τὴν τε ἑαυτῶν ἰδιωτείαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλων τινῶν δυναστείαν προορώμενοι. καὶ μισθὸν γέ τινα φερέτωσαν καὶ τῆς ἀσχολίας ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς ἀξιώσεως. [8]

περὶ μὲν δὴ τούτων ταύτην σοι τὴν γνώμην [p. 130] δίδωμι, οἱ δὲ δὴ στρατηγήσαντες ἀρχέτωσάν τινα ἀρχὴν ἐν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις πρὶν γὰρ στρατηγήσαι σφας οὐχ ἡγοῦμαι δεῖν τοῦτο γίνεσθαι: ἐκεῖνοι δ' ὑποστρατηγεῖτωσαν οἷς ἂν εἴπω, καὶ ἅπαξ καὶ δευτέρον, εἴθ' οὕτως ὑπατευέτωσαν, ἂν γε καὶ ὀρθῶς διάρξωσι, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰς μείζους 22. ἡγεμονίας λαμβανέτωσαν. ὧδε γὰρ συμβουλευῶ σοι διατάξαι. τὴν τε Ἰταλίαν πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑπτακοσίους ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως σταδίου οὖσαν, καὶ ἅλλα πάντα τὰ τε ἐν ταῖς νήσοις καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἡπείροις ὁμολογοῦντα ἡμῖν, κατάνειμον ἐκασταχόθι κατὰ τε γένη καὶ ἔθνη, τὰς τε πόλεις ἀπάσας, ὅσας γε καὶ αὐταρκέες ἐστὶν ὑφ' ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς αὐτοτελοῦς ἄρχεσθαι: [2] κἀνταῦθα στρατιώτας ἐγκατάστησον, καὶ ἄρχοντας καθ' ἐκάστους ἕνα μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκόντων ἐπὶ πᾶσι πέμπε, δύο δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκόντων, τὸν μὲν ἄρτι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξιόντα, καὶ αὐτῷ τὰ τε ἰδιωτικὰ πράγματα καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων παρασκευὴ προσκείσθω, τὸν δὲ ἐκ τῶν τοῦτο πεποικόντων, ὅς τὰ τε κοινὰ τῶν πόλεων διοικήσει καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἄρξει, [3] πλὴν ὅσα ἀτιμίας ἢ θανάτου ἔχεται. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐς μόνον τὸν ὑπατευκότα ἄρχοντα ἀνηκέτω, πλὴν περὶ τε τῶν ἐκατοντάρχων τῶν ἐν τοῖς καταλόγοις ὄντων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τῶν παρ' ἐκάστοις πρώτων: τούτους γὰρ δὴ ἐκατέρους μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ [p. 132] κολάζειν ἐπιτρέψης, ἵνα μὴ οὕτω τινὰ αὐτῶν [4] φοβῶνται ὥστε ποτὲ καὶ κατὰ σοῦ τι πρᾶξαι. ὁ δ' εἴπον, ὅτι τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ἐστρατηγηκόντων ἐπὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπιτετάχθαι δεῖ, τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν. ἂν μὲν ὀλίγοι τινὲς ἐν ξενικοῖς τείχεσιν ἢ καὶ ἐν ἐνὶ πολιτικῷ στρατεύωνται, καλῶς ἔχει τοῦτο γίνεσθαι: ἂν δὲ δύο πολιτικὰ στρατεύματα ἐν αὐτῷ ἔθνῳ χειμάζῃ πλείω γὰρ τούτων οὐκ ἂν συμβουλευσάμην σοι τῷ αὐτῷ ἄρχοντι ἐπιτρέψαι, [5] δεήσει που τοὺς δύο τοὺς ἐστρατηγηκότας καὶ ἐκείνων, ἰδίᾳ ἐκατέρου, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τε πολιτικῶν καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν ὁμοίως προΐστασθαι. ὁ δ' οὖν ὑπατευκῶς ταῦτά τε ... καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰς δίκας τὰς τε ἐκκλήτους καὶ τὰς ἀναπομπίμους τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν αὐτῷ φοιτώσας κρινέτω. [6] καὶ μὴ θαυμάσης εἰ καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν τοιαῦτα μέρη νεῖμαι σοι παραινῶ: πολλή τε γὰρ καὶ πολυάνθρωπος οὖσα ἀδύνατός ἐστιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ ἄστει

ἀρχόντων καλῶς διοικεῖσθαι. δεῖ γὰρ τοῖς τε δήμοις τὸν ἄρχοντα αἰεὶ παρεῖναι καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσι τὰ δυνατὰ προστάσσεσθαι. 23.

λαμβάνετωσαν δὲ μισθὸν πάντες οὗτοι οἱ τὰς ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἀρχὰς ἐπιτρέπόμενοι, πλείω μὲν οἱ μείζους, ἐλάττω δὲ οἱ καταδεέστεροι, μέσον δὲ οἱ μέσοι: οὔτε γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων οἷόν τέ ἐστίν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ ἀποζῆν, οὔτ' ἄοριστῳ καὶ ^[2] ἀσταθμῆτῳ ἀναλώματι ὥσπερ νῦν χρῆσθαι. καὶ ἀρχέτωσαν μήτε ἑλαττον ἐτῶν τριῶν, εἰ μή τις ἀδικήσῃ τι, μήτε πλεῖον πέντε, τὸ μὲν ὅτι αἱ ^[p. 134] ἐνιαύσιοι καὶ ὀλιγοχρόνιοι ἀρχαὶ διδάξασαι τινὰς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἀποπέμπουσι πρὶν τι αὐτῶν ἀποδειχθῆναι, τὸ δὲ ὅτι αἱ μακρότεραι καὶ πολυχρονιώτεραι ἐπαίρουσί πως πολλοὺς καὶ ἐς νεωτεροποιῖαν ^[3] ἐξάγουσι. διόπερ οὐδὲ ἐπαλλήλας τὰς μείζους ἡγεμονίας οἶμαι τισι προσήκειν δίδοσθαι. οὔτε γὰρ διαφέρει τι ἂν τε ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἔθνῃ ἂν τε καὶ ἐν πλείοσιν ἐφεξῆς ἐπὶ μακρότερον τοῦ δέοντος ἄρχῳσι: καὶ ἀμείνονες γίνονται, ἐπειδὴν διαλίπωσιν τέ τινα χρόνον καὶ οἴκαδε ἐπανέλθωσι καὶ ἰδιωτεύσωσι.

τοὺς μὲν δὴ οὖν βουλευτὰς ταῦτά τε καὶ οὕτω 24. διέπειν φημὶ χρῆναι, τῶν δὲ δὴ ἱππέων δύο τοὺς ἀρίστους τῆς περὶ σὲ φρουρᾶς ἄρχειν: τό τε γὰρ ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ αὐτὴν ἐπιτρέπεσθαι σφαλερὸν καὶ τὸ ^[2] πλείοσι ταραχῶδές ἐστι. δύο τε οὖν ἔστωσαν οἱ ἑπαρχοὶ οὗτοι, ἴν' ἂν καὶ ὁ ἕτερος αὐτῶν ἐπαίσθηται τι τῷ σώματι, μήτι γε καὶ ἐνδεῆς τοῦ φυλάξοντός σε εἴη: καὶ καθιστάσθωσαν ἐκ τῶν πολλάκις τε ἐστρατευμένων καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα ^[3] διωκηκότων. ἀρχέτωσαν δὲ δὴ τῶν τε δορυφόρων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν στρατιωτῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ πάντων, ὥστε καὶ θανατοῦν τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας αὐτῶν πλὴν τῶν τε ἑκατοντάρχων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ ἄρχουσι προστεταγμένων. ^[4] τούτους μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι δικαιοῦτωσαν, ^[p. 136] ἵνα ἀπροφασίστως σφίσι χρῆσθαι, ἅτε καὶ κολάσαι καὶ τιμῆσαι σφας ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντες, δύνωνται: τῶν δ' ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ στρατιωτῶν οἱ ἑπαρχοὶ ἐκεῖνοι προστατεῖτωσαν, ὑπάρχους ἔχοντες, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῶν Καισαρείων τῶν τε ἐν τῇ θεραπείᾳ σου ὄντων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ^[5] τῶν λόγου τινὸς ἀξίων. ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ προσήκοντα καὶ αὐτάρκη αὐτοῖς διαγείν ἔσται, ἵνα μὴ καὶ πλείω πράγματα ὧν καλῶς φέρειν δυνήσονται ἐπιταχθέντες ἀσχολοὶ πρὸς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἢ καὶ ἀδύνατοι πάντων αὐτῶν προϊστασθαι γένωνται. ^[6] καὶ οὗτοι μὲν διὰ βίου, ὥσπερ που καὶ ὁ πολίαρχος ὁ θ' ὑποτιμητής, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐχέτωσαν: νυκτοφύλαξ δὲ ἕτερος, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ οἴτου τῆς τε ἀγορᾶς τῆς λοιπῆς ἕτερος ἐκ τε τῶν ἱππέων τῶν πρώτων μετ' ἐκείνους καὶ ἐς τακτὸν χρόνον ἀποδεικνύσθωσαν, καθάπερ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ 25. προχειριζόμενοι. τὰς τε διοικήσεις τῶν χρημάτων, τῶν τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς λέγω, καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τῇ τε ἄλλῃ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τὰς ^[2] ἔξω πάσας οἱ ἱππῆς διαχειριζέτωσαν, καὶ μισθὸν οὗτοί τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες οἱ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τέλους διοικοῦντές τι, οἱ μὲν πλείονα οἱ δὲ ἐλάττονα, πρὸς τε τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ^[3] πράξεως φερέτωσαν, τοῦτο μὲν ὅτι οὐχ οἷόν τέ ^[p. 138] ἐστίν αὐτοῦς, ἅτε καὶ

πενεστέρους τῶν βουλευτῶν ὄντας, ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων, οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τι πράττοντας, ἀναλίσκειν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ ὅτι μήτε δυνατὸν μήτε συμφέρον ἐστὶ σοι τοὺς αὐτοὺς τῶν τε δυνάμεων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων κυρίους γίγνεσθαι. [4] πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ καλῶς ἔχει διὰ πλειόνων πάντα τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ προσήκοντα διάγεσθαι, ὅπως καὶ ὠφελῶνται ἅμα συχνοὶ καὶ ἔμπειροι τῶν πραγμάτων γίνωνται: οὕτω γὰρ οἱ τε ἀρχόμενοι μᾶλλον εὐνοήσουσί σοι, πολυειδῆ ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν κοινῶν ἀγαθῶν καρποῦμενοι, καὶ σὺ ἀφθονώτατα τοῖς αἰεὶ ἀρίστοις πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα χρήσῃ. [5] ἀπόχρη δὲ ἐν μὲν τῇ πόλει καθ' ἕκαστον χρηματίσεως εἶδος, ἔξω δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔθνος, εἷς τις ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων, ὑπομείονας ὅσους ἂν ἡ χρεῖα ἀπαιτῇ ἕκ τε τῶν ἱππέων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐξελευθέρων σου ἔχων: δεῖ γὰρ καὶ τοιοῦτους τινὰς συζευγνύναι σφίσιν, ἵνα ἢ τε θεραπεία σου ἄθλόν τι ἀρετῆς ἔχη, καὶ σὺ μὴ ἀπορῆς παρ' ὧν καὶ ἀκόντων τῇν ἀλήθειαν, ἂν γέ τι πλημμεληθῇ, μαθεῖν δυνήσῃ. [6]

ὅστις δ' ἂν τῶν ἱππέων διὰ πολλῶν διεξελθὼν ἐλλόγιμος ὥστε καὶ βουλεῦσαι γένηται, μηδὲν αὐτὸν ἡ ἡλικία ἐμποδιζέτω πρὸς τὸ μὴ οὐ καὶ ἐς τὸ συνέδριον καταλεχθῆναι, ἀλλ' ἐσγραφέσθωσαν καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνων, κἂν λελοχαγηκότες τινὲς ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς στρατοπέδοις ᾤσι, πλὴν τῶν ἐν τῷ [7] τεταγμένῳ ἐστρατευμένων. τούτων μὲν γὰρ τῶν [p. 140] καὶ φορμοφορησάντων καὶ λαρκοφορησάντων καὶ αἰσchrὸν καὶ ἐπονειδιστὸν ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ βουλευτικῷ τινὰς ἐξετάζεσθαι: ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἑκατονταρχησάντων οὐδὲν κωλύει τοὺς ἐλλογιμωτάτους αὐτοῦ μεταλαμβάνειν. 26.

περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν βουλευτῶν τῶν τε ἱππέων ταῦτά σοι συμβουλευεῖν ἔχω, καὶ νῆ Δία καὶ ἐκεῖνα, ἵνα ἔως τε ἔτι παῖδες εἰσιν, ἐς τὰ διδασκαλεῖα συμφοιτῶσι, καὶ ἐπειδὴν ἐς μεिरάκια ἐκβάλωσιν, ἐπὶ τε τοὺς ἵππους καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα τρέπωνται, διδασκάλους ἐκατέρων δημοσιεύοντας [2] ἐμίσθους ἔχοντες. οὕτω γὰρ εὐθύς ἐκ παίδων πάνθ' ὅσα χρή ἄνδρας αὐτοὺς γενομένους ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ μαθόντες καὶ μελετήσαντες ἐπιτηδειώτεροί σοι πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον γενήσονται. τὸν γὰρ ἄρχοντα τὸν ἄριστον, οὗ τέ τι ὄφελός ἐστι, δεῖ μὴ μόνον αὐτὸν πάνθ' ἃ προσήκει ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅπως ὥς ὅτι βέλτιστοι [3] γίνωνται, προνοεῖν. τοῦτο δ' ὑπάρξειεν ἂν σοι οὐκ ἂν ἐάσας αὐτοὺς ὅσα βούλονται πράττειν, ἔπειτ' ἐπιτιμᾶς τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσιν, ἀλλ' ἂν πρὶν τι πλημμελεῖσθαι, προδιδασκῆς πάνθ' ὅσα ἀσκήσαντες χρησιμώτεροι καὶ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ σοὶ γενήσονται, καὶ μηδενὶ γε τὸ παράπαν πρόφασιν [4] παρέχῃς, μήτε διὰ πλοῦτον μήτε δι' εὐγένειαν μήτε δι' ἄλλο τι ἀρετῆς ἐχόμενον, ῥαθυμίαν ἢ μαλακίαν ἢ καὶ ἐπιτηδευσὶν τινα κίβδηλον προσποιεῖσθαι. πολλοὶ γὰρ φοβούμενοι μὴ καὶ διὰ [p. 142] τοιοῦτό τι καὶ φθονηθῶσι καὶ κινδυνεύσωσι, πολλὰ καὶ ἀνάξια ἑαυτῶν ποιοῦσιν ὥς καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον [5] ἀπ' αὐτῶν βιωσόμενοι: κἂκ τούτου ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἐλεοῦνται ὥς καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀδικοῦμενοι, τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν ἐξεῖναι σφίσιν ὀρθῶς ζῆν, τῷ δ' ἄρχοντι αὐτῶν καὶ ζημία ἅμα ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν στερομένῳ καὶ κακοδοξία τῆς αἰτίαςσεως συμβαίνει. μήτ' οὖν περιιδῆς ποτὲ τοῦτο

πραχθέν, μήτ' αὐ δείσης ὅτι τραφεῖς τέ τις καὶ παιδευθεῖς ὥς ἐγώ [6] λέγω νεώτερόν τι τολμήσει. πᾶν γὰρ τοῦναντίον τοὺς τε ἀμαθεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἀσελγεῖς ὑποτοπεῖν δεῖ: οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοιοῦτοι πάντα ἀπλῶς καὶ τὰ αἰσχιστα καὶ τὰ δεινότατα, πρῶτον μὲν ἐς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους, ῥαδίως ποιεῖν προάγονται, οἱ δὲ δὴ καλῶς τραφέντες τε καὶ παιδευθέντες οὐτ' ἄλλον τινὰ ἀδικεῖν προαιροῦνται, καὶ πάντων ἡκιστα τὸν τῆς τε τροφῆς καὶ τῆς παιδείας [7] αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθέντα. ἂν δ' οὖν τις καὶ κακὸς καὶ ἀχάριστος γένηται, μηδὲν αὐτῷ τοιοῦτον ἐπιτρέψῃς ἐξ οὗ δεινὸν τι δρᾶσαι δυνήσεται: κἄν γε καὶ ὥς νεοχμῶσῃ τι, καὶ ἐλεγχθῇτω καὶ κολασθῇτω. μὴ γὰρ δὴ φοβηθῇς ὅτι σὲ αἰτιάσεται τις ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ἂν γε πάνθ' ὅσα εἴρηκα πράττης. [8] σὺ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀμαρτήσῃ τὸν ἀδικήσαντα τιμωρησάμενος, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ὁ ἰατρὸς καύσας τινὰ καὶ τεμῶν: ἐκεῖνον δὲ δὴ πάντες δικαίως σουσιν, [p. 144] ὅτι καὶ τροφῆς καὶ παιδείας τῆς αὐτῆς τοῖς ἄλλοις μετασχὼν ἐπεβούλευσέ σοι.

περὶ μὲν οὖν τοὺς βουλευτὰς τοὺς τε ἱππέας 27. ταῦτα γιγνέσθω: τοὺς δὲ δὴ στρατιώτας ἀθανάτους, ἐκ τε τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων τῶν τε συμμαχῶν, τῇ μὲν πλείους τῇ δὲ ἐλάττους, καθ' ἕκαστον ἔθνος, ὅπως ἂν ἡ χρεια τῶν πραγμάτων [2] ἀπαιτῇ, τρέφεσθαι προσήκει, καὶ αὐτοὺς αἰεὶ τε ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἄσκησιν τῶν πολεμικῶν διὰ παντὸς ποιεῖσθαι δεῖ, χειμάδιά τε ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαιροτάτοις χωρίοις κατεσκευασμένους καὶ χρόνον τακτὸν στρατευομένους, ὥστε τι αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸ [3] τοῦ γήρως τῆς ἡλικίας περιεῖναι. οὐτε γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν καιρῶν βοηθείαις τισὶν ἔτι χρῆσθαι δυνάμεθα, αὐτοὶ τε τοσοῦτον ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐσχατιῶν ἀπηρητῆμένοι καὶ πολεμίους ἐκασταχόθι προσοικοῦντας ἔχοντες: ἂν τε ἐπιτρέψωμεν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ οὖσι καὶ τὰ ὅπλα κεκτηθῇαι καὶ τὰ ἐμπολέμια ἀσκεῖν, στάσεις καὶ πόλεμοι [4] ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐμφύλιοι αἰεὶ γενήσονται. καὶ μέντοι κἄν κωλύσαντές σφας ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἔπειτα συμμαχίας τινὸς παρ' αὐτῶν δεηθῶμεν, κινδυνεύσομεν ἀπειροῖς τε καὶ ἀγυμνάστοις στρατιώταις αἰεὶ χρώμενοι. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα γνώμην ποιοῦμαι τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους πάντας ἄνευ τε ὅπλων καὶ ἄνευ τειχῶν ζῆν, τοὺς δὲ ἐρρωμενεστάτους καὶ βίου μάλιστα δεομένους καταλέγεσθαι τε καὶ ἀσκεῖν. [5] αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ ἄμεινον πολεμήσουσι τούτῳ μόνῳ [p. 146] τῷ ἔργῳ σχολάζοντες, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ῥᾶον γεωργήσουσι καὶ ναυτιλοῦνται τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ τῇ εἰρήνῃ προσήκοντα πράξουσιν μήτε ἐκβοηθεῖν ἀναγκαζόμενοι καὶ προφύλακάς σφων ἐτέρους ἔχοντες, τὸ τε ἀκμαιότατον καὶ ἰσχυρότατον καὶ ἐκ ληστείας μάλιστα ζῆν ἀναγκαζόμενον ἀλύπτως τραφήσεται, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πᾶν ἀκινδύνως βιώσεται. 28.

πόθεν οὖν χρήματα καὶ ἐς τοὺτους καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἀναγκαίως ἀναλωθησόμενα ἔσται; ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο διδάξω, σμικρὸν ἐκεῖνο ὑπειπὼν, ὅτι κἄν δημοκρατηθῶμεν, πάντως που χρημάτων δεησόμεθα: οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τε οὐτ' ἄνευ στρατιωτῶν ἡμᾶς σώζεσθαι οὐτ' ἀμισθὶ τινας στρατεύεσθαι. [2] μὴ οὖν ὥς καὶ τῇ μοναρχίᾳ μόνῃ τῆς ἀναγκαίας τῶν χρημάτων ἀθροίσεως προσηκούσης βαρυνώμεθα, μηδὲ δι' αὐτὴν καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἀποτρεπώμεθα,

ἀλλ' ὥς καὶ πάντως ἀναγκαῖον ὄν ἡμῖν, ὅπως ποτ' ἂν πολιτευώμεθα, καὶ ἀργυρίζεσθαι ^[3] τινα, οὕτω βουλευώμεθα. φημὶ τοίνυν χρῆναι σε πρῶτον μὲν ἀπάντων τὰ κτήματα τὰ ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ ὄντα ὅλα δὲ ταῦτα ὁρῶ διὰ τοῦς πολέμους γεγονότα πωλῆσαι, πλὴν ὀλίγων τῶν καὶ πάνυ χρησίμων σοι καὶ ἀναγκαίων, καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον τοῦτο πᾶν ἐπὶ μετρίοις τισὶ τόκοις ^[4] ἐκδανείσαι. οὕτω γὰρ ἢ τε γῆ ἐνεργὸς ἔσται, δεσπότης αὐτουργοῖς δοθεῖσα, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἀφορμὴν λαβόντες εὐπορώτεροι γενήσονται, τὸ τε ^[p. 148] δημόσιον διαρκῆ καὶ ἀθάνατον πρόσοδον ἔξει. εἴτα συλλογίσασθαι ταῦτά τε καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα ἔκ τε μεταλλείας καὶ εἰ δὴ ποθεν ἄλλοθεν βεβαίως ^[5] δύνатаι προσιέναι, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀντιλογίσασθαι μὴ μόνον τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ἀλλὰ καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα δι' ὧν καλῶς πόλις οἰκεῖται, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὅσα ἔς τε τὰς αἰφνιδίους στρατείας καὶ ἔς τὰ λοιπὰ ὅσα εἰώθεν ἐπὶ καιροῦ συμβαίνειν, ἀναγκαῖον ^[6] ἔσται δαπανᾶσθαι: κάκ τούτου πρὸς πᾶν τὸ λείπον φόρον τε ἐπιτάξαι πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς τοῖς ἐπικαρπῖαν τινὰ τῷ κεκτημένῳ αὐτὰ παρέχουσι, καὶ τέλη καταστήσαι παρὰ πᾶσιν ὧν ἄρχομεν ἅπαντες καὶ γὰρ καὶ δίκαιον καὶ προσήκον ἔστι μηδὲνα αὐτῶν ἀτελεῖν εἶναι, μὴ ἰδιώτην, μὴ δῆμον, ἅτε καὶ τῆς ὠφελίας τῆς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις ^[7] ἀπολαύσοντας 93', καὶ σφῶν ἐκλογέας τοὺς ἐπιτροπεύοντας ἐκασταχόθι ποιῆσαι, ὥστε αὐτοὺς πᾶν τὸ τῷ τῆς ἐπιτροπείας αὐτῶν χρόνῳ προσήκον ἐξ ἀпасῶν τῶν προσόδων ἐσπράττειν. τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἐκείνοις ῥάῳ τὴν ἐσπραξίν ποιήσει καὶ τοῖς διδοῦσιν τι ὠφελίαν οὐκ ἐλαχίστην παρέξει: ^[8] λέγω δὲ τὸ κατ' ὀλίγον σφας ἐν ταῖς τάξεσιν ὅσα ὀφείλουσιν ἐσφέρειν, καὶ μὴ, βραχὺν ῥαθυμήσαντας χρόνον, ἐπικεφαλαιωθέντα πάντα ἐσάπαξ ἀπαιτεῖσθαι. 29.

καὶ οὐκ ἄγνοῶ μὲν ὅτι τινὲς τῶν τε φόρων καὶ τῶν τελῶν καθισταμένων ἀχθεσθήσονται: ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖνο οἶδα ὅτι, ἂν μῆτε προσεπηρεάζωνται καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ πεισθῶσιν ὅτι πάντα ταῦτα καὶ ^[p. 150] ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας σφῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰ λοιπὰ ^[2] ἀδεῶς καρποῦσθαι συνεσοῖσθαι, καὶ προσέτι τὰ πλείω αὐτῶν οὐχ ἕτεροί τινες ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι, οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες οἱ δὲ ἐπιτροπεύοντες οἱ δὲ στρατευόμενοι, λήφονται, καὶ πάνυ πολλὴν χάριν εἴσονται σοι, βραχεὰ ἀπὸ πολλῶν ὧν ἂν μηδὲν ἐπηρεαζόμενοι καρπῶνται διδόντες, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὁρῶσί σε σωφρόνως τε διατῶμενον καὶ ^[3] μηδὲν μάτην παραναλίσκοντα. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἰδὼν σε πρὸς μὲν τὰ οἰκεῖα φειδωλότατον πρὸς δὲ τὰ κοινὰ ἀφειδέστατον ὄντα, ἐθελοντὶ συντελέσειέ τι, καὶ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ εὐπορίαν ἑαυτοῦ τὸ σὲ πλουτεῖν εἶναι νομίζων; 30.

χρήματα μὲν δὴ καὶ πάνυ πολλὰ ἐκ τούτων ὑπάρξειεν ἂν: τὰ δὲ δὴ λοιπὰ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον διοικεῖν σοι παραινῶ. τὸ μὲν ἄστυ τοῦτο καὶ κατακόσμη πάσῃ πολυτελείᾳ καὶ ἐπιλάμπρυνε παντὶ εἶδει πανηγύρεων: προσήκει τε γὰρ ἡμᾶς πολλῶν ἄρχοντας ἐν πᾶσι πάντων ὑπερέχειν, καὶ φέρει πως καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς τε τοὺς συμμάχους αἰδῶ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους κατάπληξιν. ^[2] τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων ὧδε διεπε. πρῶτον μὲν οἱ δῆμοι μῆτε κύριοι τινος ἔστωσαν μῆτε ἐς ἐκκλησίαν τὸ παράπαν φοιτᾶτωσαν: οὔτε γὰρ ἀγαθὸν οὐδὲν φρονήσιαν ἂν καὶ συχνὰ ἂν αἰε

ταράξειαν. ὅθεν οὐδὲ τὸν παρ' ἡμῖν δῆμον οὔτε ἐς δικαστήριον οὔτε ἐς ἀρχαιρεσίας, οὔτε ἐς ἄλλον τινὰ τοιοῦτον σύλλογον ἐν ᾧ τι καὶ χρηματισθῆναι [p. 152] [3] δεῖ, συνιέναι φημί χρῆναι. ἔπειτα δὲ μήτ' οἰκοδομημάτων πλήθεσιν ἢ καὶ μεγέθεσιν ὑπὲρ τάναγκαῖα χρήσθωσαν, μήτ' ἀγώνων πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἀναλώμασι δαπανάσθωσαν, ἵνα μήτε σπουδαῖς ματαιαῖς ἐκτρύχωνται μήτε φιλοτιμίαις [4] ἀλόγοις πολεμῶνται. ἐχέτωσαν μὲν γὰρ καὶ πανηγύρεις καὶ θεωρίας τινάς, χωρὶς τῆς ἵπποδρομίας τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν ποιουμένης, μὴ μέντοι ὥστε καὶ τὸ δημόσιον ἢ καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους οἴκους λυμαίνεσθαι, ξένον τέ τινα ἀναγκάζεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ὅτιοῦν ἀναλίσκειν, καὶ σίτησιν ἀθάνατον πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς τοῖς ἀγῶνά τινα νικήσασι δίδοσθαι. [5] τοὺς τε γὰρ εὐπόρους ἄλογόν ἐστιν ἔξω τι τῶν πατρίδων ἀναγκαστοὺς δαπανᾶν, καὶ τοῖς ἀγωνισταῖς ἀπόχρη τὰ ἄθλα τὰ παρ' ἐκάστοις τιθέμενα, χωρὶς ἢ εἰ τις αὐτῶν Ὀλύμπια ἢ [6] Πύθια ἢ τινα ἐνταῦθα ἀγῶνα ἀνέλοιτο: 100 τοὺς γὰρ τοιοῦτους μόνους σιτεῖσθαι δεῖ, ἵνα μήτε αἱ πόλεις μάτην ἐπιτρίβωνται μήτε ἔξω τις τῶν ἀξιονίκων ἀσκή, δυνάμενος ἄλλο τι χρησιμώτερον καὶ ἐαυτῷ καὶ τῷ κοινῷ μετέναι. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων [7] ταῦτα γινώσκω, τὰς δ' ἵπποδρομίας τὰς ἄνευ τῶν γυμνικῶν ἀγώνων ἐπιτελουμένας οὐχ ἡγοῦμαι δεῖν ἄλλῃ τινὶ πόλει ποιεῖν ἐπιτρέπειν, ὅπως μήτε χρήματα παμπληθῇ εἰκῇ παραπολλύηται μήθ' [p. 154] οἱ ἄνθρωποι κακῶς ἐκμαίνωνται, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ἵν' οἱ στρατευόμενοι τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἵπποις ἀφθόνως [8] χρῆσθαι ἔχωσι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ διὰ ταῦτ' ἀπαγορεύω παντάπασι μηδαμῶθι ἄλλοθι πλην ἐνταῦθα γίγνεσθαι, τὰ δὲ δὴ λοιπὰ ἐμετρίασα, ἵν' εὐδαπάνους τὰς ἀπολαύσεις καὶ τῶν θεωρημάτων καὶ τῶν ἀκουσμάτων ὥς ἕκαστοι ποιοῦμενοι καὶ σωφρονέστερον καὶ ἀστασιαστότερον διάγωσι. [9]

μήτε δὲ νομίσματα ἢ καὶ σταθμὰ ἢ μέτρα ἰδίᾳ τις αὐτῶν ἐχέτω, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἡμετέροις καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πάντες χρήσθωσαν: μήτε πρεσβείαν τινὰ πρὸς σέ, πλην εἰ πρᾶγμά τι διαγνώσεως ἐχόμενον εἴη, πεμπέτωσαν, ἀλλὰ τῷ τε ἄρχοντι σφον δηλούτωσαν ὅσα βούλονται, καὶ δι' ἐκείνου 101 σοι 102 τὰς ἀξιώσεις, ὅσας ἂν δοκιμάσῃ, προσφερέτωσαν. [10] οὕτω γὰρ οὐτ' ἀναλώσουσι τι οὐτ' αἰσchrῶς διαπράξονται, ἀλλ' ἀκεραίους τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἄνευ δαπάνης ἢ καὶπραγματείας τινὸς λήφονται. 31.

καὶ μέντοι καὶ τᾶλλα ὧδ' ἂν μοι δοκεῖς 103 ἄριστα διατάξαι, ἂν πρῶτον μὲν τὰς πρεσβείας τὰς τε παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἐνσπόνδων καὶ βασιλέων καὶ δῆμων ἀφικνουμένας ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσάγῃς ἅτα τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ σεμνὸν καὶ ἀξιόλογόν ἐστι τὸ τε τὴν βουλήν πάντων κυρίαν δοκεῖν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ πολλοὺς τοὺς [p. 156] ἀντιπάλους τοῖς ἀγνωμονοῦσιν αὐτῶν φαίνεσθαι, [2] ἔπειτα δὲ ἂν πάντα τὰ νομοθετούμενα δι' αὐτῶν ποιῇ, καὶ μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἄλλο ἐπὶ πάντας ὁμοίως φέρῃ πλην τῶν ἐκείνης δογμάτων: οὕτω γὰρ τὸ τε ἀξίωμα τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς μᾶλλον ἂν βεβαιόητο, καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα τὰς τῶν νόμων καὶ ἀναμφίλογα καὶ διάδηλα πᾶσιν ἅμα γίνοιτο. 104 [3] τρίτον, ἂν τοὺς τε βουλευτὰς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τοὺς

παῖδας τὰς τε γυναῖκας αὐτῶν, ἂν ποτέ τινα αἰτίαν βαρυντέραν, ὥστε τὸν ἄλόντα σφῶν ἀτιμίαν ἢ φυγὴν ἢ καὶ θάνατον ὀφλεῖν, λάβωσιν, ὑπὸ τε τὸ βουλευτήριον ὑπάγης μηδὲν ^[4] προκαταγνοῦς, καὶ ἐκείνῳ πᾶσαν τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν διαψήφισιν ἀκέραιον ἐπιτρέπῃς, ἵν' οἱ τε ἀδικοῦν τές τι ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ὁμοτίμοις ἐλεγχόμενοι κολάζωνται χωρὶς τοῦ σοῦ φθόνου, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ταῦθ' ὀρώντες βελτίους γίγνωνται φόβῳ τοῦ μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκδημοσιευθῆναι.

[5]

καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι περὶ ἐκείνων τῶν ἀδικημάτων, περὶ ὧν οἱ τε νόμοι κεῖνται καὶ αἱ κρίσεις αἱ κατ' αὐτοὺς γίνονται, λέγω. τὸ γὰρ ὅτι τις ἐλοιδόρησέ σε ἢ καὶ ἕτερόν τι ἀνεπιτήδειον εἶπε, μήτ' ἀκούσης ποτὲ κατηγοροῦντός τινος μήτε ^[6] ἐπεξέλθῃς. αἰσχρὸν μὲν γὰρ τὸ πιστεῦειν ὅτι τις μήτε τι ἀδικοῦντά σε καὶ εὐεργετοῦντα πάντας ^[p. 158] προσηλάκισε, καὶ μόνοι τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν οἱ κακῶς ἄρχοντες: ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ συνειδότης καὶ τὸ πιστόν ^[7] τῶν λεγομένων εἰρησθαι τεκμαίρονται: δεινὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ χαλεπαίνειν ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις, ἃ εἰ μὲν ἀληθῇ εἴῃ, κρεῖττον ἐστὶ μὴ ποιεῖν, εἰ δὲ ψευδῇ, μὴ προσποιεῖσθαι, ὥς πολλοὶ γε ἤδη διὰ τούτου πολὺ πλείω καὶ χαλεπώτερα λογοποιεῖσθαι καθ' ^[8] ἑαυτῶν ἐποίησαν. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν λόγῳ τι προσηλακίζειν αἰτιαζομένων ταῦτ' ἐγὼ φρονῶ: κρεῖττω τε γὰρ καὶ ὑψηλότερον πάσης ὕβρεως εἶναι σε χρή, καὶ μηδ' ἐς ἔννοιάν ποτε μήτ' αὐτὸν ἀφικνεῖσθαι μήτε τοὺς ἄλλους προάγειν ὅτι δύνатаι τις ἀσελγᾶναι τι ἐς σέ, ἵν' ὥς περὶ τῶν θεῶν, οὕτω 105 καὶ περὶ σοῦ φρονῶσιν ὅτι σεπτὸς ^[9] εἶ. ἂν δὲ δὴ τις ἐπιβουλεύειν σοι αἰτίαν λάβῃ 'γένοιτο γὰρ ἂν τι καὶ τοιοῦτον', αὐτὸς μὲν μηδὲ περὶ ἐκείνου τι μήτε δικάσης μήτε προδιαγνῶς 'ἄτοπον γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ κατήγορον καὶ δικαστὴν γίγνεσθαι, ὑπὸ 106 δὲ δὴ τὴν βουλὴν αὐτὸν ἀγαγὼν ἀπολογήσασθαι τε ποιήσον, κἂν ἐλεγχθῇ, κόλασον μετριάσας ὥς οἶόν τέ ἐστὶ τὸ τιμώρημα, ^[10] ἵνα καὶ πιστευθῇ τὸ ἀδίκημα. χαλεπώτατα γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ πείθονται ὅτι τις ἄσπλος ὢν ἐπιβουλεύει τῷ ὠπλισμένῳ: καὶ μόνως ἂν οὕτως αὐτῶν τύχοις, εἰ μήτε πρὸς ὀργὴν μήτ' ἀνηκέστως, ἐφ' ὅσον γε καὶ ἐνδέχεται, τὴν τιμωρίαν αὐτοῦ ποιοῖο. λέγω δὲ ταῦτα χωρὶς ἢ εἰ τις στράτευμά τι ἔχων ^[p. 160] ἄντικρυς ἐπανασταίῃ: οὐδὲ γὰρ δικάζεσθαι τὸν τοιοῦτόν που προσήκεν, ἀλλ' ἐν πολεμίου μοίρᾳ κολάζεσθαι. 32.

ταῦτά τε οὖν οὕτω, καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν τῷ δημοσίῳ προσηκόντων, τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἀνατίθει: τὰ τε γὰρ κοινὰ κοινῶς διοικεῖσθαι δεῖ, καὶ ἔστι που πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἔμφυτον καὶ τὸ χαίρειν ἐφ' οἷς ἂν παρὰ τοῦ κρείττονος ὡς καὶ ἰσότιμοι αὐτῷ ὄντες ἀξιωθῶσι, καὶ τὸ πάντα τὰ μετὰ σφῶν τινι γνωσθέντα καὶ ἐπαινεῖν ὡς οἰκεῖα καὶ ἀγαπᾶν ὡς αὐθαίρετα. ^[2] ἐς μὲν οὖν τὸ βουλευτήριον τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐσφέρεσθαι φημι χρῆναι, καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων πάντας ὁμοίως τοὺς παρόντας γνώμην διδόναι, ὅταν δὲ δὴ κατηγορηταὶ τις αὐτῶν, μὴ πάντας, πλὴν ἂν τις ἢ μηδέπω βουλευτὴ ἢ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ^[3] τεταμειυκοσιν ἔτι ὢν κρίνηται. ἄτοπον γὰρ τὸν μηδέπω δεδημαρχηκότα ἢ ἡγορανομηκότα ψῆφον κατὰ τινος τῶν τοιούτων φέρειν, ἢ νῆ Δία τούτων τινὰ κατὰ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων, ἢ καὶ ἐκείνων κατὰ τῶν

ὑπατευκότων. ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν ἐπὶ πάντα τὴν τοῦ τι ἀποφήνασθαι ἐξουσίαν ἐχέτωσαν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐπὶ τε τοὺς ὁμοίους καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑποδεεστέρους. 33.

Δικάζει δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ τὰ τε ἐφέσιμα καὶ τὰ ἀναπόμπιμα, ὅσα ἂν παρά τε τῶν μειζόνων [p. 162] ἀρχόντων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων, τοῦ τε πολιάρχου καὶ τοῦ ὑποτιμητοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐπάρχων τοῦ τε τὸν οἶτον ἐπισκοποῦντος καὶ τοῦ νυκτοφυλακοῦντος, ἀφικνῆται: μήτε γὰρ αὐτόδικος μήτ' αὐτοτελῆς οὕτω τις τὸ παράπαν ἔστω ὥστε μὴ [2] οὐκ ἐφέσιμον ἅπ' αὐτοῦ δίκην γίγνεσθαι. ταῦτά τε οὖν κρίνει, 107 καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν τε ἑκατοντάρχων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τῶν πρώτων, ὅταν περὶ θανατώσεως ἢ καὶ ἀτιμίας τινὸς ἀγωνίζωνται. σοὶ γὰρ δὴ 108 τὰ τοιαῦτα μόνῳ προσκεισθω, καὶ μηδεὶς ἄλλος περὶ αὐτῶν αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτὸν, δι' ἅπερ εἶπον, δικάζέτω. [3] μετὰ γὰρ δὴ σοῦ ἀεὶ μὲν οἱ ἐντιμότατοι καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων, ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι τινες ἔκ τε τῶν ὑπατευκότων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων ἄλλοι ἄλλοτε διαγιγνώσκέτωσαν, ἵνα σὺ τε τοὺς τρόπους αὐτῶν ἀκριβέστερον ἐν τούτῳ προκαταμανθάνων ὀρθῶς σφισιν ἔχῃς χρῆσθαι, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι προσυγγιγνόμενοι 109 τοῖς τε ἡθεσι καὶ τοῖς βουλευμασί σου οὕτως ἐς τὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν [4] ἡγεμονίας ἐξίωσι. τὰς μέντοι γνώμας αὐτῶν μὴ 110 φανερώς, ὅσαι γε καὶ ἐπισκέψεως ἀκριβεστέρας δέονται, διαπυνθάνου, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς προήκουσί 111 σφων ἐφεπόμενοι κατοκνῶσι παρρησιάζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐς γραμματεῖα γραφομένας, οἷς αὐτὸς μόνος ἐντυχῶν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἐκδήλους αὐτὰς γίγνεσθαι, εὐθέως αὐτὰς ἀπαλειφείσθαι κέλευε: οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα τὴν ἐκάστου γνώμην διακριβώσεις, [p. 164] εἰ ἀνέλεγκτον αὐτὴν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις πιστεῦσαι ἐσσεσθαι. [5]

καὶ μέντοι καὶ πρὸς τὰς δίκας τὰς τε ἐπιστολὰς καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα τῶν πόλεων τὰς τε τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἀξιώσεις, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς διοικήσει προσήκει, συνεργοὺς τέ τινας καὶ ὑπρέτας ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων ἔχε: ῥῆθ' οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ὥς ἕκαστα διαχωρήσει, καὶ σὺ οὐτ' αὐτογνωμονῶν [6] σφαλῆσῃ οὐτ' αὐτουργῶν ἐκκαμῇ. τὴν τε παρρησίαν παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ καὶ ὅτιον συμβουλευσαί σοι μετὰ ἀδείας νέμε: ἂν τε γὰρ ἀρεσθῇς τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, πολλὰ ὠφελήσῃ, 112 ἂν τε καὶ μὴ πεισθῇς, οὐδὲν βλαβήσῃ. [7] καὶ τοὺς μὲν τυχόντας τῆς γνώμης καὶ ἐπαίνει καὶ τίμα 'τοῖς γὰρ ἐκείνων ἐξευρήμασιν αὐτὸς εὐδοκιμήσεις', τοὺς δ' ἁμαρτόντας μήτ' ἀτιμάσης ποτὲ μήτ' αἰτιάσῃ: τὴν γὰρ διάνοιαν αὐτῶν δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν οὐκ ἐπιτυχίαν μέμφεσθαι. [8] τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν φύλαττε, καὶ μήτε ἐπὶ δυστυχίᾳ ἀκουσίῳ χαλεπήνῃς τινὶ μήτε ἐπ' εὐτυχίᾳ φθονήσῃς, ἵνα καὶ προθύμως καὶ ἡδέως πάντες ὑπὲρ σοῦ κινδυνεύωσι, πιστεύοντες ὅτι οὕτε πταίσαντές τι κολασθήσονται [9] οὔτε κατορθώσαντες ἐπιβουλευθήσονται. πολλοὶ γοῦν τὸν παρὰ τῶν τὸ κράτος ἐχόντων φθόνον [p. 166] φοβούμενοι σφαλῆναι τι μᾶλλον ἢ καταπρᾶξαι προείλοντο, κὰκ τούτου τὸ μὲν ἀσφαλὲς αὐτοῖς ἔσχον, τὸ δὲ δὴ 113 ζημίωμα ἐκείνοις προσετρίψαντο. ὥστε αὐτὸς τὸ πλεῖον ἅπ' ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως καὶ τῶν

χειρόνων καὶ τῶν ἀμεινόνων ἀπολαύσων, μηδέποτ' ἐθελήσης λόγῳ μὲν ἄλλοις ἔργῳ δὲ σαντῷ φθονῆσαι. 34.

Πάνθ' ὅσα τοὺς ἀρχομένους καὶ φρονεῖν καὶ πράττειν βούλει, καὶ λέγε καὶ ποιεῖ. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μᾶλλον παιδεύσειας αὐτοὺς ἢ ταῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίαις 114 δειματώσεις: τὸ μὲν γὰρ ζῆλον τὸ δὲ φόβον ἔχει, καὶ ῥᾶόν τις μιμεῖται τὰ κρείττω, ὁρῶν ἔργῳ γιγνόμενα, ἢ φυλάττεται τὰ ^[2] χεῖρω, ἀκούων λόγῳ κεκωλυμένα. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἀκριβῶς πάντα πράττε, μηδεμίαν συγγνώμην σεαυτῷ 115 νέμων, ὥστε καὶ εὖ εἰδῶς ὅτι παραχρῆμα πάντες καὶ ὅσα ἂν εἴπῃς καὶ ὅσα ἂν ποιήσῃς μαθήσονται. καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν ἐνὶ τινὶ τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης θεότρω ζήσει, καὶ οὐχ οἷόν τέ σοι ἔσται οὐδὲ βραχύτατον ἀμαρτὸντι διαλαθεῖν: ^[3] οὔτε γὰρ κατὰ μόνας ποτὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ συχνῶν αἰεὶ τι πράξεις, καὶ πολυπραγμονοῦσι πως τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων γιγνόμενα καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἡδιστα, ὥστ' ἂν ἅπαξ καταμάθωσί σε ἄλλα μὲν αὐτοῖς προαγορεύοντα ἄλλα δὲ αὐτὸν ποιοῦντα, οὐ τὰς ἀπειλὰς σου φοβηθήσονται 116 ἀλλὰ τὰ ἔργα μιμήσονται. ^[4]

τὸν δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων βίον ἐπισκόπει μὲν, μὴ μέντοι καὶ χαλεπῶς ἐξέταζε, ἀλλ' ὅσα μὲν ἂν ὑφ' ^[p. 168] ἑτέρων τινῶν ἐσάγηται, κρῖνε, 117 ὅσα δ' ἂν ὑπὸ μηδενὸς αἰτιάzzται, μηδὲ προσποιοῦ εἰδέναι, ἔξω ^[5] τῶν ἐς τὸ δημόσιον πλημμελουμένων. ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ τῆς προσηκούσης ἐπιστροφῆς, κἂν μηδεὶς ἐγκαλῇ, τυγχάνειν ὀφείλει: τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τὰ ἰδιωτικὰ ἴσθι μὲν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ 118 σφαλῇς ποτε ἀνεπιτηδεῖω τινὶ ὑπηρέτῃ πρὸς τι χρησάμενος, ^[6] μὴ μέντοι καὶ ἐξέλεγε. πολλὰ γὰρ ἢ φύσις καὶ παρὰ τὸν νόμον πολλοὺς ἀμαρτάνειν ἐξάγει, οἷς ἂν μὲν ἀκριβῶς τις ἐπεξίῃ, ἢ τινα ἢ οὐδένα ἂν αὐτῶν ἀτιμώρητον καταλίποι, ἂν δ' ἀνθρωπίνως τὸ ἐπεικὲς τῷ νενομισμένῳ παραμηνύῃ, τάχ' ἂν ^[7] καὶ σωφρονίσειεν αὐτοὺς. ὁ μὲν γὰρ νόμος, καίτοι ἰσχυρὰ τὰ κολάσματα ἀναγκαίως ποιοῦμενος, οὐ δύναται τῆς φύσεως αἰεὶ κρατεῖν: τῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων τινὲς λανθάνειν μὲν δόξαντες ἢ καὶ μετρίως πως νοθετηθέντες ἀμεινους γίνονται, οἱ μὲν αἰσχυρόμενοι ἐλεγχθῆναι οἱ δὲ αἰδοῦμενοι ^[8] πάλιν σφαλῆναι, φανερωθέντες δὲ καὶ ἀπερυθριάσαντες ἢ καὶ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου κολασθέντες τὰ τε νενομισμένα πάντα συγχέουσι καὶ καταπατοῦσι, καὶ μόναις ταῖς τῆς φύσεως ὁρμαῖς δουλεύουσι. κακ τοῦτου οὔτε τὸ πάντας αὐτοὺς κολάζειν ῥάδιον, οὔτε τὸ περιορᾶν φανερώς τινας ἀσελγαίνοντας εὐπρεπὲς γίγνεται. ^[9]

τὰ μὲν δὴ οὖν ἀμαρτήματα τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῦτόν σοι τὸν τρόπον, πλήν τῶν πάνυ ἀνηκέστων, ^[p. 170] μεταχειρίζεσθαι παραινῶ, τὰ δ' ὀρθῶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν γιγνόμενα καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν τῶν ἔργων τιμᾶν: οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα ποιήσεις αὐτοὺς τῶν τε χειρόνων ἀπέχεσθαι, τῇ φιланθρωπίᾳ, καὶ τῶν ^[10] βελτιόνων ἐφίεσθαι, τῇ μεγαλοδωρίᾳ. μὴ γὰρ τοι καταδείσῃς μήθ' ὅτι ἐπιλείπει σέ ποτε ἢ χρήματα ἢ τᾶλλα οἷς τοὺς ἀγαθόν τι ποιοῦντας ἀμείψῃ 'πολὺ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἔγωγε ἐλάττους αὐτῶν τοὺς εὖ τι παθεῖν ἀξίους οἶμαι γενήσεσθαι, τοσαύτης σοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἄρχοντος', μήθ' ὅτι

τινὲς ^[11] εὐεργετηθέντες ἀχαρίστως τι πράξουσιν: οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω καὶ δουλοῖ καὶ οἰκείουται τινα, κἂν ἄλλότριος κἂν ἐχθρὸς ὢν τύχη, ὥς τὸ μὴτ' ἀδικεῖσθαι καὶ προσέτι καὶ εὖ πάσχειν. 35.

πρὸς μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἄλλους οὕτω σοι προσφέρεσθαι γνώμην δίδωμι: σαυτῷ δὲ δὴ μῆτε ἔξαλλόν τι μὴτ' ὑπερήφανον μῆτε παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων μῆτε παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἢ ἔργῳ ἢ καὶ λόγῳ δοθὲν περιιῆης. ^[2] τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοις κόσμον ἢ παρὰ σοῦ τιμὴ φέρει, σοὶ δ' αὐτῷ μεῖζον μὲν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων οὐδὲν ἂν δοθῇ, ὑποψία δ' ἂν κιβδηλίας πολλὴ προσγένειτο: καὶ γὰρ τοι τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐδεὶς ἐκὼν τοιοῦτό τι τῷ κρατοῦντι ψηφίζεσθαι δοκεῖ, πάντα δὲ δὴ τις αὐτὰ αὐτὸς παρ' ἑαυτοῦ λαμβάνων οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἔπαινον ἴσχει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ^[3] γέλωτα προσοφλισκάνει. τὴν τε οὖν ἄλλην λαμπρότητα σαυτῷ 119 διὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργων παρασκευάζε, καὶ εἰκόνας σου χρυσᾶς μὲν ἢ καὶ ἄργυρᾶς μηδέποτε ἐπιτρέψῃς γενέσθαι 'οὐ γὰρ μόνον δαπανηραὶ ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐεπιβούλευτοι καὶ ^[p. 172] ὀλιγοχρόνιοι εἰσιν', ἄλλας δὲ ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ψυχαῖς καὶ ἀκηράτους καὶ ἀθανάτους ^[4] ἐξ εὐεργεσιῶν δημιουργεῖ. μὴ μέντοι μηδὲ ναὸν ποτε περιιῆης σαυτῷ γενόμενον. μάτην γὰρ παμπληθῇ χρήματα ἐς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀναλίσκεται, ἃ κρεῖττον ἐστὶν ἐς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δαπανᾶσθαι 'πλοῦτος γὰρ ἀκριβῆς οὐχ οὕτως ἐκ τοῦ πολλὰ λαμβάνειν ὥς ἐκ τοῦ μὴ πολλὰ ἀναλίσκειν ἀθροίζεται, καὶ ἐς εὐκλειαν οὐδὲν ἂπ' αὐτῶν προσγίγνεται. ^[5] ἀρετὴ μὲν γὰρ ἰσοθέους πολλοὺς ποιεῖ, χειροτονητὸς δ' οὐδεὶς πώποτε θεὸς ἐγένετο, ὥστε σοὶ μὲν ἀγαθῷ τε ὄντι καὶ καλῶς ἄρχοντι πᾶσα μὲν γῆ τεμένισμα ἔσται, πᾶσαι δὲ πόλεις ναοί, 120 πάντες δὲ ἄνθρωποι ἀγάλματα 'ἐν γὰρ ταῖς γνώμαις ^[6] αὐτῶν ἀεὶ μετ' εὐδοξίας ἐνιδρυθῇ, τοὺς δ' ἄλλως πῶς τὰ κράτη διέποντας οὐ μόνον οὐ σεμνύνει τὰ τοιαῦτα, κἂν ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐξαιρεθῇ, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσδιαβάλλει, τρόπαιά τέ τινα τῆς κακίας αὐτῶν καὶ μνημεῖα τῆς ἀδικίας γιγνόμενα: ὅσω γὰρ ἂν ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀνταρκέσῃ, τοσοῦτω μᾶλλον καὶ ἡ κακοδοξία αὐτῶν διαμένει. 36. ὥστ' εἴπερ ἀθάνατος ὄντως ἐπιθυμεῖς γενέσθαι, ταῦτά τε οὕτω πρᾶττε, καὶ προσέτι τὸ μὲν θεῖον πάντῃ πάντως αὐτὸς τε σέβου κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τιμᾶν ἀνάγκαζε, τοὺς δὲ δὴ ξενίζοντάς ^[2] τι περὶ αὐτὸ καὶ μίσει καὶ κόλαζε, μὴ μόνον τῶν θεῶν ἕνεκα, ὣν ὁ 121 καταφρονήσας οὐδ' ^[p. 174] ἄλλου ἂν τινος προτιμήσειεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ καινὰ τινα δαιμόνια οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἀντεσφéronτες πολλοὺς ἀναπειθουσιν ἄλλοτριονομεῖν, κάκ τούτου καὶ συνωμοσίαι καὶ συστάσεις ἐταιρεῖαι τε γίνονται, ἅπερ ἥκιστα μοναρχία συμφέρει. μὴτ' οὖν ἀθέω ^[3] τινὶ μῆτε γόητι συγχωρήσῃς εἶναι. μαντικὴ μὲν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖα ἐστὶ, καὶ πάντως τινὰς καὶ ἱερόπτας καὶ οἰωνιστὰς ἀπόδειξον, οἷς οἱ βουλόμενοί τι κοινώσασθαι συνέσονται: τοὺς δὲ δὴ μαγευτὰς πάνυ οὐκ εἶναι προσήκει. πολλοὺς γὰρ πολλακίς οἱ τοιοῦτοι, τὰ μὲν τινα ἀληθῆ τὰ δὲ δὴ πλείω ^[4] ψευδῇ λέγοντες, νεοχμοῦν ἐπαίρουσι. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τῶν φιλοσοφεῖν προσποιουμένων οὐκ ὀλίγοι δρῶσι: διὸ καὶ ἐκείνους φυλάσσεσθαι σοι παραινῶ. μὴ γὰρ ὅτι καὶ Ἀρείου καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρου καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν πεπεύρασαι, πίστευε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας τοὺς φιλοσοφεῖν λέγοντας ὁμοίους αὐτοῖς

εἶναι: μυρία γὰρ κακὰ καὶ δήμους καὶ ιδιώτας τὸ πρόσχημά τινες τοῦτο προβαλλόμενοι δρῶσι. 37.

τῇ μὲν οὖν γνώμῃ καὶ τῷ μηδενὸς πλείονος τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐπιθυμεῖν εἰρηνικώτατον εἶναι σε χρή, ταῖς δὲ παρασκευαῖς πολεμικώτατον, ὅπως μάλιστα μὲν μήτε ἐθελήσῃ μήτε ἐπιχειρήσῃ τις ἀδικῆσαι σε, εἰ δὲ μή, ῥαδίως καὶ παραχρῆμα ^[2] κολασθῇ. καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τᾶλλα καὶ ὠτακουστέιν τινας καὶ διοπτεῦειν πάντα τὰ τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ σου προσήκοντα, ἵνα μηδὲν τῶν φυλακῆς τιнос καὶ ἐπανορθώσεως ^[p. 176] δεομένων ἀγνοῇς, μέμνησο ὅτι οὐ χρή πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς τοῖς λεγομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν πιστεύειν, ἀλλ' ^[3] ἀκριβῶς αὐτὰ διασκοπεῖν. συχνοὶ γάρ, οἱ μὲν μισοῦντές τινας, οἱ δ' ἐπιθυμοῦντες ὧν ἔχουσιν, ἄλλοι χαριζόμενοι τισιν, ἄλλοι χρήματα αἰτήσαντές τινας καὶ μὴ λαβόντες, ἐπηρεάζουσιν αὐτοὺς ὡς νεωτερίζοντας ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι ἀνεπιτήδειον κατὰ τοῦ αὐταρχοῦντος ἢ φρονοῦντας ἢ ^[4] λέγοντας. οὐκουν εὐθὺς οὐδὲ ῥαδίως προσέχειν αὐτοῖς δεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πάντα διελέγχειν: βραδύνας μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ πιστεῦσαι τινα οὐδὲν μέγα ἀδικηθήσῃ, σπεύσας δὲ τάχ' ἂν τι καὶ ἐξαμάρτοις, ὃ μὴ δυνηθήσῃ ἀνακέσασθαι. ^[5]

τιμᾶν μὲν οὖν σε τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συνόντων σοι καὶ δεῖ καὶ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι: καὶ γὰρ κόσμον καὶ ἀσφάλειάν σοι μεγάλην τοῦτο οἴσει. μὴ μέντοι καὶ ὑπέρογκόν τι ἰσχυέτωσαν, ἀλλὰ ἀκριβῶς πάντες σωφρονεῖτωσαν, ὥστε σε μηδὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ^[6] διαβληθῆναι: πάντα γὰρ ὅσα ἂν ἢ καλῶς ἢ κακῶς πράξωσι, σοὶ προστεθήσεται, καὶ τοιοῦτος αὐτὸς ὑφ' ἀπάντων νομισθήσῃ ὅποια ἂν ἐκείνοις ποιεῖν ἐπιτρέπη.

τοὺς μὲν δὴ οὖν δυνατοὺς μὴ πλεονεκτεῖν τινα μηδὲ αὖ συκοφαντεῖσθαι ἔα: μηδὲ ἔστω τινὲς αὐτῶν ^[p. 178] αὐτὸ 122 τοῦτο ἔγκλημα, ὅτι δύναται, κἂν μηδὲν ^[7] ἁμαρτάνῃ. τοῖς δὲ δὴ πολλοῖς ἄμυνε μὲν ἰσχυρῶς ἀδικουμένοις, μὴ πρόσχε δὲ ῥαδίως αἰτιωμένοις, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ τὰ ἔργα καθ' ἑαυτὰ ἐξέταξε, μήτε ἐς τὸ προέχον πᾶν ὑποπτεύων μήτε τῷ ^[8] καταδεεστερώ παντὶ πιστεύων. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐργαζομένους χρήσιμόν τέ τι τεχνωμένους τίμα, τοὺς δ' ἄργοῦντας ἢ καὶ φλαυρόν τι πραγματευομένους μίσει, ἵνα τῶν μὲν διὰ τὰς ὠφελίας ὀριγνόμενοι, τῶν δὲ διὰ τὰς ζημίας ἀπεχόμενοι, πρὸς τε τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀμείνους καὶ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ συμφορώτεροί σοι γίγνωνται. ^[9]

καλὸν μὲν οὖν ἐστι καὶ τὸ τὰ τῶν ιδιωτῶν ἀμφισβητήματα ὡς ἐλάχιστα ποιοῦντα τὰς διαλύσεις αὐτῶν ὡς τάχιστα καθιστάναι, κάλλιστον δὲ τὸ τὰς τῶν δήμων ὁρμὰς κολοῦειν, κἂν ἐπευχόμενοι τινα τῇ τε ἀρχῇ καὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τῇ τε τύχῃ σου ἐκβιάζεσθαι τινας ἢ πρᾶξαι τι ἢ ἀναλῶσαι ^[10] παρὰ δύναμιν ἐπιχειρῶσι, μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν, τὰς τε ἔχθρας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς φιλοτιμίας τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους παντάπασιν ἐκκόπτειν, καὶ μήτε ἐπωνυμίας τινὰς κενὰς μήτ' ἄλλο τι ἐξ οὗ διενεχθήσονται τισιν ἐφίεναι σφίσι ποιεῖσθαι. ῥαδίως δὲ

σοι πάντες καὶ ἐς ταῦτα καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ πειθαρχήσουσιν, ἂν μηδὲν παρὰ ταῦτα ^[p. 180] μηδέποτε συγχωρήσης τινί: 123 ἢ γὰρ ἀνωμαλία καὶ ^[11] τὰ καλῶς πεπηγότα διαλύει. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' οὐδ' αἰτεῖν τι ἀρχήν, ὃ γε μὴ δώσεις, ἐπιτρέπειν σφίσιν ὀφείλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἰσχυρῶς φυλάττειν σφᾶς ἀναγκάζειν, τὸ μηδὲν ἀξιοῦν τῶν κεκλυμένων. 38.

ταῦτα μὲν περὶ ἐκείνων λέγω, καθ' ἀπάντων δέ σοι συμβουλευώ μὴτ' ἀποχρήσασθαι ποτε τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ, μὴτ' οἰηθῆναι μειώσιν τινα αὐτῆς εἶναι ἂν μὴ πάντα ἀπαξαιπῶς ὅσα δύνασαι καὶ ποιήσης: ἀλλ' ὅσω μᾶλλον πάνθ' ὅσα ἂν βουληθῇς καὶ δυνηθῇ πρᾶξι, τόσω μᾶλλον προθυμοῦ πάνθ' ^[2] ὅσα προσήκει βούλεσθαι. καὶ αἰεὶ γε αὐτὸς παρὰ σαντῷ ἐξέταζε, εἴτε ὀρθῶς τι ποιεῖς εἴτε καὶ μὴ, τί τε πράττοντά σε φιλήσουσί τινες καὶ τί μὴ, ἵνα τὰ μὲν ποιῆς αὐτῶν τὰ δὲ ἐκκλίνης. μὴ γὰρ δὴ ἡγήσῃ 124 δεόντως τι παρὰ τοῦτο πράττειν δόξειν, ἂν μηδενὸς αἰτιωμένου σε ἀκούσης: μηδ' ἀναμεινῆς οὕτω τινὰ ἐκφρονῆσαι ποτε ὥστε ^[3] σοι φανερώς τι ἐξονεῖδισαι. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἂν ποιήσειεν, οὐδ' εἰ σφόδρα ἀδικηθεῖν: πᾶν γὰρ τοῦναντίον καὶ ἐπαινεῖν πολλοὶ ἔν γε τῷ φανερῷ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντάς σφας ἀναγκάζονται, ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι μὴ δοκεῖν ὀργίζεσθαι. τὸν δ' ἄρχοντα χρή μὴ ἐξ ὧν λέγουσί τινες τεκμαίρεσθαι τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν φρονεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰκός ἐστι. 39.

ταῦτά σε καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα βούλομαι πράττειν: ^[p. 182] πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ παραλείπω διὰ τὸ μὴ οἶόν τε εἶναι πάντα αὐτὰ καθάπαξ συλλαβόντα εἰπεῖν. ἔν δ' οὖν ἐν κεφαλαίῳ καὶ κατὰ τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ ^[2] κατὰ τῶν λοιπῶν φράσω. ἂν γὰρ ὅσα ἂν ἕτερόν τινα ἄρξαντά σου ποιεῖν ἐθελήσης, ταῦτα αὐτὸς αὐτεπάγγελτος πράσσης, οὔτε τι ἀμαρτήσῃ καὶ πάντα κατορθώσεις, κάκ τούτου καὶ ἡδιστα καὶ ^[3] ἀκινδυνότατα βιώσῃ. πῶς μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ὡς πατέρα, πῶς δ' οὐχ ὡς σωτῆρα καὶ προσόφονται σε ἅπαντες καὶ φιλήσουσιν, ὅταν σε ὀρώσι κόσμιον εὐβίοτον εὐπόλεμον εἰρηναῖον ὄντα, ὅταν μὴθ' ὑβρίζης τι μῆτε πλεονεκτῇς, ὅταν ἐκ τοῦ ^[4] ὁμοίου σφίσι προσφέρῃ, καὶ μὴ αὐτὸς μὲν πλουτῇς τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἀργυρολογῇς, μηδ' αὐτὸς μὲν τρυφᾷς τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ταλαιπωρῇς, μηδ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἀκολασταίνῃς τοὺς δ' ἄλλους νουθετῇς, ἀλλ' ἐς πάντα δὴ πάντως ὁμοιοτροπώτατα αὐτοῖς ζῆς; ὥστ' αὐτὸς παρὰ σαντῷ μέγα φυλακτήριον ἐν τῷ μηδένα ποτὲ ἀδικῆσαι ἔχων θάρσει, καὶ πιστευέ μοι λέγοντι ὅτι οὔτε μισηθῇ ποτὲ οὔτε ^[5] ἐπιβουλευθῇ. τούτου δὲ δὴ οὕτως ἔχοντος πᾶσά σε ἀνάγκη καὶ ἡδέως βιώναι: τί μὲν γὰρ ἡδίων, τί δὲ εὐδαιμονέστερόν ἐστι τοῦ πάντων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν μετ' ἀρετῆς ἀπολαύοντα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτὰ διδόναι δύνασθαι; 40.

ταῦτά τε οὖν καὶ τᾶλλα πάνθ' ὅσα εἴρηκα ἐννοήσας πείσθητί μοι, καὶ μὴ πρόη τὴν τύχην, ἥτις σε ἐκ πάντων ἐπελέξατο καὶ προεστήσατο. ὡς ^[p. 184] εἴ γε τὸ μὲν πρᾶγμα τὸ τῆς μοναρχίας αἰρή, τὸ δ' ὄνομα τὸ τῆς βασιλείας ὡς καὶ ἐπάρατον φοβῇ, τοῦτο μὲν μὴ προσλάβῃς, τῇ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Καίσαρος ^[2]

προσηγορία χρώμενος αὐτάρχει. εἰ δ' οὖν καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ἐπικλήσεων προσδέη, δώσουσι μὲν σοι τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, ὥσπερ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ σου ἔδωκαν, σεβιοῦσι δέ σε καὶ ἑτέρα τινὲ προσήρσει, ὥστε σε πᾶν τὸ τῆς βασιλείας ἔργον ἄνευ τοῦ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας αὐτῆς ἐπιφθόνου καρποῦσθαι.

‘ 41. Μαικήνας μὲν ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο, ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ ἀμφοτέρους μὲν σφας καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πολυνοίᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πολυλογίᾳ τῇ τε παρρησίᾳ ἰσχυρῶς ἐπήνεσε, τὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Μαικήνου μᾶλλον εἶλετο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ πάντα εὐθὺς ὥσπερ ὑπετέθειτο ἔπραξε, φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ σφαλῇ τι, ἀθρόως [2] μεταρρυθμίσει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐθέλησας: ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν παρασχεῖν μα μετεκόσμησε τὰ δ' ὕστερον, καὶ τινὰ καὶ τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα ἄρξουσιν ποιῆσαι κατέλιπεν ὡς καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν μᾶλλον ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ γενησόμενα. καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας πρὸς πάντα, καίπερ τὴν ἐναντίαν σφίσι γνώμην δούς, προθυμότερα συνήρατο, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ ἐσηγητῆς αὐτῶν ἐγεγόνει. [3] ταῦτά τε ὁ Καῖσαρ, καὶ 125 ὅσα ἄνω μοι τοῦ λόγου εἴρηται, ἔπραξεν ἐν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ ἐν ᾧ τὸ πέμπτον ὑπάτευσε, καὶ τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος [p. 186] ἐπικλησιν ἐπέθετο. λέγω δὲ οὐ τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον διδομένην τισὶν ἑκείνην γὰρ πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ὕστερον ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἔλαβεν, [4] ὥστε καὶ ἅπαξ καὶ εἰκοσάκις 126 ὄνομα αὐτοκράτορος σχεῖν' ἀλλὰ τὴν ἑτέραν τὴν τὸ κράτος διασημαίνουσαν, ὥσπερ τῷ τε πατρὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς τε ἐκγόνοις 127 ἐψήφιστο. 42. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τιμητεύσας σὺν τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ ἄλλα τέ τινὰ διώρθωσε καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐξήτασε. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἱππῆς πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πεζοὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐκ τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων ἐβούλευον, ὥστε καὶ ἑς χιλίους τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς γερουσίας [2] αὐξηθῆναι. τοὺτους οὖν ἐκκρίναι βουλευθεὶς αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδένα αὐτῶν ἀπῆλειψε, προτρεψάμενος δὲ σφας ἐκ τοῦ συνειδότος τοῦ τε γένους καὶ τοῦ βίου δικαστὰς ἑαυτοῖς γενέσθαι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πεντήκοντά που ἔπεισεν ἐθελοντὰς ἐκστῆναι τοῦ συνεδρίου, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλους ἑκατὸν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα [3] μιμήσασθαι σφας ἠνάγκασε. καὶ αὐτῶν ἠτίμωσε μὲν οὐδένα, τὰ δ' ὀνόματα τῶν δευτέρων ἐξέθηκε: τοῖς γὰρ προτέροις, ὅτι μὴ ἐχρόνισαν ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐπειθάρχησάν οἱ, ἀφῆκε τὸ ὀνειδισμα, ὥστ' αὐτοὺς μὴ ἐκδημοσιευθῆναι. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν 128 ἐκούσιοι δῆθεν ἰδιώτευσαν, Κύντον δὲ δὴ Στατίλιον καὶ πάνυ ἄκοντα τῆς [p. 188] [4] δημαρχίας, ἑς ἣν ἀπεδέδεικτο, εἴρξεν. ἑτέρους τέ τινὰς βουλευεῖν ἐποίησε, καὶ ἑς γε τοὺς ὑπάτευκότας δύο ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν βουλευόντων, Κλοῦουιὸν τέ τινὰ καὶ Φούρνιον Γαῖους, ἐγκατέλεξεν, ὅτι προαποδεδειγμένοι οὐκ ἡδυνήθησαν, ἄλλων τινῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς αὐτῶν προκαταλαβόντων, ὑπάτεῦσαι. [5] τὸ τε τῶν εὐπατριδῶν γένος συνεπλήθυσε, τῆς βουλῆς οἱ δῆθεν ἐπιτρεψάσης τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἐπεὶ δὴ τὸ τε πλεῖστον σφω ἀπωλώλει 129 'οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως ὡς τὸ γενναῖον ἐν τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις πολέμοις ἀναλίσκεται καὶ ἑς τὴν ποιήσιν τῶν [6] πατρίων ἀναγκαῖοι αἰεὶ εἶναι νομίζονται. ταῦτά τε οὖν ἔπραξε, καὶ προσαπέλπε πᾶσι τοῖς βουλευούσι μὴ ἐκδημεῖν ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἂν μὴ αὐτὸς τινὶ κλεῦσθαι ἢ καὶ ἐπιτρέψῃ. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ δεῦρο αἰεὶ φυλάσσεται: πλὴν γὰρ ὅτι ἔς τε τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ ἑς τὴν

Γαλατίαν τὴν περὶ Νάρβωνα, οὐδαμόσε ἄλλοσε βουλευτῇ ἀποδημῆσαι [7] ἔξεστιν. Ἐκεῖσε γὰρ διὰ τε τὸ σύνεγγυς καὶ διὰ τὸ ἄοπλον τὸ τε εἰρηναῖον τῶν ἀνθρώπων δέδοται τοῖς γέ τι κεκτημένοις αὐτόθι καὶ ἄνευ παραιτήσεως, ὅσάκις ἂν ἐθελήσωσιν, ἀπιέναι. [8] Ἐπειδὴ τε πολλοὺς ἔτι καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου σπουδασάντων ὑπόπτως πρὸς αὐτὸν διακειμένους ἑώρα, καὶ ἐφοβήθη μὴ νεοχμώσωσί τι, πάντα ἔφη τὰ γράμματα τὰ ἐν τοῖς κιβωτίοις αὐτοῦ εὐρεθέντα ἵστακεκαυκέναι. καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς γε διεφθάρκει τινά: τὰ γὰρ δὴ πλείω καὶ πάνυ ἐτήρει, ὥστε μηδ' ὀκνῆσαι ὕστερον αὐτοῖς χρήσασθαι. [p. 190] 43. τοῦτό τε οὖν οὕτως ἐποίησε καὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἐπαπώκισεν, ὅτι ὁ Λέπιδος μέρος τι αὐτῆς ἡρημώκει καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰ δίκαια τῆς ἀποικίας σφῶν λελυκέναι ἐδόκει. τὸν τε Ἀντίοχον τὸν Κομμαγενὸν μετεπέμψατο, ὅτι τινὰ πρεσβευτὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ διαφόρου οἱ ὄντος σταλέντα ἐς τὴν Πρώμην ἐδολοφόνησε, καὶ ἔς τε τὸ συνέδριον [2] ἐσήγαγε καὶ καταψηφισθέντα ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ τὴν Καπρίαν παρὰ τῶν Νεοπολιτῶν, ὥνπερ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἦν, ἀντιδόσει χώρας ἠλλάξατο. κεῖται δὲ οὐ πόρρω τῆς κατὰ Συρρεντὸν 130 ἡπείρου, χρηστὸν μὲν οὐδέν, ὄνομα δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι διὰ τὴν τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐνοίκησιν ἔχουσα.

BOOK 53

τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ τρίτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

α. ὡς ὁ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ναὸς ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ καθιερώθη.

β. ὡς Καῖσαρ ἐδημηγόρησεν ἐν τῇ γερουσίᾳ ὡς τῆς μοναρχίας

ἀφιστάμενος καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰ ἔθνη πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐνείματο.

γ. περὶ τῆς καταστάσεως τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν ἐς τὰ ἔθνη πεμπομένων.

δ. ὡς Καῖσαρ Αὐγουστος ἐπεκλήθη.

ε. περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων ὧν οἱ αὐτοκράτορες λαμβάνουσιν.

ζ. ὡς τὰ σέπτα καθιερώθη.

η. ὡς Καῖσαρ Ἀστυρσι καὶ Καντάβροις ἐπολέμησεν.

θ. ὡς Γαλατία ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχεσθαι ἤρξατο.

ι. ὡς ἡ στοὰ ἡ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ τὸ βαλανεῖον τοῦ Ἀγρίππου καθιερώθη.

κ. ὡς τὸ Πάνθειον καθιερώθη.

λ. ὡς Αὐγουστος ἀφείθη τῆς ἀνάγκης τοῦ τοῖς νόμοις πείθεσθαι.

μ. ὡς ἐπ' Ἀραβίαν τὴν εὐδαίμονα στρατεία ἐγένετο.

χρόνου πλῆθος ἔτη ἕξ, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἶδε ἐγένοντο

Καῖσαρ τὸ ς

μ. Οὐιφάνιος Λ. υἱ. Ἀγρίππας τὸ β ὕπ.

Καῖσαρ τὸ ζ

μ. Οὐιφάνιος Λ. υἱ. Ἀγρίππας τὸ γ ὕπ.

Καῖσαρ Αὐγουστος τὸ η

τ. Στατίλιος Τ. υἱ. ταῦρος τὸ β ὕπ.

Αὔγουστος τὸ θ

μ. Ἰούνιος Μ. υἱ. Σιλανός ὕπ.

Αὔγουστος τὸ ι 3

γ. Νωρβανός Γ. υἱ. γ. ἔγγ. Φλάκκος ὕπ. 4

Αὔγουστος τὸ ια

Γν. Καλπούρνιος Γν. υἱ. Γν. ἔγγ. Πίσων ὕπ. 7

1. τότε μὲν ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, τῷ δὲ ἐξῆς ἔτει ἕκτον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἦρξε, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα κατὰ τὸ νομιζόμενον [p. 194] ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου ἐποίησε, καὶ τοὺς φακέλους τῶν ράβδων τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ συνάρχοντι οἱ κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον παρέδωκεν, αὐτὸς τε ταῖς ἑτέραις ἐχρήσατο, καὶ διάρξας τὸν ὄρκον κατὰ [2] τὰ πάτρια ἐπήγαγε. καὶ εἰ μὲν καὶ αὖθις ταῦτ' ἐποίησεν, οὐκ οἶδα: τὸν γὰρ Ἀγρίππαν ἐς ὑπερβολὴν ἐτίμα: ἀμέλει τὴν τε ἀδελφιδὴν αὐτῷ συνώκισε, καὶ σκηνὴν, ὅποτε συστρατεύοιντο, ὁμοίαν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ παρεῖχε, τὸ τε σύνθημα παρ' [3] ἀμφοτέρων σφῶν ἐδίδοδο. ἐν δ' οὖν τῷ τότε παρόντι τὰ τε ἄλλα ὥσπερ εἴθιστο ἔπραξε, καὶ τὰς ἀπογραφὰς ἐξετέλεσε, καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς πρόκριτος τῆς γερουσίας ἐπεκλήθη, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ ἀκριβεῖ δημοκρατίᾳ ἐνενόμιστο. τὸ τε Ἀπολλώνιον τὸ ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ καὶ τὸ τεμένισμα τὸ περὶ αὐτό, τὰς τε ἀποθήκας τῶν βιβλίων, [4] ἐξεποίησε καὶ καθιέρωσε. καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τῇ πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ γενομένην ψηφισθεῖσαν ἤγαγε μετὰ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν ἵπποδρομίαν διὰ τε τῶν παιδῶν [5] καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν εὐγενῶν ἐποίησε. καὶ αὕτη μὲν διὰ πέντε αἰεὶ ἐτῶν μέχρι τοῦ ἐγίγνετο, ταῖς τέσσαρσιν ἱερωσύναις ἐκ περιτροπῆς μέλουσα, λέγω δὲ τοὺς τε ποντίφικας καὶ τοὺς οἰωνιστὰς τοὺς τε ἑπτὰ καὶ τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα ἄνδρας καλουμένους: τότε δὲ καὶ γυμνικὸς ἀγὼν [p. 196] σταδίου πινὸς ἐν τῷ Ἀρειῳ πεδίῳ ξυλίνου κατασκευασθέντος ἐποιήθη, ὀπλομαχία τε ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων [6] ἐγένετο. καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας ἐπράχθη, οὐδὲ διέλιπε καίτοι νοσήσαντος τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ὁ Ἀγρίππας καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου μέρος ἀνεπλήρου. 2. ὁ δ' οὖν Καῖσαρ ἔς τε τὰς θεωρίας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων δῆθεν ἀνήλiske, καὶ ἐπειδὴ χρημάτων τῷ δημοσίῳ ἐδέησεν, ἐδανείσατό τινα καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ, πρὸς τε τὴν διοίκησιν σφῶν δύο κατ' ἔτος ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων αἰρεῖσθαι ἐκέλευσε. καὶ τῷ πλήθει τετραπλάσιον τὸν σῖτον ἔνειμε, βουλευταῖς [2] τέ πσι χρήματα ἐχαρίσατο: οὕτω γὰρ δὴ πολλοὶ σφῶν πένητες ἐγεγόνεσαν ὥστε μηδ' ἀγορανομῆσαι τινα διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἀναλωμάτων ἐθελῆσαι, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια τὰ τῇ ἀγορανομίᾳ προσήκοντα τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, καθάπερ εἴθιστο, τὰ μὲν μείζω τῷ ἀστυνόμῳ τὰ δὲ ἕτερα τῷ ξενικῷ προσταχθῆναι. [3] πρὸς δὲ δὴ τοῦτοις

τὸν ἀστυνόμον αὐτὸς ἀπέδειξεν: ὁ καὶ αὐθις πολλάκις ἐποίησε. καὶ τὰς ἐγγύας τὰς πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον πρὸ τῆς πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ μάχης γενομένης, πλὴν τῶν περὶ τὰ οἰκοδομήματα, ἀπήλλαξε, τὰ τε παλαιὰ συμβόλαια ^[4] τῶν τῷ κοινῷ τι ὀφειλόντων ἔκαυσε. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἱερὰ τὰ Αἰγύπτια οὐκ ἐσεδέξατο εἶσω τοῦ πωμηρίου, τῶν δὲ δὴ νάων πρόνοιαν ἐποιήσατο: τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ὑπ' ἰδιωτῶν τινων γεγεννημένους τοῖς τε παισὶν αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις, εἶγε τινὲς περιῆσαν, ἐπισκευάσαι ἐκέλευσε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς αὐτὸς ἀνεκτήσατο. ^[p. 198] ^[5] οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὴν δόξαν τῆς οἰκοδομήσεώς σφων ἐσφετερίσατο, ἀλλ' ἀπέδωκεν αὐτοῖς τοῖς κατασκευάσασιν αὐτούς. ἐπειδὴ τε πολλὰ πάνυ κατὰ τε τὰς στάσεις κἂν τοῖς πολέμοις, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ τε Λεπίδου συναρχίᾳ, καὶ ἀνόμως καὶ ἀδίκως ἐτετάχει, πάντα αὐτὰ δι' ἐνὸς προγράμματος κατέλυσεν, ὅρον τὴν ^[6] ἔκτην αὐτοῦ ὑπατείαν προθείς. εὐδοκιμῶν τε οὖν ἐπὶ τοῦτοις καὶ ἐπαινούμενος ἐπεθύμησε καὶ ἑτέραν τινὰ μεγαλοφυχίαν διαδείξασθαι, ὅπως καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτου μᾶλλον τιμηθῇ, καὶ παρ' ἐκόντων δὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν μοναρχίαν βεβαιώσασθαι τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ἄκοντας αὐτοὺς βεβιάσθαι. ^[7] καὶ τοῦτου τοὺς μάλιστα ἐπιτηδεῖους οἱ τῶν βουλευτῶν παρασκευάσας ἔς τε τὴν γερουσίαν ἐσῆλθεν ἔβδομον ὑπατεύων, καὶ ἀνέγνω τοιάδε: 3. ἄπιστα μὲν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι δόξω τισὶν ὑμῶν, ὧ πατέρες, προηρῆσθαι: ἃ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος τῶν ἀκουόντων οὐκ ἂν ἐθελήσειε ποιῆσαι, ταῦτ' οὐδὲ ἑτέρου λέγοντος πιστεῦειν βούλεται, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι πᾶς παντὶ τῷ ὑπερέχοντι φθονῶν ἐτοιμότερον ^[2] ἀπιστεῖ τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτὸν λεγομένοις. καὶ προσέτι καὶ γινώσκω τοῦθ', ὅτι οἱ τὰ μὴ πιστὰ δοκοῦντα εἶναι λέγοντες οὐχ ὅσον οὐ πείθουσί τινας, ἀλλὰ καὶ κόβαλοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν τι τοιοῦτον ἐπηγγελλόμην ὃ μὴ παραχρῆμα ποιήσῃν ἔμελλον, σφόδρα ἂν ἀπώκνησα αὐτὸ ἐκφῆναι, μὴ καὶ αἰτίαν τινὰ μοχθηρὰν ἀντὶ χάριτος λάβω: ^[p. 200] ^[3] νῦν δ' ὁπότε εὐθὺς καὶ τήμερον ἐπακολουθήσει τὸ ἔργον αὐτῷ, πάνυ θαρσύνντως ἔχω μὴ μόνον μηδεμίαν αἰσχύνην ψευδολογίας ὀφλήσειν, ἀλλὰ 4. καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους εὐδοξία νικήσειν. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ πάρεστί μοι διὰ παντὸς ὑμῶν ἄρχειν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁρᾷτε: τὸ τε γὰρ στασιάσαν πᾶν ἦτοι δικαιοθὲν πέπαυται ἢ καὶ ἐλεηθὲν σεσωφρόνισται, καὶ τὸ συναράμενόν μοι τῇ τε ἀμοιβῇ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν ὠκειῖται καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῶν πραγμάτων ^[2] ὠχύρῳται, ὥστε μήτε ἐπιθυμῆσαι τίνα νεωτέρων ἔργων, κἂν ἄρα τι καὶ τοιοῦτο γένηται, τὸ γοῦν βοηθῆσον ἡμῖν ἔτοιμον ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον εἶναι. τὰ τε στρατιωτικὰ ἀκμάζει μοι καὶ εὐνοία καὶ ῥώμη, καὶ χρήματα ἔστι καὶ σύμμαχοι, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ ὁ δῆμος διάκεισθε πρὸς με ὥστε καὶ πάνυ ἂν προστατεῖσθαι ^[3] ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐθελῆσαι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ὑμᾶς ἐξηγήσομαι, οὐδὲ ἔρεῖ τις ὡς ἐγὼ τῆς αὐταρχίας ἔνεκα πάντα τὰ προκατειργασμένα ἔπραξα: ἀλλὰ ἀφήμι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἅπασαν καὶ ἀποδίδωμι ὑμῖν πάντα ἀπλῶς, τὰ ὅπλα τοὺς νόμους τὰ ἔθνη, οὐχ ὅπως ἐκεῖνα ὅσα μοι ὑμεῖς ^[4] ἐπετρέψατε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα αὐτὸς μετὰ ταῦθ' ὑμῖν προσεκτησάμην, ἵνα καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων καταμάθῃτε τοῦθ' ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν ἀρχῆς δυναστείας τινὸς ἐπεθύμησα, ἀλλ' ὄντως τῷ τε πατρὶ δεινῶς σφαγέντι τιμωρῆσαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ μεγάλων καὶ ἐπαλλήλων κακῶν

ἐξελέσθαι ἠθέλησα. 5. ὄφελον μὲν γὰρ μηδὲ ἐπιστῆναι ποτε οὕτω τοῖς πράγμασι: τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ὄφελον μὴ [p. 202] δεδεῆσθαι μου πρὸς τοιοῦτό τι τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ὁμονοίᾳ, καθάπερ ποτὲ καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν, καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ [2] ἀπ' ἀρχῆς βεβιωκέναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰμαρμένη τις, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐς τοῦτο προήγαγεν ὑμᾶς ὥστε καὶ ἐμοῦ, καίπερ νέου ἔτι τότε ὄντος, καὶ χρεῖαν σχεῖν καὶ πεῖραν λαβεῖν, μέχρι μὲν οὗ τὰ πράγματα τῆς παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐπικουρίας ἔχρηζε, πάντα τε προθύμως καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐποίησα καὶ πάντα εὐτυχῶς καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν δύναμιν κατέπραξα: [3] καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ τι τῶν πάντων ἀπέτρεψέ με κινδυνεύουσιν ὑμῖν ἐπικουρῆσαι, οὐ πόνος, οὐ φόβος, οὐκ ἐχθρῶν ἀπειλαί, οὐ φίλων δεήσεις, οὐ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συνεστηκότων, οὐχ ἡ ἀπόνοια τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων, ἀλλ' ἐπέδωκα ἀφειδῶς ὑμῖν ἐμμαντὸν ἐς πάντα τὰ περιεστηκότα, καὶ ἔπραξα [4] καὶ ἔπαθον ἅπερ ἴστε. ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν κεκέρδαγκα πλὴν τοῦ τὴν πατρίδα περιπεποιηθῆσαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ σώζεσθε καὶ σωφρονεῖτε. ἐπεὶ δὲ καλῶς ποιοῦσα ἡ τύχη καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄδολον καὶ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν ἀστασίαστον δι' ἐμοῦ ὑμῖν ἀποδέδωκεν, ἀπολάβετε καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν, κομίσασθε καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ὑπήκοα, καὶ πολιτεύεσθε ὥσπερ εἰώθειτε. 6.

καὶ μήτε θαυμάσητε εἰ ταῦθ' οὕτω φρονῶ, τὴν τε ἄλλην ἐπιείκειάν μου καὶ πρᾶότητα καὶ ἀπραγμοσύνην ὀρώντες, καὶ προσεκλογιζόμενοι ὅτι οὐδὲν πώποτε οὕθ' ὑπέρογκον οὕθ' ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλούς, καίπερ πολλὰ πολλάκις ψηφισαμένων [2] ὑμῶν, ἐδεξάμην: μήτ' αὖ μωρίαν μου καταγνῶτε, [p. 204] ὅτι ἐξόν μοι καὶ ὑμῶν ἄρχειν καὶ τηλικαύτην ἡγεμονίαν τοσαύτης οἰκουμένης ἔχειν οὐ βούλομαι. ἐγὼ γάρ, ἂν τε τὸ δίκαιόν τις ἐξετάζῃ, δικαιοτάτον εἶναι νομίζω τὸ τὰ ὑμέτερα ὑμᾶς διέπειν, ἂν τε καὶ τὸ συμφέρον, συμφορώτατον ἡγοῦμαι καὶ ἐμοὶ τὸ μήτε πράγματα ἔχειν μήτε φθονεῖσθαι μήτε ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι καὶ ὑμῖν τὸ μετ' ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωφρόνως καὶ φιλικῶς πολιτεύεσθαι: [3] ἂν τε καὶ τὸ εὐκλεές, οὔτε ἕνεκα πολλοὶ καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν πολλάκις αἰροῦνται, πῶς μὲν οὐκ εὐδοξοτάτον μοι ἔσται τηλικαύτης ἀρχῆς ἀφέσθαι, πῶς δ' οὐκ εὐκλεέστατον ἐκ τοσούτου ἡγεμονίας ὄγκου ἐθελοντὶ ἰδιωτεῦσαι; ὥστ' εἴ τις ὑμῶν ἀπιστεῖ ταῦτ' ὄντως τινὰ ἄλλον καὶ φρονῆσαι ἐπ' ἀληθείας καὶ εἰπεῖν δύνασθαι, [4] ἔμοιγε πιστευσάτω. πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ μεγάλα καταλέξει ἔχων ὅσα καὶ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός μου εὐηργέτησθε, ἐφ' οἷς εἰκότως ἂν ἡμᾶς ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ φιλοίητε καὶ τιμώητε, οὐδὲν ἂν ἄλλο τοῦτου μᾶλλον εἴποιμι, οὐδ' ἂν ἐπ' ἄλλῳ τινὶ μᾶλλον σεμνυναιμην, ὅτι τὴν μοναρχίαν μήτε ἐκεῖνος καίτοι διδόντων ὑμῶν λαβεῖν ἠθέλησε καὶ ἐγὼ ἔχων ἀφίημι. 7.

τί γὰρ ἂν τις καὶ παρεξετάσειεν αὐτῷ; τὴν Γαλατίας ἄλωσιν ἢ τὴν Παννονίας δούλωσιν ἢ τὴν Μυσίας χεῖρωσιν ἢ τὴν Αἰγύπτου καταστροφῇ; ἀλλὰ τὸν Φαρνάκην τὸν Ἰούβαν τὸν Φραάτην, τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Βρεττανούς στρατείαν, [p. 206] τὴν τοῦ Ῥήνου διάβασιν; καίτοι τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα ταῦτά ἐστιν ὅσα καὶ οἷα οὐδὲ σύμπαντες οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐν παντὶ τῷ πρόσθε

χρόνῳ [2] πεποιήκασιν. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὔτε τούτων τι τῷ παρόντι ἔργῳ παραβαλεῖν ἔστιν ἄξιον, οὐθ' ὅτι τοὺς ἐμφυλίους πολέμους καὶ μεγίστους καὶ ποικιλωτάτους διὰ πάντων γενομένους καὶ διεπολεμήσαμεν καλῶς καὶ διεθέμεθα φιланθρωπῶς, τοῦ μὲν ἀντιστάντος ὡς καὶ πολεμίου παντὸς κρατήσαντες, τὸ δ' ὑπεῖξαν ὡς καὶ φίλιον πᾶν περισώσαντες, [3] ὥστ' εἴπερ ποτὲ καὶ αὐθις πεπρωμένον εἶη τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν νοσῆσαι, τοῦτον αὐτὴν τὸν τρόπον εὐξασθαι τινα στασιάσαι: τὸ γάρ τοι τοσοῦτόν τε ἰσχύσαντας ἡμᾶς καὶ οὕτω καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ καὶ τῇ τύχῃ ἀκμάσαντας ὥστε καὶ ἐκόντων καὶ ἀκόντων ὑμῶν αὐταρχῆσαι δυνηθῆναι, μήτε ἐκφρονῆσαι μήτε τῆς μοναρχίας ἐπιθυμῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖνον διδομένην αὐτὴν ἀπώσασθαι καὶ ἐμὲ δεδομένην ἀποδιδόναι, ὑπὲρ ἀνθρωπὸν [4] ἔστιν. λέγω δὲ ταῦτα οὐκ ἄλλως ἐπικομπῶν 'οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν εἶπον αὐτὰ ἀρχήν, εἰ καὶ ὁτιοῦν πλεονεκτῆσειν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἡμελλον', ἀλλ' ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὅτι πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἔς τε τὸ κοινὸν εὐεργετημάτων καὶ ἔς τὰ οἰκεία σεμνολογημάτων ἡμῖν ὄντων, ἐπὶ τούτῳ μάλιστα ἀγαλλόμεθα ὅτι, ὧν ἕτεροι καὶ βιαζόμενοι τινὰς ἐπιθυμοῦσι, ταῦθ' 8. ἡμεῖς οὐδ' ἀναγκαζόμενοι προσιέμεθα. τίς μὲν γὰρ ἂν μεγαλοψυχότερός μου, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τὸν πατέρα τὸν μετῆλλαχότα αὐθις εἴπω, τίς δὲ δαιμονιώτερος εὐρεθεῖ; ὅστις, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ Ἡρακλες, [p. 208] στρατιώτας τοσοῦτους καὶ τοιοῦτους, καὶ πολίτας καὶ συμμάχους, φιλοῦντάς με ἔχων, καὶ πάσης μὲν τῆς ἐντὸς τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν θαλάσσης πλήν ὀλίγων κρατῶν, ἐν πάσαις δὲ ταῖς ἡπείροις [2] καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη κεκτημένος, καὶ μήτ' ἄλλοφύλου τινὸς ἔτι προσπολεμοῦντός μοι μήτ' οἰκείου στασιάζοντος, ἀλλὰ πάντων ὑμῶν καὶ εἰρηνούντων καὶ ὁμονοούντων καὶ εὐθενούντων καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἐθελοντηδὸν πειθαρχούντων, ἔπειθ' ἐκούσιος αὐτεπάγγελτος καὶ ἀρχῆς τηλικαύτης ἀφίσταμαι καὶ οὐσίας τοσαύτης ἀπαλλάττομαι. [3] ὥστ' εἴπερ ὁ Ὅραπιος ὁ Μούκιος ὁ Κούρπιος ὁ Ῥήγουλος οἱ Δέκιος καὶ κινδυνεῦσαι καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέγα τι καὶ καλὸν πεποιηκέναι δόξα ἠθέλησαν, πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μᾶλλον ἐπιθυμήσαιμι τοῦτο πρᾶξαι ἐξ οὗ κάκεινους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅμα πάντας ἀνθρώπους εὐκλεία ζῶν [4] ὑπερβαλῶ; μὴ γάρ τοι νομίση τις ὑμῶν τοὺς μὲν πάλαι Ῥωμαίους καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐδοξίας ἐφέισθαι, νῦν δὲ ἐξίτηλον ἐν τῇ πόλει πᾶν τὸ ἀνδρῶδες γεγονέναι. μὴ μέντοι μηδ' ὑποπτεύσῃ ὅτι προέσθαι τε ὑμᾶς καὶ πονηροῖς τισιν ἀνδράσιν ἐπιτρέψαι, ἢ καὶ ὀχλοκρατία τινί, ἐξ ἧς οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα τὰ δεινότατα αἰεὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις γίγνεται, ἐκδοῦναι βούλομαι. [5] ὑμῖν γάρ, ὑμῖν τοῖς ἀρίστοις καὶ φρονιμωτάτοις πάντα τὰ κοινὰ ἀνατίθημι. ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ οὐδέποτε ἂν ἐποίησα, οὐδ' εἰ μυριάκις ἀποθανεῖν ἢ καὶ μοναρχῆσαι με ἔδει: τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ [6] ἑμαυτοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ποιῶ. αὐτὸς τε [p. 210] γὰρ καὶ πεπόννημαι καὶ τεταλαιπώρημαι, καὶ οὐκέτ' οὔτε τῇ ψυχῇ οὔτε τῷ σώματι ἀντέχειν δύναμαι: καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὸν φθόνον καὶ τὸ μῖσος, ἃ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀρίστους ἀνδρας ἐγγίγνεται τισι, τὰς τε ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπιβουλὰς προορῶμαι. [7] καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἰδιωτεῦσαι μᾶλλον εὐκλεῶς ἢ μοναρχῆσαι ἐπικινδύνως αἰροῦμαι. καὶ τὰ κοινὰ κοινῶς ἂν πολὺ βέλτιον ἄτε καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἅμα διαγόμενα καὶ μὴ ἔς ἓνα τινὰ ἀνηρητημένα διοικοῖτο. 9.

δί οὖν ταῦτα καὶ ἱκετεύω καὶ δέομαι πάντων ὑμῶν ὁμοίως καὶ συνεπαινέσαι καὶ συμπροθυμηθῆναι μοι, λογισαμένους πάνθ' ὅσα καὶ πεπολέμηκα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ πεπολίτευμαι, κἂν τοῦτω πᾶσάν μοι τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν χάριν ἀποδόντας, ἐν τῷ συγχωρῆσαι μοι ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ ἤδη ποτὲ καταβιβῶναι, ἵνα καὶ ἐκεῖνο εἰδῇτε ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἄρχειν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ἐπίσταμαι, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἄλλοις ἐπέταξα, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀντεπιταχθῆναι δύναμαι. [2] μάλιστα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ζήσειν καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ μηδενὸς μήτε ἔργῳ μήτε λόγῳ κακὸν πείσεσθαι προσδοκῶ: τοσοῦτόν που τῇ εὐνοίᾳ ὑμῶν, ἐξ [3] ὧν αὐτὸς ἐμαυτῷ σύνοιδα, πιστεύω. ἂν δέ τι καὶ πάθω, οἷα πολλοῖς συμβαίνει ὅουδὲ γὰρ οἷόν τέ ἐστι πᾶσι τινα, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν τοσοῦτοις πολέμοις, τοῖς μὲν ὀθνείοις τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐμφυλίοις, γενόμενον καὶ τηλικαῦτα πράγματα ἐπιτραπέντα, ἀρέσαι, καὶ πάνυ ἐτοιμῶς καὶ πρὸ τοῦ εἰμαρμένου [p. 212] μοι χρόνου τελευτῆσαι μᾶλλον ἰδιωτεύσας, ἢ καὶ ἀθάνατος μοναρχήσας γενέσθαι, αἰροῦμαι. [4] ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ εὐκλειαν καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο οἶσει ὅτι οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐφόνευσά τινα ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσαπέθανον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ μοναρχῆσαι: ὁ δὲ δὴ τολμήσας ἀποκτεῖναι με πάντως που καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου καὶ ὑφ' [5] ὑμῶν κολασθήσεται. ἅπερ που καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρός μου γέγονεν: ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἰσόθεος ἀπεδείχθη καὶ τιμῶν αἰδίων ἔτυχεν, οἱ δ' ἀποσφάξαντες αὐτὸν κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπώλοντο. ἀθάνατοι μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν δυνηθῆμεν γενέσθαι, ἐκ δὲ δὴ τοῦ καλῶς ζῆσαι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ καλῶς τελευτῆσαι [6] καὶ τοῦτο τρόπον τινὰ κτώμεθα. ἅψ' οὐπερ καὶ ἐγὼ τὸ μὲν ἤδη ἔχων τὸ δὲ ἔξω ἐλπίζων, ἀποδίδωμι ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰς τε προσόδους καὶ τοὺς νόμους, τοσοῦτον μόνον ὑπειπὼν, ἵνα μήτε τὸ μέγεθος ἢ καὶ τὸ δυσμεταχείριστον τῶν πραγμάτων φοβηθέντες ἀθυμήσητε, μήτ' αὖ καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν ὥς καὶ ῥαδίως διοικεῖσθαι δυναμένων ἀμελήσητε. 10.

καίτοι καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν μειζόνων οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμι ὑμῖν ἐν κεφαλαίοις ὅσα χρὴ πράττειν ὑποθέσθαι. τίνα δὲ ταῦτά ἐστι; πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς κειμένους νόμους ἰσχυρῶς φυλάττετε, καὶ μηδὲνα αὐτῶν μεταβάλητε: τὰ γὰρ ἐν ταύτῳ μένοντα, κἂν χεῖρῳ ἤ, συμφορώτερα τῶν αἰὲ καινοτομουμένων, κἂν βελτίῳ εἶναι δοκῇ, ἐστίν. [2] ἔπειτα δέ, ὅσα προστάτουσιν ὑμῖν οὗτοι ποιεῖν [p. 214] καὶ ὅσων ἀπαγορεύουσιν ἀπέχεσθαι, μὴ τῷ λόγῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ, μηδ' ἐν τῷ κοινῷ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἀκριβῶς παρατηρεῖσθε, [3] ὅπως μὴ τιμωρίας ἀλλὰ τιμῶν τυγχάνητε. τὰς τε ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς εἰρηνικὰς καὶ τὰς πολεμικὰς τοῖς αἰὲ ἀρίστοις τε καὶ ἐμφρονεστάτοις ἐπιτρέπετε, μήτε φθονοῦντές τι, μήθ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὸν δεῖνα ἢ τὸν δεῖνα πλεονεκτῆσαι τι, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν πόλιν καὶ σώζεσθαι καὶ εὐπραγεῖν [4] φιλοτιμούμενοι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν τοιούτους τιμᾶτε, τοὺς δ' ἄλλως πως πολιτευομένους κολάζετε. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἴδια κοινὰ τῇ πόλει παρέχετε, τῶν δὲ δημοσίων ὥς ἀλλοτρίων ἀπέχεσθε. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπάρχονθ' ὑμῖν ἀκριβῶς φυλάττετε, τῶν δὲ μὴ [5] προσηκόντων μηδαμῶς ἐφίεσθε. καὶ τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους καὶ τοὺς ὑπηκόους μήθ' ὑβρίζετε μήτε ἐκχρηματίζεσθε, τοὺς δὲ

πολεμίους μήτ' ἀδικεῖτε μήτε φοβεῖσθε. τὰ μὲν ὄπλα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αἰεῖ ἔχετε, μὴ μέντοι μήτε κατ' ἀλλήλων ^[6] μήτε κατὰ τῶν εἰρηνούντων αὐτοῖς χρησθε. τοὺς τε στρατιώτας τρέφετε μὲν ἀρκούντως, ὥστε μηδενὸς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων δι' ἀπορίαν ἐπιθυμῆσαι, συνέχετε δὲ καὶ σωφρονίζετε, ὥστε μηδὲν κακὸν διὰ θρασυτήτα δρᾶσαι. ^[7]

ἀλλὰ τί δεῖ μακρολογεῖν, πάνθ' ἃ προσήκει ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἐπεξιόντα; καὶ γὰρ τὰ λοιπὰ ῥαδίως ἂν ἐκ τούτων ὡς χρὴ πράττεσθαι συνιδοίτε. ἐν οὖν ἔτι τοῦτο εἰπὼν παύσομαι, ὅτι ἂν μὲν οὕτω πολιτεύσησθε, αὐτοὶ τε εὐδαιμονήσετε καὶ ἔμοι ^[p. 216] χαριεῖσθε, ὅστις ὑμᾶς στασιάζοντας κακῶς λαβὼν ^[8] τοιοῦτους ἀπέδειξα, ἂν δ' ἀδυνατήσητε καὶ ὅτιοῦν αὐτῶν πρᾶξαι, ἐμὲ μὲν μετανοῆσαι ποιήσετε, τὴν δὲ δὴ πόλιν ἔς τε πολέμους πολλοὺς καὶ ἔς κινδύνους μεγάλους αὐθις ἐμβαλεῖτε.

‘ 11. τοιαῦτα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀναλέγοντος ποικίλον τι πάθος τοῦ βουλευτᾶς κατελάμβανεν. ὀλίγοι μὲν γὰρ τὴν τε διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ ἤδεσαν κακ τοῦτου καὶ συνεσποῦδαζον αὐτῷ: τῶν δ' ἄλλων οἱ μὲν ὑπώπτευνον τὰ λεγόμενα οἱ δὲ ἐπίστευόν σφισι, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐθαύμαζον ὁμοίως ἀμφοτέροι, ^[2] οἱ μὲν τὴν περιτέχνησιν αὐτοῦ οἱ δὲ τὴν γνώμην, καὶ ἤχθοντο οἱ μὲν τῇ πραγματείᾳ αὐτοῦ οἱ δὲ τῇ μετανοίᾳ. τό τε γὰρ δημοκρατικὸν ἤδη τινὲς ὡς καὶ στασιῶδες ἐμίσουν, καὶ τῇ μεταστάσει τῆς πολιτείας ἠρέσκοντο, τῷ τε Καίσαρι ἔχαιρον. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τοῖς μὲν παθήμασι διαφόροις τοῖς ^[3] δὲ ἐπινοήμασιν ὁμοίοις ἐχρῶντο. οὔτε γὰρ πιστεύσαντες ἀληθῶς αὐτὰ λέγεσθαι χαίρειν ἐδύναντο, οὔθ' οἱ βουλόμενοι τοῦτο διὰ τὸ δέος, οὔθ' οἱ ἕτεροι διὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας: οὔτ' ἀπιστήσαντες διαβαλεῖν τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐλέγχειν ἐτόλμων, οἱ μὲν ^[4] ὅτι ἐφοβοῦντο, οἱ δ' ὅτι οὐκ ἐβούλοντο. ὅθεν περ καὶ πιστεῦειν αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ μὲν ἠναγκάζοντο οἱ δὲ ἐπλάττοντο. καὶ ἐπαινεῖν αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἐθάρσουν οἱ δ' οὐκ ἤθελον, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ μεταξὺ ἀναγινώσκοντος αὐτοῦ διεβόων πολλὰ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο, μοναρχεῖσθαι τε δεόμενοι καὶ ^[p. 218] πάντα τὰ ἔς τοῦτο φέροντα ἐπιλέγοντες, μέχρις ^[5] οὗ κατηνάγκασαν δῆθεν αὐτὸν αὐταρχῆσαι. καὶ παραντίκα γε τοῖς δορυφορήσουσιν αὐτὸν διπλάσιον τὸν μισθὸν τοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατιώταις δεδομένου ψηφισθῆναι διεπράξατο, ὅπως ἀκριβῆ τὴν φρουρὰν ἔχη. οὕτως ὡς ἀληθῶς καταθέσθαι τὴν μοναρχίαν ἐπεθύμησε. 12. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἡγεμονίαν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ καὶ παρὰ τῆς γερουσίας τοῦ τε δήμου ἐβεβαιώσατο, βουλευθεὶς δὲ δὴ καὶ ὡς δημοτικός τις εἶναι δόξαι, τὴν μὲν φροντίδα τὴν τε προστασίαν τῶν κοινῶν πᾶσαν ὡς καὶ ἐπιμελείας τινὸς δεδομένων ὑπεδέξατο, οὔτε δὲ πάντων αὐτὸς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἄρξειν, ^[2] οὔθ' ὅσων ἂν ἄρξῃ, διὰ παντὸς τοῦτο ποιήσῃν ἔφη, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἀσθενέστερα ὡς καὶ εἰρηνᾶ καὶ ἀπόλεμα ἀπέδωκε τῇ βουλῇ, τὰ δ' ἰσχυρότερα ὡς καὶ σφαλερὰ καὶ ἐπικίνδυνα καὶ ἥτοι πολεμίους τινὰς προσοίκους ἔχοντα ἢ καὶ αὐτὰ καθ' ^[3] ἑαυτὰ μέγα τι νεωτερίσαι δυνάμενα κατέσχε, λόγῳ μὲν ὅπως ἢ μὲν γερουσία ἀδεῶς τὰ κάλλιστα τῆς ἀρχῆς καρπῶτο, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς τε πόνους καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους ἔχη, ἔργῳ δὲ ἵνα ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ ἐκείνοι

μὲν καὶ ἄσπλοι καὶ ἄμαχοι ὥσιν, αὐτὸς δὲ δὴ μόνος καὶ ὄπλα ἔχη καὶ στρατιώτας^[4] τρέφῃ. καὶ ἐνομισθῇ διὰ ταῦτα ἢ μὲν Ἀφρικὴ καὶ ἡ Νουμιδία ἢ τε Ἀσία καὶ ἡ Ἑλλάς μετὰ τῆς Ἡπείρου, καὶ τὸ Δελματικὸν τὸ τε Μακεδονικὸν καὶ Σικελία, Κρήτη τε μετὰ Λιβύης τῆς^[p. 220] περὶ Κυρήνην καὶ Βιθυνία μετὰ τοῦ προσκειμένου οἱ Πόντου, Σαρδῶ τε καὶ Βαιτικὴ τοῦ τε δήμου^[5] καὶ τῆς γερουσίας εἶναι, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρος ἢ τε λοιπὴ Ἰβηρία, ἢ τε περὶ Ταρράκωνα καὶ ἡ Λυσιτανία, καὶ Γαλάται πάντες, οἳ τε Ναρβωνῆσιοι καὶ οἱ Λουγδουνῆσιοι Ἀκυιτανοὶ τε καὶ Βελγικοί,^[6] αὐτοὶ τε καὶ οἱ ἔποικοι σφω: Κελτῶν γάρ τινες, οὓς δὴ Γερμανοὺς καλοῦμεν, πᾶσαν τὴν πρὸς τῷ Ῥήνῳ Βελγικὴν κατασχόντες Γερμανίαν ὀνομάζεσθαι ἐποίησαν, τὴν μὲν ἄνω τὴν μετὰ τὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ πηγάς, τὴν δὲ κάτω τὴν μέχρι τοῦ^[7] ὠκεανοῦ τοῦ Βρεττανικοῦ οὖσαν. ταῦτά τε οὖν καὶ ἡ Συρία ἡ κοίλη καλουμένη ἢ τε Φοινίκη καὶ Κιλικία καὶ Κύπρος καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐν τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος μερίδι τότε ἐγένοντο: ὕστερον γάρ τὴν μὲν Κύπρον καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν περὶ Νάρβωνα τῷ δήμῳ ἀπέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν Δελματίαν^[8] ἀντέλαβε. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων ἐθνῶν μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη, ὥς που καὶ ἡ διέξοδος τοῦ λόγου δηλώσει: ταῦτα δὲ οὕτω κατέλεξα, ὅτι νῦν χωρὶς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἡγεμονεύεται, ἐπεὶ τό γε ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ σύνδυο καὶ σύντριά τὰ^[9] ἐθνη ἅμα ἤρχετο. τῶν δὲ δὴ λοιπῶν οὐκ ἐμνημόνευσα, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ὕστερον αὐτῶν προσεκλήθη, τὰ δέ, εἰ καὶ τότε ἤδη ἐκεχεῖρωτο, ἀλλ' οὐτι γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἤρχετο, ἀλλ' ἢ αὐτόνομα ἀφείτο ἢ καὶ βασιλείαις τισὶν ἐπετέτραπτο: καὶ^[p. 222] αὐτῶν ὅσα μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐς τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἀφίκετο, τῷ αἰὲ κρατοῦντι προσετέθη. 13. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἔθνη οὕτω διηρέθη, βουλευθεὶς δὲ δὴ καὶ ὥς ὁ Καῖσαρ πόρρω σφᾶς ἀπαγαγεῖν τοῦ τι μοναρχικὸν φρονεῖν δοκεῖν, ἐς δέκα ἔτη τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν δοθέντων οἱ ὑπέστη: τοσοῦτῳ τε γὰρ χρόνῳ καταστήσειν αὐτὰ ὑπέσχετο, καὶ προσεναγιένυστο εἰπὼν ὅτι, ἂν καὶ θάπτον ἡμερωθῇ, θάπτον^[2] αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἀποδώσει. κάκ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοὺς τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἑκατέρων τῶν ἐθνῶν, πλὴν Αἰγυπτίων, ἄρχειν κατέδειξεν ἑκείνοις γὰρ δὴ μόνοις τὸν ὠνομασμένον ἱππέα, δι' ἅπερ εἶπον, προσέταξεν: ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς μὲν καὶ ἐπετησίους καὶ κληρωτοὺς εἶναι, πλὴν εἰ τῷ πολυπαιδίας ἢ^[3] γάμου προνομία προσεῖη, καὶ ἕκ τε τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς γερουσίας συλλόγου πέμπεσθαι μήτε ξίφος παραζωννυμένους μήτε στρατιωτικῇ ἐσθῇ τι χρωμένους, καὶ ἀνθυπάτους καλεῖσθαι μὴ ὅτι τοὺς δύο τοὺς ὑπάτευκότες ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐκ τῶν^[4] ἐστρατηγηκόντων ἢ δοκούντων γὰρ ἐστρατηγηκέναι μόνον ὄντας, ῥαβδούχοις τέ σφας ἑκατέρους ὅσοισπερ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄστει νενόμισται χρῆσθαι, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπίσημα καὶ παραχρῆμα ἅμα^[p. 224] τῷ ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου γενέσθαι προστίθεσθαι καὶ διὰ παντὸς μέχρις ἂν ἀνακομισθῶσιν ἔχειν ἐκέλευσε.^[5] τοὺς δὲ ἑτέρους ὑπὸ τε ἑαυτοῦ αἰρεῖσθαι καὶ πρεσβευτὰς αὐτοῦ ἀντιστρατήγους τε ὀνομάζεσθαι, κἂν ἐκ τῶν ὑπάτευκόντων ὦσι, διέταξε. τῶν γὰρ δὴ δύο τούτων ὀνομάτων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ἀνθησάντων, τὸ μὲν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τοῖς αἰρετοῖς ὥς καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου προσῆκον ἔδωκεν, ἀντιστρατήγους σφᾶς προσεῖπὼν, τὸ δὲ δὴ τῶν ὑπᾶτων τοῖς ἑτέροις ὥς καὶ εἰρηνικωτέροις,

ἀνθυπάτους αὐτοὺς [6] ἐπικαλέσας. αὐτὰ μὲν γὰρ τὰ ὀνόματα, τὸ τε τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τὸ τοῦ ὑπάτου, ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἐτήρησε, τοὺς δὲ ἔξω πάντα ὡς καὶ ἀντ' ἐκείνων ἄρχοντας προσηγόρευσε. τῇ τε οὖν ἐπικλήσει τῇ τῶν ἀντιστρατήγων τοὺς αἰρετοὺς χρῆσθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω καὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ χρόνον, ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν ἐαυτῷ δόξη, ἄρχειν ἐποίησε, τὴν τε στρατιωτικὴν σκευὴν φοροῦντας καὶ ξίφος, οἷς γε καὶ στρατιώτας [7] δικαιοῦσαι ἔξεστιν, ἔχοντας. ἄλλω γὰρ οὐδενὶ οὔτε ἀνθυπάτῳ οὔτε ἀντιστρατήγῳ οὔτε ἐπιτρόπῳ ξιφηφορεῖν δέδοται, ὥ μὴ καὶ στρατιώτην τινὰ ἀποκτείνειν ἐξεῖναι νενόμισται: οὐ γὰρ ὅτι τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἵππεῦσιν, οἷς τοῦθ' [8] ὑπάρχει, καὶ ἐκεῖνο συγκεχώρηται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔχει, ῥαβδούχοις δὲ δὴ πέντε πάντες ὁμοίως οἱ ἀντιστράτηγοι χρῶνται, καὶ ὅσοι γε οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων εἰσὶ, καὶ ὀνομάζονται ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ [p. 226] ἀριθμοῦ τούτου. τὰ τε τῆς ἡγεμονίας κοσμήματα, ὅταν τε ἐς τὴν προστεταγμένην σφίσι χώραν ἐσέλθωσιν, ἑκάτεροι ὁμοίως ἀναλαμβάνουσι, καὶ ἐπειδὴν διάρξωσιν, εὐθὺς κατατιθενται. 14. οὕτω μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκ τε τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων ἄρχοντες ἀμφοτέρωσε πέμπεσθαι ἐνομίσθησαν. καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν αὐτοκράτωρ ὅποι τέ τινα καὶ ὁπότε ἤθελεν ἔστελλε, καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ στρατηγοῦντες καὶ ὑπατεύοντες ἡγεμονίας ἐθνῶν ἔσχον, ὃ καὶ νῦν [2] ἔστιν ὅτε γίγνεται: τῇ δὲ δὴ βουλῇ ἰδίᾳ μὲν τοῖς τε ὑπατευκόσι τὴν τε Ἀφρικὴν καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τοῖς ἐστρατηγηκόσι τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα ἀπένειμε, κοινῇ δὲ δὴ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ἀπηγόρευσε μηδένα πρὸ πέντε ἐτῶν μετὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἄρξαι [3] κληροῦσθαι. καὶ χρόνῳ μὲν τινι πάντες οἱ τοιοῦτοι, εἰ καὶ πλείους τῶν ἐθνῶν ἦσαν, ἐλάγχανον αὐτά: ὕστερον δέ, ἐπειδὴ τινες αὐτῶν οὐ καλῶς ἦρχον, τῷ αὐτοκράτορι καὶ ἐκεῖνοι προσετέθησαν, καὶ οὕτω καὶ τούτοις αὐτὸς τρόπον [4] τινὰ τὰς ἡγεμονίας δίδωσιν. ἰσαριθμούς τε γὰρ τοῖς ἔθνεσι, καὶ οὐς ἂν ἐθέλῃσιν, κληροῦσθαι κελεύει. αἰρετοὺς τέ τινες καὶ ἐκεῖσε ἔπεμψαν, καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω ἐνιαυτοῦ χρόνον ἔστιν οἷς ἄρξαι ἐπέτρεψαν: καὶ τινες καὶ ἵππεῦσιν ἀντὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἔθνη τινὰ προσέταξαν. [p. 228] [5] ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω τότε περὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς τοὺς γε καὶ θανατοῦν τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντας ἐνομίσθη. πέμπονται γὰρ καὶ οἷς οὐκ ἔξεστι τοῦτο, ἐς μὲν τὰ τοῦ δήμου τῆς τε βουλῆς λεγόμενα ἔθνη οἱ τε ταμιεύοντες, οὐς ἂν ὁ κλῆρος ἀποδείξῃ, καὶ οἱ παρεδρεῦντες τοῖς τὸ κῦρος τῆς [6] ἀρχῆς ἔχουσιν. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ὀρθῶς αὐτοὺς, οὐ πρὸς τὸ ὄνομα ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξιν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, καλέσαιμι, ἐπεὶ οἱ γε ἄλλοι πρεσβευτὰς καὶ τούτους ἐλληνίζοντες ὀνομάζουσι. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ταύτης ἀρκούντως ἐν τοῖς [7] ἄνω λόγοις εἴρηται, τοὺς δὲ δὴ παρέδρους αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ ἕκαστος αἰρεῖται, ἓνα μὲν οἱ ἐστρατηγηκότες ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων σφίσιν ἢ καὶ τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων, τρεῖς δὲ οἱ ὑπατευκότες καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὁμοτίμων, οὐς ἂν καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ δοκιμάσῃ. ἐκαινοτομήθη μὲν γὰρ τι καὶ κατὰ τούτους, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ταχὺ ἐπαύσατο, ἀρκέσει τότε αὐτὸ λεχθῆναι. 15. περὶ μὲν οὖν τὰ τοῦ δήμου ἔθνη ταῦθ' οὕτω γίγνεται: πέμπονται δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἕτερα, τὰ τοῦ τε αὐτοκράτορος ὀνομαζόμενα καὶ πολιτικὰ στρατόπεδα πλείω ἐνὸς ἔχοντα, οἱ ὑπάρξοντές σφων, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν

τεταμειυκότων ἥ καὶ ἄλλην πινὰ ἀρχὴν τῶν διὰ μέσου ἀρξάντων αἰρούμενοι. [p. 230] [2] τῶν μὲν δὴ οὖν βουλευόντων ταῦτα ἔχεται, ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς τε χιλιάρχους, καὶ τοὺς βουλευόντας καὶ τοὺς λοιπούς, ὧν περὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς ἄων μοι τοῦ λόγου προεῖρηται, αὐτὸς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τοὺς μὲν ἐς τὰ πολιτικά τείχη μόνα τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ξενικὰ ἀποστέλλει, ὥσπερ τότε [3] πρὸς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐνομήσθη: καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους ὁὕτω γὰρ τοὺς τὰς τε κοινὰς προσόδους ἐκλέγοντας καὶ τὰ προστεταγμένα σφίσι ἀναλίσκοντας ὀνομάζομεν ἐς πάντα ὁμοίως τὰ ἔθνη, τὰ τε ἑαυτοῦ δὴ καὶ τὰ τοῦ δήμου, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων πέμπει, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον τοὺς φόρους οἱ ἀνθύπατοι παρ' [4] ὧν ἄρχουσιν ἐσπράσσουσιν. ἐντολὰς τέ τινας καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις καὶ τοῖς ἀνθυπάτοις τοῖς τε ἀντιστρατήγοις δίδωσιν, ὅπως ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς ἐξίωσιν. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ μισθοφορὰν καὶ ἐκείνοις [5] καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δίδοσθαι τότε ἐνομήσθη. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πάλαι ἐργολαβοῦντές τινες παρὰ τοῦ δημοσίου πάντα σφίσι τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν φέροντα παρεῖχον: ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Καίσαρος πρῶτον αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοι τακτὸν τι λαμβάνειν ἤρξαντο. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσου πᾶσι σφισιν, ἀλλ' ὥς που καὶ ἡ χρεια ἀπῆτει, ἐτάχθη: καὶ τοῖς γε ἐπιτρόποις καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τοῦ ἀξιώματος ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν διδομένων αὐτοῖς χρημάτων προσγίγνεται. [p. 232] [6] ἐκεῖνα δὲ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ἐνομοθετήθη, μήτε καταλόγους σφᾶς ποιῆσθαι, μήτ' ἀργύριον ἔξω τοῦ τεταγμένου ἐσπράσσειν, εἰ μὴ ἤτοι ἡ βουλὴ ψηφισαίτο ἢ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ κελεύσειεν: ὅταν τέ τῷ ὁ διάδοχος ἔλθῃ, ἔκ τε τοῦ ἔθνους αὐτίκα αὐτὸν ἐξορμαῖσθαι καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀνακομιδῇ μὴ ἐγχρονίζειν, ἀλλ' ἐντὸς τριῶν μηνῶν ἐπανιέναι. 16. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω τότε ὥς γε εἰπεῖν διετάχθη: τῷ γὰρ ἔργῳ καὶ πάντων καὶ διὰ παντὸς αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἅτε καὶ τῶν χρημάτων κυριεῦων ὁ λόγῳ μὲν γὰρ τὰ δημόσια ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείνου ἀπεκέκριτο, ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν γνῶμην αὐτοῦ ἀνηλίσκετο καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κρατῶν, αὐταρχήσιν [2] ἔμελλε. τῆς γοῦν δεκαετίας ἐξελεθούσης ἄλλα ἔτη πέντε, εἴτα πέντε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δέκα καὶ ἕτερα αὖθις δέκα καὶ ἄλλα δέκα, πεμπτάκις αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσθη, ὥστε τῇ τῶν δεκετηρίδων διαδοχῇ [3] διὰ βίου αὐτὸν μοναρχῆσαι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοκράτορες, καίτοι μηκέτ' ἐς τακτὸν χρόνον ἀλλ' ἐς πάντα καθάπαξ τὸν βίον ἀποδεικνύμενοι, ὅμως διὰ τῶν δέκα αἰῶν ἐτῶν ἐώρτασαν ὥς καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὖθις τότε ἀνανεοῦμενοι: καὶ τοῦτο καὶ νῦν γίγνεται. [4] ὁ δ' οὖν Καῖσαρ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ πρότερον, ὅτε τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐξωμοσίας τῆς μοναρχίας καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐθνῶν διανομῆς διελέχθη, ἔλαβε: καὶ γὰρ τότε τὰς δάφνας πρὸ τῶν βασιλείων [p. 234] αὐτοῦ προτιθεσθαι, καὶ τὸ τὸν στέφανον τὸν δρυῖνον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀρτᾶσθαι, τότε οἱ ὥς καὶ αἰεὶ τοὺς τε πολεμίους νικῶντι καὶ τοὺς πολίτας [5] σώζοντι ἐψηφίσθη. ὁ καλεῖται δὲ τὰ βασιλεια παλάτιον, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἔδοξε ποτε οὕτως αὐτὰ ὀνομάζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐν τε τῷ Παλατίῳ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὦκει καὶ ἐκεῖ τὸ στρατήγιον εἶχε, καὶ τινα καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ρωμύλου προενοίκησιν φήμην ἢ οἰκία αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ παντὸς ὄρους [6] ἔλαβε: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κἂν ἄλλοθι που ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ καταλύῃ, τὴν τοῦ παλατίου ἐπὶ κλησιν ἢ καταγωγῇ αὐτοῦ ἴσχει. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ αὐτὰ ἐπετέλεσεν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ὄνομα καὶ παρὰ

τῆς βουλῆς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου [7] ἐπέθετο. βουλευθέντων γὰρ σφων ἰδίως πως αὐτὸν προσεῖπειν, καὶ τῶν μὲν τὸ τῶν δὲ τὸ καὶ ἐσηγομένων καὶ αἰρουμένων, ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεθύμει μὲν ἰσχυρῶς Ῥωμύλος ὀνομασθῆναι, αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὅτι ὑποπτεύεται ἐκ τούτου τῆς βασιλείας [8] ἐπιθυμεῖν, οὐκέτ' αὐτοῦ ἀντεποιήσατο, ἀλλὰ Αὐγουστος ὡς καὶ πλεῖον τι ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ὦν ἐπεκλήθη: πάντα γὰρ τὰ ἐντιμότερα καὶ τὰ ἱερώτατα αὐγουστα προσαγορεύεται. ἐξ οὐπὲρ καὶ σεβαστὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐλληνίζοντες πως, ὥσπερ τινὰ σεπτόν, ἀπὸ τοῦ σεβάζεσθαι, προσεῖπον. 17. οὕτω μὲν δὴ τὸ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τὸ τῆς γερουσίας κράτος πᾶν ἐς τὸν Αὐγουστον μετέστη, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκριβῆς μοναρχία κατέστη: μοναρχία γάρ, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἅμα τὸ κῦρὸς ποτε ἔσχον, ἀληθέστατα ἂν νομίζοιτο. [p. 236]

[2] τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὄνομα αὐτὸ τὸ μοναρχικὸν οὕτω δὴ τι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐμίσησαν ὥστε μήτε δικτάτορας μήτε βασιλέας μήτ' ἄλλο τι τοιουτότροπον τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας σφων ὀνομάζειν: τοῦ δὲ δὴ τῆς πολιτείας τέλους ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀνακειμένου οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐ [3] βασιλεύονται. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαὶ αἱ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ὡς πλήθει γενόμεναι καὶ νῦν πλήν τῆς τῶν τιμητῶν καθίστανται, διάγεται δὲ καὶ διοικεῖται πάντα ἀπλῶς ὅπως ἂν ὁ αἰὲ κρατῶν ἐθελήσῃ. καὶ ἵνα γε μὴ ἐκ δυναστείας ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν νόμων τοῦτ' ἔχῃν δοκῶσι, πάνθ' ὅσα ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ μέγα παρ' ἐκοῦσιν σφισιν ἴσχυσεν, αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὀνόμασι χωρὶς τοῦ τῆς δικτατορίας προσεποιήσαντο. [4] ὑπατοὶ τε γὰρ πλειστάκις γίνονται, καὶ ἀνθύπατοι αἰεὶ, ὅσάκις ἂν ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου ὦσιν, ὀνομάζονται: τὴν τε τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος πρόσρησιν διὰ παντὸς οὐ μόνον οἱ νικήσαντές τινας ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες, πρὸς δὴλῳσιν τῆς αὐτοτελοῦς σφων ἐξουσίας, ἀντὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ [5] τε δικτάτορος ἐπικλήσεως ἔχουσιν. αὐτὰς μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνας οὐ τίθενται, ἐπειδὴ περ ἅπαξ ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας ἐξέπεσον, τὸ δὲ δὴ ἔργον αὐτῶν τῇ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος προσηγορίᾳ βεβαιοῦνται. καὶ ἐκ μὲν τούτων τῶν ὀνομάτων καταλόγους τε ποιεῖσθαι καὶ χρήματα ἀθροίζειν πολέμους τε ἀναιρεῖσθαι [6] καὶ εἰρήνην σπένδεσθαι, τοῦ τε ξενικοῦ καὶ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ ὁμοίως ἄρχειν, ὥστε καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ πωμηρίου καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς θανατοῦν δύνασθαι, [p. 238] τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅσα τοῖς τε ὑπάτοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς αὐταρχήσασιν ποτε ποιεῖν ἐξῆν, λαμβάνουσιν: [7] ἐκ δὲ δὴ τοῦ τιμητεῦν τοὺς τε βίους καὶ τοὺς τρόπους ἡμῶν ἐξετάζουσι, καὶ ἀπογραφὰς ποιοῦνται καὶ τοὺς μὲν καταλέγουσι καὶ ἐς τὴν ἱπτάδα καὶ ἐς τὸ βουλευτικόν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπαλείφουσιν, [8] ὅπως ἂν αὐτοῖς δόξῃ. ἔκ τε τοῦ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἱερωσύναις ἱερωῖσθαι καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὰς πλείους σφῶν διδόναι, ἀρχιέρεων τέ τινα αὐτῶν, κἂν δύο κἂν τρεῖς ἅμα ἄρχωσιν, εἶναι, πάντων αὐτοῖ καὶ τῶν ὁσίων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν [9] κυριεύουσιν. ἢ τε ἐξουσία ἡ δημαρχικὴ καλουμένη, ἣν οἱ πάνυ ποτὲ ἀνθήσαντες ἔσχον, δίδωσιν σφισι τὰ τε ἐπιγιγνόμενα ὑφ' ἑτέρου τινός, ἂν μὴ συνεπαινῶσι, παῦειν, καὶ μὴθ' ὑβρίζεσθαι, κἂν ἅρα τι καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον μὴ ὅτι ἔργῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγῳ ἀδικεῖσθαι δόξωσι, καὶ ἄκριτον τὸν ποιήσαντα [10] αὐτὸ ὡς καὶ ἐναγῇ ἀπολλύναι. δημαρχεῖν μὲν γάρ, ἅτε καὶ ἐς τοὺς εὐπατρίδας πάντως τελοῦντες, οὐχ ὅσιον νομίζουσιν εἶναι: τὴν δὲ δὴ δύναμιν τὴν τῶν

δημάρχων πᾶσαν, ὅσηπερ τὰ μάλιστα ἐγένετο, προστίθενται, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς καὶ ἡ ἐξαριθμησις τῶν ἐτῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν, ὡς καὶ κατ' ἔτος αὐτὴν μετὰ τῶν αἰεὶ δημαρχούντων [p. 240] [11] λαμβανόντων, προβαίνει. ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τῆς δημοκρατίας, ὡς που καὶ ἕκαστα ἐνομίσθη, οὕτω τε καὶ διὰ τούτων τῶν ὀνομάτων εἰλήφασιν, ὅπως 18. μηδὲν ἄνευ δόσεως τινος ἔχειν δοκῶσιν: ἦδη δὲ καὶ ἕτερόν τι, ὃ μηδενὶ τῶν πάλαι Ῥωμαίων ἐς πάντα ἄντικρυς ἐδόθη, προσεκλήσαντο, ὅφ' οὐπὲρ καὶ μόνου καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἂν καὶ τᾶλλα αὐτοῖς πράττειν ἐξῆν. λέλυνται γὰρ δὴ τῶν νόμων, ὡς αὐτὰ τὰ Λατῖνα ῥήματα λέγει: τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐλεύθεροι ἀπὸ πάσης ἀναγκαιᾶς νομίσεως εἰσι καὶ οὐδενὶ [2] τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐνέχονται. καὶ οὕτως ἐκ τούτων τῶν δημοκρατικῶν ὀνομάτων πᾶσαν τὴν τῆς πολιτείας ἰσχὺν περιβέβληνται ὥστε καὶ τὰ τῶν βασιλέων, πλὴν τοῦ φορτικοῦ τῆς προσηγορίας αὐτῶν, ἔχειν. ἡ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἢ τε τοῦ Αὐγούστου πρόσρησις δύναμιν μὲν οὐδεμίαν αὐτοῖς οἰκείαν προστίθῃσι, δηλοῖ δ' ἄλλως τὸ μὲν τὴν τοῦ γένους σφῶν διαδοχὴν, τὸ δὲ τὴν [3] τοῦ ἀξιώματος λαμπρότητα. καὶ ἡ γε τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπωνυμία τάχα μὲν καὶ ἐξουσίαν τινὰ αὐτοῖς, ἣν ποτε οἱ πατέρες ἐπὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἔσχον, κατὰ πάντων ἡμῶν δίδωσιν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἀρχὴν ἐγένετο ἀλλ' ἔς τε τιμὴν καὶ ἐς παραινέσιν, ἵν' αὐτοὶ τε τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὡς καὶ [p. 242] παῖδας ἀγαπῶεν καὶ ἐκεῖνοί σφας ὡς καὶ πατέρας αἰδῶνται. [4] τοσαῦταί τε καὶ τοιαῦτα αἱ προσηγορίαι εἰσὶν αἷς οἱ τὸ κράτος ἔχοντες κατὰ τε τοὺς νόμους καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἦδη πάτριον νομίζουσι. καὶ νῦν μὲν πᾶσαι ἅμα αὐτοῖς ὡς τὸ πολὺ, πλὴν τῆς τῶν τιμητῶν, δίδονται, τοῖς δὲ δὴ πάλαι κατὰ χρόνους [5] ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐψηφίζοντο. τὴν γὰρ δὴ τιμητείαν ἔλαβον μὲν τινες καὶ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ Δομιτιανὸς διὰ βίου: οὐ μέντοι καὶ νῦν ἔτι τοῦτο γίνεταί: τὸ γὰρ ἔργον αὐτῆς ἔχοντες οὐτε αἰροῦνται ἐπ' αὐτὴν, οὐτε τῇ προσκλήσει αὐτῆς πλὴν ἐν ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς χρῶνται. 19. ἡ μὲν οὖν πολιτεία οὕτω τότε πρὸς τε τὸ βέλτιον καὶ πρὸς τὸ σωτηριωδέστερον μετεκοσμήθη: καὶ γὰρ που καὶ παντάπασιν ἀδύνατον ἦν δημοκρατουμένους αὐτοὺς σωθῆναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὁμοίως τοῖς πρόσθεν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα πραχθέντα [2] λεχθῆναι δύναται. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ ἔς τε τὴν βουλὴν καὶ ἐς τὸν δῆμον πάντα, καὶ εἰ πόρρω που συμβαίῃ, ἐσεφέρετο: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πάντες τε αὐτὰ ἐμάνθανον καὶ πολλοὶ συνέγραφον, κάκ τούτου καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια αὐτῶν, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ φόβῳ τινὰ καὶ χάριτι φιλία τε καὶ ἔχθρᾳ τισὶν ἐρρήθη, παρὰ γοῦν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τὰ αὐτὰ γράψασιν τοῖς τε ὑπομνήμασι [3] τοῖς δημοσίοις τρόπον τινὰ εὐρίσκετο. ἐκ δὲ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου ἐκείνου τὰ μὲν πλείω κρύφα καὶ δι' ἀπορρήτων γίνεσθαι ἤρξατο, εἰ δὲ πού τινα καὶ [p. 244] δημοσιευθεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἀνεξέλεγκτά γε ὄντα ἀπιστεῖται: καὶ γὰρ λέγεσθαι καὶ πράττεσθαι πάντα πρὸς τὰ τῶν αἰεὶ κρατούντων τῶν τε παραδυναστευόντων [4] σφίσι βουλήματα ὑποπτεῖται. καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο πολλὰ μὲν οὐ γιγνόμενα θρυλεῖται, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ πάνυ συμβαίνοντα ἀγνοεῖται, πάντα δὲ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἄλλως πως ἢ ὡς πράττεται διαθροεῖται. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς μέγεθος τὸ τε τῶν πραγμάτων πλῆθος δυσχερεστάτην [5] τὴν ἀκριβείαν αὐτῶν παρέχεται. ἐν τε γὰρ τῇ Ῥώμῃ συχνὰ καὶ παρὰ τῷ ὑπηκόῳ αὐτῆς πολλὰ, πρὸς τε τὸ πολέμιον αἰεὶ καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ὡς εἰπεῖν

γίνεται τι, περί ὧν τὸ μὲν σαφές οὐδεὶς ῥαδίως ἔξω τῶν πραττόντων αὐτὰ γινώσκει, πλείστοι δ' ^[6] ὅσοι οὐδ' ἀκούουσι τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅτι γέγονεν. ὅθεν περ καὶ ἐγὼ πάντα τὰ ἐξῆς, ὅσα γε καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἔσται εἰπεῖν, ὥς που καὶ δεδήμωται φράσω, εἴτ' ὄντως οὕτως εἴτε καὶ ἐτέρως πως ἔχει. προσέσται μέντοι τι αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς δοξασίας, ἐς ὅσον ἐνδέχεται, ἐν οἷς ἄλλο τι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ θρυλούμενον ἠδυνήθην ἐκ πολλῶν ὧν ἀνέγγων ἢ καὶ ἤκουσα ἢ καὶ εἶδον τεκμήρασθαι. 20. Αὐγουστος μὲν δὴ ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὡς περ εἶπον, ἐπωνομάσθη, καὶ αὐτῷ σημεῖον οὐ σμικρὸν εὐθὺς τότε τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπεγένετο: ὁ γὰρ Τίβερις πελαγίσας πᾶσαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις Ῥώμην κατέλαβεν ὥστε πλεῖσθαι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ μάντις ὅτι τε ^[p. 246] ἐπὶ μέγα αὐξήσοι καὶ ὅτι πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ὑποχειρίαν ^[2] ἔξοι προέγνωσαν. χαριζομένων δ' αὐτῷ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἄλλων ἄλλα, Σέξτος τις Πακούουιος, ὥς δ' ἕτεροι λέγουσιν Ἀπούδιος, πάντας ἐξενίκησεν: ἐν γὰρ τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἑαυτὸν τέ οἱ τὸν τῶν Ἰβήρων τρόπον καθωσίωσε καὶ τοῖς ^[3] ἄλλοις συνεβούλευε τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐμποδῶν οἱ ἐγένετο, πρὸς τε τὸ πλῆθος τὸ προσεσπὸς ἐξεπῆδυσεν 'ἐδημάρχει γάρ' καὶ ἐκείνους τε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς λοιπούς, κατὰ τε τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ κατὰ τοὺς στενωποὺς περινοστήσας, καθιερωσάι σφας τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ^[4] κατηνάγκασεν: ἀφ' οὗ περ καὶ νῦν προστρεπόμενοι τὸν κρατοῦντα λέγειν εἰώθαμεν ὅτι 'σοὶ καθωσίωμεθα.' Καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ θῦσαι ἐπὶ τούτῳ παντας ἐποίει. ἐν τε τῷ ὁμίλῳ ποτὲ κληρονόμον ἔφη τὸν Αὐγουστον ἐξ ἴσου τῷ υἱεὶ καταλείψειν, οὐχ ὅτι τι εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ προσλαβεῖν ἠθέλησεν, ὃ καὶ 21. ἐγένετο: Αὐγουστος δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ προσήκοντα προθυμότερον, ὥς καὶ ἐθέλοντι δὴ παρὰ πάντων αὐτὴν εἰληφώς, ἔπραττε, καὶ ἐνομοθέτει πολλὰ. οὐδὲν δὲ δέομαι καθ' ἕκαστον ἀκριβῶς ἐπεξιέναι, χωρὶς ἢ ὅσα τῇ συγγραφῇ ^[2] πρόσφορά ἐστι. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα πραχθεῖσι ποιήσω, ἵνα μὴ καὶ δι' ὄχλου ^[p. 248] γένωμαι πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπεσφέρων ἃ μὴδ' ^[3] αὐτοὶ οἱ πάνυ αὐτὰ μελετῶντες ἀκριβοῦσιν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ πάντα ἰδιογνωμονῶν ἐνομοθέτει, ἀλλ' ἔστι μὲν ἃ καὶ ἐς τὸ δημόσιον προεξετίθει, ὅπως, ἂν τι μὴ ἀρέσῃ τινά, προμαθὼν ἐπανορθώσῃ: προετρέπετό τε γὰρ πάνθ' ὄντινον συμβουλεύειν οἱ, εἴ τις τι ἄμεινον αὐτῶν ἐπινοήσειεν, καὶ παρρησίαν σφίσι πολλὴν ἔνεμε, καὶ τινα καὶ μετέγραφε. ^[4] τὸ δὲ δὴ πλείστον τοὺς τε ὑπάτους ἢ τὸν ὑπάτον, ὅποτε καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπατεύοι, κάκ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχόντων ἕνα παρ' ἐκάστων, ἕκ τε τοῦ λοιποῦ τῶν βουλευτῶν πλήθους πεντεκαίδεκα τοὺς κλήρω λαχόντας, συμβούλους ἐς ἐξάμηνον παρελάμβανεν, ὥστε δι' αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι κοινοῦσθαι τρόπον τινὰ τὰ νομοθετούμενα ^[5] νομίζεσθαι. ἐσέφερε μὲν γὰρ τινα καὶ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν γερουσίαν, βέλτιον μέντοι νομίζων εἶναι τὸ μετ' ὀλίγων καθ' ἡσυχίαν τὰ τε πλείω καὶ τὰ μείζω προσκοπεῖσθαι, τοῦτο τε ἐποίει καὶ ἔστιν ^[6] ὅτε καὶ ἐδίκασε μετ' αὐτῶν. ἔκρινε μὲν γὰρ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἢ βουλὴ πᾶσα ὥς καὶ πρότερον, καὶ τισι καὶ πρεσβείαις καὶ κηρυκείαις καὶ δῆμων καὶ βασιλέων ἐ χρημάτιζεν, ὃ τε δῆμος ἐς τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὖ συνελέγετο: οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπράττετό τι ὃ μὴ καὶ ἐκείνων ἤρεσκε. ^[7] τοὺς γοῦν ἄρξοντας τοὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἐκλεγόμενος προεβάλλετο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ τε ^[p. 250] ὁμίλῳ κατὰ

τὸ ἀρχαῖον ποιούμενος ἐπεμελείτο ὅπως μὴτ' ἀνεπιτήδαιοι μὴτ' ἐκ παρακελεύσεως ἢ καὶ δεκασμοῦ ἀποδεικνύωνται. 22. τὸ μὲν οὖν σύμπαν οὕτω τὴν ἀρχὴν διώκησε, λέξω δὲ καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ὅσα ἀναγκαῖον ἐστὶ μετὰ τῶν ὑπάτων, ἐφ' ὧν ἐγένετο, μνημονεύεσθαι. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ προειρημένῳ ἔτει τὰς ὁδοὺς τὰς ἔξω τοῦ τείχους δυσπορεύτους ὑπ' ἀμελείας ὁρῶν οὕσας τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἄλλοις τισὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐπισκευάσαι τοῖς οἰκείοις τέλεσι προσέταξε, τῆς δὲ δὴ Φλαμινίας αὐτὸς, ἐπειδήπερ ἐκστρατεύσειν δι' αὐτῆς ἡμέλλεν, ἐπεμελήθη. [2] καὶ ἡ μὲν εὐθύς τότε ἐγένετο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ εἰκόνες αὐτῷ ἐφ' ἀψίδων ἔν τε τῇ τοῦ Τιβέριδος γεφύρᾳ καὶ ἐν Ἀριμίνῳ ἐποιήθησαν· αἱ δ' ἄλλαι ὕστερον, εἴτ' οὖν πρὸς τοῦ δημοσίου, ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς τῶν βουλευτῶν ἡδέως ἀνήλπισκεν, εἴτε καὶ πρὸς τοῦ Αὐγούστου τις εἰπεῖν ἐθέλει, [3] ἐπεσκευάσθησαν. οὐ γὰρ δύναμαι διακρίναι τοὺς θησαυροὺς αὐτῶν, οὐδ' εἰ τὰ μάλιστα ὁ Αὐγουστος καὶ ἀνδριάντας τινὰς ἑαυτοῦ ἀργυροῦς, πρὸς τε τῶν φίλων καὶ πρὸς δῆμων τινῶν γεγονότας, ἐς νόμισμα κατέκοψε τοῦ δὴ καὶ οἴκοθεν [4] πάνθ' ὅσα γε καὶ ἔλεγε δαπανᾶν δοκεῖν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὕτ' εἴ ποτε ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων τι χρημάτων ὁ αἰεὶ κρατῶν ἔλαβεν, οὕτ' εἴ ποτε αὐτὸς ἔδωκε, γνώμην ἔχω συγγράφαι. πολλάκις τε γὰρ ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν ἐγένετο, καὶ τί ἂν τις ἐς δανείσματα ἢ καὶ δωρεὰς τὰ τοιαῦτα καταλέγοι, ὁπότε καὶ [p. 252] τούτοις καὶ ἐκείνοις καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπικοινωνοῦν αἰεὶ χρῶνται· [5] τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὁ Αὐγουστος ἔπραξε, καὶ ἐξώρμησε μὲν ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν στρατεύσων, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὰς Γαλατίας ἐλθὼν ἐνταῦθα ἐνδιέτριψεν· ἐκείνοι τε γὰρ ἐπικηρυκέσσεσθαι οἱ ἐδόκουν, καὶ τὰ τούτων ἀκατάστατα ἔτι, ἅτε τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων εὐθύς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀλώσει σφῶν ἐπιγενομένων, ἦν. καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπογραφὰς ἐποίησατο καὶ τὸν βίον τὴν τε πολιτείαν διεκόσμησε. κἀντεῦθεν ἔς τε τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀφίκετο, καὶ κατεστήσατο καὶ ἐκείνην. 23. μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο αὐτὸς τε τὸ ὄγδοον σὺν τῷ Ταύρῳ τῷ Στατιλίῳ ὑπάτευσε, καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας [2] τὰ Σέπτα ὠνομασμένα καθιέρωσεν· ὁδὸν μὲν γὰρ οὐδεμίαν ἐπισκευάσειν ὑπέσχετο, ταῦτα δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ στοαῖς πέριξ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λεπίδου πρὸς τὰς φυλετικὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας συνωκοδομημένα καὶ πλαξὶ λιθίναις καὶ ζωγραφήμασιν ἐπεκόσμησεν, Ἰούλια αὐτὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου προσαγορεύσας. [3] καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐχ ὅπως φθόνον τινὰ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὠφλίσκανεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων [4] ἐτιμᾶτο· αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι τὰ φιланθρωπώτατα καὶ τὰ εὐκλεέστατα τὰ τε συμφορώτατα καὶ συμβουλευῶν οἱ καὶ συμπράττων οὐδ' ἐπὶ βραχὺ τῆς δόξης αὐτῶν ἀντεποιεῖτο, ταῖς τε παρ' αὐτοῦ τιμαῖς οὕτε ἐς πλεονεξίαν οὕτε ἐς ἀπόλαυσιν ἰδίαν ἐχρῆτο, ἀλλ' ἔς τε τὸ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἐς τὸ [p. 254] [5] τῷ δημοσίῳ συμφέρον', ὁ δὲ δὴ Γάλλος Κορνήλιος καὶ ἐξῆυβρισεν ὑπὸ τῆς τιμῆς. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ μάταια ἐς τὸν Αὐγουστον ἀπελήρει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπαίτια παρέπραττε· καὶ γὰρ καὶ εἰκόνας ἑαυτοῦ ἐν ὄλῃ ὡς εἰπεῖν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἔστησε, καὶ τὰ ἔργα ὅσα ἐπεποιήκει ἐς τὰς πυραμίδας [6] ἐσέγραψε. κατηγορήθη τε οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ Οὐαλερίου Λάργου, ἐταίρου τέ οἱ καὶ συμβιωτοῦ ὄντος, καὶ ἡτιμώθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου, ὥστε καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν αὐτοῦ κωλυθῆναι διαιτᾶσθαι. γενομένου δὲ τούτου καὶ ἄλλοι αὐτῷ

συχνοὶ ἐπέθεντο καὶ γραφὰς κατ' αὐτοῦ πολλὰς [7] ἀπήνεγκαν, καὶ ἡ γερουσία ἅπασα ἀλῶναι τε αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις καὶ φυγεῖν τῆς οὐσίας στερηθέντα, καὶ ταύτην τε τῷ Αὐγουστῷ δοθῆναι καὶ ἑαυτοῦς βουθυτῆσαι ἐψηφίσατο. καὶ ὁ μὲν περιαλγῆσας ἐπὶ τούτοις ἑαυτὸν προκατεχρήσατο, 24. τὸ δὲ δὴ τῶν πολλῶν κιβδηλον καὶ ἐκ τούτου διηλέγχθη ὅτι ἐκεῖνόν τε, ὃν τέως ἐκολάκευον, οὕτω τότε διέθηκαν ὥστε καὶ αὐτοχειρίᾳ ἀποθανεῖν ἀναγκάσαι, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Λάργον ἀπέκλιναν, ἐπειδὴ περ αὐξεῖν ἤρχετο, μέλλοντές που καὶ κατὰ τούτου τὰ αὐτά, ἂν γέ τι τοιοῦτόν οἱ [2] συμβῇ, ψηφιεῖσθαι. ὁ μέντοι Προκουλείος οὕτω πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔσχεν ὥστ' ἀπαντήσας ποτὲ αὐτῷ τὴν τε ῥίνα καὶ τὸ στόμα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ τῇ χειρὶ ἐπισχεῖν, ἐνδεικνύμενος τοῖς συνοῦσιν ὅτι μηδ' ἀναπνεῦσαι τι νι παρόντος αὐτοῦ ἀσφάλεια [p. 256] [3] εἴη. ἄλλος τέ τις προσῆλθέ τε αὐτῷ, καί περ ἄγνῳς ὢν, μετὰ μαρτύρων, καὶ ἐπήρετο εἰ γνωρίζοι ἑαυτόν, ἐπειδὴ τε ἐξηρνήσατο, ἐς γραμματεῖον τὴν ἄρνησιν αὐτοῦ ἐσέγραψεν, ὥστε οὐκ ἐξὸν τῷ κακῷ καὶ ὃν οὐκ ἦδει πρότερον συκοφαντῆσαι. [4] οὕτω δ' οὖν οἱ πολλοὶ τὰ ἔργα τινῶν, κἂν πονηρὰ ᾦ, μᾶλλον ζηλοῦσιν ἢ τὰ παθήματα φυλάσσουνται, ὥστε καὶ τότε Μάρκος Ἐγνάπιος Ροῦφος ἀγορανομήσας, καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καλῶς πράξας καὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις ταῖς ἐν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ ἐμπρησθείσαις ἐπικουρίαν μετὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ δούλων καὶ μεθ' ἑτέρων τινῶν μισθωτῶν ποιησάμενος, καὶ [5] διὰ τοῦτο τὰ τε ἀναλώματα τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ προσήκοντα παρὰ τοῦ δήμου λαβὼν καὶ στρατηγὸς παρανόμως ἀποδειχθεὶς, ἐπήρθη τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ τὸν Αὐγουστον ὑπερεφρόνησεν, ὥστε καὶ προγράψαι ὅτι ἄθραυστον καὶ ὁλόκληρον [6] τῷ διαδόχῳ τὴν πόλιν παρέδωκεν. ἐπ' οὖν τούτῳ οἱ τε ἄλλοι πάντες οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ αὐτὸς ὅτι μάλιστα ὁ Αὐγουστος ὀργὴν ἔσχε, καὶ ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἐκδιδάξειν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἔμελλε τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς φρονεῖν, τοῖς δ' ἀγορανόμοις παραχρῆμα ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τε ὅπως μηδὲν ἐμπίμπρηται, κἂν ἄρα τι τοιοῦτο συμβῇ, κατασβεन्नῦναι τὸ πῦρ προσέταξε. 25. κἂν τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει τούτῳ ὅ τε Πολέμων ὁ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ βασιλεύων ἔς τε τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους τοῦ δήμου ἀνεγράφη, καὶ προεδρία τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ ἐς πάντα [2] τὰ θέατρα ἐδόθη: τὸν τε Αὐγουστον ἐς τὴν [p. 258] Βρεττανίαν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἠθέλησαν ὁμολογήσαι, στρατευσεῖοντα κατέσχον οἱ τε Σάλασσοι ἐπαναστάντες αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ Κάνταβροι οἱ τε Ἄστυρες πολεμωθέντες. οἰκοῦσι δὲ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὑπὸ τὰς Ἀλπεις, ὥστε εἰρηταὶ μοι, οὗτοι δὲ ἐκάτεροι τοῦ τε Πυρηναίου τοῦ πρὸς τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ τὸ καρτερώτατον [3] καὶ τὴν πεδιάδα τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ οὔσαν. δι' οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Αὐγουστος ἥδη δὲ ἕνατον μετὰ Μάρκου Σιλανοῦ ὑπάτευεν' ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς Σαλάσσους Τερέντιον Οὐάρρωνα ἔπεμψε. καὶ ὃς πολλαχῇ ἅμα, ὅπως μὴ συστραφέντες δυσχειρωτότεροι γένωνται, ἐμβαλὼν ῥῆσθ' αὐτούς, ἅτε καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους προσπίπτοντάς σφισιν, ἐνίκησε, [4] καὶ συμβῆναι καταναγκάσας ἀργυρίον τέ τι ῥητόν, ὥς καὶ μηδὲν δεινὸν ἄλλο δράσων, ἦτησε, κάκ τούτου πανταχῇ πρὸς τὴν ἔσπραξιν δῆθεν αὐτοῦ στρατιώτας διαπέμψας συνέλαβέ τε τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ ἀπέδοτο, ἐφ' ᾧ μηδεὶς σφῶν [5] ἐντὸς εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν ἐλευθερωθεῖη. καὶ αὐτῶν ἡ ἀρίστη τῆς γῆς τῶν τε

δορυφόρων τισὶν ἐδόθη, καὶ πόλιν τὴν Αὐγουσταν πραιτωριανῶν
 ὠνομασμένην ἔσχεν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Αὐγουστος πρὸς τε τοὺς Αστυρας καὶ πρὸς
 τοὺς Καντάβρους ἅμα ἐπολέμησε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μήτε προσεχώρουν οἱ ἅτε ἐπὶ
 [6] τοῖς ἐρυμνοῖς ἐπαυρόμενοι, μήτε ἐς χεῖρας διὰ τε τὸ τῷ πλήθει
 ἐλαττοῦσθαι καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀκοντιστὰς τὸ πλεῖστον εἶναι ἦσαν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ
 πράγματα [p. 260] αὐτῷ πολλὰ, εἴ που κινηθεῖη, τὰ τε ὑπερδέξια αἰεὶ
 προκαταλαμβάνοντες καὶ ἐν τοῖς κοίλοις τοῖς τε ὑλῶδεσιν ἐνεδρεῦντες
 παρεῖχον, ἐν ἀπόρῳ [7] παντάπασιν ἐγένετο. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔκ τε τοῦ καμάτου καὶ
 ἐκ τῶν φροντίδων νοσήσας ἐς Ταρράκωνα ἀνεχώρησε καὶ ἐκεῖ ἡρρώσται·
 Γάιος δὲ Ἀντίστιος προσεπολέμησέ τε αὐτοῖς ἐν τούτῳ καὶ συχνὰ
 κατειργάσατο, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἀμείνων τοῦ [8] Αὐγουστού στρατηγὸς ἦν, ἀλλ’
 ὅτι καταφρονήσαντες αὐτοῦ οἱ βάρβαροι ὁμοσε τε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐχώρησαν
 καὶ ἐνίκηθησαν. καὶ οὕτως ἐκείνός τε τινα ἔλαβε, καὶ Τίτος μετὰ ταῦτα
 Καρίσιος τὴν τε Λαγκίαν τὸ μέγιστον τῶν Ἀστυρῶν πόλισμα ἐκλειφθὲν εἴλε
 καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ παρεστήσατο. 26. παυσάμενου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου ὁ
 Αὐγουστος τοὺς μὲν ἀφηλικεστέρους τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀφῆκε, καὶ πόλιν
 αὐτοῖς ἐν Λυσιτανίᾳ τὴν Αὐγουσταν Ἡμέριταν καλουμένην κτίσαι ἔδωκε,
 τοῖς δὲ τὴν στρατεύσιμον ἡλικίαν ἔτ’ ἔχουσι θέας τινα διὰ τε τοῦ
 Μαρκέλλου καὶ διὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου ὡς καὶ ἀγορανομούντων ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς
 στρατοπέδοις [2] ἐποίησε. καὶ τῷ μὲν Ἰούβᾳ τῆς τε Γαιτουλίας τινα ἀντὶ τῆς
 πατρῴας ἀρχῆς, ἐπεὶ περ ἐς τὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων κόσμον οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν
 ἐσεγγράφατο, [3] καὶ τὰ τοῦ Βόκχου τοῦ τε Βογοῦου ἔδωκε· τοῦ δ’ Ἀμύντου
 τελευτήσαντος οὐ τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπέτρεψεν, ἀλλ’ ἐς τὴν
 ὑπήκοον ἐσήγαγε, καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἡ Γαλατία μετὰ τῆς Λυκαονίας Ῥωμαῖον
 ἄρχοντα ἔσχε, τὰ τε χωρία τὰ ἐκ τῆς Παμφυλίας πρότερον τῷ Ἀμύντῳ
 προσνεμηθέντα [p. 262] [4] τῷ ἰδίῳ νομῷ ἀπεδόθη. ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον
 χρόνον Μάρκος Οὐνίκιος Κελτῶν τινας μετελθὼν, ὅτι Ῥωμαίους ἄνδρας ἐς
 τὴν χώραν σφῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιμιξίαν ἐσελθόντας συλλαβόντες ἔφθειραν, τὸ
 ὄνομα καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ τοῦ [5] αὐτοκράτορος τῷ Αὐγουστῳ ἔδωκε. καὶ
 ἐψηφίσθη μὲν που καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
 τοῖς τότε γενομένοις· ἐπεὶ δ’ οὐκ ἠθέλησεν αὐτὰ πέμψαι, ἀψίς τε ἐν ταῖς
 Ἄλπεσι τροπαιοφόρος οἱ ὠκοδομήθη, καὶ ἐξουσία ἐδόθη τοῦ τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ
 ἔτους ἡμέρᾳ καὶ τῷ στεφάνῳ καὶ τῇ ἐσθῆτι τῇ νικητηρίᾳ αἰεὶ χρῆσθαι.
 Αὐγουστος μὲν ταῦτά τε ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἔπραξε, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἰανοῦ
 τεμένισμα ἀνοιχθὲν δι’ 27. αὐτοὺς ἐκλείσεν, Ἀγρίππας δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὸ ἄστυ
 τοῖς ἰδίοις τέλεσιν ἐπεκόσμησε. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τὴν στοᾶν τὴν τοῦ
 Ποσειδῶνος ὠνομασμένην καὶ ἐξωκοδόμησεν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυκρατίαις καὶ τῇ
 τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν γραφῇ ἐπελάμπρυνε, τοῦτο δὲ τὸ πυριατήριον τὸ
 Λακωνικὸν κατεσκεύασε· Λακωνικὸν γὰρ τὸ γυμνάσιον, ἐπειδὴ περ οἱ
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι γυμνοῦσθαι τε ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ καὶ λίπα ἀσκεῖν μάλιστα [2]
 ἐδόκουν, ἐπεκάλεσε. τὸ τε Πάνθειον ὠνομασμένον ἐξετέλεσε·
 προσαγορεύεται δὲ οὕτω τάχα μὲν ὅτι πολλῶν θεῶν εἰκόνας ἐν τοῖς
 ἀγάλμασι, τῷ τε τοῦ Ἄρεως καὶ τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, ἔλαβεν, ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ
 νομίζω, ὅτι θολοειδὲς ὄν τῷ οὐρανῷ προσείκεν. [3] ἡβουλήθη μὲν οὖν ὁ

Ἀγρίππας καὶ τὸν Αὐγουστον [p. 264] ἐνταῦθα ἰδρῦσαι, τὴν τε τοῦ ἔργου ἐπικλησιν αὐτῷ δοῦναι: μὴ δεξαμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ μηδέτερον ἐκεῖ μὲν τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος, ἐν δὲ τῷ προνάῳ τοῦ τε Αὐγούστου καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἀνδριάντας^[4] ἔστησε. καὶ ἐγίνετο γὰρ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ πρὸς τὸν Αὐγουστον φιλοτιμίας, ἀλλ' ἐκ τε τῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον λιπαροῦς εὐνοίας καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον ἐνδελεχοῦς σπουδῆς, οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὁ Αὐγουστος ἠπάσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐτίμησε. ^[5] τοὺς τε γὰρ γάμους τῆς τε θυγατρὸς τῆς Ἰουλίας καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου μὴ δυνηθεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τότε ποιῆσαι δι' ἐκείνου καὶ ἀπὼν ἐώρτασε: καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἡ οἰκία ἢ ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ ὄρει, ἢ πρότερον μὲν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου γενομένη ὕστερον δὲ τῷ τε Ἀγρίππᾳ καὶ τῷ Μεσσάλᾳ δοθεῖσα, κατεφλέχθη, τῷ μὲν Μεσσάλᾳ ἀργῦριον ἐχαρίσατο, τὸν δὲ Ἀγρίππαν ^[6] σύνοικον ἐποίησατο. οὗτός τε οὖν ἐκ τούτων οὐκ ἀπεικώτως ἐγαυροῦτο, καὶ τις Γάιος Θοράνιος αἰτίαν ἀγαθὴν ἔσχεν, ὅτι δημαρχῶν τὸν πατέρα, καίπερ ἐξελεύθερόν τινος ὄντα, ἔς τε τὸ θέατρον ἐσήγαγε καὶ ἐν τῷ δημαρχικῷ βάθρῳ παρεκαθίστατο. Πούπλιός τε Σερουίλιος ὄνομα καὶ αὐτὸς ἔλαβεν, ὅτι στρατηγῶν ἄρκτους τε τριακοσίας καὶ Λιβυκὰ ἔτερα θηρία ἴσα ἐν πανηγύρει τινὶ ἀπέκτεινεν. 28. ἐκ δὲ τούτου δέκατον ὁ Αὐγουστος μετὰ Γαίου Νωρβανοῦ ἤρξε, καὶ ἐν τε τῇ νομηνίᾳ ὅρκους ἢ βουλὴν βεβαιοῦσα τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ ^[p. 266] ἐποίησατο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ πλησιάζειν τε ἤδη τῇ πόλει ἠγγέλην ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς ἀρρωστίας ἐχρόνισέ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ καθ' ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς δώσκειν ὑπέσχετο, ^[2] τὸ τε γράμμα τὸ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀπηγόρευσε μὴ πρότερον ἐκτεθῆναι πρὶν ἂν καὶ ἐκείνη συνδόξῃ, πάσης αὐτὸν τῆς τῶν νόμων ἀνάγκης ἀπήλλαξαν, ἴν', ὥσπερ εἴρηται μοι, καὶ αὐτοτελὴς ὄντως καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν νόμων πάντα τε ὅσα βούλοιο ποιοίῃ καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἀβουλοίῃ ^[3] μὴ πράττῃ. ταῦτα μὲν ἀποδημοῦντι ἔτ' αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσθη, ἀφικομένῳ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἄλλα τινὰ ἐπὶ τε τῇ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνακομιδῇ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο. τῷ τε Μαρκέλλῳ βουλευεῖν τε ἐν τοῖς ἐστρατηγηκόσι καὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν δέκα θάττον ἔτεσιν ἥπερ ἐνενόμιστο αἰτῆσαι, καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ πέντε πρὸ ἐκάστης ἀρχῆς ἔτεσι τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ^[4] ποιῆσαι ἐδόθη: καὶ παραχρῆμά γε οὗτος μὲν ταμίας ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἀγορανόμος ἀπεδείχθησαν. τῶν τε ταμειουσόντων ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐπιλειπόντων ἐκληρώθησαν ἐς αὐτὰ πάντες οἱ μέχρι δέκα ἄνω ἐτῶν ἄνευ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου τεταμειυκότες. 29. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ πόλει ταῦτα τότε ἄξια μνήμης ἐγένετο: οἱ δὲ δὴ Κάνταβροι οἳ τε Ἄστυρες, ὡς τάχιστα ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας, Λούκιον Αἰμίλιον ἄρχοντα αὐτῆς καταλιπὼν, ἀπηλλάγη, ἐπανέστησαν, καὶ πέμψαντες πρὸς τὸν Αἰμίλιον, πρὶν καὶ ὅτιοῦν ἐκφῆναι οἱ, σῆτόν τε καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ χαρίσασθαι τῷ στρατεύματι βούλεσθαι ^[p. 268] ^[2] ἔφασαν, καὶ τούτου στρατιώτας συχνοὺς ὡς καὶ κοιμοῦντας αὐτὰ λαβόντες ἔς τε χωρία αὐτοὺς ἐπιτήδεά σφισιν ἐσήγαγον καὶ κατεφόνευσαν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἡσθησαν: τῆς τε γὰρ χώρας αὐτῶν δηωθείσης καὶ τειχῶν τινων καυθέντων, τὸ τε μέγιστον τῶν χειρῶν τοῖς αἰεὶ ἀλισκομένοις ἀποκοπτομένων, ταχέως ἐχειρώθησαν. ^[3] ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίνετο, καὶ ἄλλη τις στρατεία καινὴ ἀρχὴν τε ἅμα καὶ τέλος ἔσχεν: ἐπὶ γὰρ Ἀραβίαν τὴν

εὐδαίμονα καλουμένην, ἥς Σαβῶς ἐβασίλευεν, Αἴλιος Γάλλος ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου [4] ἄρχων ἐπεστράτευσεν. καὶ ἐς μὲν ὄψιν οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ τὴν γε πρώτην ἦλθεν, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἀπόνως προεχώρει: ἦ τε γὰρ ἐρημία καὶ ὁ ἥλιος τὰ τε ὕδατα φύσιν τινὰ ἄτοπον ἔχοντα πάνυ αὐτοὺς ἐταλαιπώρησεν, ὥστε τὸ πλεῖον τοῦ στρατοῦ [5] φθαρῆναι. τὸ δὲ δὴ νόσημα οὐδενὶ τῶν συνήθων ὁμοιον ἐγίνετο, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐνσκήψαν ἐξήραινεν αὐτήν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς αὐτίκα ἀπώλλυε, τῶν δὲ δὴ περιγιγνομένων ἔς τε τὰ σκέλη κατῆι, πᾶν τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ σώματος ὑπερβάν, καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐλυμαίνετο, ἱαμά τε αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ἦν χωρὶς ἢ εἴ τις ἔλαιον οἴνω μεμιγμένον καὶ ἔπιε [6] καὶ ἠλείψατο. ὅπερ που πάνυ ὀλίγοις σφῶν ὑπῆρξε ποιῆσαι: οὔτε γὰρ ἡ χώρα οὐδέτερον αὐτῶν φέρει οὔτε ἐκεῖνοι ἄφθονα αὐτὰ προπαρεσκευάδατο. κἂν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι [p. 270] [7] σφισι προσεπέθεντο. τῶς μὲν γὰρ ἦττους, ὁπότε γε καὶ προσμιξείαν αὐτοῖς, ἐγίνοντο, καὶ τινα καὶ χωρία ἀπέβαλλον: τότε δὲ συμμαχῶ τῇ νόσῳ αὐτῶν χρησάμενοι τὰ τε σφέτερα ἐκομίσαντο καὶ ἐκείνων τοὺς περιλειφθέντας ἐξήλασαν ἐκ τῆς [8] χώρας. πρῶτοι μὲν δὴ Ῥωμαίων οὗτοι, νομίζω δ' ὅτι καὶ μόνοι, τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ πολέμῳ τῆς Ἀραβίας ταύτης ἐπῆλθον: μέχρι γὰρ τῶν Ἀθλούλων καλουμένων, χωρίου τινὸς ἐπιφανοῦς, ἐχώρησαν. 30. ὁ δ' Αὐγουστος ἐνδέκατον μετὰ Καλπουρνίου Πίσωνος ἄρξας ἡρρώστησεν αὐθις, ὥστε μηδεμίαν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας σχεῖν: πάντα γοῦν ὡς καὶ τελευτήσων διέθετο, καὶ τὰς τε 100 ἀρχὰς τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς πρώτους καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἀθροίσας διάδοχον μὲν οὐδένα ἀπέδειξε, [2] καίτοι τὸν Μάρκελλον πάντων προκριθήσεσθαι ἐς τοῦτο προσδοκῶντων, διαλεχθεὶς δὲ τινα αὐτοῖς περὶ τῶν δημοσίων πραγμάτων τῷ μὲν Πίσωνι τὰς τε δυνάμεις καὶ τὰς προσόδους τὰς κοινὰς ἐς βιβλίον ἐσγράψας ἔδωκε, τῷ δ' Ἀγρίππᾳ τὸν [3] δακτύλιον ἐνεχείρισε. καὶ αὐτὸν μηδὲν ἔτι 101 μηδὲ τῶν πάνυ ἀναγκαίων ποιεῖν δυνάμενον Ἀντώνιος τις Μούσας καὶ ψυχρολουσίαις καὶ ψυχροποσίαις ἀνέσωσε: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ χρήματα παρὰ τε τοῦ Αὐγούστου καὶ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς πολλὰ καὶ τὸ χρυσοῖς δακτυλίοις ἄπελεύθερος γὰρ ἦν' χρῆσθαι τὴν τε ἀτέλειαν καὶ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοτέχνοις, οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς τότε οὔσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα ἐσομένοις, ἔλαβεν. [4] ἀλλ' ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὸν τὰ τε τῆς τύχης καὶ τὰ τῆς [p. 272] πεπρωμένης ἔργα προσποιούμενον παρὰ πόδας ἁλῶναι, ὁ μὲν Αὐγουστος οὕτως ἐσώθη, ὁ δὲ δὴ Μάρκελλος νοσήσας οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Μούσα τρόπον [5] θεραπευόμενος ἀπέθανε. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Αὐγουστος δημοσίᾳ τε ἔθαψεν, ἐπαινέσας ὥσπερ εἰθιστο, καὶ ἐς τὸ μνημεῖον ὃ ὠκοδομεῖτο κατέθετο, τῇ τε μνήμῃ τοῦ θεάτρου τοῦ προκαταβληθέντος μὲν [6] ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, Μαρκέλλου δὲ ὠνομασμένου ἐτίμησεν, καὶ οἱ καὶ εἰκόνα χρυσοῦν καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν δίφρον τε ἀρχικὸν ἔς τε τὸ θέατρον ἐν τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πανηγύρει ἐσφέρεσθαι καὶ ἐς τὸ μέσον τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν τελούντων αὐτὰ τίθεσθαι ἐκέλευσε. 31. ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἔπραξε, τότε δὲ σωθεὶς τὰς διαθήκας ἐσήνεγκε μὲν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον καὶ ἀναλέξασθαι ἠθέλησεν, ἐνδεικνύμενος 102 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὅτι οὐδένα τῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχον καταλειπῶς ἦν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀνέγνω: οὐδεὶς γὰρ [2] ἐπέτρεψεν.

ἐθαύμαζον μέντοι καὶ πάνυ πάντες αὐτοῦ ὅτι τὸν Μάρκελλον καὶ ὡς γαμβρὸν καὶ ὡς ἀδελφιδοῦν ἀγαπῶν, καὶ ἄλλας τε αὐτῷ τιμὰς διδοὺς καὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἣν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορανομίας ^[3] ἐπετέλει συνδιαθεὶς λαμπρῶς, ὥστε τὴν τε ἀγορὰν ἐν παντὶ τῷ θέρει 103 παραπετάσμασι κατὰ κορυφὴν διαλαβεῖν καὶ ὀρχηστὴν τινα ἱππέα γυναικὰ τε ἐπιφανῆ ἐς τὴν ὀρχήστραν ἐσαγαγεῖν, ὅμως τὴν μοναρχίαν οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ^[4] τὸν Ἀγρίππαν αὐτοῦ προετίμησεν. οὕτως, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐδέπω τῇ τοῦ μεираκίου γνώμῃ ἐθάρσει, ^[p. 274] ἀλλ' ἦτοι τὸν δῆμον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν κομίσασθαι ἢ καὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρ' ἐκείνου λαβεῖν ἠθέλησεν: εὖ τε γὰρ ἠπίστατο προσφιλεῖς σφισιν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα αὐτὸν ὄντα, καὶ οὐκ ἐβούλετο παρ' ἑαυτοῦ δὴ δοκεῖν αὐτὴν ἐπιτρέπεσθαι. 32. ῥαίσας δ' οὖν, καὶ μαθὼν τὸν Μάρκελλον οὐκ ἐπιτηδείως τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ διὰ τοῦτ' ἔχοντα, ἐς τὴν Συρίαν εὐθὺς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν, μὴ καὶ διατριβὴ τις καὶ ἀψιμαχία αὐτοῖς ἐν ταύτῃ οὔσι συμβῇ, ἔστειλε. καὶ ὅς ἐκ μὲν τῆς πόλεως εὐθὺς ἐξώρμησεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἀφίκετο, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον μετριάζων ἐκέισε μὲν τοὺς ὑποστρατήγους ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν Λέσβῳ διέτριψε. ^[2] ταῦτα τε οὕτως ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐποίησε, καὶ στρατηγούς δέκα, ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι πλείονων δεόμενος, ἀπέδειξε: καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ πλείῳ ἔτη ἐγένετο. ἔμελλον δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὰ αὐτὰ ἄπερ καὶ πρόσθεν ποιήσιν, δύο δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει ὅσα ^[3] ἔτη γενήσεσθαι. διατάξας δὲ ταῦτα ὡς ἕκαστα, ἀπέλπε τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐς τὸ 104 Ἀλβανὸν ἐλθὼν: ἐπεὶ γὰρ αὐτός, ἐξ οὐπερ τὰ πράγματα κατέστη, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ πλείους δι' ἔτους ἤρξαν, ἐποσχεῖν τε τοῦτο αὐθις, ὅπως ὅτι πλείστοι ὑπατεύωσιν, ἠθέλησε, καὶ ἔξω τοῦ ἄστεως αὐτὸ ^[p. 276] ^[4] ἐποίησεν, ἵνα μὴ κωλυθῇ. καὶ ἐπὶ τε τούτῳ ἔπαινον ἔσχε, καὶ ὅτι Λούκιον ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ Σήστιον ἀνθεΐλετο, αἶε τε τῷ Βροῦτῳ συσπουδάσαντα καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς πολέμοις συστρατεύσαντα καὶ ἔτι καὶ τότε καὶ μνημονεύοντα αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνας ἔχοντα καὶ ἐπαίνους ποιούμενον: τὸ τε γὰρ φιλικὸν καὶ τὸ πιστὸν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐμίσησεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐτίμησε. ^[5] καὶ διὰ ταῦθ' ἡ γερούσια δῆμαρχόν τε αὐτὸν διὰ βίου εἶναι ἐψηφίσατο, καὶ χρηματίζειν αὐτῷ περὶ ἐνός τινος ὅπου ἂν ἐθελήσῃ καθ' ἑκάστην βουλὴν, κἂν μὴ ὑπατεύῃ, ἔδωκε, τὴν τε ἀρχὴν τὴν ἀνθύπατον ἐσαι καθάπαξ ἔχειν ὥστε μήτε ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ τῇ εἰσῷ τοῦ πωμηρίου κατατίθεσθαι αὐτὴν μήτ' αὐθις ἀνανεοῦσθαι, καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑπηκῶ τὸ πλεῖον τῶν ἐκασταχόθι ἀρχόντων ^[6] ἰσχύειν ἐπέτρεψεν. ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν αὐτοκράτορες ἐν νόμῳ δὴ τινι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τῇ δημαρχικῇ ἐχρήσαντο: τὸ γὰρ τοι ὄνομα αὐτὸ τὸ τῶν δημάρχων οὐθ' ὁ Αὐγουστος οὗτ' ἄλλος οὐδεὶς αὐτοκράτωρ ἔσχε. 33. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ ταῦθ' οὕτω τότε οὐκ ἐκ κολακείας ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας τιμηθεὶς λαβεῖν. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα ὡς ἐλευθέρους σφίσι προσεφέρετο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ μὲν Τιριδάτης 105 αὐτός, παρὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Φραάτου πρέσβεις, ἐφ' οἷς ἀντενεκάλουν ἀλλήλοις ἀφίκοντο, ἐς τὴν βουλὴν αὐτοὺς ἐσήγαγε, ^[2] καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐπιτραπεῖς παρ' αὐτῆς τὴν διάγνωσιν ^[p. 278] τὸν μὲν Τιριδάτην τῷ Φραάτῃ οὐκ ἐξέδωκεν, τὸν δ' υἱὸν αὐτῷ, ὃν πρότερον παρ' ἐκείνου λαβὼν εἶχεν, ἀπέπεμψεν ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς τε αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τὰ στρατιωτικὰ τὰ ἐν τε τῇ τοῦ Κράσσου καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ

Ἄντωνίου συμφορᾷ ἁλόντα κομίσασθαι. [3] κὰν τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἔτει ἄγορανόμον τέ τινα τῶν καταδεεστέρων ἀποθανόντα Γάιος Καλπούρνιος, καίτοι προηγορανομηκῶς ἐν τοῖς ἀμείνοσι, διεδέξατο, ὅπερ ἐπ' οὐδενὸς ἄλλου μνημονεύεται γενόμενον: κὰν ταῖς ἄνοχαῖς δύο καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπολιάρχησαν, καὶ εἷς γέ τις αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἐς μεिरάκιά 106 πω τελῶν ὅμως ἦρξεν. [4] αἰτίαν μὲν οὖν ἡ Λιουία τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Μαρκέλλου ἔσχεν, ὅτι τῶν υἱέων αὐτῆς προετετίμητο: ἐς ἀμφίβολον δ' οὖν ἡ ὑποψία αὕτη καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ ἔτους καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔπειτα, οὕτω νοσωδῶν γενομένων 107 ὥστε πάνυ πολλοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς [5] ἀπολέσθαι, κατέστη. καὶ φιλεῖ γὰρ πως αἰεὶ τι πρὸ τῶν τοιούτων προσημαίνεσθαι, τότε μὲν λύκος τε ἐν τῷ ἄστει συνελήφθη, καὶ πῦρ χειμῶν τε πολλοῖς οἰκοδομήμασιν ἐλυμήνατο, ὃ τε Τίβερις αὐξηθεὶς τὴν τε γέφυραν τὴν ξυλίνην

κατέσυρε καὶ τὴν πόλιν πλωτὴν ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐποίησε.

BOOK 54

τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ τετάρτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

α. ὡς ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν ὁδῶν ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων κατέστησαν.

β. ὡς ἐπιμεληταὶ τοῦ σιτηρεσίου ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων κατέστησαν.

γ. ὡς Νώρικον ἐάλω.

δ. ὡς Ῥαιτία ἐάλω.

ε. ὡς αἱ Ἄλπεις αἱ παραθαλάσσιοι Ῥωμαίων ἀκούειν ἤρξαντο.

ζ. ὡς τὸ τοῦ Βάλβου θέατρον καθιερώθη.

η. ὡς τὸ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου θέατρον καθιερώθη.

θ. ὡς Ἀγρίππας ἀπέθανε καὶ τὴν Χερρόνησον Αὐγουστος ἐκτήσατο.

ι. ὡς τὰ Αὐγουστάλια κατέστη.

χρόνου πλῆθος ἔτη τρία καὶ δέκα, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι

οἶδε ἐγένοντο

μ. Κλαύδιος μ. υἱ. Μάρκελλος Αἰσερνῖνος 7

λ. Ἀρρουντίος Λ. υἱ. ὕπ.

μ. Λόλλιος μ. υἱ. 9

κ. Αἰμίλιος μ. υἱ. Λέπιδος ὕπ.

μ. Ἀπουλέιος Σεξτου υἱ.

π. Σίλιος π. υἱ. Νέρουας ὕπ.

γ. Σέντιος Γ. υἱ. Σατουρνῖνος

κ. Λουκρήτιος Κ. υἱ. Οὐισπίλλων ὕπ.

Γν. Κορνήλιος Λ. υἱ. Λεντοῦλος

π. Κορνήλιος Π. υί. Λεντοῦλος Μαρκελλῖνος ὕπ.

γ. Φοῦρνιος Γ. υί. 16

γ. Τούνιος γ. υί. Σιλανός ὕπ. [p. 282]

λ. Δομίτιος Γν. υί. Γν. ἔγγ. Ἀηνόβαρβος 19

π. Κορνήλιος Π. υί. π. ἔγγ. Σκιπίων ὕπ. 20

μ. Λίουιος λ. υί. Δροῦσος Λίβων

λ. Καλπούρνιος Λ. υί. Πίσων Φροῦγι ὕπ. 23

μ. Λικίννιος Μ. υί. Κράσσοις 24

Γν. Κορνήλιος Γν. υί. Λεντοῦλος ὕπ.

Τιβ. Κλαῦδιος Τιβ. υί. Νέρων

π. Κυντίλιος Σέξτου υί. Οὐᾶρος ὕπ.

μ. Οὐαλέριος μ. υί. Μεσσάλας Βάρβατος 29

π. Σουλπίκιος Π. υί. Κυρίνιος ὕπ.

Παῦλος Φάβιος κ. υί. Μάξιμος

κ. Αἴλιος κ. υί. Τουβέρων

Τοῦλλος Ἀντώνιος μ. υί.

Αφρικανός Κ. Φάβιος Κ. υί. ὕπ. 34

1. τῷ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένῳ ἔτει, ἐν ᾧ Μᾶρκος τε Μάρκελλος καὶ Λούκιος Ἀρρουντίος ὑπάτευσαν, ἥ τε πόλις πελαγίσαντος αὐθις τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπλευσθη, καὶ κεραυνοῖς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐβλήθη καὶ οἱ ἀνδριάντες οἱ ἐν τῷ Πανθείῳ, ὥστε καὶ τὸ δόρυ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Αὐγούστου χειρὸς ἐκπεσεῖν. πονοῦμενοι οὖν ὑπὸ τε τῆς νόσου καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ^[2] λιμοῦ ἔν τε γὰρ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ πάσῃ ὁ λοιμὸς ἐγένετο καὶ τὴν χώραν οὐδεὶς εἰργάσατο· δοκῶ δ' ὅτι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔξω χωρίοις τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο συνηνέχθη νομίσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι οὐκ ἄλλως σφίσι ταῦτα συμβεβηκέναι, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ καὶ τότε ὑπατεύοντα ^[3] τὸν Αὐγούστον ἔσχον, δικτάτορα αὐτὸν ἠθέλησαν προχειρίσασθαι, καὶ τὴν τε

βουλὴν [p. 284] κατακλείσαντες ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐπηνάγκασαν τοῦτο ψηφισασθαι, ἀπειλοῦντές σφας καταπρήσειν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰς ῥάβδους τὰς τέσσαρας καὶ εἴκοσι λαβόντες προσῆλθον αὐτῷ, δικτάτορά τε ἅμα δεόμενοι λεχθῆναι καὶ ἐπιμελητὴν τοῦ σίτου, καθάπερ ποτὲ τὸν Πομπήιον, γενέσθαι. [4] καὶ ὃς τοῦτο μὲν ἀναγκαιῶς ἐδέξατο, καὶ ἐκέλευσε δύο ἄνδρας τῶν πρὸ πάντε που αἰεὶ ἐτῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων πρὸς τὴν τοῦ σίτου διανομὴν κατ' ἔτος αἰρεῖσθαι, τὴν δὲ δικτατορίαν οὐ προσήκατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα προσκατερρήξατο, ἐπειδὴ μηδὲνα τρόπον ἄλλως σφᾶς ἐπισχεῖν, μήτε διαλεγόμενος [5] μήτε δεόμενος, ἡδυνήθη: τὴν τε γὰρ ἐξουσίαν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ ὑπὲρ τοὺς δικτάτορας ἔχων, ὀρθῶς τὸ τε ἐπίφθονον καὶ τὸ μισητὸν 2. τῆς ἐπικλήσεως αὐτῶν ἐφυλάξατο. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τιμητὴν αὐτὸν διὰ βίου χειροτονῆσαι βουλομένων ἐποίησεν: οὔτε γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπέστη, καὶ εὐθὺς ἑτέρους τιμητάς, Παῦλόν τε Αἰμίλιον Λέπιδον καὶ Λούκιον Μουνάτιον Πλάγκον, τοῦτον μὲν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Πλάγκου ἐκείνου τοῦ ἐπικηρυχθέντος ὄντα, τὸν δὲ δὴ Λέπιδον αὐτὸν [2] τότε θανατωθέντα, ἀπέδειξεν. ἔσχατοι δὲ οὗτοι τὴν τιμητείαν ἰδιώται ἅμα ἔσχον, ὥσπερ που καὶ παραχρῆμα αὐτοῖς ἐδηλώθη: τὸ γὰρ βῆμα ἀφ' οὗ τι πράξειν τῶν προσηκόντων σφίσιν [p. 286] ἤμελλον, συνέπεσεν ἀναβάντων αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡμέρᾳ καὶ συνετρίβη, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' οὐδένες ἄλλοι τιμηταὶ ὅμοιοι αὐτοῖς ἅμα [3] ἐγένοντο. καὶ τότε δὲ ὁ Αὐγουστος, καίπερ ἐκείνων αἰρεθέντων, πολλὰ τῶν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀνηκόντων ἔπραξε. τῶν τε συσσιτίων τὰ μὲν παντελῶς κατέλυσε, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸ σωφρονέστερον συνέστειλε. καὶ τοῖς μὲν στρατηγοῖς τὰς πανηγύρεις πάσας προσέταξεν, ἕκ τε τοῦ δημοσίου [4] διδοσθαι τι αὐτοῖς κελεύσας, καὶ προσαιτιπῶν μήτε ἐς ἐκείνας οἰκοθέν τινα πλεῖον τοῦ ἑτέρου ἀναλίσκειν μὴτ' ὀπλομαχίαν μὴτ' ἄλλως εἰ μὴ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφισαίτο, μὴτ' αὖ πλεονάκις ἢ δις ἐν ἐκάστῳ ἔτει, μήτε πλειόνων εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν ποιεῖν: τοῖς δ' ἀγορανόμοις τοῖς κουρουλίοις τὴν τῶν ἐμπιμπραμένων κατάσβεσιν ἐνεχείρισεν, ἐξακοσίους σφίσι βοηθοὺς δούλους δοῦς. [5] ἐπειδὴ τε καὶ ἱππῆς καὶ γυναῖκες ἐπιφανεῖς ἐν τῇ ὀρχήστρᾳ καὶ τότε γε ἐπεδείξαντο, ἀπηγόρευσεν οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς παισὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν, ὅπερ που καὶ πρὶν ἐκεκώλυτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις, τοῖς γε ἐν τῇ ἱππᾷ διήλον ὅτι ἐξεταζόμενοι, μηδὲν ἔπι τοιοῦτο δρᾶν. 3. καὶ ἐν μὲν τούτοις τὸ τε τοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος καὶ σχῆμα καὶ ὄνομα ἐπεδείκνυτο, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐμετρίαζεν, ὥστε καὶ [2] φίλοις πισὶν εὐθυνομένοις παραγίγνεσθαι. Μάρκου τέ τινος Πρίμου αἰτίαν ἔχοντος ὅτι τῆς Μακεδονίας ἄρχων Ὀδρῦσαις ἐπολέμησε, καὶ [p. 288] λέγοντος τοτὲ μὲν τῇ τοῦ Αὐγούστου τοτὲ δὲ τῇ Μαρκέλλου γνώμῃ τοῦτο πεποικέναι, ἔς τε τὸ δικαστήριον αὐτεπάγγελτος ἦλθε, καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ εἰ προστάξειεν οἱ πολεμῆσαι, [3] ἔξαρκος ἐγένετο. τοῦ τε συναγορεύοντος τῷ Πρίμῳ Λικινίου Μουρήνου ἄλλα τε ἐς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπιτήδεια ἀπορρίψαντος, καὶ πυθομένου 'τί δὴ ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖς, καὶ τίς σε ἐκάλεσεν;' τοσοῦτον μόνον ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι 'τὸ δημόσιον.' ἐπὶ οὖν τούτοις ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν εὖ φρονούντων ἐπηγνέτο, ὥστε καὶ τὸ τὴν βουλὴν ἀθροίζειν ὡσάκις ἂν ἐθελήσῃ λαβεῖν, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τινὲς κατεφρόνησαν [4] αὐτοῦ. ἀμέλει καὶ τοῦ Πρίμου οὐκ

ὀλίγοι ἀπεψηφίσαντο, καὶ ἐπιβουλὴν ἕτεροι ἐπ’ αὐτῷ συνέστησαν. Φάννιος μὲν γὰρ Καπιίων ἀρχηγὸς αὐτῆς ἐγένετο, συνεπελάβοντο δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι: καὶ σφισι καὶ ὁ Μουρήνας συνομωμοκέναι, εἴτ’ οὖν ἀληθῶς εἶτε καὶ ἐκ διαβολῆς, ἐλέχθη, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἀκράτῳ καὶ κατακορεῖ τῇ παρρησίᾳ πρὸς πάντας^[5] ὁμοίως ἐχρῆτο. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ὑπέμειναν τὸ δικαστήριον, ἐρημῃ μὲν ὥς καὶ φευξόμενοι ἤλωσαν, ἀπεσφάγησαν δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, οὐδὲ ἐπῆρκεσαν τῷ Μουρήνᾳ οὔτε ὁ Προκουλείος ἀδελφὸς ὦν οὔτε ὁ Μαικήνας τῇ ἀδελφῇ αὐτοῦ συνοικῶν, καίπερ ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου τιμώμενοι.^[6] ὥς δ’ οὖν καὶ τούτους τῶν δικαζόντων τινὲς ἀπέλυσαν, ἐνομοθέτησε μῆτε κρύφα τὰς ψήφους ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις δίκαις φέρεσθαι, καὶ πάσαις αὐταῖς τὸν εὐθυνόμενον ἀλίσκεσθαι. καὶ ὅτι γε ταῦτ’ οὐχ ὑπ’ ὀργῆς ἀλλ’ ὥς καὶ συμφέροντα^[p. 290]^[7] τῷ δημοσίῳ διέταξεν, ἰσχυρῶς διέδειξε: τοῦ γοῦν πατρὸς τοῦ Καπιίωνος τὸν μὲν ἕτερον τῶν δούλων τῶν συμφυγόντων τῷ υἱεῖ ἐλευθερώσαντος, ὅτι ἀμῦναι οἱ θνήσκοντι ἠθέλησε, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον τὸν προδόντα αὐτὸν διὰ τε τῆς ἀγορᾶς μέσης μετὰ γραμμάτων τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς θανατώσεως αὐτοῦ δηλούντων διαγαγόντος καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνασταυρώσαντος,^[8] οὐκ ἡγανάκτησε. κἂν ἐξηκέσατο πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν οὐκ ἄρεσκομένων τοῖς πραχθεῖσι μέμψιν, εἰ μὴ καὶ θυσίας ὥς καὶ ἐπὶ νίκη τινὶ καὶ ψηφισθείσας περιεῖδε καὶ γενομένας. 4. τότε δ’ οὖν καὶ τὴν Κύπρον καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν Ναρβωνησίαν ἀπέδωκε τῷ δῆμῳ ὥς μηδὲν τῶν ὅπλων αὐτοῦ δεομένας: καὶ οὕτως ἀνθύπατοι^[2] καὶ ἐς ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἔθνη πέμπεσθαι ἤρξαντο. καὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Βροντῶντος ἐπικαλουμένου ναὸν καθιέρωσε: περὶ οὗ δύο ταῦτα παραδέδοται, ὅτι τότε τε ἐν τῇ ἱεουργίᾳ βρονταὶ ἐγένοντο, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὄναρ τῷ Αὐγούστῳ τοιόνδε ἐπέστη. τῶν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων, τὸ μὲν τι πρὸς τὸ ξένον καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ εἵδους, τὸ δὲ καὶ ὅτι^[3] ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἴδρυτο, μέγιστον δὲ ὅτι πρῶτῳ οἱ ἀνιόντες ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐνετύγχανον, προσερχομένων τε αὐτῷ καὶ σεβόντων, ἔδοξε τὸν Δία τὸν ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ ναῷ ὄντα ὀργῇ ὥς καὶ τὰ δευτέρα αὐτοῦ φερόμενον ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐκείνῳ τε εἰπεῖν ἔλεγεν ὅτι προφύλακα^[4] τὸν Βροντῶντα ἔχοι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, κώδωνα αὐτῷ περιῆψε, βεβαιῶν τὴν ὀνειρωξίν: ^[p. 292] οἱ γὰρ τὰς συνοικίας νύκτωρ φυλάσσοντες κωδωνοφοροῦσιν, ὅπως σημαίνειν σφίσιν ὁπότεν δεηθῶσι δύνωνται. 5. ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ Πρώμῃ ταῦτ’ ἐγίγνετο, ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους χρόνους καὶ οἱ Κάνταβροι οἱ τε Ἀστυρες ἐπολέμησαν αὐθις, οὗτοι μὲν διὰ τε τρυφὴν καὶ δι’ ὠμότητα τοῦ Καρισίου, οἱ δὲ δὴ Κάνταβροι, ἐπειδὴ ἐκείνους τε νεωτερίζοντας ἦσθοντο καὶ τοῦ ἄρχοντός σφων Γαίου Φουρνίου κατεφρόνησαν, ὅτι τε νεωστὶ ἀφῆκτο καὶ ὅτι ἄπειρον αὐτὸν τῶν παρ’ ἑαυτοῖς πραγμάτων εἶναι^[2] ἔδοξαν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τοιοῦτός σφισιν ἐφάνη, ἀλλ’ ἡττηθέντες ἀμφοτέρω ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ‘καὶ γὰρ τῷ Καρισίῳ προσήμυνεν’ ἐδουλώθησαν. καὶ τῶν μὲν Καντάβρων οὐ πολλοὶ ἐάλωσαν: ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀνέλπιστον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἔσχον, οὐδὲ ζῆν^[3] ἠθέλησαν, ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν τὰ ἐρύματα προεμπήσαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπέσφαξαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνοις ἐθελονταὶ συγκατεκαύθησαν, ἄλλοι δημοσίᾳ φαρμάκων ἐνεπλήσθησαν, ὥστε τὸ τε πλεῖστον καὶ τὸ ἀγριώτατον αὐτῶν φθαρῆναι: οἱ δ’ Ἀστυρες ὥς

τάχιστα χωρίον τέ τι πολιορκοῦντες ἀπηλάθησαν καί μάχη μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐνικήθησαν, οὐκέτ' ἀντήραν ἀλλ' εὐθύς ἐχειρώθησαν. [4] ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον οἱ Αἰθίοπες οἱ ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου οἰκοῦντες προεχώρησαν μὲν μέχρι τῆς πόλεως τῆς Ἐλεφαντίνης ὠνομασμένης, πάντα τὰ ἐν ποσὶ πορθοῦντες, ἡγουμένης σφίσιν Κανδάκης: πυθόμενοι δὲ ἐνταῦθα πρὸς Γάιον Πετρώνιον τὸν τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἄρχοντα προσιέναι, [p. 294] προαπῆλθον μὲν ὡς καὶ διαφευξόμενοι, καταληφθέντες δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἡττήθησαν, κάκ τούτου καὶ [5] ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτὸν ἐπεσπάσαντο. καὶ καλῶς καὶ ἐκεῖ ἀγωνισάμενος πόλεις ἄλλας τε καὶ τὴν Ναπάτην τὸ βασιλεῖον αὐτῶν ἔλαβεν. καὶ ἐκείνη μὲν κατεσκάφη, ἐν ἑτέρῳ δὲ τινι χωρίῳ φρουρὰ κατελείφθη: ὁ γὰρ Πετρώνιος μήτε περαιτέρω διὰ τε τὴν ἄμμον καὶ διὰ τὸ καῦμα προελθεῖν μήτε κατὰ χώραν μετὰ παντός τοῦ στρατοῦ μέναι καλῶς δυνηθεὶς ἀνεχώρησε, τὸ [6] πλεῖον αὐτοῦ ἐπαγόμενος. κἂν τούτῳ τῶν Αἰθίοπων τοῖς φρουροῖς ἐπιθεμένων αὖθις τε ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐστράτευσε, καὶ τοὺς σφετέρους ἐρρύσατο, καὶ τὴν Κανδάκην συμβῆναι οἱ ἠνάγκασεν. 6. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίνετο, ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐς Σικελίαν ἦλθεν, ὅπως καὶ ἐκείνην καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ μέχρι τῆς Συρίας καταστήσεται. καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐνταῦθα ἔτ' ὄντος ὁ δῆμος τῶν Ῥωμαίων τοὺς ὑπάτους χειροτονῶν ἐστασίασεν, ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου διαδειχθῆναι ὅτι ἀδύνατον ἦν δημοκρατουμένους [2] σφᾶς σωθῆναι. μικροῦ γοῦν τινος ἔν τε ταῖς ἀρχαιρεσίαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς αὐταῖς κυριεύοντες ἐθορύβησαν. ἐτρηεῖτο μὲν γὰρ ἡ ἑτέρα χώρα τῷ Αὐγουστῳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Μᾶρκος Λόλλιος κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦ ἔτους μόνος ἦρξεν: ἐκείνου δὲ μὴ δεξαμένου αὐτὴν Κύντος τε Λέπιδος καὶ Λούκιος Σιλουανὸς ἐσπουδαρχίασαν, καὶ οὕτω τε πάντα συνετάραξαν ὥστε καὶ τὸν Αὐγουστον [3] ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμφρόνων ἀνακληθῆναι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ [p. 296] οὐχ ὑπέστρεψε μὲν, ἐλθόντας δὲ αὐτοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέπεμψεν ἐπιτιμήσας σφίσι καὶ κελεύσας ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν ἀπόντων τὴν ψῆφον δοθῆναι, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἡσύχασαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ αὖθις διηνέχθησαν, ὥστε τὸν Λέπιδον ὁπότε ποτε αἰρεθῆναι. [4] ἀγανακτήσας οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁ Αὐγουστος, καὶ μήτε μόνῃ τῇ Ῥώμῃ σχολάζειν δυνάμενος μήτ' αὖ ἄναρχον αὐτὴν καταλιπεῖν τολμῶν, ἐζήτην τινὰ αὐτῇ ἐπιστῆσαι, καὶ ἔκρινε μὲν τὸν Ἀγρίππαν [5] ἐπιτηδειότατον ἐς τοῦτο εἶναι, βουλευθεὶς δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀξίωμα αὐτῷ μεῖζον περιθεῖναι, ἵνα καὶ ἐκ τούτου ῥᾶον αὐτῶν ἄρχῃ, μετεπέμψατο αὐτόν, καὶ καταναγκάσας τὴν γυναῖκα, καίπερ ἀδελφιδὴν αὐτοῦ οὔσαν, ἀπαλλάξαντα τῇ Ἰουλίᾳ συνοικῆσαι, ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην παραχρῆμα καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ γάμῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς πόλεως διαχειρίσει ἔπεμψε, διὰ τε τᾶλλα καὶ ὅτι ὁ Μαικήνας συμβουλευομένῳ οἱ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων εἰπεῖν λέγεται ὅτι 'τῆλικοῦτον αὐτὸν πεποίηκας ὥστ' ἡ γαμβρόν σου [6] γενέσθαι ἢ φονευθῆναι.' καὶ ὅς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οἰδοῦντα ἔτι εὐρὼν κατεστήσατο, τὰ τε ἱερὰ τὰ Αἰγύπτια ἐπεσιόντα αὖθις ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἀνέστειλεν, ἀπειπὼν μηδὲν ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ αὐτὰ ἐντὸς ὁγδόου ἡμισταδίου ποιεῖν: ταραχῆς δὲ πινος περὶ τὴν τοῦ πολιάρχου τοῦ διὰ τὰς ἀνοχὰς αἰρουμένου χειροτονίαν συμβάσης οὐκ ἐπεκράτησεν αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ ἄνευ τῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκείνον διεγέγοντο. [p. 298] 7. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν, ὁ δὲ Αὐγουστος τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ

ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ διοικήσας, καὶ τὰς Συρακοῦσας ἑτέρας τέ τινας πόλεις ἀποίκους Ῥωμαίων ἀποδείξας ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπεραιώθη. ^[2] καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν τοῖς τε Κυθήροις καὶ τῇ συσσιτίᾳ ἐτίμησεν, ὅτι ἡ Λιουία, ὅτε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας σὺν τε τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ σὺν τῷ υἱεὶ ἔφυγεν, ἐκεῖ διέτριψεν: Ἀθηναίων δὲ τὴν τε Αἰγίναν καὶ τὴν Ἑρέτριαν ἔκαρποῦντο γὰρ αὐτάς, ὥς τινὲς φασιν, ἀφείλετο, ὅτι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐσποῦδασαν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἀπηγόρευσέ σφισι μηδὲνα πολίτην ^[3] ἀργυρίου ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐς ταῦτα ἔδοξε τὸ τῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀγάλματι συμβὰν ἀποσκήψαι: ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἀκροπόλει πρὸς ἀνατολῶν ἰδρυμένον πρὸς τε τὰς δυσμὰς μετεστράφη καὶ αἷμα ἀπέπτυσεν. ^[4] ὁ δ' οὖν Αὐγουστος τὸ τε Ἑλληνικὸν διήγαγε καὶ ἐς Σάμον ἔπλευσεν, ἐνταῦθα τε ἐχείμασε, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τῷ ἥρι ἐν ᾧ Μάρκος τε Ἀπουλείος καὶ Πούπλιος Σίλιος ὑπάτευσαν κομισθεὶς πάντα τὰ τε ἐκεῖ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ ^[5] διέταξεν, οὐχ ὅτι τοῦ δήμου καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰ πρότερα ἐδόκει εἶναι ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ αὐτὰ ποιησάμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πάντων σφῶν ὡς καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ὄντων ἐπιμεληθεὶς: τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα ὅσαπερ καὶ προσῆκον ἦν ἐπηνώρθωσε, καὶ χρήματα τοῖς μὲν ἐπέδωκε τοῖς δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν φόρον ^[6] ἐσενεγκεῖν προσέταξε. τοὺς τε Κυζικηνούς, ὅτι Ῥωμαίους τινὰς ἐν στάσει μαστιγώσαντες ἀπέκτειναν, ἐδουλώσατο. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς Τυρίους ^[p. 300] τοὺς τε Σιδωνίους διὰ τὰς στάσεις ἐποίησεν, ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ γενόμενος. 8. κἂν τούτῳ ὁ Φραάτης φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἐπιστρατεύσῃ οἱ, ὅτι μηδέπω τῶν συγκειμένων ἐπεποιήκει τι, τὰ τε σημεῖα αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, πλὴν ὀλίγων οἱ ὑπ' αἰσχύνῃς σφᾶς ἔφθειραν ἢ καὶ κατὰ χώραν λαθόντες ἔμειναν, ^[2] ἀπέπεμψε. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνος ὡς καὶ πολέμῳ τινὶ τὸν Πάρθον νενικηκῶς ἔλαβε: καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐφρόνει μέγα, λέγων ὅτι τὰ πρότερόν ποτε ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπολόμενα ἀκονιτὶ ἐκεκόμιστο. ^[3] ἀμέλει καὶ θυσίας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ νεῶν Ἀρεως Τιμωροῦ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Φερετρίου ζήλωμα, πρὸς τὴν τῶν σημείων ἀνάθεσιν καὶ ψηφισθῆναι ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἐποίησε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπὶ κέλῃτος ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσήλασε καὶ ἀψῖδι τροπαιοφόρῳ ἐτίμηθη. ^[4] ταῦτα μὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ὕστερον ἐπράχθη: τότε δὲ αὐτὸς τε προστάτης τῶν περὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ὁδῶν αἰρεθεὶς καὶ τὸ χρυσοῦν μίλιον κεκλημένον ἔστησε, καὶ ὁδοποιοὺς αὐταῖς ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων, ῥαβδούχοις δύο χρωμένους, προσέταξε. ^[5] καὶ ἡ Ἰουλία τὸν Γάιον ὀνομασθέντα ἔτεκε, βουθυσία τέ τις τοῖς γενεθλίοις αὐτοῦ αἰδίου ἐδόθη: καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ ψηφίσματος, ὥσπερ που καὶ ^[p. 302] τᾶλλα, ἐγένετο: ἰδίᾳ δὲ δὴ οἱ ἀγορανόμοι ἵπποδρομίαν τε ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Αὐγούστου γενεθλίοις καὶ θηρίων σφαγὰς ἐποίησαν. 9. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ πόλει ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο, ὁ δὲ Αὐγουστος τὸ μὲν ὑπήκοον κατὰ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔθνη διώκει, τὸ δὲ ἔνσπονδον τῷ πατρίῳ σφίσι τρόπῳ εἰς ἄρχεσθαι: οὐδ' ἠξίωσεν οὔτε ἐκείνῳ τι προσθέσθαι οὔτε ἕτερόν τι προσκτῆσασθαι, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς ἀρκεῖσθαι τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἐδικαίου, ^[2] καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τῇ βουλῇ ἐπέστειλεν. ὥστε πολέμου μὲν οὐδὲν τότε γ' ἐφήπατο, δυναστείας δὲ δὴ Ἰαμβλίχῳ τε τῷ Ἰαμβλίχου τὴν τῶν Ἀραβίων τὴν πατρώαν καὶ Ταρκονδιμότῳ τῷ Ταρκονδιμότου τὴν τῆς Κιλικίας, ἣν ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ ἔσχεν, πλὴν παραθαλασσιδίων τινῶν ἔδωκεν:

ἐκεῖνα γὰρ τῷ Ἀρχελάῳ μετὰ τῆς σμικροτέρας Ἀρμενίας ἐχαρίσατο, ὅτι ὁ Μῆδος ὁ πρὶν αὐτῆς ^[3] βασιλεύων ἐτεθνήκει. τῷ τε Ἡρώδῃ Ζηνοδώρου τινὸς τετραρχίαν, καὶ Μιθριδάτῃ τινὶ τὴν Κομμαγενήν, ἐπειδὴ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῆς ἀπεκτόνει, καίτοι παιδίσκῳ ἔτ' ὄντι ἐπέτρεψε. ^[4] τῶν τε Ἀρμενίων τῶν ἐτέρων τοῦ τε Ἀρτάξου κατηγορησάντων καὶ τὸν Τιγράνην τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὄντα μεταπεμψαμένων, ἔστειλε τὸν Τιβέριον, ὅπως τὸν μὲν ἐκβάλῃ τῆς βασιλείας, τὸν δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ἀποκαταστήσῃ. ^[5] καὶ ἐπράχθη μὲν οὐδὲν τῆς παρασκευῆς αὐτοῦ ἄξιον: οἱ γὰρ Ἀρμένιοι τὸν Ἀρτάξην προαπέκτειναν: ὁ δ' οὖν Τιβέριος, ἄλλως τε καὶ ^[p. 304] ἐπειδὴ θυσίαι ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐψηφίσθησαν, ἐσεμνύνετο ^[6] ὡς καὶ κατ' ἀρετὴν τι ποιήσας. καὶ ἤδη γε καὶ περὶ τῆς μοναρχίας ἐνενόει, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τοὺς Φιλίππους αὐτοῦ προσελαύνοντος θόρυβός τέ τις ἐκ τοῦ τῆς μάχης χωρίου ὡς καὶ ἐκ στρατοπέδου ἠκούσθη, καὶ πῦρ ἐκ τῶν βωμῶν τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἐν τῷ ταφρεύματι ἰδρυθέντων αὐτόματον ^[7] ἀνέλαμψε. Τιβέριος μὲν δὴ ἐκ τούτων ἐγαυροῦτο, ὁ δὲ Αὐγουστος ἔς τε τὴν Σάμον ἐπανῆλθε κάνταυθα αὐθις ἐχείμασε, καὶ ἐκείνοις τε ἐλευθερίαν μισθὸν τῆς διατριβῆς ἀντέδωκε, ^[8] καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ὀλίγα προσδιώκησε. πάμπολλαι γὰρ δὴ πρεσβεῖαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφίκοντο, καὶ οἱ Ἰνδοὶ προκηρυκευσάμενοι πρότερον φιλίαν τότε ἐσπείσαντο, δῶρα πέμψαντες ἄλλα τε καὶ τίγρεις, πρῶτον τότε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, νομίζω δ' ὅτι καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν, ὀφθείσας. καὶ τι καὶ μειράκιόν οἱ ἄνευ ὤμων, οἶους τοὺς Ἑρμᾶς ὀρώμεν, ἔδωκαν. ^[9] καὶ μέντοι τοιοῦτον ὃν ἐκεῖνο ἐς πάντα τοῖς ποσὶν ἄτε καὶ χερσὶν ἐχρῆτο, τόξον τε αὐτοῖς ἐπέτεινε καὶ βέλη ἠφίει καὶ ἐσάλπιζεν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως: ^[10] γράφω γὰρ τὰ λεγόμενα. εἰς δ' οὖν τῶν Ἰνδῶν Ζάρμαρος, εἴτε δὴ τοῦ τῶν σοφιστῶν γένους ὢν, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας, εἴτε καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ γήρωος κατὰ τὸν πάτριον νόμον, εἴτε καὶ ἐς ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ τε Αὐγουστοῦ καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων 'καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖσε ἦλθεν' ἀποθανεῖν ἐθελήσας ἐμυθήθῃ τε τὰ τοῖν θεοῖν, τῶν μυστηρίων καίπερ οὐκ ἐν τῷ ^[p. 306] καθήκοντι καιρῷ, ὡς φασι, διὰ τὸν Αὐγουστον καὶ αὐτὸν μεμνημένον γενομένων, καὶ πυρὶ ἐαυτὸν ζῶντα ἐξέδωκεν. 10. ὑπάτερε μὲν δὴ ἐν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ Γάιος Σέντιος: ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν συνάρξοντα αὐτῷ προσαποδειχθῆναι ἔδει 'ὁ γὰρ Αὐγουστος οὐδὲ τότε τηρηθεῖσάν οἱ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐδέξατό, στάσις τε αὐθις ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ συνηνέχθη καὶ σφαγαὶ συνέβησαν, ὥστε τοὺς βουλευτὰς φρουρὰν τῷ Σεντίῳ ^[2] ψηφίσασθαι. ἐπειδὴ τε μὴ ἠθέλησεν αὐτῇ χρῆσασθαι, πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν Αὐγουστον, μετὰ δύο ῥαβδούχων ἕκαστον, ἔπεμψαν. μαθὼν οὖν ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνος, καὶ συνιδὼν ὅτι οὐδὲν πέρας τοῦ κακοῦ γενήσοιτο, οὐκέτ' αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως ὥσπερ καὶ πρὶν προσηνέχθη, ἀλλ' ἔκ τε τῶν πρεσβευτῶν αὐτῶν Κύντον Λουκρήτιον, καίπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐπικηρυχθεῖσιν ἀναγραφέντα, ὕπατον ἀπέδειξε, καὶ αὐτὸς ^[3] ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπειχθη. καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τε τούτοις καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἀποδημίᾳ πραχθεῖσι πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα ἐψηφίσθη: ὧν οὐδὲν προσήκατο, πλὴν Τύχῃ τε Ἐπαναγῶγῳ 'οὕτω γὰρ πως αὐτὴν ἐκάλεσαν' βωμὸν ἰδρυθῆναι καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἣν ἀφίξειτο ἐν τε ταῖς ἱερομηνίαις ἀριθμεῖσθαι ^[4] καὶ Αὐγουστάλια ὀνομάζεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὡς αἱ τε ἀρχαὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι προαπαντήσῃσι οἱ προπαρεσκευάσαντο, νύκτωρ ἐς τὴν

πολὴν ἐσεκομίσθη, καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τῷ τε Τιβερίῳ τὰς τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων τιμὰς ἔδωκε, καὶ τῷ Δρούσῳ πέντε ἔτεσι θάσσον παρὰ τὰ νομιζόμενα τὰς [p. 308] [5] ἄρχὰς αἰτῆσαι ἐπέτρεψεν. Ἐπειδὴ τε μηδὲν ὠμολόγει ὅσα τε ἀπόντος αὐτοῦ στασιάζοντες καὶ ὅσα παρόντος φοβούμενοι ἔπρασσον, ἐπιμελητὴς τε τῶν τρόπων ἐς πέντε ἔτη παρακληθεὶς δὴ ἔχειροτονήθη, καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν μὲν τῶν τιμητῶν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τὴν δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων διὰ βίου ἔλαβεν, ὥστε καὶ ταῖς δώδεκα ῥάβδοις αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ χρῆσθαι, καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν αἰεὶ ὑπατευόντων ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ δίφρου καθίζεσθαι. [6] ψηφισάμενοι δὲ ταῦτα διορθοῦν τε πάντα αὐτὸν καὶ νομοθετεῖν ὅσα βούλοιτο ἤξιουν, καὶ τοὺς τε νόμους τοὺς γραφησομένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Αὐγουστούς ἐκείθεν ἤδη προσηγόρευον, καὶ ἐμμενεῖν σφισιν ὁμόσαι ἤθελον. ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὡς καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἐδέξατο, τοὺς δ' ὄρκους ἀφῆκεν [7] αὐτοῖς: καὶ γὰρ εὖ ᾔδει ὅτι, εἰ μὲν ἀπὸ γνώμης τι ψηφισαντο, τηρήσουσιν αὐτὸ κἂν μὴ ὁμόσωσιν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ, κἂν μυρίας πίστεις ἐπαγάγῃσι, προτιμήσουσιν. 11. Αὐγουστος μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποίει, καὶ τις τῶν ἀγορανόμων ἐθελοντὴς ὑπὸ πενίας ἀπέλπε τὴν ἀρχήν: Ἀγρίππας δὲ ὡς τότε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας πεμφθεὶς διώκησε τὰ κατεπείγοντα, [2] ταῖς Γαλατίαις προσετάχθη: ἔν τε γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἐστασιάζον καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν ἐκακοῦντο. καταστήσας δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐς Ἰβηρίαν μετέστη: οἱ γὰρ Κάνταβροι οἱ ζωργηθέντες τε ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ [p. 310] καὶ πραθέντες τοὺς τε δεσπότας σφῶν ὡς ἕκαστοι ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπανελθόντες πολλοὺς συναπέστησαν, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν χωρία καταλαβόντες καὶ ἐντειχισάμενοι τοῖς τῶν [3] Ῥωμαίων φρουροῖς ἐπεβούλευον. ἐπ' οὖν τούτους ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἐπιστρατεύσας ἔσχε μὲν τι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας ἔργον: πρεσβύτεροι γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγοι αὐτῶν ὄντες καὶ τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῶν πολέμων τετρυχωμένοι, τοὺς τε Καντάβρους ὡς καὶ δυσπολεμήτους [4] δεδιότες, οὐκ ἐπείθοντο αὐτῷ. ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μὲν, τὰ μὲν νουθετήσας τὰ δὲ παραμυθησάμενος τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπελπίσας, διὰ ταχέων πειθαρχῆσαι ἐποίησε, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τοὺς Καντάβρους πολλὰ προσέπταισεν: καὶ γὰρ ἐμπειρία πραγμάτων, ἅτε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις δεδουλευκότες, καὶ ἀπογνώσει τοῦ μὴ ἂν ἔτι σωθῆναι ἀλόντες ἐχρῶντο. [5] τέλος δὲ ποτε συχνοὺς μὲν ἀποβαλὼν τῶν στρατιωτῶν, συχνοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀτιμώσας ὅτι ἡττῶντο 'τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ στρατόπεδον ὅλον Αὐγουστον ἐπωνομασμένον ἐκώλυσεν οὕτως ἔτι καλεῖσθαι, τοὺς τε ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ πολεμίους πάντας ὀλίγου διέφθιρε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τὰ τε ὅπλα ἀφείλετο [6] καὶ ἐς τὰ πεδία ἐκ τῶν ἐρυμνῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ μὴν οὔτε ἐπέστείλε τι τῇ βουλῇ περὶ αὐτῶν, οὔτε τὰ ἐπινίκια καίτοι ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Αὐγουστού προστάξεως ψηφισθέντα προσήκατο, ἀλλ' ἔν τε τούτοις ἐμετρίαζεν ὥσπερ εἰώθει, καὶ γνώμην ποτὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑπάτου ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐρωτηθεὶς [p. 312] [7] οὐκ ἔδωκε. τὸ τε ὕδωρ τὸ Παρθένιον καλούμενον τοῖς ἰδίοις τέλεσιν ἐσαγαγὼν Αὐγουστον προσηγόρευσε. καὶ οὕτω γε ἐκείνος ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔχαιρεν ὥστε σπάνεως ποτε οἴνου γενομένης, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων δεινὰ διαβώωντων, ἱκανώτατα ἔφη τὸν Ἀγρίππαν προνοηκέναι ὥστε μὴ διψῇ ποτὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπολῆσθαι. 12. τοιοῦτος μὲν δὴ οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἦν: τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων τινὲς οὐχ ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ

αὐτῷ πράσσοντες, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ληστὰς συλλαμβάνοντες οἱ δὲ πόλεις στασιαζούσας καταλλάσσοντες, καὶ ἐπωρέγοντο [2] τῶν νικητηρίων καὶ ἔπεμπον αὐτά. ὁ γὰρ Αὐγουστος καὶ ταῦτα ἀφθόνως τισὶ τὴν γε πρώτην ἐχαρίζετο, καὶ δημοσίαις ταφαῖς πλείστους ὅσους ἐτίμα. τοιγαροῦν ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἐλαμπρύνοντο, ὁ δὲ Ἀγρίππας ἐς τὴν αὐταρχίαν τρόπον [3] τινὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προήχθη. ὁ γὰρ Αὐγουστος, ὡς τὰ τε κοινὰ θεραπείας ἀκριβοῦς ἐδέλτο, καὶ ἐδεδίει μὴ, οἷα ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν, ἐπιβουλευθῇ ἄρα γὰρ τι καὶ σμικρὸν τὸν θῶρακα, ὃν ὑπὸ τῇ στολῇ πολλάκις καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ συνέδριον [4] ἐσιῶν εἶχεν, ἐπικουρήσειν οἱ ἐνόμιζέ, πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸς πέντε τῆς προστασίας ἔτη, ἐπειδὴ περ ὁ δεκέτης χρόνος ἐξήκων ἦν, προσέθετο ταῦτα γὰρ Πουπλίου τε καὶ Γναίου Λεντούλων ὑπατευόντων ἐγένετο, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ ἄλλα τε ἐξ Ἰσου πη ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν δημαρχικὴν [5] ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἔδωκε. τοσαῦτα γὰρ σφισιν ἔτη τότε ἐπαρκέσειν ἔφη: ὕστερον γὰρ οὐ πολλῷ [p. 314] καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πέντε τῆς αὐτοκράτορος ἡγεμονίας προσέλαβεν, ὥστε αὐτὰ δέκα αὐθις γενέσθαι. 13. πράξας δὲ ταῦτα τὸ βουλευτικὸν ἐξήτασε: πολλοὶ τε γὰρ καὶ ὡς ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ εἶναι ἄλλοι δὲ οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς ἐνέωρα 94', καὶ διὰ μίσους οὐχ ὅτι τοὺς κακίᾳ τινὶ ἐπρρήτους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς [2] κολακείᾳ ἐκφανεῖς ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ μήτε τις ἐκὼν ὥσπερ πρότερον ἀπηλλάττετο, μήτ' αὖ μόνος ἐν αἰτίᾳ τινὶ γενέσθαι ἐβούλετο, αὐτὸς τε τριάκοντα ἄνδρας τοὺς ἀρίστους, ὅπερ πού καὶ ὄρκῳ ἐπιστώσατο, ἐξελέξατο, καὶ ἐκείνους ἐκέλευσε προομόσαντας τὸν αὐτὸν ὄρκον κατὰ πέντε, πλὴν τῶν συγγενῶν, ἐς πινάκια γράψαντας ἐλέσθαι. [3] καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰς πεμπάδας ἐκλήρωσεν, ὥσθ' ἓνα καθ' ἑκάστην τὸν λαχόντα αὐτὸν τε βουλευῆσαι καὶ ἑτέρους πέντε ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐγγράφαι. ἔδει πού καὶ τοὺς τριάκοντα ἓν τε τοῖς αἵρουμένοις ὑπὸ τῶν ἑτέρων καὶ ἐν τοῖς κληρουμένοις γενέσθαι. ἐπειδὴ τέ τινες αὐτῶν ἀπεδήμουν, ἄλλοι ἂντ' ἐκείνων λαχόντες τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντά σφισιν ἔπραξαν. [4] τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας ἐγένετο: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκακουργήθη τινὰ, οὔτε ἐπὶ τοῖς ταμίαις τὰ γραμματεῖα ἔτ' ἐποιήσατο οὔτε ἔτι τῷ κλήρῳ τὰς πεμπάδας ἐπέτρεψεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς τε τὰ λοιπὰ ἀνελέξατο καὶ αὐτὸς τοὺς ἐνδέοντας προσεῖλετο, ὥστε ἐς ἑξακοσίους τοὺς 14. πάντα ἀποδειχθῆναι. ἐβουλεύσατο μὲν γὰρ τριακοσίους [p. 316] αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ποιῆσαι, καὶ πάνυ ἀγαπητὸν νομίζων εἶναι τοσούτους ἀξιους τοῦ συνεδρίου σφῶν εὐρεθῆναι: δυσχερανάντων δὲ πάντων ὁμοίως τῷ γὰρ πολὺ πλείους τῶν ἐμμενοῦντων ἐν αὐτῷ τοὺς διαγραφησομένους ἔσεσθαι, φοβεῖσθαι μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς μὴ ἰδιωτεῦσωσιν ἢ προσδοκᾶν ὅτι καὶ βουλευέσουσιν συνέβαινέ τοὺς [2] ἑξακοσίους κατελέξατο. καὶ οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα ἔστη, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο, ἐπειδὴ τινες οὐκ ἐπιτήδαιοι καὶ τότε ἐγγεγραμμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ Λικινίος τέ τις Ῥήγουλος, ἀγανακτήσας ὅτι τοῦ τε υἱέος καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν, ὧν κρείσσων εἶναι ἠέξιου, διειλεγμένων ἀπαλήλιπτο, τὴν τε ἐσθῆτα ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ [3] βουλευτηρίῳ κατερρήξατο, καὶ τὸ σῶμα γυμνῶσας τὰς τε στρατείας κατηριθμήσατο καὶ τὰς οὐλὰς προσεπέδειξε σφισι, καὶ Ἀρτικυλῆος Παῖτος ἐν μὲν τοῖς βουλευέσουσιν ὧν τῷ δὲ διὰ πατρὶ ἐκπεπτωκότι παραχωρήσαι τῆς βουλῆς ἀξιῶν ἰκέτευεν,

ἔξετασμόν αὐθις σφων ἐποίησατο, καὶ ^[4] τινας ἀπαλλάξας ἄλλους ἀντικατέλεξεν. ἔπειδή τε πολλοὶ καὶ ὥς διεγεγράφατο, καὶ τινες αὐτὸν δι' αἰτίας, 100 οἷα ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν, ὥς καὶ ἀδίκως ἀπεληλαμένοι εἶχον, τότε τε 101 αὐτοῖς καὶ συνθεάσασθαι καὶ συνεσιπιάσασθαι τοῖς βουλευούσι, τῇ αὐτῇ σκευῇ χρωμένοις, συνεχώρησε, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα τὰς ἀρχὰς αἰτεῖν ἐπέτρεψε. ^[5] καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν πλείους ἐπανῆλθον ^[p. 318] χρόνῳ ἐς τὸ συνέδριον, ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, μήτε τῆς γερουσίας μήτε τοῦ δήμου νομιζόμενοι, κατελείφθησαν. 15. τούτων οὖν οὕτω γενομένων συχνοὶ μὲν εὐθὺς συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκείνῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ ἐπιβουλεύσαι, εἴτ' οὖν ἀληθῶς εἶτε καὶ ^[2] ψευδῶς, αἰτίαν ἔσχον. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἀκριβῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῖς ἔξω αὐτῶν οὖσιν εἶδέναι: πολλὰ γὰρ ὦν ἂν ὁ κρατῶν πρὸς τιμωρίαν, ὥς καὶ ἐπιβεβουλευμένος, ἦτοι δι' ἑαυτοῦ ἢ καὶ διὰ τῆς γερουσίας πράξει, ὑποπτεύεται κατ' ἐπήρειαν, κἂν ὅτι μάλιστα ^[3] δικαιοτάτα συμβῇ, γεγονέναι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐγὼ γνώμην ἔχω περὶ πάντων τῶν τοιουτοτρόπων αὐτὰ τὰ λεγόμενα συγγράψαι, μηδὲν ὑπὲρ τὰ δεδομοσιευμένα, πλὴν τῶν πάνυ φανερῶν, μήτε πολυπραγμονῶν μήθ' ὑπολέγων, μήτ' εἰ δικαίως μήτ' εἰ ἀδίκως τι γέγονε, μήτ' εἰ ^[4] ψευδῶς μήτε εἰ ἀληθῶς εἴρηται. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν μοι καὶ κατὰ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα γραφησομένων εἰρήσθω: ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ τότε παρόντι ὁ Αὐγουστος ἄλλους μὲν τινας ἐδίκαιωσε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Λέπιδον ἐμίσει μὲν διὰ τε τᾶλλα καὶ ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπεφώρατο ἐπιβουλεύων αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκεκόλαστο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐν τρόπῳ ^[5] τινὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλῳ 102 προεπηλάκιζεν. ἔς τε γὰρ τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἄκοντα αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν κατιέναι ἐκέλευε, καὶ ἐς τὰς συνόδους αἰεὶ ἐσῆγεν, ὅπως ὅτι πλείστην καὶ χλευασίαν καὶ ὕβριν πρὸς τε τὴν ^[p. 320] τῆς ἰσχύος καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀξιώσεως μεταβολὴν ὀφλίσκάνη: καὶ οὔτε ἐς ἄλλο τι ὥς καὶ ἀξίῳ οἱ λόγου ἐχρήτο, τότε δὲ καὶ τὴν ψῆφον ὑστάτῳ τῶν ^[6] ὑπατευκότων ἐπῆγε. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους ἐν τῇ καθηκούσῃ τάξει ἐπεψήφισε, τῶν δ' ὑπατευκότων πρῶτόν τε τινὰ καὶ δεύτερον τρίτον τε ἕτερον καὶ τέταρτον, τοὺς τε λοιποὺς ὁμοίως, ὥς που καὶ ἐβούλετο: καὶ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ ὕπατοι ἐποιοῦν. οὕτω ^[7] μὲν δὴ τὸν Λέπιδον μετεχειρίζετο, καὶ ἔπειδή γε Ἀντίστιος Λαβέων ἐς τοὺς βουλευόντας 103 αὐτόν, ὅτε ἡ διαγνώμη 104 ἐκείνη ἐγίνετο, ἐσεγράφατο, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπιωρκηκέναι τε αὐτόν ἔφη καὶ τιμωρήσεσθαι ἠπειλήσεν, ἔπειτα δὲ εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ 'καὶ τί δεινὸν πεποίηκα κατασχὼν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἄνδρα ὃν σὺ ἀρχιέρεων ἔτι καὶ νῦν περιορᾷς ^[8] ὄντα;' οὐκέτ' οὐδεμίαν ὀργὴν ἐποίησατο: πολλάκις γὰρ καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ταύτης ἀξιούμενος οὐκ ἐδίκαιωσε ζῶντος τοῦ Λεπίδου λαβεῖν αὐτήν. Ἀντίστιος μὲν οὖν τοῦτό τε οὐκ ἀπὸ καιροῦ εἰπεῖν ἔδοξε, καὶ ποτε λόγων ἐν τῇ βουλῇ γιγνομένων ὥς χρεῶν εἶη τὸν Αὐγουστον ἐκ διαδοχῆς σφας φρουρεῖν, ἔφη, μήτ' ἀντειπεῖν τολμῶν μήτε συγκαταθέσθαι ὑπομένων, ὅτι 'ῥέγκω καὶ οὐ δύναμαι αὐτοῦ προκοιτῆσαι.' 16. ὁ δ' οὖν Αὐγουστος ἄλλα τε ἐνομοθέτησε, καὶ τοὺς δεκάσαντας τινὰς ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἐς ^[p. 322] πέντε ἔτη αὐτῶν εἵρξε. 105 τοῖς τε ἀγάμοις καὶ ταῖς ἀνάνδροις βαρύτερα τὰ ἐπιτίμια ἐπέταξε, καὶ ἔμπαινον τοῦ τε γάμου καὶ τῆς παιδοποιίας ἄθλα ^[2] ἔθηκεν. ἔπειδή τε πολὺ

πλείον τὸ ἄρρεν τοῦ θήλεος τοῦ εὐγενοῦς ἦν, ἐπέτρεψε καὶ ἐξελευθέρας τοῖς ἐθέλουσι, πλὴν τῶν βουλευόντων, ἄγεσθαι, ἔννομον τὴν τεκνοποιίαν αὐτῶν εἶναι κελεύσας. [3] καὶ τούτῳ καταβοήσεως 106 ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ περὶ τε τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν νεανίσκων ἀκοσμίας, πρὸς ἀπολογίαν δὴ τινα τοῦ μὴ ῥαδίως δι' αὐτὴν τὰς τῶν γάμων συναλλαγὰς ποιεῖσθαι, γενομένης, καὶ ἐναγόντων αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκείνην ἐπανορθῶσαι χλευασμῷ ὅτι πολλαῖς γυναιξὶν ἐχρήτο, [4] τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτοῖς ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἀναγκαιότατα διώρισται, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἀδύνατον ἐστὶν ὁμοίως παραδοθῆναι, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐκβιασθεὶς εἶπεν ὅτι 'αὐτοὶ ὀφείλετε ταῖς γαμεταῖς καὶ παραινεῖν καὶ κελεύειν ὅσα βούλεσθε: ὅπερ που [5] καὶ ἐγὼ ποιῶ.' ἀκούσαντες οὖν ταῦτ' ἐκείνοι πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐνέκειντο αὐτῷ, βουλόμενοι τὰς παραινέσεις ὡς τῇ Λιουῖα παραινεῖν ἔφη μαθεῖν. καὶ ὃς ἄκων μὲν, εἶπε δ' οὖν τινα καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐσθῆτος καὶ περὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ κόσμου τῶν τε ἐξόδων καὶ τῆς σωφροσύνης αὐτῶν, μηδ' ὅτιοῦν φροντίσας ὅτι μὴ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ αὐτὰ ἐπιστοῦτο. [6] καὶ ἕτερον δὲ τι τοιόνδε τιμητέων ἐπεποιήκει: ἐπειδὴ γὰρ προσήγαγε τις αὐτῷ νεανίσκον γυναιῖκα ἐκ μοιχείας γεγαμηκότα, καὶ πλεῖστα ὅσα κατηγορήσεν [p. 324] αὐτοῦ, διηπορήθη μήτε παριδεῖν τὸ πρᾶγμα μήτ' ἐπιτιμῆσαι τι τολμήσας, καὶ μόλις 107 ποτὲ ὅψε' ἀνενεγκὼν 'πολλά,' ἔφη, 'καὶ δεινὰ αἱ στάσεις ἦνεγκαν, ὥστε ἐκείνων μὲν ἀμνημονῶμεν, τοῦ δὲ δὴ λοιποῦ προνοῶμεν ὅπως μηδὲν τοιοῦτο [7] γίγνηται.' ὥς δ' οὖν βρέφη τινὲς ἐγγυώμενοι τὰς μὲν τιμὰς τῶν γεγαμηκότων ἐκαρποῦντο, τὸ δὲ ἔργον αὐτῶν οὐ παρείχοντο, προσέταξε μηδεμίαν ἐγγύην ἰσχύειν μεθ' ἣν οὐδὲ δυοῖν ἐτόλιν διελθόντων γαμήσει 108 τις, τοῦτ' ἔστι δεκέτιν πάντως ἐγγυᾶσθαι τὸν γέ τι ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀπολαύσοντα: δώδεκα γὰρ 109 ταῖς κόραις ἐς τὴν τοῦ γάμου ὥραν ἔτη πλήρη, καθάπερ εἶπον, νομίζεται. 17. ταῦτά τε οὖν ὡς ἕκαστα διενομοθετεῖ, καὶ ἵνα ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ σίτου διαδόσει προβάλλωνται οἱ 110 ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς αἰεὶ ὄντες ἕνα ἕκαστος 111 ἐκ τῶν πρὸ τριῶν ἐτῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τέσσαρες [2] οἱ λαχόντες σιτοδοτῶσιν ἐκ διαδοχῆς. τὸν τε πολίαρχον τὸν ἐς τὰς ἀνοχὰς καθιστάμενον ἕνα αἰεὶ αἰρεῖσθαι, καὶ τὰ ἔτη τὰ Σιβύλλεια ἐξίτηλα ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου γεγονότα τοὺς ἱερέας αὐτοχειρίᾳ ἐκγράψασθαι ἐκέλευσεν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἕτερος [p. 326] [3] αὐτὰ ἀναλέξηται. τὰς τε ἀρχὰς ἅπασιν τοῖς δέκα μυριάδων οὐσίαν ἔχουσι καὶ ἄρχειν ἐκ τῶν νόμων δυναμένοις ἐπαγγέλλειν ἐπέτρεψε. τοσοῦτον γὰρ τὸ βουλευτικὸν τίμημα τὴν πρώτην εἶναι ἔταξεν, ἔπειτα καὶ ἐς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας αὐτὸ προήγαγε. καὶ τισὶ τῶν εὔ βιούντων ἐλάττω, τότε μὲν τῶν δέκα, αὐθις δὲ τῶν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, [4] κекτημένοις 112 ἐχαρίσατο ὅσον ἐνέδει. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τοῖς βουλομένοις τῶν στρατηγῶν τριπλάσιον τοῦ παρὰ τοῦ δημοσίου σφίσιν ἐς τὰς πανηγύρεις διδομένου προσαναλίσκειν ἐφῆκεν. ὥστε εἰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοῦ νομοθετημάτων ἦχθοντό τινες, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τε τούτου, καὶ ὅτι Πυλάδην τινὰ ὀρχηστὴν διὰ στάσιν ἐξεληλαμένον κατήγαγεν, οὐκέτ' ἐκείνων ἐμέμνηντο. [5] ὅθενπερ πάνυ σοφῶς ὁ Πυλάδης, ἐπιτιμώμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπειδὴ Βαθύλλῳ ὁμοτέχνῳ τέ οἱ ὄντι καὶ τῷ Μαικῆνᾳ προσήκοντι διεστασίαζεν, εἰπεῖν λέγεται ὅτι 'συμφέρεαι σοι, Καῖσαρ, περὶ ἡμᾶς τὸν δῆμον ἀποδιατρίβεσθαι.' 18. ταῦτα

μὲν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἔτει ἐγένετο: ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ Γαίῳ 113 τε Φουρνίου καὶ Γαίῳ Σιλανοῦ ὑπάτων υἱὸν αὖθις ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἀνείλετο τὸν Λούκιον ὀνομασθέντα, καὶ αὐτὸν εὐθὺς ὁ Αὐγουστος μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Γαίου ἐποίησατο, μὴ ἀναμείνας σφᾶς ἀνδρωθῆναι, ἀλλ' αὐτόθεν διαδόχους τῆς ^[2] ἀρχῆς ἀποδείξας, ἵν' ἦττον ἐπιβουλευῆται. τὴν τε τῆς Τιμῆς καὶ τῆς Ἀρετῆς πανήγυριν ἐς τὰς νῦν ἡμέρας μετέστησε, καὶ τοῖς τὰ ἐπινίκια πέμπουσιν ἔργον ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων ἐς τὴν τῶν πράξεων ^[p. 328] μνήμην ποιεῖν προσέταξε, τὰ τε σαικουλάρια τὰ πέμπτα ἐπετέλεσε. καὶ τοὺς ῥήτορας ἄμισθι 114 συναγορεύειν, ἢ τετραπλάσιον ὅσον ἂν λάβωσιν ^[3] ἐκτίνειν, ἐκέλευσε. τοῖς δὲ δικάζειν αἰεὶ λαγχάνουσιν ἀπεῖπεν ἐς μηδενὸς οἴκαδε τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκείνον ἐσιέναι. ἐπειδὴ τε ἀσπουδεὶ οἱ 115 βουλευταὶ ἐς τὸ συνέδριον συνεφοίτων, ἐπὶ ἤρξεσε τὰς ζημίας τοῖς οὐκ ἐξ εὐλόγου πινὸς αἰτίας ὑστερίζουσι. 19. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν, Λουκίου τε Δομιτίου καὶ Πουλίου Σκιπίωνος ὑπατευόντων, ὥρμησε, πρόφασιν τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς κατ' ἐκείνο ^[2] κινήθοντας λαβών. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐπαχθὴς πολλοῖς ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῇ πόλει χρονίου διατριβῆς ἐγενόνη, καὶ συχνοὺς μὲν ἔξω τι τῶν τεταγμένων πράττοντας δικαίων ἐλύπει, συχνῶν δὲ καὶ φειδόμενος τὰ νενομοθετημένα ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ παραβαίνειν ἠναγκάζετο, ἐκδημῆσαι τρόπον τινὰ κατὰ τὸν Σόλωνα ^[3] ἔγνω. καὶ τινες καὶ διὰ τὴν Τερεντίαν τὴν τοῦ Μαικῆνου γυναῖκα ἀποδημῆσαι αὐτὸν ὑπετόπησαν, ἵν' ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐλογοποιεῖτο, ἄνευ θροῦ τινὸς ἐν τῇ ἀλλοδημίᾳ αὐτῇ συνῇ: οὕτω γὰρ οὖν πάνυ αὐτῆς ἦρα ὥστε καὶ ἀγωνισασθαι ποτε αὐτὴν περὶ τοῦ κάλλους ^[4] πρὸς τὴν Λιουίαν ποιῆσαι. πρὶν δὲ ἢ ἀφορμᾶσθαι, τὸν τοῦ Κυρίνου ναὸν καθιέρωσεν ἐκ καινῆς οἰκοδομῆσας. εἶπον δὲ τοῦτο ὅτι ἐξ καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα κίοσιν αὐτὸν ἐκόσμησεν, ὅσαπερ τὰ πάντα ἔτη 116 διεβίω, κάκ τούτου λόγον πρὸς παρέσχεν ὡς καὶ ἐξεπιτήδες αὐτὸ ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ τύχην ἄλλως ^[5] πράξας. ἐκείνόν τε οὖν τότε ἐθείωσε, καὶ μονομαχίας ^[p. 330] ἀγῶνας διὰ τε τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ διὰ τοῦ Δρούσου, συγχωρηθὲν δὴ σφισιν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, ^[6] ἔθηκε. καὶ οὕτω τὸ μὲν ἄστὺ τῷ Ταύρῳ μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης Ἰταλίας διοικεῖν ἐπιτρέψας τὸν τε γὰρ Ἀγρίππαν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν αὖθις ἐστάλκει, καὶ τῷ Μαικῆνῳ διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ἔχαιρέ, τὸν δὲ δὴ Τιβέριον καίτοι στρατηγοῦντα παραλαβὼν ἐξώρμησεν. ἐστρατήγησε γὰρ καίπερ τὰς στρατηγικὰς τιμὰς ἔχων: καὶ τὴν γε ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν ὁ Δρούσος ἐκ δόγματος διήγαγεν. ^[7] ἐξελθόντων δ' οὖν αὐτῶν τὸ τῆς Νεότητος μέγαρον ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπιούσαν νύκτα κατεκαύθη, καὶ διὰ τε τοῦτο καὶ διὰ τᾶλλα τὰ προγενόμενα ἡλύκος τε γὰρ διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐσπεσὼν ἀνθρώπους ἔφθειρε, καὶ μύρμηκες οὐ 117 πόρρω τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐκφανέστατα 118 συνεστράφησαν, λαμπὰς τέ τις ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ἐπὶ τὴν ἄρκτον διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς ἠνέχθη εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπανόδου τοῦ ^[8] Αὐγουστοῦ ἐποίησαντο. κἂν τούτῳ καὶ τὴν πενταετηρίδα τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ διεώρτασαν, τοῦ Ἀγρίππου ἑν γὰρ τοῖς πεντεκαίδεκα ἀνδράσιν, οἷς ἐκ τῆς περιτροπῆς ἢ διοικήσεως αὐτῆς ἐπέβαλλεν, ἱέρωτό διὰ τῶν συνιερέων ἀναλώσαντος. 20. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους ἐκείνους ἐταράχθη. καὶ γὰρ Καμούνιοι καὶ Οὐέννιοι, Ἀλπικὰ γένη, ὅπλα τε ἀντήραντο καὶ νικηθέντες

ὑπὸ Πουπλίου Σιλίου ἐχειρώθησαν: [2] καὶ οἱ Παννόνιοι τὴν τε Ἰστροίαν μετὰ Νωρίκων [p. 332] κατέδραμον, καὶ αὐτοὶ τε πρὸς τε τοῦ Σιλίου καὶ τῶν ὑποστρατήγων αὐτοῦ κακωθέντες αὐθις ὠμολόγησαν, καὶ τοῖς Νωρικοίς αἵτιοι τῆς αὐτῆς [3] δουλείας ἐγένοντο. τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Δελματίᾳ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ νεοχμώσαντα δι' ὀλίγου κατέστη, καὶ ἡ Μακεδονία ὑπὸ τε τῶν Δενθελητῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Σκορδίσκων ἐπορθήθη. ἔν τε τῇ Θράκῃ πρότερον μὲν Μᾶρκος Λόλλιος Ῥυμητάλῃ 119 θείῳ τε τῶν τοῦ Κότυος παιδῶν καὶ ἐπιτρόπῳ ὄντι βοηθῶν Βησσοὺς κατεστρέψατο, ἔπειτα δὲ Λούκιος Γάιος Σαυρομάτας ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας κρατήσας ὑπὲρ [4] τὸν Ἰστρον ἀπέωσατο. ὁ δὲ δὴ μέγιστος τῶν τότε συμβάντων τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις πολέμων, ὅσπερ που καὶ τὸν Αὐγουστον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξήγαγε, πρὸς τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἐγένετο. Σύγαμβροὶ τε γὰρ καὶ Οὐσιπέται καὶ Τέγκτηροι 120 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν τῇ σφετέρᾳ τινὰς αὐτῶν συλλαβόντες ἀνεσταύρωσαν, [5] ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὸν Ῥήνον διαβάντες τὴν τε Γερμανίαν καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν ἐλεηλάτησαν, τὸ τε ἱππικὸν τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπελθόν σφισιν ἐνήδρευσαν, καὶ φεύγουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπισπόμενοι τῷ τε Λολλίῳ ἄρχοντι αὐτῆς ἐνέτυχον ἀνέλπιστοι καὶ [6] ἐνίκησαν καὶ ἐκείνον. μαθὼν οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Αὐγουστος ὥρμησε μὲν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἔργον τι πολέμου ἔσχεν: οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι τὸν τε Λόλλιον παρασκευαζόμενον καὶ ἐκείνον στρατεύοντα πυθόμενοι ἔς τε τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ σπονδὰς ἐποιήσαντο, ὁμήρους δόντες. 21. τῶν μὲν οὖν ὅπλων οὐδὲν διὰ ταῦθ' ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐδεήθη, τὰ δὲ δὴ ἄλλα καθιστάμενος τοῦτον [p. 334] τε τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν κατανάλωσε καὶ τὸν ὕστερον, ἐν ᾧ Μᾶρκος τε Λίβων καὶ Καλπούρνιος Πίσων [2] ὑπάτευσαν. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ Λικινίου 121 τινὸς ἐπεπόνηντο. 122 καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τοῦθ' ὅτι μάλιστα τὸ κῆτὸς σφισι προσημῆναι: πλάτος μὲν γὰρ ποδῶν εἴκοσι μῆκος δὲ τριπλάσιον ἔχον, καὶ γυναικὶ πλήν τῆς κεφαλῆς ἑοικὸς, ἐς τὴν γῆν ἑαυτὸ ἐκ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ ἐξώκειλεν. [3] ὁ δὲ δὴ Λικίνιος τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον Γαλάτης ἦν, ἀλοὺς δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καὶ δουλεύσας τῷ Καίσαρι ὑπὸ μὲν ἐκείνου ἡλευθερώθη, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐπίτροπος τῆς Γαλατίας κατέστη. [4] οὗτος οὖν πλεονεξία μὲν βαρβαρικῇ ἀξιώσει δὲ Ῥωμαϊκῇ χρώμενος, πᾶν μὲν τὸ κρεῖττον ποτε αὐτοῦ νομισθὲν καθήρει, πᾶν δὲ τὸ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἰσχυρὸν ἠφάνιζε, καὶ συχνὰ μὲν καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα τῆς προστεταγμένης οἱ 123 διακονίας ἐξεπόριζε, συχνὰ δὲ καὶ ἑαυτῷ τοῖς τε οἰκείοις παρεξέλεγε. [5] καὶ ἐς τοσοῦτον γε κακοτροπίας ἐχώρησεν ὥστε, ἐπειδὴ τινες ἐσφοραὶ κατὰ μῆνα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐγίγνοντο, τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα αὐτοὺς 124 ποιῆσαι, λέγων τὸν μῆνα τοῦτον τὸν Δεκέμβριον καλούμενον δέκατον ὄντως εἶναι, καὶ δεῖν διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς δύο τοὺς ὑστάτους, 125 ὧν τὸν μὲν ἐνδέκατον τὸν δὲ δωδέκατον ὠνόμαζε, νομίζειν, καὶ τὰ χρήματα τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα αὐτοῖς ἐσφέρειν. [6] διὰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα τὰ σοφίσματα ἐκινδύνευσεν: οἱ γὰρ Γαλάται τοῦ Αὐγούστου λαβόμενοι δεινὰ [p. 336] ἐποίησαν, ὥστε καὶ ἐκείνον τὰ μὲν συνάχθεσθαι 126 σφισι τὰ δὲ καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι: ἀγνοεῖν τέ τινα ἔλεγε, καὶ προσεποιεῖτο ἕτερα μὴ πιστεῦειν, καὶ ἔστιν ἃ καὶ συνέκρυπτεν, αἰσχυρόμενος ὅτι τοιοῦτῳ [7] ἐπιτρόπῳ ἐκέχρητο: ἄλλο δὲ τοιόνδε τι τεχνασάμενος καὶ πάνυ πάντων αὐτῶν

κατεγέλασεν. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ χαλεπῶς οἱ τὸν Αὐγουστον ἔχοντα ἦσθετο καὶ
κολασθήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν, ἕς τε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτὸν ἐσήγαγε, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν
καὶ ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσοῦ θησαυροὺς πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ^[8] τᾶλλα σωρηδὸν
συννενημένα 127 αὐτῷ δεῖξας, ‘ἐξεπίτηδες,’ ἔφη, ‘ταῦτα, ὧ δέσποτα, καὶ
ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων ἤθροισα, ἵνα μὴ τοσοῦτων
χρημάτων ἐγκρατεῖς οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ὄντες ἀποστῶσιν. ἀμέλει καὶ ἐτήρησά σοι
πάντα αὐτὰ καὶ δίδωμι.’ Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως, ὥς καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Αὐγουστοῦ τὴν
τῶν βαρβάρων ἰσχὺν ἐκνευρικῶς, ἐσώθη, 22. Δροῦσος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ
Τιβέριος τάδε ἔπραξαν. Ῥαιτοὶ οἰκοῦντες μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Νωρικοῦ καὶ τῆς
Γαλατίας, πρὸς ταῖς Ἄλπεσι ταῖς πρὸς τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ταῖς Τριδεντίναις, τῆς τε
Γαλατίας τῆς προσόρου σφίσι πολλὰ κατέτρεχον καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας 128
ἀρπαγὰς ἐποιοῦντο, τοὺς τε ὁδῷ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἢ καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτῶν
διὰ τῆς ^[2] σφετέρας γῆς χρωμένους ἐλυμαίνοντο. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ συνήθη
πως τοῖς οὐκ ἐνοπόνδοις ποιεῖν ἐδόκουν, πᾶν δὲ δὴ τὸ ἄρρεν τῶν
ἀλικομένων, οὐχ ὅτι τὸ φαινόμενον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐν ταῖς ^[p. 338] γαστράσιν
ἔτι τῶν γυναικῶν ὃν μαντεῖαις τισιν ^[3] ἀνευρίσκοντες, ἔφθειρον. δι’ οὖν
ταῦτα ὁ Αὐγουστος πρῶτον μὲν τὸν Δροῦσον ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψε· καὶ ὃς
τοὺς προαπαντήσαντάς οἱ αὐτῶν περὶ τὰ Τριδεντῖνα ὄρη διὰ ταχέων
ἐτρέψατο, ὥστε καὶ τιμὰς στρατηγικὰς ἐπὶ τούτῳ λαβεῖν. ἔπειτα δὲ ἔπειδὴ
τῆς μὲν Ἰταλίας ἀπεκρούσθησαν, τῇ δὲ δὴ Γαλατίᾳ καὶ ὥς ἐνέκειντο, τὸν ^[4]
Τιβέριον προσαπέστειλεν. ἐσβαλόντες 129 οὖν ἕς τὴν χώραν πολλαχόθεν
ἅμα ἀμφότεροι, αὐτοὶ τε καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑποστρατήγων, καὶ ὁ γε Τιβέριος καὶ
διὰ τῆς λίμνης πλοίοις κομισθεῖς, ἀπὸ τε τούτου κατέπληξαν αὐτοὺς ὥς
ἐκάστοις σφίσι συμμιγνύντες, τοὺς τε ἀεὶ ἕς χεῖρας ἀφικνουμένους οὐ
χαλεπῶς, ἅτε διεσπασμέναις ταῖς δυνάμεσι χρωμένους, κατειργάσαντο, καὶ
τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀσθενεστέρους τε ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἀθυμοτέρους γενομένους ^[5]
εἶλον. ἔπειδὴ τε ἐπολυάνδρουν καὶ ἐδόκουν τι νεωτεριεῖν, τὸ τε κράτιστον
καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτῶν ἐξήγαγον, καταλιπόντες τοσοῦτους ὅσοι
τὴν μὲν χώραν οἰκεῖν ἱκανοὶ νεοχμῶσαι δέ τι ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν. 23. κἀν τῷ
αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἔτει Οὐήδιος Πωλίων ἀπέθανεν, ἀνὴρ ἄλλως μὲν οὐδὲν
μνήμης ἄξιον παρασχόμενος ‘καὶ γὰρ ἐξ ἀπελευθέρων 130 ἐγεγόνει καὶ ἐν
τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐξητάζετο καὶ λαμπρὸν οὐδὲν εἰργάσατό, ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τῷ
πλούτῳ τῇ τε ὠμότητι ὀνομαστότατος γενόμενος, ὥστε καὶ ἐς ἱστορίας ^[2]
λόγον ἐσελθεῖν. οὗτος γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὅσα ἔπραττε, δι’ ὅχλου ἂν λεγόμενα
γένοιτο, μυραῖνας ^[p. 340] δὲ δεδιδραγμένας ἀνθρώπους ἐσθίειν ἐν δεξαμεναῖς
τρέφων τοὺς δούλους αὐταῖς οὐς ἐθανάτου παρέβαλλε. 131 καὶ ποτε τὸν
Αὐγουστον ἐσπῶν, εἴτ’ ἔπειδὴ ὁ οἶνοχόος κύλικα κρυσταλλίνην κατέαξεν,
ἕς τὰς μυραῖνας αὐτόν, μηδὲ τὸν δαιτυμόνα αἰδεσθεῖς, ^[3] ἐμβληθῆναι
προσέταξεν. ὁ οὖν Αὐγουστος, προσπεσόντος οἱ τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ
ἰκετεῦσαντος αὐτόν, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα πείθειν τὸν Πωλίωνα ἐπειρᾶτο μηδὲν
τοιούτον δρᾶσαι, ὥς δ’ οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν αὐτῷ, ‘φέρε,’ ἔφη, ‘πάντα τᾶλλα
ἐκπῶματα, ὅσα 132 ποτὲ τοιουτότροπα ἢ καὶ ἕτερα ἅτινα ^[4] ἔντιμα κέκτησαι,
ἵνα αὐτοῖς χρήσωμαι.’ καὶ αὐτὰ κομισθέντα συντριβῆναι ἐκέλευσεν. ἰδὼν
δὲ τοῦτ’ ἐκεῖνος ἄλλως μὲν ἥσχαλλεν, οὔτε δὲ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἔτι ποτηρίου πρὸς

τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀπολωλότων ὀργὴν ἔχων, οὕτ' αὖ τὸν διάκονον ὦν γε καὶ ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐπεποιήκει τιμωρήσασθαι [5] δυνάμενος, ἡσυχίαν καὶ ἄκων ἤγαγε. τοιοῦτος οὖν δὴ τις ὁ Πωλίων ὦν ἐτελεύτησεν ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς πολλὰ καὶ τῷ Αὐγούστῳ τοῦ τε κλήρου συχνὸν μέρος καὶ τὸν 133 παυσίλυπον, τὸ χωρίον τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς τε Νέας πόλεως καὶ τῶν Πουτεόλων ὄν, καταλιπών, τῷ τε δήμῳ περικαλλὲς ἔργον [6] οἰκοδομηθῆναι κελεύσας. ὁ οὖν Αὐγουστος τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ἐς ἔδαφος προφάσει τῆς ἐκείνου κατασκευῆς, ὅπως μηδὲν μνημόσυνον ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔχη, καταβαλὼν περιστῶν ὠκοδομήσατο, καὶ οὐ [p. 342] τὸ ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ Πωλίωνος ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς Λιουίας ἐπέγραψεν. [7] Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ἐποίησε, τότε δὲ πόλεις ἐν τε τῇ Γαλατίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ συχνὰς ἀπώκισε, καὶ Κυζικηνοῖς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπέδωκε, Παφίοις τε σεισμῷ πονήσασι καὶ χρήματα ἐχαρίσατο καὶ τὴν πόλιν Αὐγουσταν καλεῖν κατὰ [8] δόγμα ἐπέτρεψε. ταῦτα δὲ ἔγραψα οὐχ ὅτι οὐ 134 καὶ ἄλλαις πόλεσι πολλαῖς καὶ πρότερον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐφ' ὁμοίαις συμφοραῖς καὶ οἱ βουλευταὶ ἐπεκούρησαν, ὦν εἴ τις ἀπάντων μνημονεύοι, ἀπέραντον ἂν τὸ ἔργον τῆς συγγραφῆς γένοιτο: ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ταῖς πόλεσιν ἢ γερουσία ἐν μέρει τιμῆς ἔνεμε, καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ νῦν αὐτοῖς ἑαυτοῖς ἕκαστοι καταλόγους ὀνομάτων οὕς ἂν ἐθελήσωσιν ὡς πλήθει ποιοῦνται. 24. τῷ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένῳ ἔτι Μάρκος μὲν Κράσσος καὶ Γναῖος Κορνήλιος ὑπάτευσαν, οἱ δ' ἀγορανόμοι οἱ κουρούλιοι, ἀπειπόντες τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅτι ἐξαισιῶν σφίσι τῶν ὀρνίθων γενομένων ἤρηντο, 135 αὖθις αὐτὴν ἔξω τῶν πατρίων ἐν ἑτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀνέλαβον. [2] ἢ τε στοὰ ἡ Παύλειος ἐκαύθη, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἀπ' αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸ Ἑστιάιον ἀφίκετο, ὥστε καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἔς τε τὸ Παλάτιον ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀειπαρθένων ἢ γὰρ πρεσβεύουσα αὐτῶν ἐτετύφλωτ' ἀνακομισθῆναι καὶ ἐς τὴν τοῦ ἱερέως [3] τοῦ Διὸς οἰκίαν τεθῆναι. ἡ μὲν οὖν στοὰ μετὰ τοῦτο ὀνόματι μὲν ὑπ' Αἰμιλίου, ἐς ὃν τὸ τοῦ [p. 344] ποιήσαντός ποτε αὐτὴν γένος ἐληλύθει, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Αὐγούστου καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Παύλου φίλων ἀνωκοδομήθη: τότε δὲ οἱ τε Παννόνιοι νεωτερίσαντες αὖθις ἐχειρώθησαν, καὶ αἱ Ἄλπεις αἱ παραθαλασσίδιοι ὑπὸ Λιγύων τῶν κομητῶν καλουμένων ἐλευθέρως ἔτι καὶ τότε νεμόμεναι [4] ἐδουλώθησαν. τὰ τε ἐν τῷ Βοσπόρῳ τῷ Κιμμερίῳ νεοχμώσαντα κατέστη. Σκριβώνιος γάρ τις τοῦ τε Μιθριδάτου ἑγγονος εἶναι καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Αὐγούστου τὴν βασιλείαν, ἐπειδήπερ ὁ Ἄσανδρος ἐτεθνήκει, εἰληφέναι λέγων, τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ Δύναμιν τε καλουμένην καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιτετραμμένην, ἢ τοῦ τε Φαρνάκου θυγάτηρ καὶ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου ἑγγονος ἀληθῶς ἦν, ἠγάγετο, καὶ τὸν Βόσπορον διὰ χειρὸς [5] ἐποιεῖτο. πυθόμενος οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Ἀγρίππας τὸν Πολέμωνα ἐπ' αὐτόν, τὸν τοῦ Πόντου τοῦ πρὸς τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ ὄντος βασιλεύοντα, ἔπεμψε: καὶ ὃς Σκριβώνιον μὲν οὐκέτι περιόντα κατέλαβε 'μαθόντες γὰρ οἱ Βοσπόριοι τὴν ἐπιβολὴν 136 αὐτοῦ προαπέκτειναν αὐτόν', ἀντιστάντων δὲ οἱ ἐκείνων δέει τοῦ μὴ βασιλεύεσθαι αὐτῷ δοθῆναι, ἐς χειρὰς [6] σφισιν ἦλθε. καὶ ἐνίκησε μὲν, οὐ μὴν καὶ παρεστήσατό σφας πρὶν τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἐς Σινώπην ἐλθεῖν ὡς καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεύσοντα. οὕτω δὲ τὰ τε ὄπλα κατέθεντο καὶ τῷ Πολέμῳ παρεδόθησαν: ἢ τε γυνὴ ἢ Δύναμις

συνώκησεν αὐτῷ τοῦ ^[7] Αὐγούστου δῆλον ὅτι ταῦτα δικαιώσαντος. καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς θυσίαι μὲν τῷ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου ὄνόματι ἐγένοντο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια καίτοι ψηφισθέντα αὐτῷ ἐπέμφθη: οὔτε γὰρ ἔγραψεν ἀρχὴν ^[p. 346] ἐς τὸ συνεδριον ὑπὲρ τῶν πραχθέντων οὐδέν, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα, νόμῳ τινὶ τῷ ἐκείνου τρόπῳ χρώμενοι, οὐδ' αὐτοὶ τι τῷ κοινῷ ἔτ' ἐπέστελλον, οὔτε τὴν πέμψιν τῶν νικητηρίων ^[8] ἐδέξατο: 137 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδ' ἄλλω τινὶ ἔπι τῶν ὁμοίων αὐτῷ, ὥς γε καὶ ἐγὼ κρίνω, ποιῆσαι τοῦτο ἐδόθη, ἀλλὰ μόναις ταῖς ἐπινικίοις τιμαῖς ἐγαυροῦντο. 25. ὁ δ' οὖν 138 Αὐγουστος ἐπειδὴ πάντα τὰ τε ἐν ταῖς Γαλαταίαις καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς Γερμανίαις ταῖς τ' Ἰβηρίαις, πολλὰ μὲν ἀναλώσας ὥς ἐκάστοις πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' ἐτέρων λαβῶν, τὴν τε ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν τοῖς μὲν δοῦς τοὺς δ' ἀφελόμενος, διωκῆσατο, τὸν μὲν Δροῦσον ἐν τῇ Γερμανίᾳ κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ ἐπὶ Κυντιλίου 139 Οὐάρου ὑπάτων ^[2] ἀνεκομίσθη. καὶ ἔτυχε γὰρ ἡ ἀγγελία τῆς ἀφίξεως αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐς τὸ ἄστὺ ἐλθοῦσα ἐν αἷς Κορνήλιος Βάλβος τὸ θέατρον τὸ καὶ νῦν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ καλούμενον καθιερώσας θεὰς ἐπετέλει, ἐπὶ τε τούτῳ ὥς καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν Αὐγουστον ἐπανάξων ἐσεμνύνετο, καίτοι ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ ὕδατος, ὅπερ ὁ Τιβερίος πλεονάσας ἐπεποιήκει, μὴδὲ ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὸ θέατρον εἰ μὴ πλοίῳ δυνηθεῖς, καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ θεάτρου ^[3] τιμῇ ἐπεψήφισεν. ἥ τε γὰρ βουλὴ ἡθροίσθη, καὶ ἔδοξε σφισιν ἄλλα τε καὶ βωμὸν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐπανόδου ποιήσασθαι, ^[p. 348] τοῖς τε ἱκετεύουσιν αὐτὸν ἐντὸς τοῦ πωμηρίου ὄντα ἄδειαν εἶναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐδέξατο οὐδέτερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀπάντησιν τοῦ δήμου καὶ ^[4] τότε ἐξέστη: νυκτὸς γὰρ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσεκομίσθη, ὅπερ πού καὶ αἰεὶ ὥς εἰπεῖν, εἴτε ἐς τὰ προάστυα εἴτε καὶ ἄλλοσέ ποι ἐκδημοίῃ, καὶ ἀφορμώμενος καὶ ἐπανιῶν ὁμοίως ἐποίει, ἵνα μηδενὶ αὐτῶν ὀχληρὸς εἴη. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἔν τε τῷ παλατίῳ τὸν δῆμον ἡσπάσατο, καὶ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνελθὼν τὴν τε δάφνην ἀπὸ τῶν ῥάβδων περιεῖλε καὶ ἐς τὰ τοῦ Διὸς γόνατα κατέθετο, τῷ τε 140 δῆμῳ προῖκα τὰ τε λουτρὰ καὶ τοὺς κουρέας τὴν ἡμέραν ^[5] ἐκείνην παρέσχε. συναγαγὼν δὲ ἐκ τούτου τὸ βουλευτήριον αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδέν εἶπεν ὑπὸ βράγχου, τὸ δὲ δὴ βιβλίον 141 τῷ ταμίᾳ 142 ἀναγνῶναι δοῦς τὰ τε πεπραγμένα οἱ κατηριθμήσατο, καὶ διέταξε τὰ τε ἔτη ὅσα οἱ πολῖται στρατεύουσιντο, καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὅσα παυσάμενοι τῆς στρατείας, ἀντὶ τῆς χώρας ἣν αἰεὶ ποτε ἦτουν, λήψοιντο, ὅπως ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς ἐκεῖθεν ἤδη καταλεγόμενοι μηδὲν τούτων γε ^[6] ἔνεκα νεωτερίζωσιν. ἦν δὲ ὁ τε ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἐτῶν τοῖς μὲν δορυφόροις δώδεκα τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἐκκαίδεκα, καὶ τὸ 143 ἀργῦριον τοῖς μὲν ἔλαττον τοῖς δὲ πλεῖον. ταῦτα δὲ ἐκείνοις μὲν οὕθ' ἡδονὴν οὕτ' ὀργὴν ἔν γε τῷ τότε παρόντι ἐνεποίησε διὰ τὸ μήτε πάντων ὧν ἐπεθύμουν τυχεῖν μήτε πάντων διαμαρτεῖν, τοῖς δὲ δὴ ἄλλοις ἀγαθὰς ἐλπίδας τοῦ μηκέτι τῶν κτημάτων ἀφαιρεθῆσεσθαι. 26. μετὰ δὲ δὴ ταῦτα τὸ τε θέατρον τὸ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου καλούμενον καθιέρωσε, κὰν τῇ πανηγύρει ^[p. 350] τῇ διὰ τοῦτο γενομένη τὴν τε Τροίαν οἱ παῖδες οἱ εὐπατρίδαι οἳ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ὁ ἔγγονος αὐτοῦ ὁ Γάιος ἔπυσαν, καὶ θηρία Λιβυκὰ ἐξακόσια ^[2] ἀπεσφάγη: τὰ τε γενέθλια τοῦ

Αὐγούστου ὁ Ὑλλος ὁ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου παῖς στρατηγῶν καὶ ἵπποδρομία καὶ σφαγαῖς θηρίων ἐώρτασε, καὶ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ καὶ ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὴν βουλὴν κατὰ δόγμα αὐτῆς εἰστίαςεν. [3] Ἐκ δὲ τοῦτου ἐξέτασις αὖθις τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐγένετο. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον δέκα μυριάδων τὸ τίμημα αὐτοῖς ὠριστο διὰ τὸ συχνοὺς τῶν πατρῶων ὑπὸ τῶν πολέμων ἐστερηθῆναι, προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων περιουσίας κτωμένων ἐς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι προήχθη, οὐκέτ' [4] οὐδεὶς ἐθελοντὶ 144 βουλευσῶν εὕρισκετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ παῖδες εἰσὶν οἱ καὶ ἔγγονοι βουλευτῶν, οἱ μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς πενόμενοι οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκ συμφορῶν προγονικῶν τεταπεινωμένοι, οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἀντεποιοῦντο τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ ἀξιώματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσκατείλεγμένοι [5] ἤδη ἐξώμνυντο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρότερον μὲν, ἀποδημοῦντος ἔτι τοῦ Αὐγούστου, δόγμα ἐγένετο τοὺς εἴκοσι καλουμένους ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων ἀποδείκνυσθαι: ὅθεν οὐκέτ' οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσεγράφη, μὴ καὶ ἑτέραν τιὰ ἀρχὴν τῶν ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσάγειν δυναμένων λαβῶν. [6] οἱ δὲ δὴ 145 εἴκοσιν οὗτοι ἄνδρες ἐκ τῶν ἑξ καὶ εἴκοσιν εἰσιν, οἱ τε τρεῖς οἱ τὰς τοῦ θανάτου δίκας προστεταγμένοι, καὶ οἱ ἕτεροι τρεῖς οἱ τὸ τοῦ [p. 352] νομίσματος κόμμα μεταχειριζόμενοι, οἱ τε τέσσαρες οἱ τῶν ἐν τῷ ἄστει ὁδῶν ἐπιμελοῦμενοι, καὶ οἱ δέκα οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων τῶν ἐς τοὺς ἑκατὸν [7] ἄνδρας κληρουμένων ἀποδεικνύμενοι: οἱ γὰρ δὴ δύο οἱ τὰς ἔξω τοῦ τείχους ὁδοὺς ἐγχειριζόμενοι, οἱ τε τέσσαρες οἱ ἐς τὴν Καμπανίαν πεμπόμενοι, κατελέλυντο. τοῦτο τε οὖν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐκδημία ἐψηφίσθη, καὶ ἱν', ἔπειδὴ μηδεὶς ἐπὶ ῥαδίως τὴν δημαρχίαν ἤτει, 146 κλήρῳ τινὲς 147 ἐκ τῶν τεταμιευκότεων καὶ μήπω τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων [8] καθιστῶνται. τότε δὲ αὐτὸς πάντας αὐτοὺς ἐξήτασε, καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν ὑπὲρ πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων οὐκ ἐπολυπραγμόνησε, τοὺς δὲ ἐντὸς τε τῆς ἡλικίας ταύτης ὄντας καὶ τὸ τίμημα ἔχοντας βουλευῆσαι κατηνάγκασε, χωρὶς ἢ εἴ τις [9] ἀνάπηρος ἦν. καὶ τὰ μὲν σώματα καὶ αὐτὸς που αὐτῶν 148 ἐώρα, περὶ δὲ δὴ τῶν οὐσιῶν ὅρκους ἐπιστοῦτο αὐτῶν τε ἐκείνων καὶ ἑτέρων συνομνόντων σφίσι καὶ λογισμὸν τῆς τε ἀπορίας ἅμα καὶ τοῦ βίου διδόντων. 27. καὶ οὐκ ἐν μὲν τοῖς κοινοῖς τοιοῦτος ἦν, τῶν δ' ἰδίων 149 παρημέλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ ἐπετίμησεν ὅτι τὸν Γάιον ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει τῇ εὐκταίᾳ, ἦν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπανόδῳ αὐτοῦ διετίθει, παρεκαθίσατο, καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ὅτι καὶ κρότοις καὶ ἐπαίνοις αὐτὸν [2] ἐτίμησαν. Ἐπειδὴ τε τοῦ Λεπίδου μεταλλάξαντος [p. 354] ἀρχιέρεως ἀπεδείχθη καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσασθαι ... 150 αὐτῷ 151 ἠθέλησεν, οὔτε τι αὐτῶν προσήσεσθαι ἔφη, καὶ ἐγκειμένων οἱ ἐξανέστη τε [3] καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου. καὶ οὔτε ἐκεῖνα ἔτ' ἐκυρώθη οὐτ' οἰκίαν τιὰ δημοσίαν ἔλαβεν, ἀλλὰ μέρος τι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ, ὅτι τὸν ἀρχιέρεων ἐν κοινῷ πάντως οἰκεῖν ἐχρῆν, ἐδημοσίωσεν. τὴν μέντοι τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν ἱερῶν 152 ταῖς ἀειπαρθένοις ἔδωκεν, ἔπειδὴ 153 ὁμότοιχος ταῖς οἰκῆσιν αὐτῶν ἦν. [4] Κορνηλίου τε Σισέννου 154 αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς γυναικὸς βίῳ σχόντος, καὶ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ εἰπόντος ὅτι καὶ εἰδότος καὶ συμβουλευσάντος οἱ αὐτοῦ ἠγάγετο αὐτὴν, περιοργῆς τε ἐγένετο καὶ εἶπε μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἔπραξε δεινόν, ἐκπηδήσας δὲ ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἔπειτα μετ' ὀλίγον ἐπανῆλθεν, ἐλόμενος, ὥς γε καὶ τοῖς φίλοις

μετὰ ταῦτα ἔφη, τοῦτο μᾶλλον καίπερ οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔχον ποιῆσαι ἢ κατὰ
χώραν μείνας ἀναγκασθῆναι τι κακὸν δρᾶσαι. 28. κὰν τοῦτω τὸν Ἀγρίππαν
ἐκ τῆς Συρίας ἐλθόντα τῇ τε δημαρχικῇ ἐξουσίᾳ αὐθις ἐς ἄλλα ἔτη πέντε
ἐμεγάλυνε καὶ ἐς τὴν Παννονίαν πολεμῆσειουσιν ἐξέπεμψε, μεῖζον αὐτῷ
τῶν ἐκασταχόθι ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀρχόντων ἰσχύσαι ἐπιτρέψας. [2] καὶ ὅς τὴν
μὲν στρατείαν καίτοι τοῦ χειμῶνος, ἐν ᾧ Μᾶρκος τε Οὐαλέριος καὶ
Πούπλιος Σουλπίκιος ὑπάτευον, ἐνεστηκότος ἐποιήσατο, ἐκπλαγέντων δὲ
τῶν Παννονίων πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ [p. 356] καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι νεωτερισάντων
ἐπανῆλθε, καὶ ἐν [3] Καμπανίᾳ γενόμενος ἐνόησε. πυθόμενος δὲ τοῦτο ὁ
Αὐγουστός ἔτυχε δὲ ἐν τοῖς Παναθηναίοις ὀπλομαχίας ἀγῶνας τῷ τῶν
παιδῶν ὀνόματι τιθεῖς ἐξωρμήθη, καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτὸν τεθνηκότα ἐς τε τὸ
ἄστυ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐσεκόμισε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ προέθηκε, τὸν τε λόγον
τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ εἶπε, παρατέτασμά τι πρὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ παρατείνας. [4] ὅπερ
ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶδα διὰ τί ἐποίησεν, εἴρηται δὲ ὅμως τοῖς μὲν ὅτι ἀρχιέρεως
ἦν, τοῖς δὲ ὅτι τὰ τῶν τιμητῶν ἔπραττεν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς φρονοῦσιν: οὔτε γὰρ
τῷ ἀρχιέρει ἀπειρηται νεκρὸν ὄραν οὔτε τῷ τιμητῇ, πλὴν ἂν τὸ τέλος ταῖς
ἀπογραφαῖς μέλλῃ ἐπάξειν: ἂν γὰρ τινα πρὸ τοῦ καθαρσίου ἴδῃ, ἀνάδαστα
τὰ πραχθέντα αὐτῷ πάντα γίγνεται. [5] τοῦτό τε οὖν οὕτως ἔδρασε, καὶ τὴν
ἐκφορὰν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ τρόπῳ ἐν ᾧ καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξηνέχθη
ἐποιήσατο, καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ μνημείῳ ἔθαψε, καίτοι ἴδιον ἐν τῷ
Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ λαβόντα. 155 29. Ἀγρίππας μὲν οὖν οὕτω μετέλλαξε, τὰ τε
ἄλλα ἄριστος τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων διαφανῶς γενόμενος, καὶ τῇ τοῦ
Αὐγουστοῦ φιλίᾳ πρὸς τε τὸ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ καὶ πρὸς τὸ τῷ κοινῷ [2]
συμφορώτατον χρησάμενος. ὅσον τε γὰρ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀρετῇ κατεκράτει,
τοσοῦτον ἐκείνου ἐθελοντῆς ἠπτάτο, καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ
σοφίαν καὶ ἀνδρείαν ἐς τὰ λυσιτελέστατα παρέχων [p. 358] πᾶσαν τὴν παρ'
ἐκείνου καὶ τιμὴν καὶ δύναμιν [3] ἐς τὸ τοὺς ἄλλους εὐεργετῆν ἀνήλυσεν.
ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα οὗτ' αὐτῷ ποτε τῷ Αὐγουστῷ ἐπαχθῆς οὔτε τοῖς
ἄλλοις ἐπίφθορος ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ τε τὴν μοναρχίαν ὡς καὶ δυναστείας
ὄντως ἐπιθυμητῆς 156 συνέστησε, καὶ τὸν δῆμον εὐεργεσίαις [4] ὡς καὶ
δημοτικώτατος προσεποιήσατο. καὶ τότε γοῦν κήπους τέ σφισι καὶ τὸ
βαλανεῖον τὸ ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ κατέλιπεν, ὥστε προῖκα αὐτοὺς λοῦσθαι,
χωρία τινὰ ἐς τοῦτο τῷ Αὐγουστῷ δοῦς. καὶ ὅς οὐ μόνον ταῦτ'
ἐδημοσίευσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ' ἑκάτον 157 δραχμὰς τῷ δήμῳ ὡς καὶ ἐκείνου
[5] κελεύσαντος διένειμε. τῶν τε γὰρ πλείστων αὐτοῦ ἐκκληρονόμησεν, ἐν οἷς
ἄλλα τε καὶ ἡ Χερρόνησος ἦν 158 ἢ πρὸς τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως
ἐς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἐλθοῦσα: καὶ πάνυ ἐπὶ πολὺ αὐτὸν ἐπόθησεν, καὶ διὰ
τοῦτο καὶ ἔντιμον παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ ἐποίησε, τὸν τε υἱὸν τὸν τελευτήσαντι οἱ
γεννηθέντα Ἀγρίππαν προσηγόρευσεν. [6] οὐ μέντοι οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκλιπεῖν
τι τῶν πατρίων, καίπερ μηδενὸς τῶν πρώτων ἐς τὰς πανηγύρεις ἀπαντῆσαι
ἐθέλοντος, ἐπέτρεψε, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰς μονομαχίας διετέλεσε: πολλάκις τε 159
[7] καὶ ἀπόντος αὐτοῦ ἐποιοῦντο. οὕτω γοῦν οὐκ ἴδιον τοῦτο τὸ πάθος τῇ
τοῦ Ἀγρίππου οἰκίᾳ ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινὸν πᾶσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο, ὥστε καὶ
σημεῖα ὅσα πρὸ τῶν μεγίστων συμφορῶν [p. 360] συμβαίνειν σφίσι εἶωθε, καὶ

τότε συννεχθῆναι. βύαι τε γὰρ τῇ πόλει διεφοίτησαν, καὶ κεραυνὸς ἐς τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἀλβανῷ οἰκίαν, ἐς ἣν οἱ Ὑπατοι ἐν^[8] ταῖς ἱερουργίαις καταλύουσιν, ἐνέσκηψε. τὸ τε ἄστρον ὁ κομήτης ὠνομασμένος ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἄστεως αἰωρηθεὶς ἐς λαμπάδας διελύθη. καὶ πυρὶ ἄλλα τε τῆς πόλεως συχνὰ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου σκηνὴ ἐκαύθη, κοράκων κρέα ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκ βωμοῦ τινος ἔμπυρα ἐμβalόντων. 30. οὕτω μὲν τὰ κατὰ Ἀγρίππαν ἐγένετο· μετὰ δὲ δὴ 160 τοῦτο ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐπιμελητῆς τε καὶ ἐπανορθωτῆς τῶν τρόπων ἐς ἕτερα ἔτη πέντε αἰρεθεὶς καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο κατὰ προθεσμίας, ὥσπερ που καὶ τὴν μοναρχίαν, ἐλάμβανέ θυμῶν τε τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ, ὅσακίς ἂν ἔδρα αὐτῶν ἦ, καὶ τὴν ἀφίξιν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν μὴ 161 ποιεῖσθαι, τὸ μὲν ἵνα θεοσεβῶσι, τὸ δὲ ἵν' ἀπονητὶ 162 συνίωσιν, ^[2] ἐκέλευσε. τὴν δὲ δημαρχίαν ὀλίγων σφόδρα διὰ τὸ τὴν ἰσχὺν σφων καταλελύσθαι αἰτούντων, ἐνομοθέτησεν ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν μὴ ἔλαττον πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας κεκτημένων προβάλλεσθαι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἕνα ἕκαστον, κάκ τούτων τὸ πλῆθος τοὺς ἐνδέοντας αἰρεῖσθαι ἐφ' ᾧ τε, 163 εἰ μὲν καὶ βουλευεῖν μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐθέλοιεν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐς τὴν ἱππάδα αὐθις ἐπανιέναι ἐξεῖναι. ^[3] ἐπειδὴ τε ἡ Ἀσία τὸ ἔθνος ἐπικουρίας τινὸς διὰ σεισμοὺς μάλιστα ἐδεῖτο, 164 τὸν τε φόρον αὐτῆς ^[p. 362] τὸν ἔτειον ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ χρημάτων τῷ κοινῷ ἐσήνεγκε, καὶ ἄρχοντά οἱ ἐκ τοῦ κλήρου, ἀλλ' οὐχ αἰρετόν, ἐπὶ δύο ἔτη προσέταξε. ^[4] κακῶς τέ ποτε τοῦ Ἀπουλείου 165 καὶ τοῦ Μαικήνου ἐν δικαστηρίῳ τινὶ μοιχείας, οὐχ ὅτι τι 166 καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑβρίκεσαν ἀλλ' ὅτι τῷ κρινομένῳ σπουδῇ συνήροντο, ἀκουόντων ἡλθὲ τε ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον, καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἔδρᾳ καθιζήσας δεινὸν μὲν οὐδὲν ἔπραξεν, ἀπειπὼν δὲ τῷ κατηγορῶ μῆτε τοὺς συγγενεῖς μῆτε τοὺς ^[5] φίλους αὐτοῦ προπηλακίζειν ἀνέστη. καὶ αὐτὸν διὰ τε ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τὰ ἄλλα ἀνδριᾷσι τε ἐκ συντελείας ἐτίμησαν, καὶ τῷ τοῖς τε ἀγύνοις καὶ ταῖς 167 ἀνάνδροις καὶ συνθεᾶσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ συνδειπνεῖν ἐν τοῖς γενεθλίοις αὐτοῦ δοῦναι οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν οὐδέτερον. 31. ὥς δ' οὖν 168 ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ὄνπερ που δι' ἀρετὴν ἀλλ' οὐ δι' ἀνάγκην τινὰ ἡγάπα, ἐτεθνήκει, καὶ συνεργοῦ πρὸς τὰ πράγματα πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τῇ τιμῇ καὶ τῇ δυνάμει προφέροντος, ὥστε καὶ ἐν καιρῷ καὶ ἄνευ φθόνου καὶ ἐπιβουλῆς πάντα διάγεσθαι, ἐδεῖτο, τὸν Τιβέριον καὶ ἄκων προσεῖλετο· οἱ γὰρ ἔγγονοι αὐτοῦ ἐν παισὶν ἔτι καὶ ^[2] τότε ἦσαν. καὶ προαποσπάσας καὶ ἐκείνου τὴν γυναῖκα, καίτοι τοῦ τε Ἀγρίππου θυγατέρα ἐξ ἄλλης τινὸς γαμετῆς οὔσαν, καὶ τέκνον τὸ μὲν ἤδη τρέφουσιν τὸ δὲ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσιν, τὴν τε Ἰουλίαν οἱ ἡγγύησε 169 καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Παννονίους αὐτὸν ἐξέπεμψε· τέως μὲν γὰρ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ^[p. 364] φοβηθέντες ἡσύχασαν, τότε δὲ τελευτήσαντος ^[3] αὐτοῦ ἐπανέστησαν. καὶ σφας ὁ Τιβέριος, πολλὰ μὲν τῆς χώρας πορθήσας πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κακώσας, ἐχειρώσατο, τοῖς Σκορδίσκοις, 170 ὁμόροις τε αὐτῶν καὶ ὁμοσκεύοις οὔσι, συμμάχοις ὅτι μάλιστα χρησάμενος. καὶ τὰ τε ὅπλα σφῶν ἀφείλετο, καὶ τῆς ἡλικίας τὸ πλεῖον ^[4] ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῇ ἀπέδοτο. καὶ αὐτῷ διὰ ταῦτα ἢ μὲν βουλή τὰ γε 171 ἐπινίκια ἐψηφίσατο, ὃ δ' Αὐγουστος ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν ἐορτάσαι, τὰς δὲ τιμὰς τὰς ἐπινικίους ἀντέδωκε. 32. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τῷ Δρούσῳ συνέβη. τῶν τε

γὰρ Συγάμβρων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτῶν διὰ τε τὴν τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἀπουσίαν καὶ διὰ τὸ 172 τοὺς Γαλάτας μὴ ἐθελοδουλεῖν πολεμωθέντων σφισι, τὸ τε ὑπήκοον προκατέλαβε, τοὺς πρώτους αὐτοῦ, προφάσει τῆς ἑορτῆς ἦν καὶ νῦν περὶ τὸν τοῦ Αὐγούστου βωμὸν ἐν Λουγδούνῳ τελούσι, μεταπεμφάμενος, καὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς τηρήσας τὸν [2] Ῥῆνον διαβαίνοντας ἀνέκοψε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἕς τε τὴν τῶν Οὔσιπετῶν κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν τῶν Βατάουων 173 νῆσον διέβη, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Συγαμβρίδα ἐκεῖθεν ἐπιπαρελθὼν συχνὰ ἐπόρθησεν. ἕς τε τὸν ὠκεανὸν διὰ τοῦ Ῥήνου καταπλεύσας τοὺς τε Φρισίους 174 ὠκείωσατο, καὶ ἕς τὴν Χαυκίδα διὰ τῆς λίμνης ἐμβαλὼν ἐκινδύνευσε, τῶν πλοίων ὑπὸ 175 τῆς τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ παλιρροίας ἐπὶ τοῦ ξηροῦ [p. 366] [3] γενομένων. καὶ τότε μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Φρισίων 176 πεζῇ συνεστρατευκότων αὐτῷ σωθεὶς ἀνεχώρησε 'χειμῶν γὰρ ἦν', καὶ ἕς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλθὼν ἀστυνόμος ἐπὶ τε Κυνίου Αἰλίου καὶ ἐπὶ Παύλου Φαβίου ὑπάτων, καίπερ τὰς στρατηγικὰς τιμὰς 33. ἔχων, ἀπεδείχθη: ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἦρι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον αὖθις ὤρμησε, καὶ τὸν τε Ῥῆνον ἐπραιώθη καὶ τοὺς Οὔσιπέτας κατεστρέψατο, τὸν τε Λουπίαν ἔξευξε καὶ ἕς τὴν τῶν Συγάμβρων ἐνέβαλε, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς καὶ ἕς τὴν Χερουσκίδα προεχώρησε 177 μέχρι [2] τοῦ Οὔσιούργου. 178 ἡδυνήθη δὲ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ὅτι οἱ Σύγαμβροι τοὺς Χάττους, μόνους τῶν προσοίκων μὴ ἐθελήσαντάς 179 σφισι συμμαχεῖσθαι, ἐν ὀργῇ σχόντες πανδημεὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐξεστράτευσαν, κἂν 180 τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ ἔλαθε 181 τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν διεξελθὼν. καὶ διέβη ἂν καὶ τὸν Οὔσιουργον, εἰ μὴ τῶν τε ἐπιτηδείων ἐσπάνισε καὶ ὁ χειμῶν ἐνέστη καὶ τι καὶ σμῆνος ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτοῦ [3] ὤφθη. οὗτ' οὖν περαιτέρω διὰ ταῦτα προεχώρησε, καὶ ἕς τὴν φιλίαν ἀνακομιζόμενος δεινῶς ἐκινδύνευσεν: οἱ γὰρ πολέμιοι ἄλλως τε ἐνέδραις αὐτὸν ἐκάκωσαν, καὶ ποτε ἕς στενὸν καὶ κοῦλον χωρίον κατακλείσαντες ὀλίγου διέφθειραν, κἂν πασσυδὶ ἂν 182 ἀπώλεσαν, εἰ μὴ καταφρονήσαντές σφων ὡς καὶ ἐαλωκότων καὶ μιᾶς ἐπικοπῆς 183 [p. 368] [4] ὄντων ὁμόσε αὐτοῖς ἀσύντακτοι 184 ἐχώρησαν. νικηθέντες γὰρ ἐκ τούτου οὐ κεθ' ὁμοίως ἐθρασύνοντο, ἀλλὰ πόρρωθεν μὲν σφας παρελύνουν, ἐγγὺς δὲ οὐ προσήεσαν, ὥστε τὸν Δροῦσον ἀντικαταφρονήσαντα αὐτῶν ἐκεῖ τε ἡ 185 ὃ τε Λουπίας καὶ ὁ Ἐλίσων συμμιγνυνται φρουρίον τί σφισιν ἐπιτειχίσαι, καὶ ἕτερον ἐν Χάττοις παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ [5] Ῥήνῳ. διὰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα τὰς τε ἐπινικίους τιμὰς καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ κέλητος ἕς τὸ ἅστῳ ἐσελάσαι, τῇ τε τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου ἐξουσίᾳ, ἐπειδὴν διαστρατηγήσῃ, χρήσασθαι ἔλαβε. τὸ γὰρ ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐπεφημίσθη μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ ἐκείνῳ τότε καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ πρότερον, οὐ 186 μέντοι παρὰ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐδόθη, καίπερ αὐτοῦ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἔργων τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῆς ἐπικλήσεως αὐξήσαντος. 34. ἐν ᾧ δ' οὖν ὁ Δροῦσος ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν, ἡ τε πανήγυρις ἡ τῇ στρατηγίᾳ αὐτοῦ προσήκουσα πολυτελεστάτῃ ἐποιήθη, καὶ τὰ γενέθλια τὰ τοῦ Αὐγούστου καὶ ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ [2] πόλει πολλαχόθι θηρίων σφαγαῖς ἐτιμήθη. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, καίτοι μὴ ψηφισθέν, ἐν πᾶσιν ὡς εἰπεῖν τοῖς ἔτεσι πρὸς τινος τῶν ἀεὶ στρατηγούντων ἐγίγνετο: τὰ δὲ διὰ Αὐγουστάλια, ἃ καὶ νῦν ῥέγεται, τότε πρῶτον ἐκ δόγματος ἐτετέλεσθη. [3] ὃ τε Τιβέριος τοὺς τε

Δελμάτας νεοχμώσαντας καὶ τοὺς Παννονίους μετὰ τοῦτο πρὸς τε τὴν ἐκείνου καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πλείονος στρατοῦ ἀπουσίαν νεωτερίσαντας ἐχειρώσατο, πολεμῶν τε ἅμα ^[p. 370] ἀμφοτέροις, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν τῇ τοτὲ δὲ τῇ μεθιστάμενος, ὥστε καὶ τῶν ἄθλων 187 τῶν αὐτῶν τῷ Δροῦσῳ ^[4] τυχεῖν. κάκ τούτου καὶ ἡ Δελματία 188 τῇ τοῦ Αὐγούστου φρουρᾷ, ὡς καὶ ὄπλων τινῶν ἀεὶ καὶ δι' ἑαυτὴν καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν Παννονίων γειτονίαν δεομένη, παρεδόθη. ^[5] οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔπρασσον: ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τοῦτοις χρόνοις Οὐολογαίσης 189 Θραξ Βησσός, 190 ἱερεὺς τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς Διονύσου, προσεποιήσατό τινας πολλὰ θειάσας, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἀποστὰς τὸν τε Ῥασκῦποριν τὸν τοῦ Κότυος υἱὸν νικήσας ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τὸν θεῖον αὐτοῦ τὸν Ῥυμητάκην μετὰ ταῦτα ἀμαχεῖ γυμνῶσας τῶν δυνάμεων τῇ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ 191 δόξῃ φυγεῖν ἐποίησε, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιδιώκων ἔς τε τὴν Χερρόνησον ἐνέβαλε ^[6] καὶ δεινῶς αὐτὴν ἐλυμήνατο. ὡς οὖν οὗτός τε ταῦτ' ἐποίει καὶ οἱ Σιαλέται τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐκακούργουν, Λούκιος Πίσων ἐκ Παμφυλίας, ἧς ἦρχε, προσετάρχη σφίσι: καὶ προαναχωρησάντων οἴκαδε τῶν Βησσῶν ἐπειδὴ ἐπυνθάνοντο αὐτὸν προσιόντα, ἔς τε τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἀφίκετο, καὶ ἡττηθεὶς τὸ πρῶτον ἀντεπεκράτησε, καὶ ἐκείνην τε καὶ τὴν τῶν προσχώρων τῶν συνεπαναστάντων ^[7] σφίσιν ἐπόρθησε. καὶ τότε τοὺς μὲν ἐθελοντάς προσθέμενος 192 τοὺς δ' ἄκοντας ἐκπλήξας, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐκ παρατάξεως συνενεχθεῖς, πάντας αὐτοὺς ὑπηγάγετο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο νεοχμώσαντάς τινας αὐτῶν αὐθις κατεδουλώσατο. καὶ αὐτῷ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἱερομηνία καὶ τιμαὶ ἐπινίκιοι ἐδόθησαν. ^[p. 372] 35. ἐν ᾧ δ' οὖν ἐκεῖνα ἐγίγνετο, ὁ Αὐγουστος ἀπογραφάς τε ἐποίησατο, πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντά οἱ καθάπερ τις ἰδιώτης ἀπογραφάμενος, καὶ τὴν βουλήν κατελέξατο. ὁρῶν δὲ ὅτι οὐκ ἀεὶ συχνοὶ συνελέγοντο, ἐκέλευσε τὰ δόγματα αὐτῆς καὶ ἐν ἐλάττοσιν ἢ τετρακοσίοις γίνεσθαι: οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν ^[2] τινα ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν ἄλλως κυροῦσθαι. ἐπειδὴ τε ἀργῦριον αὐθις ἐς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ 193 καὶ ἐκείνη καὶ ὁ δῆμος συνεσήνεγκαν, ἑαυτοῦ μὲν οὐδεμίαν, Ὑγιείας δὲ δημοσίας καὶ προσέτι καὶ Ὀμονοίας Εἰρήνης τε ἔστησεν. ἀεὶ τε γὰρ ὡς εἰπεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ πάσῃ προφάσει τοῦτ' ἐποιοῦν, καὶ τέλος καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρᾳ οὐκέτι ἰδίᾳ που κατέβαλλον αὐτό, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ προσιόντες οἱ μὲν ^[3] πλεῖον ἔλαττον ἐδίδουσιν. καὶ ὅς προσθεὶς ἂν ἕτερον τοσοῦτον ἢ καὶ πλεον ἄντεδίδου, οὐχ ὅπως τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνο ἤκουσα, ὅτι καὶ ἄλλο τι ἀργῦριον ἐκ λογίου τινὸς ἢ καὶ ὀνειράτος παρὰ τῶν προστυχόντων οἱ, ὡς καὶ προσαιτῶν, ἐν μιᾷ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρᾳ ἐλάμβανε. ^[4] καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, εἰ γέ τῳ πιστόν, οὕτω παραδέδοται: ἐν δὲ τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ τὴν τε Ἰουλίαν τῷ Τιβερίῳ συνώκισε, καὶ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν προέθετο ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰουλείου 194 ἡρώου, παραπετάσματι καὶ τότε ἐπὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ ^[5] χρησάμενος. καὶ αὐτός τε ἐκεῖ τὸν ἐπιτάφιον εἶπε, καὶ ὁ Δροῦσος ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος: δημόσιον γὰρ τὸ πένθος ἀλλαξαμένων τὴν ἐσθῆτα τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐγένετο. καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα αὐτῆς οἱ ^[p. 374] γαμβροὶ ἐξήνεγκαν, τὰ δὲ δὴ ψηφισθέντα αὐτῇ οὐ πάντα ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐδέξατο. 36. κὰν τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ χρόνῳ ὃ τε ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς πρῶτον μετὰ τὸν Μερούλαν ἀπεδειχθη, καὶ τοῖς ταμίαις τὰ δόγματα τὰ 195 ἐκάστοτε

γινγόμενα διὰ φυλακῆς ποιεῖσθαι ἐκελεύσθη, ἐπειδὴ οἱ τε δήμαρχοι καὶ οἱ ἀγορανόμοι οἱ πρότερον αὐτὰ ἐπιτετραμμένοι 196 διὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τοῦτ' ἔπραττον, καὶ τις ἐκ τούτου καὶ διαμαρτία καὶ ταραχὴ ἐγένετο. [2] ἐψηφίσθη μὲν οὖν τὸν Ἰανὸν τὸν Γέμινον ὡς καὶ πεπαυμένων τῶν πολέμων ἄνέωκτο γάρ' κλεισθῆναι, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκλείσθη: οἱ τε γὰρ Δακοὶ τὸν Ἰστρον πεπηγότα διαβάντες λείαν ἐκ τῆς Παννονίας ἀπετέμοντο, καὶ οἱ Δελμάται 197 πρὸς τὰς ἐσπράξεις τῶν χρημάτων ἐπανέστησαν. [3] καὶ τούτους μὲν ὁ Τιβέριος ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας, ἐς ἣν μετὰ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐσεληλύθει, καταπεμφθεὶς ἀνεκτίσαστο, 198 τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν Κελτῶν τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ τῶν Χάττων ἑκαστὸς γὰρ τοὺς Συγάμβρους μετέστησαν, καὶ τῆς 199 χώρας αὐτῶν, ἣν οἰκεῖν παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἰλήφεσαν, ἐξάνεστησαν ὁ Δροῦσος [4] τὰ μὲν ἐκάκωσε τὰ δὲ ἐχειρώσατο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἕς τε τὴν Ῥώμην σὺν τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἀνεκομίσθησαν ἕν γὰρ τῇ Λουγδουνίδι 200 τὰ πολλὰ οὗτος 201 ἐγγύθεν τοῖς Κελτοῖς ἐφεδρεῦων διέτριβέ, καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις ἐψήφιστο ἦ καὶ ἄλλως

καθήκοντα ἦν γενέσθαι, ἐπετέλεσαν.

BOOK 55

τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ πέμπτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ρωμαϊκῶν

α. ὡς Δροῦσος ἀπέθανεν.

β. ὡς τὸ Λιονίας τέμενος καθιερώθη.

γ. ὡς τὸ Ἀγρίππου πεδῖον καθιερώθη.

δ. ὡς τὸ διριβιτώριον καθιερώθη.

ε. ὡς Τιβέριος ἐς Ρόδον ἀνεχώρησεν.

ζ. ὡς ἡ Αὐγούστου ἀγορὰ καθιερώθη.

η. ὡς ὁ τοῦ Ἄρεως ναὸς ὁ ἐν αὐτῇ ὦν καθιερώθη.

θ. ὡς Λούκιος Καῖσαρ καὶ Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἀπέθανον.

ι. ὡς Αὐγουστος Τιβέριον ἐποίησατο.

κ. ὡς Λιουία παρήνεσεν Αὐγούστῳ φιλανθρωπότερον ἄρχειν.

λ. περὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ ὡς οἱ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ χρήματα διοικήσοντες κατέστησαν.

μ. ὡς οἱ νυκτοφύλακες κατέστησαν.

ν. ὡς Δελμάταις καὶ Παννονίοις Τιβέριος ἐπολέμησεν.

Χοόνου πληθὸς ἔτη ἑπτακαίδεκα, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι

οἶδε ἐγένοντο

Νέρων Κλαύδιος Τιβ. υἱ. Δροῦσος

τ. Κνίκτιος Τ. υἱ. Κρισπῖνος ὕπ.

γ. Μάρκιος Α. υἱ. Κηνσωρῖνος

γ. Ἀσίνιος γ. υἱ. Γάλλος ὕπ.

Τιβ. Κλαύδιος Τιβ. υί. Νέρων τὸ β

Γν. Καλπούρνιος Γν. υί. Πίσων ὕπ. 9

Δέκιμος Λαίλιος Δεκίμου υί. Βάλβος

γ. Ἀντίστιος Γ. υί. Οὔετερ ὕπ. [p. 378]

Αὔγουστος τὸ ιβ

λ. Κορνήλιος Π. υί. Σύλλας ὕπ.

γ. Καλουίσιος Γ. υί. Σαβῖνος

λ. Πασσιῆνος ... υί. Ροῦφος ὕπ.

λ. Κορνήλιος Λ. υί. Λεντοῦλος

μ. Οὐαλέριος Μ. υί. Μεσσάλας Μεσσαλῖνος ὕπ.

Αὔγουστος τὸ ιγ

μ. Πλάτιος Μ. υί. Σιλουανός ὕπ.

Κόσσος Κορνήλιος Γν. υί. Λεντοῦλος

λ. Καλπούρνιος Γν. υί. Πίσων ὕπ.

γ. Καῖσαρ Αὐγούστου υί.

λ. Αἰμίλιος Λ. υί. Παῦλος ὕπ.

π. Οὐνίκιος μ. υί.

π. Ἀλφῆνος π. υί. Οὐᾶρος ὕπ. 18

λ. Αἴλιος λ. υί. Λαμίας 20

μ. Σερουίλιος μ. υί. ὕπ.

Σέξτος Αἴλιος κ. υί. Κάτος

γ. Σέντιος Γ. υί. Σατουρνῖνος ὕπ.

λ. Ουαλέριος Ποτίτου υἱ. Μεσσάλας Ουόλαισος 24

Γν. Κορνήλιος Λ. υἱ. Κίννας Μάγνος ὕπ. 25

μ. Αἰμίλιος Λ. υἱ. Λέπιδος

λ. Ἀρρουντίος Λ. υἱ. ὕπ.

Αὔλ. Λικίνιος Αὔλ. υἱ. Νέρουας Σιλιανός 29

κ. Καικίλιος κ. υἱ. Μέτελλος Κρητικός ὕπ. 32

μ. Φούριος μ. υἱ. Κάμιλλος

Σέξ. Νώνιος γ. υἱ. Κυϊντιλιανός ὕπ.

1. ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Ἰούλλου Ἀντωνίου καὶ ἐπὶ Φαβίου Μαξίμου ὑπάτων ἐγένετο, τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει ὁ Δροῦσος μετὰ Τίτου Κρισπίνου [p. 380] ὑπάτευσσε, καὶ αὐτῷ σημεῖα οὐκ ἀγαθὰ συνηνέχθη: πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα καὶ χειμῶνι καὶ κεραυνοῖς, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ναοὶ ἐφθάρησαν, ὥστε καὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου τῶν τε συννάων αὐτοῦ κακωθῆναι. [2] οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐφρόντισέ τι αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐς τε τὴν τῶν Χάπτων ἐσέβαλε καὶ προῆλθε μέχρι τῆς Σουηβίας, τὴν τε ἐν ποσὶν οὐκ ἀταλαιπώρως χειρουόμενος καὶ τοὺς προσμηνύντας οἱ οὐκ ἀναιμωτὶ κρατῶν. κάντεϋθεν πρὸς τε τὴν Χερουσκίδα μετέστη, καὶ τὸν Οὐίσουργον διαβάς ἤλασε [3] μέχρι τοῦ Ἀλβίου, πάντα πορθῶν. ἐκεῖνον γάρ 'ρεῖ δὲ ἐκ τῶν Οὐανδαλικῶν ὀρῶν, καὶ ἐς τὸν ὠκεανὸν τὸν προσάρκτιον πολλῷ μεγέθει ἐκδίδωσιν' ἐπεχείρησε μὲν περαιωθῆναι, οὐκ ἡδυνήθη δέ, ἀλλὰ τρόπαια στήσας ἀνεχώρησε: γυνὴ γάρ τις μείζων ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπου φύσιν ἀπαντήσασα αὐτῷ ἔφη 'ποῖ δῆτα ἐπείγῃ, Δροῦσε ἀκόρεστε; οὐ πάντα σοι ταῦτα ἰδεῖν πέπρωται. ἀλλ' ἄπιθι: καὶ γὰρ σοι καὶ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τοῦ βίου τελευτὴ [4] ἤδη πάρεστι.' θαυμαστὸν μὲν οὖν τό τινα φωνὴν παρὰ 'οὔ δαιμονίου τοιαύτην τῷ γενέσθαι, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀπιστεῖν ἔχω: παραχρῆμα γὰρ ἀπέβη, σπουδῇ τε ὑποστρέψαντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ νόσῳ τινί, πρὶν ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον ἐλθεῖν, τελευτήσαντος. [5] καὶ μοι τεκμηριοῦ τὸ λεχθὲν ὅτι καὶ λύκοι περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑπὸ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ περινοστοῦντες ὠρύοντο, καὶ νεανίσκοι δύο διὰ μέσου τοῦ ταφρεύματος διππεύοντες ὤφθησαν, θρῆνός τέ τις γυναικεῖος ἠκούσθη, καὶ ἀστέρων διαδρομαὶ ἐγένοντο. [p. 382] 2. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἔσχε, προπυθόμενος δ' ὁ Αὐγουστος ὅτι νοσεῖ 'οὐ γὰρ ἦν πόρρῳ, τὸν Τιβέριον κατὰ τάχος ἔπεμψε: καὶ ὃς ἔμπνουν τε αὐτὸν κατέλαβε καὶ ἀποθανόντα ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκόμισε, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα μέχρι τοῦ χειμαδίου τοῦ στρατοῦ διὰ τε τῶν ἑκατοντάρχων καὶ διὰ τῶν χιλιάρχων, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ διὰ τῶν καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν πρῶτων [2] βαστάσας. καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ προτεθέντος διπλοῦς ὁ ἐπιτάφιος ἐλέχθη: ὃ τε γὰρ Τιβέριος ἐνταῦθα αὐτὸν ἐπῆνεσε, καὶ ὁ

Αὐγουστος ἐν τῷ Φλαμινίῳ ἱπποδρόμῳ: ἔξεστράτευτο γάρ, καὶ οὐκ ἦν οἱ ὄσιον μὴ οὐ τὰ καθήκοντα ἐπὶ τοῖς κατειργασμένοις παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν εἰσω τοῦ πωμηρίου ^[3] ἔσοδον ἐπιτελέσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἕς τε τὸ Ἄρειον πεδῖον ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων, τῶν τε ἕς τὴν ἱππᾶδα ἀκριβῶς τελούντων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ γένους ὄντων, ἠνέχθη, κάνταῦθα πυρὶ δοθεὶς ἕς τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου μνημεῖον κατετέθη, Γερμανικός τε μετὰ τῶν παίδων ἐπονομασθεὶς, καὶ τιμὰς καὶ εἰκόνων καὶ ἀψῖδος κenoταφίου τε πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ Ῥήνῳ λαβών. ^[4] ὁ δὲ δὴ Τιβέριος τῶν τε Δελματῶν καὶ τῶν Παννονίων ὑποκινήσαντων τι αὐθις ζῶντος ἔτι αὐτοῦ κρατήσας, τὰ τε ἐπὶ τοῦ κέλητος ἐπινίκια ἔπεμψε, καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ τοὺς δ' ἄλλοθι πολλαχόθι ἐδείπνισε. κάν τούτῳ καὶ ἡ Λιουία μετὰ τῆς Ἰουλίας τὰς γυναικάς εἰστίασε. ^[p. 384] ^[5] τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῷ Δρούσῳ ἡτοιμάζετο: καὶ γε αἱ ἀνοχαὶ δεῦτερον τὴν χάριν αὐτοῦ, πρὸς τὸ τὰ νικητήρια ἐν ἐκείναις αὐτὸν ἐορτάσαι, γενήσεσθαι ἔμελλον. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν προαπώλετο, ἡ δὲ δὴ Λιουία εἰκόνων τε ἐπὶ παραμυθία ἔτυχε, καὶ ἕς ^[6] τὰς μητέρας τὰς τρις τεκούσας ἐσεγράφη. οἷς γὰρ ἂν τὸ δαιμόνιον, εἴτ' οὖν ἀνδρῶν εἴτε γυναικῶν, μὴ δῶ τοσαυτάκις τεκνῶσαι, τούτων τισὶν ὁ νόμος, πρότερον μὲν διὰ τῆς βουλῆς νῦν δὲ διὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, τὰ τῶν τρις γεγεννηκότων δικαιώματα χαρίζεται, ὥστε σφᾶς μῆτε τοῖς τῆς ἀπαιδίας ἐπιτιμίαις ἐνέχεσθαι καὶ τὰ τῆς πολυπαιδίας ^[7] ἄθλα πλὴν ὀλίγων τινῶν καρποῦσθαι. καὶ αὐτὰ οὐκ ἄνθρωποι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοὶ εὕρισκονται, ἴν' ἂν τις τι αὐτοῖς τελευτῶν καταλίπη λαμβάνωσι. 3. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὁ δ' Αὐγουστος τὰς τε τῆς γερουσίας ἔδρας ἐν ῥηταῖς ἡμέραις γίγνεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν ἔπειδὴ γὰρ οὐδὲν πρότερον ἀκριβῶς περὶ αὐτῶν ἐτέτακτο καὶ τινες διὰ τοῦτο πολλάκις ὑστέριζον, δύο βουλὰς κατὰ μῆνα κυρίας ἀπέδειξεν, ὥστε ἕς αὐτὰς ἐπάναγκες, οὓς γε καὶ ὁ νόμος ^[2] ἐκάλει, συμφοιτᾶν: καὶ ὅπως γε μὴδ' ἄλλη μηδεμία σκῆψις τῆς ἀπουσίας αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχη, προσέταξε μῆτε δικαστήριον μὴτ' ἄλλο μηδὲν τῶν προσηκόντων σφίσιν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ γίγνεσθαι, τὸν τε ἀριθμὸν τὸν ἐς τὴν κύρωσιν τῶν δογμάτων ^[p. 386] ἀναγκαῖον καθ' ἕκαστον εἶδος αὐτῶν, ὥς γε ἐν κεφαλαίοις εἰπεῖν, διενομοθέτησε, καὶ τὰ ζημιώματα τοῖς μὴ δι' εὐλογόν τινα αἰτίαν τῆς συνεδρείας ^[3] ἀπολειπομένοις ἐπηύξησεν. ἔπειδὴ τε πολλὰ τῶν τοιούτων ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ὑπευθύνων ἀτιμώρητα εἴωθε γίγνεσθαι, κληροῦσθαι τε αὐτοὺς εἰ συχνοὶ τοῦτο ποιήσειαν, καὶ τὸν αἰὲ πέμπτον λαχόντα ὀφλισκάνειν αὐτὰ ἐκέλευσε. τὰ τε ὀνόματα συμπάντων τῶν βουλευόντων ἐς λεῦκωμα ἀναγράφας ἐξέθηκε: καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ νῦν κατ' ^[4] ἔτος τοῦτο ποιεῖται. ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς συμφοιτήσεως αὐτῶν ἀνάγκῃ ἔπραξεν: εἰ δ' οὖν ποτε ἐκ συντυχίας τινὸς μὴ συλληχθεῖεν ὅσους ἡ χρεία ἐκάστοτε ἐκάλει ἢ πλὴν γὰρ ὅτι ὁσάκις ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ παρῇ, ἔν γε ταῖς ἄλλαις ἡμέραις ἐς πάντα ὀλίγου τὸ τῶν ἀθροιζομένων πλῆθος καὶ τότε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀκριβῶς ἐξητάζετό, ἐβουλευόντο μὲν καὶ ἡ γε γνώμη συνεγράφετο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τέλος τι ὥς κεκυρωμένη ἐλάμβανεν, ἀλλὰ αὐκτῶριτας ἐγίγνετο, ὅπως φανερόν τὸ βούλημα ^[5] αὐτῶν ἦ. τοιοῦτον γὰρ τι ἡ δύναμις τοῦ ὀνόματος τούτου δηλοῖ: ἐλληνίσαι γὰρ αὐτὸ καθάπαξ

ἀδύνατον ἔστι. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ εἴ ποτε ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ μὴ νενομισμένῳ ἢ ἡμέρᾳ μὴ καθηκούσῃ, ἢ καὶ ἔξω νομίμου παραγγέλματος, ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἡθροίσθησαν, ἢ καὶ ἐναντιωθέντων τινῶν δημάρχων τὸ μὲν δόγμα οὐκ ἡδυνήθη γενέσθαι, τὴν δὲ δὴ γνώμην σφῶν οὐχ ὑπέμενον ἀποκρυφθῆναι, [p. 388] ἐνομιζέτο: καὶ αὐτῇ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἡ κύρωσις κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἐπήγετο καὶ ἡ ἐπικλήσις [6] ἡ τοῦ δόγματος ἐπεφέρετο. τοῦτ' οὖν ἰσχυρῶς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοῖς πάλαι τηρηθὲν ἐξίτηλον τρόπον τινὰ ἤδη γέγονε, καὶ τὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν: καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι ἀγανακτήσαντες ὅτι μηδεμίαν γνώμην, καίτοι τῶν δημάρχων προτετιμημένοι, ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἐσέφερον, παρὰ μὲν τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἔλαβον αὐτὸ ποιεῖν, ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου ἀφηρέθησαν. 4. ταῦτά τε οὖν καὶ τᾶλλα ἃ τότε ἐνομοθέτησεν, ἐς τε τὸ συνέδριον ἐν λευκώμασι γεγραμμένα προέθηκε πρὶν χρηματίσαι τι περὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς μεθ' ἐνὸς ἐτέρου ἐσελθοῦσιν ἀναγνῶναι ἐπέτρεψεν, ὅπως ἂν τι μὴ ἀρέσῃ αὐτοὺς ἢ καὶ ἕτερόν τι βέλτιον συμβουλευσαι δυνηθῶσιν εἴπωσιν. [2] οὕτω γὰρ που δημοκρατικὸς ἤξιον εἶναι ὥστε τινὸς τῶν συστρατευσαμένων ποτὲ αὐτῷ συνηγορήματος παρ' αὐτοῦ δεηθέντος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῶν φίλων τινὰ, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἀσχολίᾳ ὦν, συνειπεῖν αὐτῷ κελεῦσαι, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνος ὀργισθεὶς ἔφη 'ἐγὼ μέντοι, ὅσῳ κίς ἐπικουρίας χρεῖαν ἔσχες, οὐκ ἄλλον τινὰ ἀντ' ἐμαυτοῦ σοι ἔπεμψα, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς πανταχοῦ προεκινδύνευσά σου,' ἔς τε τὸ δικαστήριον ἐσελθεῖν καὶ συνηγορῆσαι [3] οἱ φίλῳ τέ τινι δίκην φεύγοντι συνεξητάσθῃ, προεπικονῶσας αὐτὸ τοῦτο τῇ γερουσίᾳ: καὶ ἐκεῖνόν τε ἔσωσε, καὶ τὸν κατήγορον αὐτοῦ οὐχ ὅπως [p. 390] δι' ὀργῆς ἔσχε καίπερ πάνυ πολλῇ παρρησίᾳ χρησάμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐθυνόμενον ἐπὶ τοῖς τρόποις ἀφῆκεν, εἰπὼν ἀντικρυς ὅτι ἀναγκαῖα σφίσιν ἡ παρρησία αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν πονηρίαν εἴη. ἄλλους γε μὴν ἐπιβουλεύειν οἱ μηνυθέντας [4] ἐκόλασε. καὶ ταμίας ἐν τε τῇ παραλίᾳ τῇ πρὸς τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐν ἐτέροις τισὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας χωρίοις ἄρχειν ἐποίησε: καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ πλείῳ ἔτη ἐγένετο. τότε μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸν 5. τοῦ Δρούσου θάνατον, ὡς περ εἶπον, ἐσελθεῖν, τῷ δὲ ἐξῆς ἔτει, ἐν ᾧ Ἀσινίος τε Γάλλος καὶ Γάιος Μάρκιος ὑπάτευσαν, τὴν τε ἄφιξιν ἐποίησατο καὶ τὴν δάφνην ἐς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Φερετρίου παρὰ τὸ [2] νομιζόμενον ἐσήνεγκε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐορτὴν ἤγαγε, πολὺ πλεῖον ἐν τῷ τοῦ Δρούσου ὀλέθρῳ ἐζημιῶσθαι ἢ ἐν ταῖς νίκαις ὠφελῆσθαι νομίζων: οἱ δὲ δὴ ὕπατοι τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅσα ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις γίνεσθαι ἐποίησαν, καὶ ἐκ [3] τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τινὰς ἀλλήλοις συνέβαλον. καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ' ὁ Αὐγουστος, αἰτιαθέντων καὶ ἐκείνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχόντων ὡς ἐκ δεκάσμοις τινος ἀποδεδειγμένων, τοῦτο μὲν οὐτε ἐξηλεγεσθαι οὐτ' ἀρχὴν προσεποιήσατο εἰδέναι: οὐτε γὰρ κολάσαι τινὰς οὐτ' αὖ συγγνῶναι ἐλεγχθεῖσιν ἠθέλησε: τοὺς δὲ δὴ σπουδαρχιῶντας χρήματα πρὸ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν ὡς περ τι ἐνέχυρον προήτησεν, ἐπὶ τῷ μηδὲν τοιοῦτο αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι ἢ στερηθῆναι [p. 392] [4] τῶν δεδομένων. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν πάντες ἐπήνεσαν: ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἐξὸν ὄν δοῦλον κατὰ δεσπότητος βασανισθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν, ὅσῳ κίς ἂν χρεῖα τοιοῦτου τινὸς γένηται, τῷ δημοσίῳ αὐτὸν ἢ καὶ ἑαυτῷ πιπράσκεσθαι, ὅπως ὡς ἀλλότριος τοῦ κρινομένου ὦν

ἐξετάζεται, οἱ μὲν ἦτιώντο, ὅτι ὁ νόμος τῇ τοῦ δεσπότου μεταλλαγῇ καταλύεσθαι ἐμελλεν, οἱ δ' ἀναγκαῖον αὐτὸ ἔφασκον εἶναι, ὅτι πολλοὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς συνίσταντο. 6. μετὰ δὲ δὴ ταῦτα τὴν τε ἡγεμονίαν, καίπερ ἀφίεις, ὡς ἔλεγεν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ δέκα ἔτη τὰ δευτέρα ἐξεληλύθει, ἄκων δῆθεν αὐθις ὑπέστη, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἐστράτευσε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ ὑπέμεινεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Τιβέριος τὸν Ῥῆνον [2] διέβη. φοβηθέντες οὖν αὐτοὺς οἱ βάρβαροι πλὴν τῶν Συγάμβρων ἐπεκηρυκεύσαντο, καὶ οὔτε τότε ἔτυχόν τινος ὃ γὰρ Αὐγουστος οὐκ ἔφη σφίσιν ἄνευ ἐκείνων σπείσεσθαι οὐθ' ὕστερον. ἔπεμψαν [3] μὲν γὰρ καὶ οἱ Σύγαμβροι πρέσβεις, τοσοῦτου δὲ ἐδέησαν διαπράξασθαι τι ὥστε καὶ ἐκείνους πάντας, καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ ἐλλογίμους ὄντας, προσαπολέσθαι: ὃ τε γὰρ Αὐγουστος συλλαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἐς πόλεις τινὰς κατέθετο, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι δυσανασχετήσαντες ἑαυτοὺς κατεχρήσαντο. κἂκ τοῦτου χρόνον μὲν τινα ἡσυχασαν, ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ πολλῷ τὸ πάθημά σφων τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀνταπέδοσαν. [p. 394] [4] ὁ δ' οὖν Αὐγουστος τοῦτό τε οὕτως ἐποίησε, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀργῦριον, οὐχ ὡς καὶ κεκρατηκόσι, καίτοι τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα καὶ αὐτὸς λαβὼν καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ δούς, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸν Γάιον ἐν ταῖς γυμνασίαις τότε πρῶτον συνεξεταζόμενόν σφισιν ἔσχον, ἐχαρίσατο. [5] τὸν δ' οὖν Τιβέριον ἐς τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἀρχὴν ἀντὶ τοῦ Δρούσου προαγαγὼν τῇ τε ἐπικλήσει ἐκείνῃ ἐγαύρωσε καὶ ὑπατον αὐθις ἀπέδειξε, γράμματά τε κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἔθος, καὶ πρὶν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐσελθεῖν, ἐκθεῖναι πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ἐποίησε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοῖς ἐπινικίοις [6] ἐσέμνυνεν: αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐκεῖνα μὲν οὐκ ἠθέλησε πέμψαι, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὰ γενέθλια ἵπποδρομίαν αἰδίδιον ἔλαβε. τὰ τε τοῦ πωμηρίου ὅρια ἐπηύξησε, καὶ τὸν μῆνα τὸν Σεξιτίλιον ἐπικαλούμενον Αὐγουστον [7] ἀντωνόμασε: τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων τὸν Σεπτέμβριον οὕτως, ἐπειδήπερ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐγεγέννητο, προσαγορεύσαι ἐθέλησάντων ἐκείνον αὐτοῦ προετίμησεν, ὅτι καὶ ὑπατος ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ πρῶτον ἀπεδέδεικτο καὶ μάχας πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἐνενικήκει. 7. ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τούτοις ἐγαυροῦτο, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Μαικήνου τελευτήσαντος ἤλγησε. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπώνητο, ὅθεν καίπερ ἱππεῖ αὐτῷ ὄντι καὶ τὸ ἄστυ ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐπέτρεψε, μάλιστα δὲ ὡσάκις ἀκρατοτέρῳ τῷ θυμῷ ἐχρήτο: τῆς τε γὰρ ὀργῆς αὐτὸν αἰεὶ παρέλυε [2] καὶ ἐς τὸ ἡπιώτερον μεθίστη. τεκμήριον δέ, δικάζοντί ποτε αὐτῷ προσστάς, καὶ ἰδὼν ὅτι [p. 396] πολλοὺς θανατώσειν μέλλοι, ἐπεχείρησε μὲν διώσασθαι τοὺς περιεστηκότας καὶ ἐγγὺς οἱ προσελθεῖν, μὴ δυνηθεὶς δὲ ἔγραψεν ἐς γραμματεῖον ἑνάστηθι ἤδη ποτέ, δῆμιε,' καὶ αὐτὸ ὡς καὶ ἕτερόν τι ἔχον ἐς τὸν κόλπον αὐτοῦ ἔρριπεν, ὥστ' ἐκείνον μὴτ' ἀποκτεῖναι τινα καὶ [3] εὐθὺς ἐξαναστῆναι. οὐ γὰρ ὅπως ἡγανάκτει τοῖς τοιούτοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔχαιρεν ὅτι ὅσα αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνάγκης καὶ παρὰ τὸ προσῆκον ἐθυμοῦτο, ταῦτα [4] τῇ τῶν φίλων παρρησίᾳ διωρθοῦτο. μέγιστον δ' οὖν καὶ ἐκεῖνο τῆς τοῦ Μαικήνου ἀρετῆς δείγμα ἦν, ὅτι τῷ τε Αὐγούστῳ, καίτοι πρὸς τὰς ὁρμὰς αὐτοῦ ἀνθιστάμενος, ὡκείωτο καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν ἡρέσκετο, πλεῖστον τε παρ' αὐτῷ δυνηθεὶς, ὥστε πολλοῖς καὶ τιμὰς καὶ ἀρχὰς δοῦναι, οὐκ ἐξεφρόνησεν ἀλλὰ ἐν τῷ τῶν ἱππέων τέλει

κατεβίω. [5] τούτων τε οὖν ἔνεκα ἰσχυρῶς αὐτὸν ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐπόθησε, καὶ ὅτι καὶ κληρονόμον αὐτόν, καίπερ ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικὶ δυσκολαίνων, κατέλιπε, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ πλὴν ἐλαχίστων ἐποίησατο ἂν τέ τινα τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ δοῦναι τι ἐθέλησῃ ἂν τε καὶ μὴ. τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ Μαικίνας ἐγένετο, καὶ [6] οὕτω τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἐχρῆτο: πρῶτός τε κολυμβήθραν θερμοῦ ὕδατος ἐν τῇ πόλει κατεσκεύασε, καὶ πρῶτος σημειᾶ τινα γραμμάτων πρὸς τάχος [p. 398] ἐξεῦρε, καὶ αὐτὰ διὰ Ἀκύλου ἀπελευθέρου συχνοὺς ἐξεδίδαξε. 8. Τιβέριος δὲ ἐν τῇ νομηνίᾳ ἐν ἣ ὑπατεύειν μετὰ Γναίου Πίσωνος ἤρξατο ἔς τε τὸ Ὀκταουβειον τὴν βουλὴν ἠθροισε διὰ τὸ ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου [2] αὐτὸ εἶναι, καὶ τὸ Ὀμονόειον αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ἐπισκεύασαι προστάξας, ὅπως τὸ τε ἴδιον καὶ τὸ τοῦ Δροῦσου ὄνομα αὐτῷ ἐπιγράψῃ, τὰ τε νικητήρια ἤγαγε καὶ τὸ τεμένισμα τὸ Λίουιον ὠνομασμένον καθιέρωσε μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς: καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν τὴν γερουσίαν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, ἐκείνη δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας [3] ἰδίᾳ που εἰσίασε. καὶ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον κινήθέντων τινῶν ἐν τῇ Γερμανίᾳ ἐξωρμήθη: τὴν δὲ δὴ πανήγυριν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπανόδου τοῦ Αὐγούστου γενομένην ὁ Γάιος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ σὺν τῷ Πίσωνι διέθηκε. τὸ τε πεδῖον τὸ Ἀγρίππειον, πλὴν τῆς στοᾶς, καὶ τὸ διριβιτώριον αὐτὸς ὁ [4] Αὐγουστος ἐδημοσίευσεν. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἦν δὲ οἶκος μέγιστος τῶν πώποτε μίαν ὄροφὴν σχόντων: νῦν γὰρ δὴ πάσης τῆς στέγης αὐτοῦ καθαιρεθείσης, ὅτι οὐκ ἠδυνήθη αὐθις συστῆναι, ἀχανὲς ἐστίν' ὃ τε Ἀγρίππας οἰκοδομοῦμενον κατέλιπε, καὶ τότε συνετελέσθη: ἡ δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ στοᾶ, ἦν ἡ Πῶλλα ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ ἡ καὶ τοὺς δρόμους [5] διακοσμήσασα ἐποιοί, οὐδέπω ἐξείργαστο. κἂν τούτῳ καὶ αἱ ἐπιτάφιοι ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ ὀπλομαχίαι, φαίαν ἐσθῆτα τῶν τε ἄλλων πλὴν τοῦ Αὐγούστου καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν υἱέων αὐτοῦ λαβόντων, [p. 400] καὶ ἐνὸς πρὸς ἕνα καὶ πλείονων πρὸς ἴσους, ἐν τοῖς σέπτοις διὰ τε τὴν ἐς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν τιμὴν καὶ διὰ το πολλὰ τῶν περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν οἰκοδομημάτων κεκαῦσθαι, [6] ἐγένοντο. καὶ τὸ μὲν τοῦ πυρὸς αἵτιον ἐς τοὺς χρεωφείλας ἀνεφέρετο, ὥς καὶ ἐπίτηδες αὐτὸ παρασκευάσαντας ἴν' ἀποκόψωσι τι τῶν χρεῶν, συχνὰ δόξαντες ἐζημιῶσθαι: ἔτυχον δὲ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐδενός, οἱ δὲ δὴ στενωποὶ ἐπιμελητῶν τινων ἐκ τοῦ δήμου, οὓς καὶ στενωπάρχους καλοῦμεν: [7] καὶ σφισι καὶ τῇ ἐσθῆτι τῇ ἀρχικῇ καὶ ῥαβδούχοις δύο, ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς χωρίοις ὧν ἂν ἄρχωσιν, ἡμέραις πρὸς χρῆσθαι ἐδόθη, ἡ τε δουλεία ἡ τοῖς ἀγορανόμοις τῶν ἐμπιπραμένων ἔνεκα συνοῦσα ἐπετράπη, καίτοι καὶ ἐκείνων καὶ τῶν δημάρχων τῶν τε στρατηγῶν πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν, δεκατέσσαρα μέρη νεμηθεῖσαν, κλήρῳ προσταχθέντων: ὃ καὶ νῦν γίγνεται. 9. τοσαῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ ἔτει τούτῳ ἐπράχθη: ἐν γὰρ δὴ τῇ Γερμανίᾳ οὐδὲν ἄξιον μνήμης συνέβη: τῷ δὲ ὑστέρω, ἐν ᾧ Γάιος τε Ἀντισπιος καὶ Λαίλιος Βάλβος ὑπάτευσαν, ἰδὼν ὁ Αὐγουστος τὸν τε Γάιον καὶ τὸν Λούκιον αὐτοὺς τε μὴ πάνυ, οἷα ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ τρεφομένους, τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἦθη ζηλοῦντας 'οὐ γὰρ ὅτι ἀβρότερον διῆγον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐθρασύνοντο: ἐς γοῦν τὸ θέατρον ποτε καθ' ἑαυτὸν [2] ὁ Λούκιος ἐσθῆλθέ καὶ πρὸς πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ [p. 402] πολει, τὰ μὲν γνώμη τὰ δὲ θεραπείᾳ, κολακευομένους κἂκ τούτου ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον θρυπτομένους 'τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ὕπατον τὸν Γάιον μηδὲ ἐς ἐφήβους πω τελοῦντα προεχειρίσαντο '

ἡγανάκτησε, καὶ προσεπηύξατο μηδεμίαν τοιαύτην καιρῶν ἀνάγκην ὅποια ποτὲ αὐτὸν κατέλαβε γενέσθαι, ὥστε τινὰ νεώτερον εἰκοσιετοῦς ὑπατεῦσαι. [3] ἔπειδὴ τε καὶ ὥς ἐνέκειντό οἱ, τότε ἔφη χρῆναι τινὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην λαμβάνειν, ὅταν μῆτε τι αὐτὸς ἀμαρτάνειν καὶ ταῖς τοῦ δήμου σπουδαῖς [4] ἀνθίστασθαι δύνηται. καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ' ἱερwsύνην μὲν τινὰ αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον συμφοίτησιν τὸ τε συνθεᾶσθαι καὶ τὸ συνεσιᾶσθαι τῇ βουλῇ ἔδωκε: βουλευθεῖς δὲ δὴ τρόπον ... 61

“τινὰ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς σωφρονίσαι, τῷ Τιβερίῳ τὴν τε ἐξουσίαν τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἐς πέντε ἔτη ἔνειμε καὶ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἀλλοτριουμένην μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Τιγράνου [5] θάνατον προσέταξε. συνέβη δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκείνοις καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ μάτην προσκροῦσαι, τοῖς μὲν ὅτι παρεωρᾶσθαι ἔδοξαν, τῷ δὲ ὅτι τὴν ὀργὴν αὐτῶν ἐφοβήθη. ἀμέλει καὶ ἐς Ῥόδον ὡς καὶ παιδεύσεώς τινος δεόμενος ἐστάλη, μὴτ' ἄλλους τινὰς μῆτε τὴν θεραπείαν πᾶσαν ἐπαγόμενος, ἴν' ἐκποδῶν σφισι καὶ τῇ ὄψει καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις γένηται. [6] καὶ τὴν τε ὁδὸν ἰδιωτικῶς ἐποίησατο, πλὴν καθ' [p. 404] ὅσον τοὺς Παρίους τὸ τῆς Ἑστίας ἄγαλμα πωλῆσαι οἱ ἡνάγκασεν, ὅπως ἐν τῷ Ὀμονοεῖῳ ἰδρυθῇ: καὶ ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἐλθὼν οὐδὲν ὀγκηρὸν [7] οὔτε ἔπραττεν οὔτε ἔλεγεν. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀληθεστάτη αἰτία τῆς ἐκδημίας αὐτοῦ τοιαύτη ἐστί, λόγον δὲ τινὰ ἔχει καὶ διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν Ἰουλίαν, ὅτι μηκέτ' αὐτὴν φέρειν ἐδύνατο, τοῦτο ποιῆσαι: κατέλιπε γοῦν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ. οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν χαλεπῆναι αὐτὸν ὅτι μὴ καὶ Καῖσαρ ἀπεδειχθῇ οἱ δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Αὐγουστοῦ ὡς καὶ τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ ἐπιβουλευόντα ἐκβληθῆναι. [8] ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οὔτε παιδείας ἔνεκα οὔτ' ἀβουλήσας τὰ δεδογμένα ἀπεδήμησε, δῆλον ἔκ τε τῶν ἄλλων ὧν μετὰ ταῦτα ἔπραξε, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τὰς διαθήκας αὐτὸν εὐθύς τότε καὶ λῦσαι καὶ τῇ μητρὶ τῷ τε Αὐγουστῷ ἀναγνῶναι, ἐγένετο: κατεικάζετο πάνθ' ὅσα ἐνεδέχετο.” Xiph. 100, 18-30, Exc. V. 177 (p. 662 s#3.), Zon. 10, 35. “[9] τῷ δ' ἐφεξῆς ἔτει δωδέκατον ὑπατεύων ὁ Αὐγουστος εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους τὸν Γάϊον ἔταξε καὶ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἅμα εἰσήγαγε καὶ πρόκριτον ἀπέφηνε τῆς νεότητος ἱλαρχόν τε φυλῆς γενεσθαι ἐπέτρεψε.” Zon. 10, 35. “10. καὶ μετ' ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ ὁ Λούκιος τὰς τιμὰς ὅσαι τῷ Γαίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ἐδέδοντο ἔλαβεν. ἀθροισθέντος δὲ τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἐπανορθωθῆναι τινὰ ἀξιούντος καὶ τοὺς δημάρχους διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς τὸν Αὐγουστον πέμψαντος, ἦλθεν ἐκεῖνος καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐδέοντο σφίσι συνδιεσκέφατο: καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἦσθησαν ἅπαντες.” Zon. 10, 35. “[p. 406] ὁ δὲ Αὐγουστος τὸ τοῦ σιτοδοτουμένου πλῆθος ἀόριστον ὃν ἐς εἴκοσι μυριάδας κατέκλεισε, καὶ ὡς γέ τινες λέγουσι, καθ' ἓνα ἐξήκοντα δραχμὰς ἔδωκε.” Xiph. 100, 30-101, 1. “[1a] ὡς ἡ Αὐγουστοῦ ἀγορὰ καθιερώθη.” Index to “βκ. λφ. 1. 6. ὡς ὁ τοῦ Ἄρεως ναὸς ὁ ἐν αὐτῇ ὧν καθιερώθη.” Index to Bk. LV. 1. 7. “[2] ... Ἄρει, ἑαυτὸν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους, ὅσας ἂν ἐθελήσωσι, τοὺς τε ἐκ τῶν παίδων ἐξιόντας καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐγγραφομένους ἐκέισε πάντως ἀφικνεῖσθαι, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰς ἐκδήμους [3] στελλομένους ἐκεῖθεν ἀφορμᾶσθαι, τὰς τε γνώμας τὰς περὶ τῶν νικητηρίων ἐκεῖ τὴν βουλὴν ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τοὺς πέμψαντας αὐτὰ τῷ Ἄρει τούτῳ καὶ τὸ σκῆπτρον καὶ τὸν στέφανον

ἀναπιθέναι, καὶ ἐκείνους τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τὰς ἐπινικίους τιμὰς λαμβάνοντας ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ χαλκοῦς [4] ἴστασθαι, ἃν τέ ποτε σημεῖα στρατιωτικὰ ἐς πολέμιους ἀλόντα ἀνακομισθῇ, ἐς τὸν ναὸν αὐτὰ τίθεσθαι, καὶ πανήγυριν τινα πρὸς τοῖς ἀναβασμοῖς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀεὶ ἱλαρχούντων ποιεῖσθαι, ἥλόν τε αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῶν τιμητευσάντων [5] προσπήγνυσθαι, καὶ τὴν τε παράσχεσιν τῶν ἵππων τῶν ἐς τὴν ἵπποδρομίαν ἀγωνιουμένων [p. 408] καὶ τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ φυλακὴν καὶ βουλευταῖς ἐργολαβεῖν ἐξεῖναι, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ἐνενομοθέτητο. [6] ἐπὶ μὲν τούτοις τὸ μέγαρον ἐκεῖνο ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐθείωσε, καίτοι τῷ τε Γαίῳ καὶ τῷ Λουκίῳ πάντα καθάπαξ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἱεροῦν ἐπιτρέψας ὑπατικῇ τινι ἀρχῇ κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν χρωμένοις. καὶ τὴν γε ἵπποδρομίαν αὐτοὶ τότε διέθεσαν, τὴν τε Τροίαν καλουμένην οἱ παῖδες οἱ πρῶτοι μετὰ τοῦ [7] Ἀγρίππου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῶν ἵππευσαν. καὶ λέοντες ἐξήκοντα καὶ διακόσιοι ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ ἐσφάγησαν. ὄπλομαχία τε ἐν τοῖς σέπτοις καὶ ναυμαχία ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἐν ᾧ καὶ νῦν ἔτι σημεῖα τινα αὐτῆς δεικνύται Περσῶν καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐποiehth: ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ ὀνόματα τοῖς ναυμαχοῦσιν [8] ἐτέθη, καὶ ἐνίκων καὶ τότε οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς τε τὸν Φλαμίνιον ἵπποδρομον ὕδωρ ἐσῆχθη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κροκόδειλοι ἕξ καὶ τριάκοντα κατεκόπησαν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ διὰ πασῶν τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων ὁ Αὐγουστος ὑπάτευσεν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἄρξας ἄλλω τὸ ὄνομα τῆς ὑπατείας ἔδωκε. [9] τῷ μὲν οὖν Ἄρει ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, αὐτῷ δὲ δὴ τῷ Αὐγουστῷ ἀγὼν τε ἱερὸς ἐν Νέα πόλει τῇ Καμπανίδι, λόγῳ μὲν ὅτι κακωθεῖσαν αὐτὴν καὶ ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἀνέλαβεν, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἐπειδὴ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μόνοι τῶν προσχώρων [10] τρόπον τινὰ ἐζήλουν, ἐψηφίσθη, καὶ ἡ ἐπωνυμία ἡ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀκριβῶς ἐδόθη: πρότερον γὰρ ἄλλως [p. 410] ἄνευ ψηφίσματος ἐπεφημιζέτο. καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἐπάρχους τῶν δορυφόρων τότε πρῶτον Κύνιντον τε Ὀσώριον Σκαπούλαν καὶ Πούπλιον Σάλουιον Ἄπρον ἀπέδειξεν: οὕτω γὰρ τοι αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐγὼ μόνους τῶν ἐπαρχόντων τινός, ἐπειδὴ περ ἐκνενίκηκεν, 11. ὀνομάζω. ἐποίησε μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁ Πυλάδης ὁ ὀρχηστὴς πανήγυριν τινα, οὐκ αὐτὸς χειρουργήσας ἅτε καὶ ὑπέργηρος ὢν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τε σκευῇ τῇ ἀρχικῇ καὶ τοῖς ἀναλώμασιν, ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ Κύνιντος Κρισπῖνος στρατηγός. λέγω δὲ οὐ τοῦτο ἀλλ' ὅτι ἄνδρες τε ἱππῆς καὶ γυναῖκες οὐκ ἀφανεῖς ἐς τὴν ὀρχήστραν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἐσῆχθησαν. 12. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐτίθετο, τὴν δὲ δὴ Ἰουλίαν τὴν θυγατέρα ἀσελγαίνουσαν οὕτως ὥστε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ γε τοῦ βήματος καὶ κωμάζειν νύκτωρ καὶ συμπίνειν ὅψε ποτε φωράσας ὑπερωργίσθη. 13. κατείκαζε μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρότερον οὐκ ὀρθῶς αὐτὴν βιοῦν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπίστευεν: οἱ γὰρ τοι τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἔχοντες πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ σφέτερα γινώσκουσι, καὶ οὐτ' αὐτοὶ τι τοὺς συνόντας ὢν ποιοῦσι λανθάνουσιν οὔτε τὰ ἐκείνων ἀκριβοῦσι. 14. τότε δ' οὖν μαθὼν τὰ πραττόμενα τοσοῦτω θυμῷ ἐχρήσατο ὥστε μὴδ' οἴκοι αὐτὰ κατασχεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ κοινῶσαι. κάκ τούτου ἐκείνη μὲν ἐς Πανδατερίαν τὴν πρὸς Καμπανίᾳ νῆσον ὑπερωρίσθη, καὶ αὐτῇ καὶ ἡ [p. 412] 15. Σκριβωνία ἡ μήτηρ ἐκοῦσα συνεξέπλευσε: τῶν δὲ δὴ χρησαμένων αὐτῇ ὁ μὲν Ἰουλλος ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ μοναρχίᾳ τοῦτο πράξας, ἀπέθανε

μετ' ἄλλων τινῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐς νήσους ὑπερωρίσθησαν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ δῆμαρχός τις ἐν αὐτοῖς ἦν, οὐ πρότερον πρὶν 16. διάρξαι ἐκρίθη. πολλῶν δὲ ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἄλλων γυναικῶν ἐφ' ὁμοίοις τισὶν αἰτίαν λαβουσῶν οὐ πάσας τὰς δικὰς ἐδέξατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρόνον τινὰ ἀφώρισεν ὥστε τὰ πρὸ ἐκείνου πραχθέντα μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖσθαι. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῆς θυγατρὸς μηδὲν μετριάσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ φήσας ὅτι Φοίβης πατὴρ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκείνης γεγενῆσθαι ἤθελε, τῶν ἄλλων ἐφείδeto. ἡ δὲ δὴ Φοίβη ἐξελευθέρα τε τῆς Ἰουλίας καὶ συνεργὸς οὖσα προαπέθανεν ἐκουσία, διόπερ καὶ ὁ Αὐγουστος αὐτὴν ἐπήνεσε. “ Xiph. 101, 21-32, Exc. V. 178b, 179 (p. 665). “ 17. ὅτι Γάιος τὰ στρατόπεδα τὰ πρὸς τῷ Ἰστροῦ εἰρηνικῶς ἐπῆει: πόλεμον γὰρ οὐδένα ἐπολέμησεν, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἔν τε ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ ἀσφαλείᾳ ἄρχειν ἐμάνθανεν, οἱ δὲ δὴ κίνδυνοι ἄλλοις προσετάσσοντο.” Exc. V. 180 “ ‘π. 665’. 18. τῶν Ἀρμενίων δὲ νεωτερισάντων καὶ τῶν Πάρθων αὐτοῖς συνεργούντων ἀλγῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Αὐγουστος ἠπόρει τί ἂν πράξῃ: οὐτε γὰρ αὐτὸς στρατεῦσαι οἷός τε ἦν διὰ γῆρας, ὃ τε Τιβέριος, ὡς εἴρηται, μετέστη ἤδη, ἄλλον δὲ τινα πέμψαι [p. 414] τῶν δυνατῶν οὐκ ἐτόλμα, ὁ Γάιος δὲ καὶ ὁ Λούκιος νέοι καὶ πραγμάτων ἐτύγχανον ἄπειροι. ἀνάγκης δ' ἐπικειμένης τὸν Γάιον εἶλετο, καὶ τὴν τε ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀνθύπατον καὶ γυναῖκα ἔδωκεν, ἵνα κάκ τούτου τι προσλάβῃ ἀξίωμα, καὶ οἱ καὶ 19. συμβούλους προσέταξε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀφωρμηθὲν ἐντίμως παρὰ πάντων ὑποδεχόμενος οἶα τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἔγγονος ἢ καὶ παῖς νομιζόμενος, καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος ἐς Χίον ἐλθὼν αὐτὸν ἐθεράπευσε, τὰς ὑποψίας ἀποτριβόμενος: ἐταπείνου τε γὰρ ἑαυτὸν καὶ ὑπέπιπτεν οὐχ ὅτι τῷ Γαίῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ οὔσι: ἀπελθὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν Συρίαν καὶ μηδὲν μέγα κατωρθωκῶς ἐτρώθη.” Zon. 10, 36, “ χιπη. 101, 32-102, 4. 20. ὅτι ὡς ἐπύθοντο οἱ βάρβαροι τὴν ἐπιστρατείαν τοῦ Γαίου, Φρατάκης ἔπεμψε πρὸς τὸν Αὐγουστον, ὑπὲρ τῶν γεγονότων ἀπολογούμενος καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἐπὶ εἰρήνῃ ἀπαιτῶν: καὶ αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνος Φρατάκῃ ἀπλῶς ἄνευ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπικλήσεως, ἀντεπιστείλας, τὸ τε ὄνομα τὸ βασιλικὸν καταθέσθαι καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἀποστῆναι προσέταξεν. ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ ὁ Πάρθος οὐχ ὅσον οὐ κατέπτηξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντέγραφέν οἱ τὰ τε ἄλλα ὑπερφρόνως, καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν βασιλέα βασιλέων ἐκείνον δὲ Καίσαρα μόνον ὀνομάσας. ὁ δὲ δὴ Τιγράνης εὐθύς μὲν οὐκ ἐπρεσβεύσατο, τοῦ δὲ Ἀρταβάζου νόσω ὕστερον τελευτήσαντος δῶρὰ τε [p. 416] τῷ Αὐγούστῳ, ὡς καὶ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου ὑπεξηρημένου 21. οἱ, ἔπεμψε, τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ὄνομα ἐς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν μὴ ἐγγράφας, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν δῆθεν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἦττησε. τούτοις τε οὖν ὑπαχθεὶς καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἅμα τὸν Παρθικὸν φοβηθεὶς τὰ τε δῶρα ἐδέξατο, καὶ μετ' ἐλπίδων αὐτὸν χρηστῶν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν πρὸς τὸν Γάιον ἐλθεῖν ἐκέλευσεν.” Exc. UG (p. 390), Xiph. 102, 4-11. “ ... ἐτέρους ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐπιστρατεῦσαντάς σφισιν ἀπέωσαντο, οὐ πρότερόν τε ἐνέδοσαν πρὶν χιλιάρχον τινα ἐκ τοῦ δορυφορικοῦ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πεμφθῆναι. καὶ ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐν χρόνῳ τὰς καταδρομὰς αὐτῶν ἐπέσχεν, ὥστε ἐπὶ πολὺ μηδένα βουλευτὴν τῶν ταύτῃ πόλεων ἄρξαι. [2] ταῦτά τε οὖν ἅμα καὶ τὰ τῶν Κελτῶν ἐκαινώθη. ὁ γὰρ Δομίτιος πρότερον μὲν, ἕως ἔτι τῶν πρὸς τῷ

Ἰστωρῶ χωρίων ἦρχε, τοὺς τε Ἑρμουνδούρους ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐξαναστάντας καὶ κατὰ ζήτησιν ἑτέρας γῆς πλανωμένους ὑπολαβὼν ἐν μέρει τῆς Μαρκομαννίδος κατώκισε, καὶ τὸν Ἀλβιαν μηδενὸς οἱ ἐναντιούμενου διαβὰς φιλιαν τε τοῖς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάροις συνέθετο καὶ βωμὸν ἐπ' [3] αὐτοῦ τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἰδρύσατο. τότε δὲ πρὸς τε τὸν Ρῆνον μετελθὼν, καὶ ἐκπεσόντας τινὰς Χερούσκων καταγαγεῖν δι' ἑτέρων ἐθελήσας, ἐδυστύχησε καὶ καταφρονῆσαι σφῶν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους βαρβάρους ἐποίησεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ πλέον τι τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπράχθη: διὰ γὰρ τὸν Παρθικὸν πόλεμον ὑπόγουν ὄντα οὐδεμία αὐτῶν ἐπιστροφή τότε ἐγένετο. [p. 418] [4] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῖς Πάρθοις ἐπολεμήθη. ὁ γὰρ Φρατάκης τὸν Γάιον ἐν τε τῇ Συρίᾳ ὄντα καὶ ὑπατεῦοντα ἀκούσας, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰ οἰκεία μηδὲ πρότερον εὐνοϊκῶς οἱ ἔχοντα ὑποτοπήσας, προκατηλλάγη ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτὸς τε τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἀποστήναι καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς αὐτοῦ πέραν θαλάσσης [5] εἶναι. οἱ γε μὴν Ἀρμένιοι, καίπερ τοῦ τε Τιγράνου ἐκ πολέμου τινὸς βαρβαρικοῦ φθαρέντος καὶ τῆς Ἑρατοῦς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφείσης, ὅμως ἐπειδὴ Ἀριοβαρζάνει τινὶ Μῆδῳ, ὅς ποτε μετὰ τοῦ Τιριδάτου πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀφίκτο, παρεδίδοντο, ἐπολέμησάν σφισι τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει, ἐν ᾧ Πούπλιός τε Οὐνίκιος καὶ Πούπλιος Οὐᾶρος ὑπάτευσαν. [6] καὶ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἀξιόλογον ἔδρασαν, Ἀδδων δὲ τις τὰ Ἀρτάγειρα κατέχων ὑπηγάγετο τὸν Γάιον ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος ὡς καὶ τῶν τοῦ Πάρθου τι ἀπορρήτων αὐτῷ φράσων, καὶ ἔτρωσεν αὐτόν, καὶ τοῦτου πολιορκηθεὶς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀντέσχευ. [7] ἀλόντος δ' οὗν ποτε αὐτοῦ τὸ τε ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος οὐχ ὁ Αὐγουστος μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Γάιος ἐπέθετο, καὶ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν τότε μὲν ὁ Ἀριοβαρζάνης, ἀποθανόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ υἱὸς παρὰ τε τοῦ Αὐγούστου [8] καὶ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἔλαβεν. ὁ δ' οὗν Γάιος ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἠρρώσθη, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μηδ' ἄλλως ὑγιεινὸς ἦν, ὑφ' οὐπὲρ καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐξελέλυτο, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἀπημβλύνθη. καὶ τέλος ἰδιωτεύειν τε ἤξιον καὶ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ που καταμεῖναι ἠθέλεν, ὥστε τὸν Αὐγουστον περιαλγήσαντα τῇ τε γερουσίᾳ τὸ βούλημα αὐτοῦ [p. 420] κοινῶσαι καὶ ἐκείνον ἐς γοῦν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐλθόντα [9] πράττειν ὃ τι βούλοιτο προτρέψασθαι. πάντ' οὗν εὐθύς τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀφείς ἐς Λυκίαν ἐν ὀλκάδι παρέπλευσε, κάνταῦθα ἐν Λιμύροις μετέλλαξε. πρὶν δὲ ἡ τελευτῆσαι αὐτόν ὁ Λούκιος ἐν Μασσαλίᾳ προαπέσβη: πολλαχῇ γάρ τοι καὶ ἐκείνος ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ πεμπόμενος ἡσκεῖτο, καὶ τάς γε τοῦ Γαίου ἐπιστολὰς αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, ὡσάκις ἂν [10] παρείη, ἀνεγίνωσκεν. ἀπέθανε δὲ ἐξαίφνης νοσήσας, ὥστε ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις σφισι τὴν Λιουίαν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ὁ Τιβέριος ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκ τῆς Ῥόδου ἀφίκετο, ὑποπτευθῆναι. 11. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ἐμπειρότατος τῆς διὰ τῶν ἄστρον μαντικῆς ὣν, καὶ Θράσυλλον ἄνδρα πάσης ἀστρολογίας διαπεφυκότα ἔχων, πάντα καὶ τὰ ἐαυτῷ καὶ τὰ ἐκείνοις πεπρωμένα ἀκριβῶς [2] ἠπίστατο: καὶ λόγον γε ἔχει ὅτι μελλήσας ποτὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ τὸν Θράσυλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, ἐπειδὴ μόνος αὐτῷ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐνενοεῖ συνήδει, ὥσειν, οὐκέτ' αὐτὸ ἐποίησε σκυθρωπάσαντα αὐτόν ἰδὼν, οὕτι γε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐπερωτηθεὶς διὰ τί συννένοφε, κίνδυνόν τινα ὑποπτεύειν οἱ γενήσεσθαι ἔφη: θαυμάσας

γὰρ ὅτι καὶ τὴν μέλλησιν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς προεῖδεν, φυλάξαι αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ διὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἠθέλησεν.” Zon. 10, 36. “^[3] οὕτω γὰρ που πάντα ἐκεῖνος σαφῶς ἤδει ὥστε καὶ τὸ πλοῖον τὸ τὴν ἀγγελίαν τῷ Τιβερίῳ τῆς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνακομιδῆς παρὰ τε τῆς μητρὸς καὶ ^[p. 422] παρὰ τοῦ Αὐγούστου φέρον πόρρωθεν κατιδὼν προσπλέον, προειπεῖν αὐτῷ ἃ ἀγγέλλειν ἔμελλε. 12. τοῦ δὲ Λουκίου τοῦ τε Γαίου τὰ σώματα διὰ τε τῶν χιλιάρχων καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐφ’ ἐκάστης πόλεως πρώτων ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκομίσθη, καὶ αἱ πέλται τὰ τε δόρατα, ἃ παρὰ τῶν ἱππέων ἐς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐσιόντες χρυσοῖ ἐλὶφρυσαν, ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἀνετέθη.” Xiph. 102, 250-103, 3. “^[2] δεσπότης δὲ ποτε ὁ Αὐγουστος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ὀνομασθεὶς οὐχ ὅπως ἀπεῖπε μηδὲνα τοῦτω πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τῷ προσρήματι χρῆσασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ^[3] πάνυ διὰ φυλακῆς αὐτὸ ἐποίησατο. πληρωθείσης δὲ οἱ καὶ τῆς τρίτης δεκαετίας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τότε τὸ τέταρτον, ἐκβιασθεὶς δῆθεν, ὑπεδέξατο, πρᾶτοτέρος τε καὶ ὀκνηρότερος ὑπὸ τοῦ γήρωος πρὸς τὸ τῶν βουλευτῶν τισιν ἀπεχθάνεσθαι γεγυνώς οὐδενὶ ἔτ’ αὐτῶν προσκρούειν ἤθελεν.” Xiph. 103, “ 3-11, ζον. 10, 36. χιλίας τε καὶ πεντακοσίας μυριάδας δραχμῶν ἀτόκους τοῖς δεομένοις δανείσας ἐπ’ ἔτη τρία, ἐπηγεῖτο παρὰ πάντων καὶ ἐσεμνύνετο.” Zon. 10, 36. “^[4] ἐμπρησμοῦ δὲ ποτε τὸ παλάτιον διαφθείραντος, καὶ πολλῶν αὐτῷ πολλὰ διδόντων, οὐδὲν ἔλαβεν ἢ μόνον παρὰ μὲν τῶν δῆμων χρυσοῦν παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν δραχμὴ. χρυσοῦν γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ τὸ νόμισμα τὸ τὰς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δραχμὰς ^[5] δυνάμενον κατὰ τὸ ἐπιχώριον ὀνομάζω: καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δὲ τινες, ὧν τὰ βιβλία ἐπὶ τῷ ἀττικίζειν ἀναγινώσκουμεν, οὕτως αὐτὸ ἐκάλεσαν.” Xiph. 103, “ 11-18, ζον. 10, 36. ^[p. 424] Παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν εἴκοσι δραχμῶν ὁ Δίῳ φησὶ τὸ χρυσοῦν ἀλλάσσεσθαι νόμισμα.” Zon. 10, 36. “ ὁ δὲ Αὐγουστος τὴν οἰκίαν οἰκοδομήσας ἐδημόσιωσε πᾶσαν, εἴτε δὴ διὰ τὴν συντέλειαν τὴν παρὰ 100 τοῦ δήμου οἱ γενομένην, εἴτε καὶ ὅτι ἀρχιέρως ἦν, ἵν’ ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἅμα καὶ ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς οἰκοίῃ. 13. τοῦ δὲ δήμου σφόδρα ἐγκειμένου τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἵνα καταγάγῃ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ, θάσσον ἔφη πῦρ ὕδατι μιχθῆσεσθαι ἢ ἐκείνην καταχθῆσεσθαι. καὶ ὁ δῆμος πυρὰ ἐς τὸν Τίβεριν πολλὰ ἐνέβαλε: καὶ τότε μὲν οὐδὲν ἦνυσεν, ὕστερον δὲ ἐξεβιάσατο ὥστε ἐς γοῦν τὴν ἡπειρον αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς νήσου κομισθῆναι.” Xiph. 103, 19-28. “ μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κελτικοῦ πολέμου κεκινημένου αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τε γήρωος 101 καὶ νόσου κεκμηκὸς ἔχων τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἐκστρατεῦσαι μὴ οἶός τε ὦν, πῇ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀναγκασθεὶς πῇ δ’ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἰουλίας ἀναπεισθεὶς ἥδη γὰρ αὕτη 102 ἐκ τῆς ^[2] ὑπερορίας κατήχθῃ, ζον. 10, 36. τὸν 103 Τιβέριον καὶ ἐποίησατο καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἐξέπεμψε, 104 τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἐς δέκα ἔτη δούς. καὶ μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον 105 ὑποπεύσας πῇ ἐκφρονήσιν, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ νεοχμῶσῃ τι, τὸν Γερμανικὸν οἱ τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν καίτοι καὶ ^[3] αὐτῷ υἱὸν ἔχοντι ἐσεποίησε. κάκ τούτων ἐπιθαρσῆσας ὥς καὶ διαδόχους καὶ βοηθοὺς ἔχων, διαλέξαι τὴν γερουσίαν αὐθις ἠθέλησε, καὶ δέκα ^[p. 426] βουλευτὰς οὓς μάλιστα ἐτίμα προβαλόμενος 106 τρεῖς ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἐξεταστὰς ἀπέδειξεν, οὓς ὁ κλῆρος εἴλετο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ πολλοὶ οὕτε προκατέγνωσάν σφων ἐξουσίας αὐτοῖς δοθείσης, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, οὗτ’ ἄκοντες ἀπηλίφθησαν. 107 ^[4]

τοῦτο μὲν δὴ δι' ἐτέρων ἔπραξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπογραφὰς τῶν ἐν τε τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ κατοικούντων καὶ μὴ ἐλάττω πέντε μυριάδων οὐσίαν κεκτημένων ἐποίησατο: τοὺς γὰρ ἀσθενεστέρους τοὺς τε ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας οἰκοῦντας οὐκ ἠνάγκασεν ἀπογράψασθαι, δείσας μὴ νεωτερίσωσιν τι ταραχθέντες. [5] καὶ ὅπως γε μὴ δόξειεν ὡς τιμητῆς αὐτὸ ποιεῖν, δι' ὅπερ εἶπον πρότερον, ἀνθύπατον ἐξουσίαν πρὸς τε τὸ τέλος τῶν ἀπογραφῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν [6] τοῦ καθαρσίου ποιήσιν προσέθετο. ἐπειδὴ τε συχνοὶ τῶν νεανίσκων ἔκ τε τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ γένους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἱππέων ἐπένοντο μηδὲν ἐπαίτιον ἔχοντες, τοῖς μὲν πλείοσι τὸ τεταγμένον τίμημα ἀνεπλήρωσεν, ὀγδοήκοντα δὲ πῖσι καὶ ἔς [7] τριάκοντα αὐτὸ μυριάδας ἐπηύξησε. πολλῶν τε πολλοὺς ἀκρίτως 108 ἐλευθεροῦντων, διέταξε τὴν τε ἡλικίαν ἣν τὸν τε ἐλευθερώσοντά τινα καὶ τὸν ἀφεθισόμενον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἔχειν δεῆσοι, καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα οἷς οἱ τε ἄλλοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐλευθερουμένους καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ δεσπότες σφῶν γενόμενοι χρήσιντο. 14. πράσσοντι δὲ αὐτῷ ταῦτα ἐπεβούλευσαν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Γναῖος Κορνήλιος θυγατρίδοϋς τοῦ μεγάλου [p. 428] Πομπηίου ὢν, ὥστε ἐν μεγάλῃ αὐτὸν ἀμηχανίᾳ χρόνον τινὰ γενέσθαι, μὴτ' ἀποκτεῖναι σφας, ὅτι οὐδὲν πλέον πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ἐκ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων ἐώρα οἱ γιγνόμενον, μὴτ' ἀπολῦσαι, μὴ καὶ ἐτέρους ἐκ τούτου ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπισπάσῃται, ἐθέλοντα. [2] ἀποροῦντι τε οὖν αὐτῷ ὅ τι πράξῃ, καὶ οὔτε μεθ' ἡμέραν ἀφροντιστεῖν οὔτ' αὖ νύκτωρ ἀτρεμεῖν δυναμένῳ ἔφη ποτὲ ἡ Λιουία: 'τί ἐστὶ τοῦτο, ὦ ἄνερ; διὰ τί οὐ καθευδεις;' Καὶ ὁ Αὐγουστος: 'καὶ τίς ἄν,' εἶπεν, 'ὦ γύναι, κἂν ἐλάχιστον ἀπομερμηρίσειε τοσοῦτους τε αἰεὶ ἐχθροὺς ἔχων καὶ συνεχῶς οὕτως ἄλλοτε [3] ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐπιβουλευόμενος; ἢ οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅσοι καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἡμῶν ἐπιτίθενται; καὶ αὐτοὺς οὐδὲ αἰ τιμωρίαι τῶν δικαιουμένων ἀναστέλλουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶν τοῦναντίον, ὥσπερ ἐπ' ἀγαθόν τι ἐπειγόμενοι, σπεύδουσι καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ προσαπόλλυσθαι.' [4] ἀκούσασα οὖν τούτων ἡ Λιουία: 'τὸ μὲν ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι σε,' ἔφη, 'οὔτε θαυμαστὸν οὔτε ἔξω τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τρόπου ἐστὶ: καὶ γὰρ πράσσεις πολλὰ ἅτε τηλικαύτην ἀρχὴν ἔχων, καὶ λυπεῖς, ὥσπερ εἰκός, συχνούς. οὐ γὰρ που καὶ πᾶσιν οἷόν τε τὸν ἄρχοντά τινων ἀρέσκειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι πολλοῖς καὶ τὸν πάνυ ὀρθῶς [5] βασιλεῦοντα ἀνάγκη. πολλῶν τε γὰρ πλείους τῶν δίκαιόν τι πραττόντων οἱ ἀδικεῖν ἐθέλοντές ἔσιν, ὧν ἀδύνατόν ἐστι τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἀποτιμπλάναι: καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀρετῆν τινα ἐχόντων οἱ μὲν καὶ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων, ὧν οὐ δύνανται [p. 430] τυχεῖν, ἐπορέγονται, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐτέρων ἐλαττωθέντες ἄχθονται, καὶ οὕτως ἀμφοτέροι τὸν κρατοῦντα [6] αἰτιῶνται. ὥστε ἔκ τε τούτων μὴ εἶναι κακοῦ ἀμαρτάνειν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτιθεμένων οὔτι γε καὶ σοὶ ἀλλὰ τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ. σὲ μὲν γὰρ ἰδιωτεύοντα οὐδ' ἂν εἷς ἐθελοντὴς κακόν τι, μηδὲν γε προπαθῶν, ἐποίησε: τῆς δὲ δὴ ἀρχῆς καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πάντες, καὶ οἱ γε ἐν δυνάμει τινὶ ὄντες πολὺ μᾶλλον τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων, [7] ὀριγνῶνται. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ μὲν ἀδίκων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἥκιστα νοῦν ἐχόντων ποιεῖν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐν τε τῇ φύσει αὐτῶν καθάπερ τι καὶ ἄλλο ἔνεστι, καὶ οὐχ οἷόν τε ἐστὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα οὔτε πειθοντα οὔτ' ἀναγκάζοντα ἐξελέσθαι τινῶν: οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὔτε νόμος οὔτε φόβος κρείττων

τῶν [8] φύσει πεφυκότων γίγνεται. ταῦτ' οὖν λογιζόμενος τὰς μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἁμαρτίας μὴ δυσχέραινε, φυλακὴν δ' ἀκριβῆ καὶ σεαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς μοναρχίας ποιοῦ, ἵνα αὐτὴν μὴ ἐκ τοῦ σφόδρα κολάζειν τινὰς ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ σφόδρα φυλάσσειν ἀσφαλῶς ἔχωμεν.' 15. πρὸς οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Αὐγουστος: 'ἀλλ' οἶδα μὲν καὶ ἐγώ, ὦ γύναι, ὅτι οὗτ' ἄλλο τι τῶν μεγάλων ἔξω φθόνου καὶ ἐπιβουλῆς καθέστηκεν, ἥκιστα [2] δὲ αὐταρχία: καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἰσόθεοι ἦμεν, εἰ μὴ καὶ πράγματα 109 καὶ φροντίδας καὶ φόβους ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς ἰδιωτεύοντας εἴχομεν. ἐμὲ δὲ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο λυπεῖ, ὅτι καὶ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι ταῦθ' οὕτως γίγνεσθαι, καὶ ἀδύνατον θεραπείαν τινὰ αὐτῶν εὐρεθῆναι.' [3] 'Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ γέ τινες τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν οἷοι [p. 432] πάντως ἀδικεῖν ἐθέλειν,' εἶπεν ἡ Λιουία, 'ἡμεῖς γε αὐτοὺς φυλαττώμεθα. ἔχομεν δὲ καὶ στρατιώτας πολλοὺς, ὧν οἱ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς πολέμιους ἀντιτεταγμένοι οἱ δὲ καὶ περὶ σὲ ὄντες φρουροῦσιν ἡμᾶς, καὶ θεραπείαν πολλήν, ὥστε καὶ οἴκοι καὶ ἔξω δι' αὐτοὺς ἀσφαλῶς ζῆν.' [4] ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Αὐγουστος: 'ὅτι μὲν πολλοὶ πολλὰκις καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν συνόντων ἐφθάρησαν, οὐδέν,' ἔφη, 'δέομαι λέγειν. πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τοῦτ' ἐν ταῖς μοναρχίαις χαλεπώτατόν ἐστιν, ὅτι μὴ μόνον τοὺς πολέμιους, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς φίλους 110 φοβούμεθα. [5] καὶ πολὺ γε πλείους ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων, ἅτε καὶ αἰεὶ, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ, καὶ γυμνουμένοις σφίσι καὶ καθεύδουσι σιτία τε καὶ ποτὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν παρεσκευασμένα λαμβάνουσι συγγιγνομένων, ἐπεβουλευθήσαν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν μηδὲν προσηκόντων: τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα, καὶ πρὸς μὲν ἐκείνους ἔστι τούτους ἀντιτάξαι, πρὸς δὲ τούτους αὐτοὺς [6] οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλω τινὶ συμμαχῶ χρήσασθαι. ὥσθ' ἡμῖν διὰ πάντων δεινὸν μὲν τὴν ἐρημίαν δεινὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ φοβερόν μὲν τὴν ἀφυλαξίαν φοβερωτάτους δὲ αὐτοὺς τοὺς φύλακας, καὶ χαλεποὺς μὲν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς χαλεπωτέρους δὲ τοὺς φίλους εἶναι: φίλους γὰρ ἀνάγκη πάντας σφᾶς, [7] κἂν μὴ ᾧσι, καλεῖσθαι. εἰ δ' οὖν τις καὶ χρηστῶν αὐτῶν τύχοι, ἀλλ' οὐτὶ γε οὕτω πιστεύσειεν ἂν σφισιν ὥστε καὶ 111 καθαρᾷ καὶ ἀφροντίστῳ καὶ ἀνυπόπτῳ τῇ ψυχῇ προσομιλεῖν. τοῦτ' οὖν [p. 434] καὶ τὸ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐπιβουλευόντας ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι ἀμύνεσθαι πάνδεινόν ἐστιν. τὸ γὰρ τοι τιμωρεῖσθαι τε καὶ κολάζειν αἰεὶ τινὰς ἀναγκάζεσθαι μεγάλην ἀχθηδὸνα τοῖς γε ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι φέρει.' 16. 'Ἄλλ' ὁρθῶς γε λέγεις,' ἀπεκρίνατο ἡ Λιουία, 'καὶ σοι γνώμην δοῦναι ἔχω, ἂν γε καὶ προσδεξασθαι αὐτὴν ἐθέλῃς, καὶ μὴ διαμέμψῃ 112 ὅτι γυνὴ οὕσα τολμῶ σοι συμβουλευσαί τι οἶον οὐδ' ἂν εἷς ἄλλος οὐδὲ τῶν πάνυ φίλων παραινέσειεν, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἴσασιν αὐτό, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐ θαρσοῦσιν εἰπεῖν.' [2] 'Λέγ', ἡ δ' ὅς ὁ Αὐγουστος, 'ὅ τι δὴ ποτε τοῦτ' ἐστιν.' Ἡ οὖν Λιουία 'φράσω,' ἔφη, 'μηδὲν κατοκνήσασα, ἅτε καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰ κακὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου σοι ἔχουσα, καὶ σωζομένου μὲν σου καὶ αὐτὴ τὸ μέρος ἄρχουσα, δεινὸν δὲ τι παθόντος, ὃ μὴ [3] γένοιτο, συναπολουμένη. εἰ γὰρ τοι ἡ τε φύσις ἢ ἀνθρωπίνη πάντως τι ἁμαρτάνειν τινὰς ἀναπείθει, καὶ ἀμήχανόν ἐστιν αὐτὴν πρᾶξαι τι ὠρμημένην ἐπισχεῖν, καὶ ἤδη γε καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ δοκοῦντά τισιν ἀγαθὰ εἶναι, ἵνα μὴ τὰς τῶν πολλῶν κακίας εἴπω, καὶ πάνυ συχνοὺς ἀδικεῖν ἐπαίρει 'καὶ γὰρ γένους αὐχμηρὰ καὶ πλούτου φρονήματα τιμῆς τε μέγεθος καὶ ἐπ' ἀνδρεία

113 θράσος [4] ἐξουσίας τε ὄγκος πολλοὺς ἐξοκέλλειν ποιεῖ, καὶ μήτε τὸ γενναῖον δυσγενὲς μήτε τὸ ἀνδρεῖον δειλὸν μήτε τὸ ἔμφρον ἄνουν ἔστι ποιῆσαι 'ἀδύνατον γάρ', μήτ' αὖ τὰς περιουσίας τινῶν περικόπτειν [p. 436] ἢ τὰς φιλοτιμίας ταπεινῶν μηδὲν γε πλημμελοῦντων χρή 'ἀδίκον γάρ' τὸ τ' ἀμυνόμενον ἢ καὶ προκαταλαμβάνοντά τινας καὶ ἀνιᾶσθαι καὶ κακοδοξεῖν ἀναγκαῖον ἐστὶ, φέρε μεταβαλόμεθα [5] καὶ τινος αὐτῶν φεισώμεθα. καὶ γάρ μοι 114 δοκεῖ πολλῷ πλείω φιланθρωπία ἢ τινι ὠμότητι κατορθοῦσθαι. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ συγγνώμονας οὐ μόνον οἱ ἐλεθθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν φιλοῦσιν, ὥστε καὶ ἀμείβεσθαι σφας σπουδάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες καὶ αἰδοῦνται καὶ σέβουσιν, ὥστε [6] μὴ εὐτολμεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀδικεῖν: τοὺς δ' ἀπαραιτήτοις ὀργαῖς χρωμένους οὐκ ἐκείνοι μόνοι οἳ τι φοβοῦμενοι μισοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες δυσχεραίνουσι, καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐπιβουλεύουσιν αὐτοῖς, ἵνα μὴ προαπώλυνται. 17.

ἢ οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἱατροὶ τὰς μὲν τομὰς καὶ τὰς καύσεις σπανιώτατά πσι προσφέρουσιν, ἵνα μὴ ἐξαγριαίνωσιν αὐτῶν τὰ νοσήματα, τοῖς δὲ αἰονήμασι καὶ τοῖς ἡπίοις φαρμάκοις τὰ πλείω μαλθάσσοντες θεραπεύουσι; μὴ γάρ, ὅτι ἐκεῖνα μὲν τῶν σωμάτων ταῦτα δὲ τῶν ψυχῶν παθήματά ἐστι, διαφέρειν τι νομίσης αὐτὰ ἀλλήλων. [2] πάμπολλα γὰρ ὅμοια τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις τῶν ἀνθρώπων, κἂν τὰ μάλιστα ἀσώματοι ὦσιν, καὶ 115 τοῖς σώμασι συμβαίνει: συστέλλονταί τε γὰρ ὑπὸ φόβου καὶ ἐξοιδοῦσιν ὑπὸ θυμοῦ, λύπη τέ τινας κολοῦει καὶ θάρσος ὄγκοι, ὥστ' ὀλίγον σφόδρα τὸ παραλλάττον αὐτῶν εἶναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ παραπλησίων ἰαμάτων αὐτὰ δεῖσθαι. [p. 438] [3] λόγος τε γὰρ ἡπιὸς τῷ λεχθεὶς πᾶν τὸ ἀγριαῖνον αὐτοῦ χαλᾷ, καθάπερ τραχὺς ἕτερος καὶ τὸ ἀνειμένον ὀργίζει: καὶ συγγνώμη δοθεῖσα καὶ τὸν πᾶν θρασὺν διαχεῖ, καθάπερ ἡ τιμωρία καὶ τὸν πᾶν πρᾶον χαλεπαίνει. αἱ μὲν γὰρ βίαιοι πράξεις αἰεὶ πάντας, κἂν δικαιοτάται ὦσι, παροξύνουσιν, [4] αἱ δὲ ἐπεικεῖς ἡμεροῦσι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πεισθεὶς ἂν τις ῥᾶον καὶ τὰ δεινότερα ἐκὼν ἢ βιασθεὶς ὑπομείνειεν. καὶ οὕτω γε φύσει τινὶ ἀναγκαίᾳ ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν χρήται, ὥστε καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων τῶν μηδένα νοῦν ἐχόντων πολλὰ μὲν καὶ τῶν ἰσχυροτάτων καὶ ἀγριωτάτων θωπείαις τέ πσι τιθασεύεται καὶ δελεάσμασι χειροῦται, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν δειλοτάτων καὶ ἀσθενεστάτων λυπήμασι τε καὶ φόβοις καὶ ἐκτα ράττεται καὶ παροξύνεται. 18.

καὶ οὐ λέγω τοῦτο ὅτι δεῖ πάντων ἀπλῶς τῶν ἀδικούντων φεῖδεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸν μὲν ἴτην 116 καὶ πολυπράγμονα καὶ κακοήθη καὶ κακόβουλον καὶ ἀνηκέστῳ τινὶ καὶ διαρκεῖ πονηρίᾳ συνόντα ἐκκόπτειν ὥσπερ που καὶ τὰ πᾶν ἀνίατα μέρη [2] τῶν σωμάτων, τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων ὅσοι τι νεότητι ἢ ἀμαθίᾳ ἢ ἀγνοίᾳ ἢ καὶ ἑτέρᾳ τινὶ συντυχίᾳ οἱ μὲν ἐκόντες οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄκοντες ἀμαρτάνουσιν, τοὺς μὲν λόγοις νοθετεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἀπειλαῖς σωφρονίζειν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἕτερόν τινα τρόπον μετρίως πως μεταχειρίζεσθαι, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δούλων [p. 440] ἄλλων ἀμαρτανόντων ἄλλα 117 τοὺς μὲν μείζοσι [3] τοὺς δὲ ἐλάττοσι πάντες κολάζουσιν. ὥστε καὶ τὰ κατὰ τούτους

ἀκινδύνως μετριάξαιν ἔξεστί σοι, τοὺς μὲν φυγῇ τοὺς δὲ ἀτιμίᾳ τοὺς δὲ χρήμασι ζημιοῦντι, ἑτέρους ἔς χωρία ἑτέρους ἔς πόλεις τινὰς καταπιθεμένῳ.

καὶ ἤδη γέ τινες καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ μὴ τυχεῖν ὧν ἡλπίζον καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ διαμαρτεῖν ὧν ἐφίεντο ἐσωφρονίσθησαν. ^[4] ἔδραι τε ἄτιμοι καὶ στάσεις ἐπονείδιστοι τὸ τε προλυπηθῆναι καὶ τὸ προφοβηθῆναι συχνοὺς βελτίους ἐποίησε: καίτοι καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἔλοιτ' ἂν τις εὖ τε γεγονῶς καὶ ἀνδρεῖος ὧν ἢ τοιοῦτό τι παθεῖν. ἐξ οὗν τούτων ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐδὲν ῥάων ἢ τιμωρία, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαλεπωτέρα γίγνοιτ' ἂν, ἡμῖν δὲ δὴ τὸ μήτε τινὰ ἐπηγορίαν ^[5] ἔχειν καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ζῆν ὑπάρξειεν. ὥς νῦν γε πολλοὺς μὲν ὀργῇ, 118 πολλοὺς δὲ ἐπιθυμίᾳ χρημάτων, ἄλλους ἀνδρείας φόβῳ καὶ μάλα ἄλλους ἀρετῆς τιнос φθόνῳ κτείνειν δοκοῦμεν. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ῥαδίως πιστεύει ὅτι τις ἔν τε ἐξουσίᾳ καὶ ἐν δυνάμει τοσαύτῃ ὧν ὑπ' ἰδιώτου τινὸς ἀόπλου 119 ἐπιβουλευθῆναι δύναται, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ταῦτα λογοποιοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ ὅτι ψευδῇ πολλὰ ἀκούομεν καὶ πολλοῖς μάτην ὥς καὶ ἀληθέσι ^[6] προσέχομεν. τοὺς γὰρ τοι διοπτεούντας τε καὶ ὠτακουστοῦντας 120 τὰ τοιαῦτα, τοὺς μὲν ἔχθρᾱ ^[p. 442] τοὺς δὲ ὀργῇ, ἄλλους ἀργῦριον παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτῶν λαβόντας, ἄλλους παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων μὴ λαβόντας, πολλὰ καὶ ψευδῇ σκευωρεῖσθαι φασιν, οὐ μόνον ὅτι τι δεινὸν ἔπραξαν τινες ἢ καὶ ποιήσιν μέλλουσι λέγοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἐφθέγγατο τοιόνδε τι, ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἐσιώπησεν, ἄλλος ἐγέλασεν, ἄλλος ἐδάκρυσεν. 19.

μυρία ἂν τοιουτότροπα εἰπεῖν ἔχοιμι, ἃ εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀληθῆ εἴη, ἀλλ' οὐτι γέ καὶ προσήκοντά ἐστιν οὔτε πολυπραγμονεῖσθαι παρ' ἐλευθέρους ἀνθρώποις οὔτε σοὶ διαγγέλλεσθαι. λαθόντα μὲν γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐδὲν ἂν σε βλάψειεν, ἀκουσθέντα δὲ παροξύνειε καὶ ἄκοντα. ^[2] ὅπερ ἡκιστα χρή ἄλλως τε καὶ ἄρχοντι τινων συμβαίνειν. συχνοὺς γοῦν ἐκ τούτου, τοὺς μὲν ἀκρίτους τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐσκευωρημένην τινὲ καταγνώσει δικαστηρίου, ἀδίκως ἀπόλλυσθαι πολλοὶ 121 νομίζουσιν: οὔτε γὰρ τὰς μαρτυρίας οὔτε τὰς βασάνους οὐτ' ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων ὥς καὶ ^[3] ἀληθὲς ὄν κατ' αὐτῶν προσίενται. ταῦτα γὰρ οὕτως, εἰ καὶ μὴ δικαίως ἐστιν ἃ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάντων γε ὥς 122 εἰπεῖν τῶν οὕτω θανατουμένων θρυλεῖται. καὶ δεῖ σε, ὦ Αὖγουστε, μὴ μόνον μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ δοκεῖν. ἰδιώτῃ μὲν γὰρ ἀρκεῖ μηδὲν πλημμελεῖν, ἄρχοντι δὲ δὴ προσήκει ^[4] μηδὲ δόκησιν τινα αὐτοῦ λαμβάνειν. ἀνθρώπων γάρ, ἀλλ' οὐ θηρίων ἡγεμονεῖς: καὶ μόνως ἂν ^[p. 444] οὕτως εὐνοεῖν σοι αὐτοὺς ἀληθῶς ποιήσεις, ἂν πανταχόθεν σφᾶς καὶ διὰ πάντων ὁμοίως πείσης ὅτι μήτε ἐκὼν τινα μήτε ἄκων ἀδικήσεις. 123 φοβεῖσθαι μὲν γὰρ τινα ἀναγκασθῆναι τις δύναται, ^[5] φιλεῖν δὲ πεισθῆναι ὀφείλει. πειθεται δὲ ἐξ ὧν ἂν αὐτὸς τε εὖ πάθῃ καὶ ἑτέρους εὐεργετουμένους ἴδῃ. ὁ δ' ὑποτοπήσας μὴ δικαίως τινὰ ἀπολωλέναι καὶ φοβεῖται μὴ ποτέ τι ὅμοιον πάθῃ καὶ μισεῖν τὸν δράσαντα αὐτὸ ἀναγκάζεται. τὸ δὲ δὴ μισεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων, πρὸς τῷ μηδ' ^[6] ἄλλως καλῶς ἔχειν, ἀλυσιτελέστατόν ἐστι. καὶ γὰρ καὶ νομίζουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πάντας τοὺς καὶ ὅτιοῦν ἀδικήσαντάς σφας

ἀμύνεσθαι, ἵνα μήτε καταφρονῶνται μήτε ἐκ τούτου πλεονεκτῶνται, τοὺς δ' ἄρχοντας τοῖς μὲν τὸ κοινὸν ἀδικοῦσιν ἐπεξιέναι χρῆναι, τοὺς δ' ἴδια τι ἐς αὐτοὺς πλημμελεῖν δοκοῦντας φέρειν: μήτε γὰρ ἐκ καταφρονήσεως μήτ' ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀδικηθῆναι σφας δύνασθαι διὰ τὸ πολλὰ τὰ προφυλάσσοντα αὐτοὺς εἶναι. 20.

ὥστε ἔγωγε ταῦτά τε ἀκούουσα καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀποβλέπουσα κινδυνεύω καὶ παντελῶς ἀπειπεῖν σοι μηδένα διὰ τοιοῦτό τι ἀποκτινύναι. [2] αἶ τε γὰρ προστασίαι ἐπὶ τε τῇ τῶν ἀρχομένων σωτηρίᾳ καθίστανται, ὅπως μηδὲν μὴθ' ὑπ' ἀλλήλων μὴθ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλοφύλων βλάπτωνται, οὐ μὰ Δία οὐχ ὅπως ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τι λυπῶνται: [p. 446] καὶ εὐκλεέστατον ἐστὶν οὐ τὸ πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπολλύναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ πάντα, ἂν οἷόν τε ἦ, 124 [3] σῶζειν δύνασθαι. παιδεύειν μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ νόμοις καὶ εὐεργεσίαις καὶ νοθεσίαις δεῖ, ὅπως σωφρονῶσι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τηρεῖν καὶ φυλάττειν, ἵνα κἂν ἀδικεῖν ἐθέλῃσιν μὴ δυνηθῶσιν: ἂν δὲ δὴ νοσήσῃ τι, θεραπεύειν τε τρόπον τινὰ αὐτὸ καὶ [4] ἐπανορθοῦν, ἵνα μὴ παντελῶς φθαρῇ. τὸ τε γὰρ φέρειν τὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἁμαρτήματα καὶ πάνυ μεγάλης καὶ φρονήσεως καὶ δυνάμεως ἔργον ἐστίν: ἂν τέ τις πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν κολάζῃ, λήσῃ τοὺς πλείους τῶν ἀνθρώπων [5] ἀπολέσας. ὅθεν καὶ διὰ ταῦτά σοι γνώμην δίδωμι θανάτῳ μὲ μηδένα τῶν τοιούτων τιμωρεῖσθαι, ἐτέρως δέ πως αὐτοὺς, ὥστε μηδὲν ἔτι δεινὸν δρᾶσαι, σωφρονίζειν. τί γὰρ ἂν ἀδικήσῃ τις ἐς νῆσον κατακλεισθείς, ἢ καὶ ἐν ἀγρῷ πόλει τέ τι, οὐχ ὅπως ἄνευ πλήθους οἰκετῶν ἢ χρημάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ φρουρᾶς ὦν, ἂν γε καὶ τούτου [6] δεήσει; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγγὺς που ἐνταῦθα οἱ πολέμιοι ἦσαν, ἢ καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης ἀλλότριόν τι ἦν, ὥστε τινὰ αὐτῶν διαδράντα πρὸς ἐκείνους κακὸν τι ἡμᾶς ἐργάσασθαι, πόλεις τέ τινες ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἔχουσαι καὶ τεῖχη καὶ ὅπλα ἔχουσαι ὑπῆρχον, ὥστε τινὰ καταλαβόντα αὐτὰς φοβερόν [7] ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, ἕτερος ἂν ἦν λόγος: ἀόπλων δὲ δὴ πάντων τῶν ταύτῃ καὶ ἀτειχίστων ὡς πρὸς πόλεμον [p. 448] ὄντων, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων παμπληθὲς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀφεστηκότων 'πολλὴ μὲν γὰρ θάλασσα πολλὴ δὲ καὶ γῆ, καὶ ὄρη καὶ ποταμοὺς δυσδιαβάτους [8] ἔχουσα, διὰ μέσου ἐστὶ', τί ἂν τις φοβηθεῖ τὸν δεῖνα ἢ τὸν δεῖνα, γυμνοὺς, ἰδιωτεύοντας, ἐνταῦθα που ἐν μέσῃ τῇ σῇ ἀρχῇ ὄντας καὶ ἐντὸς τῶν σῶν ὅπλων κατακεκλειμένους 125 ; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐτ' ἂν ἐννοῆσαι τινα τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, οὐτ' ἂν, εἰ 126 καὶ τὰ μάλιστα μανείῃ τις, δύνασθαι γέ τι πρᾶξαι νομίζω. 21.

πεῖραν οὖν ἀπ' αὐτῶν τούτων ἀρξάμενοι ποιησώμεθα. τάχα γὰρ ἂν καὶ αὐτοὶ μεταβάλοιντο 127 καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀμείνους ποιήσειαν: καὶ γὰρ ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ ὁ Κορνήλιος καὶ εὐγενὴς καὶ ὀνομαστός ἐστι, δεῖ δὲ που καὶ ταῦτα ἀνθρωπίνως [2] ἐκλογίζεσθαι. οὐ πάντα τοι τὸ ξίφος διαπράττεται 'μέγα γὰρ ἦν ἂν 128 ἀγαθόν, εἰ σωφρονίζειν τέ τινας καὶ πείθειν ἢ καὶ καταναγκάζειν φιλεῖν τινὰ ἀληθῶς ἐδδύνατό, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν σῶμά τινος φθείρειεν ἂν, τὰς δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων ψυχὰς ἀλλοτριώσειεν: οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἕτεροι τιμωρηθῶσι, προσφιλέστεροί τινι, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἂν αὐτοὶ φοβηθῶσιν, [3] ἐχθίους γίνονται.

καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἔχει, οἱ δὲ δὴ συγγνώμης τινὸς τυχόντες καὶ μετανοοῦσιν, αἰσχυρόμενοι αὐθις τι τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἀδικῆσαι, καὶ πολλὰ αὐτοῖς ἀνθυπουργοῦσιν, ἐλπίζοντες πλείω ἀντ' εὖ πείσεσθαι: 129 ὅφ' οὗ γὰρ ἂν τις ἀδικηθέντος τι σωθῇ, τοῦτον εὖ παθόντα οὐδὲν ὅ τι [p. 450] [4] οὐκ εὐεργετήσιν ἑαυτὸν ἡγεῖται. πείσθητι οὖν μοι, φίλτατε, καὶ μεταβαλοῦ. 130 οὕτω μὲν γὰρ καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ δυσχερῆ πάντα ἀνάγκη πεποικέναι δόξεις: οὐ γὰρ ἔστι πόλιν τηλικαύτην ἐκ δημοκρατίας πρὸς μοναρχίαν ἄγοντα ἀναιμωτὶ μεταστῆσαι: ἂν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιμένῃς, καὶ ἐκεῖνα γνώμῃ δεδρακέναι νομισθῇ.

‘ 22. ταῦτα τῆς Λιουίας εἰπούσης ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐπείσθη τε αὐτῇ, καὶ ἀφῆκε μὲν πάντα τοὺς ὑπαιτίους λόγοις πρὸς νοουθετήσας, τὸν δὲ δὴ Κορνήλιον καὶ [2] ὕπατον ἀπέδειξε. 131 κάκ τούτου καὶ ἐκείνον καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνθρώπους οὕτως ὠκείωσατο ὥστε μηδὲνα ἔτ' αὐτῷ τῶν ἄλλων μῆτ' ὄντως ἐπιβουλεύσαι μῆτε δόξαι: ἡ γὰρ δὴ Λιουία αἰτιωτάτῃ τῆς σωτηρίας τῷ Κορνηλιῷ γενομένη ἡμελλεν αὐτῇ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Αὐγούστου λήψεσθαι. [3] τότε δ' οὖν ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Κορνηλίου καὶ ἐπὶ Οὐαλερίου Μεσσάλου ὑπᾶτων σεισμοὶ τε ἐξαισιοὶ συνέβησαν, καὶ ὁ Τίβερις τὴν τε γέφυραν κατέσυρε καὶ πλωτὴν τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἐποίησε, τοῦ τε ἡλίου τι ἐκλιπὲς ἐγένετο, καὶ λιμὸς συνηνέχθη. [4] κἂν τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει τούτῳ ὅ τε Ἀγρίππας ἐς ἐφήβους, μηδενὸς τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς τυχών, ἐσεγράφη: καὶ τὰς ἵπποδρομίας χωρὶς μὲν οἱ βουλευταὶ χωρὶς δὲ οἱ ἱππῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ λοιποῦ [5] πλήθους εἶδον, ὃ καὶ νῦν γίγνεται. ἐπεὶ δὲ τε οὐ ῥαδίως οἱ πάνυ εὐγενεῖς τὰς θυγατέρας ἐς τὴν τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερατείαν ἐπεδίδωσαν, ἐνομοθετήθη καὶ ἐξ [p. 452] ἀπελευθέρων γεγεννημένας ἱερᾶσθαι. 132 καὶ ὁ μὲν κλῆρος αὐτῶν, ἐπεὶ πλείους ἡμφεσβήτησαν, 133 ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ παρόντων τῶν πατέρων σφῶν, ὅσοι γε ἵππευον, ἐγένετο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τοιαύτη τις ἀπεδείχθη. 23. χαλεπῶς δὲ δὴ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἄθλων σμικρότητα διὰ τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς τότε ἐνεστηκότας οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐχόντων, καὶ μηδενὸς ἔξω τοῦ τεταγμένου τῆς στρατείας σφίσι χρόνου ὅπλα λαβεῖν ἐθέλοντος, ἐψηφίσθη τοῖς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ δορυφορικοῦ πεντακισχιλίας δραχμάς, ἐπειδὴν ἐκκαίδεκα ἔτη, τοῖς δὲ ἑτέροις τρισχιλίας, ἐπειδὴν [2] εἴκοσι στρατεύσωνται, δίδωσθαι. τρία δὲ δὴ τότε καὶ εἴκοσι στρατόπεδα, ἡ ὥς γε ἔτεροι λέγουσι πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, πολιτικὰ ἐτρέφετο. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἐννεακαίδεκα ἐξ αὐτῶν μόνον διαμένει, τὸ τε δευτέρον τὸ Αὐγούστειον 134 τὸ ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ τῇ ἄνω χειμάζον, καὶ τὰ τρία τὰ τρίτα, τὸ τε ἐν Φοινίκῃ τὸ Γαλατικόν, καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἀραβίᾳ τὸ Κυρηναϊκόν, [3] τὸ τε ἐν Νουμιδίᾳ τὸ Αὐγούστειον: 135 τέταρτον Σκυθικόν ἐν Συρίᾳ, πέμπτον Μακεδονικόν ἐν Δακίᾳ, ἕκτα δύο, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ τῇ κάτω, τὸ τῶν νικητόρων, τὸ δὲ ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ, τὸ σιδηροῦν, τέτακται: καὶ οἱ ἑβδομοὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Μυσίᾳ τῇ ἄνω, οἱ 136 καὶ τὰ μάλιστα Κλαυδίειοι ὠνομάδονται, οἱ τε 137 ὄγδοοι Αὐγούστειοι, ἐν τῇ Γερμανίᾳ τῇ ἄνω ὄντες: [4] καὶ οἱ δέκατοι ἐκάτεροι, 138 οἱ τε ἐν Παννονίᾳ τῇ ἄνω οἱ δίδυμοι, καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ: τὸ τε ἐνδέκατον τὸ [p. 454] ἐν Μυσίᾳ τῇ κάτω, τὸ Κλαυδίειον: οὕτω γὰρ τὰ δύο στρατόπεδα ἀπὸ

τοῦ Κλαυδίου ἐπεκλήθη, ὅτι αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Καμίλλου ἐπαναστάσει μὴ ἀντεπολέμησε: [5] καὶ τὸ δωδέκατον τὸ ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ τὸ κεραυνοφόρον, τὸ τε τρίτον καὶ δέκατον τὸ ἐν Δακίᾳ τὸ δίδυμον, καὶ τὸ τέταρτον καὶ δέκατον τὸ ἐν Παννονίᾳ τῇ ἄνω τὸ δίδυμον, τὸ τε πεντεκαίδεκατον [6] τὸ Ἀπολλώνειον τὸ ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ: καὶ οἱ εἰκοστοὶ οἱ καὶ Οὐαλερίειοι καὶ νικητορες ὠνομασμένοι καὶ ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ τῇ ἄνω ὄντες: οὕστινας ὁ Αὐγουστος, 139 ἔμοι δοκεῖν, μετὰ τῶν τὴν τε τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ 140 εἰκοστοῦ ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχόντων καὶ ἐν 141 τῇ Γερμανίᾳ τῇ ἄνω χειμαζόντων, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα μὴθ' ὑφ' ἀπάντων Οὐαλερίειοι ἐπεκλήθησαν μὴτε νῦν ἔτι τῇ προσηγορίᾳ ταύτῃ χρῶνται, [7] παραλαβὼν ἐτήρησε. ταῦτ' ἐκ τῶν Αὐγουστειῶν στρατοπέδων σώζεται: τὰ γὰρ δὴ λοιπὰ τὰ μὲν παντελῶς διελύθη, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἑτέροις τισὶν ὑπὸ τε αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων αὐτοκρατόρων ἀνείχθη, ἀφ' οὗπερ καὶ δίδυμα ὠνομασμένα νενόμισται. 24. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἅπαξ ἐς τὸν περὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων λόγον προήχθη, καὶ ἄλλα τὰ νῦν ὄντα, ὥς που πρὸς τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα αὐταρχησάντων κατελέχθη, φράσω, ἵν' ἐνὶ χωρίῳ πάντα γεγραμμένα ῥαδίως [2] τὸν βουλομένον τι περὶ αὐτῶν μαθεῖν διδάσκη. ὃ τε γὰρ Νέρων τὸ πρῶτον τὸ 142 καὶ Ἰταλικὸν ὀνομαζόμενον καὶ ἐν τῇ κάτω Μυσίᾳ χειμάζον, καὶ ὁ [p. 456] Γάλβας τὸ τε πρῶτον τὸ ἐπικουρικὸν τὸ ἐν τῇ [3] Παννονίᾳ τῇ κάτω καὶ τὸ ἑβδομον τὸ δίδυμον τὸ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ συνέταξαν, Οὐεσπασιανὸς τὸ τε δεύτερον τὸ ἐπικουρικὸν τὸ ἐν Παννονίᾳ τῇ κάτω καὶ τὸ τέταρτον τὸ Φλαουίειον τὸ ἐν Μυσίᾳ τῇ ἄνω, τὸ τε ἑκκαίδεκατον τὸ Φλαουίειον τὸ ἐν Συρίᾳ, Δομιτιανὸς τὸ πρῶτον τὸ Ἀθηναῖον τὸ ἐν Γερμανίᾳ τῇ κάτω, Τραϊανὸς τὸ δεύτερον τὸ Αἰγύπτιον [4] καὶ τὸ τριακοστὸν τὸ Γερμανικόν, ἃ καὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐπωνόμασεν, Ἀντωνῖνος ὁ Μᾶρκος τὸ τε δεύτερον τὸ ἐν Νωρίκῳ καὶ τὸ τρίτον τὸ ἐν Ραιτίᾳ, ἃ καὶ Ἰταλικά κέκληται, Σεουήρος τὰ Παρθικά, τὸ τε πρῶτον καὶ τὸ τρίτον τὰ 143 ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ, καὶ τὸ διὰ μέσου τὸ δεύτερον τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ. [5] νῦν μὲν δὴ τοσαῦτα τείχη τῶν ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου στρατευομένων ἔξω τοῦ τε ἀστικοῦ καὶ τοῦ δορυφορικοῦ ἔστι, τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Αὐγουστού ταῦτά τε, εἴτ' οὖν τρία εἴτε πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ὄντα, ἐτρέφετο, καὶ συμμαχικὰ καὶ πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέων καὶ ναυτῶν ὅσαδῆποτε ἦν: οὐ γὰρ ἔχω τὸ [6] ἀκριβὲς εἰπεῖν: οἳ τε σωματοφύλακες μύριοι ὄντες καὶ δεκαχῆ τεταγμένοι, καὶ οἱ τῆς πόλεως φρουροὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι τε ὄντες καὶ τετραχῆ νενεμημένοι: [7] ξένοι τε ἱππῆς ἐπίλεκτοι, οἷς τὸ τῶν Βατάουων ἀπὸ τῆς Βατάουας τῆς ἐν τῷ Ρήνῳ νήσου ὄνομα, [8] ὅτι δὴ κράτιστοι ἱππεύειν εἰσὶ, κεῖται: οὐ μέντοι ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν ἀκριβῆ, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τῶν ἀνακλήτων, εἰπεῖν δύναμαι. καὶ γὰρ τούτους ἥρξατο μὲν νομίζειν ἀφ' οὗ τοὺς συστρατευσαμένους τῷ πατρὶ [p. 458] πρὸς τὰ ὅπλα αὐθις ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀνεκάλεσεν, ἐτήρησε δέ: καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ νῦν σύστημα ἴδιον, ῥάβδους φέροντες ὥσπερ οἱ ἐκατόνταρχοι. [9] δι' οὖν ταῦτ' ἀπορῶν χρημάτων, γνῶμην ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἐσήνεγκε πόρον τινὰ διαρκῆ καὶ ἀείνων 144 ἀποδειχθῆναι, ὅπως μηδενὸς ἔξωθεν μηδὲν λυπουμένου ἀφθόνως ἐκ τῶν τεταγμένων καὶ τὴν τροφὴν καὶ τὰ γέρα λαμβάνωσι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐζητεῖτο, ἐπειδὴ τε μηδεὶς ἀγορανομῆσαι ἐκὼν ἤθελεν, ἠναγκάσθησαν ἐκ τε τῶν

τεταμειυκότων καὶ ἐκ τῶν δεδημαρχηκότων κλήρῳ τινὲς αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι, 25. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλοτε πολλάκις ἐγένετο: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τε Αἰμιλίου Λεπίδου καὶ ἐπὶ Λουκίου Ἀρρουντίου ὑπάτων, ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς πόρος ἀρέσκων πρὸς εὐρίσκετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πάντες ὅτι [2] καὶ ἐζητεῖτο ἐβαρύνοντο, ἐσήνεγκεν ὁ Αὐγουστος χρήματα καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐς τὸ ταμειῖον, ὃ καὶ στρατιωτικὸν ἐπωνόμασε, καὶ τρισὶ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων τοῖς λαχοῦσιν ἐπὶ τρία ἔτη διοικεῖν προσέταξε, ῥαβδούχοις τ' ἀνὰ δύο καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ὑπηρεσίᾳ τῇ προσηκούσῃ χρωμένοις. [3] καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω ἔτη κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἐγένετο: νῦν γὰρ καὶ αἰροῦνται πρὸς τοῦ αἰὲ ἀυτοκράτορος καὶ χωρὶς ῥαβδούχων περιίασιν. αὐτὸς τε οὖν συνεσήνεγκέ τινα, καὶ τοῦτο κατ' ἔτος πράξειν ὑπέσχετο, καὶ παρὰ βασιλέων δῆμων [p. 460] τε τινῶν ἐπαγγελίας ἐδέξατο: παρὰ γὰρ τῶν ιδιωτῶν, καίπερ συχνῶν ἐθέλοντί, ὥς γε ἔλεγον, [4] ἐπιδιδόντων τι, οὐδὲν ἔλαβεν. ὥς δ' οὖν ταῦτα τε ἐλάχιστα πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀναλίσκομένων ἦν καὶ ἀθανάτου τινὸς εὐπορίας ἐδείλτο, προσέταξε τοῖς βουλευταῖς ζητῆσαι πόρους ἰδίᾳ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστον, καὶ τοὺτους ἐς βιβλία γράψαντας δοῦναι οἱ διασκέψασθαι, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἐπενόει τινά, ἀλλ' ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα αὐτοὺς [5] πείσῃ ὃν ἐβούλετο ἐλέσθαι. ἀμέλει ἄλλων ἄλλα ἐσηγησάμενων ἐκείνων μὲν οὐδὲν 145 ἐδοκίμασε, τὴν δ' εἰκοστὴν τῶν τε κλήρων καὶ τῶν δωρεῶν, ἃς ἂν οἱ τελευτῶντές τισι πλὴν τῶν πάνυ συγγενῶν ἢ καὶ πενήτων καταλείπωσι, κατεστήσατο, ὥς καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπομνήμασι τὸ τέλος [6] τοῦτο γεγραμμένον εὐρών: ἐσηῖκτο μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρότερόν ποτε, καταλυθὲν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα αὖθις τότε ἐπανήχθη. τὰς μὲν οὖν προσόδους οὕτως ἐπήρξησε, τὰ δ' ἀναλώματα διὰ τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ὑπατευκότων, οὓς ὁ κλῆρος ἀπέφηνε, τὰ μὲν συνέστειλε τὰ δὲ καὶ παντάπασι διέγραψε. 26. ταῦτά τε οὖν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐλύπει, καὶ προσέτι καὶ λιμὸς ἰσχυρὸς, ὥσθ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς τε μονομαχοῦντας καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ ὦνια ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑπτακοσίους σταδίους ἐξωσθῆναι, ἔκ τε τῆς θεραπείας καὶ τὸν Αὐγουστον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τὸ πλεῖον ἀποπέμψασθαι, καὶ δικῶν ἀνοχὰς γενέσθαι, ἐκδημεῖν τε τοῖς βουλευταῖς [2] ἐνθα ἂν ἐθελήσωσιν ἐπιτραπῆναι. καὶ ὅπως γ' ἂν μηδὲν ἐκ τούτου τὰ δόγματα ἐμποδιζήται, [p. 462] κύρια πάντα τὰ γινγνωσκόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν αἰὲ παρόντων εἶναι ἐκελεύσθη. καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἄνδρες ὑπατευκότες ἐπὶ τε τοῦ σίτου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρτου κατέστησαν, ὥστε τακτὸν ἐκάστω [3] πιπράσκεσθαι. ἐπέδωκε μὲν γὰρ καὶ προῖκα ὁ Αὐγουστος τοῖς σιτοδοτουμένοις τοσοῦτον ἕτερον ὅσον αἰὲ ἐλάμβανον: ὥς δ' οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνὸ σφισιν ἐξήρκεσεν, οὐδὲ ἐς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ γενέθλια δημοσίᾳ αὐτοὺς ἐσπασθῆναι εἴασεν. [4] ἐπειδὴ τε ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως πυρὶ διεφθάρη, ἄνδρας τε ἐξελευθέρους ἐπαχῆ πρὸς τὰς ἐπικουρίας αὐτῆς κατελέξατο, καὶ ἄρχοντα ἱππέα αὐτοῖς προσέταξεν, ὥς καὶ δι' [5] ὀλίγου σφῆς διαλύσων. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐποίησε τοῦτο: καταμαθὼν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς πείρας καὶ χρησιμωτάτην καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτην τὴν παρ' αὐτῶν βοήθειαν οὖσαν ἐτήρησεν αὐτοὺς. καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ νῦν οἱ νυκτοφύλακες οὗτοι ἰδίον τινα τρόπον οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἔτι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων στρατευόμενοι, καὶ τεῖχη τε ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔχουσι καὶ

μισθὸν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου φέρουσιν. 27. ὁ δ' οὖν ὄμιλος, οἷα ὑπὸ τε τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ τέλους τοῖς θ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπολωλόσι κεκακωμένοις, ἥσχαλλε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ φανερώς νεωτεροποιὰ 146 διελάλουν, πλείω δὲ δὴ [2] βιβλία νύκτωρ ἐξετίθεσαν. καὶ ταῦτ' ἐλέγετο μὲν ἐκ παρασκευῆς Πουπλίου τινὸς Ροῦφου γίγνεσθαι, ὑπωπτεύετο δὲ ἐς ἄλλους: ὁ μὲν γάρ [p. 464] Ροῦφος οὔτε ἐνθυμηθῆναι τι αὐτῶν οὔτε πρᾶξαι ἐδύνατο, ἕτεροι δὲ τῷ ἐκείνου ὀνόματι καταχρώμενοι [3] καινοτομεῖν ἐπιστεῦοντο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ζήτησις τε αὐτῶν ἐψηφίσθη καὶ μήνυτρα προετέθη: μηνύσεις τε ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ ἡ πόλις καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἐταράττετο, μέχρις οὗ ἢ τε σιτοδεία ἐπαύσατο, καὶ μονομαχίας ἀγῶνες ἐπὶ τῷ Δρούσῳ πρὸς τε τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ πρὸς Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Νέρωνος, τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ, [4] ἐγένοντο. τοῦτο τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Δρούσου μνήμῃ παρεμυθήσατο, καὶ ὅτι τὸ Διοσκόρειον 147 ὁ Τιβέριος καθιερώσας οὐ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μόνον ὄνομα αὐτῷ, Κλαυδιανὸν ἑαυτὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ Κλαυδίου διὰ τὴν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου γένος ἐκποίησιν ὀνομάσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου ἐπέγραψε. [5] τὰ τε γὰρ τῶν πολέμων ἅμα διώκει, καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ὅποτε παράσχοι, συνεχῶς ἐσεφοῖτα, τὸ μὲν τι πραγμάτων τινῶν ἔνεκα, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον φοβούμενος μὴ ὁ Αὐγουστος ἄλλον τινὰ παρὰ τὴν ἀπουσίαν αὐτοῦ προτιμήσῃ. [6] ταῦτά τε ἐν τῷ ἔτει τούτῳ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ τῆς Ἀχαΐας ἄρχων μεσοῦσης που τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀπέθανε, τῷ τε ταμίᾳ 148 καὶ τῷ παρέδρῳ αὐτοῦ, ὃν πρεσβευτὴν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, καλοῦμεν, τῷ μὲν τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τῷ δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ διοικῆσαι προσετάχθη. ὃ τε Ἡρώδης ὁ Παλαισιτίνος, αἰτίαν τινὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν λαβών, ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἀλπεις [p. 466] ὑπερωρίσθη, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ ἐδημοσιώθη. 28. κἀν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις χρόνοις καὶ πόλεμοι πολλοὶ ἐγένοντο. καὶ γὰρ ληστὰι συχνὰ κατέτρεχον, ὥστε τὴν Σαρδῶ μὴδ' 149 ἄρχοντα βουλευτὴν ἔτεσί τισι σχεῖν, ἀλλὰ στρατιώταις τε καὶ [2] στρατιάρχεις ἵππεῦσιν ἐπιτραπῆναι: καὶ πόλεις οὐκ ὀλίγαι ἐνεωτέριζον, ὥστε καὶ ἐπὶ δύο ἔτη τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς τοῦ δήμου ἔθνεσι, καὶ αἰρετοὺς γε ἀντὶ τῶν κληρωτῶν, ἄρξαι: τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἄλλως ἐπὶ πλείω χρόνον τοῖς 150 αὐτοῖς προσετάττετο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ περὶ πάντων αὐτῶν ἀκριβῶς ἐπεξάξω: 151 πολλὰ τε γὰρ ὥς ἐκάστοις καὶ οὐκ ἀξιόλογα συνηνέχθη, καὶ οὐδὲν ἂν 152 [3] λεπτολογηθέντα ὠφελήσῃ. τὰ γε μὴν μνήμης τινὸς ἄξια κεφαλαιώσας, πλὴν τῶν μεγίστων, ἔρῳ. Ἰσαυροὶ τε γὰρ ἐκ ληστείας ἀρξάμενοι καὶ ἐς πολέμου δεινότητα προήχθησαν, μέχρις οὗ κατεδαμάσθησαν: καὶ Γαίτουλοι 153 τῷ τε Ἰοῦβᾳ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀχθόμενοι, καὶ ἅμα ἀπαξιοῦντες μὴ οὐ [4] καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἄρχεσθαι, ἐπανέστησαν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὴν τε πρόσχωρον ἐπόρθησαν καὶ συχνοὺς καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιστρατεύσαντάς σφισιν ἀπέκτειναν, τὸ τε σύμπαν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπηυξήθησαν ὥστε Κορνῆλιον Κόσσον τὸν κατεργασάμενόν σφας τιμὰς τε ἐπινικίους καὶ ἐπωνυμίαν [5] ἀπ' αὐτῶν λαβεῖν. ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἐστράτευσαν μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι [p. 468] τινές, ἐστράτευσεν δὲ καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος. καὶ μέχρι γε τοῦ ποταμοῦ, πρότερον μὲν τοῦ Οὐισούργου, 154 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ Ἀλβίου, προεχώρησεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀξιομνημόνευτόν τι τότε γε ἐπράχθη, [6] καίτοι καὶ αὐτοκράτορος μὴ ὅτι τοῦ

Αὐγούστου ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐπ' αὐτοῖς κληθέντος, καὶ τιμὰς ἐπινικίους Γαίῳ Σεντίου τοῦ τῆς Γερμανίας ἄρχοντος λαβόντος, ἐπειδὴ μὴ μόνον ἅπαξ ἀλλὰ καὶ δεύτερον, φοβηθέντες αὐτούς, ἐσπείσαντο. [7] αἷτια δὲ τοῦ καίπερ παρασπονδήσασί σφισι δι' ὀλίγου αὐθις τὴν εἰρήνην δοθῆναι τὰ τε τῶν Δελματῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν Παννονίων, μειζόνως τε ταραχθέντα καὶ ὀξείας ἐπιστροφῆς δεηθέντα, ἐγένετο. 29. ταῖς γὰρ ἐσφοραῖς τῶν χρημάτων οἱ Δελμάται βαρυνόμενοι τὸν μὲν ἔμπροσθε χρόνον καὶ ἄκοντες ἡσυχάζον: ὡς δ' ὁ τε Τιβέριος ἐπὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς το δεύτερον ἐστράτευσε, καὶ Οὐαλέριος Μεσσαλῖνος ὁ τότε καὶ τῆς Δελματίας καὶ τῆς Παννονίας ἄρχων αὐτὸς τε σὺν ἐκείνῳ ἐστάλη καὶ τὸ πολὺ [2] τοῦ στρατοῦ συνεξήγαγε, καὶ τινα καὶ σφεῖς δύναμιν πέμψαι κελευσθέντες συνῆλθόν τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν σφῶν ἀνθοῦσαν εἶδον, οὐκέτι διεμέλλησαν, ἀλλ' ἐνάγοντος αὐτοὺς ὅτι μάλιστα Βάτωνός τινος Δησιδιάτου τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὀλίγοι τινὲς ἐνεωτέρισαν καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπελθόντας σφίσιν ἔσφηλαν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐκ τούτου [3] καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι προσαπέστησαν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ Βρεῦκοι Παννονικὸν ἔθνος, Βάτωνα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἕτερον προστησάμενοι, ἐπὶ τε τὸ Σιρμιον καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίους ὥρμησαν. καὶ ἐκεῖνο [p. 470] μὲν οὐκ ἐξεῖλον αἰσθόμενος γὰρ τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως αὐτῶν Καικίνας 155 Σεουήρος ὁ τῆς πλησιοχώρου Μυσίας ἄρχων ἐπῆλθε τε αὐτοῖς διὰ ταχέων περὶ τὸν Δράουον ποταμὸν οὔσι καὶ συμβαλὼν ἐνίκησεν', ἀναμαχέσεσθαι 156 δὲ πῃ διὰ βραχείος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων συχνοὶ ἐπεπτώκεσαν, ἐλπίσαντες πρὸς παράκλησιν συμμάχων ἐτράποντο. [4] καὶ οἱ μὲν συνίστων ὅσους ἐδύναντο, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ὁ Βάτων ὁ Δελμάτης ἐπὶ Σάλωνα στρατεύσας αὐτὸς μὲν λίθῳ χαλεπῶς πληγείς οὐδὲν ἔπραξεν, ἐτέρους δὲ τινὰς πέμψας πάντα τὰ παραθαλάσσια μέχρι τῆς Ἀπολλωνίας ἐλυμήνατο, καὶ τινὶ ἐνταῦθα μάχῃ 157 δι' αὐτῶν τοὺς προσμιζαντάς σφισι Ῥωμαίους, καίπερ προηττηθεῖς, 158 30. ἀντεπεκράτησε. πυθόμενος οὖν ταῦθ' ὁ Τιβέριος, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσβάλωσιν, ἐκ τε τῆς Κελτικῆς ἀνέστρεψε, καὶ τὸν Μεσσαλῖνον προπέμψας αὐτὸς τῷ πλείονι τοῦ στρατοῦ [2] ἐφείπετο. αἰσθόμενος δὲ τῆς προσόδου αὐτῶν ὁ Βάτων ἀπήντησε τῷ Μεσσαλίνῳ, καίπερ μηδέπω καλῶς ἔχων, καὶ ἐπικρατέστερος αὐτοῦ ἐν παρατάξει γενόμενος ἔπειτ' ἐξ ἐνέδρας ἐνίκηθη. κάκ τούτου πρὸς τε τὸν Βάωνα τὸν Βρεῦκον ἦλθε, καὶ κοινωσάμενος αὐτῷ τὸν πόλεμον ὅρος [3] τι Ἀλμὰν κατέλαβε: κἀνταῦθα πρὸς μὲν τοῦ Ῥυμητάλκου τοῦ Θρακός, προπεμφθέντος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεουήρου, βραχεῖα τινὲ μάχῃ ἡττήθησαν, πρὸς δ' αὐτὸν ἐκείνον ἰσχυρῶς ἀντέσχον. [4] καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ τε Σεουήρου ἐς τὴν Μυσίαν διὰ τε τοὺς Δακοὺς καὶ διὰ τοὺς [p. 472] Σαυρομάτας πορθοῦντας αὐτὴν ἀπάραντος, καὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου τοῦ τε Μεσσαλίνου ἐν Σισκίᾳ 159 ἐγχρονισάντων, τὴν τε συμμαχίδα σφῶν ἐπέδραμον [5] καὶ συχνοὺς προσαπέστησαν. καὶ ἐς μὲν χεῖρας, καίπερ τοῦ Τιβερίου πλησιάζαντός σφισιν, οὐκ ἦλθον αὐτῷ, ἄλλοσε δὲ καὶ ἄλλοσε μεθιστάμενοι πολλὰ ἐπόρθησαν: τῆς τε γὰρ χώρας ἐμπείρως ἔχοντες καὶ κούφως ἐσκευασμένοι, ῥαδίως ὅπῃ ποτὲ ἐβούλοντο ἐχώρουν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε ὁ χειμὼν ἐνέστη, πολὺ πλείω ἐκακούργησαν: καὶ [6] γὰρ καὶ ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν αὐθις ἐνέβαλον. καὶ τούτους μὲν ὁ τε Ῥυμητάλκης καὶ ὁ

ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ῥασκύπορις μάχη κατέλαβον: οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι τῇ μὲν χώρᾳ σφῶν πορθομένην μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τε Καικιλίου Μετέλλου καὶ ἐπὶ Λικινίου 160 Σιλανοῦ ὑπάτων οὐκ ἐπήμυναν, ἐς δὲ τὰ ἐρυμνὰ ἀναφυγόντες ἐκέϊθεν ὅπῃ παρείκοι καταδρομὰς ἐποιοῦντο. 31. μαθὼν οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Αὐγουστος, καὶ ὑποπτεύσας ἐς τὸν Τιβέριον ὡς δυνηθέντα μὲν ἂν διὰ ταχέων αὐτοῦς κρατῆσαι, τρίβοντα δὲ ἐξεπίτηδες ἴν' ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πολέμου προφάσει ἦ, πέμπει τὸν Γερμανικὸν καίτοι ταμιεύοντα, στρατιώτας οἱ οὐκ εὐγενεῖς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξελευθέρους δούς, ἄλλους τε καὶ ὅσους παρὰ τε τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν γυναικῶν δούλους, πρὸς τὰ τιμήματα αὐτῶν, σὺν τροφῇ ^[2] ἐκμήνῳ λαβῶν ἡλευθέρωσεν. οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου χρεῖαν ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐξέτασιν τῶν ἱσπέων τὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ γιγνομένην ^[p. 474] ἀνεβάλετο. κατὰ τε τῆς πανηγύρεως τῆς μεγάλης ἠϋξάτο, 161 ὅτι γυνὴ τις ἐς τὸν βραχίονα ^[3] γράμματα ἄττα ἐντεμοῦσα ἐθείασέ τινα. ἦσθετο μὲν γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ θεοῦ κατέσχητο ἀλλ' ἐκ παρασκευῆς αὐτὸ ἐπεποιήκει: ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ἄλλως τε καὶ διὰ τοὺς πολέμους τὸν τε λιμὸν, ὃς καὶ τότε αὐθις συνέβη, δεινῶς ἐταράττετο, πιστεῦειν τε καὶ αὐτὸς τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν ἐπλάττετο, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα παραμυθῆσθαι τὸν ὁμίλον ἤμελλεν ^[4] ὡς καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἔπραττε. καὶ ἐπὶ γε τῇ σιτοδείᾳ δύο αὐθις ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων ἐπιμελητὰς τοῦ σίτου σὺν ῥαβδούχοις ἀπέδειξε. προσδεόμενος δὲ δὴ χρημάτων ἐς τε τοὺς πολέμους καὶ ἐς τὴν τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων τροφήν, τὸ τε τέλος τὸ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων πράσει ἐσήγαγε, καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον τὸ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τοῖς τὰς ὀπλομαχίας ποιοῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου διδόμενον ἐκέλευσε μηκέτ' ἀναλίσκεσθαι. 32. τὸν δὲ δὴ Γερμανικόν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξέπεμψεν, ὅτι δουλοπρεπὴς τε ἐκείνος ἦν καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα ἠλιεύετο, ὅθενπερ καὶ Ποσειδῶνα ἐαντὸν ἐπωνόμαζε, τῇ τε ὀργῇ προπετεῖ ^[2] ἐχρῆτο, καὶ τὴν Λιουίαν 162 ὡς μητρὶαν διέβαλλεν, αὐτῷ τε τῷ Αὐγούστῳ πολλάκις ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρῶων ἐπεκάλει. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐσωφρονίζετο, ἀπεκηρύχθη, καὶ ἡ τε οὐσία αὐτοῦ τῷ στρατιωτικῷ ταμιεῖῳ 163 ἐδόθη, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς Πλανασίαν τὴν πρὸς Κύρνῳ νῆσον ἐνεβλήθη. ^[p. 476] ^[3] ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐγένετο: τοῦ δὲ δὴ Γερμανικοῦ ἐς τὴν Παννονίαν ἐλθόντος καὶ στρατευμάτων πολλαχόθεν ἐκεῖσε συνιόντων, τηρήσαντες οἱ Βάτωνες τὸν Σεουήρον ἐκ τῆς Μυσίας προσιόντα ἐπέπεσον αὐτῷ ἀπροσδόκητοι, στρατοπεδευομένων πρὸς τοῖς Οὐολκαίοις ἔλεσι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἔξω τοῦ ταφρεύματος ἐφόβησαν καὶ κατήραξαν ἐς αὐτὸ, δεξαμένων δὲ σφας τῶν ἔνδον ^[4] ἠττήθησαν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ' οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι νεμηθέντες, ὅπως πολλαχῇ ἅμα τῆς χώρας κατατρέχωσιν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι οὐδὲν ἄξιον λόγου τότε γε ἔδρασαν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Γερμανικὸς Μαζαίους Δελματικὸν ἔθνος μάχῃ νικήσας ἐκάκωσεν. 33. ἐν μὲν δὴ τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη, Μάρκου δὲ δὴ Φουρίου μετὰ Σέξτου Νωνίου ὑπατεύσαντος ἐπεθύμησαν μὲν καὶ οἱ Δελμάται καὶ οἱ Παννόνιοι συμβῆναι διὰ τὸ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον λιμῷ, εἴτα καὶ νόσῳ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, πόαις τέ πῖσιν ἀλλοκότοις καὶ ρίζαις χρώμενοι, πονηθῆναι, οὐκ ἐπεκηρυκεύσαντο δὲ κωλυσάντων τῶν μηδεμίαν παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας ἐχόντων, ^[2] ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἀντεῖχον. καὶ Σκενόβαρδος τέ τις

προσποισσόμενος μεταστήσεσθαι, καὶ πέμψας κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο πρὸς Μάνιον Ἐννιον φρουράρχον Σισκίας 164 ὡς ἔτοιμος μὲν ὦν αὐτομολῆσαι, δεδιὼς δὲ μὴ προπάθῃ 165 ... [3] παδυσ, #3υεμ ιταλιαε σολι φλυφιορυμ ρεγεμ διξυντ ξογνομεντο εριδανυς, αβ αυγυστο ιμπερατορε λατισσιμα [p. 478] φοσσα δεμισσυς, #3υι σεπτιμα συι αλνει παρτε περ μεδιαμ ινφλυιτ ξιφιτατεμ, αδ οστια συα αμοενισισιμυμ πορτυμ πραεβενς, ξλασσεμ δυξενταρυμ #3υιν#3υαγιντα ναφιυμ, διονε ρεφερεντε, τυτισσιμα δυδυμ ξερεδεβατυρ ρεξιπερε σταπιονε.” Jordanes, Get. 29, 150. “ [4] λωφήσαντος δέ ποτε τοῦ λιμοῦ, ἐπὶ τε τῷ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ ὀνόματι, ὃς ἦν τοῦ Δρούσου παῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἵπποδρομίας ἐποίησε, καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ἐλέφας τε ῥινοκέρωτα κατεμαχέσατο καὶ ἀνὴρ ἱππεὺς πλοῦτῳ ποτὲ προενεγκῶν ἐμονομάχησε. [5] καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ γήρᾳ καὶ τῇ τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενείᾳ ἔκαμνεν, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι πᾶσι τοῖς δεομένοις τι αὐτοῦ χρηματίζειν, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν συνέδρων καὶ διεσκόπει 166 καὶ ἐδίκαζεν, ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ἐπὶ βήματος προκαθήμενος, τὰς δὲ δὴ 167 πρεσβείας τὰς τε παρὰ τῶν δῆμων καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἀφικνουμένας τρισὶ τῶν ὑπατευκότων ἐπέτρεπεν, ὥστ' αὐτοὺς χωρὶς ἑκαστον καὶ διακουεῖν τινῶν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν αὐτοῖς διδόναι, πλὴν τῶν ὅσα ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τὴν τε βουλὴν καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐπιδιακρίνειν.” Xiph. 114, 15-30. “ 34. ... μέντοι καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἄλλ' ἐν τοῖς ὑστάτοις ἀπεφαίνετο, ὅπως ἰδιοβουλεῖν ἅπασιν ἐξεῖη καὶ μηδεὶς αὐτῶν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης, ὡς καὶ ἀνάγκην τινὰ συμφρονῆσαι οἱ ἔχων, ἐξίστατο, 168 [p. 480] τοῖς τε ἄρχουσι πολλάκις συνεδίκαζε: καὶ ὁσάκις γε οἱ παρεδρεῦοντές σφισιν ἐδιχογνωμόνου, 169 καὶ ἡ ἐκείνου ψῆφος ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων [2] ἠριθμεῖτο. τότε δὲ τῇ μὲν γερουσίᾳ καὶ ἄνευ ἑαυτοῦ τὰ πολλὰ δικάζειν ἐπέτρεπεν, ἐς δὲ τὸν δῆμον οὐκέτι παρῆει, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν προτέρῳ ἔτει πάντας τοὺς ἄρξοντας αὐτός, ἐπειδὴ περ ἑστασιάζετο, ἀπέδειξε, τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα γράμματά τινα ἐκτιθεὶς συνίστη τῷ τε πλήθει [3] καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ὅσους ἐσπούδαζε. πρὸς μέντοι τὰς τῶν πολέμων διαχειρίσεις οὕτως ἔρρωτο ὥσθ', ἴν' ἐγγύθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς Δελμάταις καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς Παννονίοις πᾶν ὃ τι χρὴ συμβουλευεῖν ἔχη, πρὸς Ἀρίμινον ἐξώρμησε. καὶ ἐπὶ τε τῇ ἐξόδῳ αὐτοῦ εὐχαὶ ἐγένοντο, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπανόδῳ αἱ θυσίαι ὥσπερ ἐκ πολεμίας τινὸς ἀνακομισθέντος ἐτετέλεσθησαν. [4] ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπράχθη, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ὁ Βάτων ὁ Βρεῦκος, ὁ τὸν τε Πίννην προδοὺς καὶ μισθὸν τούτου τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν Βρεῦκων λαβὼν, ἐάλω τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐτέρου Βάτωνος καὶ διεφθάρη: [5] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὑποπτεύσας τι ἐς τὸ ὑπήκοον ὁμήρους καθ' ἑκαστον τῶν φρουρίων περιῶν 170 ἦται, μαθὼν τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνος ἐνήδρευσέ που αὐτόν, καὶ μάχῃ κρατήσας κατέκλεισεν ἐς τεῖχος, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐκδοθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἔνδον λαβὼν παρήγαγέ τε ἐς τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ καταψηφισθέντα ἀποθανεῖν [6] ἐν χερσὶν ἐποίησε. γενομένου δὲ τούτου συχνοὶ τῶν Παννονίων ἐπανεστήσαν, καὶ αὐτοῖς 171 ὁ [p. 482] Σιλουανὸς ἐπιστρατεύσας τοὺς τε Βρεῦκους ἐνίκησε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινὰς ἀμαχείᾳ προσεποίησατο. ἰδὼν οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Βάτων τῆς μὲν Παννονίας οὐδεμίαν ἔτ' ἐλπίδα ἔσχε, τὰς δὲ ἐς τὴν Δελματίαν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐσόδους φρουραῖς διαλαβὼν ἐκείνην [7] ἐπόρθει. καὶ οὕτω καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Παννονίων, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς

χώρας σφῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σιλουανοῦ κακουμένης, ὡμολόγησαν, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον
ληστικά τινα οἶα ἐκ ταραχῆς τοσαύτης ἐπὶ πλεῖον κακουργοῦντα διεγένετο,
ὅπερ που καὶ ἀεὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν παρὰ τε τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ παρ' ἐκείνοις μάλιστα
συμβαίνει.”

BOOK 56

τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ ἔκτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

α. ὡς τοῖς τὰ τέκνα ἔχουσι καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τοῖς ἀτέκνοις καὶ ἀγάμοις ὁ Αὐγουστος διελέχθη, καὶ ὅσα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὥρισεν.

β. ὡς Κυϊντίλιος Οὐᾶρος ἡττηθεὶς ὑπὸ Κελτῶν ἀπέθανεν.

γ. ὡς τὸ Ὀμονόειον καθιερώθη.

δ. ὡς ἡ Λιουίας στοὰ καθιερώθη.

ε. ὡς Αὐγουστος μετήλλαξεν.

χρόνου πλῆθος ἔτη ἕξ, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἶδε ἐγένοντο

κ. Σουλπίκιος Κ. υἱ. Καμερίνος

γ. Ποππαῖος Κ. υἱ. Σαβῖνος ὕπ.

π. Κορνήλιος Π. υἱ. Δολοβέλλας

γ. Τοῦνιος Γ υἱ. Σιλανός ὕπ.

μ. Αἰμίλιος Κ. υἱ. Λέπιδος

τ. Στατίλιος Τ. υἱ. ταῦρος ὕπ. Γερμανικὸς Τι. Καῖσαρος υἱ. Καῖσαρ

γ. Φοντέιος γ. υἱ. Καπίτων

λ. Μοονάτιος Λ. υἱ. Πλάγκος

γ. Σίλιος Γ. υἱ. Καικίνα Λάργος ὕπ.

Σέξτος Πομπήιος Σέξτου υἱ.

Σέξτος Ἀπουλείος Σέξτου υἱ. ὕπ.

“1. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἄλλοι καθήρουν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Τιβέριος ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, μετὰ τὸν χειμῶνα ἐν ᾧ Κύντος Σουλπίκιος καὶ Γάιος Σαβῖνος ὑπάτευσαν, ἀνεκομίσθη: καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐς [p. 4] τὸ προάστειον ἀπαντήσας ἦλθέ τε μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐς τὰ Σέπτα, κάνταῦθα ἀπὸ βήματος τὸν δῆμον

ἡσπάσατο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ προσήκοντα ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἐποίησε καὶ θέας ^[2] ἐπνικίους διὰ τῶν ὑπάτων. ἐπειδὴ τε οἱ ἱππῆς πολλῇ ἐν αὐταῖς σπουδῇ τὸν νόμον τὸν περὶ τῶν μήτε γαμοῦντων μήτε τεκνούντων καταλυθῆναι ἤξιουν, ἡθροισεν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν χωρὶς μὲν τοὺς ἀγνυαίους σφῶν χωρὶς δὲ τοὺς γεγαμηκότας ἢ καὶ τέκνα ἔχοντας, καὶ ἰδὼν πολὺ τούτους ἐκείνων ἐλάττους ἤλγησέ τε καὶ διελέξατο αὐτοῖς τοιάδε: 2. 'εἰ καὶ ὀλίγοι παντάπασιν, ὥς γε πρὸς τοσοῦτον ὄγκον πόλεως εἴπεῖν, καὶ πολλῶν καταδεέστεροι τῶν ἐτέρων τῶν μηδὲν τῶν δεόντων πράττειν ἐθελόντων ἐστέ, ἀλλ' ἔγωγε καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶ καὶ πολλὴν χάριν ὑμῖν ἔχω, ὅτι καὶ ἐπείσθητε καὶ τὴν πατρίδα συμπληθύετε. ^[2] ἐκ γὰρ τῶν οὕτω βιούντων παμπληθεῖς οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα Ῥωμαῖοι γενήσονται: καὶ γὰρ τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς καὶ πάνυ βραχεῖς ὄντες, ἔπειτα γάμων ἐπιμεληθέντες καὶ τέκνα ποιησάμενοι πάντας ἀνθρώπους οὐκ εὐανδρίᾳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πολυανθρωπία ^[3] ὑπερέφυσεν. ὣν χρὴ μεμνημένους τὸ θνητὸν τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν αἰδιῷ διαδοχῇ γενῶν ὥσπερ τινῶν λαμπαδίων παραμυθεῖσθαι, ἴν' ἐν ᾧ μόνῳ τῆς θείας εὐδαιμονίας ἡττώμεθα, τοῦτ' ^[4] ἐξ ἀλλήλων ἀθάνατον καθιστώμεθα. διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ὁ πρῶτος καὶ μέγιστος ἐκεῖνος θεός, ὁ τεκτηνάμενος ἡμᾶς, διχῇ τε διεῖλε τὸ θνητὸν γένος, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄρρεν αὐτοῦ τὸ δὲ ^[p. 6] θῆλυ ἀποδείξας ἔρωτα καὶ ἀνάγκην σφίσι τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνουσίας ἐνέβαλε, καὶ γόνιμον τὴν ὁμιλίαν αὐτῶν ἐποίησεν, ὅπως ἐκ τῶν αἰεὶ γεννωμένων αἰδίων τρόπον τινὰ καὶ τὸ θνητὸν ^[5] ἀπεργάσθαι. καίτοι καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν οἱ μὲν ἄρρενες αἱ δὲ θήλειαι νομίζονται, καὶ οἱ μὲν γεγεννηκέναι τινὰς οἱ δ' ἐκ τινῶν γεγεννηθῆναι παραδέδονται: οὕτω καὶ παρ' ἐκείνοις τοῖς μηδὲν τούτων δεομένοις καλὸν εἶναι δέδοκται καὶ γάμος καὶ τέκνωσις. 3.

ὥστε ὀρθῶς μὲν ἐποίησατε τοὺς θεοὺς μιμησάμενοι, ὀρθῶς δὲ καὶ τοὺς πατέρας ζηλώσαντες, ἴν' ὥσπερ ὑμᾶς ἐκεῖνοι ἐγέννησαν, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ἄλλους τεκνώσητε, καὶ καθάπερ ἐκείνους ὑμεῖς προγόνους καὶ ἡγεῖσθε καὶ ὀνομάζετε, οὕτω καὶ ^[2] ὑμᾶς ἕτεροι καὶ νομίσωσι καὶ προσεῖπωσι, τὰ τε ἔργα ὅσα ἐκεῖνοι καλῶς πράξαντες ὑμῖν μετ' εὐκλείας παρέδοσαν, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἄλλοις παραδῶτε, καὶ τὰ κτήματα ὅσα αὐτοῖς κτησάμενοι κατέλιπον ὑμῖν, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐτέροις ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν γεγονόσι ^[3] καταλίπητε. πῶς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἄριστον γυνὴ σώφρων οἰκουρὸς οἰκονόμος παιδοτρόφος ὑγιαίνοντά τε εὐφρᾶναι καὶ ἀσθενοῦντα θεραπεῦσαι, εὐτυχοῦντί τε συγγενέσθαι καὶ δυστυχοῦντα παραμυθῆσασθαι, τοῦ τε νέου τὴν ἐμμανῆ φύσιν καθεῖρξαι καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τὴν ἔξωρον ^[4] αὐστηρότητα κεράσαι; πῶς δ' οὐχ ἡδὺ ἀνελέσθαι τέκνον ἐξ ἀμοφῶν συμπεφυκὸς καὶ θρέψαι καὶ παιδεῦσαι, εἰκόνα μὲν τοῦ σώματος εἰκόνα δὲ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, ὥστε ἐν ἐκείνῳ αὐξηθέντι ἕτερον αὐτὸν ^[5] γενέσθαι; πῶς δ' οὐ μακαριστὸν, ἀπαλλαττόμενον ἐκ τοῦ βίου, διάδοχον καὶ κληρονόμον οἰκεῖον ἐξ ^[p. 8] ἑαυτοῦ γεγονότα καὶ τοῦ γένους καὶ τῆς οὐσίας καταλίπειν, καὶ τῇ μὲν φύσει τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ διαλυθῆναι τῇ δὲ ἐκείνου διαδοχῇ ζῆσαι, καὶ μήτ' ἐπ' ἄλλοτρίοις ὥσπερ ἐν πολέμῳ γενέσθαι μήτε ἄρδην ^[6] ὥστε ἐν πολέμῳ γε ἀπολέσθαι; καὶ ταῦτα

μὲν τὰ κέρδη ἰδία που τοῖς γαμοῦσι καὶ τεκνοποιοῦσιν ὑπάρχει· τῷ δὲ δὴ κοινῷ, οὐπὲρ ἔνεκα καὶ παρὰ γνώμην πολλὰ ποιεῖν ὀφείλομεν, πῶς μὲν οὐ καλὸν πῶς δ' οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον, εἴπερ αἱ τε πόλεις [7] καὶ οἱ δῆμοι ἔσονται, καὶ ὑμεῖς τε ἐτέρων ἄρξετε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὑμῖν ὑπακούσουσι, πολυπληθία ἔν τε εἰρήνῃ γῆν ἐργάσασθαι καὶ ναυτιλίας ναυτίλασθαι τέχνας τε ἀσκήσαι καὶ δημιουργίας ἐπιτηδεῦσαι, καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ τὰ τε ὄντα προθυμότερον διὰ τὰ γένη σῶσαι καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν [8] ἀπολλυμένων ἐτέρους ἀντικαταστήσαι; ὑμᾶς μὲν οὖν, ὧ ἄνδρες ἄνδρες γὰρ ἂν ἄνδρες δικαίως ὀνομάζοισθε, καὶ ὧ πατέρες ἄνδρες γὰρ ταύτην ἄξιοι τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ὁμοίως ἐμοὶ ἔχειν ἐστέ' καὶ φιλῷ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐπαινῶ, καὶ τοῦτοις τε οἷς ἔθηκα ἄθλοις ἀγάλλω, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἄλλαις καὶ τιμαῖς καὶ ἀρχαῖς ἐπιγαυρώσω, ὥστ' αὐτοὺς τε μεγάλα καρπώσασθαι καὶ τοῖς παισὶ μὴ [9] ἐλάττω καταλιπεῖν. μεταβήσομαι δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς οὐτε τι τῶν ὁμοίων ὑμῖν πεπονηκότας καὶ πάντων διὰ τοῦτο τῶν ἐναντίων τευξομένους, ἵνα μὴ μόνον ἐκ τῶν λόγων ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον καταμάθητε ὅσον αὐτῶν διαφέρετε.

‘ [p. 10] 4. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν, καὶ τὰ μὲν παραχρῆμα δοὺς τισιν αὐτῶν τὰ δ' ὑποσχόμενος, μετῆλθὲ τε πρὸς τοὺς ἐτέρους καὶ ἔλεξε καὶ ἐκείνοις τάδε: [2] ‘θαυμαστὸν μὲν τι πέπονθα, ὧ τί ἂν ὀνομάσαιμι ὑμᾶς; ἄνδρας; ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἀνδρῶν ἔργον παρέχεσθε. πολίτας; ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐφ' ὑμῖν, ἢ πόλις ἀπόλλυται. Ῥωμαῖους; ἀλλ' ἐπιχειρεῖτε τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο καταλῦσαι. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔγωγε, οἷτινές ποτέ ἐστε καὶ ὅτιδῆποτε χαίρετε ὀνομαζόμενοι, [3] παράδοξον μὲν τι πάθος πέπονθα: ὑπὲρ γὰρ τῆς πολυανθρωπίας ὑμῶν αἰεὶ τε πάντα ποιῶν καὶ νῦν ἐπιτιμήσειν ὑμῖν μέλλων, ἀηδῶς ὑμᾶς ὁρῶ πολλοὺς ὄντας, καὶ μᾶλλον ἂν ἡβουλόμην τοσοῦτους μὲν τοὺς ἐτέρους ἐκείνους, οἷς προδιείλεγμαι, εἶναι, ὅσοι ὑμεῖς ὁρᾶσθε, ὑμᾶς δὲ δὴ μάλιστα μὲν σὺν ἐκείνοις τετάχθαι, εἰ δὲ μὴ, μηδὲ εἶναι: [4] οἷτινες οὐτε τῆς τῶν θεῶν προνοίας οὐτε τῆς τῶν προπατόρων ἐπιμελείας ἐνθυμηθέντες ἐπιθυμεῖτε πᾶν μὲν τὸ γένος ἡμῶν ἀφανίσαι καὶ θνητὸν ὄντως ποιῆσαι, πᾶν δὲ τὸ Ῥωμαίων ἔθνος φθεῖραι καὶ παῦσαι. τί μὲν γὰρ ἂν ὑπολειφθεῖν σπέρμα ἀνθρώπινον, ἂν τὰ αὐτὰ ὑμῖν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες πράξωσιν; ὧν ἀρχηγοὶ γεγονότες εὐλόγως ἂν [5] τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς πανωλεθρίας ἔχοιτε. πῶς δ' οὐ, κἂν μηδένες ἄλλοι ζηλώσωσιν ὑμᾶς, εἰκότως ἂν καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο μισοῖσθε, ὅτι παρορατέ τε ἂ μὴδεῖς ἂν ἄλλος παρίδοι καὶ ἀμελεῖτε ὧν οὐδεῖς ἂν ἄλλος ἀμελήσειε, καὶ νόμους καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα [p. 12] τοιαῦτα ἐσφέρετε ἃ ζηλώσαντες μὲν πάντες ἂν ἀπόλοιτο, μισήσαντες δ' ὑμᾶς ἂν δικαιώσαιαν. [6] οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τῶν φονέων φειδόμεθα ὅτι μὴ πάντες φονεύουσιν, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἱεροσύλους ἀφίεμεν ὅτι μὴ πάντες ἱεροσυλοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὅστις ἂν τῶν ἀπειρημένων τι πράττων ἁλῶ, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τούτου κολάζεται, ὅτι μόνος ἦ καὶ μετ' ὀλίγων 5. ποιεῖ τι τοιοῦτον ὃ μὴδεῖς ἕτερος. καίτοι κἂν τὰ μέγιστα τις ἀδικήματα ὀνομάσῃ, οὐδὲν ἐστὶ τᾶλλα πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ νῦν ὑφ' ὑμῶν γιγνόμενον, οὐχ ὅτι ἐν πρὸς ἐν ἐξεταζόμενα, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὁμοῦ πάντα πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ ἐν παραβαλλόμενα. καὶ γὰρ μισοφονεῖτε, μηδὲ τεκνοῦντες ἀρχὴν τοὺς ἐξ [2] ὑμῶν γεννηθῆναι ὀφείλοντας, καὶ ἀνοσιουργεῖτε, τὰ τε ὀνόματα καὶ τὰς τιμὰς τῶν προγόνων

παύοντες, καὶ ἀσεβεῖτε, τὰ τε γένη ὑμῶν τὰ καταδειχθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἀφανίζοντες, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἀναθημάτων αὐτῶν, τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν, ἀπολλύντες, τὰ τε ἱερὰ διὰ τούτου καὶ ^[3] τοὺς ναοὺς αὐτῶν ἀνατρέποντες. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν καταλύετε, μὴ πειθόμενοι τοῖς νόμοις, καὶ τὴν πατρίδα προδίδετε, στερίφην τε αὐτὴν καὶ ἄγονον ἀπεργαζόμενοι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἄρδην κατασκάπτετε, ἔρημον τῶν οἰκησόντων ποιοῦντες: Ἄνθρωποι γάρ που πόλις ἐστίν, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἰκία οὐδὲ στοαὶ οὐδ' ἀγοραὶ ἀνδρῶν κεναί. ^[4]

ἐνθυμήθητε οὖν, τίνα μὲν οὐκ ἂν ὀργὴν ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἀρχηγέτης ἡμῶν δικαίως ^[p. 14] λάβοι, λογισάμενος τὰ τε καθ' ἑαυτόν, ὅθεν ἐγεννήθη, καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα, ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐκ νομίμων ^[5] γάμων παιδοποιεῖσθαι ἐθέλετε: τίνα δ' οὐκ ἂν οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐννοήσαντες ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν καὶ τὰς ἀλλοτρίας κόρας ἤρπασαν, ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐδὲ τὰς οἰκείας ἀγαπᾶτε, καὶ οἱ μὲν καὶ ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπαιδοποιήσαντο, ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐδὲ ἐκ τῶν πολιτῶν τεκνοῦτε: τίνα ὁ Κούρτιος ὁ καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπομείνας, ἵνα μὴ στερηθῶσι τῶν γυναικῶν οἱ γεγαμηκότες: τίνα Ἑρσιλία ἡ καὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ ἀκολουθήσασα καὶ τὰ γαμικὰ πάνθ' ^[6] ἡμῖν καταδείξασα. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πατέρες ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς Σαβίνους ὑπὲρ τῶν γάμων, καὶ κατελύσαντο τῶν τε γυναικῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν τέκνων συναλλαζάντων σφᾶς, ὄρκους τε ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐπήγαγον καὶ συνθήκας τινὰς ἐποίησαντο: ^[7] ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνα πάντα συγγεῖτε. διὰ τί; ἢ ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ αἰεὶ ἄγνοι οἦτε, ὥσπερ αἱ ἱέρειαι αἱ ἀειπαρθένοι ἄνδριοι εἰσιν; οὐκοῦν καὶ κολάζεσθε, ἂν ἀσελγαίνητέ τι, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι. 6.

πικρῶς εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ τραχέως δοκῶ ὑμῖν διαλέγεσθαι. ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν λογίσασθε ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἱατροὶ συχνοὺς καὶ καίοντες καὶ τέμνοντες, ὅταν μὴ δύνωνται ἄλλως πως ὑγιεῖς γενέσθαι, ^[2] θεραπεύουσιν, ἔπειτα δὲ ὅτι οὐτε ἐκὼν οὐθ' ἡδέως αὐτὰ λέγω, ὥστε ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦθ' ὑμῖν ἐγκαλῶ ὅτι με ἐς τοὺτους τοὺς λόγους προηγάγετε, ὑμεῖς δ' εἴπερ ἄχθεσθε τοῖς εἰρημένοις, μὴ ποιεῖτε ταῦτα ἐφ' οἷς ἀναγκαιῶς κακῶς ἀκούετε. εἰ γὰρ δὴ δάκνει τινὰς ὑμῶν τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λεγόμενα, πῶς οὐ πολὺ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐμὲ ^[p. 16] καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ῥωμαίους πάντας τὰ ὑφ' ὑμῶν ^[3] ποιούμενα; οὐκοῦν εἴπερ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀσχάλλετε, μεταβάλεσθε, ἵνα καὶ ἐπαινέσω ὑμᾶς καὶ διαμείψωμαι. ὅτι γὰρ οὐτε τῇ φύσει χαλεπὸς εἰμι, πάντα τε ὅσα προσῆκον ἦν τὸν ἀγαθὸν νομοθέτην πρᾶξαι ἀνθρωπίνως προκατεστησάμην, οὐδ' αὐτοὶ ἀγνοεῖτε. ^[4]

ἦν μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ πρόσθεν ἐξὸν ἀμελεῖν τισι παιδοποιίας καὶ γάμων: καὶ γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εὐθύς ἅμα τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς πολιτείας καταστάσει ἀκριβῶς περὶ αὐτῶν ἐνομοθετήθη, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πολλὰ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἔδοξεν, ἃ περιττὸν ^[5] ἂν εἶη καταλέγειν: ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπηύξησα μὲν τὰ ἐπιτίμια τοῖς ἀπειθοῦσιν, ἵνα φόβῳ τοῦ περιπεσεῖν αὐτοῖς σωφρονίζοισθε, ἔθηκα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τοῖς πειθαρχοῦσι τοσαῦτα καὶ τηλικαῦτα ἡλίκαι καὶ ὅσαι ἐπ'

οὐδεμιᾷ ἄλλῃ ἀνδραγαθία διδεται, ἴν' εἰ καὶ διὰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, διὰ γε ταῦτα καὶ ^[6] γαμεῖν καὶ παιδοποιεῖν ἀναπειθοισθε. ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς οὔτε ἐκείνων τινὸς ὀριγνηθέντες οὔτε τῶν ἐπιτιμίων τι φοβηθέντες πάντα τε αὐτὰ κατεφρονήσατε καὶ πάντα αὐτὰ ὡς οὐδὲ ἐν πόλει τινὶ οἰκοῦντες κατεπατήσατε. καὶ φατέ μὲν τὸν εὖζωνον δὴ τοῦτον καὶ ἐλεύθερον βίον τὸν ἄγνον καὶ ἄτεκνον ἐπανηρῆσθαι, ληστῶν δὲ δὴ καὶ θηρίων τῶν 7. ἀγριωτάτων οὐδὲν διαφέρετε. οὐ γὰρ δήπου μοναυλία χαίρετε, ἴν' ἄνευ γυναικῶν διάγητε, οὐδὲ ἔστιν ὅστις ὑμῶν ἢ σιτεῖται μόνος ἢ καθεύδει μόνος, ἀλλ' ἐξουσίαν καὶ ὑβρίζειν καὶ ἀσελγαίνειν ^[p. 18] ^[2] ἔχειν ἐθέλετε. καίτοι καὶ μνηστεύειν ὑμῖν ἀπαλὰς ἔτι κόρας καὶ μηδέπω γάμων ὥραιας ἐπέτρεψα, ἵνα τὸ ὄνομα τῶν μελλονυμφίων ἔχοντες οἰκωφελῶς βιώητε, καὶ ἐξελευθέρας τοῖς γε ἔξω τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ οὖσιν ἄγεσθαι συνεχώρησα, ἴν' εἰ καὶ τις ἐξ ἔρωτος ἢ καὶ συνηθείας τινὸς ἐς ^[3] τοῦθ' ὑπαχθεῖη, ἐννόμως αὐτὸ ποιοῖη. καὶ οὐδὲ ἐς ταῦτα μέντοι κατήπειξα ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τρία ἔτη ὅλα πρὸς παρασκευὴν ὑμῖν ἔδωκα, τὸ δὲ δεῦτερον δύο. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν οὐδ' οὕτως οὐτ' ἀπειλῶν οὔτε προτρέπων οὐτ' ἀναβαλλόμενος ^[4] οὔτε δεόμενός τι πεποίηκα. ὁρᾷτε γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὅσω πλείους τῶν γεγαμηκότων ἐστέ: οὐς ἐχρῆν ἤδη τοσοῦτους ἐτέρους, μᾶλλον δὲ πολλαπλασίους παῖδας ἡμῖν παρεσχέκναι. πῶς μὲν γὰρ ἂν ἄλλως τὰ γένη διαμείναιε, πῶς δ' ἂν τὸ κοινὸν διασωθεῖη μήτε γαμούντων ἡμῶν ^[5] μήτε παιδοποιουμένων; οὐ γὰρ που καὶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς προσδοκᾷτε τινὰς ἀναφύσεσθαι τοὺς διαδεχομένους τὰ τε ὑμέτερα καὶ τὰ δημόσια, ὥσπερ οἱ μῦθοι λέγουσιν. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ὅσιον ἢ καὶ καλῶς ἔχον ἐστὶ τὸ μὲν ἡμέτερον γένος παύσασθαι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐν ἡμῖν ἀποσβῆναι, ἄλλοις δὲ τισιν ἀνθρώποις Ἑλλήσιν ἢ καὶ βαρβάροις ^[6] τὴν πόλιν ἐκδοθῆναι. ἢ τοὺς μὲν δούλους δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο μάλιστα ἐλευθεροῦμεν, ὅπως ὡς πλείστους ἐξ αὐτῶν πολίτας ποιῶμεθα, τοῖς τε συμμάχοις τῆς πολιτείας μεταδίδομεν ὅπως πληθύνωμεν: αὐτοὶ δ' ὑμεῖς οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς Ῥωμαῖοι, οἱ τοὺς προγόνους ἐκείνους τοὺς Μαρκίους τοὺς ^[p. 20] Φαβίους τοὺς Κυντίους τοὺς Οὐαλερίους τοὺς Ἰουλίους καταλέγοντες, ἐπιθυμεῖτε μεθ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ γένη ἅμα καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ἀπολέσαι; 8. ἀλλ' ἐγώ γε αἰσχύνομαι καὶ ὅτι τοιοῦτον εἰπεῖν προήχθην. παύσασθε οὖν μαινόμενοι, καὶ λογίσασθε ἤδη ποτὲ ὅτι ἀδύνατόν ἐστι, πολλῶν μὲν ἐν ταῖς νόσοις πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἐκάστοτε τελευτώντων, σωθῆναι τὴν πόλιν, ἂν μὴ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῆς ἐκ τῶν αἰεὶ ἐπιγιγνομένων ἀναπληρῶται. ^[2]

καὶ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν οἰέσθω με ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι ἔστι τινὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ γάμῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ τεκνοποιῷ καὶ δυσχερῇ καὶ λυπηρᾷ: ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο ἐνθυμεῖσθε, ὅτι οὐδ' ἄλλο τι ἀγαθὸν ἔχομεν ὧ μὴ καὶ ἀνιάρων τι παραμέμικται, καὶ τοῖς γε πλείστοις καὶ μεγίστοις αὐτῶν πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα συμπέφυκεν. ^[3] ὥστ' εἰ ταῦτ' ἐκκλίνετε, μηδὲ ἐκείνων ἐπορέγεσθε. πᾶσι γὰρ ὡς εἰπεῖν τοῖς ἀρετὴν καὶ ἡδονὴν τινα εἰλικρινῇ ἔχουσι καὶ προπονεῖν καὶ συμπονεῖν καὶ ἐπιπονεῖν χρή: τί γὰρ δεῖ καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐπεξιόντα μακρηγορεῖν; οὐκοῦν εἰ καὶ ἐν τῷ γῆμαι καὶ ἐν τῷ τεκνῶσαι ἀνιάρᾳ τινα ἔνεστιν, ἀντιλογίεσθε καὶ τὰ ἀμείνονα, καὶ πλείω τε καὶ ^[4] ἀναγκαιότερα αὐτὰ

εὐρήσετε. πρὸς γὰρ δὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς τοῖς φύσει προσοῦσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν νόμων ἄθλα, ὧν πολλοστὸν μέρος καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν συχνοὺς ἀναπειθεῖ, πάντα ἂν τινα πειθαρχῆσαι μοι ὑπαγάγοιτο. καίτοι πῶς οὐκ αἰσχρόν, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἕτεροι καὶ ἑαυτοὺς προΐενται, [p. 22] ὑπὲρ τούτων ὑμᾶς μῆτε γυναικάς ἄγεσθαι μῆτε τέκνα τρέφειν βούλεσθαι; 9.

ἐγὼ μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες πολῖται νομίζω γὰρ ὑμᾶς νῦν γε πεπεικέναι καὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν πολιτῶν ὀνόματι ἐμμεῖναι καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν τε πατέρων προσηγορίαν προσλαβεῖν, ταῦθ' ὑμῖν ἐπετίμησα ἀηδῶς μὲν ἀναγκαιῶς δέ, οὐχ ὥς ἐχθρὸς οὐδ' ὥς μισῶν ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ φιλῶν, καὶ ἐπιθυμῶν καὶ ἐτέρους [2] ὁμοίους ὑμῖν πολλοὺς κτήσασθαι, ἵν' ἐστίας ἐννόμους οἰκοῦντες καὶ οἰκίας πλήρεις γενῶν ἔχοντες τοῖς τε θεοῖς μετὰ τε τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ μετὰ τῶν παιδῶν προσερχώμεθα, καὶ ἀλλήλοις ὁμιλῶμεν πάντα τε ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου παραβαλλόμενοι καὶ τὰς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐλπίδας ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου καρποῦμενοι. ἢ πῶς μὲν ἂν καλῶς ἄρχοιμι ὑμῶν, ἂν ἐλάττους [3] ὑμᾶς ἀεὶ γιγνομένους ὀρῶν ἀνέχωμαι; πῶς δ' ἂν ἔτι πατήρ ὑμῶν ὀρθῶς ὀνομαζοίμην, ἂν μὴ καὶ παῖδας τρέφῃτε; ὥστ' εἴπερ ὄντως τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀγαπᾷτέ με, καὶ ταύτην μοι τὴν προσηγορίαν οὐχ ὥς κολακεύοντες ἀλλ' ὥς τιμῶντες ἐδώκατε, ἐπιθυμήσατε καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ πατέρες γενέσθαι, ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ταύτης μεταλάβητε καὶ ἐμὲ φερώνυμον αὐτῆς ποιήσητε.

‘ 10. τότε μὲν τοιαῦτα ἀμφοτέροις αὐτοῖς διελέχθη, μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο τοῖς μὲν τὰ τέκνα ἔχουσι τὰ γέρα προσεπηνύησε, τοὺς δὲ γεγαμηκότας ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγύνων τῷ τῶν ἐπιτιμίων διαφώρῳ διεχώρισε, καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ἑκατέροις ἐς τὸ τοὺς πειθαρχήσαντάς οἱ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἀναιτίους γενέσθαι [2] προσεπέδωκε. τῶν τε γυναικῶν τισι καὶ παρὰ τὸν Οὐοκῶνειον νόμον, καθ' ὃν οὐδεμιᾷ αὐτῶν [p. 24] οὐδενὸς ὑπὲρ δύο ἡμισυ μυριάδας οὐσίας κληρονομεῖν ἐξῆν, συνεχώρησε τοῦτο ποιεῖν: καὶ ταῖς ἀειπαρθένους πάνθ' ὅσαπερ αἱ τεκοῦσαι εἶχον [3] ἐχαρίσατο. καὶ τοῦτου ὃ τε Πάπιος καὶ ὁ Ποππαῖος νόμος ὑπὸ τε Μάρκου Παπίου Μουτίλου καὶ ὑπὸ Κρινίου Ποππαιοῦ Σεκουνδου, τῶν τότε ἐν μέρει τοῦ ἔτους ὑπατευόντων, ἐτέθησαν. καὶ συνέβη γὰρ ἀμφοτέρους σφᾶς μὴ ὅτι παῖδας, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ γυναικάς ἔχειν: καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τούτου ἡ ἀνάγκη τοῦ νόμου κατεφωράθη. 11. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη, Γερμανικὸς δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἄλλα τε χωρία Δελματικὰ εἶλε καὶ Σπλαῦνον, καίπερ τῇ τε φύσει ἰσχυρὸν ὄν καὶ τοῖς τεῖχεσιν εὖ πεφραγμένον τοὺς τε ἀμυνομένους παμπληθεῖς ἔχον. οὐκουν οὔτε μηχαναῖς οὔτε προσβολαῖς ἡδυνήθη τι ἐξεργάσασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐκ [2] τοιαύτου αὐτὸ συντυχίας ἔλαβε. Πουσιῶν ἱππεὺς Κελτὸς λίθον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἀφείς οὕτω τὴν ἑπαλξιν διέσεισεν ὥστε αὐτὴν τε αὐτίκα πεσεῖν καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἐπικεκλιμένον οἱ συγκατασπάσαι. γενομένου δὲ τούτου ἐκπλαγέντες οἱ ἄλλοι καὶ φοβηθέντες τὸ τε τεῖχος ἐκεῖνο ἐξέλιπον καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνέδραμον, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ταύτην καὶ ἑαυτοὺς παρέδοσαν. [3] ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ Ραίτινον ἐλθόντες οὐχ ὁμοίως ἀπῆλλαξαν. οἱ γὰρ ἐναντίοι βιαζόμενοι τῷ πλήθει σφῶν, καὶ μὴ δυνάμενοι ἀντέχειν, πῦρ ἐθελούσιοι ἔς τε τὸν

κύκλον περίξ καὶ ἐς τὰ οἰκοδομήματα πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἐνέβαλον, μηχανησάμενοι ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα μὴ παραχρήμα ^{[p. 26] [4]} ἐκλάμψῃ ἀλλ' ἐπὶ χρόνον τινὰ διαλάβῃ. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοῦτο ποιήσαντες ἐς τὴν ἄκραν ἀνεχώρησαν· ἀγνοοῦντες δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ πεπραγμένον ἐπεσέτεσον ὥς καὶ αὐτοβοεῖ πάντα διαρπάσοντες, καὶ εἴσω τε τῆς τοῦ πυρὸς περιβολῆς ἐγένοντο, καὶ οὐ πρότερον εἶδον αὐτό, πρὸς τοὺς πολέμιους τὸν νοῦν ἔχοντες, πρὶν πανταχόθεν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περιληφθῆναι. ^[5] τότε δὲ ἐν παντὶ κινδύνου ἐγένοντο, ἄνωθεν μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βαλλόμενοι, ἔξωθεν δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς φλογὸς κακοῦμενοι, καὶ μήτε κατὰ χώραν ἀσφαλῶς μεῖναι μήτε πη διαπσεεῖν ἀκινδύνως δυνάμενοι. εἴτε γὰρ ἔξω βέλους ἀφίσταντο, πρὸς τοῦ πυρὸς ἀναλοῦντο, εἴτ' ἀπὸ τῆς φλογὸς ἀπεπῆδων, πρὸς τῶν βαλλόντων ἐφθείροντο· ^[6] καὶ τινες ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἅμα ἀπώλοντο, τῇ μὲν τιτρωσκόμενοι τῇ δὲ καιόμενοι. οἱ μὲν οὖν πλείους τῶν ἐσελθόντων οὕτως ἀπήλλαξαν· ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες νεκροὺς ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν φλόγα ἐμβalόντες, καὶ δίοδον σφισι δι' αὐτῶν καθάπερ ἐπὶ γεφύρας ποιήσαντες, διέφυγον. ^[7] οὕτω γὰρ που τὸ πῦρ ἐπεκράτησεν ὥστε μηδὲ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ὄντας κατὰ χώραν μεῖναι, ἀλλὰ τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτὴν ἐκλιπεῖν καὶ ἐς οἰκήματα κατῶρυχα κατακρυφθῆναι. 12. ἐκεῖ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, Σερέτιον δέ, ὅπερ ποτὲ ὁ Τιβέριος πολιορκήσας οὐχ ἥρήκει, ἐχειρώθη, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ῥᾶον προσεκλήθη. τῶν δ' οὖν λοιπῶν καὶ ὥς ἀνταιρόντων, καὶ τοῦ τε πολέμου μηχανομένου καὶ λιμοῦ δι' αὐτὸν οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ γενομένου, τὸν Τιβέριον ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐς τὴν Δελματίαν αὐθις ^{[p. 28] [2]} ἔπεμψε. καὶ ὅς ἰδὼν τοὺς στρατιώτας μηκέτι τὴν τριβὴν φέροντας ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ κινδύνου διαπολεμῆσαι πως ἐπιθυμοῦντας, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ καθ' ἐν ὄντες στασιάσωσι, τριχῇ διεῖλεν αὐτούς, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τῷ Σιλουανῷ τοὺς δὲ Μάρκῳ Λεπίδῳ προστάξας ἐπὶ τὸν Βάτωννα μετὰ ^[3] τῶν λοιπῶν σὺν τῷ Γερμανικῷ ὥρμησε. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐ χαλεπῶς τοὺς ἀντιπαθθέντας σφίσι μάχαις κατεστρέψαντο, αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ πάσης τε ὥς εἰπεῖν τῆς χώρας ἐπλανήθη, τοῦ Βάτωννος ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ περιφοιτῶντος, καὶ τέλος καταφυγόντι αὐτῷ ἐς Ἀνδήτριον τεῖχος ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ Σαλῶνῃ ἐπωκισμένον ^[4] προσεδρεύσας δεινῶς ἐπόνησε. τὸ τε γὰρ φρούριον ἐπ' εὐερκοῦς πάνυ καὶ δυσπροσβάτου πέτρας ἐτετεχιστο, φάραγξι βαθείαις ποταμοὺς χειμάρρους ἐχούσαις ἐγκεκλειμένον, καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι πάντα ἐς αὐτὸ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τὰ μὲν προεσσηνόχεσαν τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀρύων ὧν ^[5] ἐκράτουν ἐπήγοντο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὴν σιτοπομπίαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐνεδρεύοντες ἐκώλυνον, ὥστε τὸν Τιβέριον, πολιορκεῖν σφας δοκοῦντα, αὐτὸν τὰ τῶν πολιορκουμένων πάσχειν. 13. ἀποροῦντος οὖν αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ εὐρίσκοντος ὃ τι πράξῃ ἢ τε γὰρ προσεδρεῖα καὶ ματαῖα καὶ ἐπικίνδυνος ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἡ ἀποχώρησις ἐπαισχίης ἐφαίνετο ἔθορὸς ἔβησαν οἱ στρατιῶται, καὶ τοσαύτη γε καὶ τηλικαύτη βοῇ ἐχρήσαντο ὥστε τοὺς πολέμιους τοὺς ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει αὐλιζομένους ἐκπλαγῆναι ^[2] τε καὶ ἀναχωρῆσαι. ἐξ οὖν τούτων τοῦ ^[p. 30] μὲν ὀργισθεὶς τοῦ δὲ ἡσθεὶς συνεκάλεσέ τε αὐτούς, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπιτιμήσας σφίσι τὰ δὲ καὶ παραινέσας οὕτε ἐθρασύναντο οὕτ' ἀπανέστη, ἀλλὰ κατὰ χώραν ἡσυχάζων ἔμεινε, μέχρις οὗ ὁ Βάτων ἀπογνοὺς τὴν ἐπικράτησιν τὰ τε γὰρ

ἄλλα πλὴν ὀλίγων ἔκεχειρωτο, καὶ ἡ δύναμις ἦν εἶχε τῆς τότε ἀντικαθεστηκυίας οἱ ἡλαττοῦτὸ διεκηρυκεύσατο [3] πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἔπεισε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους σπείσασθαι, ἐγκατέλιπεν αὐτούς. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐκέτ' οὐδ' ἄλλω τινί, καίπερ πολλῶν αὐτὸν ἐπικαλουμένων, ἐβοήθησεν: ὁ δὲ δὴ Τιβέριος καταφρονήσας ἐκ τούτου τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ τείχει ὄντων, καὶ νομίσας ἀναιμωτῶ σφων κρατήσιν, οὐδὲν ἔτι τοῦ χωρίου προείδετο, ἀλλὰ [4] καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ ἐρυμνὸν ἐχώρησεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ μήτε ὁμαλὸν τι ἦν μήτε ἐπικατέβαινον οἱ πολέμιοι, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ βήματος ἐν περιφανεῖ ἰδρῦθη, ὅπως τὰ τε ἐπιγιγνόμενα καθορώη, πρὸς τὸ προθυμότερον τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀγωνίσασθαι, καὶ ἐν καιρῷ σφισιν, ἂν που δεήσει, προσαμύνη 'καὶ γὰρ μέρος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο τοῦ στρατοῦ, πολὺ γὰρ τῷ [5] πλήθει περιῆν, κατέσχευ', οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν πλασιῶ πυκνῶ συντεταγμένοι βάδην ἀνεπορεύοντο, ἔπειτα δ' ὑπὸ τε τοῦ ὀρθίου καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνωμαλίας τοῦ ὄρους 'χαραδρῶδές τε γὰρ ἦν καὶ ἐς φάραγγας πολλαχῇ κατετέμνητό διεσπάσθησαν, καὶ οἱ μὲν θᾶσσον οἱ δὲ βραδύτερον προσανήεσαν. 14. ἰδόντες δὲ τοῦτο οἱ Δελμάται ἔξω τε τοῦ τείχους ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κρημνῶδους παρετάξαντο, καὶ λίθους πολλοὺς τοὺς μὲν σφενδόναις [p. 32] ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐβαλλον τοὺς δὲ καὶ κατεκυλίνδουν. ἄλλοι τροχοὺς, ἄλλοι ἀμάξας ὅλας πλήρεις πετρῶν, ἄλλοι κιβωτοὺς περιφερεῖς, ἐπιχωρίως πως [2] πεποιημένας καὶ λίθων γεμούσας, ἤφισαν. καὶ ταῦτά τε πάντα ἅμα πολλῇ ῥύμῃ καταφερόμενα διεσφενδονᾶτο, καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διέσπα τε ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ συνηλόα: καὶ ἕτεροι, οἱ μὲν βέλη οἱ δὲ δοράτια ἀφιέντες, συχνοὺς [3] αὐτῶν κατέβαλλον. κἂν τούτῳ πολλῇ μὲν τῶν μαχομένων φιλοτιμία ἐγίνετο, τῶν μὲν ἀναβῆναί τε καὶ ἐπικρατῆσαι τῶν ἄκρων, τῶν δὲ ἀποκρούσασθαι τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀπαράξαι πειρωμένων, πολλῇ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τε ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ὀρώντων τὰ γιγνόμενα καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν [4] Τιβέριον ὄντων. τοῖς τε γὰρ σφετέροις ἑκάτεροι παρεκελεύοντο, τοὺς μὲν προθυμουμένους σφῶν ἐπιρρωννύντες, τοῖς δ' ὑπείκουσί πῃ ἐπιτιμῶντες, καὶ ἀθρόοι καὶ καθ' ἑκάστους: καὶ ὅσοι ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐγεγώνισκον, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἅμα ἀνεκάλουν, ὑπὲρ τε τῆς αὐτίκα τῶν μαχομένων ἀμφοτέροι σωτηρίας καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα οἱ μὲν ἐλευθερίας οἱ δὲ εἰρήνης ἐπιβώμενοι. [5] κἂν παντελῶς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μάτην ἐκινδύνευσαν, ἅτε πρὸς δύο ἅμα, τὴν τε τῶν τόπων φύσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἀντίταξιν, τὸν ἀγῶνα ποιούμενοι, εἰ μὴ ὁ Τιβέριος ἐκείνους τε ἀκραιφνέσι βοηθείαις φυγεῖν ἐκώλυσε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐτέρων, ἠωῇ ἀνίτητον ἐς τὸ χωρίον [p. 34] ἐκ πλείονος περιελθοῦσιν ἦν περιπέμψει ἐτάραξε. [6] καὶ τούτου οἱ μὲν τραπέντες οὐδὲ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐσελθεῖν ἠδυνήθησαν, ἀλλὰ ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη, προαπορρίψαντες τὰ ὄπλα ὥστε κουφίζειν, ἐσκεδάσθησαν: οἱ δὲ ἐπιδιώκοντές σφας 'πάνυ τε γὰρ διαπολεμῆσαι ἐγλίχοντο, καὶ οὐκ ἐβούλοντο συστραφέντας αὐθις αὐτοὺς χαλεποὺς σφισι γενέσθαι [7] ἐπίπαν ἐπεξῆλθον, καὶ ἐκείνων τε τοὺς πλείους ἐν ταῖς ὕλαις κρυπτομένους ἀνευρόντες ὥσπερ θηρία ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ προσχωρήσαντας ἔλαβον. καὶ τούτοις μὲν ὁ Τιβέριος τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ δὴ 15. καὶ τὰ ὁμολογηθέντα σφισι καθίστατο,

Γερμανικὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθεστηκότας ἔτ' ἐτράπετο· αὐτόμολοι γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς συχνοὶ ὄντες οὐκ εἶων σφᾶς συμβῆναι. καὶ ἐδουλώσατο μὲν χωρίον τι Ἀρδουβαν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τῇ οἰκείᾳ δυνάμει, καίτοι πολὺ πλείονι τῶν ἐναντίων οὕσῃ, ἡδυνήθη τοῦτο ποιῆσαι· αὐτὸ τε γὰρ ἰσχυρῶς ὠχύρωτο, καὶ ποταμὸς ῥοώδης τοὺς πρόποδας αὐτοῦ κύκλῳ [2] πλὴν βραχέος περιρρεῖ· ἀλλ' οἱ αὐτόμολοι στασιάσαντες πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ἐπειδὴ τῶν σπονδῶν ὠρέγοντο, ἐς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ἦλθον, καὶ συλλαβομένων σφίσι τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ τείχει οὐσῶν τῆς τε γὰρ ἐλευθερίας καὶ παρὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν γνώμην ἐφίεντο, καὶ πᾶν ὅτιοῦν πρὸ τοῦ δουλεῦσαι παθεῖν ἡροῦντό μάχη τε [p. 36] ἰσχυρὰ ἐγένετο, καὶ κρατηθέντες αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐνέδοσαν, [3] καὶ τινες αὐτῶν καὶ διέφυγον, αἱ δὲ δὴ γυναῖκες τὰ παῖδια ἀρπάσασαι αἱ μὲν ἐς πῦρ ἑαυτὰς ἐνέβαλον, αἱ δὲ ἐς ποταμὸν κατεκρήμνισαν. καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἐκείνου τοῦ φρουρίου ἀλόντος, καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ πλησία αὐτῷ ἐθελοντὶ τῷ Γερμανικῷ ὠμολόγησεν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα πράξας πρὸς τὸν Τιβέριον ἀνεχώρησεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Ποστούμιος τὰ 16. λοιπὰ προσκατειργάσατο. κἂν τοῦτω καὶ ὁ Βάτων, Σκευᾶν τὸν υἱὸν πρὸς Τιβέριον πέμψας, παραδῶσιν οἱ καὶ ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ [2] πάντας ὑπέσχετο, ἂν τῆς ἀδείας τύχῃ. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πίστιν λαβὼν νυκτὸς τε ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ ἐσῆλθε, καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπὶ βήματος αὐτῷ καθήμενῳ προσαχθεὶς ὑπὲρ μὲν ἑαυτοῦ οὐδὲν ἐδεήθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν προέτεινεν ὥστ' ἀποκοπῆναι, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πολλὰ ἀπελογήσατο. [3] καὶ τέλος ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιβερίου 'τί ὑμῖν ἔδοξε καὶ ἀποστῆναι καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἡμῖν χρόνον ἀντιπολεμῆσαι;' ἔφη ὅτι 'ὑμεῖς τούτων αἴτιοι ἐστέ· ἐπὶ γὰρ τὰς ἀγέλας ὑμῶν φύλακας οὐ κύνας οὐδὲ νομέας ἀλλὰ λύκους πέμπετε.' [4] ὁ μὲν οὖν πόλεμος τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἔσχε, πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἀνδρῶν, πλείστων δὲ δὴ καὶ χρημάτων ἀπολομένων· πάμπολλά τε γὰρ ἐς αὐτὸν στρατόπεδα ἐτράφη καὶ λεῖα ἐλαχίστη 17. ἑάλω. ἀνήγγειλε δὲ καὶ τότε τὴν νίκην ὁ Γερμανικός, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῷ μὲν Αὐγούστῳ καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ τὸ τε τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα προσθῆσθαι καὶ τὸ τὰ ἐπινίκια πέμψαι, ἄλλα [p. 38] τὲ τινες τιμαὶ καὶ ἀψίδες ἐν τῇ Παννονίᾳ τροπαιοφόροι [2] δύο ἐδόθησαν· ταῦτα γὰρ ἀπὸ πολλῶν τῶν ψηφισθέντων σφίσι· ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐδέξατό, τῷ δὲ δὴ Γερμανικῷ αἱ τε νικητήριαι τιμαί, ὅπερ που καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατιάρχοις ὑπῆρξε, καὶ αἱ στρατηγικαί, τὸ τε τὴν γνώμην πρώτῳ μετὰ τοὺς ὑπατευκότας ἀποφαίνεσθαι, καὶ τὸ τὴν ὑπατείαν θᾶσσον παρὰ τὸ νενομισμένον λαβεῖν. [3] καὶ τῷ Δρούσῳ δὲ τῷ τοῦ Τιβερίου υἱεῖ, καίτοι μὴ μετασχόντι τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ ἐς τὸ συνέδριον συμφοιτᾶν πρὶν βουλευσά, καὶ ἐπειδὰν ταμιεύσῃ γνώμην πρὸ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων ποιεῖσθαι, ἐψηφίσθη. 18. ἄρτι τε ταῦτα ἐδέδοκτο, καὶ ἀγγελία δεινὴ ἐκ τῆς Γερμανίας ἐλθοῦσα ἐκώλυσέ σφας διεορτάσαι. ἐν γὰρ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ χρόνῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Κελτικῇ τάδε συνηνέχθη. εἶχόν τινα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι αὐτῆς, οὐκ ἄθρόα ἀλλ' ὥς που καὶ ἔτυχε χειρωθέντα, [2] διὸ οὐδὲ ἐς ἱστορίας μνήμην ἀφίκετο· καὶ στρατιῶται τε αὐτῶν ἐκεῖ ἐχείμαζον καὶ πόλεις συνωκίζοντο, ἔς τε τὸν κόσμον σφῶν οἱ βάρβαροι μετερρυθμιζοντο καὶ ἀγορὰς ἐνόμιζον συνόδους τε εἰρηνικὰς ἐποιοῦντο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ τῶν πατρίων ἡθῶν τῶν τε συμφύτων τρόπων καὶ

τῆς αὐτονόμου διαίτης τῆς τε ἐκ τῶν ὅλων ἐξουσίας ἐκκλησήμενοι^[3] ἦσαν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, τέως μὲν κατὰ βραχὺ καὶ ὁδῶ τινι μετὰ φυλακῆς μετεμάνθανον αὐτά, ^[p. 40] οὐτε ἐβαρύνοντο τῇ τοῦ βίου μεταβολῇ καὶ ἐλάνθανόν σφας ἀλλοιούμενοι: ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ Οὐᾶρος ὁ Κυντίλιος τὴν τε ἡγεμονίαν τῆς Γερμανίας λαβὼν καὶ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνοις ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς διοικῶν ἔσπευσεν αὐτοὺς ἀθρούτερον μεταστῆσαι, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα ὡς καὶ δουλεύουσι σφισιν ἐπέταττε καὶ ^[4] χρήματα ὡς καὶ παρ' ὑπηκόων ἐσέπρασεν, οὐκ ἠνέσχοντο, ἀλλ' οἱ τε πρῶτοι τῆς πρόσθεν δυναστείας ἐφιέμενοι, καὶ τὰ πλήθη τὴν συνήθη κατάστασιν πρὸ τῆς ἀλλοφύλου δεσποτείας προτιμῶντες, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ φανεροῦ οὐκ ἀπέστησαν, πολλοὺς μὲν πρὸς τῷ Ῥήνῳ πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐν ^[5] τῇ σφετέρᾳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὀρῶντες ὄντας, δεξιόμενοι δὲ τὸν Οὐᾶρον ὡς καὶ πάντα τὰ προστασσόμενά σφισι ποιήσοντες προήγαγον αὐτὸν πόρρω ἀπὸ τοῦ Ῥήνου ἕς τε τὴν Χερουσκίδα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Οὐίσουργον, κάνταῦθα εἰρηνικώτατά τε καὶ φιλικώτατα διαγαγόντες πίστιν αὐτῷ παρέσχον ὡς καὶ ἄνευ στρατιωτῶν δουλεύειν δυνάμενοι. 19. Οὗτ' οὖν τὰ στρατεύματα, ὥσπερ εἶκος ἦν ἐν πολέμῳ, συνείχε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν συχνοὺς αἰτοῦσι τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ φυλακῇ χωρίων τινῶν ἢ καὶ ληστῶν συλλήψεσι παραπομπαῖς τέ τισι ^[2] τῶν ἐπιτηδείων διέδωκεν. ἦσαν δε οἱ μάλιστα συνομόσαντες καὶ ἀρχηγοὶ τῆς τε ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ τοῦ πολέμου γενόμενοι ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀρμήνιος καὶ Σηγίμερος, συνόντες τε αὐτῷ αἰεὶ καὶ συνεσιπύμενοι ^[3] πολλάκις. θαρσοῦντος οὖν αὐτοῦ, καὶ μήτε τι δεινὸν προσδεχομένου, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τὸ τε γιγνόμενον ὑποτοποῦσι καὶ φυλάττεσθαι οἱ ^[p. 42] παραινοῦσιν οὐχ ὅπως ἀπιστοῦντος ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιτιμῶντος ὡς μάτην αὐτοῖς τε ταραττομένοις καὶ ἐκείνους διαβάλλουσιν, ἐπανίστανται τινες πρῶτοι τῶν ἄπωθεν αὐτοῦ οἰκούντων ἐκ παρασκευῆς, ^[4] ὅπως ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὁ Οὐᾶρος ὀρμήσας εὐαλωτότερός σφισιν ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ, ὡς καὶ διὰ φιλίας διῶν, γένηται, μηδὲ ἐξαίφνης πάντων ἅμα πολεμωθέντων αὐτῷ φυλακὴν τινα ἑαυτοῦ ποιήσεται. καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως: προέπεμφάν τε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐξορμῶντα, καὶ παρέμενοι ὡς καὶ τὰ συμμαχικὰ παρασκευάσοντες καὶ διὰ ταχέων οἱ ^[5] προσβοηθήσοντες τὰς τε δυνάμεις ἐν ἐτοιμῳ που οὔσας παρέλαβον, καὶ ἀποκτείναντες τοὺς παρὰ σφισιν ἕκαστοι στρατιώτας, οὓς πρότερον ἠτήκεσαν, ἐπῆλθον αὐτῷ ἐν ὕλαις ἤδη δυσεκβάτοις ὄντι. κάνταῦθα ἅμα τε ἀνεφάνησαν πολέμιοι ἀνθ' ὑπηκόων ὄντες, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ εἰργάσαντο. 20. τὰ τε γὰρ ὄρη καὶ φαραγγώδη καὶ ἀνώμαλα καὶ τὰ δένδρα καὶ πυκνὰ καὶ ὑπερμήκη ἦν, ὥστε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, καὶ πρὶν τοὺς πολεμίους σφίσι προσπεσεῖν, ἐκεῖνά τε τέμνοντας καὶ ὁδοποιοῦντας γεφυροῦντάς τε τὰ τούτου δεόμενα πονηθῆναι. ^[2] ἦγον δὲ καὶ ἀμάξας πολλὰς καὶ νωτοφόρα πολλὰ ὡς ἐν εἰρήνῃ: παῖδες τε οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ γυναῖκες ἢ τε ἄλλη θεραπεία συχνὴ αὐτοῖς συνείπετο, ὥστε καὶ κατὰ τοῦτ' ἐσκεδασμένη τῇ ὁδοπορίᾳ ^[3] χρῆσθαι. κὰν τοῦτῳ καὶ ὑετὸς καὶ ἄνεμος πολὺς ἐπιγενόμενοι ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον σφας διέσπειραν: τὸ τε ἔδαφος ὀλισθηρὸν περὶ τε ταῖς ῥίξαις καὶ περὶ τοῖς στελέχεσι γενόμενον σφαλερώτατα ^[p. 44] αὐτοὺς βαδίζειν ἐποίει, καὶ τὰ ἄκρα τῶν δένδρων καταθραυόμενα καὶ καταπίπτοντα διετάρασεν. ^[4] ἐν τοιαύτῃ οὖν δὴ τινι

ἀμχανία τότε τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὄντων, οἱ βάρβαροι πανταχόθεν ἅμα αὐτοῦς ἐξαπναιῶς δι' αὐτῶν τῶν λοχμωδεστάτων, ἅτε καὶ ἔμπειροι τῶν τριμῶν ὄντες, περιστοιχίσαντο, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πόρρωθεν ἐβαλλον, ἔπειτα δέ, ὡς ἡμύνετο μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐπιτρώσκοντο ^[5] δὲ πολλοί, ὁμόσε αὐτοῖς ἐχώρησαν: οἷα γὰρ οὔτε ἐν τάξει τινὶ ἀλλὰ ἀναμιξ ταῖς τε ἀμάξαις καὶ τοῖς ἀόπλοις πορευόμενοι, οὔτε συστραφῆναι πη ῥαδίως δυνάμενοι, ἐλάττους τε καθ' ἐκάστους τῶν αἰὶ προσμιγνύντων σφίσιν ὄντες, ἔπασχον μὲν πολλὰ, ἀντέδρων δὲ οὐδέν. 21. αὐτοῦ τε οὖν ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, χωρίου τινὸς ἐπιτηδείου, ὡς γε ἐν ὄρει ὑλώδει ἐνεδέχeto, λαβόμενοι, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰς τε πλείους ἀμάξας καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ μὴ πάνυ σφίσιν ἀναγκαῖα τὰ μὲν κατακαύσαντες τὰ δὲ καὶ καταλιπόντες, συντεταγμένοι μὲν πη μᾶλλον τῇ ὑστεραῖα ἐπορεύθησαν, ὥστε καὶ ἐς ψιλὸν τι χωρίον προχωρήσαι, ^[2] οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀναιμωτὶ ἀπήλλαξαν. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἄραντες ἔς τε ὕλας αὖθις ἐσέπεσον, καὶ ἡμύνοντο μὲν πρὸς τοὺς προσπίπτοντάς σφισιν, οὐκ ἐλάχιστα δὲ δὴ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἔπαιον: συστρεφόμενοι γὰρ ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ, ὅπως ἄθροοι ἱππῆς τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ὀπλῖται ἐπιτρέχωσιν αὐτοῖς, πολλὰ μὲν περὶ ἀλλήλοις πολλὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῖς δένδροις ^[3] ἐσφάλλοντο. τετάρτη τε ἡμέρα πορευομένοις ^[p. 46] σφίσιν ἐγένετο, καὶ αὐτοῖς ὑετός τε αὖθις λάβρος καὶ ἄνεμος μέγας προσπεσὼν οὔτε ποι προῖέναι οὔθ' ἴστασθαι παγίως ἐπέτρεπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν σφας τῶν ὄπλων ἀφείλετο: οὔτε γὰρ τοῖς τοξεύμασιν οὔτε τοῖς ἀκοντίοις, ἢ ταῖς γε ἀσπίσιν ἅτε καὶ διαβρόχοις οὔσαις, καλῶς ^[4] χρῆσθαι ἐδύναντο. τοῖς γὰρ πολεμίοις, ψιλοῖς τε τὸ πλεῖστον οὔσι καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν καὶ τῆς ἐφόδου καὶ τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως ἀδεᾶ ἔχουσιν, ἥττον που ταῦτα συνέβαινε. πρὸς δ' ἔτι αὐτοὶ τε πολὺ πλείους γεγονότες 'καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρότερον περισκοπούντων συχνοὶ ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ λείᾳ συνῆλθον' καὶ ἐκείνους ἐλάττους ἦδη ὄντας 'πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πρὶν μάχαις ἀπωλώλεσαν' ^[5] καὶ ἐκυκλοῦντο ῥᾶον καὶ κατεφόνευον, ὥστε καὶ τὸν Οὐᾶρον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς λογιμωτάτους, φοβηθέντας μὴ ἦτοι ζωγρηθῶσιν ἢ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἐχθίστων ἀποθάνωσι 'καὶ γὰρ τετρωμένοι ἦσαν', ἔργον δεινὸν μὲν ἀναγκαῖον δὲ τολμῆσαι: αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς ἀπέκτειναν. 22. ὡς δὲ τοῦτο διηγγέλη, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδεὶς ἔτι, εἰ καὶ ἔρρωτό τις, ἡμύνατο, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τὸν ἄρχοντά σφων ἐμιμήσαντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰ ὅπλα παρέντες ἐπέτρεπόν σφας τῷ βουλομένῳ φονεῦειν: φυγεῖν γὰρ οὐδ' εἰ τὰ μάλιστά τις ἤθελεν ἐδύνατο. ^[2] ἐκόπτετό τε οὖν ἀδεῶς πᾶς καὶ ἀνὴρ καὶ ἵππος, καὶ τὰ τε ... ^[2a] καὶ τὰ ἐρύματα πάντα κατέσχον οἱ βάρβαροι ἄτερ ἑνός, περὶ ὃ ἀσχοληθέντες οὔτε τὸν Ῥῆνον ^[p. 48] διέβησαν οὔτ' ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν εἰσέβαλον. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο χειρώσασθαι ἡδυνήθησαν, ἐπεὶ μήτε πολιορκεῖν ἠπίσταντο καὶ τοξόταις οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι συχνοῖς ἐχρῶντο, ἐξ ὧν καὶ ἀνεκόπτοντο καὶ πλεῖστοι ἀπώλλυντο.” Zon. 10, (p. 452, 12-17 Dind.). “ 22β. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο πυθόμενοι φυλακὴν τοῦ Ῥήνου τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ποιήσασθαι καὶ τὸν Τιβέριον σὺν βαρεῖ προσελαύνειν στρατεύματι, οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἀπανέστησαν τοῦ ἐρύματος, οἱ δ' ὑπολειφθέντες ἀποστάντες αὐτοῦ, ὥστε μὴ αἰφνιδίοις ἐπεξελεύσεσι τῶν ἐντὸς κακοῦσθαι, τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐτήρουν, σπάνει σιτίων αἰρήσειν ἡλπικότες αὐτούς. οἱ δ' ἐντὸς ὄντες Ῥωμαῖοι ἔω

μὲν εὐπόρουν τροφῆς, κατὰ χώραν ἔμενον βοήθειαν προσδεχόμενοι: ὥς δ' οὔτε τις ἐπεκούρει αὐτοῖς καὶ λιμῷ συνείχοντο, ἐξῆλθον νύκτα τηρήσαντες χειμέριον ἦσαν δὲ στρατιῶται μὲν ὀλίγοι, ἄσπλοι δὲ πολλοί, καὶ [2] ζον. 10, 37, π. 452, 18-29 δ. τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τὸ τε δευτέρον σφων φυλακτήριον παρῆλθον, ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς τῷ τρίτῳ ἐγένοντο, ἐφωράθησαν, τῶν τε γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν παιδῶν συνεχῶς τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ διὰ τε τὸν κάματον καὶ διὰ τὸν φόβον τὸ [3] τε σκότος καὶ τὸ ψῦχος ἀνακαλούντων. κἂν πάντες ἀπώλοντο ἢ καὶ ἐάλωσαν, εἰ μὴ οἱ βάρβαροι περὶ τὴν τῆς λείας ἀρπαγὴν ἄσχολοι ἐγένοντο. οὕτω γὰρ οἱ τε ἐρρωμενέστατοι πολὺ ἀπέσπασαν, καὶ οἱ σαλπικταὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς ὄντες τροχαῖόν τι συμβοήσαντες δόξαν τοῖς ἐναντίοις ὥς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀσπρήνου πεπεμμένοι παρέσχον. [p. 50] [4] κἂκ τοῦτου ἐκεῖνοι τε ἐπέσχον τῆς διώξεως, καὶ ὁ Ἀσπρήνας μαθὼν τὸ γιγνόμενον ὄντως σφίσιν ἐπεκούρησε. καὶ τινες μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῶν ἐαλωκότων ἀνεκομίσθησαν, λυτρωθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων: ἐπετράπη γὰρ σφίσι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι ἐφ' ᾧ τε ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας αὐτοὺς εἶναι. 23. τοῦτο μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο: τότε δὲ μαθὼν ὁ Αὐγουστος τὰ τῷ Οὐάρῳ συμβεβηκότα τὴν τε ἐσθῆτα, ὥς τινὲς φασι, περιερρήξατο, καὶ πένθος μέγα ἐπὶ τε τοῖς ἀπολωλόσι καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ περὶ τῶν Γερμανιῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν Γαλατιῶν δέει ἐποιήσατο, τὸ τε μέγιστον ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν τὴν τε Ῥώμην αὐτὴν ὀρμήσειν σφᾶς προσεδόκησε, καὶ οὔτε πολιτικὴ οἱ ἡλικία ἀξιόλογος ὑπελέλειπτο, καὶ τὰ συμμαχικά, ὧν τι καὶ [2] ὄφελος ἦν, ἐκεκῆκτο. ὅμως δ' οὖν τὰ τε ἄλλα ὥς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων παρεσκευάσατο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς τῶν τὴν στρατεύσιμον ἡλικίαν ἐχόντων καταλεχθῆναι ἠθέλησεν, ἐκλήρωσεν αὐτούς, καὶ τῶν μὲν μηδέπω πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων τὸν πέμπτον, τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων τὸν δέκατον αἰὲ λαχόντα τὴν τε οὐσίαν ἀφείλετο καὶ [3] ἡτίμωσε. καὶ τέλος, ὥς καὶ πάνυ πολλοὶ οὐδ' οὕτω τι αὐτοῦ προετίμων, ἀπέκτεινέ τινας. ἀποκληρώσας δὲ ἕκ τε τῶν ἐστρατευμένων ἤδη καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐξελευθέρων ὅσους ἡδυνήθη, κατέλεξε, καὶ εὐθὺς σπουδῇ μετὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐς τὴν Γερμανίαν [4] ἔπεμψεν. ἐπειδὴ τε συχνοὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ Γαλάται καὶ Κελτοί, οἱ μὲν ἄλλως ἐπιδημοῦντες οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ δορυφορικῷ στρατευόμενοι, ἦσαν, ἐφοβήθη μὴ τι νεοχμώσωσι, καὶ τοὺτους μὲν ἐς [p. 52] νήσους τινὰς ἀπέστειλε, τοῖς δ' ἀόπλοις ἐκχωρήσαι τῆς πόλεως προσέταξε. 24. τότε μὲν ταῦτ' ἔπραξε, καὶ οὗτ' ἄλλο τι τῶν νομιζομένων ἐγένετο οὐθ' αἱ πανηγύρεις ἐωρτάσθησαν: μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀκούσας ὅτι τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν τινες ἐσώθησαν καὶ αἱ Γερμαναὶ ἐφρουρήθησαν, τὸ τε πολέμιον οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον ἐλθεῖν ἐτόλμησε, τῆς τε ταραχῆς ἀπηλλάγη [2] καὶ διαγνώμην ἐποίησατο. τὸ τε γὰρ πάθος οὐκ ἄνευ δαιμονίου τινὸς ὀργῆς καὶ μέγα οὕτω καὶ ἀθρόον ἐδόκει οἱ γεγονέναι: καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τεράτων τῶν πρό τε τῆς ἡττης καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συμβάντων δεινὴν ὑποψίαν ἐς τὸ [3] θεῖον ἔσχεν. ὃ τε γὰρ τοῦ Ἄρεως ναὸς ὁ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ αὐτοῦ ὦν ἐκεραυνώθη, καὶ ἀπτέλεβοι πολλοὶ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ ἄστρ πετόμενοι ὑπὸ χελιδόνων ἀνηλώθησαν, αἱ τε κορυφαὶ τῶν Ἀλπεων συμπεπτωκέναι τε ἐς ἀλλήλας καὶ κίονας τρεῖς πυροειδεῖς ἀναικέναι ἔδοξαν, καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς φλεγόμενός [4] πολλαχῇ ἐώκει, ἀστέρες τε κομῆται συχνοὶ ἅμα κατεφαίνοντο,

καὶ δόρατα ἀπ' ἄρκτου φερόμενα πρὸς τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδα προσπίπτειν ἐδόκει, μέλισσαι τε περὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς αὐτῶν κηρία ἀνέπlassον, καὶ Νίκης τι ἄγαλμα ἔν τε τῇ Γερμανίᾳ ὃν καὶ πρὸς τὴν πολέμιαν βλέπον ^[5] πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν μετεστράφη· καὶ ποτε καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἀετοὺς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις, ὡς καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐσπεπρωκότων, μάχη καὶ ἀγωνισμὸς τῶν στρατιωτῶν διὰ κενῆς ἐγένετο. τούτων τε οὖν ἔνεκα καὶ ὅτι καὶ ... ^[p. 54] ^[6] ὁ δὲ Τιβέριος διαβῆναι τὸν Ῥῆνον οὐκ ἔκρινεν, ἀλλ' ἠτρέμιζεν ἐπιτηρῶν μὴ οἱ βάρβαροι τοῦτο ποιήσωσιν. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐκεῖνοι διαβῆναι ἐτόλμησαν γνόντες αὐτὸν παρόντα.” Zon. 10, (p. 453, 7-10 D.). “^[7] ὅτι ὁ Γερμανικὸς ἐκ πολλῶν ὤκειοῦτο τῷ πλήθει, καὶ ὅτι ὑπερεδίδει τινῶν, οὐχ ὅπως ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων δικαστῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Αὐγούστου. διὸ καὶ ταμίᾳ τινὶ φόνου αἰτίαν ἔχοντι τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ συναγορεύειν μέλλοντος, ἔδειξεν ὁ κατήγορος αὐτοῦ μὴ ἐλαττωθῆ διὰ τοῦτο παρὰ τοῖς δικασταῖς ἐφ' οἷσπερ εἰώθει τὰ τοιαῦτα κρίνεσθαι, καὶ παρὰ τῷ Αὐγούστῳ δικασθῆναι μάτην ἠθέλησεν: οὐ γὰρ ἐκράτησεν.” Exc. V. 182 (p. 665). “25. ... μετὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἔχων. τῷ δὲ δευτέρῳ τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ προειρημένα ἐγένετο, καὶ τὸ Ὀμονόειον ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιβερίου καθιερώθη, καὶ αὐτῷ τὸ τε ἐκείνου ὄνομα καὶ τὸ τοῦ Δροῦσου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ τεθνηκότος ἐπεγράφη. ^[2] Μάρκου δὲ Αἰμιλίου μετὰ Στατιλίου Ταύρου ὑπατεύσαντος, Τιβέριος μὲν καὶ Γερμανικὸς ἀντὶ ὑπάτου ἄρχων ἔς τε τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐσέβαλον καὶ κατέδραμόν τινα αὐτῆς, οὐ μέντοι οὔτε μάχη τινὶ ἐνίκησαν ἔς γὰρ χεῖρας οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς ἦεί οὔτε ^[3] ἔθνος τι ὑπηγάγοντο: δεδιότες γὰρ μὴ καὶ συμφορᾷ αὐθις περιπέσωσιν, οὐ πάνυ πόρρω τοῦ Ῥήνου προῆλθον, ἀλλὰ αὐτοῦ που μέχρι τοῦ μετοπώρου μείναντες καὶ τὰ τοῦ Αὐγούστου γενέθλια ἐορτάσαντες καὶ τινα ἵπποδρομίαν ἐν αὐτοῖς διὰ τῶν ἑκατοντάρχων ποιήσαντες ἐπανῆλθον. ^[p. 56] ^[4] ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ Ῥώμῃ Δροῦσός τε Καῖσαρ ὁ τοῦ Τιβερίου παῖς ἐταμίευσε, καὶ στρατηγοὶ ἐκκαίδεκα ἦρξαν, ἐπειδὴ τοσοῦτοί τε τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντεποιήσαντο καὶ οὐδένα αὐτῶν λυτῆσαι ὁ Αὐγουστος, οἷα ἐν τοιούτοις ὦν, ἠθέλησεν: οὐ μὴν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐφεξῆς ἔτεσι ταὐτὸν ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' οἱ δώδεκα ἐπὶ πολὺ κατέστησαν. ^[5] τότε δ' οὖν ταῦτά τε οὕτως ἐπράχθη, καὶ τοῖς μάντεσιν ἀπηγορεύθη μήτε κατὰ μόνας τινὶ μήτε περὶ θανάτου, μηδ' ἂν ἄλλοι συμπαρῶσιν οἱ, χρᾶν: καίτοι οὕτως οὐδὲν τῷ Αὐγούστῳ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἔμελεν ὥστε ἐκ προγραφῆς πᾶσι τὴν τῶν ἀστέρων διάταξιν, ὑφ' ὧν ἐγενένητο, φανερώσαι. ^[6] οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνό τε ἀπέλπε, καὶ τῷ ὑπηκόῳ προσπαρήγγειλε μηδενὶ τῶν προστασσομένων αὐτοῖς ἀρχόντων μήτε ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνῳ μήτε ἐντὸς ἐξήκοντα ἡμερῶν μετὰ τὸ ἀπαλλαγῆναι σφας τιμὴν τινα διδόναι, ὅτι τινὲς μαρτυρίας παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπαίνους προπαρασκευαζόμενοι ^[7] πολλὰ διὰ τούτου ἐκακούργουν. ταῖς τε πρεσβείαις τρεῖς καὶ τότε βουλευταὶ ἐχρημάτισαν, καὶ τοῖς ἵππεῦσιν, ὃ καὶ θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις, μονομαχεῖν ἐπετράπη. αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ τινὲς τὴν ἀτιμίαν τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπικειμένην ἐποιοῦντο. ἐπεὶ γὰρ μήτ' ὄφελός τι τῆς ἀπορρήσεως ἐγίνετο καὶ τιμωρίας μεῖζονος ἄξιοι εἶναι ἐδόκουν, ἢ καὶ ἀποτραπήσεσθαι ἐνομίσθησαν, συνεχωρήθη ^[8] σφίσι τοῦτο ποιεῖν. καὶ οὕτως ἀντὶ τῆς ἀτιμίας

θάνατον ὠφλίσκανον: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἤττον ἐμονομάχουν, ^[p. 58] καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι δεινῶς οἱ ἀγῶνες αὐτῶν ἐσπουδάζοντο, ὥστε καὶ τὸν Αὐγουστον τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τοῖς ἀγωνοθετοῦσι σφας συνθεᾶσθαι. 26. Γερμανικὸς δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν μηδὲ στρατηγῆσας ἐδέξατο, καὶ δι' ὅλου αὐτὴν τοῦ ἔτους, οὐ πρὸς τὴν ἀξίωσιν ἀλλ' ὥς που καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς ἔτι καὶ τότε ἦρχον, ἔσχε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἄξιον μνήμης ἔπραξε, πλὴν ὅτι καὶ τότε ὑπερεδίκησεν, ἐπεὶ γε ὁ συνάρχων αὐτοῦ Γάιος Καπίτων καὶ πάνυ τὴν ἄλλως ἠριθμεῖτο: ^[2] ὁ δὲ δὴ Αὐγουστος ἐκεῖνόν τε ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ γήρωι ὦν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ ταύτῃ τῷ Τιβερίῳ παρακατέθετο. ἀνέγνω δὲ τὸ βιβλίον οὐκ αὐτὸς 'οὐ γὰρ οἷός τε ἦν γεγωνίσκειν' ἀλλ' ὁ Γερμανικὸς, ὥσπερ εἰώθει. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἠτήσατο παρ' αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Κελτικοῦ πολέμου προφάσει, μήτ' οἴκοι αὐτὸν ἀσπάξεσθαι μήτ' ἀγανακτεῖν εἰ μηκέτι ^[3] συσσιτοίῃ σφίσι: τὸ μὲν γὰρ πλεῖστον, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὁσάκις ἔδρα αὐτῶν ἐγίγνετο, ἔν τε τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ γε ἔστιν ὅτε τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ ἐσιόντα αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπionτα αὐθις ἠσπάζοντο, ἥδη δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ, καὶ καθήμενόν γε, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ κατακείμενον, οὐχ ὅτι ἡ γερουσία ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἱππῆς τοῦ τε δήμου πολλοί. 27. οὐ μέντοι καὶ τᾶλλα ἡττόν τι παρὰ τοῦτο διώκει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσι δημαρχίαν αἰτῆσαι ἐπέτρεψε, καὶ μαθὼν ὅτι βιβλία ἄττα ἐφ' ὕβρει τινῶν συγγράφοιτο, ζήτησιν αὐτῶν ἐποίησατο, καὶ ἐκεῖνά τε, τὰ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει εὐρεθέντα πρὸς ^[p. 60] τῶν ἀγορανόμων τὰ δὲ ἔξω πρὸς τῶν ἐκασταχόθι ἀρχόντων, κατέφλεξε, καὶ τῶν συνθέντων ^[2] αὐτὰ ἐκόλασέ τινας. ἐπειδὴ τε συχνοὶ φυγάδες οἱ μὲν ἔξω τῶν τόπων ἐς οὐς ἐξωρίσθησαν τὰς διατριβὰς ἐποιοῦντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις ἀβρότερον διήγον, ἀπηγόρευσε μηδένα πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος εἰρχθέντα μήτε ἐν ἡπείρῳ διατρίβειν μήτε ἐν νήσῳ τῶν ὅσαι ἔλαττον τετρακοσίων ἀπὸ τῆς ἡπείρου σταδίων ἀπέχουσι, πλὴν Κῶ τε καὶ Ρόδου Σάμου τε καὶ Λέσβου: ταύτας γὰρ οὐκ ^[3] οἷδ' ὅπως μόνας ὑπεξείλετο. ἐκεῖνά τε οὖν αὐτοῖς προσέταξε, καὶ τὸ μήτε περαιοῦσθαι ποὶ ἄλλοσε, μήτε πλοῖα πλείω φορτικοῦ τε ἐνὸς χιλιοφόρου καὶ κωπῆρων δύο κεκτῆσθαι, μήτε δούλοις ἢ καὶ ἀπελευθέροις ὑπὲρ εἴκοσι χρῆσθαι, μήτ' οὐσίαν ὑπὲρ δώδεκα καὶ ἡμίσειαν μυριάδα ἔχειν, τιμωρηθῆσεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τι παρὰ ταῦτα συμπράξαντάς σφισιν ἐπαπειλῆσας. ^[4] ταῦτά τε οὕτως, ὅσα γε καὶ ἐς ἱστορίαν ἀναγκαῖα ἐστὶ, διενομοθετήθη, καὶ πανήγυρις ἔξω τῶν νενομισμένων ὑπὸ τε τῶν ὀρχηστῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἵπποτρόφων ἐποιήθη. τὰ τε Ἄρεια τότε μὲν, ἐπειδὴ ὁ Τίβερις τὸν ἱππόδρομον προκατέσχεν, ἐν τῇ τοῦ Αὐγουστοῦ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἵππων δρόμῳ τρόπον τινὰ καὶ θηρίων σφαγῇ ἐτιμήθη, ^[5] αὐθις δὲ ὥσπερ εἴθιστο ἐγένετο, καὶ λέοντάς γε ἐς αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ διακοσίους ὁ Γερμανικὸς ^[p. 62] ἀπέκτεινεν. ἢ τε στοὰ ἡ Ἰουλία καλουμένη ὠκοδομήθη τε ἐς τιμὴν τοῦ τε Γαίου καὶ τοῦ Λουκίου τῶν Καισάρων, καὶ τότε καθιερώθη. 28. Λουκίου δὲ δὴ Μουνατίου καὶ Γαίου Σιλίου ἐς τοὺς ὑπατεύοντας ἐσγραφέντων, τὴν τε προστασίαν τῶν κοινῶν τὴν δεκέτιν τὴν πέμπτην ἄκων δὴ ὁ Αὐγουστος ἔλαβε, καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν δημαρχικὴν αὐθις ἔδωκε, τῷ τε Δρούσῳ τῷ υἱεῖ αὐτοῦ ὑπατείαν ἐς ἔτος τρίτον, ^[2] καὶ πρὶν στρατηγῆσαι, αἰτῆσαι ἐπέτρεψε. καὶ συμβούλους ὑπὸ τοῦ

γήρως, ὅψ' οὐπὲρ οὐδ' ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἔτι πλὴν σπανιώτατα συνεφοίτα, εἵκοσιν ἔτησίους ἤτήσατο: πρότερον γὰρ καθ' ἔκμηνον πεντεκαίδεκα προσετίθετο. καὶ προσεψηφίσθη, πάνθ' ὅσα ἂν αὐτῷ μετὰ τε τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ μετ' ἐκείνων τῶν τε αἰὲ ὑπατευόντων ^[3] καὶ τῶν ἐς τοῦτο ἀποδεδειγμένων, τῶν τε ἐγγόνων αὐτοῦ τῶν ποιητῶν δῆλον ὅτι, τῶν τε ἄλλων ὅσους ἂν ἐκάστοτε προσπαράλαβη, βουλευομένῳ δόξῃ, κύρια ὡς καὶ πάσῃ τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἀρέσαντα εἶναι. τοῦτ' οὖν ἐκ τοῦ δόγματος, ὅπερ που καὶ ἄλλως τῷ γε ἔργῳ εἶχε, προσθήμενος, οὕτω τὰ πλείω καὶ κατακείμενος ἔστιν ὅτε ἐχρημάτιζεν. ^[4] ἐπεὶ τε ἐπὶ τῇ εἰκοστῇ πάντες ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐβαρύνοντο καὶ ἐδόκει τι νεώτερον ἔσεσθαι, ἔπεμψε βιβλίον ἐς τὴν βουλήν, κελεύων ἄλλους τινὰς αὐτὴν πόρους ἐπιζητήσαι. τοῦτο δὲ οὐχ ὡς καὶ ἐκεῖνο τὸ τέλος καταλύσων ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' ἵνα μηδενὸς ἄλλου αἰρετωτέρου σφίσι φανέντος καὶ ἄκοντες αὐτὸ ἄνευ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ διαβολῆς βεβαιώσωσι. ^[p. 64] ^[5] καὶ ὅπως γε μὴ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ τοῦ τε Δρούσου γνώμην τινὰ εἰπόντων ὑποτοπήσωσί τε ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐντολῆς τοῦτο γεγονέναι καὶ ἀνεξέταστον αὐτὴν ἔλονται, προσέταξε μηδέτερον αὐτῶν μηδὲν εἰπεῖν. καὶ ἐλέχθη μὲν πολλὰ, καὶ τινα καὶ διὰ βιβλίων τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἐδηλώθη: ^[6] καταμαθὼν δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκεῖνο ἐτοιμοὺς σφᾶς ὑπομεῖναι ὄντας, ἐπὶ τε τοὺς ἀγροὺς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας τὴν συντέλειαν ἤγαγε, καὶ παραχρῆμα μηδὲν εἰπὼν, μήθ' ὅσον μήθ' ὅπως αὐτὸ δώσουσιν, ἔπεμψεν ἄλλους ἄλλῃ τὰ τε τῶν ἰδιωτῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν πόλεων κτήματα ἀπογραφομένους, ἵν' ὡς καὶ μειζόνως ζημιωθησόμενοι δεισῶσι καὶ τὴν εἰκοστὴν τελεῖν ἀνθέλωνται. ὃ καὶ ἐγένετο.” Χίρῃ. 118, 3-6. “ 29. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὧδέ πῃ τῷ Αὐγούστῳ διωκεῖτο: ἵπποδρομίας δὲ τελουμένης ἐν τῇ τῶν Αὐγουσταλίων θέᾳ, ἣτις ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ γενεθλίοις ἐγίγνετο, ἀνὴρ τις ἐμμανῆς ἔς τε τὸν δίφρον τὸν τῷ Καίσαρι τῷ Ἰουλίῳ κείμενον ἐνιδρύθη καὶ τὸν στέφανον αὐτοῦ λαβὼν περιέθετο. ὃ πάντας ἐτάραξεν, καὶ γὰρ ἐδόκει ἐς τὸν Αὐγουστὸν τι σημαίνεισθαι. ^[2] ὅπερ καὶ ἀληθὲς ἦν: τῷ γὰρ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει, ἐν ᾧ Σέξτος τε Ἀπουλείος καὶ Σέξτος Πομπήιος ὑπάτευσαν, ἐξωρμήθη τε ἐς τὴν Καμπανίαν ὁ Αὐγουστος, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν ἐν τῇ Νεᾷ πόλει διαθεὶς ἔπειτα ἐν Νώλῃ μετήλλαξε. τέρατα δὲ ^[p. 66] ἄρα ἐς τοῦτο αὐτῷ φέροντα οὔτε ἐλάχιστα οὔτε ^[3] δυσσύμβλητα ἐγεγένητο: ὃ τε γὰρ ἥλιος ἅπας ἐξέλιπε, καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸ πολὺ καίεσθαι ἔδοξε, ξύλα τε διάπυρα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πίπτοντα ἐφαντάσθη, καὶ ἀστέρες κομῆται καὶ αἱματώδεις ὤφθησαν. βουλῆς τε ἐπὶ τῇ νόσῳ αὐτοῦ ἐπαγγελθείσης, ἵν' εὐχὰς ποιήσωνται χιπῇ. 118, 6-22, ζον. 10, 38, π. 453, 21-454, δ. τὸ τε συνέδριον κεκλειμένον εὐρέθη καὶ βύας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καθήμενος ^[4] ἔβυξε. καὶ κεραυνὸς ἐς εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἐστῶσαν ἐμπεσὼν τὸ γράμμα τὸ πρῶτον τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἠφάνισεν: ὅθεν οἱ μάντιες ἐκατοστῇ μετὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἡμέρα θείας τινὸς μοίρας μεταλήψεσθαι ἔφασαν, τεκμαιρόμενοι ὅτι τὸ τε στοιχεῖον ἐκεῖνο τὸν τῶν ἑκατὸν ἀριθμὸν παρὰ τοῖς Λατίνοις καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ^[5] πᾶν ὄνομα θεὸν παρὰ τοῖς Τυρσηνοῖς νοεῖ. ταῦτα μὲν ζῶντος ἔτ' αὐτοῦ προεφάνη, τοῖς δὲ δὴ ἔπειτα ἀνθρώποις καὶ τὸ τῶν ὑπάτων τὸ τε τοῦ Σερουίου Σουλπικίου Γάλλου ἐνθύμιον ἐγένετο. ἐκεῖνοί τε γὰρ συγγενεῖς πῃ τοῦ Αὐγούστου

ὄντες ἤρχον, καὶ ὁ Γάλβας ὁ τὸ κράτος ὕστερον χρόνῳ λαβὼν τότε ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ νουμηνίᾳ ἐς τοὺς ἐφήβους ^[6] ἐνεγράφη. ἐπεὶ οὖν πρῶτος μετὰ τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου γένος ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων ἐμονάρχησε, λόγον τοῖς παρέσχεν ὡς οὐκ ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου τότε ταῦτα ἀλλ' ἐκ δαιμονίου προβουλῆς ἐγένετο.

30. ὁ δ' οὖν Αὐγουστος νοσήσας μετέλλαξε: καὶ τινα ὑποψίαν τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ ἡ Λιουία ^[p. 68] ἔλαβεν, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν κρύφα ἐς τὴν νῆσον διέπλευσε καὶ ἐδόκει οἱ καὶ παντάπασι ^[2] καταλλαγήσεσθαι. δεισασα γάρ, ὡς φασι, μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ μοναρχίᾳ αὐτὸν καταγάγῃ, σὺκά τινα ἐπὶ δένδροις ἔτ' ἐπόντα, ἀφ' ὧν ὁ Λῦγουστος αὐτοχειρία συκάζειν εἰώθει, φαρμάκῳ ἔχρισε, καὶ αὐτὴ τε ἅμα τὰ ἀνήλιφα ἥσθιε ^[3] κάκεινῳ τὰ πεφαρμαγμένα προσέβαλλεν. εἴτ' οὖν ἐκ τούτου εἶτε καὶ ἄλλως ἀρρωστήσας τοὺς τε ἑταίρους συνεκάλεσε, καὶ εἰπὼν αὐτοῖς ὅσα ἔχρηζε, τέλος ἔφη ὅτι 'τὴν Ῥώμην γῆνιν ^[4] παραλαβὼν λιθινὴν ὑμῖν καταλείπω.' τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὐ πρὸς τὸ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων αὐτῆς ἀκριβὲς ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἰσχυρὸν ἐνεδείξατο: κρότον δὲ δὴ τινα παρ' αὐτῶν ὁμοίως τοῖς γελωτοποιοῖς, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ μίμου τινὸς τελευτῇ, αἰτήσας καὶ πάμπαν πάντα τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον διέσκωψε. ^[5] καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω τῇ ἐννεακαιδεκάτῃ τοῦ Αὐγούστου, ἐν ἣ ποτε τὸ πρῶτον ὑπάτευσεν, μετέλλαξε, ζήσας μὲν πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη καὶ μῆνας δέκα καὶ ἡμέρας ἕξ καὶ εἴκοσι 'τῇ γὰρ τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου ἐγεγέννητό, μοναρχήσας δέ, ἀφ' οὗ πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ ἐνίκησε, τέσσαρα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη, δεκατριῶν ἡμερῶν 31. δέοντα. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκφανῆς εὐθύς ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο: ἡ γὰρ Λιουία, φοβηθεῖσα μὴ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐν τῇ Δελματίᾳ ἔτ' ὄντος νεωτερισθῇ τι, συνέκρυπεν αὐτὸν μέχρις οὗ ἐκεῖνος ἀφίκετο. ταῦτα γὰρ οὕτω τοῖς τε πλείοσι καὶ τοῖς ἀξιοπιστοτέροις ^[p. 70] γέγραπται: εἰσὶ γὰρ τινες οἱ καὶ παραγενέσθαι τὸν Τιβέριον τῇ νόσῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπισκήψεις τινὰς παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἔφασαν. ^[2] τὸ δ' οὖν σῶμα τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐκ μὲν τῆς Νώλης οἱ πρῶτοι καθ' ἐκάστην πόλιν ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἐβάστασαν, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τῇ Ῥώμῃ γενόμενον οἱ ἱππῆς παραλαβόντες νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ ἄστρ ἑσεκόμισαν. τῇ τε ὕστεραιᾳ βουλῇ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὴν ἱππῶδα στολὴν ἐνδεδυκότες συνῆλθον, οἱ δ' ἄρχοντες τὴν βουλευτικὴν ^[3] πλὴν τῶν ἱματίων τῶν περιπορφύρων: ὁ δὲ δὴ Τιβέριος καὶ ὁ Δροῦσος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ φαῖαν, τὸν ἀγοραῖον τρόπον πεποιημένην, εἶχον. καὶ τοῦ μὲν λιβανωτοῦ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔθυσαν, τῷ δ' αὐλητῇ οὐκ ἐχρήσαντο. ἐκαθέζοντο δὲ οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ὡς πού ἕκαστος εἰώθει, οἱ δ' ὑπατοὶ κάτω ἐν τοῖς βάθοις ὁ μὲν τῷ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ δὲ τῷ τῶν δημάρχων. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῷ τε Τιβερίῳ ἄδεια ἐδόθη, ὅτι τοῦ τε νεκροῦ, οὐκ ἐξὸν δὴ, ἤψατο καὶ συμπαρέπεμψεν αὐτὸν 'καίτοι τὰς ... 32.

[1α] ... τὰς διαθήκας αὐτοῦ ὁ Δροῦσος ἐκ τῶν ἀειπαρθένων τῶν τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερείων, αἷς παρετέθειντο, εἰληφὼς εἰς τὸ συνέδριον εἰσήνεγκε, καὶ τὰς σφραγίδας οἱ κατασημηνάμενοι ἐπεσκέψαντο, καὶ ἀνεγνώσθησαν ἐν ἐπηκόῳ τοῦ συνεδρίου." Zon. 10, (p. 454, 27-455, D.). "χιπη. 120, 7-121, 32: ... τὰς διαθήκας αὐτοῦ Πολύβιός τις καισάρειος ἀνέγνω ὡς μὴ πρέπον βουλευτῇ τοιοῦτόν τι ἀνאלέγεσθαι. κατελέλειπτο δὲ ἐν αὐταῖς τὰ μὲν δύο μέρη τοῦ κλήρου τῷ Τιβερίῳ, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τῇ Λιουίᾳ, ὡς τινες λέγουσιν: ἵνα γὰρ τι

καὶ ἐκείνη τῆς οὐσίας ^[p. 72] αὐτοῦ ἀπόνηται, παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἡτήσατο τοσοῦτον αὐτῇ καὶ παρὰ τὸν νόμον καταλιπεῖν δυνηθῆναι. ^[2] κληρονόμοι μὲν δὴ οὗτοι ἐγγράφατο: κτήματα δὲ καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ πολλοῖς καὶ τῶν προσηκόντων οἱ καὶ τῶν ἄλλοτριῶν, οὐχ ὅπως βουλευταῖς καὶ ἱππεῦσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλεῦσι, τῷ τε δῆμῳ χιλίας μυριάδας, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις τοῖς μὲν δορυφόροις κατὰ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας δραχμάς, τοῖς δ' ἀστικοῖς τὴν ἡμίσειαν, τῷ τε λοιπῷ τῷ πολιτικῷ πλήθει ^[3] πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα δοθῆναι ἐκέλευσε. καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοῖς παισὶν ὧν μικρῶν ἔτι ὄντων τοὺς πατέρας τῶν οὐσιῶν ἐκεκληρονομήκει, προσέταξε πάντα μετὰ τῶν προσόδων, ἐπειδὴν ἀνδρωθῶσιν, ἀποδοθῆναι. ὅπερ που καὶ ζῶν ἐποίει: εἰ γὰρ τινα τέκνα ἔχοντα διεδέξατο, τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ πάντως, εἰ μὲν ἤδη τότε τέλειοι ἦσαν, εὐθύς, εἰ δὲ μή, μετὰ τοῦτο πάντα ἀπεδίδου. ^[4] τοιοῦτος μέντοι περὶ τοὺς ἄλλοτριους παῖδας ὧν τὴν θυγατέρα οὔτε κατήγαγε, καίπερ καὶ δωρεῶν ἀξιώσας, καὶ ταφῆναι ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ μνημείῳ ἀπηγόρευσε. 33. τοσαῦτα μὲν αἱ διαθήκαι ἐδήλουν, ἐσεκομίσθη δὲ καὶ βιβλία τέσσαρα: καὶ αὐτὰ ὁ Δροῦσος ἀνέγνω. ἐγγράπτο δὲ ἐν μὲν τῷ πρώτῳ ὅσα τῆς ταφῆς εἶχετο, ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ τὰ ἔργα ἃ ἔπραξε πάντα, ἃ καὶ ἐς χαλκᾶς στήλας πρὸς τῷ ἡρώῳ ^[2] αὐτοῦ σταθείσας ἀναγραφῆναι ἐκέλευσε: τὸ τρίτον ^[p. 74] τὰ τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν προσόδων τῶν τε ἀναλωμάτων τῶν δημοσίων, τὸ τε πλῆθος τῶν ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς χρημάτων, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιουτότροπα ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν φέροντα ἦν, εἶχε, ^[3] καὶ τὸ τέταρτον ἐντολὰς καὶ ἐπισκήψεις τῷ Τιβερίῳ καὶ τῷ κοινῷ, ἄλλας τε καὶ ὅπως μὴτ' ἀπελευθερῶσι πολλοὺς, ἵνα μὴ παντοδατοῦ ὄχλου τὴν πόλιν πληρώσωσι, μὴτ' αὖ ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν συχνοὺς ἐσγράψωσιν, ἵνα πολὺ τὸ ^[4] διάφορον αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ᾖ. τὰ τε κοινὰ πᾶσι τοῖς δυναμένοις καὶ εἰδέναι καὶ πράττειν ἐπιτρέπειν, καὶ ἐς μηδὲνα ἕνα ἀναρτᾶν αὐτὰ παρήνεσέ σφισιν, ὅπως μῆτε τυραννίδος τις ἐπιθυμήσῃ, μὴτ' αὖ πταίσαντος ἐκείνου τὸ ^[5] δημόσιον σφαλῇ. γνώμην τε αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε τοῖς τε παροῦσιν ἀρκεσθῆναι καὶ μηδαμῶς ἐπὶ πλεῖον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπαυξῆσαι ἐθελῆσαι: δυσφύλακτόν τε γὰρ αὐτὴν ἔσεσθαι, καὶ κινδυνεύσειν ἐκ τούτου ^[6] καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἀπολέσαι ἔφη. τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ὄντως αἰεὶ ποτε οὐ λόγῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργῳ ἐτήρησε: παρὸν γοῦν αὐτῷ πολλὰ ἐκ τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ προσκτήσασθαι οὐκ ἠθέλησε. 34. ταῦτα μὲν αἱ ἐντολαὶ εἶχον, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἡ ἐκφορὰ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο. κλίνη ἦν ἔκ τε ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ πεποιημένη καὶ στρώμασιν ἁλουργοῖς διαχρύσοις κεκοσμημένη: καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ μὲν σῶμα κάτω που ἐν θήκῃ συνεκέκρυπτο, εἰκὼν δὲ δὴ τις αὐτοῦ κηρίνῃ ἐν ἐπινικίῳ στολῇ ἐξεφαίνετο. ^[p. 76] ^[2] καὶ αὕτη μὲν ἐκ τοῦ παλατίου πρὸς τῶν ἐς νέωτα ἀρχόντων, ἑτέρα δὲ ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου χρυσοῇ, καὶ ἑτέρα αὖ ἐφ' ἄρματος πομπικοῦ ἦγετο. καὶ μετὰ ταύτας αἱ τε τῶν προπατόρων αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ τῶν ἄλλων συγγενῶν τῶν τεθνηκότων, πλὴν τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ὅτι ἐς τοὺς ἥρωας ἐσεγγράπτο, αἱ τε τῶν ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων τῶν καὶ καθ' ὅτιον πρωτευσάντων, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ^[3] Ῥωμύλου ἀρξάμεναι, ἐφέροντο. καὶ τις καὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου τοῦ μεγάλου εἰκὼν ὤφθη, τὰ τε ἔθνη πάνθ' ὅσα προσεκτήσατο, ἐπιχωρίως σφίσιν ὥς ἕκαστα ἀπῆκασμένα ἐπέμφθη. καὶ

τούτου καὶ τὰ ἄλλα αὐτοῖς, ὅσα ἐν τοῖς ἄνω λόγοις εἴρηται, ^[4] ἐφέσπετο. προτεθείσης δὲ τῆς κλίνης ἐπὶ τοῦ δημηγορικοῦ βήματος, ἀπὸ μὲν ἐκείνου ὁ Δροῦσός τι ἀνέγνω, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἑτέρων ἐμβόλων τῶν Ἰουλιέων ὁ Τιβέριος δημόσιον δὴ τινα κατὰ δόγμα λόγον ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοιόνδε ἐπελέξατο: 35. Ὅσα μὲν ἰδίᾳ καὶ παρὰ τῶν συγγενῶν ἐπὶ τῷ θείῳ ἐκείνῳ Αὐγούστῳ λεχθῆναι ἔδει, Δροῦσος εἴρηκεν: ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ δημοσίας τρόπον τινὰ φωνῆς ἢ γερούσια καλῶς ποιοῦσα ἤξιωσεν αὐτόν, οἷδα μὲν προσήκοντα ἐμαυτῷ τὸν λόγον τόνδε ^[2] ἐπιτραπεῖς 'τίς γὰρ ἂν δικαιότερον ἐμοῦ τοῦ καὶ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ διαδόχου τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔπαινον ἐνεχειρίσθῃ;' οὐ μέντοι καὶ θαρρεῖν ἔχω ὥς οὐ πολὺ καταδεέστερος καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας περὶ αὐτοῦ ^[3] βουλήσεως καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀξιώσεως ὢν. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἐν ἄλλοτριῶσι τισὶ λέξειν ἔμελλον, σφόδρα ἂν ἐφοβούμην μὴ τῷ ἐμῷ λόγῳ προσέχοντες τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ νομίσωσιν εἶναι: νῦν δὲ δὴ παραμυθεῖται με ὅτι παρ' ὑμῖν τοῖς πάντα ^[p. 78] τε αὐτὰ ἀκριβῶς εἰδόσι καὶ πάντων αὐτῶν πεπειραμένοις, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν ἐπαίνων τῶνδε αὐτόν ἤξιωκόσι, τοὺς λόγους ποιήσομαι. ^[4] οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἐγὼ εἴπω καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου ἀρετὴν κρινεῖτε, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν αὐτοὶ σὺνιστε καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις βοηθήσετε, ἀναπληροῦντες τὸ ἐλλεῖπον τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν γεγονότων, ὥστε κοινὸν κἀν τούτῳ παρὰ πάντων τὸν ἔπαινον γενέσθαι, ἐμοῦ τε ὥσπερ ἐν χορῷ τινὶ τὰ κεφάλαια ἀποσημαίνοντος, ^[5] καὶ ὑμῶν τὰ λοιπὰ συνεπηχούντων. οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνο δέδοικα, μὴ ἥτοι ἐμοῦ ἀσθενεῖαν τινα καταγνώτε, ὅτι μὴ δύναμαι τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ὑμῶν τυχεῖν, ἢ αὐτοὶ τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι ὑμᾶς τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτοῦ φθονήσητε. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἐπίσταται τοῦθ', ὅτι οὗτ' ἂν πάντες ἄνθρωποι συνελθόντες ἀξιόους αὐτοῦ ἐπαίνους εἴποιεν, καὶ πάντες ἐθελονταὶ ^[6] τῶν νικητηρίων αὐτῷ παραχωρεῖτε, οὐχ ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἂν ὑμῶν ἐξισωθείη οἱ φθονοῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ ὑπερέχοντι αὐτοῦ ἀγαλλόμενοι; ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν οὗτος μείζων ὑμῶν φανῇ, τοσούτῳ μείζονα ὑμεῖς εὐηργετῆσθαι δόξετε, ὥστε μὴ ἀφ' ὧν ἐλαττοῦσθε αὐτοῦ βασκανίαν ὑμῖν, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὧν εὖ πεπόνθατε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σεμνότητα ἐγγενέσθαι. 36.

ἄρξομαι δὲ ἐντεῦθεν ὅθενπερ καὶ ἐκεῖνος τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν ἤρξατο, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας αὐτοῦ. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐν τῶν μεγίστων τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἔργων ἐστίν, ὅτι ἄρτι ἔκ τε τῶν παίδων ἐξεληλυθὼς καὶ μεираκιοῦσθαι ^[2] ἀρχόμενος τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον, καθ' ὃν καλῶς ^[p. 80] τὰ δημόσια πρὸς τοῦ ἡμιθέου ἐκείνου Καίσαρος διωκεῖτο, παιδείᾳ προσεῖχεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπιβουλευθέντος αὐτοῦ πάντα τὰ κοινὰ ἐταράχθη, τῷ τε πατρὶ ἅμα ἱκανῶς ἐτιμώρησε καὶ ὑμῖν ἀναγκαιῶς ἐπεκούρησε, μήτε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐχθρῶν φοβηθεὶς μήτε τὸ μέγεθος τῶν πραγμάτων δεισας μήτε τὴν ^[3] ὀλιγοετίαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὀκνήσας. καίτοι τί τοιοῦτον ἢ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν ἢ Ῥωμύλος ὁ ἡμέτερος, οἵπερ που μάλιστα νεαροὶ ὄντες ἐλλόγιμόν τι ποιῆσαι δοκοῦσιν, ἔπραξαν; ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν ἑάσω, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ παραβάλλειν οἱ καὶ παραδεικνύναι σφᾶς, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ὑμῖν μηδὲν ἥττον ἐμοῦ αὐτοὺς εἰδόσι, σμικροτέραν τὴν τοῦ ^[4] Αὐγούστου ἀρετὴν ποιεῖν νομισθῶ: πρὸς μόνον δὲ δὴ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου

ἔργα παραθεωρῶν αὐτὸν ὀρθῶς μὲν ἂν κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιεῖν δόξαιμι, τοσοῦτον δ' ἂν τῆς προαιρέσεως διαμάρτοίμι ὅσον ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἔν τε παισὶν ὄφεις καὶ ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἔλαφόν τε τινα καὶ κάπρον καὶ νῆ Δία καὶ λέοντα ἄκων καὶ ἐξ ἐπιτάξεως ἀπέκτεινεν, [5] οὗτος δὲ οὐκ ἐν θηρίοις ἀλλ' ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἐθέλοντῆς καὶ πολεμῶν καὶ νομοθετῶν τὸ τε κοινὸν ἀκριβῶς ἔσωσε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐλαμπρύνθη. τοιγάρτοι διὰ ταῦτα καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτὸν εἵλεσθε καὶ ὑπατον ἀπεδείξατε ἐκεῖνο τῆς ἡλικίας ἔχοντα ἐν ᾧ μηδὲ στρατεῦσθαι τινες ἐθέλουσιν. 37.

αὕτη μὲν δὴ καὶ Αὐγούστῳ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ βίου ἀρχὴ καὶ ἐμοὶ τοῦ περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγου γέγονε: μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο ὄρων τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον καὶ κράτιστον καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἑαυτῷ συμφρονοῦν, [p. 82] στασιωτείαις δὲ τισι τὸν τε Λέπιδον καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον τὸν τε Σέξτον καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον τὸν τε [2] Κάσιον χρωμένους, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ πολλοῖς ἅμα πολέμοις, καὶ τούτοις ἐμφυλίοις, ἡ πόλις συνενεχθεῖσα καὶ διασπασθῇ καὶ ἐκτρυχωθῇ ὥστε μηδὲνα ἔτι τρόπον ἀνενεγκεῖν δυνηθῆναι, φρονιμώτατα καὶ δημωφελέστατα αὐτοὺς διέθηκεν: [3] τοὺς τε γὰρ ἰσχύοντας καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ ἄστει ἐπικειμένους προσλαβὼν κατεπολέμησε μετ' αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐτέρους, καὶ τούτων ὑπεξαίρεθέντων αὐθις αὖ καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνων ἡλευθέρωσεν ἡμᾶς, ἐλόμενος μὲν ὀλίγους τινὰς καὶ ἄκων σφίσι προέσθαι ὥστε τοὺς πλείους διασῶσαι, ἐλόμενος δὲ καθ' ἐκάστους αὐτοῖς ἐπιτηδεῖως πῶς προσενεχθῆναι [4] ὥστε μὴ πᾶσιν ἅμα πολεμῆσαι. ἐξ ὧν ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὐδὲν ἰδίᾳ ἐκέρδανεν, ἡμᾶς δὲ δὴ πάντας περιφανῶς ὠφέλησε. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς τε ἐμφυλίους καὶ τοὺς ὀθνεῖους ἔργα αὐτοῦ τί ἂν τις μακρηγοροίῃ, ἄλλως τε καὶ διότι τὰ μὲν ὠφέλε μηδ' ἀρχὴν γεγονέναι, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐπικτηθέντων πολὺ ἐναργεστέραν τὴν [5] ὠφελίαν παντὸς λόγου παρέχεται; καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῆς τύχης τὸ πλεῖστον ὄντα, καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν μὲν πολιτῶν πολλῶν δὲ καὶ συμμάχων κατορθωθέντα, καὶ κοινὴν πρὸς ἐκείνους τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῷ ἔχει, καὶ τάχα ἂν καὶ ἐτέρων τινῶν πράξεσι [6] παραβληθεῖ. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν παραλείψω: καὶ γὰρ που πολλαχῇ αὐτὰ καὶ γεγραμμένα καὶ τετυπωμένα καὶ ὀρᾶν καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν δύνασθε: ἃ δὲ δὴ μάλιστα αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἔργα [p. 84] ἐστὶ, καὶ μῆτ' ἄλλῳ τινι ἀνθρώπων πέπρακται, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν οὐ μόνον ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν κινδύνων περιπεποίηκεν ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐπορωτέραν καὶ δυνατωτέραν ἐξείργασται, ταῦτ' [7] ἔρῳ μόνα: ἐκείνῳ τε γὰρ εὐκλείαν ἐξαίρετον λεχθέντα οἶσει, καὶ ὑμῶν τοῖς μὲν πρεσβυτέροις ἡδονὴν ἄμεμπτον ποιήσει, τοῖς δὲ νεωτέροις διδασκαλίαν ἀκριβῆ τοῦ τε τρόπου καὶ τῆς καταστάσεως τῆς πολιτείας παρέξει. 38.

ὁ τοίνυν Αὐγουστος οὗτος, ὃν δι' αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ταύτης ἡξιώσατε, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων ἀπηλλάγη καὶ πράξας καὶ παθὼν οὐχ ὅσα αὐτὸς ἠθέλεν ἀλλ' ὅσα τῷ δαιμονίῳ ἔδοξεν, πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς πλείους τῶν ἀντιστάντων οἱ καὶ περιγενομένων ἐκ τῶν παρατάξεων ἔσωσεν, ἐν μηδενὶ τὸν Σύλλαν μιμησάμενος [2] τὸν εὐτυχῇ ὀνομαζόμενον. καὶ ἵνα μὴ πάντας αὐτοὺς καταλέγω, τίς οὐκ οἶδε τὸν Σόσιον, τίς τὸν

Σκαῦρον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Σέξτου, τίς τὸν Λέπιδον αὐτόν, ὃς καὶ ἐπεβίω τοσοῦτον τῇ ἡττῇ χρόνον καὶ ἀρχιέρεως διὰ παντὸς αὐτοῦ ὦν διετέλεσεν; ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς συνεξετασθέντας οἱ πολλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις δωρεαῖς τιμῆσας οὐθ' ὑπερήφανόν τι πράττειν οὐθ' ^[3] ὑβρίζειν εἶασεν. ἀλλ' ἴστε γὰρ ἀκριβῶς καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τοὺς τε ἄλλους καὶ τὸν Μαικῆναν καὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν, ὥστε με μὴδὲν μὴδὲ τούτους ἐξαριθμῆσασθαι δεῖσθαι. δύο μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔσχεν οἷα ἐν οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἐνὶ ἐγένετο. ἤδη γὰρ οἷδ' ὅτι καὶ ἐχθρῶν τινες ἐφείσαντο καὶ ἕτεροι τοῖς ἐταίροις ἀσελγαίνειν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψαν: ἀλλὰ ἀμφοτέρω τῷ αὐτῷ ἅμα διὰ πάντων ὁμοίως οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτῳ ποτὲ ^[p. 86] ^[4] ἄλλῳ ὑπῆρξε. τεκμήριον δέ, Σύλλας μὲν καὶ Μάριος καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ἀντιπολεμησάντων σφίσιν ἤχθησαν: τί γὰρ δεῖ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν τῶν μικροτέρων μνημονεύειν; Πομπήιος δὲ καὶ Καῖσαρ τούτου μὲν ἀπέσχοντο ὥς γε ἐπίπαν εἰπεῖν, τοῖς δὲ δὴ φίλοις οὐκ ὀλίγα παρὰ τὰ ^[5] ἑαυτῶν ἦθη ποιεῖν ἐφῆκαν. ἀλλ' οὗτος οὕτως ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν ἔμιξε καὶ ἐκέρασεν ὥστε τοῖς τε ἐναντιωθεῖσιν οἱ νίκην τὴν ἦτταν ἀποφῆναι καὶ τοῖς συναγωνισαμένοις εὐτυχῇ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀποδείξει. 39.

ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ τὸ μὲν στασιωτικὸν πᾶν τὸ περιλειφθὲν φιλανθρωπία καταστήσας, τὸ δὲ στρατιωτικὸν τὸ κρατῆσαν εὐεργεσία μετριάσας, καὶ δυνηθεὶς ἂν ἐκ τούτων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀπλῶν τῶν τε χρημάτων μόνος ἀναμφιλόγως ^[2] κύριος ἀπάντων, ὦν γε καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐγεγόνει, εἶναι, οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τις ἰατρὸς ἀγαθὸς σῶμα νεοσηκὸς παραλαβὼν καὶ ἐξιασάμενος, ἀπέδωκε πάντα ὑμῖν ὑγιᾶ ποιήσας. καίτοι τοῦτο ἡλικίον ἐστί, μάλιστα ἂν ἐξ ἐκείνου τεκμήρηαισθε ὅτι καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ τὸν Μέτελλον τὸν τότε ἀνθήσαντα ἐπῆνεσαν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν, ἐπειδὴ τὰς δυνάμεις μεθ' ὧν ^[3] ἐπολέμησαν ἐθελονταὶ διαφῆκαν. εἰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι μικρὰν τινα ἰσχὺν καὶ ταύτην πρόσκαιρον ἔχοντες, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἀντιπάλους τοὺς οὐκ ἐπιτρέφοντάς σφίσιν ἄλλο τι ποιῆσαι κεκτημένοι, τοῦτο τε ἔπραξαν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔπαινον ^[p. 88] ἔσχον, ποῦ δὴ δύναιτ' ἂν τις τῆς Αὐγούστου ^[4] μεγαλοφροσύνης ἐφικέσθαι, ὅστις πάσας μὲν τὰς δυνάμεις ὑμῶν τηλικαύτας οὕσας ἔχων, πάντων δὲ τῶν χρημάτων πλείστων ὄντων κρατῶν, καὶ μήτε φοβούμενός τινα μήθ' ὑποπτεῦων, ἀλλ' ἐξὸν αὐτῷ πάντων συνεπαινούντων μόνῳ ἄρχειν, οὐκ ἠξίωσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐς τὸ μέσον ὑμῖν κατέθηκεν; ^[5]

ὁθενπερ καὶ ὑμεῖς, καλῶς ποιοῦντες καὶ ὀρθῶς φρονοῦντες, οὐκ ἡνέσχεσθε οὐδὲ ἐπετρέψατε αὐτῷ ἰδιωτεῦσαι, ἀλλ' ἅτε εὖ εἰδότες ὅτι δημοκρατία μὲν οὐποτ' ἂν τηλικούτοις πράγμασιν ἀρμόσειεν, προστασία δὲ ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς μάλιστ' ἂν αὐτὰ σώσειεν, οὐτε λόγῳ μὲν ἐπανελθεῖν ἐς τὴν αὐτονομίαν ἔργῳ δὲ ἐς τοὺς στασιασμοὺς ^[6] ἠθελήσατε, καὶ ἐκεῖνον, ὃν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἔργοις ἐδεδοκιμάκετε, προκρίναντες ἠναγκάσατε χρόνον γέ τινα ὑμῶν προστῆναι. ἐξ οὗ δὴ πολὺ μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ πειραθέντες, καὶ δεῦτερον αὐθις καὶ τρίτον τέταρτόν τε καὶ πέμπτον ἐξεβιάσασθε αὐτὸν ἐν 40. τῇ τῶν κοινῶν διαχειρίσει ἐμμεῖναι. καὶ μάλα εἰκότως: τίς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἔλοιτο

ἀπραγμόνως σώζεσθαι καὶ ἀκινδύνως εὐδαιμονεῖν, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν τῶν τῆς πολιτείας ἀφθόνως ἀπολαύειν, ταῖς δὲ δὴ φροντισί ταῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μὴ συνεῖναι;

τις δ' ἂν ἄμεινον τοῦ Αὐγούστου τῆς ἰδίας οἰκίας μόνης, μήτι γε καὶ ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων [2] τοσοῦτων, ἦρξεν; ὅστις τὰ μὲν ἐπίπονα καὶ ἐμπολέμια ἔθνη αὐτὸς καὶ φρουρήσειν καὶ σώσειν [p. 90] ὑπεδέξατο, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τὰ εἰρηναῖα καὶ ἀκινδυνα ὑμῖν ἀπέδωκεν, στρατιώτας τε τοσοῦτους ἀθανάτους πρὸς τὸ προπολεμεῖν ὑμῶν τρέφων οὐδενὶ τῶν σφετέρων λυπηροὺς αὐτοὺς ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ ὀθνεῖον φύλακας φοβερωτάτους, πρὸς δὲ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀόπλους ἀπολέμους εἶναι παρεσκεύασε. [3]

καὶ μέντοι καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν οὔτε ἐν ταῖς ἡγεμονίαις τὴν τοῦ κλήρου τύχην ἀφείλετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἄθλα σφισι τῆς ἀρετῆς προσπαρέσχεν, οὔτε ἐν ταῖς διαγνώμαις τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῆς διαψηφίσεως κατέλυσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν [4] τῆς παρρησίας προσέθηκεν. ἔκ τε τοῦ δήμου τὸ δύσκριτον ἐν ταῖς διαγνώσεσιν ἐς τὴν τῶν δικαστηρίων ἀκρίβειαν μεταστήσας, τὸ τε ἀξίωμα τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν αὐτῷ ἐτήρησε, κἀν ταύταις τὸ φιλότιμον ἀντὶ τοῦ φιλονείκου σφᾶς ἐξεπαίδευσε, κἀκ τῶν σπουδαρχιῶν αὐτῶν τὸ πλεονεκτικὸν ἐκκόψας τὸ εὐδοξον αὐτοῖς ἀντέδωκε. τὰ τε ἑαυτοῦ χρήματα σωφρόνως ἐπαύξων ἐς τὴν δημοσίαν χρεῖαν ἀνήλπισκεν, καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ὡς [5] ἰδίων κηδόμενος ὡς ἀλλοτρίων ἀπέιχετο. καὶ πάντα μὲν τὰ ἔργα τὰ πεπονηκότα ἐπισκευάσας οὐδενὸς τῶν ποιησάντων αὐτὰ τὴν δόξαν ἀπεστέρησε: πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ καινῆς, τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ὀνόματι τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέρων, τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς κατεσκεύασε τὰ δὲ ἐκείνοις οἰκοδομῆσαι ἐπέτρεψε, τὸ τῷ κοινῷ χρήσιμον διὰ πάντων ἰδὼν, ἀλλ' οὐ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εὐκλείας ἰδίᾳ τισι φθονήσας. [p. 92] [6]

τοῖς τε τῶν οἰκειοτάτων ὑβρίσμασιν ἀπαραιτήτως ἐπεξιὼν τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀμαρτήματα ἀνθρωπίνως μετεχειρίζετο καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀρετὴν τινα ἔχοντας ἀφθόνως εἶα οἱ παριστοῦσθαι, τοὺς [7] δ' ἄλλως πως βιοῦντας οὐκ ἤλεγχεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων αὐτῷ μόνους τοὺς μηδ' ἂν ἑαυτοῖς λυσιτελοῦντως ζήσαντας ἐδίκαιωσε, τοὺς δὲ δὴ λοιποὺς οὕτω διέθηκεν ὥστε παμπληθῇ χρόνον μηδὲνα μήτ' οὖν ἀληθῇ μήτε ψευδῇ αἰτίαν ἐπιθέσεως λαβεῖν. θαυμαστὸν μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν εἰ καὶ ἐπεβουλεύθη ποτέ: οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' οἱ θεοὶ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ἀρέσκουσιν: ἡ δὲ δὴ τῶν καλῶς ἀρχόντων ἀρετὴ οὐκ ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἕτεροι κακουργήσωσιν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἂν αὐτοὶ εὖ ποιήσωσι φαίνεται. 41.

εἶρηκα, ὦ Κυριῖται, τὰ μέγιστα καὶ ἐκπρεπέστατα, ὥς γε ἐν κεφαλαίοις διελθεῖν, ἐπεὶ ἂν γέ τις πάντα ἀκριβῶς καθ' ἕκαστον ἀναριθμήσασθαι ἐθελήσῃ, παμπόλλων ἂν ἡμερῶν δεσθεῖν. πρὸς δὲ καὶ εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι παρ' ἐμοῦ μὲν μόνᾳ ταῦτα ἀκηκοότες ἔσεσθε, παρ' ἑαυτοῖς δὲ δὴ καὶ τᾶλλα ἐξ αὐτῶν πάντα ἀναμνησθήσεσθε, ὥστε τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐμὲ δοκεῖν εἰρηκέναι.

[2] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλως κόμπου τινὸς ἔνεκα οὐτ' ἐγὼ τὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγον οὐθ' ὑμεῖς τὴν ἀκρόασιν πεποιήσθε, ἀλλ' ὅπως τὰ πεπραγμένα αὐτῷ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ ὄντα ἀειμνήστου παρὰ ταῖς ψυχαῖς [3] ὑμῶν εὐκλείας τύχη. τίς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν τῶν βουλευτῶν αὐτοῦ μνημονεύσειεν; ὣν τὸ φαῦλον [p. 94] τὸ ἐκ τῶν στάσεων ἐπιπολάσαν ἀλύπως ἀφελὼν τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτῷ τε τούτῳ ἐσέμνυνε καὶ τῇ αὐξήσει τοῦ τιμήματος ἐμεγάλυνε τῇ τε δόσει τῶν χρημάτων ἐπλούτισεν: οἷς ἐξ ἴσου καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν γνώμην ἐδίδου, καὶ μεθ' ὧν συμμεθίστατο: οἷς πάντα τὰ μέγιστα καὶ ἀναγκαιότατα αἰεὶ ποτε ἢ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἢ καὶ οἴκοι διὰ τε τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τοῦ σώματος, παραλαμβάνων [4] ἄλλοτε ἄλλους, ἐπεκοίνου. τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν τῶν λοιπῶν Ῥωμαίων, οἷς ἔργα, χρήματα, ἀγῶνας, πανηγύρεις, ἄδειαν, ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἀσφάλειαν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων οὐδ' ἀπὸ τῶν κακούργων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου οὐχ ὅτι μεθ' ἡμέραν ἀλλὰ καὶ νύκτωρ συμπιπτόντων, παρεσκεύασε. τίς τῶν συμμάχων, οἷς ἀκίνδυνον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, οἷς ἀζήμιον τὴν συμμαχίαν ἐποίησε. τίς τῶν ὑπηκόων, ὧν [5] οὐδεὶς οὐθ' ὑβρίσθη ποτὲ οὐτε ἐπηρεάσθη. πῶς δ' ἂν τις ἐπιλάθοιτο ἀνδρὸς ἰδίᾳ μὲν πένητος δημοσίᾳ δὲ πλουσίου, καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν μὲν οἰκονομικοῦ πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀναλωτικοῦ γενομένου, καὶ αὐτοῦ μὲν πάντα αἰεὶ καὶ πόνον καὶ κίνδυνον ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὑπομείναντος, ὑμᾶς δὲ δὴ μηδ' ὅσον προπέμψαι ποιῶν αὐτὸν ἀπιόντα ἢ καὶ ἀπαντῆσαι οἱ ἐπανιόντι ταλαιπωρήσαντος, καὶ ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐορταῖς καὶ τὸν δῆμον οἴκαδε προσδεξαμένου, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἡμέραις καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν [6] ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἀσπασαμένου; πῶς τοῦ τε πλήθους καὶ τῆς ἀκριβείας ἅμα τῶν νόμων τῶν τοῖς μὲν ἀδικουμένοις αὐτάρκες παραμύθιον [p. 96] τοῖς δ' ἀδικοῦσιν οὐκ ἀπάνθρωπον τιμωρίαν ἐχόντων; πῶς τῶν γερῶν τῶν τοῖς γαμοῦσι καὶ τεκνοῦσι προκειμένων; πῶς τῶν ἄθλων τῶν τοῖς στρατιώταις ἄνευ τινὸς ἐτέρου βλάβης δεδομένων; [7] τί δέ; τὸ τοῖς ἅπαξ ἀναγκαιῶς κτηθεῖσιν ἀρκεσθῆναι αὐτὸν καὶ μηδὲν ἕτερον προσκατεργάσασθαι ἐθελῆσαι, ἐξ οὗ πλείονων ἂν δόξαντες ἄρχειν καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἀπωλέσαμεν, ἢ τὸ τοῖς μὲν πάνυ φίλοις καὶ συνησθῆναι αἰεὶ ποτε αὐτὸν καὶ συλλυπηθῆναι [8] καὶ συμπαῖξαι καὶ συσπουδάσαι, πᾶσι δ' ἀπλῶς τοῖς ὠφελιμὸν τι ἐπινοῆσαι δυνασθεῖσι παρρησιάσασθαι ἐπιτρέψαι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀληθιζομένους τινα ἐπαινέσαι, τοὺς δὲ κολακεύοντας μισῆσαι, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων πολλοῖς χαρίσασθαι, πάντα δὲ τὰ καταλειφθέντα αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τινων παῖδας ἐχόντων αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις ἀποδοῦναι, ποῖα ἂν ἐπιλησμοσύνη φθαρεῖ; [9]

τοιγαροῦν διὰ ταῦτα εἰκότως καὶ προστάτην αὐτὸν καὶ πατέρα δημόσιον ἐποιήσασθε, καὶ ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς καὶ ὑπατείαις πλείσταις ἐπεγαυρώσατε, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον καὶ ἥρωα ἀπεδείξατε καὶ ἀθάνατον ἀπεφήνατε. οὐκ οὖν οὐδὲ πενθεῖν αὐτὸν ἡμῖν πρέπει, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν σῶμα αὐτοῦ τῇ φύσει ἥδη ἀποδοῦναι, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ὥς καὶ θεοῦ αἰεὶ ἀγάλλειν.

‘ 42. Τιβέριος μὲν ταῦτα ἀνέγνω, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὴν τε κλίνην οἱ αὐτοὶ οὔτε καὶ πρότερον ἀράμενοι διὰ τῶν ἐπινικίων πυλῶν κατὰ τὰ τῇ βουλῇ

δόξαντα διεκόμισαν, παρῆν δὲ καὶ συνεξέφερεν [p. 98] αὐτὸν ἢ τε γερουσία καὶ ἢ ἱππας, αἱ τε γυναῖκες αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ δορυφορικόν, οἳ τε λοιποὶ πάντες [2] ὡς εἶπεῖν οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε ὄντες. ἔπει δὲ ἐς τὴν πυρὰν τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ ἐνετέθη, πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ ἱερῆς πάντες περιῆλθον αὐτήν, ἔπειτα δὲ οἳ τε ἱππῆς, οἳ τε ἐκ τοῦ τέλους καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, καὶ τὸ ὀπλιτικόν τὸ φρουρικόν περιέδραμον, πάντα τὰ νικητήρια, ὅσα τινὲς αὐτῶν ἐπ' ἀριστεία ποτὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ εἰλήφεσαν, ἐπιβάλλοντες [3] αὐτῇ. 100 κάκ τούτου δᾶδας ἑκατόνταρχοι, ὡς που τῇ βουλῇ ἐδόκει, 101 λαβόντες ὑφῆψαν αὐτήν: καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀνηλίσκετο, αἰετὸς δὲ τις ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀφεθεὶς ἀνίπτατο ὡς καὶ δὴ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναφέρων. πραχθέντων [4] δὲ τούτων οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἀπηλλάγησαν, ἡ δὲ δὴ Λιουία κατὰ χώραν πέντε ἡμέραις 102 μετὰ τῶν πρώτων ἱππέων μείνασα τὰ τε ὅσῳ αὐτοῦ συνελέξατο καὶ ἐς τὸ μνημεῖον κατέθετο. 43. τὸ δὲ δὴ πένθος τὸ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐνιαυτῷ ὅλῳ κατὰ ψήφισμα ἐποίησαντο, 103 τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἐν μὲν τῷ παραχρῆμα οὐ πολλοὶ ὕστερον δὲ πάντες ἔσχον. εὐπρόσοδος τε γὰρ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ἦν, καὶ ἐς χρήματα πολλοῖς ἐπήρκει, τοὺς τε φίλους ἰσχυρῶς ἐτίμα, καὶ ταῖς παρρησίαις [2] αὐτῶν ὑπερέχαιρε. τεκμήριον δὲ πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις 104 ὅτι τοῦ Ἀθηνοδώρου ἐν διφρῷ ποτὲ καταστέγω ἐς τὸ δωμάτιον αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ γυναικὸς [p. 100] τινος ἐσκομισθέντος, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ξιφήρους ἐκπηδήσαντος, καὶ προσεπειπόντος 'οὐ φοβῆ μή τις σε οὕτως ἐσελθὼν ἀποκτείνῃ;' οὐχ ὅπως [3] ὠργίσθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ χάριν αὐτῷ ἔγνω. ταῦτά τε οὖν αὐτοῦ ἀνεμιμνήσκοντο, καὶ ὅτι καὶ τοῖς λυπήσασί τι αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀκρατῶς ὠργίζετο, τὴν τε πίστιν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς οὐκ ἀξίους αὐτῆς ἐτήρει: Κοροκότταν 105 γοῦν 106 τινα ληστήν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ ἀκμάσαντα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὕτω δι' ὀργῆς ἔσχεν ὥστε 107 τῷ ζωγρήσαντι αὐτὸν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας ἐπικηρῦξαι, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ ἐκὼν οἱ προσῆλθεν, οὕτε τι κακὸν εἰργάσατο καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῷ ἀργυρίῳ ἐκείνῳ ἐπλούτισε. [4] διὰ τε οὖν ταῦτα, καὶ ὅτι τὴν μοναρχίαν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ μίξας τὸ τε ἐλεύθερόν σφισιν ἐτήρησε καὶ τὸ κόσμιον τὸ τε ἀσφαλὲς προσπαρεσκεύασεν, ὥστ' ἔξω μὲν τοῦ δημοκρατικοῦ θράσους ἔξω δὲ καὶ τῶν τυραννικῶν ὕβρεων ὄντας ἔν τε ἐλευθερίᾳ σώφρονι καὶ ἐν μοναρχίᾳ ἀδεεῖ ζῆν, βασιλευομένους τε ἄνευ δουλείας καὶ δημοκρατουμένους 44. ἄνευ διχοστασίας, δεινῶς αὐτὸν ἐπόθουν. 108 εἰ γὰρ τινες καὶ τῶν προτέρων τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις πολέμοις γενομένων ἐμνημόνευον, ἐκεῖνα μὲν τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνάγκῃ ἀνετίθεσαν, τὴν δὲ δὴ γνώμην αὐτοῦ ἐξ οὗ τὸ κράτος ἀναμφίλογον ἔσχεν ἐξετάζειν ἠξίου: πλεῖστον γὰρ δὴ τὸ διάφορον [2] ὡς ἀληθῶς παρέσχετο. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καθ' ἕκαστον ἂν τις τῶν πραχθέντων ἐπεξιῶν [p. 102] ἀκριβώσσει: 109 κεφάλαιον δὲ ἐφ' ἅπασιν αὐτοῖς γράφω ὅτι τὸ τε στασιάζον πᾶν ἔπαυσε καὶ τὸ πολίτευμα πρὸς τε τὸ κράτιστον μετεκόσμησε καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ἐκράτυνεν, ὥστε εἰ καὶ βιαιότερόν τι, οἷα ἐν τοῖς παραλόγοις φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν, ἐπράχθη, δικαιότερον ἂν τινα αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἢ ἐκεῖνον αἰπάσασθαι. [3] οὐκ ἐλάχιστον δ' οὖν αὐτῷ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν καὶ τὸ πολυχρόνιον τῆς ἡγεμονίας συνήρατο. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἀνδρῶν καὶ οἱ πλείους [4] καὶ οἱ δυνατώτεροι ἀπωλώλεσαν: οἱ

δ' ὕστεροι ἐκείνης μὲν οὐδὲν εἰδότες, τοῖς δὲ παροῦσι μόνοις ἢ καὶ μάλιστα ἐντραφέντες οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἤχθοντο αὐτοῖς ἅτε καὶ συνήθεσιν οὔσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔχαιρον, καὶ βελτίω καὶ ἀδεέστερα αὐτὰ ὧν ἦκουον ὀρῶντες ὄντα. 45. ταῦτα δὲ ἠπίσταντο μὲν καὶ ζῶντος αὐτοῦ, 110 ἐπὶ πλεῖον δ' ὁμως μεταλλάξαντος ἔγνωσαν: καὶ γὰρ φιλεῖ πως τὸ ἀνθρώπειον 111 οὐχ οὕτω τι εὐπαθοῦν τῆς εὐδαιμονίας αἰσθάνεσθαι ὡς δυστυχήσαν ποθεῖν αὐτήν. ὅπερ που καὶ τότε περὶ τὸν Αὐγουστον συνέβη: τοῦ γὰρ Τιβερίου μετ' αὐτὸν οὐχ ὁμοίου πειραθέντες ἐκείνον ἐζήτουν. [2] καὶ ἦν μὲν καὶ παραχρήμα τὴν μεταβολὴν τῆς καταστάσεως τοῖς ἔμφοροι τεκμήρασθαι: ὃ τε γὰρ ὕπατος ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξορμήσας ὡς καὶ τοῖς τὸ τοῦ Αὐγουστοῦ σῶμα ἄγουσιν ἀπαντήσων τὸ τε σκέλος ἐπλήγη καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ φοράδην ἀνεκομίσθη, καὶ βύας αὐθις ὑπὲρ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐν [p. 104] αὐτῇ τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς βουλῆς μετὰ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἔδρα ἰδρῦθη καὶ πολλὰ καὶ οὐκ αἴσια [3] ἐπεφθέγγατο. τοσοῦτον δ' οὖν τὸ σύμπαν ἀλλήλων διήνεγκαν ὥστε τινὰς καὶ ἐς τὸν Αὐγουστον ὑποπτεῦσαι ὅτι ἐξεπίτηδες τὸν Τιβέριον, καίπερ εὖ εἰδὼς ὅποῖος ἦν, διάδοχον ἀπέδειξεν, ἵνα αὐτὸς εὐδοξήσῃ. 46. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὖν ὕστερον διαθροεῖν ἤρξαντο, τότε δὲ ἀθανάτισαντες αὐτόν, καὶ θιασώτας οἱ καὶ ἱερὰ ἱερείαν τε τὴν Λιουίαν τὴν Ἰουλίαν τε 112 [2] καὶ Αὐγουσταν ἤδη καλουμένην ἀπέδειξαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν καὶ ῥαβδούχῳ χρῆσθαι ἐν ταῖς ἱερουργίαις αὐτῇ ἐπέτρεψαν: ἐκείνη δὲ δὴ Νουμερίῳ τινὶ Ἀττικῷ, βουλευτῇ ἐστρατηγηκότῃ, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας ἐχαρίσατο, ὅτι τὸν Αὐγουστον ἐς τὸν οὐρανόν, κατὰ τὰ περὶ τε τοῦ Πρόκλου καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου λεγόμενα, ἀνιόντα ἑορακέναι [3] ὤμοσε. καὶ αὐτῷ ἐν τε τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἡρώων ψηφισθὲν μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας οἰκοδομηθὲν δὲ ὑπὸ τε τῆς Λιουίας καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐποιήθη, καὶ ἄλλοθι πολλαχόθι, τὰ μὲν ἐκόντων δὴ τῶν δήμων τὰ δὲ ἀκόντων οἰκοδομουμένων. καὶ οἱ καὶ ἡ ἐν τῇ Νώλῃ οἰκία, ἐν ἣ μετήλλαξεν, ἐτεμενίσθη. [4] ἐν ᾧ δ' οὖν τὸ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἡρώων ἐγίγνετο, εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ χρυσοῖν ἐπὶ κλίνης ἐς τὸν τοῦ Ἄρεως ναὸν ἔθεσαν, καὶ ἐκείνη πάντα ὅσα τῷ ἀγάλματι αὐτοῦ μετὰ τοῦτο χρῆσσεσθαι ἔμελλον ἐνόμισαν. ταῦτά τε αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσθη, καὶ ὅπως μὴτ' εἰκὼν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐκφορᾷ πινος πομπεύῃ, καὶ τὰ γενέσια οἱ ὕπατοι ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς Ἀρείοις 113 [p. 106] ἀγωνοθετῶσι, τὰ τε Αὐγουστάλια οἱ δήμαρχοι [5] ὡς καὶ ἱεροπρεπεῖς ὄντες διατιθῶσι. καὶ οἱ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὥσπερ εἰώθει γίγνεσθαι ἔπραξαν· καὶ γὰρ τῇ ἐσθῇτι τῇ ἐπινικίῳ ἐν τῇ Ἰπποδρομίᾳ ἐχρήσαντό, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐπέβησαν. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων καὶ ἡ Λιουία ἰδίαν δὴ τινα αὐτῷ πανήγυριν ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ἐποίησεν, ἣ καὶ δεῦρο 114 αἰεὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν αἰεὶ αὐτοκρατόρων τελεῖται. 47. ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τῷ Αὐγουστῳ τοσαῦτα, λόγῳ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Λιουίας, ἐνομίσθη: ἄλλων γὰρ ἄλλα ἐσηγουμένων, ἔδοξε σφισι βιβλία παρ' αὐτῶν τὸν Τιβέριον λαβόντα ἐκλέξασθαι ὅσα ἐβούλετο. προσέθηκα δὲ τὸ τῆς Λιουίας ὄνομα, ὅτι καὶ αὐτῇ τῶν πραγμάτων ὡς καὶ αὐταρχοῦσα ἀντεποιεῖτο. [2] κἀν τούτῳ τὸ πλῆθος, τῶν ὀρχηστῶν πινος μὴ ἐθελήσαντος ἐπὶ τῷ τεταγμένῳ μισθῷ ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἐν τοῖς Αὐγουσταλίοις ἐσελθεῖν, ἐστασίασε: καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσαντο ταραττόμενοι πρὶν τοῦς

δημάρχους τήν τε βουλὴν αὐθημερόν συναγαγεῖν, καὶ δεηθῆναι αὐτῆς ἐπιτρέψαι σφίσι πλεῖον τι τοῦ νενομισμένου ἀναλῶσαι. 115”

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK 57

“οὗτος τοσοῦτον ὑπὸ πάντων ἡγαπᾶτο ὥστε καὶ τελευτῶν τις ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ κληρονόμοις θῦσαι ὅτι ζῶντα τὸν Σεβαστὸν καταλείπει.” Exc. Salm. fr. 78, Muell. (p. 393, 26-28 Cram.). “τοσοῦτον δὲ πεφίχθητο παρὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων

ὥστε τὸν βίον ἐκλείπειν μέλλων ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος

ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ παισὶ καὶ διαδόχοις

χαριστηρίους τοῖς θεοῖς προσενεγκεῖν θυσίας,

‘ὅτι,’ φησί, ‘τὸν Σεβαστὸν ζῶντα καταλιμπάνω.’” Const. Man. v. 1912-1916. “δυστυχήσας δὲ περὶ γάμον καὶ τὰ εἰς παῖδας ἐκβεβηκότα ἐβόα: αἶθ’ ὠφελον ἄγαμός τ’ ἔμεναι ἄγονός τ’ ἀπολέσθαι.” Exc. Salm. fr. 78, Muell. (p. 393, 28-30 Cram.). “περὶ δὲ ὀρθογραφίαν ἐσπουδάκει ὥστε καὶ διάδοχόν τινα τῶν ἀρχόντων ἔπεμψεν, ὅτι αὐτῷ

ἐπιστέλλων τῆς ὀρθῶς ἐχούσης ἐσφάλη γραφῆς.” Exc. Salm. fr. 78, Muell. (p. 393, 31-33 Cram.).

BOOK 57

τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ ἐβδόμῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

α. περὶ Τιβερίου.

β. ὡς Καππαδοκία ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχεσθαι ἤρξατο.

γ. ὡς Γερμανικὸς Καῖσαρ ἀπέθανεν.

δ. ὡς Δροῦσος Καῖσαρ ἀπέθανεν.

χρόνου πλῆθος ἔτη ἔνδεκα, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμοῦμενοι οἶδε ἐγένοντο

Δροῦσος Καῖσαρ Τιβερίου υἱ.

γ. Νωρβανὸς Γ. υἱ. Φλάκκος ὕπ. 1

τ. Στατίλιος Τ. υἱ. Σισέννας ταῦρος

λ. Σκριβώνιος Α. υἱ. Λίβων ὕπ.

γ. Καϊκίλιος Γ. υἱ. Νέπως ἥ Ροῦφος

λ. Πομπώνιος Α. υἱ. Φλάκκος ὕπ.

Τιβ. Καῖσαρ Αὐγούστου υἱ. τὸ γ

Γερμανικὸς Καῖσαρ Τιβ. υἱ. τὸ β ὕπ.

μ. Ἰούνιος Μ. υἱ. Σιλανός

γ. Νωρβανὸς Γ. υἱ. Φλάκκος ἥ Βάλβος ὕπ. 6

μ. Οὐαλέριος Μ. υἱ. Μεσσάλας

μ. Αὐρήλιος Μ. υἱ. Κόττας ὕπ.

Τιβ. Καῖσαρ Αὐγούστου υἱ. τὸ δ

Δροῦσος Ἰούλιος Τιβ. υἱ. τὸ β ὕπ.

Δέκιμος Ἀτέριος Κ. υἱ. Ἀγρίππας

γ. Σουλπίκιος Σεργ. υἱ. Γάλβας ὕπ

γ. Ἀσίνιος Γ. υἱ. Πωλίων

γ. Ἀντίστιος Γ. υἱ. Οὐέτος ὕπ.

Σέργ. Κορνήλιος Σεργ. υἱ. Κέθηγος

λ. Οὐισέλλιος γ. υἱ. Οὐάρρων ὕπ.

μ. Ἀσίνιος Γ. υἱ. Ἀγρίππας

Κόσσος Κορνήλιος Κόσσου υἱ. Λεντοῦλος ὕπ.

[p. 112] 1. “ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ Αὐγουστον ἐγένετο, Τιβέριος δὲ εὐπατριδης μὲν ἦν καὶ ἐπεπαιδευτο, φύσει δὲ ιδιωτάτῃ ἐκέχρητο. οὔτε γὰρ ὧν ἐπεθύμει προσεποιεῖτο τι, καὶ ὧν ἔλεγεν οὐδὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐβούλετο, ἀλλ’ ἐναντιωτάτους τῇ προαιρέσει τοὺς λόγους ποιούμενος πᾶν τε ὃ ἐπόθει ἡρνεῖτο καὶ πᾶν ὃ ἐμίσει προσετίνειτο: ὠργίζετο τε ἐν οἷς ἥκιστα ἐθυμοῦτο, καὶ ἐπεικῆς ἐν οἷς μάλιστα ἡγανάκτει [2] ἐδόκει εἶναι: ἡλέει τε δῆθεν οὕς σφόδρα ἐκόλαζε, καὶ ἐχαλέπαιναν οἷς συνεγίνωσκε: τὸν τε ἔχθιστον ὡς οἰκειότατον ἔστιν ὅτε ἑώρα, καὶ τῷ φιλάτῳ ὡς ἀλλοτριωτάτῳ προσεφέρετο. τὸ τε σύμπαν οὐκ ἡξίου τὸν αὐταρχοῦντα κατάδηλον ὧν φρονεῖ εἶναι: ἔκ τε γὰρ τούτου πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα πταίεσθαι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου πολλῶ [3] πλείω καὶ μείζω κατορθοῦσθαι ἔλεγε. καὶ εἰ μὲν μόνα ταῦτ’ εἶχεν, εὐφύλακτος ἂν τοῖς ἐς πείραν αὐτοῦ ἐλθοῦσιν ἦν: πρὸς γὰρ τοι τὸ ἐναντιώτατον πάντα ἂν λαμβάνοντες ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου τὸ τε μὴ βούλεσθαι δὴ τι αὐτὸν τῷ πάνυ ποθεῖν καὶ τὸ ὀρέγεσθαι τινος τῷ μὴ ἐφίεσθαι ἐνόμιζον: νῦν δὲ ὠργίζετο εἴ τις αὐτοῦ συνεῖς φανερὸς ἐγένετο, καὶ πολλοὺς οὐδὲν ἄλλο σφίσιν ἢ ὅτι συνενόησαν αὐτὸν ἐγκαλέσαι ἔχων ἀπέκτεινεν. [4] ὥστε χαλεπὸν μὲν ἦν μηδεμίαν αὐτοῦ σύνεσιν ποιεῖσθαι ‘πολλὰ γὰρ ἅτε πρὸς τὸ λεγόμενον ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς τὸ βουλούμενον συναινοῦντές οἱ ἐσφάλλοντό, χαλεπώτερον δὲ συνιέναι: [p. 114] τὴν τε γὰρ ἐπιτήδευσιν αὐτοῦ καταφωρᾶν κάκ [5] τούτου καὶ ἄχθεσθαι αὐτῇ ὑπωπτεύοντο. μόνος οὖν ὡς εἰπεῖν, ὅπερ που σπανιώτατόν ἐστι, διεγένετο ὅς οὗτ’ ἡγνόησε τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ οὗτ’ ἡλεγξεν: οὕτω γὰρ οὔτε πιστεύσαντές οἱ ἡπατήθησαν, οὔτε ἐνδειζάμενοι νοεῖν ἃ ἔπραττεν ἐμισήθησαν. πάνυ γὰρ πολὺν ὄχλον παρεῖχεν, εἶτε [6] τις ἐναντιοῖτο οἷς ἔλεγεν εἶτε καὶ συναίροιτο: τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀληθῶς γενέσθαι τὸ δὲ δοκεῖν βούλεσθαι ἐθέλων, πάντως τέ τινας πρὸς ἑκάτερον ἐναντιουμένους εἶχε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς μὲν τῆς ἀληθείας τοὺς δὲ τῆς δοκίσεως ἔνεκα ἡχθαίρε. 2. τοιοῦτος οὖν δὴ τις ὧν ἔς τε τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ ἐς τὰ ἔθνη πάντα ὡς αὐτοκράτωρ εὐθύς ἀπὸ τῆς Νώλης ἐπέστειλε, μὴ λέγων

αὐτοκράτωρ εἶναι: ψηφισθὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦτο μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὀνομάτων οὐκ ἐδέξατο, καὶ τὸν κλῆρον τοῦ Αὐγούστου λαβὼν τὴν ἐπικλησιν αὐτοῦ ταύτην ^[2] οὐκ ἔθετο. τοὺς τε σωματοφύλακας ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν ἤδη ἔχων ἐδεῖτο δὴ τῆς γερουσίας συνάρασθαι οἱ ὥστε μηδὲν βίαιον ἐν τῇ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ ταφῇ παθεῖν: ἐδεδίει γὰρ δῆθεν μὴ τινες αὐτὸ ἀρπάσαντες ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ὥσπερ τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ^[3] καύσωσι. καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε κομφευσάμενός τις ἐπὶ τούτῳ φρουρὰν αὐτῷ ὥς οὐκ ἔχοντι δοθῆναι ἐσηγήσατο, τὸν τε χλευασμὸν αὐτοῦ συνῆκε, καὶ ἔφη καὶ ὅτι ‘οἱ στρατιῶται οὐκ ἐμοὶ ἀλλὰ ^[p. 116] δημόσιοι εἰσι.’ ταῦτά τε οὖν οὕτως ἔπρασσε, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔργῳ πάντα διοικῶν ἡρνεῖτο ^[4] μηδὲν αὐτῆς δεῖσθαι. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν διὰ τε τὴν ἡλικίαν ‘ἔξ γὰρ καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτη ἐγεγόνει καὶ δι’ ἀμβλυωπίαν’ πλεῖστον γὰρ τοῦ σκότους βλέπων ἐλάχιστα τῆς ἡμέρας ἑώρα ἐξίστασθαι ἔλεγεν: ἔπειτα δὲ κοινωνοὺς τέ τινας καὶ συνάρχοντας, οὗτοι γε καὶ πάντων καθάπαξ ὥσπερ ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ, ἀλλ’ ἐς τρία μέρη νέμων αὐτὴν, ἥτει, καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτὸς ἔχειν ἤξιον, τῶν δὲ ἐτέρων ἄλλοις παρεχώρει. ^[5] ἦν δὲ ταῦτα ἐν μὲν ἡ τε Ῥώμη καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἰταλία, ἕτερον δὲ τὰ στρατόπεδα, καὶ ἕτερον οἱ λοιποὶ ὑπήκοοι. ὥς οὖν πολὺς ἐνέκειτο, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι καὶ ὥς ἀντέλεγον δῆθεν καὶ ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦ ἄρχειν πάντων, Ἀσίνιος δὲ δὴ Γάλλος παρρησίᾳ ἀεὶ ποτε πατρῴᾳ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ συμφέρον αὐτῷ χρώμενος ‘ἐλοῦ’ ἔφη ‘ἦν ἂν ἐθελήσης ^[6] μοῖραν.’ καὶ Τιβέριος ‘καὶ πῶς οἷόν τέ ἐστίν’ εἶπεν ‘τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ νέμειν τι καὶ αἰρεῖσθαι ;’ συνεῖς οὖν ὁ Γάλλος ἐν ᾧ κακοῦ ἐγεγόνει, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτόν, ὑπολαβὼν ὅτι ‘οὐχ ὥς καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἔξοντός σου, ἀλλ’ ὥς ἀδύνατον ὄν τὴν ἀρχὴν διαιρεθῆναι, τοῦτό σοι ^[7] προέτεινα,’ οὐ μέντοι καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ ἐπιθάσσευσεν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ προπαθὼν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπαπεσφάγη. καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ τὴν προτέραν ἐγεγαμήκει, τὸν τε Δροῦσον ὥς υἱὸν προσεποιεῖτο, ὅθενπερ καὶ πρότερον διὰ μίσους αὐτῷ ἦν. ^[p. 118] 3. ὁ δ’ οὖν Τιβέριος ταῦτα τότε ἐποίει τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον ὅτι οὕτω τε ἐπεφύκει καὶ οὕτω προήρητο, ἤδη δὲ καὶ ὅτι τὰ τε στρατεύματα, καὶ τὰ Παννονικὰ καὶ τὰ Γερμανικὰ, ὑπετόπει, καὶ τὸν Γερμανικὸν τῆς Γερμανίας ἄρχοντα τότε καὶ ^[2] φιλούμενον ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐδεδίει. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ὄντας τοῖς ὅρκοις τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου καταδειχθεῖσι προκατέλαβεν: ἐς δὲ ἐκείνους ὑποπτεῦν ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέρα ἀνεῖχεν, ὅπως, ἂν τι νεωτερίσαντες ἐπικρατήσωσιν, ὥς καὶ ἰδιωτεύων σωθῇ. καὶ πολλάκις γε διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀρρωστεῖν προσεποιεῖτο καὶ οἶκοι κατέμενεν, ἵνα μὴ ἀναγκασθῇ ἀποκεκριμένον τι εἰπεῖν ἢ πρᾶξαι. ^[3] ἤδη μὲν γὰρ ἤκουσα ὅτι, ἐπειδὴ ἡ Λιουία ἄκοντος τοῦ Αὐγούστου τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ περιπεποιηκέναι ἐλέγετο, ἔπραττεν, ὅπως μὴ παρ’ ἐκείνης ‘καὶ γὰρ πάνυ αὐτῇ ἤχθετό ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀναγκαστός, ὥς καὶ κατὰ ἀρετὴν σφῶν προήκων, ^[4] δόξειεν αὐτὴν εἰληφέναι: καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐκείνο, ὅτι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὁρῶν ἁλλοτριῶς ἑαυτῷ ἔχοντας διέμελλε καὶ διῆγεν, ὅπως μὴ φθάσαντές τι νεοχμύσωσιν ἐλπίδι τοῦ καὶ ἐθελούσιον αὐτὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφήσιν, μέχρις οὗ ἐγκρατῆς αὐτῆς ^[5] διὰ πάντων ἐγένετο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ταῦθ’ οὕτως αἵτια τῆς διαγωγῆς ταύτης γράφω, ὥς τὴν τε ἐπιτήδευσιν τῆς γνώμης αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ταραχὴν

τῶν στρατιωτῶν. τὸν μὲν γὰρ Ἀγρίππαν παραχρῆμα ἀπὸ τῆς Νώλης πέμψας
τινὰ ἀπέκτεινε· καὶ ἔλεγε μὲν μὴ ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προστάξεως τοῦτο [p. 120] [6]
γεγονέναι, ἐπηπείλει τε τῷ δράσαντι, οὐ μὴν καὶ τιμωρίαν τινὰ αὐτοῦ
ἐποίησατο, ἀλλ’ εἶα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους λογοποιεῖν, τοὺς μὲν ὅτι ὁ Αὐγουστος
αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὴν τελευτὴν ἀπεχρήσατο, τοὺς δ’ ὅτι ὁ ἐκατόνταρχος ὁ τὴν
φρουρὰν αὐτοῦ ἔχων καινοτομοῦντά τι ἀπέσφαξεν αὐτογνωμονήσας,
ἄλλους ὡς ἡ Λιουία, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐκεῖνος, ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν. 4.
τοῦτον μὲν οὖν αὐτίκα ὑπεξείλετο, τὸν δὲ δὴ Γερμανικὸν δεινῶς ἐφοβεῖτο.
ἐθορύβησαν μὲν γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Παννονίᾳ στρατιῶται, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τῆς
τοῦ Αὐγούστου μεταλλαγῆς ἦσθοντο· καὶ συνελθόντες ἐς ἓν τεῖχος, καὶ
ἐκεῖνο κρατυνάμενοι, πολλὰ καὶ στασιαστικὰ ἔπραξαν. [2] τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ
τὸν ἄρχοντά σφων Ἰούνιον Βλαῖσον ἀποκτείνειν ἐπεχείρησαν, τοὺς τε
δούλους αὐτοῦ συλλαβόντες ἐβασάνισαν. τὸ τε σύμπαν οὐθ’ ὑπὲρ ἐκκαίδεκα
ἔτη στρατεῦσθαι ἤθελον, καὶ δραχμὴν ἡμερησίαν φέρειν τὰ τε ἄθλα εὐθύς
αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ λαμβάνειν ἤξιον, ἀπειλοῦντες, ἂν μὴ τυχῶσιν
αὐτῶν, τὸ τε ἔθνος [3] ἀποστήσειν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλάσειν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’
ἐκεῖνοι μὲν τότε τε μόλις ποτὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Βλαΐσου πεισθέντες πρέσβεις πρὸς
τὸν Τιβέριον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἔπεμψαν· ἐν γὰρ τῇ μεταβολῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς πάνθ’
ὅσα ἐπεθύμουν, ἢ αὐτὸν ἐκφοβήσαντες ἢ καὶ ἄλλω τινὶ τὸ κράτος δόντες,
καταπράξειν [4] ἤλπιζον· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ Δρούσου σὺν τοῖς δορυφόροις
ἐπελθόντος σφίσιν ἐταράχθησαν μὲν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲν αὐτοῖς βέβαιον ἐλέγετο,
καὶ τῶν τε συνόντων αὐτῷ κατέτρωσάν τινας καὶ [p. 122] αὐτὸν τῆς νυκτὸς
περιεφρούρησαν, μὴ διαφύγῃ, τῆς δὲ δὴ σελήνης ἐκλιπούσης ἐνθυμηθέντες
ἀπημβλύνθησαν, ὥστε κακὸν μὲν μηδὲν ἔτ’ αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι, πρέσβεις δ’
αὔθις πρὸς τὸν [5] Τιβέριον ἀποστεῖλαι. κἀν τούτῳ χειμῶνος μεγάλου
γενομένου, καὶ δι’ αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἐκάστων τείχη ἀναχωρησάντων, οἱ τε
θρασύτατοι ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Δρούσου καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ γε τῇ σκηνῇ αὐτοῦ,
μεταπεμφθέντες ὡς καὶ ἐπ’ ἄλλο τι, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν συνακολουθησάντων αὐτῷ
ἄλλοι κατ’ ἄλλον τρόπον ἐφθάρησαν, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ κατέστησαν, ὥστε καὶ
πρὸς τιμωρίαν τινὰς ὡς καὶ αἰτίους τῆς στάσεως γεγονότας ἐκδοῦναι. 5. καὶ
οὗτοι μὲν οὕτως ἡσυχασαν, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Γερμανίᾳ, καὶ πολλοὶ διὰ τὸν
πόλεμον ἡθροισμένοι καὶ τὸν Γερμανικὸν καὶ Καίσαρα καὶ πολὺ τοῦ
Τιβερίου κρεῖττω ὀρῶντες ὄντα, οὐδὲν ἐμετρίαζον ἀλλὰ τὰ αὐτὰ
προτεινόμενοι τὸν τε Τιβέριον ἐκακηγόρησαν καὶ τὸν Γερμανικὸν
αὐτοκράτορα [2] ἐπεκάλεσαν. ἐπειδὴ τε ἐκεῖνος πολλὰ εἰπὼν καὶ μὴ
δυνηθεὶς αὐτοὺς καταστήσαι, τέλος τὸ ξίφος ὡς καὶ ἑαυτὸν
καταχρησόμενος ἐσπάσατο, ἐπεβόησάν οἱ χλευάζοντες, καὶ πῖς αὐτῶν τὸ
ἑαυτοῦ ξίφος ἀνατείνας ‘τοῦτο’ ἔφη ‘λαβέ· τοῦτο γὰρ [3] ὀξύτερόν ἐστιν.’ ὁ
οὖν Γερμανικὸς ἰδὼν ὅποι τὸ πρᾶγμα προελήλυθει, ἀποκτείνει μὲν ἑαυτὸν
οὐκ ἐτόλμησε διὰ τε τᾶλλα καὶ ὅτι στασιάσειν αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν ἤττον ἤλπισε,
γράμματα δὲ δὴ πῖνα ὡς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου πεμφθέντα συνθεῖς, τὴν τε
δωρεὰν τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου καταλειφθεῖσάν [p. 124] σφισι διπλῇν ὡς καὶ
παρ’ ἐκείνου ἔδωκε, καὶ τοὺς [4] ἔξω τῆς ἡλικίας ἀφῆκε· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ
ἀστικοῦ ὄχλου, οὕς ὁ Αὐγουστος μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Οὐάρου συμφορὰν

προσκατέλεξεν, οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν ἦσαν. τότε μὲν οὖν οὕτω στασιάζοντες ἐπαύσαντο: ὕστερον δὲ πρεσβευτῶν παρὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου βουλευτῶν ἐλθόντων, οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ μόνῳ ^[5] εἶπεν ὅσα τὸν Γερμανικὸν μαθεῖν ἠθέλησεν· εὗτε γὰρ ἡπίστατο πάντως σφᾶς ἐροῦντάς οἱ πάντα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ διανοήματα, καὶ οὐκ ἠβουλήθη παρὰ ταῦτα οὐδέν, ὥς καὶ μόνῳ ὄντα, οὔτε ἐκείνους οὔτε τὸν Γερμανικὸν πολυπραγμονῆσαι, τούτων οὖν ἀφικομένων οἱ στρατιῶται τὸ τε τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ στρατήγημα μαθόντες, καὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς ὥς καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν πεπραγμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταλύσει παρόντας ὑποπεύσαντες, ἐθορύβησαν ^[6] αὖθις, καὶ τῶν τε πρέσβων ὀλίγου τινὰς ἀπέσφαξαν καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἐνέκειντο, τὴν τε γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ Ἀγριππῖναν, τοῦ τε Ἀγρίππου καὶ τῆς Ἰουλίας τῆς τοῦ Αὐγούστου θυγατέρα οὔσαν, καὶ τὸν υἱόν, ὃν Γάιον Καλιγόλαν, ὅτι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὸ πλεῖστον τραφεῖς τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς ὑποδήμασιν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀστικῶν ἐχρῆτο, προσωνόμαζον, ὑπεκπεμφθέντας ποιῶντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ^[7] Γερμανικοῦ συνέλαβον. καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἀγριππῖναν ἐγκύμονα οὔσαν ἀφῆκαν αὐτῷ δεηθέντι, τὸν δὲ δὴ Γάιον κατέσχον. χρόνῳ δ' οὖν ποτε καὶ τότε, ὥς οὐδὲν ἐπέβαινον, ἡσύχασαν, καὶ ἐς τοσαύτην γε μεταβολὴν ἦλθον ὥστε καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς θρασυτάτους σφῶν αὐτοκέλευστοι συλλαβεῖν καὶ τοὺς ^[p. 126] μὲν ἰδίᾳ ἀποκτείνειν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸ μέσον ἀγαγόντες ἔπειτα πρὸς τὸ τῶν πλειόνων βούλημα τοὺς μὲν ἀποσφάζειν τοὺς δ' ἀπολύσαι. 6. φοβηθεῖς δ' οὖν καὶ ὥς ὁ Γερμανικὸς μὴ καὶ αὖθις στασιάσῃ, ἐς τὴν πολεμίαν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ἀσχολίαν τε ἅμα αὐτοῖς καὶ τροφήν ἄφθονον ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων παρέχων ἐνεχρόνισε. ^[2] καὶ ὁ μὲν δυνηθεὶς ἂν τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν λαβεῖν ἢ γὰρ εὐνοία πάντων ἀπλῶς τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων σφῶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐποιεῖ οὐκ ἠθέλησε: Τιβέριος δὲ ἐπήνεσε μὲν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ κεχαρισμένα καὶ ἐκείνῳ καὶ τῇ Ἀγριππίνῃ ἐπέστειλεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἡσθη οἷς ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον αὐτὸν ὥς καὶ ^[3] τὰ στρατεύματα ἀνηρτημένον ἔδεισεν. οὐ γὰρ που καὶ φρονεῖν οὕτως ὥς ἐδόκει, ἐξ ὧν ἑαυτῷ συνήδει ἄλλα μὲν λέγοντι ἄλλα δὲ ποιοῦντι, ὑπελάμβανεν, ὥσθ' ὑπετόπει μὲν καὶ ἐκείνον, ὑπετόπει δὲ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ: ἦν γὰρ ἀντίπαλον τὸ φρόνημα τῷ τοῦ γένους ὄγκῳ ^[4] ἔχουσα. οὐ μὴν καὶ προσεποιεῖτο ἄχθεσθαι σφισιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπαίνους ἐν τῇ βουλῇ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ πολλοὺς ἐποίησατο, καὶ θυσίας ἐπὶ τοῖς πραχθεῖσιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Δρούσου, γενέσθαι ἐσηγήσατο. τοῖς τε στρατιώταις τοῖς ἐν τῇ Παννονίᾳ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ^[5] ὑπ' ἐκείνου δοθεῖσιν ἐδώρησατο: ἐς μέντοι τὸ ἔπειτα οὐ πρότερον τοὺς ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας στρατευομένους ἀπέλυε πρὶν τὰ εἴκοσι ἔτη στρατεῦσασθαι. 7. ὥς δ' οὖν οὐδὲν ἔτι νεώτερον ἠγγέλλετο, ἀλλὰ ^[p. 128] ἀσφαλῶς πάντα τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτοῦ συνεφρόνησε, τὴν τε ἀρχὴν οὐδὲν ἔτι εἰρωνευόμενος ὑπεδέξατο, καὶ ἐν τοιῷδε αὐτὴν τρόπῳ, ἐφ' ὅσον ὁ Γερμανικὸς ἔζη, διήγαγεν. ^[2] αὐτὸς μὲν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἢ τι ἢ οὐδὲν ἔπραττε, πάντα δὲ δὴ καὶ τὰ σμικρότατα ἔς τε τὴν γερούσιαν ἐσέφερε καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἐκοίνου. ἐπεποιήτο μὲν γὰρ βῆμα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ἐφ' οὗ προκαθίζων ἐχρημάτιζε, καὶ συμβούλους αἰεὶ κατὰ τὸν Αὐγούστον παρελάμβανεν, οὐ

μέντοι καὶ διώκει λόγου τι ^[3] ἄξιον ὃ μὴ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπεκοῖνου. καὶ ἔς γε τὸ μέσον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην τιθεῖς οὐχ ὅπως ἀντεπεῖν αὐτῇ παντὶ τῷ παρρησίαν ἔνεμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τάναντία οἱ ἔστιν ὅτε ψηφίζομένων τινῶν ἔφερε. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ψῆφον πολλάκις ἐδίδου. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Δροῦσος ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς ἄλλοις τοτὲ μὲν ^[4] πρῶτος τοτὲ δὲ μεθ' ἑτέρους τοῦτ' ἐποίει: ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἔστι μὲν ὅτε ἐσιώπα, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ πρῶτος ἢ καὶ μετ' ἄλλους τινὰς ἢ καὶ τελευταῖος τὰ μὲν ἀντικρυς ἀπεφαίνετο, τὰ δὲ δὴ πλείω, ἵνα δὴ μὴ δοκῇ τὴν παρρησίαν αὐτῶν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, ἔλεγεν ὅτι 'εἰ γνώμην ἐποιούμην, τὰ καὶ τὰ ἂν ἀπεδειξάμην.' ^[5] καὶ ἦν μὲν καὶ τοῦτο τὴν ἴσην τῷ ἑτέρῳ ἰσχὺν ἔχον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκωλύοντο οἱ λοιποὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὰ δοκοῦντά σφισι λέγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις ὁ μὲν τὸ ἐγίγνωσκεν, οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν ἕτερόν τι ἀνθηροῦντο, καὶ ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἐπεκράτουν: καὶ οὐδενὶ μέντοι παρὰ τοῦτο ὀργὴν ^[6] εἶχεν. ἐδίκασε μὲν οὖν ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἐπεφοῖτα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων δικαστήρια, καὶ ^[p. 130] παρακαλούμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπαράκλητος, καὶ ἐκείνους μὲν ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν χώρᾳ καθῆσθαι εἶα, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βάθρου τοῦ κατάντικρυς σφῶν κειμένου καθίζων ἔλεγεν ὅσα ἐδόκει αὐτῷ ὡς πάρεδρος. 8. καὶ τᾶλλα δὲ πάντα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον τρόπον ἐποίει. οὐτε γὰρ δεσπότην ἑαυτὸν τοῖς ἐλευθέροις οὔτε αὐτοκράτορα πλὴν τοῖς στρατιώταις καλεῖν ἐφίει, τὸ τε τοῦ πατρὸς τῆς πατρίδος πρόσρημα παντελῶς διεώσατο, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Αὐγοῦστου οὐκ ἐπέθετο μὲν 'οὐδὲ γὰρ ψηφισθῆναι ποτε εἶασέ, λεγόμενον δ' ἀκούων καὶ γραφόμενον ^[2] ἀναγινώσκων ἔφερε: καὶ ὅσάκις γε βασιλεῦσι τισιν ἐπέστελλε, καὶ ἐκεῖνο προσενέγραφε. τὸ δ' ὅλον Καῖσαρ, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ Γερμανικὸς ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ πραχθέντων, πρόκριτός τε τῆς γερουσίας κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ ὠνομάζετο, καὶ πολλάκις γε ἔλεγεν ὅτι 'δεσπότης μὲν τῶν δούλων, αὐτοκράτωρ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ^[3] τῶν δὲ δὴ λοιπῶν πρόκριτός εἰμι.' εὐχέτο τε, ὅσάκις τι τοιοῦτο παραπέσοι, τοσοῦτον καὶ ζῆσαι καὶ ἄρξαι χρόνον ὅσον ἂν τῷ δημοσίῳ συμφέρῃ. καὶ οὕτω γε διὰ πάντων ὁμοίως δημοτικὸς ἦν ὥστε οὐτε ἐν τοῖς γενεθλίοις αὐτοῦ γίγνεσθαι τι παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἐπέτρεπεν, οὐτ' ὁμνῦναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τύχην συνεχώρει, εἰ τε καὶ ὁμόσας τις αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ὡς καὶ ^[4] ἐπιωρκηκῶς ἔλαβεν, οὐκ ἐπέξῃει. συνελόντι τε ^[p. 132] εἶπεῖν, οὐδ' ὅπερ ἐπὶ τε τῷ Αὐγοῦστῳ δεῦρο αἰεὶ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἄρξασιν, ὧν γε καὶ λόγον τινὰ ποιούμεθα, ἐπὶ τε τοῖς τὸ κράτος αἰεὶ ἔχουσιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης γίγνεται, τὸ τὰ τε πραχθέντα ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ πραχθισόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν αἰεὶ ζώντων ὄρκους πρὸς βεβαιοῦσθαι, οὐδὲ τοῦτο τὰ γε πρῶτα ^[5] ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ περιεῖδε γενόμενον. καίτοι ἐπὶ ταῖς τοῦ Αὐγοῦστου πράξεσι τοὺς τε ἄλλους πάντας ὥρκου καὶ αὐτὸς ὤμνυε. καὶ ὅπως γε ἐκδηλότερον αὐτὸ ποιοῖη, παρεῖς ἂν τὴν νομηνίαν καὶ μήτε ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσελθὼν μήθ' ὅλως ἐν τῇ πόλει τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ὀφθείς, ἀλλ' ἐν προαστείῳ τινὶ διατρίψας, ἐσῆει τε μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ^[6] κατὰ μόνας ἐπιστοῦτο. τούτου τε οὖν ἕνεκα ἔξω που ταῖς νομηνίαις διῆγε, καὶ ἵνα μηδένα τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄσχολον, περὶ τε τὰς νέας ἀρχὰς καὶ περὶ τὴν ἐορτὴν ἔχοντα, ποιῇ, ἢ καὶ ἀργῦριον παρ' αὐτῶν λαμβάνῃ. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τὸν

Αὐγουστον ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐπῆνει διὰ τὸ πολλὴν μὲν δυσχέρειαν ἐν αὐτῷ πολλὴν δὲ καὶ ἀνάλωσιν ἐκ τῆς ἀντιδόσεως γίγνεσθαι. 9. ταῦτά τε οὖν δημοτικῶς διώκει, καὶ ὅτι οὔτε τεμένισμα αὐτῷ οὐχ ὅπως αὐθαίρετον ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἄλλως τότε γε ἐτεμενίσθη, οὔτε εἰκόνα ἐξῆν αὐτοῦ οὐδενὶ στήσαι: ἀντικρυς γὰρ παραχρήμα ἀπηγόρευσε μήτε πόλει μήτ' ἰδιώτῃ τοῦτο ποιεῖν. ^[2] προσέθηκε μὲν γὰρ τῇ ἀπορρήσει ὅτι 'ἂν μὴ ἐγὼ ἐπιτρέψω,' προσεπέιπε δὲ ὅτι 'οὐκ ἐπιτρέψω.' ἐπεὶ τὸ γε ὑβρίσθαι πρὸς τινος ἢ καὶ τὸ ἡσεβῆσθαι ^[p. 134] πρὸς τινος 'ἀσεβειάν τε γὰρ ἤδη καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ὠνόμαζον, καὶ δίκας ἐπ' αὐτῷ πολλὰς ἐσῆγον' ἠκιστα προσεποιεῖτο, οὐδὲ ἔστιν ἦντινα τοιαύτην ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ γραφὴν προσεδέξατο, καίπερ τὸν Αὐγουστον ^[3] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ σεμνύνων. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον οὐδένα οὐδὲ τῶν ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τινὰ αἰτίαν λαβόντων ἐκόλασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγκληθέντας τινὰς ὡς καὶ ἐπιωρκηκότας τὴν τύχην αὐτοῦ ἀπέλυσε: προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ πάνυ πολλοὺς ἐθανάτωσε. 10. καὶ ἐν τε τούτῳ τὸν Αὐγουστον ἡγαλλε, καὶ ὅτι τὰ τε οἰκοδομήματα, ἃ προκατεβάλετο μὲν οὐκ ἐξετέλεσε δέ, ἐκποιῶν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐπέγραφε σφισι, τὰ τε ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰ ἡρώα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅσα οἱ δῆμοι καὶ ὅσα οἱ ἰδιῶται ἐποιοῦν, τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς καθιέρου, τὰ δὲ τῶν ποντιφίκων ^[2] τινὶ προσέτασσε. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ κατὰ τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς οὐκ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις μόνοις τοῖς τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἔργοις, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἐπισκευῆς τινος δεηθεῖσιν ἐποίησε: πάντα γὰρ τὰ πεπονηκότα ἀνακτησάμενος 'αὐτὸς γὰρ οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἐκ καινῆς, πλὴν τοῦ Αὐγουστείου, κατεσκευάσατό οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἰδιώσατο, ἀλλὰ τὰ τῶν πρώτων οἰκοδομησάντων αὐτὰ ὀνόματα πᾶσι σφισιν ἀπέδωκεν. ^[3] ἐλάχιστα γὰρ ἐς ἑαυτὸν δαπανῶν πλεῖστα ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἀνήλiske, πάντα μὲν ὡς εἶπεῖν τὰ δημόσια ἔργα τὰ μὲν ἀνοικοδομῶν τὰ δὲ ἐπικοσμῶν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ πόλεσι καὶ ἰδιώταις ἐπαρκῶν. τῶν τε βουλευτῶν συχνοὺς πενομένους καὶ μηκέτι ^[p. 136] μὴδὲ βουλευεῖν διὰ τοῦτ' ἐθέλοντας ἐπλούτισεν. ^[4] οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀκρίτως αὐτὸ ἐποiei, ἀλλὰ καὶ διέγραφε τοὺς μὲν ὑπ' ἀσελγείας τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ πτωχείας, ὅσοι μὴδένα αὐτῆς λογισμὸν εἰκότα ἀποδοῦναι ἐδύναντο. πᾶν τε ὃ ἐδωρεῖτο τισιν εὐθὺς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ ἠριθμεῖτο: ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ Αὐγούστου μεγάλα ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων οἱ δοτῆρες αὐτῶν ἀπετέμνοντο, δεινῶς ἐφυλάττετο μὴ καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ τοῦτο γίγνεσθαι. ^[5] καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι πάντα ἐκ τῶν νενομισμένων προσόδων ἐδαπάνα: οὔτε γὰρ ἀπέκτεινε χρημάτων ἔνεκα οὐδένα οὔτ' οὐσίαν τινὸς τότε γε ἐδήμευσεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐξ ἐπηρείας τι ἡργυρολόγησεν. Αἰμιλιῷ γοῦν Ῥήκτῳ χρήματά ποτε αὐτῷ πλείω παρὰ τὸ τεταγμένον ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἥς ἦρχε πέμψαντι ἀντεπέστειλεν ὅτι 'κείρεσθαι μου τὰ πρόβατα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀποξύρεσθαι βούλομαι.' 11. καὶ μέντοι καὶ εὐπρόσδοος καὶ εὐπροσήγορος ἰσχυρῶς ἦν. τοὺς γοῦν βουλευτὰς ἀθρόους ἀσπάξεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν, ἵνα μὴ ὥστιζονται. τὸ τε σύμπαν τοσαύτην ἐπιείκειαν ἥσκει ὥστε, ^[2] ἐπειδὴ ποτε οἱ Ῥοδίων ἄρχοντες ἐπιστείλαντές τι αὐτῷ οὐχ ὑπέγραψαν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ νομιζόμενον, εὐχὰς αὐτῷ ποιούμενοι, μετεπέμψατο μὲν σφας σπουδῇ ὡς καὶ κακὸν τι δράσων, ἐλθόντας δὲ οὐδὲν δεινὸν εἰργάσατο, ἀλλ' ὑπογράψαντας τὸ ἐνδέον ἀπέπεμψε. τοὺς τε αἰεὶ ^[3] ἄρχοντας ὡς ἐν

δημοκρατίᾳ ἐτίμα, καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις καὶ ὑπανίστατο· ὅποτε τε αὐτοὺς δειπνίζοι, τοῦτο μὲν ἐσιόντας σφᾶς πρὸς τὰς θύρας ἐξεδέχετο, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἀπιόντας προέπεμπεν. [p. 138] εἴ τέ ποτε ἐπὶ τοῦ δίφρου κομιζοίτο, οὐδένα οἱ παρακολουθεῖν οὐχ ὅπως βουλευτὴν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ [4] ἱππέα τῶν πρώτων εἶα. ἔν τε ταῖς πανηγύρεσι, καὶ εἰ δὴ τι καὶ ἄλλο τοιοῦτότροπον ἀσχολίαν τοῖς πολλοῖς παρέξειν ἔμελλεν, ἐλθὼν ἂν ἀφ' ἐσπέρας πρὸς τινὰ τῶν Καισαρείων τῶν πρὸς τοῖς χωρίοις ἐκείνοις ἐς ᾧ συμφοιτῆσαι ἔδει οἰκούντων, ἐνταῦθα τὰς νύκτας ἐνηυλίζετο, ὅπως ἐξ ἐτοιμοτάτου καὶ ἀπονωτάτου τοῖς ἀνθρώποις [5] ἐντυχάνειν αὐτῷ γίγνοιτο. καὶ τοὺς γε τῶν ἵππων ἀγῶνας ἐξ οἰκίας καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν ἀπελευθέρων τινὸς πολλάκις ἑώρα. συνεχέστατα γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰς θεάς ἀπῆντα τῆς τε τιμῆς τῶν ἐπιτελούντων αὐτὰς ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς τοῦ πλήθους εὐκοσμίας, τοῦ τε συνεορτάζειν σφίσι δοκεῖν. οὐ γὰρ οὔτε ἐσποῦδασέ ποτε τὸ παράπαν τῶν τοιούτων οὐδέν, οὔτε δόξαν τινὰ ὥς καὶ συσπεύδων τινὶ [6] ἔσχεν. οὕτω τε ἐς πάντα ἴσος καὶ ὁμοιος ἦν ὥστ' ὀρχηστὴν τινὰ τοῦ δήμου ἐλευθερωθῆναι ποτε βουλευθέντος μὴ πρότερον συνεπαινέσαι πρὶν τὸν δεσπότην αὐτοῦ καὶ πεισθῆναι καὶ τὴν τιμὴν [7] λαβεῖν. τοῖς τε ἐταίροις ὥς καὶ ἐν ἰδιωτείᾳ συνῆν· καὶ γὰρ δικαζομένοις σφίσι συνηγωνίζετο καὶ θύουσι συνεώρταζε, νοσοῦντάς τε ἐπεσκεπτετο μηδεμίαν φρουρὰν ἐπεσαγόμενος, καὶ ἐφ' ἐνὶ γέ τινι αὐτῶν τελευτήσαντι τὸν ἐπιτάφιον αὐτὸς εἶπε. [p. 140] 12. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὴν μητέρα πάνθ' ὅσα πρέποντα αὐτῇ τῶν τοιούτων ποιεῖν ἦν, τὸ μὲν τι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ζηλώσεως ἕνεκα, τὸ δὲ ἵνα μὴ ὑπεραυχῇ, [2] πράττειν ἐκέλευε. πάννυ γὰρ μέγα καὶ ὑπὲρ πάσας τὰς πρόσθεν γυναῖκας ὤγκωτο, ὥστε καὶ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοὺς ἐθέλοντας οἴκαδε ἀσπασομένους αἰεὶ ποτε ἐσδέχεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐς τὰ δημόσια ὑπομνήματα ἐογράφεσθαι. αἶ τε ἐπιστολαὶ αἱ τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ τὸ ἐκείνης ὄνομα χρόνον τινὰ ἔσχον, καὶ ἐγράφετο ἀμφοῖν [3] ὁμοίως. πλήν τε ὅτι οὔτε ἐς τὸ συνέδριον οὔτε ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα οὔτε ἐς τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐτόλμησέ ποτε ἐσελθεῖν, τὰ γε ἄλλα πάντα ὥς καὶ αὐταρχοῦσα διοικεῖν ἐπεχειρεῖ. ἐπὶ τε γὰρ τοῦ Αὐγούστου μέγιστον ἡδυνήθη καὶ τὸν Τιβέριον αὐτῇ αὐτοκράτορα πεποιηκέναι ἔλεγε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐχ ὅσον ἐξ ἴσου οἱ ἄρχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ [4] πρεσβεῦειν αὐτοῦ ἠθέλεν. ὅθεν ἄλλα τε ἔξω τοῦ νενομισμένου ἐσεφέρετο, καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν μητέρα αὐτὴν τῆς πατρίδος πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ γονέα προσαγορεύεσθαι γνώμην ἔδωκαν. ἄλλοι καὶ τὸν Τιβέριον ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐπικαλεῖσθαι ἐσηγήσαντο, ὅπως ὥσπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες πατρώθεν, οὕτω καὶ [5] ἐκεῖνος μητρώθεν ὀνομάζεται. ἀγανακτῶν οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις οὔτε τὰ ψηφιζόμενα αὐτῇ πλὴν ἐλαχίστων ἐπεκύρου, οὐτ' ἄλλο τι ὑπέρογκον ποιεῖν ἐπέτρεπεν. εἰκόνα γοῦν ποτε αὐτῆς οἶκοι τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ὀσιωσάσης, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐστιᾶσαι ἐθελησάσης, οὐτ' ἄλλως συνεχώρησέν [p. 142] οἱ τοῦτο πρᾶξαι πρὶν τὴν γερούσιαν ψηφισασθαι, οὔτε τότε τοὺς ἄνδρας δειπνίσαι, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν [6] τούτοις ἐκείνη δὲ ταῖς γυναῖξιν εἰστίασε. καὶ τέλος τῶν μὲν δημοσίων παντάπασιν αὐτὴν ἀπήλλαξε, τὰ δ' οἴκοι διοικεῖν οἱ ἐφείς, εἴθ' ὥς καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἐπαχθῆς ἦν, ἀποδημίας τε ἐστέλλετο καὶ πάντα τρόπον αὐτὴν ἐξίστατο, ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὴν Καπρίαν δι' ἐκείνην οὐχ ἥκιστα μεταστῆναι. 13.

ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τῆς Λιουίας παραδέδοται· ὁ δὲ δὴ Τιβέριος αὐτὸς μὲν
τραχύτερον τοὺς αἰπιαζομένους τι μετεχειρίζετο, τῷ δὲ δὴ Δρούσῳ τῷ υἱεῖ
καὶ ἀσελγεστάτῳ καὶ ὠμοτάτῳ, ὥστε καὶ τὰ ὀξύτατα τῶν ξιφῶν
Δρουσιανὰ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κληθῆναι, ὄντι καὶ ἦχθετο καὶ ἐπετίμα καὶ ἰδίᾳ ^[2] καὶ
δημοσίᾳ πολλάκις. καὶ ποτε αὐτῷ καὶ ἄντικρυς πολλῶν παρόντων εἶπεν ὅτι
'ζῶντος μὲν μου οὐδὲν οὔτε βίαιον οὔθ' ὕβριστικὸν πράξεις· ἂν δὲ τι καὶ
τολμήσης, οὐδὲ τελευτήσαντος.' ^[3] σωφρονέστατα γὰρ χρόνον τινὰ
διεγένετο, καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδενὶ ἀσελγαίνειν ἐφίει, ἀλλὰ καὶ συχνοὺς
ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐκόλαζε, καίτοι τῶν βουλευτῶν ποτε ἐπιτίμιον τι κατὰ τῶν
ἀσώτως ζώντων νομοθετηθῆναι ἐθελησάντων μήτε τι τάξας, καὶ
προσεπειπὼν ὅτι ἁμεινὸν ἐστὶν ἰδίᾳ τρόπον τινὰ αὐτοὺς σωφρονίζειν ἢ
κοινήν σφισι ^[4] τιμωρίαν ἐπιθεῖναι. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἂν τῷ φόβῳ τῆς αἰσχύνης
καὶ μετριάσαι τινὰ αὐτῶν, ὥστε καὶ λαθεῖν ἐπχειρήσαι· ἂν δ' ἅπαξ ὁ νόμος
ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐκνικηθῇ, μηδὲνα αὐτοῦ προτιμήσειν. ^[5] καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε
πολλῇ ἐσθῆτι ἁλουργεῖ καὶ ἄνδρες ^[p. 144] συχνοὶ καίπερ ἀπαγορευθὲν
πρότερον ἐχρῶντο, διεμέμψατο μὲν οὐδένα οὐδὲ ἐζημίωσεν οὐδένα, ὕετοῦ
δὲ ἐν πανηγύρει τινὶ γενομένου φαῖαν μανδύην ἐπενέδυ· κάκ τούτου οὐκέτ'
οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἄλλοιόν ἐσθημα λαβεῖν ἐτόλμησε. ^[6] Ταῦθ' οὕτω πάντα μέχρι
γε καὶ ὁ Γερμανικὸς ἔζη ἐποίει· μετὰ γὰρ τοῦτο συχνὰ αὐτῶν μετέβαλεν,
εἴτ' οὖν φρονῶν μὲν οὕτως ἀπὸ πρώτης ὡς ὕστερον διέδειξε, πλάσάμενος
δὲ ἐφ' ὅσον ἐκεῖνος ἐβίω, ἐπειδήπερ ἐφεδρεῦοντα αὐτὸν τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ ἑώρα,
εἴτε καὶ πεφυκῶς μὲν εὔ, ἐξοκείλας 14. δ' ὅτε τοῦ ἀνταγωνιστοῦ ἐστερήθη.
λέξω δὲ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς ὡς ἕκαστα ἐγένετο, ὅσα γε καὶ μνήμης ἄξιά
ἐστίν. ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ Δρούσου τοῦ υἱέος αὐτοῦ Γαίου τε Νωρβανοῦ ὑπάτων
τῷ δήμῳ τὰ καταλειφθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἀπέδωκεν, ἐπειδὴ
προσελθὼν τις πρὸς νεκρὸν διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐκφερόμενον καὶ πρὸς τὸ οὖς
αὐτοῦ προσκύψας ἐψιθύρισέ τι, καὶ ἐρομένων τῶν ἰδόντων ὅ τι εἰρήκοι,
ἐντετάλθαι ἔφη τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ὅτι οὐδέπω οὐδὲν ἐκομίσαντο. ^[2] ἐκεῖνον μὲν
γὰρ αὐτίκα ἀπέκτεινεν, ἵνα αὐτάγγελος αὐτῷ, ὥς που καὶ ἐπισκώπτων εἶπε,
γένηται, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἀπῆλλαξε, κατὰ πέντε καὶ ἐξήκοντα
δραχμὰς διανείμας. ^[3] καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει γενέσθαι τινὲς
λέγουσι· τότε δὲ ἱππέων τινῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ^[p. 146] οὓς ὁ Δρούσος ὑπὲρ τε
ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ διέθηκε μονομαχεῖν ἐθελησάντων τὸν
μὲν ἀγῶνα αὐτῶν οὐκ εἶδε, σφαγέντος δὲ τοῦ ἐτέρου τὸν ἕτερον οὐκέτ'
εἶασεν ὀπλομαχεῖν. ^[4] ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι ἐν τῇ τῶν τοῦ Αὐγούστου
γενεσίῳ ἱπποδρομίᾳ μάχαι, καὶ τινα καὶ θηρία ἐσφάγη. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ
ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἔτη οὕτως ἐποιήθη· τότε δὲ ἡ Κρήτη τοῦ ἄρχοντος αὐτῆς
ἀποθανόντος τῷ τε ταμίᾳ καὶ τῷ παρέδρῳ αὐτοῦ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον
προσετάχθη. ^[5] ἐπειδὴ τε συχνοὶ τῶν τὰ ἔθνη κληρουμένων ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐν τε
τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ λοιπῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἐνδιέτριβον, ὥστε τοὺς προάρξαντας
αὐτῶν παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς χρονίζειν, ἐκέλευσέ σφισιν ἐντὸς τῆς τοῦ
Ἰουνίου νομηνίας ἀφορμαῖσθαι. ^[6] κἀν τούτῳ τοῦ ἐκγόνου αὐτοῦ, ὃν ἐκ
τοῦ Δρούσου εἶχε, τελευτήσαντος οὐδὲν ὅ τι τῶν συνήθων οὐκ ἔπραξε, μήτ'
ἄλλως ἀξιώων τὸν ἄρχοντά τινων πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας συμφορὰς τῆς τῶν κοινῶν

ἐπιμελείας ἐξίστασθαι, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐθίζων μὴ διὰ τοὺς οἰχομένους καὶ τὰ τῶν ζώντων προῖεσθαι. [7] τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ τοῦ Τιβέριδος πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως κατασχόντος ὥστε πλευσθῆναι, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἐν τέρατος λόγῳ καὶ τοῦτο, ὥσπερ πού το τε μέγεθος τῶν σεισμῶν ὑφ' ὧν καὶ μέρος τι τοῦ τείχους ἔπεσε, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κεραυνῶν ὑφ' ὧν καὶ οἶνος ἐξ ἀγγείων ἀθραύστων ἐξετάκη, [8] ἐλάβμβανον, ἐκεῖνος δὲ δὴ νομίσας ἐκ πολυπληθίας [p. 148] ναμάτων αὐτὸ γεγονέναι πέντε αἰεὶ βουλευτὰς κληρωτοὺς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ ποταμοῦ προσέταξεν, ἵνα μήτε τοῦ χειμῶνος πλεονάζῃ μήτε τοῦ θέρους ἐλλείπῃ, ἀλλ' ἴσος ὅτι μάλιστα αἰεὶ ῥέῃ. [9] Τιβέριος μὲν ταῦτα ἔπραττεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Δροῦσος τὰ μὲν τῇ ὑπατείᾳ προσήκοντα ἐξ ἴσου τῷ συνάρχοντι ὥσπερ τις ιδιώτης διετέλεσε, καὶ κληρονόμος γε ὑπὸ πινος καταλειφθεὶς τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ συνεξήνεγκε, τῇ μέντοι ὀργῇ οὕτω χαλεπῇ ἐχρήτο ὥστε καὶ πληγὰς ἵππεϊ ἐπιφανεῖ δοῦναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Κάστωρ παρωνύμιον λαβεῖν. [10] τῇ τε μέθῃ κατακορῆς οὕτως ἐγίγνετο ὥστε ποτὲ νυκτὸς ἐμπρησθεῖσι τισιν ἐπικουρῆσαι μετὰ τῶν δορυφόρων ἀναγκασθεῖς, ὕδωρ αὐτῶν αἰτούντων, θερμὸν σφισιν ἐγχέαι κελεῦσαι. τοῖς τε ὀρχησταῖς οὕτω προσέκειτο ὥστε καὶ στασιάζειν αὐτοὺς καὶ μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων, οὓς ὁ Τιβέριος ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐσενηνόχει, καθίστασθαι. 15. τότε μὲν ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, Στατιλίου δὲ Ταύρου μετὰ Λουκίου Λίβωνος ὑπατεύσαντος ὁ Τιβέριος ἀπέιπε μὲν ἐσθῆτι σηρικῇ μηδένα ἄνδρα χρῆσθαι, ἀπέιπε δὲ καὶ χρυσῷ σκεύει μηδένα πλὴν πρὸς [12] τὰ ἱερὰ νομίζειν. ἐπεὶ τε διηπόρησάν τινες εἰ καὶ τὰ ἀργυρὰ τὰ χρυσοῦν τι ἔμβλημα ἔχοντα ἀπηγορευμένον σφίσιν εἴη κεκτῆσθαι, βουλευθεὶς [p. 150] καὶ περὶ τούτου τι δόγμα ποιῆσαι, ἐκώλυσεν ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ ἐμβλήματος ὡς καὶ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐμβληθῆναι, καίτοι μὴ ἔχων ὅπως ἐπιχωρίως [3] αὐτὸ ὀνομάσῃ. ἐκεῖνὸ τε οὖν οὕτως ἐποίησε, καὶ ἑκατοντάρχου ἐλληνιστὶ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ μαρτυρῆσαι τι ἐθελήσαντος οὐκ ἠνέσχετο, καίπερ πολλὰς μὲν δίκας ἐν τῇ διαλέκτῳ ταύτῃ καὶ ἐκεῖ λεγομένας ἀκούων, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς [4] ἐπερωτῶν. τοῦτό τε οὖν οὐχ ὁμολογούμενον ἔπραξε, καὶ Λούκιον Σκριβώνιον Λίβωνα, νεανίσκον εὐπατρίδην δόξαντά τι νεωτερίζειν, τέως μὲν ἔρρωτο, οὐκ ἔκρινε, νοσήσαντα δὲ ἐπιθάνατον ἐν τε σκιμποδίῳ καταστέγω, ὁποῖω αἱ τῶν βουλευτῶν γυναῖκες χρῶνται, ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν [5] ἐσεκόμισε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀναβολῆς πινος γενομένης ἑαυτὸν προασπερήσατο, καὶ τελευτήσαντα εὐθύνε, τὰ τε χρήματα αὐτοῦ τοῖς κατηγόροις διέδωκε, καὶ θυσίας ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐχ ἑαυτοῦ μόνον ἔνεκα ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Αὐγούστου τοῦ τε πατρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἰουλίου, καθάπερ ποτὲ ἐδέδοκτο, ψηφισθῆναι [6] ἐποίησε. ταῦτα δὲ περὶ τοῦτον πράξας, Οὐιβίῳ Ρούφῳ οὔτε ἐνεκάλεσέ τι ἀρχὴν ὅτι τῷ τοῦ Καίσαρος δίφρῳ, ἐφ' οὗ αἰεὶ ποτε ἐκαθίζετο καὶ ἐφ' οὗ καὶ ἐσφάγη, ἐχρήτο. τοῦτό τε γὰρ ὁ Ροῦφος ἐπιτηδεύσας ἔπραττε, καὶ τῇ τοῦ Κικέρωνος γυναικὶ συνώκει, σεμνυνόμενος ἐφ' ἐκατέρῳ ὥσπερ ἢ διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα ῥήτωρ ἢ διὰ τὸν [7] δίφρον Καῖσαρ ἐσόμενος. οὐ μὴν οὔτε αἰτίαν [p. 152] τινὰ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔσχε καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὑπάτευσε. καὶ μέντοι τῷ τε Θρασύλλῳ αἰεὶ συνῶν καὶ μαντεῖα τινὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν χρώμενος, αὐτὸς τε ἀκριβῶν οὕτω τὸ πρᾶγμα ὥστε ποτὲ ὄναρ δοῦναι τινὶ ἀργύριον κελευσθεὶς συνεῖναι τε ὅτι δαίμων τις

ἐκ γοητείας οἱ ἐπιπέμπεται καὶ [8] τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀποκτεῖναι, πάντα τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τε ἀστρολόγους καὶ τοὺς γόητας, εἴ τέ τινα ἕτερον καὶ ὅποιοι οὖν τρόπον ἐμαντεύετο τις, τοὺς μὲν ξένους ἐθανάτωσε, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας, ὅσοι καὶ τότε ἔτι, μετὰ τὸ πρότερον δόγμα δι' οὗ Ἀπηγόρευτο μηδὲν τοιοῦτον ἐν τῇ πόλει μεταχειρίζεσθαι, ἐσηγγέλησαν τῇ τέχνῃ χρώμενοι, ὑπερώρισε: [9] τοῖς γὰρ πειθαρχήσασιν αὐτῶν ἄδεια ἐδόθη. καὶ σύμπαντες δ' ἂν οἱ πολῖται καὶ παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῦ ἀφείθησαν, εἰ μὴ δῆμαρχος τις ἐκώλυσεν. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἂν τις τὸ τῆς δημοκρατίας σχῆμα κατενόησεν, ὅτι ἡ βουλὴ τοῦ τε Δρούσου καὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου, συνέπαινος Γναίῳ Καλπυρνίῳ Πίσωνι γενομένη, κατεκράτησε, καὶ αὐτὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ δημάρχου ἡττήθη. 16. ταῦτά τε οὖν οὕτως ἐπράχθη, καὶ ἐκ τῶν πέρυσι τεταμιευκώτων ἐς τὰ ἔθνη τινὲς ἐξεπέμφθησαν, ἐπειδὴ περ οἱ τότε ταμιεῦντες ἐλάττους αὐτῶν ἦσαν. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ αὖθις, ὡσάκις [2] ἐδέησεν, ἐγένετο. ἐπεὶ τε πολλὰ τῶν δημοσίων γραμμάτων τὰ μὲν καὶ παντελῶς ἀπωλώλει, τὰ δὲ ἐξίτηλα γοῦν ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου ἐγεγόνει, τρεῖς βουλευταὶ προεχειρίσθησαν ὥστε τὰ τε ὄντα [p. 154] ἐκγράψασθαι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀναζητῆσαι. ἐμπρησθεῖσι τέτισιν οὐχ ὅπως ὁ Τιβέριος ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ Λιουία ἤμυνε. [3] κἀν τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει Κλήμης τις, δοῦλός τε τοῦ Ἀγρίππου γεγωνὺς καὶ πῃ καὶ προσεοικῶς αὐτῷ, ἐπλάσατο αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος εἶναι, καὶ ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν ἐλθὼν πολλοὺς μὲν ἐνταῦθα πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ὕστερον προσεποιήσατο, καὶ τέλος καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ὤρμησεν ὡς καὶ τὴν παππῶν [4] μοναρχίαν ἀποληψόμενος. ταραττομένων τε οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν ἐν τῷ ἄστει, καὶ συχνῶν αὐτῷ προστιθεμένων, ὁ Τιβέριος σοφίᾳ αὐτὸν διὰ τινων ὡς καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου φρονούντων ἐχειρώσατο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο βασανίσας ἵνα τι περὶ τῶν συνεγνωκότων αὐτῷ μάθῃ, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἐξελάλησεν, ἐπύθετο αὐτοῦ 'πῶς Ἀγρίππας ἐγένου;' καὶ ὃς ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι 'οὕτως ὡς καὶ σὺ Καῖσαρ.' 17. τῷ δ' ἐχομένῳ ἔτει τὸ μὲν τῶν ὑπάτων ὄνομα Γαῖος τε Καϊκίλιος καὶ Λούκιος Φλάκκος ἔλαβον, ὁ δὲ δὴ Τιβέριος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ μετὰ τὴν νομηνίαν τινὲς ἀργύριον αὐτῷ προσήνεγκαν, οὔτε ἐδέξατο καὶ τι καὶ γράμμα περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου ἐξέθηκε, [2] ῥήματι τινι μὴ Λατίνῳ χρησάμενος. ἐνθυμηθεὶς οὖν νυκτὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ πάντα τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀκριβοῦντας μετεπέμψατο: πάννυ γὰρ δὴ ἔμελεν αὐτῷ τοῦ καλῶς διαλέγεσθαι. καὶ τινος Ἀτείου Καπίωνος εἰπόντος ὅτι 'εἰ καὶ μηδεὶς πρόσθεν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτ' ἐφθέγγατο, ἀλλὰ νῦν γε πάντες διὰ σὲ ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα αὐτὸ καταριθμήσομεν,' Μάρκελλός τις ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη 'σύ, Καῖσαρ, ἀνθρώποις μὲν πολιτεῖαν Ῥωμαίων δύναιτο [3] δοῦναι, ῥήμασι δὲ οὐ.' ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ἐπὶ [p. 156] τούτῳ κακόν, καίπερ ἀκρατῶς παρρησιασάμενον, ἔδρασε. τὸν δὲ δὴ Ἀρχέλαον τὸν τῆς Καππαδοκίας βασιλέα δι' ὀργῆς σχών, ὅτι πρότερόν οἱ ὑποπεπτωκῶς ὥστε καὶ συνηγόρω, ὅτε ἐπὶ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων κατηγορήθη, [4] χρῆσασθαι, μετὰ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ μὲν ἐς τὴν Ῥόδον ἀπελθόντος ἡμέλησε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Γαῖον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐλθόντα ἐθεράπευσε, μετεπέμψατο ὡς καὶ νεωτερίζοντά τι, καὶ τῇ τῆς γερουσίας ψήφῳ παρέδωκεν, οὐ μόνον ὑπεργήρων ὄντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεινῶς ποδαγρῶντα καὶ προσέτι καὶ παραφρονεῖν [5] δοκοῦντα. ἔπαθε μὲν γὰρ ποτε τοῦτο ὄντως,

ὥστε καὶ ἐπίτροπον παρὰ τοῦ Αὐγουστοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς λαβεῖν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τότε ἔτι παρελήρει, ἀλλ' ἐπλάσσετο, εἴ πως ἔκ γε τούτου σωθεῖη. κἂν ἐθανατώθῃ, εἰ μὴ καταμαρτυρῶν τις αὐτοῦ ἔφη ποτὲ αὐτὸν εἰρηκέναι ὅτι 'ἐπειδὴν οἴκαδε ἐπανέλθω, δεῖξω αὐτῷ οἷα νεῦρα ἔχω.' γέλωτος γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτῳ, διὰ τὸ τὸν ἄνθρωπον μὴ ὅτι στῆναι ἀλλὰ μηδὲ καθίζεσθαι δύνασθαι, πολλοῦ γενομένου οὐκέτ' αὐτὸν ὁ Τιβέριος ἀπέκτεινεν. [6] οὕτω γάρ τοι κακῶς διέκειτο ὥστε ἐν σκιμποδίῳ καταστέγω ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσκομισθῆναι 'νομιζόμενον γάρ που καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἦν, ὁπότε τις αὐτῶν ἀσθενῶς ἔχων ἐκέῖσε ἐσίοι, κατακείμενον αὐτὸν ἐσφέρεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος ποτε ἐποίησέ, καὶ διελέχθη γέ τινα [7] ἐκ τοῦ σκιμποδίου προκύψας. τότε μὲν οὕτως [p. 158] ὁ Ἀρχέλαος ἐσώθη, ἄλλως δ' οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἀπέθανε, κἂκ τούτου καὶ ἡ Καππαδοκία τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων ἐγένετο καὶ ἱππεῖ ἐπετράπη. ταῖς τε ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεσι ταῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ σεισμοῦ κακωθείσαις ἀνὴρ ἐστρατηγηκῶς σὺν πέντε ῥαβδούχοις προσετάχθη, καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν φόρων ἀνείθη πολλὰ δὲ καὶ [8] παρὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐδόθη: τῶν γὰρ ἄλλοτρίων ἰσχυρῶς, μέχρι γε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετὴν ἐπετῆδευσεν, ἀπεχόμενος, μηδὲ τὰς κληρονομίας ἅς τινες αὐτῷ συγγενεῖς ἔχοντες κατέλιπον προσιέμενος, πᾶμπολλα ἔς τε τὰς πόλεις καὶ τοὺς ιδιώτας ἀνήλiske, καὶ οὔτε τιμὴν οὔτε ἔπαινον [9] οὐδένα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς προσεδέχετο. ταῖς τε πρεσβείαις ταῖς παρὰ τῶν πόλεων ἢ καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν οὐδέποτε μόνος ἐχρημάτιζεν, ἀλλὰ πολλούς, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἀρξάντας ποτε αὐτῶν, κοινωνοὺς τῆς διαγνώμης ἐποιεῖτο. 18. Γερμανικὸς δὲ τῇ ἐπὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς στρατεία φερόμενος εὔ μέχρι τε τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ προεχώρησε, καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν νικήσας τὰ τε ὅστ' αὐτῶν σὺν τῷ Οὐάρῳ πεσόντων συνέλεξέ τε καὶ ἔθαψε, καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ἀνεκτήσατο." Xiph. 134, 20-32. " τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα Ἰουλίαν οὔτε ἐπανήγαγεν ἐκ τῆς ὑπερορίας ἣν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς τοῦ Αὐγουστοῦ κατεδικάσθη δι' ἀσελγείαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατέκλεισεν αὐτήν, ὥσθ' ὑπὸ κακουχίας καὶ λιμοῦ φθαρῆναι." Zon. 11, (p. 5, 14-17 D.). "[p. 160] [2] τῷ δὲ Τιβερίῳ τῆς βουλῆς ἐγκειμένης, καὶ τὸν γοῦν μῆνα τὸν Νοέμβριον, ἐν ᾧ τῇ ἑκτῇ ἐπὶ δέκα ἐγεγέννητο, Τιβέριον καλεῖσθαι ἀξιούσης, 'καὶ τί' ἔφη 'ποιήσετε, ἂν δεκατρεῖς Καίσαρες γένωνται;'" Xiph. 134, 32-135, 4, Zon. 11, " π. 5, 18-21 δ.', πετρ. πατρ. εἰχ. φατ. 'π. 198 #3. μαί ~ π. 182, 17-20 δ.'. [3] Μάρκου δὲ δὴ Ἰουνίου Λουκίου τε Νωρβανοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀρξάντων τέρας ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ νομηνίᾳ οὐ σμικρὸν ἐγένετο, ὅπερ που ἐς τὸ Γερμανικοῦ πάθος ἀπεσήμαινεν: ὁ γὰρ Νωρβανὸς ὁ ὕπατος σάλπιγγι ἀεὶ προσκείμενος, καὶ ἐρρωμένως τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀσκῶν, ἠθέλησε καὶ τότε ὑπὸ τὸν ὀρθρον, πολλῶν ἤδη πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ [4] παρόντων, σαλπῖσαι. καὶ τοῦτό τε πάντα ὁμοίως ἐξετάραξε καθάπερ ἐμπολέμιόν τι σύνθημα τοῦ ὑπάτου σφίσι παραγγείλαντος, καὶ ὅτι καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἰανοῦ ἄγαλμα κατέπεσε. λόγιόν τέ τι ὡς καὶ Σιβύλλειον, ἄλλως μὲν οὐδὲν τῷ τῆς πόλεως χρόνῳ προσῆκον, πρὸς δὲ τὰ παρόντα [5] ἀδόκον, οὐχ ἡσυχῇ σφας ἐκίνει: ἔλεγε γὰρ ὅτι: τρεῖς δὲ τριηκοσίων περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν Ῥωμαίους ἔμφυλος ὀλεῖ στάσις, χά Συβαρῖτις ἀφροσύνα. ὁ οὖν Τιβέριος ταῦτά τε τὰ ἔπη ὡς καὶ ψευδῇ ὄντα

διέβαλε, καὶ τὰ βιβλία πάντα τὰ μαντείαν ^[p. 162] τινὰ ἔχοντα ἐπεσκέψατο, καὶ τὰ μὲν ὡς οὐδενὸς ἄξια ἀπέκρινε τὰ δὲ ἐνέκρινε.” Xiph. 135, 4-23. “ τῶν τε Ἰουδαίων πολλῶν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην συνελθόντων καὶ συχνοὺς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἔθη μεθιστάντων, τοὺς πλείονας ἐξήλασεν.” Joann. Antioch. fr. § 4b M. v. 20-22. “ ^[6] τοῦ δὲ δὴ Γερμανικοῦ τελευτήσαντος ὁ μὲν Τιβέριος καὶ ἡ Λιουία πάνυ ἡσθησαν, οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι πάντες δεινῶς ἐλυπήθησαν. κάλλιστος μὲν γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ἄριστος δὲ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἔφυ, παιδεία τε ἅμα καὶ ῥώμη διέπρεπε, καὶ ἔς τε τὸ πολέμιον ἀνδρειότατος ὢν ἡμερώτατα τῷ οἰκείῳ ^[7] προσεφέρετο, καὶ πλεῖστον ἰσχύων ἅτε Καῖσαρ ὢν ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις ἐσωφρόνει, καὶ οὐδὲν οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἐπαχθὲς οὔτε πρὸς τὸν Δροῦσον ἐπιφθονον οὔτε πρὸς τὸν ^[8] Τιβέριον ἐπαίτιον ἔπραττεν, ἀλλὰ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν ἐν ὀλίγοις τῶν πώποτε οὕτ’ ἐξήμαρτέ τι ἐς τὴν ὑπάρξασαν αὐτῷ τύχην οὕτ’ αὐτὸς ὑπ’ ἐκείνης διεφθάρη: δυνηθεὶς γοῦν πολλάκις καὶ παρ’ ἐκόντων, οὐχ ὅτι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῆς τε βουλῆς, τὴν αὐτοκράτορα λαβεῖν ^[9] ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἠθέλησεν. ἀπέθανε δὲ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Πίσωνος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Πλαγκίνης ἐπιβουλευθεῖς: ὅστᾳ τε γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἐν ἧ ὥκει κατορωρυγμένα καὶ ἐλασμοὶ μολὶβδῖνοι ἀράς τινας μετὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ ἔχοντες ζῶντος ἔθ’ εὐρέθη. ὅτι δὲ καὶ φαρμάκῳ ἐφθάρη, τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐξεφηνεν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ^[p. 164] ^[10] κομισθὲν καὶ τοῖς παροῦσι δειχθέν. ὁ δὲ Πίσων χρόνῳ ὕστερον ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνακομισθεὶς καὶ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐσαχθεὶς, διακρουομένου τὴν ὑποψίαν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ φθορᾷ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ, ἀναβολὴν τέ τινα ἐποιήσατο καὶ ἑαυτὸν κατεχρήσατο.” Xiph. 135, 23-136, 6, Exc. Val. 188 (p. 665 s#3.), Zon. 11, (p. 5, 22-6, D.). “ ^[11] ἐπὶ τρισὶ δ’ υἱέσιν ὁ Γερμανικὸς ἐτελεῦτησεν, οὓς ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις αὐτοῦ Καίσαρας ὠνόμασε. τοῦτων ὁ πρεσβύτατος Νέρων κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον τοῖς ἐφήβοις κατηριθίμθη.” Zon. 11, (p. 6, 12-15 D.). “ 19. μέχρι μὲν οὖν τοῦ χρόνου τούτου πλεῖστα χρηστὰ ὁ Τιβέριος ἔπραξε καὶ βραχεὰ ἐξήμαρτεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ ἐφεδρεῦον οὐκέτ’ εἶχεν, ἐς πᾶν τοῦναντίον τῶν πρόσθεν εἰργασμένων αὐτῷ, πολλῶν ὄντων καὶ καλῶν, περιέστη. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα ἀγρίως ἤρξε, καὶ ταῖς τῆς ἀσεβείας δίκαις, εἴ τις οὐχ ὅσον ἐς τὸν Αὐγουστον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκείνον τὴν τε μητέρα αὐτοῦ πράξας τι ἢ καὶ εἰπὼν ἀνεπιτήδειον ἐπεκλήθη, δεινῶς ἐπεξῆει.” Xiph. 136, 6-13, Zon. 11, (p. 6, 16-22 D.). “ καὶ ἐς τοὺς ὑπονοηθέντας ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ ἀπαραίτητος ἦν.” Zon. 11, (p. 6, 22-23 D.). “ ὅτι Τιβέριος τοὺς κατηγορουμένους ἐπὶ τινι πικρῶς ἐκόλαζεν οὕτως ἐπιλέγων ‘οὐδεὶς ἐκὼν ἄρχεται ἀλλ’ ἄκων εἰς τοῦτο συναλύνεται: μὴ μόνον γὰρ μὴ πειθαρχεῖν τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἡδέως, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιβουλεύειν τοῖς ἄρχουσι:’ καὶ προσεδέχετο τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας μὴ διακρίνων εἴτε ^[p. 166] δοῦλος κατὰ δεσπότην εἴτε κατὰ πατρός υἱὸς λέγει.” Petr. Patr. Exc. Vat. p. 199 Mai (p. 182, 21-27 D.). “ ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἐνδεικνύμενός τιςιν ὅτι βούλεται τεθνάναι τινὰς, δι’ ἐκείνων σφᾶς ἀπεκτίνυε, καὶ οὐκ ἐλάνθανε ταῦτα ποιῶν.” Zon. 11, (p. 6, 23-25 D.). “ ^[12] ἐβασανίζοντο δὲ οὐχὶ οἰκέται μόνον κατὰ τῶν ἰδίων δεσποτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ

ἐλεύθεροι καὶ πολῖται. οἳ τε κατηγορήσαντες ἢ καὶ καταμαρτυρήσαντες
τινων τὰς οὐσίας τῶν ἀλισκομένων διελάχονον, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ
τιμὰς προσελάμβανον. [3] πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν ὥραν ἐν ἧ
ἐγεγέννηντο ἐξετάζων, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν καὶ τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὴν τύχην αὐτῶν
διασκοπῶν, ἀπεκτίννουν· εἰ γὰρ τῷ ὑπέρογκόν τι καὶ εὐέλπι πρὸς
δυναστείαν ἐνεῖδε, [4] πάντως ἀπώλλυνεν. οὕτω δ' οὖν τὸ πεπρωμένον ἐκάστω
τῶν πρώτων καὶ ἐξήταζε καὶ ἠπίστατο ὥστε καὶ τῷ Γάλβᾳ τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα
αὐταρχήσαντι ἀπαντήσας, γυναῖκα ἐγγεγυημένῃ, εἶπεῖν ὅτι ‘καὶ σὺ ποτε τῆς
ἡγεμονίας γεύσῃ.’ ἐφείσατο γὰρ αὐτοῦ, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκῶ, ὅτι καὶ τοῦτ’
αὐτῷ εἰμαρμένον ἦν, ὡς δ’ αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν, ὅτι καὶ ἐν γῆρᾳ καὶ μετὰ πολὺ
τῆς τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ ἄρξοι.” Χιρῆ. 136, 13-29, Ζον. 11, (p. 6, 25-31 D.). “ ὅτι
καὶ ἀφορμὰς πινας φόνων ὁ Τιβέριος ἔσχε· διὰ γὰρ τὸν τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
θάνατον πολλοὶ ὡς καὶ ἐφησθέντες αὐτῷ ἀπώλοντο. συνήρατο δὲ καὶ
συγκατεργάσατο αὐτῷ πάντα [5] προθυμώτατα Λούκιος Αἴλιος Σεϊανός, υἱὸς
[p. 168] μὲν τοῦ Στράβωνος ὢν, παιδικὰ δὲ ποτε Μάρκου Γαβίου Ἀπικίου
γενόμενος, Ἀπικίου ἐκείνου ὃς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀσωτίᾳ ὑπερεβάλετο
οὕτως ὥστε, ἐπειδὴ μαθεῖν ποτε ἐθελήσας ὅσα τε ἤδη καταναλῶκει καὶ ὅσα
ἔτ’ εἶχεν, ἔγνω ὅτι διακόσμαι καὶ πεντήκοντα αὐτῷ μυριάδες περιεῖεν,
ἐλυπήθη τε ὡς καὶ λιμῷ τελευτήσειν μέλλων καὶ ἑαυτὸν [6] διέφθειρεν. οὗτος
οὖν ὁ Σεϊανὸς χρόνῳ μὲν τι μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν δορυφόρων ἦρξεν· ἐπεὶ
δὲ ἐκείνου ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον πεμφθέντος μόνος τὴν προστασίαν αὐτῶν ἔσχε,
τὰ τε ἄλλα συνέστησεν αὐτήν, καὶ τοὺς λόχους ἰδίᾳ καὶ χωρὶς ἀλλήλων,
ὥσπερ τοὺς τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων, ὄντας ἐς ἓν τεῖχος συνήγαγεν, ὥστε τὰ
παραγγέλματα καὶ ἀθρόους καὶ διὰ ταχέων λαμβάνειν, καὶ φοβεροὺς πᾶσιν
[7] ἅτε καὶ ἐν ἐνὶ τείχει ὄντας εἶναι. τοῦτον οὖν ὁ Τιβέριος ἐκ τῆς τῶν
τρόπων ὁμοιότητος προσλαβὼν ταῖς τε στρατηγικαῖς τιμαῖς ἐκόσμησεν, ὃ
μήπω πρότερον μηδενὶ τῶν ὁμοίων οἱ ἐγεγόνει, καὶ σύμβουλον καὶ
ὑπηρετήν πρὸς πάντα ἐποιεῖτο. [8] τὸ μὲν οὖν σύμπαν οὕτω μετὰ τὸν τοῦ
Γερμανικοῦ θάνατον μετεβάλετο ὥστε αὐτὸν μεγάλως καὶ πρότερον
ἐπαινούμενον πολλῶν δὴ τότε μᾶλλον θαυμασθῆναι.” Χιρῆ. 136, 29-137, 17,
Exc. Val. 189 (p. 666). “ 20. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Τιβέριος τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν ἦρξε μετὰ
τοῦ Δρούσου, εὐθύς οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὸν ὀλεθρον τῷ Δρούσῳ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τούτου
προεμαντεύσαντο· [p. 170] οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅστις τῶν ὑπατευσάντων ποτὲ μετ’ [2]
αὐτοῦ οὐ βιαίως ἀπέθανεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ὁ Οὐᾶρος ὁ Κυντίλιος, τοῦτο
δὲ ὁ Πίσων ὁ Γναῖος ὃ τε Γερμανικὸς αὐτὸς βιαίως καὶ κακῶς ἀπώλοντο.
τοιούτῳ τινί, ὡς ἔοικε, διὰ βίου δαίμονι συνεκεκλήρωτο. ἀμέλει καὶ ὁ
Δροῦσος τότε καὶ ὁ Σεϊανὸς μετὰ ταῦτα συνάρεξαντές οἱ ἐφθάρησαν. [3]
Ἐκδημοῦντος δὲ τοῦ Τιβερίου Γάιος Λουτώριος Πρίσκος ἱππεύς, ἄλλως τε
μέγα ἐπὶ ποιήσει φρονῶν καὶ ἐπιτάφιον ἐπὶ τῷ Γερμανικῷ ἐπιφανῇ
συγγράψας, ὥστε καὶ χρήματα δι’ αὐτὸν πολλὰ λαβεῖν, αἰτίαν ἔσχεν ὡς καὶ
ἐπὶ τῷ Δρούσῳ ποίημα παρὰ τὴν νόσον αὐτοῦ συντεθεικῶς, καὶ ἐκρίθη τε
διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ κατεδικάσθη [4] καὶ ἀπέθανεν. ὁ οὖν Τιβέριος
ἀγανακτήσας, οὐχ ὅτι ἐκεῖνος ἐκολάσθη ἀλλ’ ὅτι τις ὑπὸ τῶν βουλευτῶν
ἄνευ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης ἐθανατώθη, ἐπετίμησέ τε αὐτοῖς, καὶ δόγματι

παράδοθῆναι ἐκέλευσε μήτ' ἀποθνήσκειν ἐντὸς δέκα ἡμερῶν τὸν καταψηφισθέντα ὑπ' αὐτῶν, μήτε τὸ γράμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενόμενον ἐς τὸ δημόσιον ἐντὸς τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου ἀποτίθεσθαι, ὅπως καὶ ἀποδημῶν προπυνθάνηται τὰ δόξαντ' αἰσιν καὶ ἐπιδιακρίνῃ. 21. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐξεληούσης αὐτῷ τῆς ὑπατείας ἕς τε τὴν Ῥώμην ἦλθε, καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους συναγορεύειν πρὸς ἐκώλυσεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι 'εἰ ὑπάτευν, ^[2] οὐκ ἂν ἐποίησα τοῦτο.' ἐπειδὴ τε τῶν στρατηγούντων ^[p. 172] τις αἰτίαν, ὡς καὶ ἀσεβές τι ἐς αὐτὸν εἰρηκῶς ἢ καὶ πεποικῶς, λαβὼν ἐξῆλθέ τε ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, καὶ τὴν ἀρχικὴν στολὴν ἐκδύς ἐπανῆλθέ τε καὶ κατηγορηθῆναι παραχρῆμα ὡς καὶ ἰδιωτεύων ἠξίωσε, δεινῶς τε ἠλγισε καὶ οὐκέτ' ^[3] αὐτοῦ ἦψατο. τοὺς δὲ ὀρχηστὰς τῆς τε Ῥώμης ἐξήλασε καὶ μηδαμόθι τῇ τέχνῃ χρῆσθαι προσέταξεν, ὅτι τὰς τε γυναῖκας ἥσυχνον καὶ στάσεις ἡγείρον. ἄλλους μὲν δὴ οὖν καὶ πολλοὺς γε τῶν τελευτώντων καὶ ἀνδρῶσι καὶ δημοσίαις ταφαῖς ἐτίμα, τὸν δὲ δὴ Σεῖανδρον ζῶντα ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ χαλκοῦν ἔστησε. καὶ τοῦτου πολλὰ μὲν ὑπὸ πολλῶν εἰκόνες αὐτοῦ ἐποιήθησαν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἔπαινοι καὶ παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ παρὰ τῇ βουλῇ ^[4] ἐγίνοντο, ἕς τε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ οἱ τε ἄλλοι οἱ ἐλλόγιμοι καὶ οἱ ὑπατοὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον συνεχῶς ἐφοίτων, καὶ τὰ τε ἴδια αὐτῷ πάντα, ὅσα τινὲς ἀξιώσειν παρὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἔμελλον, καὶ τὰ κοινὰ, ὑπὲρ ὧν χρηματισθῆναι ἔδει, ἐπεκοίνουν. καὶ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν ἔτι χωρὶς αὐτοῦ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπράττετο. ^[5] κατὰ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον καὶ στοὰ μεγίστη ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ἐπειδὴ ἑτεροκλινῆς ἐγένετο, θαυμαστὸν δὴ τινα τρόπον ὠρθώθη. ἀρχιτέκτων γάρ τις, οὗ τὸ ὄνομα οὐδεὶς οἶδε 'τῇ γὰρ θαυματοποιᾷ αὐτοῦ φθονήσας ὁ Τιβέριος οὐκ ἐπέτρεφεν αὐτὸ ἐς τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐσγραφῆναι, οὗτος οὖν ὅστις ποτὲ ὠνομάζετο, τοὺς τε θεμελίους ^[6] αὐτῆς περίεξ κρατύνας ὥστε μὴ συγκινηθῆναι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πᾶν πόκοις τε καὶ ἱματίοις παχέσι ^[p. 174] περιλαβὼν, σχοίνοις τε πανταχόθεν αὐτὴν διέδωκε, καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἔδραν ἀνθρώποις τε πολλοῖς καὶ μηχανήμασιν ὀνευσάμενος ἐπανήγαγε. τότε μὲν οὖν ὁ Τιβέριος καὶ ἐθαύμασεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐζηλοτύπησε, καὶ διὰ μὲν ἐκεῖνο χρήμασιν ἐτίμησε, διὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξήλασε: ^[7] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα προσελθόντος οἱ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἱκετεῖαν ποιομένου, κἂν τούτῳ ποτήριόν τι ὑαλοῦν καταβαλόντος τε ἐξεπότηδες καὶ θλασθέν πως ἢ συντριβέν ταῖς τε χερσὶ διατρίψαντος καὶ ἄθραυστον παραχρῆμα ἀποφάναντος, ὡς καὶ συγγνώμης διὰ τοῦτο τευξομένου, καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν. 22. Δροῦσος δὲ ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ φαρμάκῳ διώλετο. ὁ γὰρ Σεῖανδρος ἐπὶ τε τῇ ἰσχύι καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀξιώματι ὑπερμαχῆσας τὰ τε ἄλλα ὑπέρογκος ἦν, καὶ τέλος καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Δροῦσον ἐτράπετο καὶ ποτε πύξ ^[2] αὐτῷ ἐνέτεινε. φοβηθείς τε ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὸν Τιβέριον, καὶ ἅμα καὶ προσδοκήσας, ἂν τὸν νεανίσκον ἐκποδὼν ποιήσεται, καὶ τὸν γέροντα ῥᾶστα μεταχειριεῖσθαι, φάρμακόν τι αὐτῷ διὰ τε τῶν ἐν τῇ θεραπείᾳ αὐτοῦ ὄντων καὶ διὰ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, ἣν τινες Λιουίλλαν ὀνομάζουσιν, ἔδωκε: καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐμοίχευεν αὐτήν. ^[p. 176]

^[3] αἰτίαν μὲν γὰρ ὁ Τιβέριος ἔλαβεν, ὅτι μήτε νοσοῦντος τοῦ Δροῦσου μήτ' ἀποθανόντος ἔξω τι τῶν συνήθων ἔπραξε, μηδὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ποιῆσαι ἐπέτρεφεν: οὐ μέντοι καὶ πιστὸς ὁ λόγος. τοῦτο τε γὰρ ἀπὸ γνώμης ἐπὶ

πάντων ὁμοίως ἔπραττε, καὶ τῷ υἱεῖ ἅτε καὶ μόνῳ καὶ γνησίῳ ὄντι προσέκειτο, ^[4] τοὺς τε χειρουργήσαντας τὸν ὄλεθρον αὐτοῦ, τοὺς μὲν εὐθύς τοὺς δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐκόλασε. τότε δ' οὖν ἐσηλθὲ τε ἐς τὸ συνέδριον, καὶ τὸν προσήκοντα ἐπὶ τῷ παιδί ἔπαινον ποιησάμενος οἴκαδε ἐκομίσθη.” Xiph. 137, 17-140, 7. “ ὁ μὲν οὖν οὕτως διώλετο, ὁ δὲ γε Τιβέριος εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ἀφικόμενος ἐκεῖνόν τε ἀπωδύρατο καὶ τὸν Νέρωνα τὸν τε Δρούσον τοὺς τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ παῖδας τῇ γερουσίᾳ παρακατέθετο, καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Δρούσου προυτέθη ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, καὶ ὁ Νέρων γαμβρὸς αὐτοῦ ὦν ἐπαίνους ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἶπεν. ὁ δὲ δὴ θάνατος αὐτοῦ πολλοῖς αἴτιος θανάτου ἐγένετο ὡς ἐφησθεῖσι τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ αὐτοῦ. πολλοὶ τε γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι διώλοντο καὶ ἡ Ἀγριππῖνα μετὰ τῶν παιδῶν αὐτῆς, τοῦ νεωτάτου χωρὶς. πολλὰ γὰρ κατ' αὐτῆς ὁ Σεϊανὸς παρῶξυνε τὸν Τιβέριον, προσδοκῆσας ἐκείνης μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἀπολομένης τῇ τε Λιβία συνοικήσειν τῇ τοῦ Δρούσου γυναικί, ἣς ἦρα, καὶ τὸ κράτος ἔξειν μηδενὸς τῷ Τιβερίῳ διαδόχου τυγχάνοντος: τὸν γὰρ υἱδοῦν ἐμίσει ὡς καὶ μοιχιδιον. καὶ ἄλλους δὲ πολλοὺς ἐπὶ ἄλλαις καὶ ἄλλαις αἰτίαις, ταῖς δὲ γε πλείοσι πεπλασμέναις, καὶ ἐφυγάδευσε καὶ διέφθειρε.” Zon. 11, (p. 7, 11-28 D.). “ ^[p. 178] ^[5] ἀπεῖπε δὲ ὁ Τιβέριος τοῖς πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος εἰρχθεῖσι μὴ διατίθεσθαι: καὶ τοῦτο καὶ νῦν φυλάττεται. Αἶλιον δὲ Σατορνῖνον, ὡς καὶ ἔπη τινὰ ἐς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπιτήδεια ἀπορρίψαντα, ὑπὸ τε τὴν βουλὴν ὑπήγαγε καὶ ἀλόντα ἀπὸ τοῦ 23. Καπιτωλίου κατεκρήμνισε. πολλὰ δ' ἂν καὶ ἄλλα τοιουτότροπα γράφειν ἔχοιμι, εἰ πάντα ἐπεξιοιμι. τοῦτό τε οὖν ἐν κεφαλαίῳ εἰρήσθω, ὅτι συχνοὶ διὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπώλοντο, καὶ ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι ζητῶν καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον ἀκριβῶς ὅσα τινὲς ἠτιάζοντο φλαύρως περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰρηκέναι, αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν πάντα τὰ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων κακὰ ^[2] ἔλεγε. καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ τις καὶ πρὸς ἓνα διελέχθη τι, καὶ τοῦτο ἐδημοσίευσεν ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὰ κοινὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐσγράφεσθαι. καὶ πολλάκις ἃ μὴδ' εἶπέ τις, ὡς εἰρημένα, ἐξ ὧν ἑαυτῷ συνήδει προσκατεψεύδετο, ὅπως ὡς δικαιοτάτα ὀργίζεσθαι ^[3] νομισθεῖη. καὶ τούτου συνέβαινεν αὐτῷ πάντα τε ἐκεῖνα, ἐφ' οἷς τοὺς ἄλλους ὡς ἀσεβοῦντας ἐκόλαζεν, αὐτὸν ἐς ἑαυτὸν πλημμελεῖν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ χλευασμὸν ὀφλισκάνειν: ἃ γὰρ ἀπηννοῦντό τινες μὴ λευκαλέκναι, ταῦτα αὐτὸς δισχυριζόμενος εἰρήσθαι καὶ κατομνύων ἀληθέστερον ἑαυτὸν ἡδίκει. ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ ἐξεστηκέναι τινὲς ^[4] αὐτὸν τῶν φρενῶν ὑπώπτεισαν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὄντως παραφρονεῖν ἐκ τούτου ἐπιστεῦετο: τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ πάνυ πάντα δεόντως διώκει. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ βουλευτῇ τινὶ ἀσελγῶς ζῶντι ἐπίτροπον ὥσπερ τινὶ ὀρφανῷ προσέταξε: τοῦτο δὲ τὸν Καπίτωνα ^[p. 180] τὸν τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπιτροπεύσαντα ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσήγαγε, καὶ ἐγκαλέσας αὐτῷ ὅτι καὶ στρατιώταις ἐχρήσατο καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ὡς καὶ ἀρχὴν ἔχων ^[5] ἔπραξεν, ἐφυγάδευσεν. οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν τότε τοῖς τὰ αὐτοκρατορικὰ χρήματα διοικοῦσι πλέον οὐδὲν ποιεῖν ἢ τὰς νενομισμένας προσόδους ἐκλέγειν καὶ περὶ τῶν διαφορῶν ἐν τε τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς ιδιώταις δικάζεσθαι. τοσοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὸ διαλλάττον ἐν ταῖς Τιβερίου 24. πράξειςιν ἦν, διελθόντων δὲ τῶν δέκα ἐτῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ ψηφίσματος μὲν ἐς τὴν ἀνάληψιν αὐτῆς οὐδενὸς ἐδεήθη ὅδδ' γὰρ ἐδεῖτο κατατέμνων αὐτήν,

ὥσπερ ὁ Αὐγουστος, ἄρχειν', ἡ μέντοι πανήγυρις ἡ δεκαετηρὶς ἐποιήθη. [2] Κρεμούτιος 100 δὲ διὰ Κόρδος αὐτόχειρ ἑαυτοῦ γενέσθαι, ὅτι τῷ Σεϊανῷ προσέκρουσεν, ἠναγκάσθη: οὕτω γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔγκλημα ἐπαίτιον λαβεῖν ἠδυνήθη 'καὶ γὰρ ἐν πύλαις ἦδη γήρως ἦν καὶ ἐπεικέστατα ἐβεβιώκει ὥστε ἐπὶ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ, [3] ἦν πάλαι ποτὲ περὶ τῶν τῷ Αὐγουστῷ πραχθέντων συνετεθείκει καὶ ἦν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος 101 ἀνεγνώκει, κριθῆναι, ὅτι τὸν τε Κάσιον καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἐπήνεσε, καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῆς τε βουλῆς καθήψατο, τὸν τε Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν Αὐγουστον εἶπε μὲν [4] κακὸν οὐδέν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὑπερεσέμνυνε. ταῦτά τε γὰρ ἠπιάθη, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα αὐτὸς τε ἀπέθανε, καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα αὐτοῦ τότε μὲν τὰ τε 102 ἐν τῇ [p. 182] πόλει εὑρεθέντα πρὸς τῶν ἀγορανόμων καὶ τὰ ἔξω πρὸς τῶν ἐκασταχόθι ἀρχόντων ἐκαῦθη, ὕστερον δὲ 103 ἐξεδόθη τε αὖθις ἄλλοι τε γὰρ καὶ μάλιστα ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ Μαρκία συνέκρυψεν αὐτά' καὶ πολλὴ ἀξιοσπουδαστότερα 104 ὑπ' αὐτῆς 105 τῆς τοῦ Κόρδου συμφορᾶς ἐγένετο. [5] ἐν δ' οὖν τῷ τότε ὁ Τιβέριος τὴν τοῦ δορυφορικοῦ γυμνασίαν τοῖς βουλευταῖς, ὥσπερ ἀγνοοῦσι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν, ἐπέδειξεν, ὅπως καὶ πολλοὺς σφας καὶ ἐρρωμένους ἰδόντες μᾶλλον αὐτὸν 106 φοβῶνται. [6] τὸν μὲν οὖν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον ταῦτά τε ἐς ἱστορίας ἀποδείξιν ἐγένετο, καὶ Κυζικηνῶν ἡ ἐλευθερία αὖθις, ὅτι τε Ῥωμαίους τινὰς ἔδησαν καὶ ὅτι καὶ τὸ ἡρῶον ὃ τῷ Αὐγουστῷ ποιεῖν ἤρξαντο οὐκ [7] ἐξετέλεσαν, ἀφηρέθη. πάντως δ' ἂν καὶ τὸν συμπωλήσαντα τῇ οἰκίᾳ τὸν ἀνδριάντα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ κριθέντα ἀπεκτόνει, εἰ μὴ ὁ ὕπατος αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον τὴν γνώμην πρῶτον ἀνῆρετο: αἰδεσθεῖς γὰρ μὴ καὶ ἑαυτῷ τι χαρίζεσθαι δόξῃ, τὴν [8] ἀπολύουσαν ἔθετο. Λεντούλου δὲ τινος βουλευτοῦ φύσει τε ἐπεικοῦς καὶ τότε ἐν γήρᾳ πολλῷ ὄντος κατηγορήσέ τις ὥς ἐπιβεβουλευκός τῷ αὐτοκράτορι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Λέντουλος 'παρῆν γάρ' ἀνεκάγχασεν: ὁ δὲ Τιβέριος, ἐπιθορυβησάσης τι πρὸς τοῦτο τῆς γερουσίας, 'οὐδὲ ζῆν ἔτ' ἔφη

‘ἄξιός εἰμι, εἶγε καὶ Λέντουλός με μισεῖ.’” Xiph. 140, 7-142, 18.

“ 1β. ἀπεδήμησε δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης, καὶ οὐκέτι τὸ παράπαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀνεκομίσθη, καίτοι μέλλων τε αἰεὶ καὶ ἐπαγγελλλόμενος.” Xiph. 142, 18-21. “ 1α. πολλοῦ τε πάθους αἴτιος τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο, κοινῇ τε καὶ ἰδίᾳ προσαναλίσκων τοὺς ἄνδρας. ἔδοξε γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰς τῶν κυνηγίων θεάς τῆς πόλεως ἀπελάσαι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τινες ἔξω ταύτας τελεῖν πειραθέντες αὐτοῖς συνδιεφθάρησαν τοῖς θεάτροις ἔκ τινων σανίδων εἰργασμένοις.” Joann. Antioch. “ φρ. § 5β. μ. ‘φ. 25-30’. 1. Λατιάριος δὲ τις ἐταῖρος Σαβίνου ἄνδρὸς τῶν πρώτων ἐν Ῥώμῃ, τῷ Σεῖανῳ χαριζόμενος, ἐς τὴν τοῦ οἰκήματος ἐν ᾧ διητᾶτο ὀροφὴν βουλευτὰς κατακρύψας ὑπηγάγετο τὸν Σαβῖνον ἐς λόγους, καὶ τι εἰπὼν ὧν εἰώθει, ἐπεσπάσατο καὶ ἐκεῖνον ^[2] πάνθ’ ὅσα ἐφρόνει ἐκκαλῆσαι. τῶν γὰρ τοι συκοφαντεῖν ἐθελόντων ἔργον ἐστὶ λοιδορίας τέ τινος προκατάρχεσθαι καὶ ἀπόρρητόν τι ἐκφαίνειν, ἵνα ἀκούσας τι αὐτὸς ἢ καὶ ὁμοιὸν τι εἰπὼν αἰτιαθῇ: τοῖς μὲν γὰρ, ἅτε ἐκ παρασκευῆς τοῦτο δρῶσιν, ἀκινδυνὸς ἐστὶν ἡ παρρησία ὅτ’ ἂν γὰρ ὡς καὶ φρονοῦντές τινα, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἑτέρους ἐλέγξει ^[p. 186] βουλόμενοι λέγειν αὐτὰ πιστεύονται, οἱ δ’ ὅτι ἂν καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον ἔξω τοῦ καθεστηκότος ^[3] εἴπωσι, κολάζονται. Ὅπερ καὶ τότε ἐγένετο: ἔς τε γὰρ τὸ δεσμωτήριον αὐθημερόν ὁ Σαβῖνος κατετέθη, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἄκριτος ἐφθάρη, τὸ τε σῶμα αὐτοῦ κατὰ τῶν ἀναβασμῶν ἐρρίφη καὶ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐνεβλήθη. καὶ δεινὸν μὲν τοῦτο τὸ πάθος καὶ καθ’ ἑαυτὸ ἅπασιν ἦν, ἐδείνωσε δ’ αὐτὸ ἐπὶ πλέον κύων τις τοῦ Σαβίνου, συνεσελθὼν τε αὐτῷ ἐς τὸ οἶκημα καὶ ἀποθανόντι παραμείνας καὶ τέλος καὶ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν συνεσπεσών. 2. τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτον ἐγένετο, ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ χρόνῳ καὶ ἡ Λιουία μετήλλαξεν, ἔξ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη ζήσασα. καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Τιβέριος οὔτε νοσοῦσαν ἐπεσκέψατο οὔτ’ ἀποθανοῦσαν αὐτὸς προέθετο: οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐς τιμὴν ἄλλο τι αὐτῇ πλὴν τῆς δημοσίας ἐκφορᾶς καὶ εἰκόνων ἑτέρων τέ τινων οὐδενὸς ἀξίων ἔνειμεν. ἀθανατισθῆναι ^[2] δὲ αὐτὴν ἄντικρυς ἀπηγόρευεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ μόνα οἱ ἡ βουλή, ὅσα ἐκεῖνος ἐπέστειλεν, ἐψηφίσατο, ἀλλὰ πένθος ἐπ’ αὐτῇ παρ’ ὅλον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐπήγγειλαν, καίπερ τὸν Τιβέριον ἐπαινέσαντες ὅτι τῆς τῶν κοινῶν διοικήσεως ^[3] οὐδὲ τότε ἀπέσχετο: καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἀψίδα αὐτῇ, ὃ μηδεμιᾷ ἄλλῃ γυναικί, ἐψηφίσαντο, ὅτι τε οὐκ ὀλίγους σφῶν ἐσεσώκει, καὶ ὅτι παῖδας πολλῶν ἐτετρόφει κόρας τε πολλοῖς συνεξεδεδώκει, ἀφ’ οὗ γε καὶ μητέρα αὐτὴν τῆς πατρίδος ^[p. 188] τινὲς ἐπωνόμαζον. ἐν δὲ τῷ μνημείῳ ἐτάφη τῷ τοῦ Αὐγούστου.” Xiph. 142, 21-143, 25. “ ^[3a] οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν πρὸς καταλειφθέντων ὑπ’ ἐκείνης δέδωκεν ὁ Τιβέριος.” Zon. 11, (p. 8, 18-19 D.). “ ^[4] καὶ αὐτῆς ἄλλα τε καλῶς εἰρημένα ἀποφθέγματα φέρεται, καὶ ὅτι γυμνὸς ποτε ἄνδρας ἀπαντήσαντας αὐτῇ καὶ μέλλοντας διὰ τοῦτο θανατωθῆσεσθαι ἔσωσεν, εἰποῦσα ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀνδριάντων ^[5] ταῖς σωφρονούσαις οἱ τοιοῦτοι διαφέρουσι. πυθμένου τέ τινος αὐτῆς πῶς καὶ τί δρῶσα οὕτω τοῦ Αὐγούστου κατεκράτησεν, ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι αὐτὴ τε

ἀκριβῶς σωφρονοῦσα, καὶ πάντα τὰ δοκοῦντα αὐτῷ ἡδέως ποιοῦσα, καὶ μήτε ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐκείνου πολυπραγμονοῦσα, καὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια αὐτοῦ ἀθῦρματα μήτε ἀκούειν μήτε αἰσθάνεσθαι ^[6] προσποιουμένη. τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ Λιουία ἐγένετο, ἡ μέντοι ψηφισθεῖσα αὐτῇ ἀψὶς οὐκ ὠκοδομήθη διὰ τὸ τὸν Τιβέριον τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ τέλεσι κατασκευάσειν αὐτὴν ὑποσχέσθαι: κατοκνήσας γὰρ τῷ λόγῳ τὸ δόγμα λῦσαι, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀνέτρεψεν αὐτό, μήτ' ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων ἐπιτρέψας τὸ ἔργον γενέσθαι μήτ' αὐτὸς ποιήσας. ^[7] ὁ δὲ δὴ Σεϊανὸς ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἤρετο, καὶ ἐψηφίσθη ὅπως τὰ γενέθλια αὐτοῦ δημοσίᾳ ἐορτάζηται. τὸ γὰρ τοι πλῆθος τῶν ἀνδριάντων ὧν ἡ τε βουλὴ καὶ ἡ ἱππὰς αἱ τε φυλαὶ καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ πρῶτοι ἔστησαν αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ ἐξηριθμήσεν ἂν ^[8] τις: πρέσβεις τε ἰδίᾳ μὲν ἡ γερουσία ἰδίᾳ δὲ οἱ ^[p. 190] ἱππῆς τὸ τε πλῆθος ἔκ τε τῶν δημάρχων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγορανόμων τῶν σφετέρων πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους αὐτοὺς ἔπεμπον, καὶ εὐχοντο ὑπὲρ ἀμφοῖν ὁμοίως καὶ ἔθουον, τὴν τε τύχην αὐτῶν ὤμνυσαν.” Χιρh. 143, 25-144, 19. “3. τῷ δὲ δὴ Γάλλῳ ὁ Τιβέριος, τῷ τὴν τε γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἀγαγομένῳ καὶ τῇ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς παρρησίᾳ χρησαμένῳ, καιρὸν λαβὼν ἐπέθετο. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὸν Σεϊανὸν ἦτοι καὶ ἀληθῶς ὡς αὐταρχήσοντα ἢ καὶ τῷ τοῦ Τιβερίου δέει θεραπεύων, ^[2] ἢ καὶ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς, ἵνα καὶ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ διὰ κόρου γενόμενος φθαρῇ, τὰ τε πλεῖω οἱ καὶ τὰ μείζω ἐσηγήσατο καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς γενέσθαι ἐσπούδασεν, ἐπέστειλε περὶ αὐτοῦ τῇ βουλῇ τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ὅτι τῷ Σεϊανῷ τῆς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν φιλίας φθονοίη, καίπερ αὐτὸς Συριακῷ φίλῳ ^[3] χρώμενος. καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐξέφηνε τῷ Γάλλῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ αὐτὸν ἐδεξιώσατο, ὥστε συμβῆναι οἱ πρᾶγμα παραδοξότατον, καὶ ὁ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ συνηνέχθη: ἐν γὰρ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ παρὰ τε τῷ Τιβερίῳ εἰσιπάθη καὶ φιλοτησίας ἔπιε, καὶ ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ κατεψηφίσθη, ὥστε καὶ στρατηγὸν τὸν δῆσοντά τε αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς τὴν τιμωρίαν ^[4] ἀπάξοντα πεμφθῆναι. καὶ μέντοι τοῦθ' οὕτως ὁ Τιβέριος πράξας οὐδ' ἀποθανεῖν αὐτῷ ἐθέλησαντι, ^[p. 192] ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τῶν δεδογμένων ἦσθετο, ἐπέτρεψεν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ τε, ἵνα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον κακωθεῖη, θαρσεῖν ἐκέλευσε καὶ τῇ βουλῇ ἐντεῖλατο ὅπως ἐν φυλακῇ ἀδέσμῳ ἦ, μέχρις ἂν αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀφίκηται, ἴν', ὅπερ εἶπον, ἐπὶ μακρότατον καὶ τῇ ἀτιμίᾳ ἅμα καὶ τῷ φόβῳ ταλαιπωρήσειε. ^[5] καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως: πρὸς τε γὰρ τῶν αἰεὶ ὑπάτων ἐτηρεῖτο ἔξω τῆς τοῦ Τιβερίου ἀρχῆς: τότε γὰρ πρὸς τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐφυλάχθη, οὐχ ἵνα μὴ φύγῃ, ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ τελευτήσῃ, καὶ οὔτε ἐταῖρός τις οὔτ' οἰκέτης αὐτῷ συνεγίγνετο, οὔτ' ἐλάλει τινὶ οὔθ' ἐώρα τινὰ πλὴν ὅποτε τροφήν ^[6] λαβεῖν ἠναγκάζετο. καὶ ἦν αὕτη τοιαύτη καὶ τοσαύτη ὥστε μήτε τινὰ ἡδονὴν ἢ καὶ ῥώμην αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν μήτ' ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν ἔάν: τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν τὸ δεινότατον. ὁ καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων συχνῶν ὁ Τιβέριος ἐποiei: δῆσας γοῦν τινὰ τῶν ἐταίρων, ἔπειτα λόγου περὶ τῆς θανατώσεως αὐτοῦ γενομένου ἔφη ὅτι ‘οὐδέπω αὐτῷ διήλλαγμαi.’ ^[7] ἕτερον μέντοι τινὰ καὶ πάνυ ἰσχυρῶς βασανίσας, ἔπειτα γνοὺς ὅτι ἀδίκως κατηγορήθη, καὶ πάνυ σπουδῇ ἀπέκτεινεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι χαλεπωτέρως ὕβρισται ἢ ὥστε καλῶς δύνασθαι ζῆν. Συριακὸς δ' οὔτ' ἀδικήσας τι οὔτ' αἰτιαθεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ ἐλλόγιμος ὢν, ἐσφάγη διὰ τοῦτο μόνον ὅτι φίλον αὐτὸν τοῦ Γάλλου ὁ Τιβέριος εἶπεν

εἶναι.” Exc. Val. 191 (p. 667), Xiph. 144, 19-145, 22. “[p. 194] [8] ὅτι ὁ Σεῖανός καὶ τὸν Δροῦσον διέβαλε διὰ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ. πάσας γὰρ ὡς εἰπεῖν τὰς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν γαμετὰς μοιχεύων τὰ τε λεγόμενα ἢ καὶ πραττόμενα ὑπ’ ἐκείνων ἐμάνθανε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ συνεργοὺς σφας ὡς καὶ γαμηθησομένους οἱ ἐποιεῖτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Τιβέριος ἀπλῶς τὸν Δροῦσον ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπεμψεν, ὁ Σεῖανός δεισας μὴ μεταβάλληται, ἔπεισε τὸν Κάσσιον χρηματίσαι τι κατ’ αὐτοῦ.” Exc. Val. 192 (p. 669). “[9] τὸν δὲ Σεῖανὸν ὁ Τιβέριος ἐπὶ μέγα δόξης ἐπάρας καὶ κηδεστὴν ἐπὶ Ἰουλίᾳ τῇ τοῦ Δρούσου θυγατρὶ ποιησάμενος ὕστερον ἔκτεινε.” Zon. 11, (p. 8, 31-9, D.). “4. ὁ δὲ δὴ Σεῖανός καὶ μείζων καὶ φοβερώτερος αἰὲ ἐγίγνετο, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκείνῳ μὲν ὡς καὶ αὐτοκράτορι προσέχειν, τὸν δὲ Τιβέριον ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ ποιεῖσθαι. μαθὼν οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Τιβέριος οὐτε ἐν ἐλαφρῷ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐποίησατο, φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ αὐτοκράτορα ἀντικρυς αὐτὸν ἀποδείξωσιν, οὐτε ἡμέλησεν. ἐκ μὲν δὴ [2] οὖν τοῦ προφανοῦς οὐδὲν ἔδρασε: τὸ τε γὰρ δορυφορικὸν πᾶν ἰσχυρῶς ὤκειώτο, καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν τὸ μὲν εὐεργεσίαις τὸ δὲ ἐλπίσι τὸ δὲ καὶ φόβῳ προσεπεποιήτο, τοὺς τε περὶ τὸν Τιβέριον ὄντας οὕτω πάντας προσηταιρίστο ὥστε τὰ μὲν ἐκείνου πάντα ἀπλῶς, καὶ ὅσα ἔλεγε καὶ ὅσα ἔπραττε, παραυτίκα οἱ ἀγγέλλεσθαι, τὰ δ’ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ [3] δρώμενα μηδὲνα τῷ Τιβερίῳ δηλοῦν. ἄλλως οὖν αὐτὸν μετεπορεύετο, καὶ ὑπατὸν τε αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξε [p. 196] καὶ κοινωνὸν τῶν φροντίδων ὠνόμαζε, ‘Σεῖανός’ τε ‘ὁ ἐμός’ πολλάκις ἐπαναλαμβάνων ἔλεγε, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ γράφων πρὸς τε τὴν βουλὴν καὶ [4] πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐδήλου. τοῦτοις οὖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀπατῶμενοι καὶ πιστεύοντες χαλκοῦς τε αὐτοῦς ἀπανταχοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσου ἴστασαν, κἂν ταῖς γραφαῖς συνέγραφον, δίφρους τε ἐπιχρύσους ἐς τὰ θέατρα ἀμφοῖν ἐσέφερον: καὶ τέλος ἐψηφίσθη ὑπάτους τέ σφας διὰ πέντε ἐτῶν ἅμα ἀποδείκνυσθαι, καὶ ἀπάντησιν, ὅποτε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσίοιεν, ἀμφοτέροις ὁμοίως γίγνεσθαι. καὶ τέλος καὶ ταῖς εἰκόσιν αὐτοῦ ὥσπερ καὶ ταῖς τοῦ Τιβερίου ἔθουν. [5] καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸν Σεῖανὸν τοιαῦτα ἦν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων πολλοὶ καὶ ὀνομαστοὶ ἐφθάρησαν, ὧν ἦν καὶ Γάιος Φούβιος Γέμιος. ἀσεβείας γὰρ ἐς τὸν Τιβέριον ἐγκληθεὶς τὰς διαθήκας ἐς τε τὸ συνέδριον ἐσεκόμισε καὶ ἀνέγνω, δηλῶν ὅτι τὸν κλῆρον ἐξ Ἰσου τοῖς τέκνοις καὶ ἐκείνῳ καταλελοιπῶς [6] ἦν: καὶ μαλακίας αἰτιαθεὶς ἀπῆλθεν οἴκαδε πρὶν ψηφισθῆναι τι, καὶ μαθὼν τὸν ταμίαν ἐπὶ δικαιοῶσει αὐτοῦ παρόντα αὐτὸς τε ἐαυτὸν ἔτρωσε, καὶ ἐκείνῳ τὸ τραῦμα δεῖξας ‘ἀπάγγελον’ ἔφη ‘τῇ γερουσίᾳ ὅτι ἀνὴρ οὕτως ἀποθνήσκει.’ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ δὲ αὐτοῦ Μουπιλία Πρίσκα ἐγκλημὰ τι λαβοῦσα ἐσῆλθε τε ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον, κἀνταῦθα ἐαυτὴν ἐγχειριδίῳ πινί, ὃ λάθρᾳ ἐσεκεκομῖκει, ἔσφαξεν.” Xiph. 145, 22-146, 30. “[7] ἐπὶ τοῦτοις τε Μουκίαν καὶ τὸν ταύτης ἄνδρα [p. 198] ἅμα δυσὶ θυγατράσιν ἀνεῖλε διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ μητέρα φιλίαν.” Joann. Antioch. fr. “§ μ. ‘F. 35-37’.” [8] ὅτι ἐπὶ Τιβερίου πάντες οἱ κατηγοροῦντές τινων χρήματα καὶ πολλὰ γε ἔκ τε τῶν οὐσιῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τιμὰς τινὰς ἐλάμβανον. ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἔτεροι προχειρῶς τινὰς θορυβοῦντες ἢ καὶ ἐτοιμῶς τινῶν καταψηφίζόμενοι, οἱ μὲν εἰκόνας οἱ μὲν εἰκόνας οἱ δὲ καὶ τιμὰς ἐπινικίους ἐκτῶντο. ὥστε τινὰς τῶν ἄλλων

ἐλλογιμῶν, ἀξιωθέντας τοιοῦτου τινός, μὴ ἐθελῆσαι αὐτὸ προσθέσθαι, ἵνα μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ δόξωσι ποτε ὅμοιοι ἐκείνοις γεγονέναι.” Exc. Val. 193 (p. 669). “ [9] ὅτι Τιβέριος νόσον προσποισάμενος τὸν Σεῖανδον ὡς καὶ ἐπακολουθήσων εἰς Ῥώμην προέπεμψε λέγων μέρος τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποσπᾶσθαι ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ περιέβαλεν αὐτὸν καὶ κατεφίλησεν μετὰ δακρύων ὥστε Σεῖανδον ἐπὶ πλέον ἐπαίρεσθαι.” Petr. Patr. Exc. “ Fiat. 10, π. 199 §3. μαί. ‘π. 183, 11-16 διנד.’ 5. ὁ δὲ Σεῖανδός τοσοῦτος ἦν τῇ τε ὑπεροχῇ τοῦ φρονήματος καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ἐξουσίας ὥστε συνελόντι εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν μὲν αὐτοκράτορα τὸν δὲ Τιβέριον νησιάρχον τινα εἶναι δοκεῖν διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ λεγομένῃ Καπρία τὰς διατριβάς [2] ποιεῖσθαι. σπουδαί τε καὶ ὠτισμοὶ περὶ τὰς θύρας αὐτοῦ ἐγίνοντο ἐκ τοῦ δεδιέναι μὴ μόνον μὴ οὐκ ὀφθῇ τις αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ μὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑστάτοις φανῇ: πάντα γὰρ ἀκριβῶς, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ τῶν πρώτων, ἐτηρεῖτο καὶ τὰ ῥήματα καὶ τὰ [3] νεύματα. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οἰκεία ἀξιώσει προύχοντες οὔτε τὰ δεξιώματα παρὰ τινων πάνυ ἀπαιτοῦσι, [p. 200] κἂν ἄρα καὶ ἐκλειφθῇ τι αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἐγκαλοῦσι σφισιν, ἅτε καὶ ἑαυτοῖς συνειδότες ὅτι μὴ καταφρονοῦνται: οἱ δὲ ἐπακτῷ καλλωπισματι χρώμενοι πάντα ἰσχυρῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν τοῦ ἀξιώματος σφον πλήρῳσιν ἀναγκαῖα, ἐπιζητοῦσι, κἂν μὴ τύχῳσιν αὐτῶν, ἄχθονται τε ὡς διαβαλλόμενοι [4] καὶ ὀργίζονται ὡς ὑβριζόμενοι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον περὶ τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἢ περὶ αὐτοὺς ὡς εἰπεῖν τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας σπουδάζουσιν, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν, κἂν πλημμεληθῇ τι, ἀρετὴν τὸ συγγνῶναι τῷ φέρει, τοῖς δὲ τοῦτο μὲν τὴν ἀσθένειαν σφον ἐλέγχειν δοκεῖ, τὸ δὲ ἐπεξελθεῖν καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι βεβαίωσιν τοῦ μέγα δύνασθαι ἔχειν νομίζεται. [5] ἐν δὲ τινι νουμηνία πάντων συνιόντων ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Σεῖανδου ἢ τε κλίνη ἢ ἐν τῷ δωματίῳ, ἐν ᾧ ἡσπάζετο, κειμένη πᾶσα ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου τῶν ἰζησάντων συνετριβή, καὶ προϊόντος αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς [6] οἰκίας γαλῇ διὰ μέσων σφον διῆξεν. ἐπειδὴ τε καὶ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ θύσας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν κατῆι, οἱ οἰκέται αὐτοῦ οἱ δορυφόροι διὰ τε τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀγούσης ἐξετράποντο, μὴ δυνηθέντες αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου ἐπακολουθῆσαι, καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀναβασμῶν καθ’ ὧν οἱ δικαιοῦμενοι ἐρριπτοῦντο κατιόντες ὦλισθον καὶ [7] κατέπεσον. οἰωνιζομένου τε μετὰ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ τῶν μὲν αἰσίων ὀρνίθων ἐπεφάνη οὐδεὶς, κόρακες δὲ δὴ πολλοὶ περιπτάμενοι καὶ περικρῶξαντες αὐτὸν ἀπέπταντο ἀθρόοι πρὸς τὸ οἶκημα καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐκαθέζοντο. [p. 202] 6. τούτων οὖν τῶν τεράτων οὐθ’ ὁ Σεῖανδός οὐτ’ ἄλλος τις ἐνθύμιον ἐποιήσατο: πρὸς γὰρ τὴν τῶν παρόντων ὄψιν οὐδ’ ἂν εἰ σαφῶς θεὸς τις προέλεγεν ὅτι τοσαύτη δι’ ὀλίγου μεταβολῇ [2] γενήσοιτο, ἐπίστευσεν ἂν τις. τὴν τε οὖν τύχην αὐτοῦ κατακορῶς ὤμνυσαν, καὶ συνάρχοντα τοῦ Τιβερίου, οὐκ ἐς τὴν ὑπατείαν ἀλλ’ ἐς τὸ κράτος ὑποσημαίνοντες, ἐπεκάλουν. Τιβέριος δὲ ἡγνόμενός μὲν οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν κατ’ αὐτὸν, βουλευόμενος δὲ ὅντινα τρόπον αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνει, καὶ οὐχ εὐρίσκων ὅπως ἀσφαλῶς ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τοῦτο ποιήσει, θαυμαστὸν δὴ τινα τρόπον καὶ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥστε τὴν γνώμην αὐτῶν ἀκριβῶς [3] μαθεῖν, ἐχρήσατο. περὶ τε γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα καὶ τῷ Σεῖανδι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ συνεχῶς ἐπέστελλε, νῦν μὲν λέγων φλαύρως ἔχειν καὶ ὅσον

οὐκ ἤδη τελευτήσῃν, νῦν δὲ καὶ σφόδρα ὑγιαίνειν καὶ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην^[4] ἀφίξεσθαι: καὶ τὸν Σεῖανδον τοτὲ μὲν πάννυ ἐπῆγει τοτὲ δὲ πάννυ καθήρει, τῶν τε ἐταίρων αὐτοῦ τοὺς μὲν ἐτίμα δι' ἐκεῖνον τοὺς δ' ἠτιμαζεν. ὥστε ὁ Σεῖανδός ἐν τῷ μέρει καὶ τοῦ ὑπερόγκου καὶ τοῦ ὑπερφόβου πληροῦμενος αἰὲ μετέωρος ἦν: οὔτε γὰρ δεδιέναι αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ νεοχμῶσαι τι ἐπῆει, καὶ γὰρ ἐπιμάτο, οὐτ' αὖ θαρσεῖν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιτολμῆσαι τι, καὶ γὰρ ἐκολοῦετο.^[5] καὶ μέντοι καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἐναλλάξ^[p. 204] καὶ δι' ὀλίγου: τὰ ἐναντιώτατα ἀκούοντες, καὶ μῆτε τὸν Σεῖανδον θαυμάζειν ἔτι ἢ καὶ καταφρονεῖν ἔχοντες, ἔς τε τὸν Τιβέριον ὡς καὶ τεθνήξοντα ἢ καὶ ἥξοντα ὑποπτεύοντες, ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ ἐγίγνοντο. 7. Σεῖανδον μὲν οὖν ταῦτά τε ἐτάραπτε, καὶ πολλῷ μᾶλλον ὅτι ἐξ ἀνδριάντος τινός αὐτοῦ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καπνὸς πολλὺς ἀνέθορεν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἀφαιρεθείσης τῆς κεφαλῆς ὅπως τὸ γιγνόμενον ἴδωσιν, ὅφιν μέγας ἀνεπήδησεν, ἑτέρας τε εὐθὺς ἀντεπιτεθείσης^[2] αὐτῷ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐκείνου θύσειν ἑαυτῷ μέλλοντος 'τά τε γὰρ χιπῃ. 146, 30-149, ἄλλα καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἔθυέ, σχοινίον περὶ τὸν αὐχένα αὐτοῦ περικείμενον εὐρέθη. τύχης τέ τι ἀγαλμα, ὃ ἐγεγόνει μὲν, ὡς φασι, Τουλλίου τοῦ βασιλευσαντός ποτε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, τότε δὲ ὁ Σεῖανδός^[3] οἴκοι τε εἶχε καὶ μεγάλως ἠγαλλεν, αὐτός τε θύων εἶδεν ἀποστρεφόμενον ... καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ' ἔτεροι συνεξιόντες σφίσιν. οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι ὑπώπτευνον μὲν που ταῦτα, ἀγνοοῦντες δὲ δὴ τὴν τοῦ Τιβερίου διάνοιαν, καὶ προσεκλογιζόμενοι τὸ τε ἐκείνου ἔμπληκτον καὶ τὸ τῶν πραγμάτων^[4] ἀστάθμητον, ἐπημφοτέρηζον, καὶ ἰδίᾳ μὲν τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀσφαλείας διεσκόπουν, κοινῇ δὲ δὴ ἐθεράπευνον αὐτὸν διὰ τε τᾶλλα καὶ ὅτι καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος ἱερέας μετὰ τοῦ Γαίου καὶ ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐποίησε, καὶ τὴν τε ἀνθυπατικὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ ἔδωκεν, καὶ προσεψηφίσαντο^[p. 206] πᾶσιν αἰεὶ τοῖς ὑπατεύουσι παραγγέλλεσθαι κατὰ^[5] τὸ ἐκείνου ζήλωμα ἄρξαι. ὁ δ' οὖν Τιβέριος ταῖς μὲν ἱερωσύναις ἐτίμησεν αὐτόν, οὐ μὴν καὶ μετεπέμψατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰτησαμένῳ οἱ ὅπως ἐς τὴν Καμπανίαν ἐπὶ προφάσει τῆς μελλονύμφου νοσησάσης ἔλθῃ, κατὰ χώραν μεῖναι προσέταξεν ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ὅσον οὕπῳ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφιζόμενος. 8. ἔκ τε οὖν τούτων ὁ Σεῖανδός αὐθις ἡλλοιοῦτο, καὶ διότι καὶ τὸν Γάιον ὁ Τιβέριος ἱερέα ἀποδείξας ἐπῆνεσε, καὶ τι καὶ ὡς διάδοχον αὐτόν τῆς μοναρχίας^[2] ἔξων ἐνεδείκνυτο. κἂν ἐνεόχμωσέ τι, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρὸς πάντα ἐτοίμως ὑπακοῦσαι αὐτῷ ἐχόντων, εἰ μὴ τὸν δῆμον ἰσχυρῶς τοῖς περὶ τοῦ Γαίου λεχθεῖσι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μνήμην ἡσθέντα εἶδε: πρότερον γὰρ νομίζων καὶ ἐκείνους πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι, τότε ὡς ἦσθετο τὰ τοῦ Γαίου σπουδάζοντας,^[3] ἠθύμῃσε. καὶ ὁ μὲν μετεγίγνωσκεν ὅτι μηδὲν ἐν τῇ ὑπατείᾳ ἐνεόχμωσεν, οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι ... διὰ τε ταῦτα, καὶ ὅτι ὁ Τιβέριος ἐχθρόν τινα αὐτοῦ ἡρημένον μὲν πρὸ δέκα ἐτῶν Ἰβηρίας ἄρξαι, κρινόμενον δὲ ἐπὶ τισιν ἐξ ἐκείνου ἀφῆκε, καὶ δι' αὐτόν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἡγεμονεύσειν τινῶν ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι δημόσιον πράξειν μέλλουσιν ἄδειαν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ τῶν τοιούτων δικῶν ἔδωκε.^[p. 208]^[4] τῇ τε γερουσίᾳ περὶ τοῦ Νέρωνος ἀποθανόντος γράφων Σεῖανδον ἀπλῶς αὐτὸν ὠνόμασε, μηδὲν ὥνπερ εἰθιστο προσθεῖς: καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἀπεῖπε μῆτ'

ἀνθρώπων τινὶ θύεσθαι, διότι καὶ ἐκείνῳ τοῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, μήτε ἐπὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ
τιμῇ τι χρηματίζεσθαι, διότι πολλὰ ἐκείνῳ ἐψηφίζετο. τοῦτο γὰρ
ἀπιγορεύει μὲν καὶ πρότερον, τότε δὲ διὰ τὸν Σεϊανὸν ἀνενεώσατο: οὐ γὰρ
που ὁ μηδὲν ἑαυτῷ τοιοῦτο γίγνεσθαι ἐπιτρέπων ἄλλῳ γε ἐφίει. 9. Ἐπ' οὖν
τούτοις ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ κατεφρόνησαν, ὥστε καὶ φανερώτερον ἢ
λανθάνειν καὶ ἐξίστασθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγκαταλείπειν. μαθὼν οὖν ταῦτα ὁ
Τιβέριος, καὶ θαρσήσας ὡς καὶ τὸν δῆμον καὶ τὴν βουλὴν συμμάχους ἔξων,
ἐπεχείρησεν ^[2] αὐτῷ: καὶ προκαθεῖς τὸν λόγον ὅτι τὴν ἐξουσίαν οἱ τὴν
δημαρχικὴν δώσοι, ὅπως ἀπροσδόκητον αὐτὸν ὅτι μάλιστα λάβῃ, ἐπέστειλε
κατ' αὐτοῦ τῷ συνεδρίῳ διὰ Ναιουίου Σερτωρίου Μάκρωνος, ἄρχειν τε
αὐτὸν τῶν σωματοφυλάκων κρύφα προκαταστήσας, καὶ ^[3] πάνθ' ὅσα ἐχρῆν
πραχθῆναι προδιδάξας. καὶ ὃς νύκτωρ ἐς τὴν Ρώμην ὡς καὶ κατ' ἄλλο τι
ἐλθὼν, τὰ τε ἐπεσταλμένα οἱ Μεμμῖῳ τε Ρηγούλῳ τότε ὑπατεύοντι ὁ γὰρ
συνάρχων αὐτοῦ τὰ τοῦ Σεϊανοῦ ἐφρόνει καὶ Γραικινίῳ Λάκωνι τῷ τῶν
νυκτοφυλάκων ἄρχοντι ἐπεκοίνωσε, ^[p. 210] ^[4] καὶ ἀναβὰς ἅμα τῇ ἑῷ ἐς τὸ
παλάτιον τῆς γὰρ βουλῆς ἔδρα ἐν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ γενήσεσθαι ἔμελλέ, τῷ τε
Σεϊανῷ μηδέπω ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσεληλυθότι περιέπεσε, καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν
ταραττόμενον ὅτι μηδὲν οἱ ὁ Τιβέριος ἐπεστάλκει, παρεμυθήσατο εἰπὼν ἰδίᾳ
καὶ ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ ὅτι ^[5] τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ τὴν δημαρχικὴν φέροι. καὶ ὁ μὲν
περιχαρῆς ἐπὶ τούτῳ γενόμενος ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσεπήδησε: Μάκρων δὲ
τοὺς μὲν δορυφόρους τοὺς περὶ τε ἐκείνον καὶ τὸ συνέδριον ὄντας ἐς τὸ
στρατόπεδον ἀπέπεμψε, τὴν τε ἡγεμονίαν σφίσι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐκφήνας καὶ
γράμματα παρὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου γέρα τινὰ αὐτοῖς διδόντα ^[6] φέρειν φήσας, τοὺς
δὲ δὴ νυκτοφύλακας ἀντ' αὐτῶν περὶ τὸν ναὸν περιστήσας ἐσῆλθέ τε ἐς
αὐτόν, καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῖς ὑπάτοις δοὺς ἐξῆλθε πρὶν καὶ ὅτιοῦν
ἀναγνωσθῆναι, αὐτῷ τε τῷ Λάκωνι τάνταῦθα φυλάττειν προστάξας αὐτὸς
ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, μὴ καὶ νεωτερισθεῖη τι, ὥρμησε. 10. κὰν τούτῳ ἢ
ἐπιστολὴ ἀνεγνώσθη. ἦν δὲ μακρά, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀθρόον κατὰ τοῦ Σεϊανοῦ
εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἄλλο τι, εἴτα μέμψιν κατ' αὐτοῦ βραχεῖαν, καὶ
μετ' αὐτὴν ἕτερόν τι, καὶ κατ' ἐκείνου ἄλλο: καὶ ἐπὶ τελευταίᾳ δύο τε
βουλευτὰς τῶν ὑκειωμένων οἱ κολασθῆναι καὶ αὐτὸν ^[2] ἐν φρουρᾷ
γενέσθαι δεῖν ἔλεγεν. Ἄντικρυς γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν ὁ Τιβέριος οὐ
προσέταξεν, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἐβούλετο, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐφοβήθη μὴ ταραχὴ τις ἐκ
τούτου γένηται: ὡς γοῦν οὐδὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀσφαλῶς ποιήσασθαι δυνάμενος,
τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπᾶτων μετεπέμψατο. τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ γραφὴ ^[p. 212] ἐδήλου,
παρῆν δὲ καὶ ἀκοῦσαι ἐπ' αὐτῇ καὶ ἰδεῖν ^[3] πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα. πρότερον
μὲν γάρ, πρὶν ἀναγινώσκεσθαι αὐτὴν, ἐπαίνους τε αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ τὴν
δημαρχικὴν ἐξουσίαν ληψομένου ἐποιοῦντο καὶ ἐπιβοήμασιν ἐχρῶντο,
προλαμβάνοντες ὅσα ἡλπίζον, καὶ προσενδεικνύμενοί οἱ ὡς καὶ ^[4] αὐτοὶ
αὐτὰ δώσοντες: ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον εὕρισκετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶν τοῦναντίον
ἢ προσεδόκων ἦκουον, ἔν τε ἀπορίᾳ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν κατηφείᾳ πολλῇ
ἐγίγνοντο. καὶ τινες καὶ ἐξανέστησαν τῶν συγκαθημένων αὐτῷ: ὃν γὰρ
πρόσθεν περὶ πολλοῦ φίλον ἔχειν ἐποιοῦντο, τούτῳ τότε οὐδὲ τῆς αὐτῆς
συνεδρείας κοινωνεῖν ^[5] ἤθελον. κὰκ τούτου καὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ δήμαρχοι

περίεσχον αὐτόν, ὅπως μὴ συνταράξῃ τι ἐκπηδήσας· ὅπερ πάντως ἂν ἐπεποιήκει, εἰ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἄθρῳ τινὶ ἀκούσματι ἐπέπληκτο. νῦν δὲ τὸ τε αἰὲ ἀναγιγνωσκόμενον ὡς καὶ κοῦφον καὶ μόνον ὄν παρορῶν, καὶ μάλιστα μὲν μηδὲν ἄλλο, εἰ δὲ μή, μήτι γε καὶ ἀνήκεστον τι ἐπεστάλθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐλπίζων, διετρίβῃ καὶ κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινε. [6] κὰν τοῦτῳ προσκαλεσαμένου αὐτὸν τοῦ Ῥηγούλου οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν, οὐχ ὅτι ὑπερεφρόνησεν ἥδη γὰρ ἐτεταπεινωτὸ ἄλλ' ὅτι ἀήθης τοῦ προστάττεσθαι τι ἦν. ὡς δὲ καὶ δεῦτερον καὶ τρίτον γε ἐκεῖνος ἐμβοήσας οἱ καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἅμα ἐκτείνας εἶπε 'Σεῖανέ, δεῦρο ἐλθέ,' ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτὸν αὐτὸ τοῦτο, 'ἐμὲ καλεῖς,' ὅψε δ' οὖν [p. 214] ποτε ἀναστάντι αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Λάκων ἐπεσελθὼν [7] προσέστη. καὶ τέλος διαναγνωσθείσης τῆς ἐπιστολῆς πάντες ἀπὸ μιᾶς γλώσσης καὶ κατεβῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ δεινὰ ἐπέλεγον, οἱ μὲν ἡδικημένοι οἱ δὲ πεφοβημένοι, ἄλλοι τὴν φιλίαν τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπηλυγαζόμενοι, ἄλλοι τῇ μεταβολῇ αὐτοῦ ἐπιχαίροντες. [8] οὐ μὴν οὔτε πάντας αὐτοὺς οὔτε περὶ τοῦ θανάτου τινὰ αὐτοῦ ὁ Ῥηγούλος ἐπεψήφισε, φοβηθεὶς μὴ τις ἐναντιωθῇ κάκ τούτου καὶ ταραχθῇ τι 'συχνοὺς γὰρ δὴ καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους εἶχεν': ἄλλ' ἓνα τινὰ ἀνακρίνας καὶ σύμφηφον ὅπως δεθῇ λαβὼν, ἐξήγαγέ τε αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον μετὰ τε τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχόντων καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Λάκωνος κατήγαγεν. 11. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἂν τις τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀσθένειαν κατεῖδεν, ὥστε μηδαμῇ μηδαμῶς φυσᾶσθαι. ὄν γὰρ τῇ ἔω πάντες ὡς καὶ κρείττω σφῶν ὄντα ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον παρέπεμψαν, τοῦτον τότε ἐς τὸ οἶκμα ὡς μηδενὸς βελτίῳ κατέσυρον, καὶ ὄν στεφάνων πρότερον πολλῶν [2] ἥξιουν, τοῦτῳ τότε δεσμὰ περιέθεσαν· ὄν δὲ ἐδορυφόρουν ὡς δεσπότην, τοῦτον ἐφρούρουν ὡς δραπετήν καὶ ἀπεκάλυπτον ἐπικαλυπτόμενον, καὶ ὄν τῷ περιπορφύρῳ ἱματίῳ ἐκεκοσμήκεσαν, τοῦτον ἐπὶ κόρρης ἔπαιον, ὄν τε προσεκύνουν ὥς τε ὡς θεῷ ἔθυον, τοῦτον θανατώσοντες ἤγον. [3] καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ δῆμος προσπίπτων πολλὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπολωλόσιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπεβόα, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐλπισθεῖσιν ἐπέσκωπτε. τὰς τε [p. 216] εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ πάσας κατέβαλλον καὶ κατέκοπτον καὶ κατέσυρον ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον αἰκίζόμενοι· καὶ οὕτω θεατῆς ὢν πείσεσθαι ἔμελλεν ἐγίγνετο. [4] τότε μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἐνεβλήθη· ὕστερον δ' οὐ πολλῷ, ἀλλ' αὐθημερὸν ἡ γερουσία πλησίον τοῦ οἰκήματος ἐν τῷ Ὀμονοεῖῳ, ἐπειδὴ τὰ τε τοῦ δήμου τοιαῦτα ὄντα ἦσθετο καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων οὐδένα ἐώρα, ἄθροισθεῖσα θάνατον [5] αὐτοῦ κατεψηφίσατο. καὶ οὕτω δικαιωθείς κατὰ τε τῶν ἀναβασμῶν ἐρρίφη, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ ὄμιλος τρισὶν ὄλαις ἡμέραις ἐλυμήνατο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐνέβαλε. τὰ τε παιδία αὐτοῦ κατὰ δόγμα ἀπέθανε, τῆς κόρης, ἣν τῷ τοῦ Κλαυδίου υἱεῖ ἡγγυήκει, προδιαφθαρείσης ὑπὸ τοῦ δημίου, ὡς οὐχ ὅσιον ὄν παρθενευομένην [6] τινὰ ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ διολέσθαι. καὶ ἡ γυνὴ Ἀπικᾶτα οὐ κατεψηφίσθη μὲν, μαθοῦσα δὲ ὅτι τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς τέθνηκε, καὶ σφῶν τὰ σώματα ἐν τοῖς ἀναβασμοῖς ἰδοῦσα, ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ ἐς βιβλίον γράψασα περὶ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Δρούσου κατὰ τε τῆς Λιουίλλης τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, δι' ἣν περ ποὺ καὶ αὐτὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ προσεκεκρούκει ὥστε μηκέτι συνοικεῖν, τὸ μὲν τῷ Τιβερίῳ [7] ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὴ δ' ἐαυτὴν διεχρήσατο. καὶ οὕτως ὁ

Τιβέριος ἐντυχὼν τῷ βιβλίῳ, καὶ διελέγξας τὰ γεγραμμένα, τοὺς τε ἄλλους πάντας καὶ τὴν Λιουίλλαν ἀπέκτεινεν. ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα ὅτι ἐκεῖνος μὲν αὐτῆς διὰ τὴν μητέρα τὴν Ἀντωνίαν ἐφείσατο, αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ Ἀντωνία ἐκοῦσα λιμῶ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐξώλεσε. [p. 218] 12. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ἐγένετο, τότε δὲ θόρυβος πολὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει συνηνέχθη. ὅτε γὰρ δῆμος εἰ ποῦ τινὰ τῶν μέγα παρὰ τῷ Σεϊανῷ δυνηθέντων καὶ δι' αὐτὸν ὑβρισάντων τι εἶδεν, ἐφόνευε: [2] καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἀγανακτοῦντες ὅτι αὐτοὶ τε ἐς τὴν τοῦ Σεϊανοῦ εὐνοίαν ὑπωπτεύθησαν καὶ οἱ νυκτοφύλακές σφων ἐς τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος πίστιν προετιμήθησαν, ἐμπρήσεις τε καὶ ἀρπαγὰς ἐποιοῦντο, καίτοι πάντων τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὄντων τὸ ἄστυ πᾶν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Τιβερίου [3] ἐντολῆς φυλαττόντων. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἡ βουλὴ ἡσύχαζεν, ἀλλ' οἱ τε τὸν Σεϊανὸν τεθεραπευκότες δεινῶς δέει τῆς τιμωρίας ἐπαράσσοντο, καὶ οἱ κατηγορηκότες ἢ καὶ καταμεμαρτυρηκότες τινῶν διὰ φόβου, ὑποψία τοῦ καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνον ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τὸν Τιβέριον αὐτοὺς διεφθάρθαι, ἐγίνοντο. ὀλίγον τε πάνυ τὸ θαρσοῦν ἦν, ὅσον ἔξω τε τούτων καθειστίκει καὶ τὸν Τιβέριον ἡπιώτερον [4] γενήσεσθαι προσεδόκα. τὰ τε γὰρ συμβεβηκότα σφίσι ἐς τὸν ἀπολωλὸτα, ὥσπερ που φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι, ἔτρεπον, καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἢ οὐδενὸς ἢ ὀλίγων ἡτιῶντο: τὰ γὰρ πλείονα τὰ μὲν ἡγνοηκέναι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἄκοντα κατηναγκάσθαι πρᾶξαι ἔλεγον. ἰδίᾳ μὲν δὴ ὡς ἕκαστοι οὕτω διετίθεντο, κοινῇ δὲ δὴ ἐψηφίσαντο, ὡς καὶ δεσποτείας τινὸς ἀπηλλαγμένοι, μήτε πένθος τινὰ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι, καὶ Ἐλευθερίας ἄγαλμα ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν [5] ἀνατεθῆναι, ἑορτὴν τε διὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ διὰ τῶν ἱερέων ἀπάντων, ὃ μῆπωποτε ἐγγένοι, ἀχθῆναι, καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ ἐτελεύτησε καὶ [p. 220] ἵππων ἀγῶσι καὶ θηρίων σφαγαῖς ἐτησίους διὰ τῶν ἐς τὰς τέσσαρας ἱερωσύνας τελούντων καὶ διὰ τῶν τοῦ Αὐγούστου θιασωτῶν ἀγάλλεσθαι, [6] ὃ οὐδέποτε ἐπεποιήτο. ὃν γὰρ αὐτοὶ ταῖς τε ὑπερβολαῖς καὶ ταῖς καινότησι τῶν τιμῶν πρὸς τὸν ὀλεθρον προήγαγον, κατὰ τοῦτου καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ξένα τινὰ ἐψηφίζοντο. οὕτω γὰρ τοι σαφῶς ἡπίσταντο ὅτι ὑπ' ἐκείνων μάλιστα ἐξεφρόνησεν, ὥστ' ἀπαγορεῦσαι παραχρῆμα διαρρήδην μήτε τιμὰς μηδενὶ ὑπερόγκους δίδοσθαι μήτε τοὺς ὄρκους ἐπ' ἄλλου τινὸς πλην τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος [7] ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ μέντοι ταῦθ' οὕτω, καθάπερ ἐκ θείας τινὸς ἐπιπνοίας, ψηφισάμενοι καὶ τὸν Μάκρωνα καὶ τὸν Λάκωνα κολακεύειν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἤρξαντο: χρήματά τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς πολλὰ καὶ τιμὰς, Λάκωνι μὲν τὰς τῶν τεταμιευκόντων Μάκρωνι δὲ τὰς τῶν ἐστρατηγηκόντων, ἔδωκαν, καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ συνθεᾶσθαι σφισι καὶ ἱματίῳ περιπορφύρῳ ἐν ταῖς εὐκταίαις πανηγύρεσι χρῆσθαι [8] ἐπέτρεψαν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐδέξαντο αὐτά: τὸ γὰρ παράδειγμά σφας ὑπόγυον ὃν ἐθορύβει. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ὁ Τιβέριος προσήκατό τι, ἄλλων τ' αὐτῷ πολλῶν ψηφισθέντων, καὶ ὅπως αὐτός τε πατήρ τῆς πατρίδος τότε γε ἄρξεται ὀνομάζεσθαι, καὶ τὰ γενέθλια αὐτῷ δέκα τε τῶν ἵππων ἀμιλλαῖς καὶ ἐστιάσει τῆς γερουσίας [p. 222] τιμῶτο: ἀλλὰ καὶ προηγόρευσεν αὐθις μηδὲνα μηδὲν τοιοῦτον ἐσηγεῖσθαι. 13. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐγίνετο, ὃ δὲ δὴ Τιβέριος τέως μὲν ἐν δέει μεγάλῳ καθειστίκει μὴ ὁ Σεϊανὸς κατασχὼν αὐτὴν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπιπλεύσῃ, καὶ πλοῖα παρεσκευάσατο ἵνα, ἂν τι τοιοῦτο συμβῇ, διαφύγῃ: τῷ τε Μάκρωνι, ὡς τινὲς

φασιν, ἐνετείλατο ὅπως, ἂν τι παρακινήσῃ, τὸν Δροῦσον ἔς τε τὴν βουλὴν καὶ ἔς τὸν δῆμον ἐσαγάγῃ καὶ ^[2] αὐτοκράτορα ἀποδείξῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθεν αὐτὸν ἀπολωλὸτα, ἔχαιρεν ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὴν πρεσβείαν τὴν πεμφθεῖσαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ προσεδέξατο, καίπερ πολλῶν μὲν παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς πολλῶν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἱππέων τοῦ τε ^[3] πλήθους, ὥσπερ καὶ πρὶν, σταλέντων· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ὕπατον τὸν Ῥήγουλον, τὰ τε αὐτοῦ αἰεὶ φρονήσαντα καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τῆς ἑς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῦ κομιδῆς, ὥσπερ ἐπεστάλκει, ἐλθόντα, ἀπεώσατο. 14. Σεϊανὸς μὲν δὴ μέγιστον τῶν τε πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτόν, πλὴν Πλαυτιανοῦ, τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ταύτην λαβόντων ἰσχύσας οὕτως ἀπήλλαξεν, οἱ δὲ δὴ συγγενεῖς οἱ τε ἑταῖροι αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες οἱ τι αὐτὸν κολακεύσαντες καὶ οἱ τὰς ^[2] τιμὰς αὐτῷ ἐσηγησάμενοι ἐκρίνοντο· καὶ ἐκείνων τε οἱ πλείους ἡλίσκοντο ἐφ' οἷς πρότερον ἐφθονοῦντο, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι κατεδικάζον σφῶν ἐφ' οἷς πρότερον ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ συχνοὶ καὶ τῶν κεκριμένων τε ἐπὶ τισι καὶ ἀφειμένων καὶ κατηγορήθησαν αὐθις καὶ ἐάλωσαν ὥς καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου ^[3] χάριν τότε σωθέντες. οὕτως, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο ^[p. 224] ἔγκλημα τῷ ἐπεφέρετο, ἀλλ' αὐτό γε τότε ἐξήρκει οἱ πρὸς τὴν τιμωρίαν ὅτι φίλος τοῦ Σεϊανοῦ ἐγεγόνει, καθάπερ οὐ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Τιβερίου φιλήσαντος αὐτόν καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνον καὶ τῶν ^[4] ἄλλων οὕτω σπουδασάντων. ἐμήνουν δὲ δὴ ταῦτα ἄλλοι τε καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ μάλιστα τὸν Σεϊανὸν θεραπεύοντες· οἷα γὰρ ἀκριβῶς τοὺς ὁμοίους σφίσιν εἰδότες, οὐδὲν πρᾶγμα εἶχον οὐτ' ἀναζητοῦντες αὐτοὺς οὔτε ἐξελέγχοντες. καὶ οἱ μὲν, ὥς σωθησόμενοι τε διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τιμὰς καὶ χρήματα προσληψόμενοι, οἱ μὲν κατηγοροῦν τινῶν οἱ δὲ κατεμαρτύρουν, συνέβη δὲ αὐτοῖς μηδενὸς ^[5] ὣν ἡλπίζον τυχεῖν· τοῖς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐγκλήμασιν οἷς τοὺς ἄλλους μετήεσαν ἐνεχόμενοι, τὸ μὲν τι δι' ἐκεῖνα τὸ δὲ καὶ ὥς προδωσέταιροι, προσαπώλλυντο. 15. τῶν οὖν αἰτιαθέντων συχνοὶ μὲν καὶ κατηγορήθησαν παρόντες καὶ ἀπελογήσαντο, καὶ παρρησία γε εἰσὶν οἱ μεγάλη ἐχρήσαντο· οἱ δὲ δὴ πλείους αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοὺς πρὶν ἀλῶναι διέφθειραν. ^[2] ἐποιοῦν δὲ τοῦτο μάλιστα μὲν τοῦ μήτε τὴν ὕβριν μήτε τὴν αἰκίαν φέρειν 'πάντες γὰρ οἱ τινα τοιαύτην αἰτίαν λαβόντες, οὐχ ὅπως ἱππῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ βουλευταί, οὐδ' ὅπως ἄνδρες ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκες, ἑς τὸ δεσμωτήριον συνεωθοῦντο, καὶ ^[3] καταψηφισθέντες οἱ μὲν ἐκεῖ ἐκολάζοντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων ἢ καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων κατεκρημνίζοντο, καὶ ἔς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν τὰ σώματα ἀπάντων αὐτῶν ἐρρίπτετο καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἑς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐνεβάλλετο, ἥδη δὲ καὶ ὅπως οἱ παῖδες τῶν οὐσιῶν αὐτοὺς κληρονομῶσιν· ^[4] ὀλίγαι γὰρ πάνυ τῶν ἐθελοντηδὸν ^[p. 226] πρὸ τῆς δίκης τελευτώντων ἐδημεύοντο, προκαλουμένου διὰ τούτου τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοῦ Τιβερίου αὐτοέντας γίνεσθαι, ἵνα μὴ αὐτὸς σφας ἀποκτείνειν δοκῇ, ὥσπερ οὐ πολλῷ δεινότερον ὄν αὐτοχειρίᾳ τινὰ ἀποθανεῖν ἀναγκάσαι τοῦ τῷ 16. δημίῳ αὐτόν παραδοῦναι. αἱ δ' οὖν πλείσται τῶν οὐχ οὕτως ἀποθανόντων οὐσίαι ἐδημοσιοῦντο, βραχέος τινὸς ἢ καὶ μηδενὸς τοῖς κατηγορήσασιν αὐτῶν διδομένου. καὶ γὰρ τὰ χρήματα δι' ἀκριβείας ^[2] ἥδη πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τέλος τι διακοσιοστήν ἔχον ἑκατοστήν ἤγαγε, καὶ ἐκληρονόμει παντὸς τοῦ

καταλειφθέντος αὐτῷ: κατέλειπον δὲ δὴ πάντες ὀλίγου καὶ οἱ ἑαυτοῦς ἀναχρῶμενοι, ὥσπερ καὶ τῷ Σεϊανῷ ὅτε ἔζη. ^[3] τῇ δ' αὐτῇ ἐκείνῃ διανοίᾳ ἣ τὰ τῶν ἐκόντως ἀποθνησκόντων χρήματα οὐκ ἀφηρεῖτο, καὶ τὰς ἐσαγγελίας πάσας ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν ἐσῆγεν, ὅπως αὐτός τε ἔξω αἰτίας, ὡς γε καὶ ἐδόκει, ἦ, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ αὐτῇ ἐαυτῆς ὡς καὶ ἀδικούσης τι ^[4] καταψηφίζηται. ὅθεν καὶ πάνυ ἀκριβῶς ἔμαθον, αὐτοὶ δι' ἐαυτῶν ἀπολλύμενοι, ὅτι καὶ τὰ πρότερον ἐκεῖνα οὐ τοῦ Σεϊανοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἔργα ἦν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον οἱ κατηγορήσαντές τινων ἐκρίνοντο ἢ καὶ οἱ καταμαρτυρήσαντες κατεμαρτυροῦντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ κατεψηφισμένοι τινῶν ^[p. 228] ^[5] ἀνθελίσκοντο. οὕτως οὐθ' ὁ Τιβέριος τινων ἐφείδετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς κατ' ἀλλήλων ἀπεχρῆτο, οὐτ' ἄλλον βέβαιον φίλον οὐδένα, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ καὶ τὸ ἀδικοῦν καὶ τὸ ἀναμάρτητον τὸ τε ὑποπευθόν τι καὶ τὸ ἀδεὲς πρὸς τὴν τῶν Σεϊανῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἀνάκρισιν ἐγίγνετο. ^[6] ἔδοξε μὲν γὰρ τινα ἀμνηστίαν αὐτῶν ὅπερ ποτε ἐσηγήσασθαι: καὶ γὰρ πενθεῖν τοῖς βουλομένοις αὐτὸν ἐπέτρεψε, προσαπειπὼν μηδὲ ἐφ' ἐτέρου τινὸς κωλύεσθαι τινα τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ὃ πολλὰκις ^[7] ἐψηφίζετο: οὐ μὴν καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ ἐβεβαίωσεν αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ὀλίγον διαλιπὼν ἔπειτα καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Σεϊανῷ καὶ ἐφ' ἐτέροις ἀθεμίτοις ἐγκλήμασι συχνοὺς ἐκόλασεν, ἡσυχυκέναι τε καὶ ἀπεκτονέσθαι καὶ τὰς συγγενεστάτας σφίσιν αἰτιαθέντας. 17. τοιαύτης δ' οὖν τότε τῆς καταστάσεως οὔσης, καὶ μηδ' ἀπαρνήσασθαι τινος δυναμένου τὸ μὴ οὐ καὶ τῶν σαρκῶν ἂν αὐτοῦ ἡδέως ἐμφαγεῖν, γελοιότατον πρᾶγμα τῷ ἐξῆς ἔτει, ὧ Γναῖος Δομίτιος καὶ Κάμιλλος Σκριβωνιανὸς ὑπάτευσαν, ^[2] ἐγένετο. νομιζομένου γὰρ συχρὸν ἡδὴ χρόνον μηκέτι κατὰ ἄνδρα τὴν βουλήν ἐν τῇ νομηνίᾳ ὁμνῦναι, ἀλλ' ἐνός, ὥσπερ εἴρηται μοι, προομνύντος καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς συνεπαινεῖν, οὐκ ἐποίησαν αὐτό, ἀλλὰ αὐτεπάγγελτοι, μηδενὸς σφας ἀναγκάσαντος, ἰδίᾳ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος ἐπιστώθησαν ὥσπερ τι παρὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον ^[p. 230] ^[3] εὐορκήσοντες. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἔτη οὐδ' ὁμνύντα τινὰ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ φέροντα, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἠνέσχετο: τότε δὲ καὶ ἕτερόν τι γελοιότερον ἐγένετο. προχειρίσασθαι τε γὰρ αὐτὸν ὅσους ἂν ἐθελήσῃ σφῶν, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἴκοσιν, οὓς ἂν ὁ κλῆρος ἀποφήνῃ, φρουροῖς, ὡσάκις ἂν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσίῃ, ^[4] ξιφίδια ἔχουσι χρῆσθαι ἐψηφίσαντο. τῶν τε γὰρ ἔξω πρὸς τῶν στρατιωτῶν τηρουμένων καὶ εἴσω μηδενὸς ἰδιώτου ἐσιόντος, δι' οὐδένα δηλὸν ὅτι ἄλλον, ἀλλὰ δι' ἑαυτοὺς μόνους ὡς καὶ πολεμίους οἱ ὄντας τὴν φρουρὰν αὐτῷ 18. δοθῆναι ἔγνωσαν. ὁ δ' οὖν Τιβέριος ἐπήνεσε μὲν αὐτούς, καὶ χάριν δῆθεν τῆς εὐνοίας σφίσιν ἔγνω, τὸ δὲ δὴ πρᾶγμα ὡς καὶ ἀηθες διεκρούσατο: οὐ γὰρ οὕτως εὐήθης ἦν ὥστ' αὐτοῖς γε ἐκείνοις, οὓς τε ἐμίσει καὶ ὑφ' ὧν ἐμισεῖτο, ξίφη δοῦναι. ^[2] ἀμέλει καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τούτων προσυποποτήσας σφᾶς 'πᾶν γὰρ ὅ τι ἂν τις παρὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐπὶ κολακείᾳ ποιῇ ὑποπτεύεται τοῖς μὲν ἐκείνων ψηφίσμασι μακρὰ χαίρειν ἔφρασε, τοὺς δὲ δορυφόρους καὶ λόγοις καὶ χρήμασι, καίπερ τὰ τοῦ Σεϊανοῦ φρονήσαντας εἰδὼς, ἐτίμησεν, ἵνα αὐτοῖς ^[3] προθυμότεροις κατ' αὐτῶν χρῆσθαι ἔχῃ. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ὅτε καὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς αὐθις ἐπήνεσεν, ἐπεὶ σφίσι ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου τὸ ἀργύριον δοθῆναι ἐψηφίσαντο: οὕτω δὲ δὴ ἀκριβῶς τοὺς μὲν

τῷ [p. 232] λόγῳ ἀντεξηπάτα τοὺς δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ προσηταιρίζετο, ὥστε καὶ Ἰούνιον Γαλλίωνα, θεάν τοῖς διαστρατευσαμένοις αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ τῶν ἱππέων ἔδρᾳ [4] διδοσθαι ἐσηγησάμενον, μὴ μόνον φυγαδεῦσαι, αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπικληθέντα ὅτι σφᾶς ἀναπειθῆιν ἐδόκει τῷ κοινῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐαυτῷ εὖνοεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἔγνω αὐτὸν ἐς Λέσβον ἀπαίρειν, τῆς τε ἐκεῖ ἀσφαλοῦς εὐδαιμονίας ἀφελέσθαι καὶ ἐς φυλακὴν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ὥσπερ ποτὲ τὸν Γάλλον, [5] παραδοῦναι. καὶ ἵνα γε ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἐκατέρους πείσῃ ὅπως περὶ ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν φρονοῖ, ἡτήσατο παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, ἀρκεῖν οἱ φήσας, τὸν τε Μάκρωνα καὶ τινὰς χιλιάρχους ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσάγεσθαι. οὐ γάρ που καὶ ἐδεῖτό τι αὐτῶν, ὅς γε οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἔτι ἐσελθεῖν ἐνενόει, ἀλλὰ τὸ τε ἐκείνων μῖσος καὶ τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν εὐνοίαν ἐνδείξασθαι σφισιν [6] ἠθέλησε. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ βουλευταὶ ὠμολόγησαν: τῷ γοῦν δόγματι προσενέγραψαν ὥστε ἔρευνάν σφων συνιόντων, μὴ καὶ ξιφιδίων τις ὑπὸ μάλης ἔχῃ, γίνεσθαι. 19. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῷ ἐχομένῳ ἔτι ἐγνώσθη, τότε δὲ ἐφείσατο μὲν καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν καίτοι τῷ Σεῖανῳ ὠκειωμένων, ἐφείσατο δὲ καὶ Λουκίου Καισιανοῦ στρατηγοῦ Μάρκου τε Τερεντίου [p. 234] ἱππέως, ἐκείνου μὲν ὑπερφρονήσας τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα διὰ φαλακρῶν ἐν τοῖς Φλωραλίοις μέχρι νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Τιβερίου χλευασίᾳ, ὅτι τοιοῦτος [2] ἦν, ποιήσαντος, καὶ φῶς τοῖς ἀπιοῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου διὰ πεντακισχιλίων παιδῶν ἀπεξυρημένων παρασχόντος ἵπποστον γὰρ ἐδέησε δι' ὀργῆς αὐτῷ γενέσθαι ὥστ' οὐδὲ προσεποιήσατο ἀρχὴν ὅτι περὶ αὐτῶν ἡκηκοί, καίπερ Καισιανῶν ἐξ ἐκείνου πάντων τῶν φαλακρῶν ὀνομασθέντων, [3] τοῦ δὲ δὴ Τερεντίου, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Σεῖανου φιλίᾳ κρινόμενος οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἡρνήσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔφη καὶ σπουδάσαι μάλιστα αὐτὸν καὶ θεραπεῦσαι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Τιβερίου οὕτως ἐτιμᾶτο, 'ὥστ' εἰ μὲν ἐκεῖνος ὀρθῶς' εἶπεν 'ἐποiei τοιοῦτῳ φίλῳ χρώμενος, οὐδὲ ἐγὼ [4] τι ἡδίκηκα: εἰ δ' ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ὁ πάντα ἀκριβῶς εἰδῶς ἐπλανήθη, τί θαυμαστὸν εἰ καὶ ἐγὼ οἱ συνεξηπατήθην; καὶ γάρ τοι προσήκει ἡμῖν πάντας τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τιμωμένους ἀγαπᾶν, μὴ πολυπραγμονοῦντας ὅποιοι τινὲς εἰσιν, ἀλλ' ἓνα ὅρον τῆς φιλίας σφῶν ποιουμένους τὸ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι [5] αὐτοὺς ἀρέσκειν.' ἥ τε γὰρ βουλὴ διὰ ταῦτα αὐτὸν ἀφῆκε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοῖς κατηγορήσασιν αὐτοῦ προσεπετίμησε, καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος συγκατέθετό σφισι. τὸν τε Πίσωνα τὸν πολίarchον τελευτήσαντα δημοσίᾳ ταφῇ ἐτίμησεν, ὅπερ που καὶ ἄλλοις ἐχαρίζετο: καὶ Λούκιον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Λαμίαν ἀνθείλετο, ὃν πρόπαλαι τῇ Συρίᾳ προστάξας κατεῖχεν ἐν τῇ [p. 236] [6] Ρώμῃ. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ἐτέρων πολλῶν ἐποiei, ἔργῳ μὲν μηδενὸς αὐτῶν δεόμενος, λόγῳ δὲ δὴ τιμᾶν αὐτοὺς προσποιοῦμενος. κἂν τούτῳ Οὐίτρασιου Πωλίωνος τοῦ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἄρχοντος τελευτήσαντος Ἰβήρῳ τινὶ Καισαρεῖω χρόνον τινὰ τὸ ἔθνος ἐπέτρεψε. 20. τῶν δ' οὖν ὑπάτων ὁ μὲν Δομίτιος δι' ἔτους ἦρξε 'τῆς γὰρ Ἀγριππίνης τῆς τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ θυγατρὸς ἀνὴρ ἦν', οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ὥς που τῷ Τιβερίῳ ἔδοξε. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ μακρότερον τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ βραχύτερον ἂν ἡρεῖτο, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἔτι καὶ θάσσον τοῦ τεταγμένου ἀπήλλασσε, τοῖς [2] δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἄρχειν ἐδίδου. ἡδὴ δὲ καὶ ἐς ὅλον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀποδείξας ἂν τινὰ ἐκεῖνον μὲν κατέλυνεν, ἕτερον δὲ καὶ αὐθις ἕτερον ἀντικαθίστη: καὶ

τινας καὶ ἐς τρίτον ἑτέρους προχειρίζομενος, εἴτα ἄλλους ὑπατεύειν πρὸ αὐτῶν ἀνθ' ἑτέρων^[3] ἐποίει. καὶ περὶ μὲν τοὺς ὑπάτους ταῦτα διὰ πάσης ὡς εἶπεῖν τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτοῦ ἐγίγνετο: τῶν δὲ δὴ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς αἰτούντων ἐξελέγετο ὅσους ἤθελε, καὶ σφας ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσέπεμπε, τοὺς μὲν συνιστὰς αὐτῷ, οἵπερ ὑπὸ πάντων ἡροῦντο, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τε τοῖς δικαιώμασι καὶ^[4] ἐπὶ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ τῷ τε κλήρῳ ποιούμενος. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς τε τὸν δῆμον καὶ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος οἱ προσήκοντες ἑκατέρῳ, τῆς ἀρχαίας ὁσίας ἔνεκα, καθάπερ καὶ νῦν, ὥστε ἐν εἰκόνι δοκεῖν γίγνεσθαι, ^[p. 238] ἐσιόντες ἀπεδείκνυντο. εἰ δ' οὖν ποτε ἐνέλιπόν τινες ἢ καὶ φιλονεικία ἀκράτῳ ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ^[5] ἐλάττους προχειρίζοντο. τῷ γοῦν ἐπὶ ὧν ἔτει, ἐν ᾧ ὁ τε Γάλλος ὁ Σέρουιος ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐταρχήσας καὶ Λούκιος Κορνήλιος τὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ὄνομα ἔσχον, πεντεκαίδεκα στρατηγοὶ ἐγένοντο: καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἔτη συνέβη, ὥστε ἔστι μὲν ὅτε ἑκκαίδεκα ἔστι δ' ὅτε παρ' ἑνα ἢ καὶ δύο χειροτονεῖσθαι. 21. Τιβέριος δὲ δὴ ἦλθε μὲν πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ διέτριψεν ἐν τοῖς πέριξ αὐτοῦ τόποις, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐσεφοίτησεν εἰσω, καίτοι καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίους ἀποσχών, καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας τὰς τε τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ τὰς λοιπὰς καὶ τὴν τοῦ Δρούσου τὴν^[2] Ἰουλίαν ἐκδούς. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδ' ἡ πόλις τοὺς γάμους αὐτῶν ἐώρτασεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ τότε καὶ συνήχθη καὶ ἐδίκασε. σφόδρα γὰρ ἐπιμελὲς ἐποιεῖτο αἰεὶ σφας ὁσάκις καὶ καθήκοι συνιέναι καὶ μὴτ' ὀφιαίτερον ἀπαντᾶν τοῦ τεταγμένου μῆτε πρωϊαίτερον ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. ^[3] καὶ πολλὰ περὶ τούτου καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐπέστελλε, καὶ ποτὲ τινα ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀναγνωσθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν. ὃ καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων πραγμάτων ἐποίει, καθάπερ μὴ δυνάμενος αὐτὰ ἀντικρὺς τῇ βουλῇ γράφαι. ἐσέπεμπε δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν οὐ μόνον τὰ βιβλία τὰ διδόμενά οἱ παρὰ τῶν μηνυόντων τι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς βασάνους ἃς ὁ Μάκρων ἐποιεῖτο, ὥστε μηδὲν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πλὴν^[4] τῆς καταψηφίσεως γίγνεσθαι. ἐπεὶ μέντοι Οὐίβουλιός τε Ἀγρίππας ἱππεὺς φάρμακον ἐν ^[p. 240] αὐτῷ τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἐκ δακτυλίου ῥοφήσας ἀπέθανε, καὶ ὁ Νέρουας μηκέτι τὴν συνουσίαν αὐτοῦ φέρων ἀπεκαρτέρησε διὰ τε τᾶλλα, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι τοὺς νόμους τοὺς περὶ τῶν συμβολαίων ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος τεθέντας, ἐξ ὧν καὶ ἀπιστία καὶ ταραχὴ πολλὴ γενήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν, ^[5] ἀνενώσατο, καὶ πολλὰ γε αὐτοῦ παρακαλοῦντος ὅπως τι ἐμφάγῃ 100 οὐδ' ἀποκρίνασθαι τι ἠθέλησε, τὸ τε πρᾶγμα τὸ κατὰ τὰ δανείσματα ἐμετρίασε, καὶ δισχιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας μυριάδας τῷ δημοσίῳ ἔδωκεν ὥστ' αὐτὰς ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν βουλευτῶν ἀτοκεῖ τοῖς δεομένοις ἐς τρία ἔτη ἐκδανεισθῆναι, τοὺς τε ἐπιβοητοτάτους τῶν τὰς κατηγορίας ποιουμένων ἀποθανεῖν ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκέλευσε. ^[6] καὶ ἐνδεῖξαι τινα ἀνδρὸς ἐν τοῖς ἑκατοντάρχοις ἐξητασμένου βουλευθέντος ἀπεῖπε μηδὲνα ἐστρατευμένον τοῦτο ποιεῖν, καίπερ καὶ ἱππεῦσι καὶ βουλευταῖς ἐπιτρέπων αὐτὸ πράττειν. 22. οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ἐν 101 μὲν τούτῳ ἐπὶ ηἰνείτο, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι ψηφισθέντα οἱ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πολλὰ οὐκ ἐδέξατο, ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἐρώτων, οἷς ἀνέδην 102 καὶ τῶν εὐγενεστάτων καὶ ἀρρένων καὶ θηλειῶν^[2] ὁμοίως ἐχρήτο, διεβάλλετο. ὁ γοῦν Μάριος ὁ Σεξτος ἐκεῖνος ὁ φίλος αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πλουτήσας καὶ δυνηθεὶς τοσοῦτον ὥστ', ἐπειδὴ γείτονι τινι ὠργίσθη, δειπνίσαι 103 τε αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας, καὶ τῇ

μὲν προτεραῖα τὴν ἔπαυλιν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν κατασκάψαι, τῇ δ' ὕστεραῖα ἐπι τε τὸ μείζον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ λαμπρότερον αὐτὴν [p. 242] [3] ἀνοικοδομῆσαι, ἀγνοοῦντί τε αὐτῷ τοὺς ταῦτα πεπονηκότας ἐκάτερον ὁμολογῆσαι, καὶ παραδειξάντα εἰπεῖν ὅτι 'οὕτω καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι τινα καὶ ἀμείβεσθαι καὶ οἶδα καὶ δύναμαι,' τὴν θυγατέρα ἐκπρεπῇ οὖσαν ὑπεκπέμψας ποι ἵνα μὴ ὁ Τιβέριος αὐτὴν αἰσχύνῃ, αἰτίαν τε ἔσχεν ὡς [4] συνὼν οἱ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ συναπώλετο. ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦτοις αἰσχύνῃν ὠφλίσκανε, ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τῷ τε τοῦ Δρουσίου καὶ τῷ τῆς Ἀγριππίνης θανάτῳ ὠμότητα: δοκοῦντες γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεϊανοῦ πάντα τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς πρότερον γεγονέναι, 104 καὶ ἐλπίσαντές σφας σωθήσεσθαι τότε, ὡς καὶ [5] ἐκείνους πεφονεῦσθαι ἔμαθον, ὑπερήλγησαν διὰ τε τοῦτο καὶ ὅτι τὰ ὁσῶ αὐτῶν οὐ 105 μόνον οὐκ ἐς τὸ βασιλικὸν μνημεῖον κατέθετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ κρυφθῆναι που κατὰ τῆς γῆς ἐκέλευσεν ὥστε μηδέποτε εὑρεθῆναι. τῇ δ' οὖν Ἀγριππίνῃ καὶ ἡ Πλαγκίνα ἡ Μουνατία ἐπεσφάγη: πρότερον γὰρ καίπερ μισῶν αὐτὴν, οὐ διὰ τὸν Γερμανικὸν ἀλλὰ διὰ ἄλλο τι, ὅμως ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἐκείνη τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτῆς ἐφησθῇ, ζῆν εἶα. 23. ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἔπραττε, καὶ τὸν Γάιον ταμίαν μὲν οὐκ ἐν τοῖς πρῶτον ἀπέδειξεν, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς πέντε ἔτεσι θᾶσσον τοῦ καθήκοντος προβιβάσειν ὑπέσχετο, καίτοι καὶ τῆς γερουσίας δεηθεὶς ὅπως μῆτε πολλὰς μὴτ' ἀκαίροις τιμαῖς [p. 244] αὐτόν, μὴ καὶ ἐξοκεῖλῃ ποι, ἐπαίρῃ. 106 εἶχε μὲν [2] γὰρ καὶ τὸν Τιβέριον τὸν ἔκγονον: ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνον μὲν διὰ τε τὴν ἡλικίαν 'ἔτι γὰρ παιδίον ἦν' καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑποψίαν 'οὐ γὰρ ἐπιστευέτο τοῦ Δρουσίου παῖς εἶναι παρεώρα, τῷ δὲ δὴ Γαίῳ ὡς καὶ μοναρχήσοντι προσεῖχε, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι τὸν Τιβέριον καὶ ὀλίγον χρόνον βιώσεσθαι καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου φονευθήσεσθαι σαφῶς ἠπίστατο. [3] ἡγνόμεν μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Γάιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἶπε ποτε αὐτῷ διαφορομένῳ πρὸς τὸν Τιβέριον ὅτι 'σύ τε τοῦτον ἀποκτενεῖς καὶ σὲ ἄλλοι.' οὕτε δὲ ἕτερόν τινα ὁμοίως πάνυ προσήκοντα ἑαυτῷ ἔχων, καὶ ἐκεῖνον κάκιστον [4] εἰδὼς ἐσόμενον, ἀσμένως, ὡς φασι, τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ ἔδωκεν, ὅπως τὰ τε ἑαυτοῦ τῇ τοῦ Γαίου ὑπερβολῇ συγκρυφθῇ, καὶ τὸ πλεῖον τὸ τε εὐγενέστατον τῆς λοιπῆς βουλῆς καὶ μετ' αὐτόν φθαρῇ. λέγεται γοῦν πολλάκις μὲν 107 ἀναφθέγγασθαι τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἑμοῦ θανόντος γαῖα μιχθῆτω πυρί, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τὸν Πρίαμον μακαρίσαι ὅτι ἄρδην καὶ μετὰ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ μετὰ τῆς [5] βασιλείας ἀπώλετο. καὶ τεκμαίρονται γε ἀληθῆ ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ γεγράφθαι τοῖς τότε γενομένοις: τοσοῦτο γὰρ πλῆθος τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐξώλετο ὥστε τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοὺς κληρωτοὺς τοὺς μὲν ἐστρατηγηκότας ἐπὶ τρία τοὺς δ' ὑπατευκότας ἐπὶ ἕξ ἔτη τὰς ἡγεμονίας τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἀπορία τῶν διαδεξιμένων αὐτοὺς, σχεῖν. [6] τί γὰρ ἂν τις ἔχοι τοὺς αἵρετοὺς ὀνομάζειν, οἷς [p. 246] καὶ ἀπὸ πρώτης ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἄρχειν ἐδίδου; ἐν δ' οὖν τοῖς τότε ἀποθανοῦσι καὶ Γάλλος ἐγένετο: τότε γὰρ αὐτῷ μόλις, ὡς αὐτὸς εἶπε, κατηλλάγη. οὕτω που, παρὰ τὸ νομιζόμενον, καὶ τὴν ζωὴν τιμωρίαν πσι καὶ τὸν θάνατον εὐεργεσίαν ἐποίει. 24. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπιστάντος αὐτὸς μὲν, καίτοι περὶ τε τὸ Ἀλβανὸν καὶ περὶ τὸ Τοῦσκουλον διατρίβων, οὐκ ἐσῆλθεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δ' ὑπατοὶ Λούκιος τε Οὐιτέλλιος καὶ Φάβιος Περσικὸς τὴν δεκετηρίδα τὴν δευτέραν

ἑώρασαν. οὕτω γὰρ αὐτήν, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰκοσσητρίδα ὠνόμαζον, ὥς καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτῷ ^[2] κατὰ τὸν Αὐγουστον διδόντες. τὴν τε οὖν ἑορτὴν ἅμα ἐποιοῦν καὶ ἐκολάζοντο: ἀφείθη μὲν γὰρ τῶν αἰτιαθέντων τότε οὐδείς, πάντες δ' ἠλίσκοντο, οἱ μὲν πλείους ἕκ τε τῶν τοῦ Τιβερίου γραμμάτων 108 καὶ ἕκ τῶν τοῦ Μάκρωνος βασάνων, οἱ δὲ δὴ λοιποὶ ἐξ ὧν βουλευέσθαι 109 σφας ὑπώπτευν. καὶ ἐθρυλεῖτό γε ὅτι δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὐδ' ἀφικνοῖτο ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἵνα μὴ παρὼν ταῖς καταδίκαις ^[3] αἰσχύνοιτο. ἄλλοι τε οὖν, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν δημίων οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν, ἀπέθανον καὶ Πομπώνιος Λαβεών. καὶ οὗτος μὲν τῆς τε Μυσίας ποτὲ ὀκτῶ ἔτεσι μετὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἄρξας, καὶ δώρων μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς γραφεῖς, ἐθέλοντί 110 σὺν αὐτῇ διεφθάρη: Μάμερκος 111 δὲ δὴ Αἰμίλιος ^[p. 248] Σκαῦρος μὴτ' ἄρξας τινῶν μῆτε δωροδοκήσας ἐάλω τε διὰ τραγωδίαν καὶ παθήματι δεινотέρῳ ^[4] οὗ συνέγραψε περιέπεσεν. Ἄτρεὺς μὲν τὸ ποίημα ἦν, παρήνει δὲ τῶν ἀρχομένων τινὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην, ἵνα τὴν τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἀβουλίαν φέρῃ. μαθὼν οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Τιβέριος ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τε τὸ ἔπος εἰρήσθαι ἔφη, Ἄτρεὺς εἶναι διὰ τὴν μαιφονίαν 112 προσποιησάμενος, καὶ ὑπειπὼν ὅτι 'καὶ ἐγὼ οὖν Αἴαντ' αὐτὸν 113 ποιήσω,' ἀνάγκην οἱ προσήγαγεν αὐτοεντεῖ 114 ^[5] ἀπολέσθαι. οὐ μὴν καὶ 115 ἐπὶ τούτῳ κατηγορήθη, ἀλλ' ὥς 116 τὴν Λιουίλλαν μεμοιχευκώς: πολλοὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι δι' αὐτήν, οἱ μὲν ἐπ' ἀληθείας οἱ δὲ ἕκ συκοφαντίας, ἐκολάσθησαν. 25. τούτων δ' οὕτως ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ γιγνομένων οὐδὲ τὸ ὑπήκοον ἡσύχαζεν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα νεανίσκος τις Δροῦσος λέγων εἶναι περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ὤφθη, καὶ ἐδέξαντο αὐτὸν ἀσμένως αἱ πόλεις καὶ συνήροντο. κἂν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν προχωρήσας τὰ στρατόπεδα κατέσχευεν, εἰ μὴ γνωρίσας τις αὐτὸν συνέλαβέ τε καὶ πρὸς τὸν Τιβέριον ἀνήγαγεν. ^[2] ἕκ δὲ τούτου Γάιος μὲν Γάλλος καὶ Μᾶρκος Σερουίλιος ὑπάτευσαν, Τιβέριος δὲ ἐν Ἀντίῳ τοὺς τοῦ Γαίου γάμους ἑώραζεν. ἐς γὰρ τὴν Ῥώμην οὐδὲ δι' ἐκείνους ἐσελθεῖν ἠθέλησεν, ἐπειδὴ Φουλκινίος τις Τρίων, φίλος μὲν τοῦ Σεῖανου ^[p. 250] γεγωνώς, σφόδρα δ' αὐτῷ διὰ τὰς συκοφαντίας κεχαρισμένος, κατηγορηθεὶς τε παρεδόθη καὶ δεῖσας ἑαυτὸν προαπέκτεινε, πολλὰ μὲν ἐκείνῳ πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τὸν Μάκρωνα ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις ^[3] λοιδορήσας. καὶ οἱ μὲν παῖδες αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν αὐτὰς δημοσιεῦσαι, ὁ δὲ δὴ Τιβέριος μαθὼν τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριόν σφας ἐσκομισθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν. ἥκιστα τε γὰρ αὐτῷ τῶν τοιούτων ἔμελε, καὶ τὰς κακηγορίας 117 καὶ λανθανούσας ἔσθ' ὅτε ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἑκόν, ^[4] ὥσπερ τινὰς ἐπαίνους, ἐξέφαινε. ἀμέλει καὶ ὅσα ὁ Δροῦσος, οἷα ἔν τε ταλαιπωρίᾳ ὧν καὶ κακοπαθῶν, ἐξελάλησε, καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἐσέπεμψε. Τρίων μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἀπέθανε, Ποππαῖος δὲ Σαβίνος τῆς τε Μυσίας ἐκατέρας καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ χρόνου παρὰ πᾶσαν ὥς εἰπεῖν τὴν τοῦ Τιβερίου ἀρχὴν ἡγεμονεύσας, ἥδιστα προαπηλλάγη πρὶν ^[5] τίνα αἰτίαν λαβεῖν. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Ῥήγουλος ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς διεδέξατο: καὶ γὰρ ἡ Μακεδονία, ὥς δὲ τινὲς φασί, καὶ ἡ Ἀχαΐα, 118 προσετάσσοντο. 26. ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ὁ Ἀρτάβανος ὁ Πάρθος τελευτήσαντος τοῦ Ἀρτάξου τὴν Ἀρμενίαν Ἀρσάκῃ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ υἱεῖ ἔδωκε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μηδεμία ἐπὶ τούτῳ τιμωρία παρὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐγένετο, τῆς τε

Καππαδοκίας ἐπεῖρα καὶ ὑπερῆφανώτερον καὶ τοῖς Πάρθοις ἐχρήτο. [2] ἀποστάντες οὖν τινες αὐτοῦ ἐπρεσβεύσαντο πρὸς τὸν Τιβέριον, βασιλέα σφίσιν ἐκ τῶν ὁμηρεούντων [p. 252] αἰτοῦντες: καὶ αὐτοῖς τότε μὲν Φραάτην 119 τὸν τοῦ Φραάτου, τελευτήσαντος δὲ ἐκείνου κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν Τιριδάτην, 120 ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ καὶ αὐτὸν [3] γένους ὄντα, ἔπεμψε. καὶ ὅπως γε 121 ὡς ῥᾶστα τὴν βασιλείαν παραλάβῃ, ἔγραψε Μιθριδάτῃ τῷ Ἴβηρι ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐσβαλεῖν, ἵνα ὁ Ἀρτάβανος τῷ υἱεῖ βοηθῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας ἀπάρῃ. καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ὁ Τιριδάτης ἐβασίλευσεν: ὁ γὰρ Ἀρτάβανος Σκύθας προσλαβὼν οὐ χαλεπῶς αὐτὸν ἐξήλασε. [4] τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν Πάρθων οὕτως ἔσχε, τὴν δ' Ἀρμενίαν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ὁ Μιθριδάτου μὲν τοῦ Ἴβηρος, ὡς ἔοικε, παῖς, Φαρασμάνου 122 δὲ τοῦ μετ' αὐτὸν τῶν Ἰβήρων βασιλεύσαντος ἀδελφός, ἔλαβε. [5] Σέξτου δὲ δὴ Παπνίου μετὰ Κυνίτου Πλαυτίου ὑπατεύσαντος ὃ τε Τίβερις πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπέκλυσεν ὥστε πλευσθῆναι, καὶ πυρὶ πολὺ πλείω περὶ τε τὸν ἱππόδρομον καὶ περὶ τὸν Ἀουεντῖνον ἐφθάρη, ὥστε τὸν Τιβέριον δισχιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας μυριάδας τοῖς ζημιωθεῖσι τι ἀπ' 27. αὐτοῦ δοῦναι. εἰ δέ τι καὶ τὰ Αἰγύπτια πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους προσήκει, ὁ φοῖνιξ ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἔτει ὤφθη: καὶ ἔδοξε πάντα ταῦτα τὸν θάνατον τῷ Τιβερίῳ προσημῆναι. 123 τότε μὲν γὰρ ὁ Θράσυλλος, τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἦρι ἐκεῖνος ἐπὶ τε 124 Γναίου Πρόκλου καὶ ἐπὶ Ποντίου Νιγρίνου [2] ὑπάτων ἐτελεύτησεν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ ὁ Μάκρων [p. 254] ἄλλοις τε συχνοῖς καὶ τῷ Δομιτίῳ ἐπιβεβουλευκῶς, καὶ ἐγκλήματα καὶ βασάνους κατ' αὐτῶν ἐσκευωρημένος: οὐ μὴν καὶ πάντες οἱ αἰτιαθέντες ἀπέθανον διὰ τὸν Θράσυλλον σοφώτατα τὸν [3] Τιβέριον μεταχειρισάμενον. περὶ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ πάνυ ἀκριβῶς καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν ὥραν ἐν ἧ' τεθνήξῃ 125 εἶπεν, ἐκεῖνον δὲ δὴ δέκα ἄλλα ἔτη ψευδῶς βιώσεσθαι ἔφη, ὅπως ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ μακρότερον ζήσων μὴ ἐπειχθῇ σφας ἀποκτεῖναι. ὃ καὶ ἐγένετο: νομίσας γὰρ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐξεῖναι οἱ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐβούλετο κατὰ σχολὴν πρᾶξαι, οὕτ' ἄλλως ἔσπευσε, καὶ τῆς βουλῆς, ἀντειπόντων τι πρὸς τὰς βασάνους τῶν ὑπευθύνων, ἀναβαλομένης 126 τὴν καταδίκην σφῶν οὐκ ὠργίσθη. [4] γυνὴ μὲν γὰρ τις ἐαυτὴν τρώσασα ἐσεκομίσθη τε ἐς τὸ συνέδριον, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀπαχθεῖσα ἀπέθανε, καὶ Λούκιος Ἀρρουντίος 127 καὶ ἡλικία καὶ παιδεία προήκων, ἐκούσιος, καίπερ νοσοῦντος ἤδη τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ νομιζομένου μὴ ῥάισειν, ἐφθάρη: τὴν γὰρ τοῦ Γαίου κακίαν συνιδῶν ἐπεθύμησε, πρὶν πειραθῆναι αὐτοῦ, προαπαλαγῆναι, εἰπὼν ὅτι 'οὐ δύναμαι ἐπὶ γήρῳ δεσπότηι καινῷ καὶ τοιοῦτῳ δουλεῦσαι.' [5] οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι οἱ μὲν καὶ καταψηφισθέντες, ἀλλ' ὅτι γε οὐκ ἐξῆν αὐτοὺς πρὸ τῶν δέκα ἡμερῶν ἀποθανεῖν, οἱ δὲ καὶ τῆς δίκης αὐθις, ἐπειδὴ τὸν Τιβέριον κακῶς ἄρρωστοῦντα ἦσθοντο, ἀναβληθείσης 28. ἐσώθησαν. ἐφθασε γὰρ ἐν Μισσηνῷ μεταλλάξας πρὶν τι αὐτῶν μαθεῖν. ἐνόσει μὲν [p. 256] γὰρ ἐκ πλείονος χρόνου, προσδοκῶν δὲ δὴ διὰ τὴν τοῦ Θρασύλλου πρόρρησιν βιώσεσθαι οὔτε τοῖς ἰατροῖς ἐκοινοῦτό τι οὔτε τῆς διαίτης τι μετέβαλεν, [2] ἀλλὰ πολλάκις, οἷα ἐν γήρᾳ καὶ νόσῳ μὴ ὀξείᾳ, κατὰ βραχὺ μαραινόμενος τότε μὲν ὅσον οὐκ ἀπέψυχε 128 τότε δὲ ἀνερρώννυτο, κάκ' τούτων πολλὴν μὲν ἡδονὴν τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τῷ Γαίῳ ὡς καὶ τελευτησων, πολὺν δὲ καὶ φόβον

ὥς καὶ ζήσων, [3] ἐνεποίει. δείσας οὖν ἐκεῖνος μὴ καὶ ἀληθῶς ἀνασωθῇ, οὔτε ἐμφαγεῖν τι αἰτήσαντι αὐτῷ ὥς καὶ βλαβησομένῳ ἔδωκε, καὶ ἱμάτια πολλὰ καὶ παχέα ὥς καὶ θερμασίας τινὸς δεομένων προσετέβαλε, καὶ οὕτως ἀπέπνιξεν αὐτόν, συναραμένον [4] πῇ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ Μάκρωνος: ἅτε γὰρ κακῶς ἤδη τοῦ Τιβερίου νοσοῦντος τὸν νεανίσκον ἐθεράπευε, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι ἐς ἔρωτα αὐτὸν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὸς Ἐννίας Θρασύλλης προϋπῆκτο. ὅπερ καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος ὑποπεύσας ποτὲ ‘εὖ γε,’ ἔφη, ‘τὸν δυόμενον ἐγκαταλιπὼν πρὸς τὸν ἀνατέλλοντα ἐπειγῇ.’ [5] Τιβέριος μὲν δὴ πλείστας μὲν ἀρετὰς πλείστας δὲ καὶ κακίας ἔχων, καὶ ἐκατέραις αὐταῖς ὥς καὶ μόναις κεχρημένος, οὕτω μετήλλαξε τῇ ἑκτῇ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τοῦ Μαρτίου ἡμέρᾳ. ἐβίω δὲ ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας καὶ ἡμέρας ἑννέα, ἀφ’ ὧν ἔτη μὲν δύο καὶ εἴκοσι μῆνας δὲ ἑπτὰ καὶ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ ἐμονάρχησε. καὶ δημοσίας τε ταφῆς ἔτυχε καὶ ἐπηνέθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαίου. [p. 258] φραγμαεντς 129 1. τοιοῦτος ἦν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς, ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ μέχρι τέλους:

καὶ γὰρ ἐκόλαζε πικρῶς πολλοὺς τῶν ἀναιτίων,

ἀσυμπαθῶς μισοφονῶν, καὶ τὸσον ἐμισήθη

ὥς ὀνομάζεσθαι πηλὸς αἷματι πεφυρμένος. ξονστ. μαν. F. 1971-1974. 2. ὅτι ὑπατικὸν ἄνδρα τινὰ ἀνέῖλε Τιβέριος, ἐγκαλέσας αὐτῷ ὅτι τὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ μορφήν φέρον νόμισμα φέρων ἐν κόλποις εἰς ἄφοδον ἀπεχώρησεν. εχξ. πλανυδ. ν. 129 ‘μαι π. 554 ~ φολ. π. 236 δινδ.’. ἄνδρα καὶ γὰρ ὑπατικὸν καὶ τῶν εὐγενεστέρων

τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀφείλετο καὶ σὺν αὐτῇ τὸν πλοῦτον,

τοῦτο καὶ μόνον ἐπειπὼν, ὅτι ‘τὸ νόμισμά μου

φέρων ἐπικολπίδιον καὶ ῥυπαροὺς εἰς τόπους

καὶ σκυβαλῶδεις παρελθὼν βάρος γαστρὸς ἐκένου.’ ξονστ. μαν. F. 1975-1979. 3. Τιβέριος τῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ ἦν ἀπηνῆς καὶ οἴνου ἐλάττων: διὸ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι Βιβέριον 130 αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν, ὃ σημαίνει παρ’ αὐτοῖς τὸν οἰνοπότην. λεο π. 278 αδδ. αδ F. ξραμ., ξφ. ξεδρ. π. 345, 21-346, 1. [p. 260]”

BOOK 59

τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ ἐνάτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ρωμαϊκῶν

α. περὶ Γαίου Καίσαρος τοῦ καὶ Καλλιγόλου.

β. ὡς τὸ Αὐγούστου ἡρῶν ὠσιώθη.

γ. ὡς αἱ Μαυριτανίαι ὑπὸ Ρωμαίων ἄρχεσθαι ἤρξαντο.

δ. ὡς Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἀπέθανεν.

χρόνου πλῆθος τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Γναίου Ἀκερρωνίου καὶ ποντίου

Νιγρίνου ὑπατείας καὶ ἄλλα ἔτη τρία ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι
οἶδε ἐγένοντο

μ. Ἀκύλας Γ. υἱ. Ἰουλιανός

π. Νώνιος Μ. υἱ. Ἀσπρήνας ὕπ.

γ. Καῖσαρ Γερμανικὸς τὸ β

λ. Ἀπρώνιος λ. υἱ. Καισιανός ὕπ.

γ. Καῖσαρ τὸ γ ὕπ. 5

γ. Καῖσαρ τὸ δ

Γν. Σέντιος Γν. υἱ. Σατουρνῖνος ὕπ.

(οὗτος ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς οὐ συναριθμεῖται διὰ τὸ τὰ πλείω αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ
ἑξηκοστῷ γεγράφθαι.)

1. “ περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Τιβερίου ταῦτα παραδέδοται, διεδέξατο δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ
Γάιος ὁ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἀγριππίνης παῖς, ὃν καὶ Γερμανικὸν καὶ
Καλιγόλαν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἐπωνόμαζον. ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ τῷ
ἐγγόνῳ τὴν αὐταρχίαν ^[2] κατέλιπεν· ὁ δὲ δὴ Γάιος τὰς διαθήκας αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸ
συνέδριον διὰ τοῦ Μάκρωνος ἐσπέμψας ἀκύρους ὑπὸ τε τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ
ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν προπαρεσκευασμένων οἷ, ὡς καὶ ^[p. 262]
παραφρονήσαντος, ἐποίησεν, ὅτι παιδίῳ, ᾧ μηδὲ ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὸ
βουλευτήριον ἐξῆν, ἄρχειν σφᾶς ^[3] ἐπέτρεψε. τότε τε οὖν παραχρῆμα οὕτως
αὐτὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς παρέλυσεν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ποιησάμενος ἀπέκτεινε, καίπερ

ὁ Τιβέριος πολλαχῇ τὰ αὐτὰ γράφας, ὥς καὶ ἰσχύει νῦν παρὰ τοῦτο ἔξοντα, κατέλιπε, καὶ πάντα τότε ἐκεῖνα ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάκρωνος ἐν τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἀνεγνώσθη. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν γὰρ οὔτε πρὸς τὴν ἀγνωμοσύνην οὔτε πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν τῶν διαδεχομένων τινὰ ἐπίσημους [4] τις ἰσχύει. ταῦτο οὖν ὁ Τιβέριος ἔπαθεν ὅπερ τὴν μητέρα ἐπεποιήκει, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδενὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνης διαθηκῶν ἀπῆλλαξε, τὰ δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταλειφθέντα πᾶσι πλὴν τοῦ ἐγγόνου αὐτοῦ ἀπεδόθη. ἀφ' οὗπερ κατάδηλον οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐγένετο ὅτι διὰ τὸ παιδίον πᾶν τὸ κατὰ τὰς διαθήκας [5] αἰτίαμα συνεσκευάσθη. ἐξῆν μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ μὴ ἐκφῆναι σφας 'οὐ γὰρ που τὰ γεγραμμένα ἠγνόησεν': ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοὶ τε αὐτὰ ἤδεσαν, καὶ ἔμελλεν ἐκ μὲν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἡ βουλῇ τὴν αἰτίαν, ὥς γε καὶ ἐδόκει, λήψεσθαι, ἀνατρέψαι μᾶλλον αὐτὰς δι' ἐκείνης ἢ συγκρῦσαι 2. ἠθέλησε. πρὸς δὲ τὰ καταλειφθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πάντα, ὥς καὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ δὴ, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἀποδοῦς μεγαλοψυχίας τινὰ δόξαν παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐκτήσατο. τοὺς τε οὖν δορυφόρους εὐθύς γυμνασίαν ποιουμένους θεασάμενος μετὰ τῆς γερουσίας, τὰς τε καταλειφθείσας σφίσι [p. 264] κατὰ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας δραχμὰς διένειμε [2] καὶ ἑτέρας τοσαύτας προσεπέδωκε: καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τὰς τε πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ χιλίας μυριάδας 'τοσαῦται γὰρ αὐτῷ κατελείφθησαν' καὶ προσέτι τὰς ἐξήκοντα κατ' ἄνδρα δραχμὰς, αἷς ἐπὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἐς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐσγραφῇ οὐκ εἰλήφεσαν, μετὰ τόκου πεντεκαίδεκα ἄλλων [3] δραχμῶν ἀπέδωκε. τοῖς τε γὰρ ἀστικοῖς καὶ τοῖς νυκτοφύλαξι, τοῖς τε ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου οὔσιν, εἴ τί τι ἄλλο στράτευμα πολιτικὸν ἐν τοῖς μικροτέροις τείχεσιν ἦν, τὰ καταλειφθέντα διέλυσε, τοῦτ' ἔστι τοῖς μὲν ἀστικοῖς ἀνὰ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἅπασιν πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα. [4] τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ τὰς τῆς Λιουίας διαθήκας ἔπραξε: καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα πάντα ἀπῆλλαξε. καὶ εἴτερ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ χρήματα δεόντως ἀναλώκει, μεγαλόνοους τε ἂν καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆς εἶναι ἔδοξεν. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ὅτε φοβηθεὶς καὶ τὸν δῆμον καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτ' ἐποίησε, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον ἀπὸ γνώμης: οὐ γὰρ ὅτι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἰδιώταις, οὐχ ὅπως τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῆς προτήτης δωρηθέντα [5] διέλυσε. νῦν δὲ καὶ ἐς ὀρχηστὰς 'αὐτίκα γὰρ αὐτοῦς ἐπανήγαγέ καὶ ἐς ἵππους τοὺς τε μονομάχους καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ τοιοῦτότροπα ἀπλήστως δαπανήσας τοὺς τε θησαυροὺς μεγάλους γενομένους διὰ βραχυτάτου ἐξεκένωσε, καὶ αὐτὸν προσεξήλεγξεν ὅτι εὐχερεῖα τέ τινα καὶ ἀκρισία [p. 266] [6] καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐπεποιήκει. πέντε γοῦν μυριάδας μυριάδων καὶ πεντακοσίας καὶ ἑπτακισχιλίας, ὥς δὲ ἕτεροι, ὀκτώ τε καὶ δισχιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας τεθησαυρισμένας εὐρὼν οὐδὲ ἐς τὸ τρίτον ἔτος μέρος ἀπ' αὐτῶν τι διέσωσεν, ἀλλ' εὐθύς τῷ ἑτέρῳ παμπόλλων προσεδεήθη. 3. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ τρόπῳ καὶ ἐς τᾶλλα πάντα ὥς εἰπεῖν ἐχρήτο. δημοκρατικώτατός τε γὰρ εἶναι τὰ πρῶτα δόξας, ὥστε μήτε τῷ δήμῳ ἢ τῇ γε βουλῇ γράψαι τι μήτε τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν ἀρχικῶν προσθέσθαι τι, μοναρχικώτατος ἐγένετο, [2] ὥστε πάντα ὅσα ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐν τοσοῦτῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνῳ μόλις καὶ καθ' ἕνα καστον ψηφισθέντα οἱ ἐδέξατο, ὧν ἕνια ὁ Τιβέριος οὐδ' ὅλως προσήκατο, ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ λαβεῖν. πλὴν γὰρ τῆς τοῦ

πατρός ἐπικλήσεως οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἀνεβάλετο· καὶ ἐκείνην δὲ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν προσεκτήσατο. ^[3] μοιχικώτατός τε ἀνδρῶν γεγεννημένος, καὶ γυναῖκα μίαν μὲν ἐκδιδομένην ἀνδρὶ ἀρπάσας, ἄλλας δὲ συνοικούσας τισὶν ἀποσπάσας, ἔπειτα αὐτὰς πλὴν μιᾶς ἐμίσησε· πάντως δ' ἂν καὶ ἐκείνην ἤχθηρεν, εἰ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐβεβίωκει. ἔς τε τὴν μητέρα καὶ ἐς τὰς ἀδελφὰς τὴν τε τήθην τὴν Ἀντωνίαν πλεῖστα ὅσα εὐσεβῶς ποιήσας ^[4] — ταύτην τε γὰρ Αὐγουστὴν τε εὐθὺς καὶ ἱέρειαν τοῦ Αὐγουστοῦ ἀποδείξας πάντα αὐτῇ ^[p. 268] καθάπαξ, ὅσα ταῖς ἀειπαρθένοις ὑπάρχει, ἔδωκε, καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς ταυτὰ τε τὰ τῶν ἀειπαρθένων καὶ τὸ τὰς ἵπποδρομίας οἱ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ προεδρία συνθεᾶσθαι, τὸ τε τὰς τε εὐχὰς τὰς κατ' ἔτος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων ὑπὲρ τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ δημοσίου ποιουμένας καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους τοὺς ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ φέροντας ^[5] καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ὁμοίως γίγνεσθαι ἔνειμε· τὰ τε ὅσα τὰ τε τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν ἀποθανόντων αὐτός τε πλεύσας καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτοχειρίᾳ ἀνελόμενος ἐκόμισε καὶ ἐς τὸ τοῦ Αὐγουστοῦ μνημα κατέθετο, τὸ ἱμάτιον τὸ περιπόρφυρον ἐνδὺς καὶ ῥαβδούχοις τισὶν ὥσπερ ἐν ἐπινικίοις ^[6] κοσμηθεῖς· τὰ τε ψηφισθέντα κατ' αὐτῶν πάντα ἀπῆλειψε, καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβουλευσαντάς σφισι πάντας ἐκόλασε, τοὺς τε φεύγοντας δι' αὐτοὺς κατήγαγε — ταῦτ' οὖν ποιήσας ἀνοσιώτατος ἀνθρώπων καὶ περὶ τὴν τήθην καὶ περὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς ἐγένετο· ἐκείνην τε γὰρ ἐπιτιμήσασάν τι αὐτῷ ἐς ἀνάγκην ἐκουσίου θανάτου κατέστησε, καὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς πάσας διαφθείρας ἐς νῆσον τὰς δύο ^[7] κατέκλεισεν· ἡ γὰρ τρίτη προαπέθανε. τὸν τε Τιβέριον αὐτόν, ὃν καὶ πάππον προσωνόμαζε, τῶν αὐτῶν τῷ Αὐγουστῶ τιμῶν παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς τυχεῖν ἀξιώσας, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ μὴ παραχρῆμα ἐψηφίσθησαν ὅτε γὰρ τιμῆσαι αὐτόν ὑπομένοντες οὐτ' ἀτιμάσαι θαρσοῦντες, ἅτε μηδέπω τὴν τοῦ νεανίσκου γνώμην σαφῶς εἰδότες, ἐς τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ πάντα ἀνεβάλλοντό, οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ πλὴν τῇ δημοσίᾳ ταφῇ ἤγηλε, ^[p. 270] νυκτός τε ἐς τὴν πόλιν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐσαγαγὼν ^[8] καὶ ἅμα τῇ ἔω προθέμενος. ἐποιήσατο μὲν γὰρ καὶ λόγους ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' οὐτι γε καὶ ἐκεῖνον οὕτως ἐπαινῶν ὥς τοῦ τε Αὐγουστοῦ καὶ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ τὸν δῆμον ἀναμνησκῶν καὶ ἑαυτὸν αὐτοῖς παρακατατιθέμενος. 4. οὕτω γὰρ καὶ πρὸς πάντα ἐναντίος ἐπεφύκει ὥστε τὴν μὲν ἀσέλγειαν καὶ τὴν μαιφονίαν αὐτοῦ, ἐφ' οἷσπερ καὶ διέβαλλεν αὐτόν, οὐ μόνον ἐζήλωσεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπερέβαλεν, ὧν δὲ δὴ ἐπήνει ^[2] οὐδὲν ἐμιμήσατο. πρῶτός τε ὑβρίσας αὐτόν καὶ πρῶτος λοιδορήσας, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκ τούτου χαριεῖσθαι οἱ νομίσαντας προπετεστέρα παρρησίᾳ χρῆσασθαι, ἔπειτα καὶ ἐνεκωμίαζε καὶ ἐσέμνυνεν, ὥστε καὶ κολάσαι τινὰς ἐφ' οἷς εἰρήκεσαν. καὶ ἐκείνους τε ἅμα ὥς ἐχθροὺς τοῦ Τιβερίου διὰ τὰς βλασφημίας, καὶ τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντάς ^[3] πη αὐτόν ὥς καὶ φίλους, ἐμίσει. τὰ τε τῆς ἀσεβείας ἐγκλήματα παύσας πλείστους ὅσους ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀπώλεσε. καὶ τοῖς συστᾶσιν ἐπὶ τε τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν μητέρα τοὺς τε ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ τὴν τε ὀργὴν ἀφείς, ὥς ἔλεγε, καὶ τὰ γράμματα αὐτῶν καταφλέξας, παμπληθεῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινε· διέφθειρε μὲν γὰρ ὥς ἀληθῶς γράμματά τινα, οὐ μέντοι κάκεῖνα τὰ αὐτόχειρα τὰ τὸν ἀκριβῆ ἔλεγχον ἔχοντα, ἀλλὰ ^[4] ἀντίγραφα αὐτῶν ποιήσας. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις εἰκόνας τε ἀπαγορεύσας κατ'

ἀρχὰς μηδὲνα αὐτοῦ ἰστάναι, καὶ ἐς ἀγαλμάτων ποιήσιν προεχώρησε, [p. 272] καὶ ψηφισθέν ποτε τῇ τύχῃ αὐτοῦ θύεσθαι παρέμενος, ὥστε καὶ ἐς στήλην αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἐγγραφεῖναι, καὶ ναοὺς ἑαυτῷ καὶ θυσίας ὡς καὶ θεῷ γίγνεσθαι [5] ἐκέλευσε. πλήθει τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἑρημίᾳ αὖ ἔχαιρεν, αἰτούμενός τε τι καὶ μὴ αἰτούμενος αὖ ὠργίζετο. ὀξύτατά τε πρὸς πράξεις τινὰς ἐφέρετο, καὶ νωθέστατα ἔστιν ἃς αὐτῶν μετεχειρίζετο. τὰ τε χρήματα καὶ ἀφειδέστατα ἀνήλiske καὶ ῥυπαρώτατα ἡργυρολόγει. τοῖς τε θωπεύουσιν αὐτὸν καὶ τοῖς παρρησιαζομένοις τι καὶ ἤχθετο [6] ὁμοίως καὶ ἤδετο. καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν μεγάλα ἀδικήσαντας οὐκ ἐκόλασε, πολλοὺς δὲ μηδὲ δόξαντας ἀπέσφαξε. τῶν τε ἐταίρων τοὺς μὲν ὑπερεκολάκευε τοὺς δὲ ὑπερύβριζεν. ὥστε μηδὲνα μὴθ' ὅ τι εἰπεῖν μὴθ' ὅ τι ποιῆσαι χρὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰδέναι, ἀλλ' ὅσοι τι καὶ κατῴρωσαν, ἐκ συντυχίας μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμης τυχεῖν αὐτοῦ. 5. τοιοῦτῳ μὲν τότε αὐτοκράτορι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι παρεδόθησαν, ὥστε τὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἔργα, καίπερ χαλεπώτατα δόξαντα γεγονέναι, τοσοῦτον παρὰ τὰ τοῦ Γαίου ὅσον τὰ τοῦ Αὐγούστου παρ' ἐκεῖνα [2] παρενεγκεῖν. Τιβέριος μὲν γὰρ αὐτός τε ἦρχε καὶ ὑπηρέταις τοῖς ἄλλοις πρὸς γε τὸ αὐτοῦ βούλημα ἐχρήτο, Γάιος δὲ ἦρχετο μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρματηλατούντων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀπλομαχοούντων, ἐδούλευε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὀρχησταῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς περὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἔχουσι: τὸν γοῦν Ἀπελλῆν τὸν εὐδοκιμώτατον τῶν τότε τραγωδῶν [p. 274] [3] καὶ ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ συνόντα οἱ αἰεὶ εἶχε. κάκ τούτου χωρὶς μὲν αὐτὸς χωρὶς δὲ ἐκεῖνοι, πάνθ' ὅσα ἂν ἄνθρωποι τοιοῦτοι δυνηθέντες τι τολμήσειαν, ἐπ' ἐξουσίας ἐποιοῦν. καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐπιτήδευσιν αὐτῶν φέροντα αὐτὸς τε πολυτελέστατα ἐπὶ πάσῃ προφάσει καὶ διετίθει καὶ καθίστατο καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τοὺς τε ὑπάτους ποιεῖν ἡνάγκαζεν, ὥστε καθ' ἐκάστην [4] ὀλίγου ἡμέραν πάντως τι τοιοῦτον ἄγεσθαι. καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν πρῶτα θεατῆς καὶ ἀκροατῆς ἐγίγνετο, συνεσπούδαζέ τε πῖσι καὶ ἀντεστασίουσιν ὥσπερ τις ἐκ τοῦ ὁμίλου ὦν: καὶ ποτε δυσκολάνας τι τοῖς ἀντικαθεσθηκόσιν οὐκ ἀπήντησεν ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν. προϊόντος δὲ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἐς ζήλωμα καὶ ἐς ἀγώνισμα πολλῶν προῆλθεν: [5] ἄρματά τε γὰρ ἤλασε καὶ ἐμονομάχησεν ὀρχήσει τε ἐχρήσατο καὶ τραγωδίαν ὑπεκρίνατο. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν που αἰεὶ ἐποίει, ἅπαξ δὲ ποτε τοὺς πρῶτους τῆς γερουσίας σπουδῇ νυκτὸς ὡς καὶ ἐπ' ἀναγκαῖόν τι βούλευμα μεταπεμπάμενος ὠρχήσατο. 6. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ ἔτει ἐν ᾧ ὃ τε Τιβέριος ἐτελεύτησε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀντικατέστη, πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς βουλευτάς, παρόντων ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ ἱππέων τοῦ τε δήμου πινῶν, πολλὰ ἐκολάκευσε, τὴν τε γὰρ ἀρχὴν κοινώσειν σφίσι καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἂν καὶ ἐκείνοις ἀρέσῃ ποιήσιν ὑπέσχετο, καὶ υἱὸς καὶ τρόφιμος αὐτῶν λέγων [2] εἶναι. ἦγε δὲ πέμπτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος, ἡμερῶν τεσσάρων καὶ μηνῶν πέντε ἐπιδέον. ἔπειτα τοὺς ἐν τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ ὄντας ἀπέλυσεν, ὦν εἷς ἦν Κύντος Πομπώνιος ἐπτὰ ὅλοις ἔτεσιν ἐν τῷ [p. 276] οἰκήματι μεθ' ὑπατεῖαν κακωθεῖς: τὰ τε ἐγκλήματα τῆς ἀσεβείας, οἷσπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα [3] πονουμένους σφᾶς ἑώρα, κατέλυσε, καὶ τὰ γράμματα τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅσα ὁ Τιβέριος κατελελοίπει, συννήσας, ὡς γε ἐσκήπτετο, κατέκαυσεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι 'τοῦτ' ἐποίησα ἵνα μηδ' ἂν πάνυ ἐθελήσω ποτὲ διὰ τε τὴν μητέρα καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς μνησικακῆσαι τι, δυνηθῶ αὐτὸν τιμωρήσασθαι.' [4]

ἐπαινούμενός τε ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡλπίζετο παντὸς μᾶλλον ἀλθεύσειν ἅτε μηδὲν διπλοῦν ὑπὸ τῆς νεότητος ἢ φρονεῖν ἢ λέγειν δύνασθαι νομιζόμενος, προσεπηύξησε τὰς ἐλπίδας αὐτῶν τὰ τε Κρόνια ἐπὶ πέντε ἡμέρας ἐορτάζεσθαι κελεύσας, καὶ ὀβολὸν παρ' ἐκάστου τῶν τὸ σιτηρέσιον φερόντων, ἀντὶ τῆς δραχμῆς ἣν ἐς εἰκόνων ποιήσιν ἐδίδοσαν αὐτῷ, λαβών. [5] ἐψηφίσθη μὲν οὖν καὶ παραχρῆμα αὐτὸν ὑπατεῦσαι, καταλυθέντων τοῦ τε Πρόκλου καὶ τοῦ Νιγρίνου τῶν τότε ἀρχόντων, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο κατ' ἔτος ὑπατεῦειν: οὐ μὴν καὶ προσεδέξατο αὐτὰ, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνοι τὸν ἔκμηνον ἐς ὃν ἀπεδεδείχατο διῆρξαν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπάτευσεν, [6] τὸν Κλαύδιον τὸν θεῖον προσλαβών: οὗτος γὰρ ἔν τε τοῖς ἱππεῦσι μέχρι τότε ἐξεταζόμενος, καὶ πρεσβευτῆς πρὸς τὸν Γάιον μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Τιβερίου θάνατον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱππάδος πεμφθείς, τότε πρῶτον, [p. 278] καίπερ ἔξ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη βεβιωκώς, καὶ [7] ὑπάτευσεν ἅμα καὶ ἐβούλευσεν. ὁ δ' οὖν Γάιος ταῦτά τε ἐπεικῶς ποιῆσαι ἔδοξε, καὶ τοιαῦτα ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπατείας ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἐδημηγόρησε, τοῦ τε Τιβερίου καθ' ἕκαστον ὧν ἡπιάζετο κατατρέχων καὶ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ πολλὰ ἐπαγγελλόμενος, ὥστε τὴν γερουσίαν, φοβηθεῖσαν μὴ μεταβάλλεται, δόγμα ποιῆσαι κατ' ἔτος αὐτὰ ἀναγιγνώσκεσθαι. 7. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὸ ἡρῶον τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ὠσίωσε, τὴν ἐπινίκιον στολὴν ἐνδύς. καὶ οἱ τε εὐγενέστατοι παῖδες, ὅσοι γε καὶ ἀμφιθαλεῖς ἦσαν, μετὰ παρθένων ὁμοίων τὸν ὕμνον ἦσαν, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ σὺν ταῖς γαμεταῖς σφωρὸν ὃ τε δῆμος [2] εἰστιάθη, θεαί τε παντοδαπαὶ ἐγένοντο. τὰ τε γὰρ τῆς μουσικῆς ἐχόμενα ἐσῆχθη, καὶ ἵπποι δύο ἡμέραις ἠγωνίσαντο, τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ εἰκοσάκις, τῇ δ' ὑστερᾷ καὶ τετταρακοντάκις διὰ τὸ τὰ [3] γενέθλια αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην εἶναι: ἦν γὰρ ἡ τελευταία τοῦ Αὐγούστου. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων πολλῶν, ὥς που καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ, ἐποίησε πρότερον γὰρ οὐ πλείω τῶν δέκα ἁθλῶν ἐτίθετο, τότε δὲ καὶ ἄρκτους τετρακοσίας μεθ' [4] ἐτέρων Λιβυκῶν θηρίων ἴσων ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ οἱ τε εὐγενεῖς παῖδες τὴν Τροίαν ἵππευσαν, καὶ τὸ ἄρμα τὸ πομπικὸν ἐφ' οὗ ἦχθη ἔξ ἵπποι εἴλκυσαν: ὁ μὴ πώποτε ἐγεγόνει. οὐ μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸς τοῖς [p. 280] ἡνιόχοις ἀπεσήμενεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ προεδρίας μετὰ τε τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ μετὰ τῶν συνιερέων τῶν Αὐγουστειῶν [5] συνεθεάσατο. ὅπως τε μηδεμίαν τινὶ τοῦ μὴ συμφοιτᾶν ἐς τὰ θέατρα πρόφασιν εἶναι 'καὶ γὰρ ἡσυχάλει δεινῶς εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἀπελείπετο ἢ καὶ μεσοῦσης τῆς θεάς ἐξανίστατό, τὰς τε δίκας ἀπάσας ἀνεβάλετο καὶ τὰ πένθη πάντα ἐπέσχευεν, ὥστε καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ ταῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐστερημέναις γαμεῖσθαι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου, [6] ἂν γε μὴ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχωσιν, ἐξεῖναι. καὶ ἵνα μετὰ ῥαστώνης βαδίζοιεν καὶ μὴ πράγματα ἔχοιεν ἀσπαζόμενοι τινες αὐτὸν 'πρότερον γὰρ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα οἱ συντυγχάνοντές οἱ προσηγόρευον', [7] ἀπεῖπτε μηδένα ἔτι τοῦτο ποιεῖν. καὶ ἐξῆν καὶ ἀνυποδήτοις τοῖς βουλομένοις θεάσασθαι, νομιζόμενον μὲν πού ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου καὶ δικάζειν τινὰς ἐν τῷ θέρει οὕτως, καὶ πολλάκις καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐν ταῖς θεριναῖς πανηγύρεσι γενόμενον, ἐκλειφθὲν δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιβερίου. [8] τὰ τε προσκεφάλαια τοῖς βουλευταῖς, ὅπως μὴ ἐπὶ γυμνῶν τῶν σανίδων καθίζωνται, πρῶτον τότε ὑπετέθη: καὶ πῖλους σφίσι τὸν Θετταλικὸν τρόπον ἐς τὰ θέατρα φορεῖν, ἵνα

μή τῇ ἡλιάσει ταλαιπωρῶνται, ἐπετράπη. καὶ εἶγε ποτὲ ἐς ὑπερβολὴν ἐπέφλεξε, τῷ διριβιτωρίῳ ἀντὶ τοῦ ^[9] θεάτρου ἰκριωμένῳ ἐχρῶντο. ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐν τῇ ὑπατείᾳ ἔπραξε, δύο τε μηνὶ καὶ ἡμέραις δώδεκα ^[p. 282] αὐτὴν σχών· τὸν γὰρ λοιπὸν τοῦ ἑξαμήνου χρόνον τοῖς προαποδεδειγμένοις ἐς αὐτὴν ἀπέδωκε. 8. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο νοσήσας αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἀπέθανε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Τιβέριον, καίπερ ἔς τε τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐσγραφέντα καὶ τῆς νεότητος προκριθέντα καὶ τέλος ἐσποιεθέντα, ἀνεχρήσατο, ἔγκλημα αὐτῷ ἐπαγαγὼν ὥς καὶ τελευτήσαι αὐτὸν καὶ εὐξαμένῳ καὶ προσδοκῆσαντι. ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἄλλους γε συχνοὺς ^[2] ἐφόνευσεν. ὁ γὰρ Ἀντιόχῳ τε τῷ Ἀντιόχου τὴν Κομμαγενήν, ἣν ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ ἔσχε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰ παραθαλάσσια τῆς Κιλικίας δούς, καὶ Ἀγρίππαν τὸν τοῦ Ἡρώδου ἑγγονον λύσας τε ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐδέδετο καὶ τῇ τοῦ πάππου ἀρχῇ προστάξας, τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἦ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν οὐχ ὅτι τῶν πατρῶων ἀπεστέρησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατέσφαξε. καὶ οὐδὲ ἐπέστειλέ τι περὶ αὐτοῦ τῇ βουλῇ· ὅπερ πού καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων μετὰ ^[3] τοῦτο πολλῶν ἐποίησεν. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν ὥς καὶ τῇ ἀρρωστίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἐφεδρεύσας ἀπώλετο, Πούπλιος δὲ Ἀφράνιος Ποτῖτος δημότης τε ὢν καὶ ὑπὸ μωρᾶς κολακείας οὐ μόνον ἐθελοντὴς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔνορκος, ἄν γε ὁ Γάιος σωθῇ, τελευτήσῃν ὑποσχόμενος, Ἀτάνιός τε τις Σεκοῦνδος ἱππεὺς τε ὢν καὶ μονομαχήσειν ἐπαγγελάμενος· ἀντὶ γὰρ τῶν χρημάτων ἃ ἡλιπίζον παρ' αὐτοῦ ὥς καὶ ἀντίψυχοί οἱ ἀποθανεῖν ἐθελήσαντες λήψεσθαι, ἀποδοῦναι ^[p. 284] τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ἠναγκάσθησαν, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιорκήσωσι. ^[4] καὶ τοῦτοις μὲν αὕτη αἰτία τοῦ θανάτου ἐγένετο· ὁ δὲ δὴ πενθερὸς αὐτοῦ Μάρκος Σιλανὸς οὗθ' ὑποσχόμενός τι οὔτε κατομόσας, ὅμως ἐπειδὴ βαρὺς αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τε τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς συγγενείας ἦν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο περιυβρίζετο, ἑαυτὸν ^[5] κατεχρήσατο. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Τιβέριος οὕτως αὐτὸν ἐτίμησεν ὥστε μηδὲ ἐκκλητὸν ποτε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δικάσαι ἐθελῆσαι, ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ πάντα αὐτῷ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐγχειρίσαι· ὁ δὲ δὴ Γάιος τὰ τε ἄλλα ἰσχυρῶς προεπιηλάκιζε, καίτοι οὕτω καλῶς περὶ αὐτοῦ φρονῶν ὥστε καὶ χρυσοῦν αὐτὸν πρόβατον ^[6] ὀνομάζειν, καὶ ὅπως μηκέτι πρῶτος ἐπιψηφίζεται, ἐν ᾧ πού καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα ὑφ' ἀπάντων τῶν ὑπάτων ἐτιμᾶτο, κατέλυσε τὸ πρῶτόν τινα τῶν ὑπατευκότων ἢ δεύτερον, πρὸς τὸ τοῖς τὴν γνώμην ἐπάγουσι δοκοῦν, ψηφίζεσθαι, καὶ κατεστήσατο ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἐκείνους ἐν τῇ τάξει τῆς ἀρχῆς ἣν ἦρξαν ἀποφαίνεσθαι. ^[7] τὴν τε θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ ἐκβαλὼν ἔγημε Κορνηλιαν Ὀρεστιλλαν, ἣν ἥρπασεν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς γάμοις οὗς τῷ ἡγγυημένῳ αὐτῇ Γαίῳ Καλπουρνίῳ Πίσωνι συνεώρατξε. πρὶν δὲ δύο μῆνας ἐξελθεῖν, ἀμφοτέρους σφᾶς ὥς καὶ συγγιγνομένους ἀλλήλοις ^[8] ἐξώρισε· καὶ τῷ γε Πίσωνι δέκα δούλους ἐπαγαγέσθαι ἐπιτρέψας, εἴτ' ἐπειδὴ πλείονας ἠτήσατο, ἐφῆκεν ὅσοις ἂν ἐθελήσῃ χρήσασθαι, ^[p. 286] εἰπὼν ὅτι 'καὶ στρατιῶται τοσοῦτοι σοι συνέσονται.' 9. τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἔτει ὕπατοι Μάρκος τε Ἰουλιανὸς καὶ Πούπλιος Νώνιος ἐκ τῶν προαποδεδειγμένων ἐγένοντο. καὶ οἱ ὅρκοι περὶ μὲν τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιβερίου πραχθέντων οὐκ ἐπήχθησαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ νῦν γίνονται· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅστις αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς αὐταρχήσασιν ἐς τὴν τῆς ὀρκίας ^[2] νόμισιν καταλέγει· περὶ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Αὐγούστου τοῦ τε Γαίου τὰ τε ἄλλα ὥσπερ εἴηστο, καὶ ὅτι

καὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς αὐτοῦ προτιμήσουσιν, ὥμοσαν, τὰς τε εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ πάντων αὐτῶν ὁμοίως ἐποίησαντο. ^[3] Ἐν δ' οὖν τῇ νουμηνίᾳ αὐτῇ Μαχάων τις δοῦλος ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ἐπανάβη, κάντεῦθεν πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἀπομαντευσάμενος κυνιδιὸν τέ τι ὃ ἐσενηνόχει ἀπέκτεινε καὶ ἐαυτὸν ἔσφαξε. ^[4] Γάιος δὲ καλὰ μὲν ἐπαίνου τε ἄξια τάδε ἔπραξε. τοὺς τε λογισμοὺς τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων, μὴ ἐκτεθειμένους ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ᾧ ὁ Τιβέριος ἐξεδήμησε, πάντας κατὰ τὸν Αὐγουστον προέγραψε: καὶ ἔμπρησιν τινα μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατασβέσας ^[5] ἐπήρκεσε τοῖς ζημιωθεῖσι. τοῦ τε τέλους τοῦ τῶν ἱππέων ὀλιγανδροῦντος, τοὺς πρώτους ἐξ ἀπάσης καὶ τῆς ἔξω ἀρχῆς τοῖς τε γένεσι καὶ ταῖς περιουσίαις μεταπεμψάμενος κατελέξατο, καὶ πῖσιν αὐτῶν καὶ τῇ ἐσθῇ τῇ βουλευτικῇ, καὶ πρὶν ἄρξαι τινὰ ἀρχὴν δι' ἧς ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν ἐσερχόμεθα, ^[p. 288] χρῆσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς βουλείας ἐλπίδι ἔδωκε: πρότερον γὰρ μόνοις, ὡς ἔοικε, τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ φύλου γεγεννημένοις τοῦτο ποιεῖν ^[6] ἐξῆν. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πᾶσιν ἤρσεν: ὅτι δὲ τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας τῷ τε δήμῳ καὶ τῷ πλήθει ἀπέδωκε, λύσας ὅσα περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Τιβέριος ὠρίκει, καὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς ἑκατοστῆς κατέλυσε, γυμνικὸν τέ τινα ἀγῶνα ποιήσας σύμβολα διέρριψε καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ^[7] πλεῖστα τοῖς ἀρπάσασιν αὐτὰ διέδωκε, τῷ μὲν φαύλῳ ἐχαρίσατο, τοὺς δ' ἔμφρονας ἐλύπησε λογισαμένους ὅτι, ἐὰν ἐπὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς αἱ ἀρχαὶ αὐθις γένωνται καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἐξαναλωθῇ αἱ τε εἰδικαὶ πρόσοδοι παυθῶσι, πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ συμβήσεται. 10. Ἐπαίτια δὲ δὴ πρὸς πάντων ὁμοίως τάδε ἐξειργάσατο. πλείστους ὅσους ὀπλομαχῆσαι ἐποίησε: καὶ γὰρ καὶ καθ' ἓνα καὶ ἀθρόους, ὥσπερ ἐν παρατάξει τινί, ἀγωνίσασθαι σφας ἠνάγκασε, παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς δὴ τοῦτο αἰτήσας, ^[2] ὥστε καὶ ἔξω τοῦ νενομοθετημένου πάνθ' ὅσα βούλοιτο δρᾶσαι, καὶ ἀποκτείνειν τῶν τε ἄλλων πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἐξ καὶ εἴκοσι, τοὺς μὲν τὰς οὐσίας κατεδηδοκότας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ὀπλομαχίαν ἡσκηκότας. ἦν δὲ οὐ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολλυμένων οὕτω τι δεινόν, καίπερ δεινὸν ὄν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τοῖς τε φόνους αὐτῶν ὑπερέχαιρε καὶ ^[p. 290] ^[3] τῆς τοῦ αἵματος θεᾶς ἀπλήστως εἶχεν. ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τῆς αὐτῆς ὠμότητος, ἐπιλιπόντων ποτὲ τῶν τοῖς θηρίοις ἐκ καταδίκης διδομένων, ἐκέλευσεν ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου τοῦ τοῖς ἰκρίοις προσεστηκότος συναρπασθῆναι τέ τινας καὶ παραβληθῆναι σφισιν: καὶ ὅπως γε μῆτε ἐπιβοήσασθαι μῆτε αἰτιάσασθαι τι δυνηθῶσι, τὰς γλώσσας αὐτῶν ^[4] προαπέτεμε. τῶν τε ἱππέων τινὰ ἐπιφανῶν μονομαχῆσαι τε ὡς καὶ ὑβρίσαντα τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἀγριππῖναν ἠνάγκασε, καὶ νικήσαντα κατηγοροῖς παρέδωκε καὶ ἀπέσφαξε. τὸν τε πατέρα αὐτοῦ μηδὲν ἀδικήσαντα ἔς τε γαλεάγραν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλους συχνούς, καθεῖρξε κάνταῦθα ^[5] διέφθειρεν. ἐποίησε δὲ τοὺς ἀγῶνας τοὺτους τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐν τοῖς Σέπτοις, πᾶν τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνο ἐξορύξας καὶ ὕδατος πληρώσας, ἵνα μίαν ναῦν ἐσαγάγῃ, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐτέρωθι, πλεῖστά τε καὶ μέγιστα οἰκοδομήματα καθελὼν καὶ ἰκρία πηξάμενος: τὸ γὰρ τοῦ Ταύρου θέατρον ὑπερεφρόνησε. ^[6] τούτων τε οὖν ἕνεκα καὶ διὰ τὰς δαπάνας καὶ διὰ τοὺς φόνους αἰτίαν εἶχε, καὶ ὅτι τὸν Μάκρωνα μετὰ τῆς Ἑννίας, μῆτε τοῦ ταύτης ἔρωτος μῆτε τῶν ἐκείνου εὐεργετημάτων, δι' ὧν τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ

τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ μόνῳ συγκατέπραξε, μνησθεῖς, ἔς τε ἔκουσίου δὴ θανάτου ἀνάγκην, καίπερ καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον οἱ προστάξας, καὶ ἐς αἰσχύνην, ἧς αὐτὸς τὸ πλεῖστον μετεῖχε, κατέστησε: προαγωγείας γὰρ ἔγκλημα αὐτῷ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις [7] ἐπήγαγε. κάκ τούτου καὶ ἕτεροι πολλοὶ οἱ μὲν [p. 292] καταψηφισθέντες οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἁλῶναι ἐφονεύθησαν, πρόφασιν μὲν διὰ τε τοὺς γονέας καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς δι' ἐκείνους ἀπολομένους, τὸ δ' ἄληθές διὰ τὰς οὐσίας: οἷ τε γὰρ θησαυροὶ ἐξανάλωντο καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ [8] ἐξήρκει. ἡλέγχοντο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν καταμαρτυρούντων σφῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων ἃ κατακεκαυκέναι ποτὲ ἔφη. καὶ ἑτέρους ἦ τε νόσος ἢ τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει οἱ συμβᾶσα καὶ ὁ τῆς Δρουσίλλης τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ θάνατος ἐφθειρε: τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα, καὶ εἴ τις εἰστίασεν ἢ ἡσπᾶσατό τινα ἢ καὶ ἐλούσατο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, ἐκολάζετο. 11. τῇ δὲ Δρουσίλλῃ συνῶκει μὲν Μᾶρκος Λέπιδος, παιδικὰ τε ἅμα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐραστὴς ὢν, συνῆν δὲ καὶ ὁ Γάιος: καὶ αὐτὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν τότε ἐπήνεσε μὲν ὁ ἀνὴρ, δημοσίας δὲ ταφῆς ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἤξιωσε: [2] καὶ οἷ τε δορυφόροι μετὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντός σφων καὶ χωρὶς οἱ ἱππῆς τὸ τέλος οἷ τε εὐγενεῖς παῖδες τὴν Τροίαν περὶ τὸν τάφον αὐτῆς περιῖπτευσαν, καὶ οἱ τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅσα τῇ γε Λιουῖα ἐδέδοτο ἐψηφίσθη, καὶ ἴν' ἀθανατισθῇ καὶ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον χρυσὴ ἀνατεθῇ, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ Ἀφροδίσιον ἄγαλμα αὐτῆς ἰσομέτρητον [3] τῷ τῆς θεοῦ ἐπὶ ταῖς ὁμοίαις τιμαῖς ἱερωθῇ, σηκός τε ἴδιος οἰκοδομηθῇ, καὶ ἱερῆς εἴκοσιν οὐχ ὅτι ἄνδρες ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναικες γένωνται, αἱ τε γυναικες αὐτὴν, ὅσας ἂν μαρτυρῶσι τι, ὁμνῶσι, καὶ [p. 294] ἐν τοῖς γενεαῖς αὐτῆς ἐορτὴ τε ὁμοία τοῖς Μεγαλησίοις ἄγεται καὶ ἡ γερούσια ἢ τε ἱππᾶς ἐστιᾶται. τότε οὖν Πάνθεά τε ὠνομάζετο καὶ τιμῶν δαιμονίων ἐν πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡξιοῦτο, [4] Λιουῖός τε τις Γεμίνιος βουλευτὴς ἔς τε τὸν οὐρανὸν αὐτὴν ἀναβαίνουσαν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς συγγιγνομένην ἑορακέναι ὥμοσεν, ἐξώλειαν καὶ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς παισίν, εἰ ψεῦδοιτο, ἐπαρασάμενος τῇ τε τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν ἐπιμαρτυρίᾳ καὶ τῇ αὐτῆς ἐκείνης: ἐφ' ᾧ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας [5] ἔλαβε. τούτοις τε οὖν αὐτὴν ὁ Γάιος ἐτίμησε, καὶ τῷ τὰς πανηγύρεις τὰς τότε ὀφειλοῦσας γενέσθαι μῆτε ἐν τῷ νεομισμένῳ χρόνῳ, πλὴν τῆς ὁσίας ἔνεκα, μῆτ' αὐθις ποτε ποιηθῆναι. αἰτίαν τε πάντες ὁμοίως εἶχον, εἴτ' ἡχθέσθησαν ἐπὶ τινι ὡς λυπούμενοι, εἴτε καὶ ὡς χαίροντες ἔπραξαν: ἢ γὰρ μὴ πενθεῖν αὐτὴν ὡς ἄνθρωπον ἢ θρηνεῖν ὡς [6] θεὸν ἐνεκαλοῦντο. πάρεστι δὲ ἐξ ἐνὸς πάντα τὰ τότε γενόμενα τεκμήρασθαι: τὸν γὰρ πωλήσαντα 12. θερμὸν ὕδωρ ἀπέκτεινεν ὡς ἀσεβήσαντα. διαλιπὼν δ' οὖν ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἔγχευ Λολλίαν Παυλῖναν, αὐτὸν τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς Μέμμιον Πήγουλον ἐγγυῆσαι οἱ τὴν γυναικα ἀναγκάσας, μὴ καὶ ἀνέγγυον αὐτὴν παρὰ τοὺς νόμους λάβῃ. καὶ εὐθύς γε καὶ ἐκείνην ἐξήλασεν. [2] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Σοαίμῳ μὲν τὴν τῶν Ἰτυραίων τῶν Ἀράβων, Κότυϊ δὲ τὴν τε Ἀρμενίαν τὴν σμικροτέραν [p. 296] καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας τινά, τῷ τε Ρυμητάλκῃ τὰ τοῦ Κότυος καὶ Πολέμωνι τῷ τοῦ Πολέμωνος υἱεῖ τὴν πατρώαν ἀρχὴν, ψηφισαμένης δὴ τῆς βουλῆς, ἐχαρίσατο, ἐν τε τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐν δίφρῳ μεταξὺ τῶν ὑπάτων καθεζόμενος, καὶ παραπετάσμασι σηρικοῖς, ὡς [3] γέ τινές φασι,

χρησάμενος. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πηλὸν πολὺν ἐν στενωπῷ τινι ἰδὼν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ τοῦ Φλαουίου ἱμάτιον, ἀγορανομοῦντός τε τότε καὶ τῆς τῶν στενωπῶν καθαριότητος ἐπιμελουμένου, ἐμβληθῆναι. καὶ τοῦτο οὕτω πραχθὲν παραχρῆμα μὲν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ὤφθη, ὕστερον δὲ τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ τὰ πράγματα τεταραγμένα καὶ πεφυρμένα παραλαβόντος τε καὶ καταστησαμένου ἔδοξεν οὐκ ἄθεεῖ γεγονέναι, ἀλλ' ἄντικρυς αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν ὁ Γάιος πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν ἐγκεχειρικέναι. 13. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὑπατεύσας αὐθις τὸν μὲν τοῦ Διὸς ἱερέα ἐκώλυσεν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ὁμόσαι ἴδια γὰρ καὶ τότε, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου, τὸν ὄρκον ἐποιοῦντό, αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ ἐνιστάμενος ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἀπαλλαττόμενος ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, ὃ δὴ καὶ μεῖζον τοῦ [2] προτέρου ἐπεποιήτο, ὥμοσε. τριάκοντα δὲ δὴ ἡμέρας ἦρξε, καίτοι Λουκίῳ Ἀπρωνίῳ τῷ συνάρχοντι ἔξ μηνας ἐπιτρέψας· καὶ αὐτὸν Σαγκυῖνιος Μάξιμος πολιάρχων διεδέξατο. καὶ ἔν τε ἐκείναις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἔπειτα πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν πρώτων καταδικασθέντες ἴσχυον γὰρ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ δεσποτηρίου ἀφειμένων, δι' αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα δι' ἃ ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐδέδεκτο, ἐκολάσθησαν· πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ [p. 298] [3] τῶν ἄλλων μονομαχήσαντες ἀπώλοντο. καὶ ἦν ἔξω τῶν φόνων οὐδέν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τῷ πληθεῖ ἔτι τι ἐχαρίζετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πρὸς πάντα ὅσα ἐβούλετο ἀντέπραττε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπιθυμήμασιν αὐτοῦ ἀντέσπευδον, καὶ ἦν καὶ ἀκούειν καὶ ὁρᾶν οἷα ἂν ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ ὁ μὲν ὀργιζόμενος οἱ δ' ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι καὶ εἵποιεν [4] καὶ πράξειαν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐξ ἴσου σφίσι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐγίγνετο· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔξω τοῦ λαλεῖν ἢ καὶ τοῖς σχήμασι τι προσενδείκνυσθαι οὐδὲν ἐδύναντο, ὁ δὲ δὴ Γάιος συχνοὺς μὲν καὶ μεταξὺ θεωμένους κατασπῶν, συχνοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπηλλαγμένους ἐκ τῶν θεάτρων συλλαμβάνων ἀπώλλυνεν. [5] αἰτίαι δὲ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτῷ ἐγίγνοντο ὅτι τε μὴ σπουδῇ συνεφοίτων ἄλλοτε γὰρ ἄλλη ὥρα παρὰ τὰ προηγγελμένα ἀπαντῶντος αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ἔτι νυκτὸς τοτὲ δὲ καὶ μετὰ μεσημβρίαν ἐς τὰ θέατρα ἐσιόντος, ἀποκναιόμενοι ἐκακοῦντό καὶ ὅτι μήτε αἰεὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀρέσκοντας αὐτῷ ἐπῆνον καὶ τινας καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων [6] ἔστιν ὅτε ἐτίμων. καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ δεινῶς ἠγανάκτει ὅτι μεγαλύνοντες αὐτὸν ἐπεβῶν ἔνεαν ἄνθρωποι· οὐ γὰρ μακαρίζεσθαι ὅτι νέος ὢν ἐμονάρχει, ἀλλ' ἐγκαλεῖσθαι ὅτι ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τηλικαύτην ἀρχὴν εἶχεν ἠγείτο. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν αἰεὶ ἐποίει, καὶ ποτε παντὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἅμα ἀπειλῶν ἔφη ἔῖθε ἔνα αὐχένα εἶχετε· [7] τότε δὲ ἐπειδὴ παρωξύνθη τι οἷον εἰώθει, δυσχερᾶν [p. 300] τὸ πλῆθος τῆς τε θεᾶς ἡμέλησε καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς συκοφαντοῦντας ἐτράπετο, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ πολὺ σφοδρῶς βοῶντες ἐξήτουν. καὶ ὃς ἀγανακτήσας ἀπεκρίνατο μὲν σφισιν οὐδέν, προστάξας δὲ ἐτέροις πσι τοὺς ἀγῶνας ποιεῖν ἐς Καμπανίαν [8] ἀπῆρε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπανελθὼν πρὸς τὰ τῆς Δρουσίλλης γενέσια ἀγαλμά τε αὐτῆς ὑπ' ἐλεφάντων ἐν ἀρμαμάξῃ ἐς τὸν ἱππόδρομον ἐσήγαγε, καὶ θεᾶν τῷ δήμῳ προῖκα ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας ἀπένειμε· καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ ἄρκτοι πρὸς ταῖς [9] τῶν ἵππων ἀμίλλαις πεντακόσαι ἐσφάγησαν, τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ Λιβυκὰ θηρία ἴσα ἀναλώθη, καὶ παγκρατιασταὶ ἐν πολλοῖς ἅμα τόποις ἠγωνίσαντο. καὶ ὁ δῆμος εἰστιάθη, τοῖς τε βουλευταῖς ταῖς τε γυναιξὶν αὐτῶν δωρεὰ

ἐδόθη ... 14. ταῦτά τε ἅμα ὥς καὶ πάνυ πενόμενος ἐφόνευε, καὶ τινα καὶ ἕτερον τοιόνδε χρηματισμὸν ἐπέξευρε. τοὺς γὰρ περιγενομένους τῶν μονομάχων τοῖς τε ὑπάτοις καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τοῖς τε ἄλλοις, οὐχ [2] ὅτι τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ ἄκοντάς τινας βιαζόμενος ἐν ταῖς ἵπποδρομίαις καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο κληρουμένοις ὅτι μάλιστα ἔδωκεν ἑκατοντάρχους ἐς τοὺς ὀπλομαχικοὺς ἀγῶνας, ὥσπερ ποτὲ ἐγίγνετο, λαγχάνειν ἐκέλευσέ πάντως ἐπιτιμῶν ἀπεδίδοδο, αὐτὸς τε ἐπὶ τοῦ πρατηρίου καθεζόμενος [3] καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπερβάλλων. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοθεν ἀφικνούμενοι ἀντωνοῦντο αὐτοὺς, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς βουλομένοις καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν νόμον τῷ ἀριθμῷ τῶν μονομαχοῦντων χρῆσθαι, καὶ πολλάκις [p. 302] καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπεφοίτα σφίσιν, ὥσθ' οἱ μὲν καὶ [4] δεόμενοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἱ δὲ χαριεῖσθαι αὐτῷ νομίζοντες, καὶ οἱ γε πλείους, ὅσοι ἐν δόξῃ περιουσίας ἦσαν, ἀναλῶσαι τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ, ὅπως πενέστεροι γενόμενοι περισωθῶσιν, ἐθέλοντες, μεγάλων αὐτοὺς χρημάτων [5] ἡγόρασαν. καίτοι τοῦτο ποιήσας ἔπειτα τοὺς τε ἀρίστους καὶ τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους σφῶν φαρμάκῳ διέφθειρε. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων τῶν τε ἡνιόχων τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν [6] ἐποίει. ἰσχυρῶς γὰρ τῷ τὴν βατραχίδα ἐνδύνοντι καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ χρώματος τοῦ πρασίνου καλουμένῳ προσέκειτο, ὥστε καὶ νῦν ἔτι Γαϊάνδον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ τὰ ἄρματα ἦσκει καλεῖσθαι. [7] καὶ ἕνα γε τῶν ἵππων, ὃν Ἰγκιτᾶτον ὠνόμαζε, καὶ ἐπὶ δελφινὸν ἐκάλει, χρυσᾶς τε αὐτῷ κριθᾶς παρέβαλλε, καὶ οἶνον ἐν χρυσοῖς ἐκπῶμασι προῦπνε, τὴν τε σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τύχην ὥμνυε, καὶ προσυπισχεῖτο καὶ ὑπατον αὐτὸν ἀποδείξειν. καὶ πάντως ἂν καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπεποιήκει, εἰ πλείω χρόνον ἐζήκει. 15. ἐς δ' οὖν τοὺς πόρους τῶν χρημάτων πρότερον μὲν ἐψήφιστο ὅπως ὅσοι τινὰ τῷ Τιβερίῳ καταλιπεῖν ἐθέλησαντες περιῆσαν, τῷ Γαίῳ αὐτὰ τελευτῶντες χαρίσωνται: ἵνα γὰρ δὴ καὶ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ κληρονομεῖν καὶ δωρήματα τοιαῦτα λαμβάνειν, ὅτι μήτε γυναῖκα τότε γε μήτε παῖδας εἶχε, δύνασθαι δοκῇ, δόγμα τι προέθετο. [p. 304] [2] ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι πάσας ἀπλῶς τὰς τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἑκατοντάρχους ἐστρατευμένων οὐσίας, ὅσοι μετὰ τὰ ἐπινίκια ἃ ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ ἔπεμψεν ἄλλῳ τινὶ αὐτὰς καὶ μὴ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι κατελελοίπεσαν, αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἄνευ ψηφίσματος ἐσέπραξε. [3] καὶ ἐπειδὴ μὴδὲ ταῦτα ἐξικνεῖτο, τρίτην τοιαύτην ἀφορμὴν ἀργυρισμοῦ ἐπενόησε. Γναῖος Δομίτιος Κορβούλων βουλευτής, κακῶς ἐπὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐχούσας ὁρῶν, τοῖς τε ἐπιμεληταῖς αὐτῶν ἀεὶ ποτε ἐνέκειτο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῇ [4] γερουσίᾳ ὀχληρὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐγίγνετο. τοῦτον οὖν παραλαβὼν ἐπέθετο δι' αὐτοῦ πᾶσιν οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς ζῶσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς τεθνηκόσιν, ὅσοι ποτὲ ἐπιστάται τῶν ὁδῶν ἐγεγόνεσαν καὶ χρήματα ἐς τὰς ἐπισκευὰς αὐτῶν εἰλήφεσαν, καὶ ἐκείνους τε καὶ τοὺς ἐργολαβήσαντάς τι παρ' αὐτῶν [5] ὥς οὐδὲν δὴ δαπανήσαντας ἐζημίῳ. ἐφ' οὗ δὴ ὁ Κορβούλων τότε μὲν ὑπάτευσεν, ὕστερον δὲ ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου αἰτίαν τε ἔσχε καὶ εὐθύνθη: ὁ γὰρ Κλαύδιος οὔτε τὰ ἐποφειληθέντα ἀπήτησε, καὶ τὰ δεδομένα, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου τὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κορβούλωνος ἐσπράξαας, [6] ἀπέδωκε τοῖς ζημιωθεῖσι. τοῦτο μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο: τότε δ'

οὗτοι τε ὡς ἕκαστοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ὡς εἶπεῖν οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει τρόπον
τινὰ ἀπεσυλῶντο, καὶ ἀζήμιος τῶν γέ τι ἐχόντων οὐδεις, οὐκ ἀνὴρ οὐ γυνή,
ἦν. καὶ γὰρ εἴ τινα τῶν ἀφηλικεστέρων ζῆν εἶα, ἀλλὰ πατέρας τε καὶ
πάππους μητέρας τε καὶ τήθας σφᾶς ὀνομάζων ζῶντάς τε ἐξεκαρποῦτο καὶ
τελευτῶντας τῶν οὐσιῶν ἐκκληρονόμει. [p. 306] 16. μέχρι μὲν οὖν τοῦ χρόνου
τούτου αὐτός τε τὸν Τιβέριον αἰὶ καὶ πρὸς πάντας κακῶς ἔλεγε, καὶ τοῖς
ἄλλοις τοῖς κακηγοροῦσιν αὐτὸν καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ
ἐπετίμα ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔχαιρεν: τότε δὲ ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον πολλὰ μὲν
ἐκεῖνον ἐπῆγεσε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς γερουσίας τοῦ τε δήμου κατηγορήσεν ὡς
οὐκ ὀρθῶς αὐτὸν ψεγόντων. [2] ‘ἐμοὶ μὲν γάρ’ ἔφη ‘αὐτοκράτορι ὄντι καὶ
τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἔξεστιν, ὑμεῖς δὲ δὴ οὐ μόνον ἀδικεῖτε ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀσεβεῖτε
πρὸς τὸν ἄρξαντά ποτε ὑμῶν οὕτω διακείμενοι.’ κάκ τοῦτου καθ’ ἕκαστον
τῶν ἀπολωλότην ἐπεξιῶν ἀπέφαινε, ὡς γε ἐδόκει, τοὺς βουλευτὰς αἰτίους
τοῦ ὀλέθρου τοῖς πλείστοις αὐτῶν γεγονότας, τοὺς μὲν ὅτι κατηγορήσαν
σφω, τοὺς δὲ ὅτι κατεμαρτύρησαν, [3] πάντας δὲ ὅτι κατεψηφίσαντο. καὶ
ταῦτα τε ὡς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν γραμμάτων ἃ καταπεπρηκέναι ποτὲ ἔφη
ἐπανέγνω διὰ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων, καὶ προσεπείπεν ὅτι ‘εἰ καὶ τι ὁ Τιβέριος
ἡδίκηκει, οὐκ ὠφείλετε αὐτὸν ζῶντα tetimhkenai, οὐ μὰ Δί’, οὐδ’ ἐφ’ οἷς
καὶ εἵπατε πολλάκις καὶ ἐψηφίσασθε [4] μεταβάλλεσθαι. ἀλλ’ ὑμεῖς καὶ
ἐκεῖνον ἐμπλήκτως μετεχειρίσασθε, καὶ τὸν Σεῖανδὸν φυσησάντες καὶ
διαφθείραντες ἀπεκτείνετε, ὥστε δεῖ καὶ ἐμὲ μηδὲν χρηστὸν παρ’ ὑμῶν
προσδέχεσθαι.’ τοιαῦτα ἅττα εἰπὼν αὐτὸν δὴ τὸν Τιβέριον τῷ [5] λόγῳ
παρήγαγε, λέγοντά οἱ ὅτι ‘καὶ καλῶς καὶ ἀληθῶς πάντα ταῦτα εἶρηκας, καὶ
διὰ τοῦτο μήτε φιλήσης τινὰ αὐτῶν μήτε φείσῃ τινός. πάντες τε γὰρ μισοῦσί
σε καὶ πάντες ἀποθανεῖν εὐχονται: [p. 308] καὶ φονεύσουσί γε, ἂν δυνηθῶσι.
μήτ’ οὖν ὅπως τι χάριση πράξας αὐτοῖς ἐννόει, μήτ’ ἂν [6] τι θρυλῶσι
φρόντιζε, ἀλλὰ τὸ τε ἡδὺ καὶ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς τὸ σεαυτοῦ μόνον ὡς καὶ
δικαιότατον προσκόπει. οὕτω μὲν γὰρ οὔτε τι πείσῃ κακὸν καὶ πάντων τῶν
ἡδίστων ἀπολαύσεις, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τιμηθῇς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἂν τ’ ἐθέλωσιν
ἂν τε καὶ [7] μή: ἐκείνως δὲ ἔργῳ μὲν οὐδὲν ὀνήσει, λόγῳ δὲ δὴ δόξαν
κενὴν λαβὼν οὔτε τι πλεον ἔξεις καὶ ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ἀκλεῶς τελευτήσεις.
οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ἐκὼν ἄρχεται, ἀλλ’ ἐφ’ ὅσον μὲν φοβεῖται, θεραπεύει
τὸν ἰσχυρότερον, ὅταν δὲ δὴ θαρσῇ, τιμωρεῖται τὸν ἀσθενέστερον.’ [8]
Γάιος μὲν ταῦτα τ’ εἰπὼν καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀσεβείας ἐγκλήματα ἐπαναγαγὼν, ἔς τε
στήλην αὐτὰ χαλκῇν εὐθὺς ἐγγραφῆναι ἐκέλευσε, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου
σπουδῇ ἐξεπήδησεν, ἔς τε τὸ προάστειον αὐθημερὸν ἐξώρμησεν: ἡ δὲ δὴ
γερουσία καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐν δέει μεγάλῳ ἐγένοντο, τῶν τε κακηγοριῶν ἅμα αἷς
κατὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου πολλάκις ἐπεποιήντο ἀναμιμνησκόμενοι, καὶ οἷα ἀνθ’
οἷων ἡκηκόεσαν αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ἐκλογιζόμενοι. [9] καὶ τότε μὲν ὑπὸ τε τῆς
ἐκπλήξεως καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀθυμίας οὔτε φθέγγασθαι οὔτε τι χρηματίσαι
ἠδυνήθησαν: τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ αὐθις ἀθροισθέντες ἐπαίνους τε αὐτοῦ πολλοὺς
ὡς καὶ ἀληθεστάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ὄντος ἐποίησαντο, χάριν οἱ μεγάλην
ἔχοντες ὅτι μὴ προσαπώλοντο: [10] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῇ φιланθρωπία αὐτοῦ
βουθυτεῖν κατ’ ἔτος ἐν τε ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ [p. 310] ἐν ᾗ ταῦτα ἀνεγνώκει καὶ

ἐν ταῖς τῷ παλατίῳ προσηκούσαις, εἰκόνας τε αὐτοῦ χρυσεῖς ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀναγομένης καὶ ὕμνων ἐπ’ αὐτῇ διὰ τῶν εὐγενεστάτων παιδῶν ᾄδομένων, ἔψηφισαντο. ^[11] τὰ τε ἐπινίκια τὰ σμικρότερα ὡς καὶ πολεμίους τινὰς νενικηκότι πέμψαι αὐτῷ ἔδωκαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν τότε ταῦτ’ ἔγνωσαν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο κατὰ πᾶσαν ὡς εἵπεῖν ἀφορμὴν πάντως τι αὐτῷ 17. προσετίθεσαν: Γάιος δὲ ἐκείνης μὲν τῆς πομπῆς οὐδὲν προετίμησεν ‘οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ μέγα τι ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι ἵππῳ δι’ ἡπείρου διελάσαι, διὰ δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης τρόπον τινὰ διηππεῦσαι ἐπεθύμησε, γεφυρώσας τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν τε Πουτεόλων καὶ τῶν Βαύλων. τὸ γὰρ χωρίον τοῦτο κατ’ ἀντιπέραν τῆς πόλεως ^[2] ἐστὶ, διέχον αὐτῆς σταδίους ἕξ καὶ εἴκοσι, πλοῖα δὲ ἐς τὴν γέφυραν τὰ μὲν ἡθροίσθη τὰ δὲ καὶ κατεσκευάσθη: οὐ γὰρ ἐξήρκεσε τὰ συλλεγῆναι δυνηθέντα ὡς ἐν βραχυτάτῳ, καίτοι πάντα ὅσα ἐνεδέχετο συναχθέντα, ἀφ’ οὗπερ καὶ λιμὸς ἔν τε τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ μάλιστα ἰσχυρὸς ^[3] ἐγένετο. ἐξεύχθη δὲ οὐχ ἀπλῶς διοδὸς τις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνάπαυλαι ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ καταλύσεις, ὥστε καὶ ὕδωρ αὐτὰς πότιμον ἐπίρρυτον ἔχειν, ἐποiehthσαν. ἐπειδὴ τε ἔτοιμα ἦν, τὸν τε θώρακα τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὡς γε ἔλεγε, καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ χλαμύδα σηρικὴν ἀλουργῇ, πολὺ μὲν χρυσίον πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ λίθους Ἰνδικοὺς ἔχουσιν, ἐπενέδου, ξίφος τε ^[p. 312] παρεζώσατο καὶ ἀσπίδα ἔλαβε καὶ δρυῖ ἐστεφανώσατο, ^[4] κάκ τοῦτου τῷ τε Ποσειδῶνι καὶ ἄλλοις πιστὶ θεοῖς Φθόνῳ τε θύσας, μὴ καὶ βασκανία τις αὐτῷ, ὡς ἔφασκε, γένηται, ἔς τε τὸ ζευγμα ἀπὸ τῶν Βαύλων ἐσέβαλε, παμπληθεῖς καὶ ἱππέας καὶ πεζοὺς ὡπλισμένους ἐπαγόμενος, καὶ σπουδῇ καθάπερ ἐπὶ πολεμίους τινὰς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ^[5] ἐσέπεσε. κάνταῦθα τῆς ὑστεραίας ἀναπαυσάμενος ὥπερ ἐκ μάχης, ἀνεκομίσθη διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς γεφύρας ἐφ’ ἄρματος, χιτῶνα χρυσόπαστον ἐνδύς: ἦγον δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ ἀθληταὶ ἵπποι οἱ ἀξιονικότατοι. καὶ ἄλλα τε αὐτῷ πολλὰ ὡς καὶ λάφυρα συνηκολούθησε, καὶ Δαρεῖος ἀνὴρ Ἀρσακίδης, ἐν τοῖς ^[6] ὁμηρεύουσι τότε τῶν Πάρθων ὢν: οἱ τε φίλοι καὶ οἱ ἐταῖροι αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ ὀχημάτων ἐν ἐσθῇσιν ἀνθιναῖς ἐφείποντο, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς καὶ ὁ γε λοιπὸς ὄμιλος, ἰδίως πως ἕκαστοι κεκοσμημένοι. καὶ ἔδει γὰρ αὐτόν, οἷα ἐν τε στρατιᾷ τοιαύτῃ καὶ ἐπὶ νίκῃ τηλικαύτῃ, καὶ δημηγορῆσαι τι, ἀνέβη τε ἐπὶ βῆμα ἐπὶ πλοίων καὶ αὐτὸ κατὰ ^[7] μέσην που τὴν γέφυραν πεποιημένον, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἑαυτὸν ὡς καὶ μεγάλων τινῶν ἔργων ἐπιχειρητὴν ἀπεσέμνυνεν, ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὡς καὶ πεποννηκότας καὶ κεκινδυνευκότας ἐπήγγεσεν, ἄλλα τε καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἰπὼν, ὅτι πεζῇ διὰ τῆς ^[8] θαλάσσης διέδραμον. καὶ χρήματά τε διὰ τοῦτ’ αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸς τε ἐπὶ τῆς γεφύρας, ὥπερ ἐν νήσῳ τινί, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐν ἑτέροις πλοίοις περιορμούντες, τὸ τε λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν εἰσιτιάθησαν, πολλοῦ μὲν αὐτόθεν φωτὸς πολλοῦ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν ^[p. 314] ^[9] ἐπιλάμπαντος σφίσι. τοῦ γὰρ χωρίου μηναιοδοῦς ὄντος πῦρ πανταχόθεν, καθάπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ τινί, ἐδείχθη, ὥστε μηδεμίαν αἴσθησιν τοῦ σκοτόους γενέσθαι: καὶ γὰρ τὴν νύκτα ἡμέραν, ὥπερ που τὴν θάλασσαν γῆν, ποιῆσαι ἠθέλησεν. ἐμπλησθεῖς δὲ δὴ καὶ ὑπερκορῆς καὶ σίτου καὶ μέθης γενόμενος συχνοὺς μὲν τῶν ἐταίρων ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ^[10] ἀπὸ τῆς γεφύρας ἔρριψε, συχνοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν πλοίοις ἐμβόλους ἔχουσι

περιπλεύσας κατέδυσεν, ὥστε καὶ ἀπολέσθαι τινάς· οἱ γὰρ πλείους καίπερ μεθύοντες ἐσώθησαν. αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι καὶ λειοτάτη καὶ στασιμωτάτη ἡ θάλασσα, καὶ ἐν ᾧ ἡ γέφυρα ἐξεύχθη καὶ ἐν ᾧ τὰ ἄλλα^[11] ἐποiehthē, ἐγένετο. καὶ τι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτου ὠγκωθη, λέγων ὅτι καὶ ὁ Ποσειδῶν αὐτὸν ἐφοβήθη, ἐπεὶ ἔς γε τὸν Δαρεῖον καὶ τὸν Ξέρην οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ ἀπέσκωπτεν, ὡς καὶ πολλαπλάσιόν σφων μέτρον τῆς θαλάσσης ζεύξας. 18. τῆς μὲν δὴ γεφύρας ἐκείνης τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο, καὶ αἰτίαν καὶ αὐτὴ θανάτου πολλοῖς παρέσχεν· ἐξαναλωθεὶς γὰρ ἐς αὐτὴν πολλῶν πλείοσι διὰ τὰς οὐσίας ἐπεβούλευσεν. ἐδίκασε^[2] δὲ καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ μετὰ πάσης τῆς γερουσίας, καὶ τινα καὶ ἐκείνη καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἔκρινεν· οὐ μέντοι καὶ αὐτοτελὴς ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐφέσιμοι δίκαι ἀπ' αὐτῆς συχναὶ ἐγίνοντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν τῇ βουλῇ δόξαντα ἄλλως ἐφανερῶτο, τῶν δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαίου καταψηφισθέντων τὰ ὀνόματα ἐξετίθετο, ὥσπερ^[3] φοβουμένου αὐτοῦ μὴ διαλάβωσι. καὶ οὗτοί τε ἐκολάζοντο, οἱ μὲν ἐν τῷ δεσμοπηριῷ οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου κατακρημνιζόμενοι, καὶ ἕτεροι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς προαπεκτίνυνσαν. οὐδὲ γὰρ^[p. 316] οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐξελαυνομένοις ἀσφάλεια ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκείνων πολλοὶ ἦτοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἢ καὶ ἐν τῇ φυγῇ διεφθείροντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν δεῖ λειπτολογοῦντα μάτην τοὺς ἀναγνωσομένους^[4] διοχλεῖν· Καλονίσιος δὲ δὴ Σαβῖνος ἔν τε τοῖς πρώτοις τῆς βουλῆς ὣν καὶ τότε ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῇ Παννονίᾳ ἀρχῆς ἀφιγμένος, ἢ τε γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Κορνηλία γραφέντες 'καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνη ὡς φυλακάς τε ἐφοδεύσασα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀσκοῦντας ἰδοῦσα αἰτίαν ἔσχεν' οὐχ ὑπέμειναν τὴν κρίσιν,^[5] ἀλλ' ἑαυτοὺς προανάλωσαν. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ Τίτιος Ροῦφος ἐποίησεν, ἔγκλημα λαβὼν εἰρηκέναι ὅτι ἡ γερουσία ἄλλα μὲν φρονεῖ ἄλλα δ' ἀποφαίνεται. Ἰουνίος τέ τις Πρίσκος στρατηγὸς ἡτιάθη μὲν ἐπ' ἄλλοις τισίν, ἀπέθανε δὲ ὡς πλούσιος. καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ὁ Γάιος, μαθὼν ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄξιον τοῦ θανάτου ἐκέκτητο, θαυμαστὸν λόγον ἐφθέγγετο, εἰπὼν ὅτι 'ἡπάτησέ με καὶ μάτην ἀπώλετο· ζῆν γὰρ ἐδύνατο.' 19. ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τότε κριθεῖσι καὶ ὁ Ἄφρος ὁ Δομίτιος καὶ κινδύνῳ παραδόξῳ καὶ σωτηρίᾳ θαυμασιωτέρᾳ ἐχρήσατο. ἤχθετο μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλως ὁ Γάιος, ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου γυναικὸς τινος τῇ Ἀγριππίνῃ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ προσηκούσης^[2] κατηγορῆκει· ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ ἐκείνη συναντήσασά ποτε αὐτῷ, καὶ μαθοῦσα ὅτι ἐξέστη τῆς ὁδοῦ δι' αἰσχύνην, προσεκαλέσατό τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἔφη 'θάρσει, Δομίτιε· οὐ γὰρ σὺ μοι αἴτιος^[p. 318] εἶ, ἀλλ' Ἀγαμέμνων.' τότε δὲ ἐπειδὴ εἰκόνα τινὰ αὐτοῦ στήσας ἐπίγραμμα αὐτῇ ἐπέγραψε δηλῶν ὅτι ἔβδομον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἄγων^[3] δεῦτερον ὑπατεύει, ἡγανάκτησεν ὡς καὶ προφέροντός οἱ αὐτοῦ τὸ τε μειρακιῶδες καὶ τὸ παράνομον, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ τιμηθῆσεσθαι προσεδόκησεν, ἔς τε τὸ συνέδριον αὐτὸν ἐσήγαγε καὶ λόγον κατ' αὐτοῦ μακρὸν ἀνέγνω· ἄλλως τε γὰρ προέχειν ἀπάντων τῶν ῥητόρων ἡξίου, καὶ ἐκεῖνον δεινότατον εἰπεῖν εἰδὼς ὄντα^[4] ὑπερβαλεῖν ἐσπούδασε. πάντως τ' ἂν αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινεν, εἰ καὶ ἐφ' ὅποσονοῦν ἀντεπεφιλοτίμητο. νῦν δὲ ἀντείπε μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἀπελογήσατο οὐδὲν, θαυμάζειν δὲ δὴ καὶ καταπεπλήχθαι τὴν δεινότητα τοῦ Γαίου προσποιησάμενος, τὴν τε κατηγορίαν καθ' ἑν ἕκαστον ἐπiléγων, ὥσπερ^[5] τις ἀκροατὴς ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος ὢν, ἐπῆναι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ λόγος

αὐτῷ ἐδόθη, πρὸς ἀντιβολίαν καὶ ὀλοφυρμὸν ἐτράπετο, καὶ τέλος ἔς τε τὴν
 γῆν κατέπεσε καὶ χαμαὶ κείμενος ἰκέτευσεν ὥς καὶ τὸν ῥήτορα αὐτοῦ
 μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν Καίσαρα φοβούμενος. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνος, ὁρῶν τε ταῦτα καὶ
 ἀκούων, διεχύθη, πιστεύσας ὄντως τῇ τῶν λόγων [6] παρασκευῇ
 κεκρατηκέναι αὐτοῦ: καὶ διὰ τε τοῦτο καὶ διὰ Κάλλιστον τὸν ἀπελευθέρον,
 ὃν αὐτὸς τε ἐτίμα καὶ ὁ Δομίτιος ἐτεθεραπεύκει, ἐπαύσατο [p. 320]
 ὀργιζόμενος. καὶ τῷ γε Καλλίστῳ αἰτιασάμενῳ αὐτὸν ὕστερον ὅτι καὶ τὴν
 ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ κατηγορήσεν, ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι ‘οὐκ ἔδει με τοιοῦτον [7] λόγον
 ἀποκεκρῦφθαι.’ Δομίτιος μὲν δὴ καταγνωσθεὶς μηκέτι δεινὸς εἶναι λέγειν
 ἐσώθη: ὁ δὲ δὴ Σενέκας ὁ Ἀνναῖος ὁ Λούκιος, ὁ πάντας μὲν τοὺς καθ’
 ἑαυτὸν Ῥωμαίους πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλους σοφία ὑπεράρας, διεφθάρη παρ’
 ὀλίγον μῆτ’ ἀδικήσας τι μῆτε δόξας, ὅτι δίκην τινὰ ἐν [8] τῷ συνεδρίῳ
 παρόντος αὐτοῦ καλῶς εἶπε. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἀποθανεῖν κελεύσας ἀφῆκε,
 γυναικί τινι ὣν ἐχρήτο πιστεύσας ὅτι φθόρῃ τε ἔχοιτο κακῶς καὶ οὐκ ἔς
 μακρὰν τελευτήσοι. 20. τὸν δὲ Δομίτιον καὶ ὕπατον εὐθύς ἀπέδειξε, τοὺς
 τότε ἄρχοντας καταλύσας, ὅτι τε ἔς τὰ γενέθλια αὐτοῦ ἱερομηνίαν οὐκ
 ἐπήγγειλαν, καίτοι τῶν στρατηγῶν ἵπποδρομίαν ἐν αὐτοῖς ποιησάντων καὶ
 θηρία ἀποκτεινάντων, ὅπερ πού καθ’ ἕκαστον ἔτος ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ ταῖς
 τοῦ Αὐγούστου νίκαις ἅς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐνενικήκει [2] ἐορτήν, ὥσπερ
 εἴθιστο, ἦγαγον. ἵνα γὰρ συκοφαντήσῃ αὐτούς, τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ
 Αὐγούστου ἀπόγονος δοκεῖν εἶναι ἠθέλησε: καὶ προεἶπε γε οἷς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα
 ἀνεκοίνου, ὅτι πάντως ὁπότερον ἂν τι ποιήσωσιν ἀμαρτήσουσιν, ἂν τε ἐπὶ
 τῇ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου συμφορᾷ βουθυτήσωσιν, ἂν τε ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Αὐγούστου νίκῃ
 ἄθυτοι [p. 322] [3] γένωνται. ἐκείνους μὲν δὴ διὰ ταῦτα αὐθημερόν τῆς ἀρχῆς
 ἔπαυσε, τὰς ῥάβδους σφῶν προσυντρίψας, ἐφ’ ᾧ δὴ ὁ ἕτερος αὐτῶν
 ἀδημονήσας ἑαυτὸν ἐσφαξε: τὸν δὲ δὴ Δομίτιον τὸν συνάρχοντα αὐτοῦ
 λόγῳ μὲν ὁ δῆμος ἔργῳ δ’ αὐτὸς εἶλετο. ἀπέδωκε μὲν γὰρ τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας
 αὐτοῖς: [4] ἅτε δὲ ἐκείνων τε ἀργότερων ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλῷ χρόνῳ μηδὲν
 ἐλευθέρως κεχρηματικέναι ἐς τὸ δρᾶν τι τῶν προσηκόντων σφίσιν ὄντων,
 καὶ τῶν σπουδαρχιώντων μάλιστα μὲν μὴ πλειόνων ἢ ὅσους αἰρεῖσθαι ἔδει
 ἐπαγγελλόντων, εἰ δέ ποτε καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀριθμὸν γένοιντο, διομολογουμένων
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τὸ μὲν σχῆμα τῆς δημοκρατίας ἐσώζετο, ἔργον δ’ οὐδὲν
 αὐτῆς ἐγίγνετο. [5] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ αὐθις τοῦ Γαίου κατελύθησαν.
 κάκ τούτου τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου καθίστατο,
 στρατηγοὶ δὲ τοτὲ μὲν πεντεκαίδεκα, ἔστι δ’ ὅτε ἐνὶ πλείους ἢ καὶ ἐλάττους,
 ὥς πού καὶ ἔτυχον, ἦρουντο. [6] περὶ μὲν οὖν τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας ταῦτ’
 ἔπραξεν, οὕτω δὲ δὴ τὸ σύμπαν καὶ βάσκανος καὶ ὑποπτος πρὸς πάντα
 ὁμοίως ἦν ὥστε καὶ Καρρίναν Σεκοῦνδον ῥήτορα φυγαδεῦσαι ποτε, ὅτι
 λόγον [7] τινὰ ἐν γυμνασίᾳ κατὰ τυράννων εἶπεν. ἐπειδὴ τε Λούκιος Πίσων ὁ
 τῆς τε Πλαγκίνης καὶ τοῦ Γναίου Πίσωνος υἱὸς ἄρξει τῆς Ἀφρικῆς ἔτυχεν,
 ἐφοβήθη μὴ νεωτερίσῃ τι ὑπὸ μεγαλαυχίας, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι δύναμιν
 πολλὴν καὶ πολιτικὴν καὶ ξενικὴν ἔξειν ἔμελλε, καὶ διχα τὸ ἔθνος νείμας
 ἐτέρῳ τὸ τε στρατιωτικὸν καὶ τοὺς Νομάδας [p. 324] τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸ
 προσέταξε: καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ δεῦρο τοῦτο γίγνεται. 21. καὶ ἤδη γὰρ τὰ τε

ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰταλίᾳ χρήματα πάντα ὡς εἰπεῖν, ὅθεν τι καὶ ὁπωσοῦν οἶόν τε ἦν αὐτῷ λαβεῖν, ἀναλῶκει, καὶ οὔτε ἐνταῦθα πόρος τις ἀξιοχρεως ἢ καὶ δυνατὸς εὐρίσκετο, καὶ αἱ δαπάναι ὑπερήπειγον ^[2] αὐτόν, ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν ἀφώρμησε, πρόφασιν μὲν τοὺς Κελτοὺς τοὺς πολεμίους ὡς καὶ παρακινουῦντάς τι ποιησάμενος, ἔργῳ δὲ ὅπως καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων ἀνθοῦντα τοῖς πλούτοις καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἰβήρων ἐκχρηματίσῃται. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἄντικρυς τὴν ἔξοδον προεπήγγειλεν, ἀλλ' ἐς προάστειόν τι ἐλθὼν εἴτ' ἐξαίφνης ἀπῆρε, πολλοὺς μὲν ὀρχηστὰς πολλοὺς δὲ μονομάχους ἵππους γυναικάς τὴν ^[3] ἄλλην τρυφὴν ἐπαγόμενος. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐκεῖσε τῶν μὲν πολέμιων οὐδένα ἐκάκωσεν ἐϋθύς τε γὰρ ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ῥήνου προχωρήσας ὑπέστρεψε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὀρμήσας ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν στρατεύσων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ ἀνεκομίσθη, καὶ τοῖς ὑποστρατήγοις τοῖς κατορθοῦσι τι πάνυ ἤχθετό, τοὺς δ' ὑπηκόους τοὺς τε συμμάχους καὶ τοὺς πολίτας πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα ἐκακούργησε. ^[4] τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τοὺς τι ἔχοντας ἐπὶ πάσῃ προφάσει ἐσύλα, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ δῶρα οἷ τε ἰδιῶται καὶ αἱ πόλεις ἐκοῦσαι δῆθεν μεγάλα αὐτῷ ἦγον. ἄλλους ὡς νεωτερίζοντας, ἄλλους ὡς ἐπιβουλευόντας οἱ ἐφόνευε: καὶ ἦν δημόσιον ἔγκλημα ^[5] πᾶσι σφισι τὸ πλουτεῖν. καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ κτήματα ^[p. 326] αὐτὸς πιπράσκων πολλῶ καὶ ἐκ τούτου πλείῳ ἡργυρολόγει: πάντες γὰρ ἠναγκάζοντο παντοίως τε καὶ πολὺ γε ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν ὠνεῖσθαι, δι' ἃ εἴρηκα. ἀφ' οὗπερ καὶ τὰ τῆς μοναρχίας κειμήλια τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ τιμιώτατα μεταπεμφάμενος ἀπεκήρυξε, τὴν δόξαν τῶν ποτε χρῆσασμένων ^[6] αὐτοῖς συμπωλῶν σφισιν. ἐπέλεγε γοῦν ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ 'τοῦτό μου ὁ πατήρ ἐκτήσατο, τοῦτο ἡ μήτηρ, τοῦτο ὁ ἀπάππος, τοῦτο ὁ πρόπαππος: Ἀντωνίου τοῦτο Αἰγύπτιον, Αὐγουστοῦ τὸ νικητήριον.' κἀν τούτῳ τὴν τε ἀνάγκην ἅμα τῆς πράσεως αὐτῶν ἐνεδείκνυτο, ὥστε μηδένα ὑπομένειν ἀπορεῖν δοκεῖν, καὶ τὸ ἀξιώμα σφισι συναπεδίδοδο. 22. οὐ μέντοι καὶ περιποιεῖτό τι, ἀλλ' ἐς τε τᾶλλα ἐδαπάνα ὥσπερ εἰώθει 'καὶ γὰρ θεὰς τινὰς ἐν τῷ Λουγδούνῳ ἐπετέλεσέ, καὶ ἐς τὰ στρατεύματα: εἴκοσι γὰρ, ὡς δὲ τινὲς φασι, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ^[2] μυριάδας στρατιωτῶν ἤθροισε. καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπτάκις αὐτοκράτωρ, ὡς που καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ, μήτε μάχην τινὰ νικήσας μήτε πολέμιόν τινα ἀποκτείνας ἐπωνομάσθη. ἐκείνων μὲν γὰρ ὀλίγους ποτὲ ἀπάτῃ τινὶ συλλαβῶν ἔδησε, τοῦ δὲ δὴ οἰκείου πολὺ μέρος ἀνάλωσε, τοὺς μὲν καθ' ἐκάστους κατακόπτων, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀθρόους ἅμα ^[3] πάντας φονεύσας. ἰδὼν γὰρ ποτε ὄχλον εἶτε δεσμωτῶν εἶτε καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν, προσέταξε τοῦτο δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον, ἀπὸ τοῦ φαλακροῦ μέχρι τοῦ ^[p. 328] φαλακροῦ πάντας αὐτοὺς σφαγῆναι. κυβεύων δὲ ποτε, καὶ μαθὼν ὅτι οὐκ εἴη οἱ ἀργύριον, ἤτησέ τε τὰς τῶν Γαλατῶν ἀπογραφάς, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ^[4] τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους θανατωθῆναι κελεύσας, ἐπανῆλθέ τε πρὸς τοὺς συγκυβευτὰς καὶ ἔφη ὅτι 'ὕμεῖς περὶ ὀλίγων δραχμῶν ἀγωνίζεσθε, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐς μυρίας καὶ πεντακισχιλίας μυριάδας ἤθροισα.' καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἀπώλοντο: ἀμέλει εἰς τις αὐτῶν Ἰούλιος Σακερδῶς ἄλλως μὲν εὖ χρημάτων ἦκων, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὑπερπλουτῶν ὥστε καὶ ἐπιβουλευθῆναι δι' αὐτά, ὅμως ἐξ ἐπωνυμίας ^[5] ἀπεσφάγη: οὕτως ἀκρίτως πάντα ἐγίγνετο. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς οὐδὲν δέομαι ὀνομαστί καταλέγειν, ὧν δὲ δὴ ἡ

ἱστορία τὴν μνήμην ἀπαιτεῖ, φράσω. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Γαιτουλικὸν Λέντουλον, τὰ τε ἄλλα εὐδόκιμον ὄντα καὶ τῆς Γερμανίας δέκα ἔτεσιν ἄρξαντα, ἀπέκτεινεν, ὅτι [6] τοῖς στρατιώταις ὠκείωτο: τοῦτο δὲ τὸν Λέπιδον ἐκείνον τὸν ἔραστον τὸν ἐρώμενον, τὸν τῆς Δρουσίλλης ἄνδρα, τὸν καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις αὐτοῦ ἀδελφαῖς τῇ τε Ἀγριππίνῃ καὶ τῇ Ἰουλίᾳ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου συνόντα, ὃς πέντε ἔτεσι θάσσον τὰς ἀρχὰς [7] παρὰ τοὺς νόμους αἰτῆσαι ἐπέτρεψεν, ὃν καὶ διάδοχον τῆς ἡγεμονίας καταλείπειν ἐπηγγέλλετο, κατεφόνευσεν. καὶ τοῖς τε στρατιώταις ἀργύριον ἐπὶ τούτῳ, καθάπερ πολεμίων τινῶν κεκρατηκώς, ἔδωκε, καὶ ξιφίδια τρία τῷ Ἄρει τῷ Τιμωρῷ ἕς [8] τὴν Ῥώμην ἔπεμψε. τὰς τε ἀδελφὰς ἐπὶ τῇ συνουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἕς τὰς Ποντίας νήσους κατέθετο, [p. 330] πολλὰ περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀσεβῆ καὶ ἀσελγῆ τῷ συνεδρίῳ γράφας: καὶ τῇ γε Ἀγριππίνῃ τὰ ὁστ' αὐτοῦ ἐν ὕδρῳ ἔδωκε, κελεύσας οἱ ἐν τοῖς κόλποις αὐτὴν διὰ πάσης τῆς 100 ὁδοῦ ἔχουσιν ἕς τὴν Ῥώμην [9] ἀνενεγκεῖν. ἐπειδὴ τε συχνὰ αὐταῖς δι' ἐκείνον δῆλον ὅτι προεψήφιστο, 101 ἀπηγόρευσε μηδενὶ τῶν συγγενῶν αὐτοῦ μηδεμίαν τιμὴν διδοσθαι. 23. τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτα, ὡς καὶ μεγάλην τινὰ ἐπιβουλὴν διαπεφευγώς, ἐπέστειλε: πάνυ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἄλλως προσεποιεῖτο ἐν δεινοῖς τε εἶναι καὶ [2] ταλαιπώρως διαγίνειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ μαθόντες αὐτὰ οἱ βουλευταὶ ἄλλα τέ τινα αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια τὰ σμικρότερα ἐψηφίσαντο, πρέσβεις τε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἄλλους κλήρω καὶ τὸν Κλαύδιον αἰρετὸν ἔπεμψαν, τοῦτο τε ἐδυσχέραναν, ὥστε καὶ αὐθις ἀπειπεῖν μήτε ἐπαίνου τι μήτε τιμῆς ἐχόμενον τοῖς συγγενέσιν αὐτοῦ γίνεσθαι, καὶ ὅτι μὴ κατ' ἀξίαν [3] τετιμῆσθαι ἐδόκει. 102 πάντα τε γὰρ αἰεὶ τὰ διδόμενα αὐτῷ παρ' οὐδὲν ἐτίθετο, καὶ ἦχθετο μὲν εἰ μικρά τινα ψηφισθεῖν, ὡς καταφρονούμενος, ἦχθετο δὲ καὶ εἰ μείζω, ὡς καὶ τῆς τῶν λοιπῶν ἐξουσίας ἀφαιρούμενος. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐβούλετο δοκεῖν τι τῶν τιμῶν τινα αὐτῷ φερόντων ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ κρείττοσιν αὐτοῦ οὖσι καὶ χαρίσασθαι οἱ 103 ὡς καὶ ἡττονὶ σφῶν τι δυναμένοις [4] εἶναι: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλάκις τινὰ οὐχ ὡς καὶ αὐξήσιν τῆς λαμπρότητος ἀλλ' ὡς καθαιρεσιν τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτῷ φέροντα διέβαλλε. καὶ μέντοι [p. 332] καὶ 104 ταῦθ' οὕτω φρονῶν ὠργίζετο αὐτοῖς, εἴ ποτε ἐλάττω σφῶς τῆς ἀξίας ἐψηφίσθαι οἱ ἔδοξεν. οὕτω που ἔμπληκτος ἦν, καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτοῦ ῥαδίως [5] τυχεῖν ἐδύνατο. ἐκείνους μὲν οὖν τοὺς πρέσβεις διὰ ταῦθ' ὡς καὶ κατασκόπους ὑπιδόμενος, οὐτε πάντα προσεδέξατο, ἀλλ' ὀλίγους ἐπιλεξάμενος τοὺς λοιπούς, πρὶν ἕς τὴν Γαλατίαν ἐλθεῖν, ἀπεπέμψατο, οὐθ' οὕς γε προσήκατο σεμνοῦ τινος ἡξίωσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Κλαύδιον ἀπέκτεινεν ἄν, εἰ μὴ κατεφρόνησεν αὐτοῦ τὰ μὲν τῇ φύσει τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ προνοίας πολλὴν νωθεῖαν προσποιουμένου. [6] ἑτέρους δὲ αὐθις πλείους τε πεμφθέντας ἑλθόντες γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὴν ὀλιγότητα τῶν προτέρων ἡτιᾶτό καὶ πολλὰ τινα 105 ἐψηφίσθαι οἱ ἀγγέλλοντας ἡδέως ὑπεδέξατο, καὶ προαπήντησέ τε αὐτοῖς, ὅς ὦν καὶ αὐτῶν αὐθις ἐτιμήθη. [7] καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο: τότε δὲ ἐκβαλὼν τὴν Παυλίαν, προφάσει μὲν ὡς μὴ τίκτουσαν, τὸ δ' ἀληθές ὅτι διακορῆς αὐτῆς ἐγεγόνει, Μιλωνίαν Καίσιωνίαν ἔγημεν, ἣν πρότερον μὲν ἐμοίχευε, τότε δὲ καὶ γαμετὴν ποιήσασθαι ἠθέλησεν, ἐπειδὴ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔσχεν, ἵν' αὐτῷ παιδίον [8] τριακονθήμερον τέκη. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐταράττοντο μὲν καὶ ἐκ τούτων,

ἐταράττοντο δὲ καὶ ὅτι δίκαι σφίσιν ἐπὶ τε τῇ πρὸς τὰς ἀδελφὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πρὸς τοὺς πεφονευμένους φιλῖα πολλαὶ ἐπήγοντο, ὥς καὶ ἀγορανόμους στρατηγούς τε τινὰς ἀναγκασθῆναι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπειπόντας [9] κριθῆναι. κὰν τούτῳ καὶ ὑπὸ καυμάτων ἐταλαιπώρησαν: τοσαύτη γὰρ ὑπερβολὴ αὐτῶν ἐγένετο [p. 334] ὥστε καὶ παραπετάσματα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὑπερταθῆναι. ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τότε φεύγουσι καὶ ὁ Τιγελλῖνος ὁ Ὀφώνιος, 106 ὥς καὶ τὴν Ἀγριππῖναν μεμοιχευκῶς, ἐξέπεσεν. 24. οὐ μέντοι ταῦθ' οὕτως αὐτοὺς ἐλύπει ὥς τὸ προσδοκᾶν ἐπὶ πλεῖον τὴν τε ὠμότητα τὴν τοῦ Γαίου καὶ τὴν ἀσέλγειαν αὐξήσιν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι ἐπυνθάνοντο τὸν τε Ἀγρίππαν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον τοὺς βασιλέας ὥσπερ τινὰς τυραννοδιδασκάλους [2] συνεῖναι. καὶ διὰ ταῦθ' ὑπατεύνοντος αὐτοῦ τὸ τρίτον οὐδεὶς οὔτε τῶν δημάρχων οὔτε τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀθροῖσαι τὴν γερουσίαν ἐτόλμησε: συνάρχοντα γάρ, οὔτι 107 καὶ ἐπιτηδεύσας, ὥσπερ οἶονταί τινες, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν προαποδεδειγμένου τελευτήσαντος, ἐτέρου δὲ μηδενὸς δι' ὀλίγου οὕτως ἐν τῇ ἐκδημίᾳ 108 αὐτοῦ ἀντικαταστῆναι [3] δυνηθέντος, οὐδένα ἔσχε. καὶ ἔδει μὲν πού τοὺς στρατηγούς, οἷς τὰ τῶν ὑπάτων ἔργα ὁπόταν ἀποδημήσωσι μέλει, πάντα αὐτὰ ἐπιτετελεκέναι: ὅπως δὲ δὴ μὴ καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος δόξωσι τι πεποιηκέναι, οὐδὲν τῶν καθηκόντων ἔπραξαν, 109 [4] ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀθρόοι οἱ βουλευταὶ ἀναβάντες τὰς τε θυσίας ἔθυσαν καὶ τὸν τοῦ Γαίου δίφρον τὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ κείμενον προσεκύνησαν, καὶ ἔτι καὶ ἀργύριον κατὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἔθος ἰσχῦσαν, ὥς καὶ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ διδόντες, κατέθεσαν. [5] καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ τῷ ἐξῆς ἔτει ὁμοίως ἐγένετο, τότε δὲ συνῆλθον μὲν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς τὸ συνέδριον μηδενὸς σφας ἀθροίσαντος, ἔπραξαν [p. 336] δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ὄλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τε τοῖς ἐπαίνοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ εὐχαῖς κατέτριψαν: [6] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὗτ' ἐφίλουν αὐτὸν οὔτε σώζεσθαι ἐβούλοντο, ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀμφότερα, ὥς καὶ τὸ συνειδὸς σφων διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ λυγασόμενοι, προσεποιήσαντο. καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τὰς εὐχὰς ἐχούσῃ συνῆλθον μὲν, πάντων τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐκ κοινοῦ προγράμματος τὴν σύνδοδόν σφισιν ἐπαγγειλάντων, ἐχρημάτισαν δὲ οὔτε τότε οὔτε αὖθις οὐδέν, μέχρις οὗ ὁ Γάιος δωδεκάτῃ [7] ἡμέρᾳ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπειπὼν ἠγγέλθη. τότε γὰρ παραλαβόντες αὐτὴν οἱ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα κεχειροτονημένοι διώκουν τὰ προσήκοντα σφίσι, καὶ ἐψηφίσθη ἄλλα τε καὶ ἵνα τοῖς τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ τοῖς τῆς Δρουσίλλης γενεαῖσι τὰ αὐτὰ ἅπερ καὶ τοῖς τοῦ Αὐγούστου γίγνηται. καὶ τινὰ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ὀρχήστρας ἄνδρες πανήγυριν τε ἐπετέλεσαν καὶ θέαν παρέσχοντο, καὶ 110 εἰκόνα τοῦ τε Γαίου καὶ τῆς Δρουσίλλης στήσαντες ὠσίωσαν. [8] ταῦτα δὲ ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς πού τῆς τοῦ Γαίου ἐπράχθη: καὶ γὰρ τᾶλλα ὅσα χρηματίζεσθαι ἐβούλετο, ὀλίγα μὲν πᾶσι τοῖς βουλευταῖς, τὰ δὲ δὴ πλείω τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἔγραφε, 111 καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἔστιν ὅτε ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἀναγιγνώσκεσθαι ἐκέλευε. 25. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔπραττον, Γάιος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὸν τε Πτολεμαῖον τὸν τοῦ Ἰούβα παῖδα μεταπέμψας, καὶ μαθὼν ὅτι πλουτεῖ, ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ ... 112 [p. 338] 113 ἐς δὲ τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἐλθὼν ὥς καὶ ἐν τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ στρατεύσων, καὶ πάντας τοὺς στρατιώτας [2] ἐν τῇ ἡῶνι παρατάξας, τριήρους τε ἐπέβη καὶ ὀλίγον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀπάρας ἀνέπλευσε,

καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ βήματος ὑψηλοῦ ἰζήσας καὶ σύνθημα τοῖς στρατιώταις
ὡς ἐς μάχην δούς, τοῖς τε σαλπικταῖς 114 ἐξοτρύνας αὐτούς, εἶτ' 115
ἐξαίφνης ἐκέλευσε σφισι τὰ κογχύλια συλλέξασθαι. ^[3] λαβὼν τε τὰ σκῦλα
ταῦτα 'καὶ γὰρ λαφύρων δηλὸν ὅτι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐπινικίων πομπὴν ἐδεῖτό
μέγα τε ἐφρόνησεν ὡς καὶ τὸν ὠκεανὸν αὐτὸν δεδουλωμένος, καὶ τοῖς
στρατιώταις πολλὰ ἐδωρήσατο. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην τὰ κογχύλια
ἀνεκόμισεν, ἵνα καὶ ἐκείνοις ^[4] τὰ λάφυρα δεῖξη: ἡ δὲ βουλὴ οὐθ' ὅπως ἐπὶ
τούτοις ἡσυχάζοι εἶχεν, ὅτι μεγαλοφρονούμενον αὐτὸν ἐπυνθάνετο, οὐθ'
ὅπως αὐτὸν ἐπαινέσειεν: ἂν γὰρ τις ἐπὶ μηδεμιᾷ ἢ μικρᾷ τινι ἀνδραγαθίᾳ
ἦτοι ἐπαίνους μεγάλους ἢ καὶ τιμὰς ἐξαισίους ποιῆται, διαμωκᾶσθαι τε καὶ
διασιλλοῦν 116 αὐτῇν ^[5] ὑποπτεύεται. ὅμως ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὴν πόλιν τὴν μὲν
βουλὴν ὀλίγου ἐδέησεν ἀπολέσαι πᾶσαν, ὅτι μὴ τὰ ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον αὐτῷ
ἐψηφίσατο, 117 τὸν δὲ δῆμον ἀθροίσας πολὺ μὲν ἀργύριον ἐκ μετεώρου
τινὸς πολὺ δὲ χρυσίον ἔρριψε, καὶ πολλοὶ 118 ἀπώλοντο διαρπάζοντες:
σιδήρια γὰρ μικρὰ ἄττα ^[p. 340] αὐτοῖς, ὡς φασί τινες, ἀνεμέμικτο.” Χιρῆ. 166,
30-167, 22. “ ἐκ δὲ τῶν μοιχειῶν ὡς καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν Κελτικὴν καὶ
Βρεττανικὴν κεχειρωμένος, αὐτοκράτωρ τε πολλάκις καὶ Γερμανικὸς καὶ
Βρεττανικὸς ἐπεκλήθη.” Joann. Antioch. fr. M. (v. 30-33). “ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν
τρόπον βιοῦς πάντως ἐπιβουλευθήσεσθαι ἔμελλε. καὶ ἐφώρασε τὴν
ἐπιθεσιν, καὶ συλλαβὼν Ἀνίκιον 119 Κερεάλιον καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Σέξτον
Παπίνιον ἐβράσανισε: καὶ ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ἐξελάλησεν, ἀνέπεισε τὸν Παπίνιον,
σωτηρίαν αὐτῷ καὶ ἄδειαν ὑποσχόμενος, κατεπειν τινῶν ἢ ἀληθῶς 120 ἢ
ψευδῶς, καὶ ἐκεῖνον αὐτίκα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ
ἀπέκτεινεν.” Zon. 11, (p. 19, 12-19 D.). “ ^[6] Βετιλῖνον δὲ Βάσσον 121
ἀποσφαγῆναι κελεύσας, καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ Καπίωνα παρεῖναι
φονευομένῳ αὐτῷ κατηνάγκασε μὴτ' ἀδικοῦντά τι μὴτ' ἐσηγγελμένον.
πυθομένου τε αὐτοῦ εἰ μῦσαι γέ οἱ ἐπιτρέπει, προσέταξε καὶ ἐκεῖνον ^[7]
σφαγῆναι. χιπη. 167, 22-27. 122 ὁ δὲ κινδυνεύων προσεποιήσατο ἐκ τῶν
ἐπιβεβουλευκότων εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντας ἐκφῆναι ὑπέσχετο, καὶ
ὠνόμασε τοὺς τε ἑταίρους τοὺς τοῦ Γαίου καὶ τοὺς συνεργοὺς τῆς
ἀσελγείας καὶ τῆς ὠμότητος. ^[p. 342] καὶ πολλοὺς ἂν ἀπώλεσεν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς
ὑπάρχους καὶ τὸν Κάλλιστον καὶ τὴν Καισωνίαν προσδιαβαλὼν ἡπιστήθη.
καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπέθανεν, τῷ δὲ Γαίῳ τὸν ὀλεθρον αὐτὸ τοῦτο παρεσκεύασεν. ^[8]
ἰδία 123 γὰρ τοὺς ὑπάρχους τε καὶ τὸν Κάλλιστον προσκαλεσάμενος ‘εἷς
εἰμί’ ἔφη, ‘τρεῖς δὲ ὑμεῖς, καὶ γυνὸς μὲν ἐγώ, ὠπλισμένοι δ' ὑμεῖς: εἰ οὖν
μισεῖτέ με καὶ ἀποκτείνειν θέλετε, φονεύσατε.’ ἐξ ἐκείνου δὲ μισεῖσθαι
νομίσας καὶ ἄχθεσθαι τοῖςπραπτομένοις ἐκείνους, ὑπώπτευε σφας, καὶ ξίφος
κάν τῇ πόλει παρεζώννυτο, καὶ συνέβαλλεν αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις, ὅπως μὴ
συμφρονῶσι, 124 κατὰ μόνας ἐκάστω ὡς πιστοτάτῳ διαλεγόμενος περὶ τῶν
λοιπῶν, μέχρις οὗ συνέντες τὸ ἐπιχείρημα προήκαντο αὐτὸν τοῖς
ἐπιβουλεύουσιν.” Zon. 11,6 (p. 19, 22-20, D.). “ ^[9] ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς ἐκέλευσε τὴν
σύγκλητον συναχθῆναι, καὶ δῆθεν ἀμνηστίαν αὐτοῖς δέδωκεν, εἰπὼν
ὀλίγους πάνυ ἔχειν οἷς ἔτι ὠργίζετο. καὶ πᾶσι τούτοις 125 διπλῇν ἐδίδου τὴν
φροντίδα: ἕκαστος γὰρ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἐνενόει.” Petr. Patr. exc. “ ϜΑΡ. 'π. 205

μαί ~ π. 188, 3-7 δ. [p. 344] 26. ἦν 126 δὲ τις Πρωτογένης πρὸς πάντα αὐτῷ τὰ χαλεπώτατα ὑπηρετῶν, ὥστε καὶ βιβλία αἱ δὺο περιφέρειν καὶ αὐτῶν τὸ μὲν ξίφος τὸ δὲ [2] ἐγχειρίδιον ὀνομάζειν. οὗτος ἐσῆλθὲ ποτε ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ὡς καὶ κατ' ἄλλο τι, καὶ πάντων, οἷα εἰκός, προσειπόντων τε αὐτὸν καὶ δεξιουμένων δριμύ τέ τι Σκριβωνίῳ 127 Πρόκλῳ ἐνέϊδε καὶ ἔφη 'καὶ σὺ με ἀσπάζῃ, μισῶν οὕτω τὸν αὐτοκράτορα;' ἀκούσαντες δὲ τοῦτο οἱ παρόντες περιέσχον τε τὸν συμβουλευτὴν καὶ διέσπασαν." Χιρ. 167, 27-168, 4. "[3] ἡσθέντος τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ τοῦ Γαίου καὶ φήσαντος αὐτοῖς κατηλλάχθαι πανηγύρεις τέ τινας ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ ὅπως καὶ βήματι ὑψηλῷ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, ὥστε μηδὲνα ἐξικνεῖσθαι, καὶ φρουρᾷ στρατιωτικῇ καὶ 128 ἐκτὶ χρωτοῖ: καὶ τοὺς [4] ἀνδριάντας αὐτοῦ φρουρεῖσθαι ἐγνώσαν. ἐπ' οὖν τούτοις ὁ Γάιος τὴν ὀργὴν σφισιν ἀφῆκε καὶ χρηστά 129 τινα προσεναεινέυσατο: Πομπώνιον γὰρ ἐπιβουλευσάι λεχθέντα 130 οἱ ἀπέλυσεν, ἐπειδὴ ὑπὸ φίλου προεδόθη, 131 καὶ τὴν ἑταίραν αὐτοῦ, ὅτι βασανισθεῖσα οὐδὲν ἐξεῖπεν, οὔτε τι κακὸν ἔδρασε [5] καὶ προσέτι καὶ χρήμασιν ἐτίμησεν. ἐπαινούμενος οὖν διὰ ταῦτα τὰ μὲν φόβῳ τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπ' ἀληθείας, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἥρωα τῶν δὲ θεὸν αὐτὸν ἀνακαλοῦντων, δεινῶς 132 ἐξεφρόνησεν. ἡξίου μὲν [p. 346] γὰρ καὶ πρότερον ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον νομίζεσθαι, καὶ τῇ Σελήνῃ συγγίγνεσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Νίκης στεφανοῦσθαι ἔλεγε, 133 Ζεὺς τε εἶναι ἐπλάττετο, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ γυναιξὶν ἄλλαις τε πολλαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς μάλιστα συνεῖναι προεφασίσσατο, [6] καὶ Ποσειδῶν αὖθις, ὅτι τοσοῦτον θαλάσσης μέτρον ἔξευξε, τὸν τε Ἡρακλέα τὸν τε Διόνυσον τὸν τε Ἀπόλλω τούς τε ἄλλους, οὐχ ὅτι τοὺς ἄρρενας ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς θηλείας, ὑπεκρίνετο, "Ἡρα τε καὶ Ἄρτεμις καὶ Ἀφροδίτη πολλάκις ἐγίγνετο. πρὸς γὰρ δὴ τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων μετάρθεσιν καὶ τὸ ἄλλο σχῆμα πᾶν τὸ προσῆκόν σφισιν ἐλάμβανεν, [7] ὥστε εἰκέναι αὐτοῖς 134 δοκεῖν. τοτὲ 135 μὲν γὰρ θηλυδριώδης ἐωρᾶτο καὶ κρατῆρα καὶ θύρσον εἶχε, τοτὲ 136 δὲ ἄρρενωπός, καὶ ῥόπαλον καὶ λεοντήν ἢ καὶ κράνος ἀσπίδα τε ἐφόρει. λειογένειος αὖ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πωγωνίας ἐφαντάζετο, τριαίναν τε ἔστιν ὅτε ἐκράτει, καὶ κεραυνὸν αὖθις ἀνέτεινε. παρθένῳ τε κυνηγετικῇ ἢ καὶ πολεμικῇ ὁμοιοῦτο, [8] καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἐγυναίκιζεν. οὕτω που καὶ τῷ ῥυθμῷ τῆς στολῆς καὶ τοῖς προσθέτοις τοῖς τε περιθέτοις ἀκριβῶς ἐποικίλλετο, καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ ἄνθρωπος αὐτοκράτωρ τε δοκεῖν εἶναι ἤθελε. 137 καὶ ποτὲ τις ἀνὴρ Γαλάτης ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ βήματος ὑψηλοῦ ἐν Διὸς εἶδει χρηματίζοντα [9] ἐγέλασεν: ὁ δὲ Γάιος ἐκάλεσέ τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνῆρετο 'τί σοι δοκῶ εἶναι;' καὶ ὃς ἀπεκρίνατο 'ἐρῶ γὰρ [p. 348] αὐτὸ τὸ λεχθέν' ὅτι 'μέγα παραλήρημα.' καὶ οὐδὲν μέντοι δεινὸν ἔπαθε: σκυτοτόμος γὰρ ἦν. οὕτω που ῥᾶον τὰς τῶν τυχόντων ἢ τὰς τῶν ἐν ἀξιώσει τινὶ ὄντων παρρησίας οἱ τοιοῦτοι φέρουσι. [10] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὰ σχήματα, ὁπότε τις θεὸς ἐπλάττετο εἶναι, ἐλάμβανε, καὶ αὐτῷ 138 καὶ ἱκετεῖαι καὶ εὐχαὶ θυσίαι τε κατὰ τὸ πρόσφορον προσήγοντο: ἄλλως δὲ δὴ 139 ἐν τε τῇ σηρικῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ νικητηρίᾳ 27. σκευῇ ὡς πλήθει ἐδημοσίευσεν. 140 ἐφίλει τε ὀλιγίστους: 141 τοῖς γὰρ πλείστοις καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἢ τὴν χεῖρα ἢ τὸν πόδα προσκυνεῖν ὤρεγε, καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' οἱ φιληθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ χάριν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ

γερουσίᾳ ἐγίνωσκον, καίτοι τοὺς ὀρηχιστάς καθ' ^[2] ἡμέραν φιλοῦντι πάντων ὀρώντων. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι, ὅσα ὡς θεῷ αὐτῷ ἐγίγνετο, οὐχ ὅτι οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀεὶ τινα κολακεύειν εἰωθότες ἐποιοῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πάνυ δοκοῦντές τι εἶναι.” Xiph. 168, 4-169. 11, Exc. Val. 211 (p. 669 s#3.). “ ὁ δ' οὖν 142 Οὐιτέλλιος 143 ὁ Λούκιος οὗτ' ἀγεννῆς 144 οὗτ' ἄφρων ὢν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ἀρχῆς ὀνομαστος γενόμενος 'τα τε γὰρ ἄλλα ^[3] λαμπρῶς ἡγεμόνευσε, 145 καὶ τὸν Ἀρτάβανον καὶ ἐκείνη ἐπιβουλεύοντα, ἐπειδὴ μηδεμίαν τιμωρίαν ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ ἐδεδώκει, κατέπληξέ τε ἀπαντήσας αὐτῷ ἐξαπιναιῶς περὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἤδη ὄντι, καὶ ἔς τε λόγους αὐτὸν ὑπηγάγετο καὶ ^[p. 350] θῦσαι ταῖς τοῦ Αὐγουστου τοῦ τε Γαίου εἰκόσιν ἠνάγκασε, σπονδὰς τε αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων σύμφορον δοὺς καὶ προσέτι καὶ παῖδας αὐτοῦ ^[4] ὁμήρους λαβών — οὗτος οὖν ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος μετεπέμφθη μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαίου ὡς καὶ ἀπολούμενος 'ἐφ' οἷς γὰρ οἱ Πάρθοι τὸν βασιλέα σφῶν ἐξήλασαν, ἐπὶ τοῦτοις ἐκείνος αἰτίαν ἔσχε, μισηθεὶς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου καὶ ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου: τῷ τε γὰρ κρείττονι τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ὁ Γάιος ἤχθετο, καὶ τὸ εὖ φερόμενον ὡς καὶ ἐπιθυσόμενόν ^[5] οἱ ὑπώπτευν', ἐσώθη δὲ σχηματίσας πως ἑαυτὸν ὥστε καὶ ἐλάττων αὐτῷ τῆς δόξης φανῆναι, καὶ πρὸς τε τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ προσπεσὼν καὶ δάκρυσι κλαύσας, κὰν 146 τοῦτω καὶ θειάσας αὐτὸν πολλὰ καὶ προσκυνήσας, καὶ τέλος 147 εὐξάμενος, ^[6] ἂν περισωθῇ, θύσειν αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ. ἐκ γὰρ τούτων οὕτως αὐτὸν ἐπιθάσευσσε καὶ ἱλεώσατο ὥστε μὴ μόνον περιγενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πάνυ φίλοις αὐτοῦ νομισθῆναι. καὶ ποτε τοῦ Γαίου συγγίγνεσθαι τε τῇ Σελήνῃ λέγοντος, καὶ ἐρωτήσαντος αὐτὸν εἰ ὁρώῃ τὴν θεὸν συνοῦσαν αὐτῷ, κάτω τε ὡς καὶ 148 τεθηπῶς ἔβλεπεν ὑποτρέμων, καὶ σμικρὸν τι φθεγξάμενος 'ὑμῖν' ἔφη 'τοῖς θεοῖς, δέσποτα, μόνοις ἀλλήλους ὁρᾶν ἔξεστιν.' Οὐιτέλλιος μὲν οὖν ἐκείθεν ἀρξάμενος πάντας καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τοὺς ἄλλους 149 κολακεῖα ὑπερεβάλετο.” Xiph. 169, 11-170, 6, Exc. Val. 212 (p. 670). “ 28. Γάιος δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τῷ ἔθνει τέμενός τι ἑαυτῷ ἐν Μιλήτῳ τεμενίσαι ἐκέλευσε: ταύτην γὰρ τὴν ^[p. 352] πόλιν ἐπελέξατο, λόγῳ μὲν εἰπὼν ὅτι τὴν μὲν Ἐφεσον ἢ Ἀρτεμις τὴν δὲ Πέργαμον ὁ Αὐγουστος τὴν δὲ Σμύρναν ὁ Τιβέριος προκατειλήφασι, τὸ δὲ ἀληθές ὅτι τὸν νεῶν ὄν οἱ Μιλήσιοι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ μέγαν καὶ ὑπερκαλλῇ ἐποιοῦν ^[2] ἰδιώσασθαι ἐπεθύμησε. τότε δὲ ἐπὶ πλεον ἐξήχθη, ὥστε καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ ναὸν ἑαυτοῦ τὸν μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισθέντα τὸν δὲ ἰδίᾳ ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ, ποιήσασθαι. ἐτεκτίνετο μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ κατάλυσιν τινα, ἴν', ^[3] ὡς ἔλεγε, τῷ Διὶ συνοικίῃ: ἀπαξιώσας δὲ δὴ τὰ δευτερεῖα ἐν τῇ συνοικήσει αὐτοῦ φέρεσθαι, καὶ προσεγκαλέσας 150 οἱ 151 ὅτι τὸ Καπιτώλιον προκατέλαβεν, 152 οὕτω δὴ ἕτερόν τε 153 νεῶν ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ σπουδῇ ὠκοδομήσατο, 154 καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐς αὐτὸν ἠθέλησε τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου 155 ἐς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ^[4] εἶδος μεταρρυθμίσαι. 156 μὴ δυνηθεὶς δὲ 'τό τε γὰρ πλοῖον τὸ πρὸς τὴν κομιδὴν αὐτοῦ ναυπηγηθὲν ἑκραυνώθη, 157 καὶ γέλως, ὁσάκις τινὲς ὡς καὶ τοῦ ἔδους ἐφαπόμενοι προσῆλθον, πολὺς ἐξηκούετό ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἐπηπείλει, αὐτὸς δὲ ἕτερον ἐνέστησε. ^[5] τὸ τε Διοσκόρειον 158 τὸ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῇ Ῥωμαίᾳ ὄν διατεμὼν διὰ μέσου τῶν

ἀγαλμάτων ἔσοδον δι’ αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸ παλάτιον ἐποιήσατο, ὅπως καὶ
 πυλωροὺς τοὺς Διοσκόρους, ὡς γε καὶ ἔλεγεν, [p. 354] ἔχῃ. Δία τε Λατιάριον
 159 ἑαυτὸν ὀνομάσας, τὴν τε Καισωνίαν 160 τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὸν Κλαύδιον
 ἄλλους τε τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους ἱερέας προσέθετο, πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας
 ἐπὶ τούτῳ παρ’ ἐκάστου [6] μυριάδας λαβών. καὶ προσέτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ
 161 ἱερᾶτο, 162 τὸν τε ἵππον συνιερέα ἀπέφηνε: 163 καὶ ὄρνιθες αὐτῷ
 ἀπαλοὶ τέ τινες καὶ πολυτίμητοι καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐθύοντο. ταῖς τε
 βρονταῖς ἐκ μηχανῆς τινος ἀντεβρόντα καὶ ταῖς ἀστραπαῖς ἀντήστραπτε:
 καὶ ὅποτε κεραυνὸς καταπέσοι, λίθον ἀντηκόντιζεν, ἐπιλέγων ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ
 164 τὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου ‘ἦ μ’ ἀνάειρ’ ἢ ἐγὼ [7] σέ.’ ἐπειδὴ τε ἡ Καισωνία
 θυγάτριον 165 μετὰ τριάκοντα ἡμέρας τῶν γάμων ἔτεκε, τοῦτο τε αὐτὸ
 δαιμονίως προσεποιεῖτο, σεμνυνόμενος ὅτι ἐν τοσαύταις ἡμέραις καὶ ἀνὴρ
 καὶ πατήρ 166 ἐγεγόνει, καὶ Δρουσίλλαν αὐτὴν ὀνομάσας ἔς τε τὸ
 Καπιτώλιον ἀνήγαγε καὶ ἐς τὰ τοῦ Διὸς γόνατα ὡς καὶ παῖδα αὐτοῦ οὔσαν
 ἀνέθηκε, καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τιθηνεῖσθαι παρηγγύησεν. [8] οὗτος οὖν ὁ θεὸς καὶ
 οὗτος ὁ Ζεὺς ‘καὶ γὰρ ἐκαλεῖτο τὰ τελευταῖα οὕτως, ὥστε καὶ ἐς γράμματα
 φέρεσθαι ταῦτά 167 τε ἅμα ἔπραττε καὶ χρήματα αἰσχιστα καὶ δεινότατα
 συνελέγετο. ἵνα γὰρ τις τὰ τε ὦνια 168 καὶ τὰ καπηλεῖα τὰς τε [p. 356] πόρνas
 169 καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια τοὺς τε χειροτέχνas καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ
 μισθοφοροῦντα τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἐξ ὧν οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ ἡργυρίζετο, [9]
 παραλείπει, 170 ἀλλὰ τὰ γε οἰκήματα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ παλατίῳ ἀποδειχθέντα,
 καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τὰς τῶν πρώτων τοὺς τε παῖδας τοὺς τῶν σεμνοτάτων, οὓς
 ἐς αὐτὰ καθίζων ὕβριζεν, ἐκκαρπούμενος ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς πάντας ἀπλῶς, τοὺς
 μὲν ἐθελοντὰς τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄκοντας, ὅπως μὴ καὶ δυσχεραίνειν τι [10]
 νομισθῶσι, πῶς ἂν τις σιωπήσειεν ; οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῦτοις μὲν οὐ σφόδρα τὸ
 πλῆθος ἤχθετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔχαιρον ὁμοῦ οἱ τῇ τε ἀσελγείᾳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅτι ἔς
 τε τὸ χρυσίον καὶ ἐς τὸ ἀργύριον τὸ συλλεγόμενον ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἐμβάλλων
 ἐκάστοτε [11] ἑαυτὸν ἐκαλινδεῖτο: ὡς μέντοι καὶ περὶ τῶν τελῶν πικρῶς τινα
 διανομοθετήσας ἐς λεῦκωμα αὐτὰ βραχυτάτοις γράμμασιν ἐσέγραψε καὶ ἀφ’
 ὑψηλοῦ τινος ἀπεκρέμασεν, ὅπως ὡς ἥκιστα ἀναγιγνώσκοιτο, κάκ τούτου
 πολλοὶ τοῖς ἐπιτιμίαις, ἀγνοοῦντες τὸ κεκωλυμένον ἢ κεκελευσμένον,
 περιπίπτωσιν, ἔς τε τὸν ἵπποδρομον εὐθὺς σπουδῇ συνέδραμον καὶ δεινὰ
 συνεβόησαν.” Χίρh. 170, 6-171, 13, Exc. Val. 213, 214 (p. 670-674). “ ὅτι
 ποτὲ τὸν δῆμον συνελθόντα ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρομίῳ καὶ τοῦτον ἐλέγχοντα ὑπὸ
 τῶν στρατιωτῶν διέφθειρεν: ἐξ οὗπερ πάντες ἐσιώπησαν.” Joann. “ ἀντιοξη.
 φρ. μ. ‘F. 1-3’. 29. ὡς οὖν πάντα τρόπον ἐξεμαίνεται, ἐπεβούλευσαν αὐτῷ
 Κάσιος τε Χαιρέας καὶ Κορνῆλιος Σαβῖνος, καίτοι χιλιαρχίας ἐν τῷ
 δορυφορικῷ ἔχοντες. συνώμοσαν μὲν γὰρ πλείονες καὶ συνήδεσαν [p. 358] τὸ
 πραπτόμενον, ἐν οἷς ἦν ὁ τε Κάλλιστος καὶ ὁ ἑπαρχος.” Χίρh. 171, 13-18,
 Zon. 11, (p. 22, 17-21 D.), Joann. Antioch. fr. M. (v. 4-6). “ πάντες τε ὡς
 εἰπεῖν οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τε σφῶν καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἐκινήθησαν. καὶ ὅσοι δὲ
 οὐ συνώμοσαν, γνόντες οὗτ’ ἐξέφηναν καὶ ἄσμενοι εἶδον αὐτὸν
 ἐπιβουλευόμενον.” Joann. Antioch. “ φρ. μ. ‘F. 6-7’, ζον. 11, ‘π. 22, 22-23 δ.’.
 [2] οἱ δὲ αὐτόχειρες αὐτοῦ γενόμενοι ἐκεῖνοι ἦσαν. ἄλλως τε γὰρ

ἀρχαιοτρόπος τις ἀνὴρ ὁ Χαιρέας ἦν, καὶ τινα καὶ ἰδίαν τῆς ὀργῆς αἰτίαν ἔσχε: γύννιν τε γὰρ αὐτὸν καίπερ ἐρρωμένεστατον ἀνδρῶν ὄντα ὁ Γάιος ἐπεκάλει, καὶ τὸ σύνθημα αὐτῷ, ὅποτε ἐς ἐκείνον καθήκοι, Πόθον ἢ Ἀφροδίτην ^[3] ἢ ἕτερόν τι 171 τοιοῦτον ἐδίδου. θεοπρόπιον δέ τι τῷ Γαίῳ ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν ἐγεγόνει φυλάττεσθαι Κάσσιον: καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς Γάιον Κάσσιον τὸν τότε τῆς Ἀσίας ἄρχοντα, ἐπειδὴ τὸ γένος ἀπὸ τοῦ Κασσίου ἐκείνου τοῦ τὸν Καίσαρα ἀποκτείναντος εἶχεν, ὑποπτεύσας μετεπέμψατο αὐτὸν δεδεμένον, προέλεγε δ' ἄρα αὐτῷ τὸ δαιμόνιον ^[4] τοῦτον τὸν Κάσσιον τὸν Χαιρέαν. Ἀπολλωνιὸς τέ τις Αἰγύπτιος οἴκοι τε τὸ συμβὰν αὐτῷ προεῖπε, καὶ πεμφθεὶς διὰ τοῦτ' ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην προσήχθη τε αὐτῷ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐκείνῃ 172 τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ἣ ὁ τελευτήσῃν ἔμελλε, καὶ ἀναβληθεὶς ὥς καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον κολασθησόμενος ἐσώθη. ἐπράχθη δὲ ὧδε. ἑορτὴν τινα ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ^[5] ἦγε καὶ θεὰν ἐπετέλει, κὰν τούτῳ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ἦσθι καὶ ἔπινε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους εἰστία, ὅτε δὴ ^[p. 360] καὶ Πομπώνιος Σεκοῦνδος ὁ τότε ὑπατεύων ἐνεφορεῖτο τε ἅμα τῶν σιτίων, παρὰ τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτοῦ καθήμενος, καὶ ἐπικύπτων συνεχῶς αὐτοὺς κατεφίλει.” Xiph. 171, 18- 172, 8. “ ὁ γὰρ Χαιρέας καὶ ὁ Σαβῖνος ἐπὶ τοῖς γινομένοις αἰσχροῖς ἀλγοῦντες, ὅμως ἐκαρτέρουν ἐπὶ ^[6] πέντε ἡμέρας. ὥς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Γάιος καὶ ὀρχήσασθαι καὶ τραγωδίαν ὑποκρίνασθαι ἠθέλησεν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἑτέρας τρεῖς ἡμέρας προῆγγειλε, οὐκέθ' οἱ περὶ τὸν Χαιρέαν ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλὰ τηρήσαντες αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου ἐξελθόντα 173 ἴνα τοὺς παῖδας θεάσῃται, οὓς ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῆς Ἰωνίας τῶν πάνυ εὐγενῶν ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν ὕμνον τὸν ἐς ἑαυτὸν πεποιημένον ᾄσαι μετεπέπεμπτο 174 δῆθεν, ἀπέκτειναν ἐν στενωπῷ τινι ἀπολαβόντες. ^[7] καὶ αὐτοῦ πεσόντος οὐδεὶς τῶν παρόντων ἀπέσχετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ νεκρὸν αὐτὸν ὄντα ὡμῶς ἐτίτρωσκον: 175 καὶ τινες καὶ τῶν σαρκῶν αὐτοῦ ἐγεύσαντο. τὴν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα εὐθὺς ἔσφαξαν.” Xiph. 172, 8-19, Zon. 11, “ ‘π. 22, 24-23, δ.’, Joann. αντιοξ. φρ. μ. ‘f. 7-11’. 30. Γάιος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐν ἔτεσι τρισὶ καὶ μηνσὶν ἐννέα ἡμέραις τε ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι πράξας τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῖς 176 ὥς οὐκ ἦν θεὸς ἔμαθεν. 177” Xiph. 172, 20-22, Zon. 11, (p. 23, 6-8 D.), Joann. “ αντιοξ. φρ. μ. ‘f. 11-14’. Ὑφ' ὧν τε καὶ μὴ παρῶν προσεκυνεῖτο, τότε κατεπτύετο: καὶ ὑφ' ὧν τε Ζεὺς καὶ θεὸς ὠνομάζετο ^[p. 362] τε καὶ ἐγράφετο, σφάγιον ἐγίνετο: ἀνδριάντες τε αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνες ἐσύροντο, μεμνημένου μάλιστα τοῦ δήμου ὧν ἐπεπόνθει δεινῶν. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ὅσοι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ μέρους ἦσαν, ἐθορύβουν τε καὶ ἐστασίαζον ὥστε καὶ σφαγὰς ποιεῖν.” Joann. Antioch. fr. M. (v. 14-20). “ ἐμνημόνευόν 178 τε οἱ παρόντες τοῦ λεχθέντος ποτὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ‘εἴθε ἓνα αὐχένα εἶχετε,’ ἐπιδεικνύντες αὐτῷ ὅτι ἐκεῖνος μὲν αὐχένα ^[2] ἓνα σφεῖς δὲ δὴ χεῖρας πολλὰς ἔχοιεν. ἐπεὶ 179 δὲ τὸ δορυφορικὸν ἐταράττετο καὶ διαθέοντες ἐπυνθάνοντο τίς Γάιον ἔσφαξεν, Οὐαλέριος Ἀσιατικὸς ἀνὴρ ὑπατευκῶς θαυμαστὸν δὴ τινα τρόπον αὐτοὺς ἡσύχασεν, ἀνελθὼν ἐς περιφανές τι χωρίον καὶ ἐκβοήσας ‘εἴθε ἐγὼ αὐτὸν ἀπεκτόνειν.’ καταπλαγέντες γὰρ ἐπαύσαντο τοῦ θορύβου.” Xiph. 172, 22-31. “ ^[3] ὅσοι δὲ ἄλλως πως ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ ἐποίησαντο, πεισθέντες τοῖς ὄρκοις ἡσύχασαν. τούτων δὲ περὶ τὸν Γάιον πραττομένων, Σέντιος τε καὶ

Σεκοῦνδος οἱ ὕπατοι εὐθὺς ἐκ τῶν θησαυρῶν τὰ χρήματα ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον μετεκόμισαν. φύλακὰς [p. 364] τε τοὺς πλείους τῆς γερουσίας ἐπέστησαν, καὶ στρατιώτας ἱκανοὺς, ἵνα μὴ διαρπαγὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους γένηται. οὗτοι τε ἅμα τοῖς ἐπάρχοις καὶ τοῖς περὶ Σαβῖνον καὶ Χαιρέαν 180 τὸ πρακτέον ἐσκοποῦντο.” Joann. Antioch. fr. M. v. 20-28. ““

1. “Κλαύδιος δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ ὥδε ἐγένετο. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τοῦ Γαίου φύλακας ἐκασταχόσε τῆς πόλεως οἱ ὕπατοι διαπέμφαντες τὴν τε βουλὴν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἤθροισαν, καὶ πολλαὶ καὶ ποικίλαι γνῶμαι ἐλέχθησαν: τοῖς μὲν γὰρ δημοκρατεῖσθαι τοῖς δὲ μοναρχεῖσθαι ἐδόκει, καὶ οἱ ^[2] μὲν τὸν οἱ δὲ τὸν ἡροῦντο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν λοιπὴν καὶ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν κατέτριψαν μηδὲν τελειώσαντες. κἂν τοῦτω στρατιῶται τινες ἐς τὸ παλάτιον, ὅπως τι συλήσωσιν, ἐσελθόντες εὖρον τὸν Κλαύδιον ἐν γωνίᾳ που ^[3] σκοτεινῇ κατακεκρυμμένον ἑσπέρην τε γὰρ τῷ Γαίῳ τοῦ θεάτρου ἐξερχομένῳ καὶ τότε τὴν ταραχὴν φοβηθεὶς ὑπέπτηξέ, καὶ αὐτὸν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς καὶ ἄλλον τινὰ ὄντα ἢ ἔχοντά τι ἐξείλκυσαν, ἔπειτα δὲ γνωρίσαντες αὐτοκράτορά τε προσηγόρευσαν καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτὸν ἤγαγον, κακ τοῦτου μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, οἷα τοῦ τε βασιλικοῦ γένους ὄντι καὶ ἐπικεῖ νομιζομένῳ, πᾶν τὸ κράτος αὐτῷ ἔδωκαν. εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἀνεδύετο καὶ ἀντέλεγεν, ἀλλ’ ὅσον ἐξίστατο καὶ ἀντέκειτο τοσοῦτον μᾶλλον ἀντεφιλονεῖκουν οἱ στρατιῶται μὴ παρ’ ἐτέρων λαβεῖν αὐτοκράτορα, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὶ δοῦναι πᾶσι. διὸ καὶ ἄκων, ὡς ἐδόκει, ὑπέκυψε. ^[p. 368] ^[4] οἱ δ’ ὕπατοι τέως μὲν ἄλλους τε καὶ δημάρχους πέμποντες ἀπηγόρευον αὐτῷ μηδὲν τοιοῦτον ποιεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις γενέσθαι: ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ συνόντες σφίσι στρατιῶται ἐγκατέλιπον, τότε δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὠμολόγησαν, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὅσα ἐς τὴν αὐταρχίαν αὐτοῦ ἦκοντα ἦν αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσαντο. 2. οὕτω μὲν Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Νέρων Γερμανικός, ὁ τοῦ Δρούσου τοῦ τῆς Λιουίας παιδὸς υἱός, τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔλαβε, μὴ πρὶν ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ τινὶ τὸ παράπαν ἐξητασμένος, πλὴν ὅτι μόνον ὑπάτευσεν: ἦγε δὲ πεντηκοστὸν ἔτος τῆς ἡλικίας.” *Xiph. 173, 8-174, 4, Zon. 11, (p. 23, 19-24, D.)*. “ἐγένετο δὲ τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν οὐ φαῦλος ἀλλὰ ἀεὶ καὶ ἐν παιδείᾳ ἥσκητο, ὥστε καὶ συγγράφαι τινά, τὸ δὲ δὴ σῶμα νοσώδης, ὥστε καὶ τῇ ^[2] κεφαλῇ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ὑποτρέμειν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῷ φωνήματι ἐσφάλλετο, καὶ οὐ πάντα ὅσα ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσέφερεν αὐτὸς ἀνεγίνωσκεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ταμίᾳ, τὴν γε πρῶτην καὶ παρὼν ὡς γε πληθεῖ, ἀναλέγεσθαι ἐδίδου. ὅσα δ’ οὖν αὐτὸς ἀνεγίνωσκε, καθήμενος ὡς τὸ ^[3] πολὺ ἐπελέγετο. καὶ μέντοι καὶ δίφρῳ καταστέγῳ πρῶτος Ῥωμαίων ἐχρήσατο, καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ νῦν οὐχ ὅτι οἱ αὐτοκράτορες ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ ὑπατευκότες διφροφοροῦμεθα: πρότερον δὲ ἄρα ὁ τε Αὐγουστος καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος ἄλλοι τέ τινες ἐν σκιμποδίοις, ὁποίοις αἱ γυναῖκες ἔτι καὶ νῦν ^[4] νομίζουσιν, ἔστιν ὅτε ἐφέροντο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ^[p. 370] διὰ ταῦθ’ οὕτως, ὅσον ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἐξελευθέρων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν αἷς συνῆν, ἐκακύνετο. περιφανέστατα γὰρ τῶν ὁμοίων ἐδουλοκρατήθη τε ἅμα καὶ ἐγυναικοκρατήθη: ἅτε γὰρ ἐκ παιδῶν ἔν τε νοσηλείᾳ καὶ ἐν φόβῳ πολλῶν τραφεῖς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πλεῖον τῆς ἀληθείας εὐήθειαν προσποιησάμενος, ὅπερ που καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ ^[5] ὠμολόγησε, καὶ πολὺν μὲν χρόνον τῇ τήθῃ τῇ Λιουίᾳ πολὺν δὲ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ Ἀντωνίᾳ τοῖς τ’ ἀπελευθέροις

συνδαιτηθεῖς, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐν συνουσίαις γυναικῶν πλείοσι γενόμενος, οὐδὲν ἐλευθεροπρεπὲς ἐκέκτητο, ἀλλὰ καίπερ καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπάντων καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων αὐτῶν κρατῶν ἐδεδούλωτο. ἐπετίθεντο δ' αὐτῷ ἐν τε τοῖς [6] πότοις μάλιστα καὶ ἐν ταῖς μίξεσι: πάνν γὰρ ἀπλήστως ἀμφοτέροις σφίσι προσέκειτο, καὶ ἦν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦτω εὐάλωτότατος. πρὸς δὲ καὶ δειλίαν εἶχεν, ὑφ' ἧς πολλὰκίς ἐκπληττόμενος οὐδὲν τῶν προσηκόντων ἐξελογίζετο. καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦτο προσλαμβάνοντες οὐκ ἐλάχιστα κατειργάζοντο: [7] ἐκεῖνόν τε γὰρ ἐκφοβοῦντες ἐξεκαρποῦντο, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοσοῦτον δέος ἐνέβαλλον ὥσθ', ἵνα συλλαβὼν εἴπω, πολλοὶ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Κλαυδίου καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν καλούμενοι τὸν μὲν ὡς καὶ κατ' ἄλλο τι παρίεντο, πρὸς δὲ ἐκείνους ἐφοίτων. 3. τοιοῦτος οὖν δὴ τις, ὡς γε συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, ὦν, οὐκ ὀλίγα καὶ δεόντως ἔπραττεν, ὁσάκις ἔξω [p. 372] τε τῶν προειρημένων παθῶν ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἐκράτει. λέξω δὲ καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ὧν ἐποίησε. [2] τὰ μὲν ψηφισθέντα οἱ εὐθὺς πάντα, πλὴν τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπωνυμίας, ἐδέξατο 'ταύτην γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτα προσέθετό, οὐ μέντοι καὶ παραυτίκα ἀλλ' ὅπῃ καὶ τριακοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἐσῆλθε. τὸν τε γὰρ Γάιον οὕτως ὀρῶν ἀπολωλότα, καὶ πυνθανόμενός τινας ὡς καὶ βελτίονας ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπ' αὐτῆς προβεβλήσθαι, οὐκ ἐθάρσει, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀκριβῶς ἐφυλάττετο, [3] καὶ πάντας τοὺς προσιόντας οἱ καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας ἐρευνᾶσθαι ἐποίει μὴ τι ξιφίδιον ἔχωσιν, ἐν τε τοῖς συμποσίοις πάντως τινὰς στρατιώτας συνόντας εἶχε. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐξ ἐκείνου καταδειχθὲν καὶ δεῦρο αἰεὶ γίγνεται, ἡ δὲ δὴ ἔρευνα ἡ [4] διὰ πάντων ἐπὶ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἐπαύσατο. τὸν μὲν οὖν Χαιρέαν καὶ τινας ἄλλους, καίπερ πάνν ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Γαίου θανάτῳ ἡσθεῖς, ὅμως ἀπέκτεινεν: οὐ γὰρ ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου πρᾶξιν εἰλήφει χάριν αὐτῷ ἦδει, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐτόλμησεν αὐτοκράτορα ἀποσφάξαι ἐδυσχέRAINEN, πόρρωθεν τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐς ἀσφάλειαν προορώμενος. ἔπραξε δὲ τοῦτο οὐχ ὡς καὶ τῷ Γαίῳ τιμωρῶν, ἀλλ' ὡς [5] ἑαυτῷ ἐπιβουλεύσαντα αὐτὸν λαβῶν. καὶ οἱ ὁ Σαβῖνος ἐκὼν ἐπαπέθανε, μὴ ἀξιώσας κολασθέντος αὐτοῦ περιεῖναι. τοῖς γε μὴν ἄλλοις, οἱ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἐκφανῶς ἐσπούδασαν ἢ καὶ ἐπίδοξοι λήψεσθαι τὸ κράτος ἐγένοντο, οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἐμνησικάκησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμὰς καὶ ἀρχὰς ἔδωκεν: ἐκδηλότατα [p. 374] γὰρ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πάντων πῶποτε οὐ τῷ λόγῳ μόνον τὴν ἄδειαν σφισι, κατὰ τὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ζῆλον, ὡς ἔλεγεν, ὑπέσχετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ [6] παρέσχε. τὸ τε ἔγκλημα τῆς ἀσεβείας ὁμοίως οὐκ ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι μόνοις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἔπαυσε, καὶ οὐδένα διὰ τοιοῦτό τι οὐτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις οὐτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα ἐκόλασε. [7] τοὺς γε μὴν ἀδικήσαντάς τι ἢ καὶ προπηλακίσαντας αὐτὸν ιδιώτην ὄντα 'πολλοὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἄλλως τε ὡς μηδενὸς λόγου ἄξιον, καὶ οἱ μὲν τῷ Τιβερίῳ οἱ δὲ τῷ Γαίῳ χαριζόμενοι, ἐπεποιήκεσαν' πλαστῷ μὲν ἐγκλήματι οὐδενὶ μετῆει, εἰ μέντοι τι ἄλλο κακουργοῦντας εὔρισκε, καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνα ἐτιμωρεῖτο. 4. τὰ τε τέλη τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαίου ἐσαχθέντα, καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα ἐπηγορίαν τινὰ τῶν πραχθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἶχε, κατέλυσε μὲν, οὐκ ἀθρόα δέ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκάστῳ πῇ προσέτυχε. καὶ τοὺς ἐκπεσόντας ἀδίκως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, τοὺς τε ἄλλους καὶ τὰς ἀδελφάς, τὴν τε Ἀγριππίναν καὶ τὴν Ἰουλίαν, [2] καταγαγὼν τὰς οὐσίας

σπίσιν ἀπέδωκεν. τῶν τε ἐκ τοῦ οἰκήματος πλεῖστοι δὲ ἐδέδεντό τοὺς μὲν ἐπ’ ἀσεβείᾳ τοιούτοις τέτισιν ἑτέροις ἐγκλήμασιν ἐμπεπτωκότας ἀπῆλλαξε, τοὺς δ’ ὄντως ἀδικοῦντας ἐκόλασε. σφόδρα γὰρ ἀκριβῶς σφας ἐξήτασεν, ὅπως μὴθ’ οἱ κακουργήσαντές τι διὰ τοὺς συκοφαντούμενους ἀφεθῶσι, μὴθ’ οὗτοι δι’ ^[3] ἐκείνους παραπόλωνται. καὶ καθ’ ἐκάστην γε ὡς εἰπεῖν ἡμέραν, ἦτοι μετὰ πάσης τῆς γερουσίας ἢ καὶ ἰδίᾳ, τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ἤδη δὲ ^[p. 376] καὶ ἄλλοθι, ἐπὶ βήματος ἐδίκασε: καὶ γὰρ τὸ κατὰ τοὺς συνέδρους, ἐκλειφθὲν ἐξ οὗ ὁ Τιβέριος ^[4] ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἐξεχώρησεν, ἀνεनέωσατο. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις τοῖς τε στρατηγοῖς, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς τὴν διοίκησιν ἔχουσι, συνεζητάζετο, καὶ ὀλίγα παντελῶς τοῖς ἄλλοις δικαστηρίοις ^[5] ἐπέτρεπε. τὰ τε φάρμακα ἃ πολλὰ ἐν τοῦ Γαίου εὐρέθη, καὶ τὰ βιβλία τὰ τοῦ Πρωτογένους, ὃν καὶ ἀπέκτεινε, τὰ τε γράμματα ἃ ἐπλάσσετο μὲν ὁ Γάιος κεκαυκέναι εὐρέθη δὲ ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ ὄντα, τοῖς τε βουλευταῖς ἐπέδειξε, καὶ ἔδωκε καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις τοῖς τε γράφασιν αὐτὰ καὶ καθ’ ὧν ἐγγράπτο ἀναγνῶναι, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο κατέφλεξε. τῆς τε γερουσίας ἀτιμῶσαι τὸν Γάιον ἐθελήσας ψηφισθῆναι μὲν αὐτὸς ἐκώλυσεν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς ^[6] ἀπάσας ἠφάνισε. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τὸ μὲν ὄνομα αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων ὧν μνήμην ἐπὶ τε τοῖς ὅρκοις καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς ποιούμεθα, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὸ τοῦ Τιβερίου, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκ δόγματος ἀτιμίαν οὐδέτερός σφων ὤφλε. 5. τὰ μὲν δὴ οὕν ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Γαίου καὶ ὑφ’ ἑτέρων δι’ ἐκείνον οὐκ ὀρθῶς γενόμενα ἀνέτρεψε, τῷ δὲ δὴ Δρούσῳ τῷ πατρὶ τῇ τε Ἀντωνίᾳ τῇ μητρὶ ἱπποδρομίας ἐς τὰ γενέσια ἔδωκε, τὰς πανηγύρεις τὰς ἐς ταῦτόν αὐταῖς συμβαινούσας μεταθεῖς ^[2] ἐς ἑτέρας ἡμέρας, ὅπως μὴ ἅμα ποιῶνται. τὴν τε τήθην τὴν Λιουίαν οὐ μόνον ἵππων ἀγῶσιν ^[p. 378] ἐτίμησεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπθανάτισεν, ἀγαλμὰ τέ τι αὐτῆς ἐν τῷ Αὐγουστειῷ ἰδρύσας καὶ τὰς θυσίας ταῖς ἀειπαρθένοις ἱεροποιεῖν προστάξας, ταῖς τε γυναῖξιν ὄρκον τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς ποιεῖσθαι κελεύσας. ^[3] οὕτω δὲ δὴ τοὺς πατέρας ἀποσεμνύνας αὐτὸς οὐδὲν ἔξω τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν φερόντων ἐδέξατο: ἐν γὰρ δὴ τῇ τοῦ Αὐγουστοῦ νομηνίᾳ, ἐν ἣ ἠγεγέννητο, ἠγωνίζοντο μὲν ἵπποι, οὐ δι’ ἐκείνον δὲ ἄλλ’ ὅτι ὁ τοῦ Ἀρεως ναὸς ἐν ταύτῃ καθιέρωτο καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐτησίοις ἀγῶσιν ^[4] ἐτετίμητο. ἔν τε οὕν τοῦτοις ἐμετρίαζε, καὶ προσαπηγόρευσε μὴτε προσκυνεῖν τινα αὐτὸν μὴτε θυσίαν οἱ μηδεμίαν ποιεῖν. τὰ τε ἐπιβοήματα τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ὑπέρογκα ἔπαυσε: καὶ εἰκόνα μίαν, καὶ ταύτην ἀργυρᾶν, ἀνδριάντας τε δύο χαλκοῦ τε καὶ λίθου ψηφισθέντας αὐτῷ τὰ ^[5] πρῶτα ἔλαβε. μάταια γὰρ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀναλώματα εἶναι, καὶ προσέτι πολλὴν μὲν ζημίαν πολὺν δὲ καὶ ὄχλον τῇ γε πόλει παρέχειν ἔλεγε: πάντες μὲν γὰρ οἱ ναοὶ πάντα δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἔργα καὶ ἀνδριάντων καὶ ἀναθημάτων ἐπεπλήρωτο, ὥστε καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων βουλευέσθαι ἔφη ^[6] ἃ χρὴ πράξαι. τοῖς τε στρατηγοῖς τοὺς ἀγῶνας τοὺς ὀπλομαχικοὺς ἀπηγόρευσε μὴ ποιεῖν, καὶ εἰ δὴ τις ἄλλος αὐτοὺς ὅπουδῆποτε ἐπιτελοῖη, ἀλλὰ μῆτι γε ὡς καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίας γιγνομένων σφῶν ἢ γράφεσθαι ἢ καὶ λέγεσθαι ἐκέλευσε. καὶ οὕτω γε πάντα ταῦτα κρίσει καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτηδεύσει ἔπραττεν ὥστε καὶ ἄλλα ὁμοίως ^[p. 380] ^[7] ἔνεμε. τὰς γούν

θυγατέρας ἐν τῷ ἔτει τοῦτω τὴν μὲν ἐγγυήσας Λουκίῳ Ἰουνίῳ Σιλανῷ τὴν δὲ ἐκδοῦς Γναίῳ Πομπηίῳ Μάγνῳ οὐδὲν ἐξαίρετον ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις [8] ἐδίκασε καὶ ἡ βουλὴ ἠηροίσθη. τοὺς τε γαμβροὺς τότε τε ἐν τοῖς εἴκοσιν ἀνδράσιν ἄρξαι καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πολιαρχῆσαι ἐν ταῖς ἀνοχαῖς ἐκέλευσεν ὥστε τέ ποτε πέντε ἔτεσι θάσσον τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς αἰτῆσαι σφισιν ἐπέτρεψε. τοῦτου δὲ δὴ τοῦ Πομπηίου ὁ Γάιος τὴν τοῦ Μάγνου [9] ἐπικλήσιν περιέκοψεν. ὀλίγου μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀπέσφαξεν αὐτὸν ὅτι οὕτως ὠνομάζετο: ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν καταφρονήσας ὡς καὶ παιδίου ἔτ' αὐτοῦ ὄντος οὐκ ἐποίησε, τὴν δὲ δὴ πρόσρησιν κατέλυσεν, εἰπὼν μὴ εἶναι οἱ ἀσφαλὲς Μάγνον τινὰ προσαγορεύεσθαι. ὃ γε μὴν Κλαύδιος καὶ ἐκεῖνο αὐτῷ τὸ πρόσρημα ἀπέδωκε καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα προσσυνώκισε. 6. ταῦτά τε οὖν ἐπεικῶς ἔπραττε, καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καταβάντων ποτὲ ἀπὸ τῶν διφρῶν ἵνα διαλεχθῶς [1] αὐτῷ, προσεξανέστη τε καὶ ἀντιπροσῆλθε σφισιν, ἐπεὶ ἔν γε τῇ Νεῖ πόλει [2] καὶ παντάπασιν ἰδιωτικῶς ἔζη: τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα ἑλληνικῶς καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ συνόντες οἱ διητᾶτο, καὶ ἐν μὲν ταῖς τῆς μουσικῆς θεωρίαις ἱμάτιον καὶ κρηπίδας, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ γυμνικῷ ἀγῶνι πορφυρίδα [3] καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν ἐλάμβανε. καὶ μέντοι καὶ περὶ τὰ χρήματα θαυμαστὸς ἐγενετο. ἀπηγόρευσε μὲν γὰρ ἀργυρίον οἱ, ὅπερ ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Αὐγουστοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαίου ἐγίγνετο, προσφέρειν, ἀπεῖπε [p. 382] δὲ μηδὲ κληρονόμον αὐτόν, ὅστις ἂν συγγενεῖς ὅποιουσδήποτε αὐτὸς ἔξη, καταλείπειν, καὶ τῶν προδημευθέντων ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαίου τὰ μὲν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἔτι περιοῦσι τὰ δὲ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν ἀπέδωκεν. [4] εἰθισμένου τε, εἰ καὶ ὅτιοῦν περὶ τὰς πανηγύρεις ἔξω τοῦ νενομισμένου πραχθεῖη, αὐθις αὐτάς, καθάπερ εἴρηται μοι, γίνεσθαι, καὶ πολλάκις τοῦτου καὶ τρίτον καὶ τέταρτον πέμπτον τε, καὶ δέκατον ἔστιν ὅτε, τὸ μὲν τι κατὰ τύχην τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον ἐκ παρασκευῆς τῶν ὠφελουμένων ἀπ' [5] αὐτοῦ, συμβαίνοντος, νόμῳ μὲν ἔταξε μίαν ἡμέραν τοὺς ἀγῶνας τῶν ἵππων δεῦτερον γίνεσθαι, ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὡς πλήθει ἐπέσχεν: οὐδὲν γὰρ τι ῥαδίως, ἅτε μηδὲν μέγα ἀποκερδαίνοντες, οἱ τεχνώμενοι αὐτὸ ἐπλημμέλουν. [6] τοὺς τε Ἰουδαίους πλεονάσαντας αὐθις, ὥστε χαλεπῶς ἂν ἄνευ ταραχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου σφῶν τῆς πόλεως εἰρχθῆναι, οὐκ ἐξήλασε μὲν, τῷ δὲ δὴ πατρίῳ βίῳ χρωμένους ἐκέλευσε μὴ συναθροίζεσθαι. τὰς τε ἑταιρείας ἐπαναχθείσας ὑπὸ τοῦ [7] Γαίου διέλυσε. καὶ ὁρῶν μηδὲν ὄφελος ὃν ἀπαγορεύεσθαί τινα τῷ πλήθει μὴ ποιεῖν, ἂν μὴ καὶ ὁ καθ' ἡμέραν αὐτῶν βίος μεταρρυθμισθῇ, τὰ τε καπηλεῖα ἐς ἃ συνιόντες ἔπινον κατέλυσεν, καὶ προσέταξε μήτε κρέας που ἐφθὼν μὴθ' ὕδωρ [p. 384] θερμὸν πιπράσκεσθαι, καὶ τινὰς ἐπὶ τοῦτω μὴ πειθαρχήσαντας ἐκόλασεν. [8] ἀπέδωκε μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι τοὺς ἀνδριάντας οὓς ὁ Γάιος ἐξ αὐτῶν μετεπέπεμπε, ἀπέδωκε δὲ καὶ τοῖς Διοσκόροις τὸν νεὼν τῷ τε Πομπηίῳ τὴν τοῦ θεάτρου μνήμην: καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Τιβερίου ὄνομα ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ προσθεῖς ἔγραψεν, ἐπειδὴ καυθεῖσαν αὐτὴν ἀνωκοδομήκει. [9] τὸ γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ ἐκείνη μὲν, οὐχ ὅτι κατεσκεύασεν ἀλλ' ὅτι καθιέρωσεν αὐτήν, ἄλλω δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐνεκόλαψεν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῇ στολῇ τῇ ἐπινικίῳ παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πανήγυριν, καίτοι ψηφισθέν, ἐχρήσατο, ἀλλ' ἔθυσεν ἐν αὐτῇ

μόνον, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐν τῷ περιπορφύρῳ ἱματίῳ διώκησεν. 7. ἐσήγαγε δὲ ἐς τὴν ὀρχήστραν ἄλλους τε καὶ ἱππέας καὶ γυναῖκας τῶν ὁμοίων, οἵπερ που καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαίου τοῦτο ποιεῖν εἰώθεσαν, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἔχαιρέ σφισιν, ἀλλ' ἐς ἔλεγχον τῶν γεγονότων: αὐθις γοῦν οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ἐπὶ γε τοῦ [2] Κλαυδίου ἐξητάσθη. τὴν τε πυρρίχην ἣν οἱ παῖδες οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαίου μεταπεμφθέντες ἤσκουν, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἅπαξ ὠρχήσαντο, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολιτεία τιμηθέντες ἀπεπέμφθησαν, ἄλλοι δὲ αὐθις [3] ἐκ τῆς θεραπείας ἐπεδείχθησαν. ἐν μὲν δὴ τῷ θεάτρῳ ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ κάμηλοι τε ἅπαξ καὶ ἵπποι δωδεκάκις ἠγωνίσαντο, ἄρκτοι τε τριακόσιαι καὶ Λιβυκὰ θηρία ἴσα αὐταῖς ἐσφάγη. καὶ ἐώρων [p. 386] μὲν που πρότερον ἐν αὐτῷ ἰδίᾳ καὶ κατὰ σφᾶς ὡς ἕκαστοι, τὸ τε βουλευθὼν καὶ τὸ ἱππεῦσθαι καὶ ὁ ὁμιλος, ἀφ' οὗπερ τοῦτ' ἐνομήσθη, οὐ μέντοι καὶ [4] τεταγμένα σφίσι χωρία ἀπεδέδεικτο: ἀλλὰ τότε ὁ Κλαύδιος τὴν τε ἔδραν τὴν νῦν οὖσαν τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἀπέκρινε, καὶ προσέτι τοῖς ἐθέλουσι σφῶν ἐτέρωθι που καὶ ἔν γε ἰδιωτικῇ ἐσθῇ τι θεάσασθαι ἐπέτρεψε. ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα τὴν τε γερουσίαν μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας τὰς τε φυλὰς εἰστίασε. 8. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῷ τε Ἀντιόχῳ τὴν Κομμαγηνὴν ἀπέδωκεν ὅ γάρ γάιος, καίπερ αὐτός οἱ δοὺς αὐτήν, ἀφήρητό, καὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην τὸν Ἰβηρα, ὃν ὁ Γάιος μεταπεμφάμενος ἐδεδέκει, οἴκαδε πρὸς [2] ἀνάληψιν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπέπεμψεν. ἄλλω τέ τινι Μιθριδάτῃ, τὸ γένος ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ πάνυ ἔχοντι, τὸν Βόσπορον ἐχαρίσατο, καὶ τῷ Πολέμῳ χώραν τινὰ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Κιλικίας ἀντέδωκε. τῷ γὰρ Ἀγρίππᾳ τῷ Παλαιστίνῳ συμπράξαντι οἱ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὧν τὴν τε ἀρχὴν προσεπηύξησε καὶ τιμὰς ὑπατικὰς ἔνειμε. [3] τῷ τε ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ Ἡρώδῃ τὸ τε στρατηγικὸν ἀξίωμα καὶ δυναστείαν τινὰ ἔδωκε, καὶ ἔς τε τὸ συνέδριον ἐσελθεῖν σφισι καὶ χάριν οἱ ἐλλήνιστί γνῶναι ἐπέτρεψεν. [4] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ Κλαυδίου ἔργα ἦν καὶ ὑφ' ἀπάντων ἐπηνεῖτο: ἐπράχθη δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα τότε, οὐχ ὁμοιότροπα, ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἐξελευθέρων αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς Οὐαλερίας [5] Μεσσαλίνης. αὕτη μὲν γὰρ τὴν Ἰουλίαν τὴν ἀδελφιδὴν αὐτοῦ, ὀργισθεῖσά τε ἅμα ὅτι μήτε ἐπιμᾶτο ὑπ' αὐτῆς μήτε ἐκολακεύετο, καὶ ζηλοτυπήσασα [p. 388] ὅτι περικαλλὲς τε ἦν καὶ μόνη τῷ Κλαυδίῳ πολλάκις συνεγίνετο, ἐξώρισεν, ἐγκλήματα αὐτῇ ἄλλα τε καὶ μοιχείας παρασκευάσασα, ἐφ' ἣ καὶ ὁ Σενέκας ὁ Ἀνναῖος ἔφυγε, καὶ ὕστερόν γε οὐ πολλῷ καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν [6] αὐτήν. ἐκεῖνοι δὲ καὶ τὰς τιμὰς αὐτὸν τὰς ἐπινικίους ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Μαυριτανίᾳ πραχθεῖσι δέξασθαι ἔπεισαν, οὐχ ὅτι τι κατορθώσαντα, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ πῶ ὄντα ὅτε διεπολεμήθη. [7] καίτοι καὶ τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ὁ τε Γάλλος ὁ Σουλπίκιος Χάττους ἐκράτησε, καὶ Πούπλιος Γαβίνιος Καύχους νικήσας τὰ τε ἄλλα εὐδοκίμησε καὶ ἀετὸν στρατιωτικὸν ὃς μόνος ἔτι παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς Οὐάρου συμφορᾶς ἦν ἐκομίσασατο, ὡς καὶ ἀληθὲς ὄνομα αὐτοκράτορος ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων σφῶν τὸν Κλαύδιον λαβεῖν. 9. τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ οἱ αὐτοὶ αὐθις Μαῦροι πολεμήσαντες κατεστράφησαν. Σουητῶνιος μὲν γὰρ Παυλῖνος, ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων ὧν, τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν μέχρι τοῦ Ἀτλαντος ἀντικατέδραμε, Γναῖος δὲ Ὀσιδῖος Γέτας ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων μετ' ἐκεῖνον στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τὸν Σάλαβον τὸν στρατηγὸν σφῶν

εὐθὺς ὤρμησε, καὶ ἐνίκησεν ^[2] αὐτὸν καὶ ἄπαξ καὶ δευτέρον. ἐπειδὴ τε ἐκεῖνος, καταλιπὼν τινὰς πρὸς τοῖς μεθορίοις εἰργεῖν τοὺς ἐπιδιώξοντας, πρὸς τὰ ψαμμῶδη ἀπέφυγεν, ἐτόλμησεν ἐπισπένθαι οἱ, καὶ ἀντικαταστήσας πρὸς τοὺς ἐφεδρεύοντας μέρος τοῦ στρατοῦ προΐη, συσκευασάμενος ὕδωρ ὅσον ἐνεδέχετο. ^[3] ὥς δὲ τοῦτό τε ἐπέλειπε καὶ ἄλλο οὐχ εὕρισκετο, ^[p. 390] ἐν παντὶ κακοῦ ἐγένετο: οἱ μὲν γὰρ βάρβαροι ἄλλως τε ἐπὶ μακρότατον πρὸς τὸ δίψος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔθους ἀντέχοντες, καὶ πάντως τι ὕδωρ ἐμπειρία τῶν χωρίων ποριζόμενοι, διεγίνοντο, τοῖς δὲ δὴ Ῥωμαίοις ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀδύνατον μὲν προχωρῆσαι χαλεπὸν δὲ καὶ ὑποστρέφαι ἦν. ^[4] ἀποροῦντα οὖν αὐτὸν ὃ τι χρὴ πρᾶξει, ἀνέπεισέ τις τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τῶν ἐνσπόνδων ἐπωδαῖς τέ τισι καὶ μαγγανείαις χρήσασθαι, λέγων πολλάκις σφίσι ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτου πολὺ ὕδωρ δεδόσθαι: καὶ αὐτῷ παραχρῆμα τοσοῦτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐρρῆ ὥστε καὶ τὸ δίψος ἐξακέσασθαι καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους προσκαταπλῆξαι, νομίσαντας τὸ θεῖον ^[5] οἱ ἐπικουρεῖν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκ τούτου ἐθελονταὶ τε ὠμολόγησαν καὶ κατελύσαντο: πραχθέντων δὲ τούτων ὁ Κλαύδιος διχῇ τοὺς Μαύρους τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἐνειμεν, ἔς τε τὰ περὶ Τέγγιν καὶ ἐς τὰ περὶ Καισάρειαν, ἀφ' ὧν περ καὶ ὀνομάζονται, ^[6] καὶ δύο ἄρχουσιν ἱππεῦσι προσέταξε. κἀν τῷ αὐτῷ τοῦτω χρόνῳ καὶ τῆς Νουμιδίας τινὰ ἐπολεμήθη τε ὑπὸ τῶν προσοίκων βαρβάρων, καὶ ἔπειτα κρατηθέντων αὐτῶν μάχαις κατέστη. 10. ὑπάτευε δὲ ὁ Κλαύδιος μετὰ Γαίου Λάργου, καὶ ἐκείνῳ μὲν δι' ἔτους ἄρξαι ἐφήκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ δύο μηνὶ καὶ τότε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχε. καὶ περὶ τε τῶν τοῦ Αὐγούστου πράξεων τοὺς τε ἄλλους ὥρκωσε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιστῶθαι 'περὶ γὰρ τῶν ^[p. 392] ἑαυτοῦ οὐδενὶ τὸ παράπαν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι ἐπέτρεψέ, καὶ ἐξιὼν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐθις ὤμοσεν ^[2] ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν αἰεὶ ὁσάκις ὑπάτευσεν ἐγένετο: τότε δὲ λόγους τινὰς ἐν τῇ νομηνίᾳ τοῦ τε Αὐγούστου καὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου κατὰ δόγμα ἀναγιγνωσκομένους, ὥστε καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἐσπέρας τοὺς βουλευτὰς παρατείνεσθαι, ἔπαυσεν, ἀρκοῦν εἶναι φήσας ἐν ταῖς στήλαις ^[3] αὐτοὺς ἐγγεγράφθαι. ἐπεὶ τέ τινες τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν τὴν διοίκησιν ἐγκεχειρισμένων αἰτίαν ἔλαβον, οὐκ ἐπεξῆλθε μὲν σφισι, πιπράσκουσι δὲ τινὰ καὶ μισθοῦσιν ἐπιφοιτήσας πάνθ' ὅσα ἐνόμιζε μὴ καλῶς γίγνεσθαι διώρθωσε: καὶ τοῦτο καὶ αὐθις ^[4] πολλάκις ἐποίησεν. ἀνωμάλως δὲ δὴ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀπεδείκνυντο: καὶ γὰρ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα καὶ ὀκτωκαίδεκα, διὰ μέσου τε, ὥς που καὶ συνέπεσεν, ἐγίνοντο. τοῦτό τε οὖν περὶ τὴν διοίκησιν ἔπραξε, καὶ τρεῖς ἄνδρας τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων πράκτορας τῶν τῷ δημοσίῳ ὀφειλομένων κατέστησε, καὶ ῥαβδούχους καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὑπηρεσίαν αὐτοῖς δούς. 11. λιμοῦ τε ἰσχυροῦ γενομένου, οὐ μόνον τῆς ἐν τῷ τότε παρόντι ἀφθονίας τῶν τροφῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐς πάντα τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα αἰῶνα πρόνοϊαν ^[2] ἐποιήσατο. ἐπεσάκτου γὰρ παντὸς ὡς εἰπεῖν τοῦ σίτου τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὄντος, ἢ χώρα ἢ πρὸς ταῖς τοῦ Τιβερίδος ἐκβολαῖς, οὔτε κατάρσεις ἀσφαλεῖς οὔτε λιμένας ἐπιτηδεῖους ἔχουσα, ἀνωφελὲς σφισι τὸ κράτος τῆς θαλάσσης ἐποίει: ἔξω τε γὰρ τῶν τῇ τε ὡραία ἐσκομισθέντων καὶ ^[p. 394] ἐς τὰς ἀποθήκας ἀναχθέντων οὐδὲν τὴν χειμερινὴν ἐσεφοῖτα, ἀλλ' εἴ τις παρεκινδύνευσεν, κακῶς ^[3] ἀπήλλασσε. τοῦτ' οὖν συνιδὼν λιμένα τε

κατασκευάσαι ἐπεχείρησεν, οὐδ' ἀπετράπη καίπερ τῶν ἀρχιτεκτόνων εἰπόντων αὐτῷ, πυθομένῳ πόσον τὸ ἀνάλωμα ἔσοιτο, ὅτι 'οὐ θέλεις αὐτὸν ποιῆσαι;' οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ δαπανήματος ἀναχαιτισθῆναι αὐτὸν, εἰ προϋβόητο αὐτό, ἤλπισαν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνεθυμήθη πρᾶγμα καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ τῆς Ῥώμης ^[4] ἄξιον καὶ ἐπετέλεσε. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἐξορύξας τῆς ἡπείρου χωρίον οὐ σμικρόν, τὸ περὶ πάντων ἐκρηπιδώσε καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσεδέξατο· τοῦτο δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πελάγει χώματα ἐκατέρωθεν αὐτοῦ μεγάλα χώσας θάλασσαν ἐνταῦθα πολλὴν περιέβαλε, καὶ νῆσον ἐν αὐτῇ πύργον τε ἐπ' ^[5] ἐκείνῃ φρουκτωρίαν ἔχοντα κατεστήσατο. ὁ μὲν οὖν λιμὴν ὁ καὶ νῦν οὕτω κατὰ γε τὸ ἐπιχώριον ὀνομαζόμενος ὑπ' ἐκείνου τότε ἐποιήθη· τὴν δὲ δὴ λίμνην τὴν Φουκίνην τὴν τῶν Μαρσῶν ἠθέλησε μὲν ἐς τὸν Λίριν ἐξαγαγεῖν, ὅπως ἢ τε χώρα ἢ περὶ αὐτὴν γεωργῇται καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ναυσίπορος μᾶλλον γένηται, μάτην δὲ δὴ ἐδαπανήθη. ^[6] ἐνομοθέτησε μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ, ὧν οὐδεμία μοι ἄλλως ἀνάγκη μνημονεῦσαι ἐστὶ, κατέδειξε δὲ καὶ τὰδε, τοὺς τε κληρωτοὺς ἄρχοντας πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἀπριλίου νομηνίας, ἐπειδὴ περ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἐνεχρόνιζον, ^[p. 396] ἀφορμᾶσθαι, καὶ τοὺς αἵρετοὺς μηδεμίαν οἱ χάριν ^[7] ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ γιγνώσκειν, ὅπερ κατὰ τι ἔθος ἐποιοῦν, εἰπὼν ὅτι 'οὐχ οὗτοι ἐμοὶ χάριν ἔχειν ὀφείλουσιν ὥσπερ ἐσπουδαρχηκότες, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τοῦτοι ὅτι μοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν προθύμως συνδιαφέρουσι· καὶ ἂν γε καὶ καλῶς ἄρξωσι, πολὺ ^[8] μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἐπαινέσω.' τοῖς μὲν οὖν ὑπ' ἀσθενείας βίου μὴ δυναμένοις βουλευεῖν ἐφίει παρίεσθαι, ἔκ τε τῶν ἱππέων τινὰς ἐς τὰς δημαρχίας ἐσεδέχετο· τοὺς δ' ἄλλους καὶ πάννυ πάντας ἐπηνάγκαζεν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὅσακις ἂν ἐπαγγελθῇ σφισι, συμφοιτᾶν. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦτω οὕτως ἰσχυρῶς τοῖς μὴ πειθαρχοῦσιν 12. ἐπετίμα ὥστε τινὰς ἑαυτοὺς ἀναχρήσασθαι, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὰ ἄλλα κοινὸς καὶ ἐπεικὴς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἦν, κάμνοντάς τε ἐπεσκέπτετο, καὶ ἐορτάζουσιν ^[2] σφισι συνεγίγνετο. δημάρχου τέ τινος πληγὰς δούλῳ αὐτοῦ δημοσίᾳ δόντος αὐτὸν μὲν οὐδὲν κακὸν εἰργάσατο, τοὺς δ' ὑπηρέτας αὐτοῦ ἀφελόμενος ἔπειτα καὶ ἐκείνους οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἀπέδωκε. δοῦλόν τε ἕτερον αὐτοῦ, ὅτι τινὰ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ὕβρισεν, ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν πέμψας ^[3] ἀπεμαστίγωσε. κἂν τῷ συνεδρίῳ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐξανίστατο, εἴ ποτε ἐπὶ πολὺ οἱ ἄλλοι εἰστήκεσαν· καθήμενος γάρ, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ὑπὸ τῆς ἀρρωστίας πολλάκις ἀνεγίγνωσκε τίνα αἰτούμενος· Λουκίῳ δὲ δὴ Σύλλᾳ καὶ ἐς τὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν βάθρον, ὅτι μὴ δυνηθεὶς ποτε ὑπὸ γῆρως ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἔδρας ἐπακοῦσαι τίνα ^[p. 398] ^[4] ἀνέστη, καθίζεσθαι ἐπέτρεψεν. ἔν τε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ἣ αὐτοκράτωρ τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει ἀπεδείχθη, αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἐξαίρετον ἔπραξε, πλὴν ὅτι τοῖς δορυφόροις πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δραχμὰς ἔδωκε, καὶ τοῦτο ἔπειτα κατ' ἔτος ἐποίησε· τῶν μέντοι στρατηγῶν τινες ἐθέλονται καὶ ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ψηφίσματος ἐκείνην τε τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὰ γενέθλια τὰ τῆς Μεσσαλίνης δημοσίᾳ ἐτίμων. ^[5] οὐ γάρ που καὶ πάντες αὐτὰ ἐποιοῦν, ἀλλ' ὅσοι ἐβούλοντο· τοσαύτην ἄδειαν εἶχον. οὕτω τε ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐς πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐμετρίαζεν ὥστε γεννηθέντος αὐτῷ υἱέως, ὃς τότε μὲν Κλαῦδιος Τιβέριος Γερμανικὸς ὕστερον δὲ καὶ Βρεττανικὸς ἐπωνομάσθη, οὗτ' ἄλλο τι ἐπιφανὲς ἔπραξεν οὗτ' Αὐγουστον

αὐτὸν ἢ τὴν γε Μεσσαλῖναν Αὐγουσταν ἐπικληθῆναι ἐφῆκεν. 13. ἐτίθει μὲν οὖν συνεχῶς μονομαχίας ἀγῶνας: πάνυ γὰρ σφισιν ἔχαιρεν, ὥστε καὶ αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ σχεῖν: ἀπώλλυντο δὲ θηρία μὲν ἐλάχιστα ἄνθρωποι δὲ πολλοί, οἱ μὲν ἀλλήλοις μαχόμενοι [2] οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἀναλοῦμενοι. τοὺς γὰρ δούλους τοὺς τ' ἀπελευθέρους τοὺς ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαίου τοῖς δεσπόταις σφῶν ἐπιβουλεύσαντας, τοὺς τε τὴν ἄλλως συκοφαντήσαντάς τινας ἢ καὶ καταψευδομαρτυρήσαντάς τινων, δεινῶς ἐμίσει, καὶ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν πλείους οὕτως ἀνήλπισκε, τοὺς δὲ ἕτερόν τινα τρόπον ἐκόλαζε, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τοῖς δεσπόταις αὐτοῖς [3] ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ παρεδίδου. τοσοῦτον δ' οὖν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐν τῷ κοινῷ θνησκόντων ἐγίνετο ὥστε καὶ τὸν τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἀνδριάντα τὸν ἐν τῷ [p. 400] χωρίῳ ἐκείνῳ ἰδρυμένον ἐτέρωσέ ποι μετενεχθῆναι τοῦ δὴ μήτε ἐφορᾷν αὐτὸν τοὺς φόνους νομίζεσθαι μήτε αἰὲ κατακαλύπτεσθαι. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τούτῳ γέλωτα ὠφλίσκανεν, εἰ δὴ ὅσα μηδὲ τὸν χαλκὸν τὸν ἀναίσθητον δοκεῖν ὀρᾷν ἡξίου, τούτων αὐτὸς [4] διεπίμπλατο: τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς διὰ μέσου τῆς θεάς παρὰ τὸν τοῦ ἀρίστου καιρὸν κατακοπτομένους ἡδιστα ἐθεώρει, καίτοι λέοντα δεδιδαγμένον ἀνθρώπους ἐσθίειν καὶ πάνυ γε διὰ τοῦτο τῷ πλήθει ἀρέσκοντα ἀποκτείνας ὡς οὐ προσῆκον ὄν [5] τοιοῦτό τι θέαμα ὀρᾷν Ῥωμαίους: ὅτι δὲ δὴ σφισι κοινῶς τε ἐν τῇ θεᾷ συνῆν καὶ παρεῖχεν ὅσα ἐβούλοντο, καὶ κήρυξι μὲν ἐλάχιστα ἐχρήτο, τὰ δὲ δὴ πλείω ἐς σανίδας γράφων διεδήλου, σφόδρα ἐπηνεῖτο. 14. ἐθισθεῖς δ' οὖν αἵματος καὶ φόνων ἀναπιμπλασθαι προπετέστερον καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις σφαγαῖς ἐχρήσατο. αἵτιοι δὲ τούτου οἱ τε Καισάρειοι καὶ ἡ Μεσσαλῖνα ἐγένοντο: ὁπότε γὰρ ἀποκτεῖναι τινα ἐθελήσειαν, ἐξεφόβουν αὐτόν, κάκ τούτου πάνθ' ὅσα ἐβούλοντο ποιεῖν ἐπετρέποντο. [2] καὶ πολλάκις γε ἐξαπιναιῶς ἐκπλαγείς καὶ κελεύσας τινὰ ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα περιδεοῦς ἀπολέσθαι, ἔπειτα ἀνενεγκὼν καὶ ἀναφρονήσας ἐπεζήτηι τε αὐτόν, καὶ μαθὼν τὸ γεγονὸς ἐλυπεῖτό τε καὶ μετεγίνωσκεν. ἦρξατο δὲ τῶν φόνων [3] τούτων ἀπὸ Γαίου Ἀππίου Σιλανοῦ. τοῦτον γὰρ εὐγενέστατον τε ὄντα καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας τότε ἄρχοντα μεταπεμφάμενος ὥς τι αὐτοῦ δεόμενος, καὶ τὴν τε μητέρα οἱ τὴν τῆς Μεσσαλίνης [p. 402] συνοικίσας, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν τε τοῖς φιλάτοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς συγγενεστάτοις χρόνον τινὰ τιμήσας, ἔπειτ' ἐξαίφνης ἐσφαξεν, ὅτι τῇ τε Μεσσαλίνῃ προσέκρουσεν οὐκ ἐθελήσας αὐτῇ συγγενέσθαι πορνικωτάτῃ τε καὶ ἀσελγεστάτῃ οὔσῃ, καὶ τῷ Ναρκίσσῳ τῷ ἀπελευθέρῳ αὐτοῦ δι' ἐκείνην. [4] καὶ οὐ γὰρ εἶχον οὗτ' ἀληθὲς οὔτε πιθανόν τι κατ' αὐτοῦ εἰπεῖν, συνέπλασεν ὄναρ ὁ Νάρκισσος ὡς σφαπτόμενον τὸν Κλαύδιον ὑπὸ τοῦ Σιλανοῦ αὐτοχειρίᾳ ἰδὼν, καὶ αὐτὸς τε εὐθύς ὑπὸ τὴν ἔω ἐν τῇ εὐνῇ οἱ ἔτ' ὄντι ὑπότρομος διηγῆσατο, καὶ ἡ Μεσσαλῖνα παραλαβοῦσα ἐδεινωσε. 15. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐξ ἐνυπνίου παραπῶλετο, τελευτήσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ οὐκέτι χρηστὴν ἐλπίδα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦ Κλαυδίου ἔσχον, ἀλλ' εὐθύς αὐτῷ ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἄννιος Οὐνικιανὸς ἐπεβούλευσεν. οὗτός τε γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Γαίου θάνατον προβληθέντων ἦν, καὶ τι καὶ ἐκ τούτου δεδιὼς [2] ἐνεωτέρισεν: ἐπειδὴ τε οὐδεμίαν ἰσχὺν ἐκέκτητο, ἔπεμψε πρὸς Φούριον Κάμιλλον Σκριβωνιανὸν τῆς τε Δελματίας ἄρχοντα καὶ δύναμιν συχνὴν πολιτικὴν καὶ

ξενικὴν ἔχοντα, καὶ προσανέπεισεν αὐτὸν καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν διανοοῦμενον ἐπαναστῆναι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι ἐπίδοξος ^[3] αὐταρχήσιν ἐγεγόνει. πράξαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦτο συχνοὶ μὲν καὶ βουλευταὶ καὶ ἱππῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὥρμησαν...48 οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται, τοῦ Καμίλλου τὸ τε τοῦ δήμου σφίσις ὄνομα ^[p. 404] προτείνοντος καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐλευθερίαν ἀποδώσειν ὑπισχνουμένου, ὑπώπτευσαν πράγματα αὐθις καὶ στάσεις ἔξειν, καὶ οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ ἐπεισθησαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τούτου φοβηθεὶς σφας ἔφυγε, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰσσαν τὴν νῆσον ἐλθὼν ^[4] ἐνταῦθα ἐκούσιος ἀπέθανε: Κλαύδιος δὲ τέως μὲν πάννυ κατέδεισεν, ὥστε καὶ ἐθελοντῆς ἐτοιμῶς ἔχειν τοῦ κράτους αὐτῷ ἐκστῆναι, τότε δὲ ἀναθαρσήσας τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας ἄλλοις τέτισιν ἡμίψατο καὶ τῷ τὰ πολιτικὰ αὐτῶν στρατόπεδα, τὸ τε ἔβδομον καὶ τὸ ἐνδέκατον, καὶ Κλαυδίεια καὶ πιστὰ καὶ εὐσεβῆ καὶ πρὸς τῆς βουλῆς ἐπονομασθῆναι, τοὺς δὲ συνεπιβουλεύσαντας αὐτῷ ἀνεζήτησε, καὶ πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἄλλους τε καὶ στρατηγὸν τινα, προαπειπόντα ^[5] τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀπέκτεινε. συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ ἑαυτοὺς, ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ Οὐνικιανός, κατεχρήσαντο. τῆς γὰρ ἀφορμῆς ταύτης ἢ τε Μεσσαλῖνα καὶ ὁ Νάρκισσος, ὅσοι τε συνεξελεύθεροι αὐτοῦ, λαβόμενοι οὐδὲν ὅ τι τῶν δεινοτάτων οὐκ ἐποίησαν. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τοῖς δούλοις τοῖς τε ἀπελευθέροις μηνυταῖς κατὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν ^[6] αὐτῶν ἐχρῶντο. καὶ τούτους τε καὶ ἑτέρους καὶ πάννυ εὐγενεῖς, οὐχ ὅτι ξένους ἀλλὰ καὶ πολίτας, οὐχ ὅτι δημότας ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν τε βουλευτῶν πινας, ἐβασάνιζον, καίτοι τοῦ Κλαυδίου κατ' ἀρχὰς εὐθὺς τῆς ἡγεμονίας ὁμόσαντος μηδένα βασανιεῖν ἐλεύθερον. 16. ἄνδρες τε οὖν ἐν τούτῳ πολλοὶ καὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ γε εἰσὶν αἱ τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ, ἐκολάσθησαν. μέλλουσαι τε ἀποθνήσκειν ἐπὶ βῆμα καὶ αὐταὶ ἀνήγοντο δεδεμέναι ὥσπερ αἰχμάλωτοι, καὶ τὰ ^[p. 406] σώματα καὶ ἐκείνων ἐς τοὺς ἀναβασμοὺς ἐρριπτεῖτο: τῶν γὰρ ἔξω που θανατωθέντων αἱ ^[2] κεφαλαὶ μόναι ἐνταῦθα προετίθεντο. ἦδη δ' οὖν τινες καὶ τῶν πάννυ ὑπαιτίων, οἱ μὲν χάρισιν οἱ δὲ καὶ χρήμασιν, ὑπὸ τε τῆς Μεσσαλίνης καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Νάρκισσον Καισαρείων περιεγέγοντο. καὶ οἱ γε παῖδες τῶν ἀπολλυμένων τὴν μὲν ἄδειαν πάντες, εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ χρήματα ^[3] ἐλάμβανον. ἐκρίνοντο δὲ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ, τοῦ τε Κλαυδίου καὶ τῶν ἐπάρχων τῶν τε ἐξελευθέρων αὐτοῦ παρόντων: τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐσθήγησιν ἐν μέσω τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπὶ δίφρου ἀρχικοῦ ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ βάθρου καθημένος ἐποιεῖτο, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο αὐτός τε ἐπὶ τὴν συνήθη ἔδραν μετήρχετο, καὶ ἐκείνοις οἱ δίφροι ἐτίθεντο. ^[4] καὶ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν μεγίστων ὁμοίως ἐγίνετο: τότε δὲ Γάλαισός τις ἀπελεύθερος τοῦ Καμίλλου πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἐσαχθεὶς ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐπαρρησιάσατο, ἐν ^[5] δὲ δὴ καὶ τότε μνήμης ἄξιον. τοῦ γὰρ Ναρκίσσου παρελθόντος ἐς τὸ μέσον καὶ εἰπόντος αὐτῷ 'τί ἂν ἐποίησας, Γάλαισε, εἰ Κάμιλλος ἐμεμοναρχήκει;' ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι 'εἰστήκειν ἂν ὅπισθεν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσιώπων.' αὐτός τε οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ Ἀρρία αὖ ἐφ' ἐτέρῳ ὀνομαστοὶ ἐγένοντο. ^[6] αὕτη γὰρ γυνὴ Καικίνου Παίτου οὕσα οὕτ' ἠθέλησε θανατωθέντος αὐτοῦ ζῆσαι, καίπερ καὶ ἐν τιμῇ τινι εἶναι δυναμένη τῇ γὰρ Μεσσαλίνῃ σφόδρα ὤκειωτό, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀποδειλιῶντα ἐπέρρωσε: τὸ γὰρ ξίφος λαβοῦσα ^[p. 408] ἑαυτὴν τε ἔτρωσε, καὶ ἐκείνῳ

ὤρεξεν εἰποῦσα^[7] ‘ἰδοῦ, Παῖτε, οὐκ ἀλγῶ.’ καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπηνούντο: ἤδη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς συνεχείας τῶν κακῶν ἐς τοῦτο τὰ πράγματα προεληλύθει ὥστ’ ἀρετὴν μηκέτ’ ἄλλο μηδὲν ἢ τὸ γενναίως ἀποθανεῖν νομιζεσθαι: Κλαύδιος δὲ οὕτω που πρὸς τὴν τιμωρίαν τὴν τε ἐκείνων καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἔσχεν ὥστε καὶ σύνθημα τοῖς στρατιώταις τὸ ἔπος τοῦτο συνεχῶς διδόναι, τὸ ὅτι χρὴ ‘ἄνδρα ἀπαμύνασθαι ὅτε τις^[8] πρότερος χαλεπήνῃ.’ καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνους καὶ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν τοιουτότροπα ἐλλήνιστὶ παρεφθέγγετο, ὥστε καὶ γέλωτα παρὰ τοῖς δυναμένοις ἔστιν ἃ αὐτῶν συνεῖναι ὀφλίσκάνειν. τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτά τε ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ δήμαρχοι τελευτήσαντός σφων ἐνὸς αὐτοῖ τὴν γερουσίαν ἐς τὸ τὸν δημαρχήσοντα ἀντικαταστήσαι, καίτοι τῶν ὑπάτων παρόντων, ἤθροισαν. 17. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Κλαύδιος ὑπατεῦσας αὖθις τὸ τρίτον πολλὰς μὲν θυσίας πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἱερομηνίας ἔπαυσε: τὸ τε γὰρ πλεῖστον τοῦ ἔτους ἐς αὐτὰς ἀνηλίσκετο, καὶ τῷ δημοσίῳ ζημία οὐκ^[2] ἐλαχίστη ἐγίνετο. ταῦτας τε οὖν συνέτεμε, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα ἐνεδέχετο συνέστειλε. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαίου μήτε ἐν δίκῃ μήτε ἐν λόγῳ τινὶ δοθέντα πσιὲν ἀπήτησε, τοῖς δὲ ὁδοποιοῖς ἀπέδωκεν ὅσα ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸν Κορβούλωνα ἐζημίωντο.^[3] πρὸς δ’ ἔτι τοῖς ἄρχουσι τοῖς κληρωτοῖς, βραδέως ἔτι καὶ τότε ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξορμωμένοις, προῆλπε πρὶν μεσοῦν τὸν Ἀπρίλιον ἀπαίρειν.^[p. 410] τοὺς τε Λυκίους στασιάσαντας, ὥστε καὶ Ῥωμαίους τινὰς ἀποκτείνειν, ἐδουλώσατό τε καὶ ἐς^[4] τὸν τῆς Παμφυλίας νομὸν ἐσέγραψεν. ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ διαγνώσει ταύτῃ ‘ἐποιεῖτο δὲ αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἐπύθετο τῇ Λατίνων γλώσσει τῶν πρεσβευτῶν τινος, Λυκίου μὲν τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄντος Ῥωμαίου δὲ γεγονότος: καὶ αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ συνῆκε τὸ λεχθέν, τὴν πολιτείαν ἀφείλετο, εἰπὼν μὴ δεῖν Ῥωμαῖον εἶναι τὸν μὴ καὶ τὴν διάλεξιν^[5] σφων ἐπιστάμενον. συχνοὺς δὲ δὴ καὶ ἄλλους καὶ ἀναξίους τῆς πολιτείας ἀπήλασε, καὶ ἑτέροις αὐτὴν καὶ πάνυ ἀνέδην, τοῖς μὲν κατ’ ἄνδρα τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἀθρόοις, ἐδίδου. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν πᾶσιν ὡς εἰπεῖν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν ξένων προετιμήντο, πολλοὶ αὐτὴν παρὰ τε αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου ἡτοῦντο καὶ παρὰ τῆς Μεσσαλίνης τῶν τε Καισαρείων^[6] ὠνούντο: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μεγάλων τὸ πρῶτον χρημάτων πραθείσα, ἔπειθ’ οὕτως ὑπὸ τῆς εὐχερείας ἐπευωνίσθη ὥστε καὶ λογοποιηθῆναι ὅτι κἂν ὑάλινά τις σκεὺὴ συντετριμμένα δῶ τινι^[7] πολίτης ἔσται. ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τούτῳ διεσκώπτετο, ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκείνῳ ἐπηνεῖτο ὅτι πολλῶν συκοφαντουμένων, τῶν μὲν ὅτι τῇ τοῦ Κλαυδίου προσηρῆσαι οὐκ ἐχρῶντο, τῶν δὲ ὅτι μηδὲν αὐτῷ τελευτῶντες^[p. 412] κατέλειπον, ὡς καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ὄν τοῖς τῆς πολιτείας παρ’ αὐτοῦ τυχοῦσιν ἐκάτερον ποιεῖν,^[8] ἀπηγόρευσε μηδένα ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς εὐθύνεσθαι. ἢ δ’ οὖν Μεσσαλίνα οἱ τε ἀπελευθεροὶ αὐτοῦ οὕτως οὐ τὴν πολιτείαν μόνον οὐδὲ τὰς στρατείας καὶ τὰς ἐπιτροπείας τὰς τε ἡγεμονίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ἀφειδῶς ἐπώλουν καὶ ἐκαπήλευον ὥστε σπανίσι πάντα τὰ ὦνια, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν Κλαύδιον ἀναγκασθῆναι ἕς τε τὸ Ἄρειον πεδῖον συναγαγεῖν τὸ πλῆθος, κάνταῦθα ἀπὸ^[9] βήματος τὰς τιμὰς αὐτῶν διατάξαι. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ὀπλομαχίας ἀγῶνα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, χλαμύδα ἐνδύς, ἔθηκε: τὰ δὲ δὴ γενέθλια τὰ τοῦ υἱέος αὐτοῦ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐθελονταὶ θέας τέ τινος ποιήσει καὶ δειπνῶν ἐώρτασαν. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ αὖθις, ὅσοις γε καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτῶν,

ἐπράχθη. 18. Μεσσαινα δὲ ἐν τούτῳ αὐτὴ τε ἡσέλαине καὶ τὰς ἄλλας γυναῖκας ἀκολασταίνειν ὁμοίως ἡνάγκαζε, καὶ πολλὰς γε καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ παλατίῳ, τῶν ἀνδρῶν παρόντων καὶ ὄρωντων, μοιχεύεσθαι [2] ἐποίει. καὶ ἐκείνους μὲν καὶ ἐφίλει καὶ ἡγάπα, τιμαῖς τε καὶ ἀρχαῖς ἡγαλλε, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους τοὺς μὴ συγκαθιέντας σφᾶς ἐς τοῦτο καὶ ἐμίσει καὶ πάντα τρόπον ἀπώλλυε. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι τοιαῦτά τε ὄντα καὶ ἀναφανδὸν οὕτω γιγνόμενα [3] τὸν Κλαύδιον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἔλαθεν: ἐκείνῳ τε γὰρ θεραπαινιδία τινα συμπαρακατέκλινε, καὶ [p. 414] τοὺς τι δυναμένους οἱ μηνῦσαι τοὺς μὲν εὐεργεσίαις τοὺς δὲ καὶ τιμωρίαις προκατελάμβανεν, ὥσπερ καὶ τότε καὶ Κατώνιον Ἰοῦστον τοῦ τε δορυφορικοῦ ἄρχοντα καὶ δηλῶσαι τι αὐτῷ περὶ τούτων ἐθέλησαντα [4] προδιέφειρε. τὴν τε Ἰουλίαν τὴν τοῦ Δρούσου μὲν τοῦ Τιβερίου παιδὸς θυγατέρα, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Νέρωνος τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ γυναῖκα γενομένην, ζηλοτυπήσασα ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν ἑτέρα, ἀπέσφαξε. καὶ τις ἐν τούτῳ τῶν ἱππέων, ὡς καὶ ἐπιβουλεύσας τῷ Κλαυδίῳ, κατὰ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ὑπὸ τε τῶν δημάρχων καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων κατεκρημνίσθη. 19. ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ πόλει ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον Αὐλὸς Πλαῦτιος βουλευτὴς λογιμώτατος ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν ἐστράτευσε: Βέρικος γὰρ τις ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ τῆς νήσου κατὰ στάσιν ἔπεισε τὸν Κλαύδιον δύναιεν ἐς αὐτήν [2] πέμψαι. καὶ οὕτως ὁ Πλαῦτιος στρατηγήσας τὸ μὲν στράτευμα χαλεπῶς ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας ἐξήγαγεν: ὡς γὰρ ἔξω τῆς οἰκουμένης στρατεύσοντες ἡγανάκτουν, καὶ οὐ πρότερόν γε αὐτῷ ἐπείσθησαν πρὶν τὸν Νάρκισσον ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλαυδίου πεμφθέντα ἀναβῆναι τε ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ Πλαντίου [3] βῆμα καὶ δημηγορῆσαι τι ἐθέλῃσαι: τότε γὰρ πολλῶν που μᾶλλον ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἄχθεσθέντες οὔτε τι ἐκείνῳ εἰπεῖν ἐπέτρεψαν, συμβοήσαντες ἐξαίφνης τοῦτο δὴ τὸ θρυλούμενον 'ὶὼ σατουρνάλια,' ἐπειδὴ περ ἐν τοῖς Κρονίοις οἱ δοῦλοι τὸ τῶν δεσποτῶν σχῆμα μεταλαμβάνοντες ἑορτάζουσι, καὶ τῷ Πλαντίῳ εὐθὺς ἐκούσιοι συνέσποντο. [p. 416] τὴν μὲν οὖν ὀρμὴν χρονίαν διὰ ταῦτ' ἐποίησαντο, [4] τριχῇ δὲ δὴ νεμηθέντες ὅπως μὴ καθ' ἐν περαιούμενοι κωλυθῶσι ποι προσσχεῖν, κἂν τῷ διάπλῳ τὸ μὲν τι δυσφορήσαντες ἐπειδὴ ἐπαλινδρόμησαν, τὸ δὲ ἀναθαρσήσαντες ὅτι λαμπὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνατολῶν ἀρθεῖσα πρὸς τὰς δυσμὰς ἦπερ ἔπλεον διέδραμε, κατῆραν ἐς τὴν νῆσον μηδενὸς σφισιν [5] ἐναντιωθέντος: οἱ γὰρ Βρεττανοὶ μὴ προσδοκήσαντες αὐτοὺς δι' ἅπερ ἐπυνθάνοντο ἥξειν, οὐ προσυνελέγησαν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τότε ἐς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ἦλθον, ἀλλ' ἐς τε τὰ ἔλη καὶ ἐς τὰς ὕλας κατέφυγον, ἐλπίσαντές σφας ἄλλως κατατρίψειν, ὥσθ', ὅπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ Ἰουλίου ἐγεγόνει, διὰ κενῆς αὐτοὺς ἀναπλεῦσαι. 20. ὁ οὖν Πλαῦτιος πολλὰ μὲν πράγματα ἀναζητῶν σφας ἔσχεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ εὐρὲ ποτε ἦσαν δὲ οὐκ αὐτόνομοι ἀλλ' ἄλλοι ἄλλοις βασιλεῦσι προστεταγμένοι, πρῶτον μὲν Καράτακον ἔπειτα Τογόδουμνον, Κυνοβελλίνου παῖδας, ἐνίκησεν: [2] αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐτεθνήκει. φυγόντων δὲ ἐκείνων προσεποίησατο ὁμολογίᾳ μέρος τι τῶν Βοδούννων, ὧν ἐπῆρχον Κατουελλανοὶ ὄντες, κάνταῦθα φρουρὰν καταλιπὼν πρόσω ἦει. ὡς δ' ἐπὶ ποταμῷ τινι ἐγένοντο ὃν οὐκ ᾔοντο οἱ βάρβαροι δυνήσεσθαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἄνευ γεφύρας διαβῆναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἀμελέστερόν πως ἐπὶ τῆς ὄχθης αὐτοῦ τῆς κατ' ἀντιπέραν ηὐλίζοντο,

διαπέμπει Κελτούς, [p. 418] οἷς ἔθος ἦν καὶ διὰ τῶν ῥωδεστάτων ῥαδίως αὐτοῖς [3] ὅπλοις διανήχεσθαι. καὶ ἐπεὶ δὴ ἐκεῖνοι παρὰ δόξαν τοῖς ἐναντίοις προσπεσόντες τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν οὐδένα ἔβαλλον, τοὺς δ' ἵππους τοὺς τὰ ἄρματα αὐτῶν ἄγοντας ἐτίτρωσκον, κᾶκ τούτου ταραττομένων σφῶν οὐδ' οἱ ἐπιβάται ἀσφαλεῖς εἶναι ἐδύναντο, ἐπιδιέπεμψε τὸν τε Οὐεσπασιανὸν τὸν Φλάουιον τὸν καὶ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα μετὰ ταῦτα ἀρχὴν λαβόντα, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Σαβῖνον [4] ὑποστρατηγοῦντά οἱ: καὶ οὕτω διελθόντες πη καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τὸν ποταμὸν συχνοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων μὴ προσδεχομένους ἀπέκτειναν. οὐ μέντοι οἱ λοιποὶ ἔφυγον, ἀλλὰ τῆς ὑστεραίας αὐθις συμβαλόντες σφίσι ἀγχώμαλα ἠγωνίσαντο, πρὶν δὴ Γναῖος Ὀσίδιος Γέτας κινδυνεύσας ἁλῶναι, ἔπειθ' οὕτως αὐτῶν ἐκράτησεν ὥστε καὶ τιμᾶς ἐπινικίους, [5] καίπερ οὐχ ὑπατεुकώς, λαβεῖν. ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ ἐντεῦθεν τῶν Βρεττανῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Ταμέσαν ποταμὸν, καθ' ὃ ἔς τε τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἐκβάλλει πλημμύροντός τε αὐτοῦ λιμνάζει, καὶ ῥαδίως αὐτὸν διαβάντων ἅτε καὶ τὰ στέριφα τὰ τε [6] εὐπόρα τοῦ χωρίου ἀκριβῶς εἰδόντων, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπακολουθήσαντές σφισι ταύτῃ μὲν ἐσφάλησαν, διανηξαμένων δ' αὐθις τῶν Κελτῶν, καὶ τινων ἐτέρων διὰ γεφύρας ὀλίγον ἄνω διελθόντων, πολλαχόθεν τε ἅμα αὐτοῖς προσέμιξαν καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν κατέκοψαν, τοὺς τε λοιποὺς ἀπερισκέπτως ἐπιδιώκοντες ἔς τε ἔλη δυσδιέξοδα ἐσέπεσον καὶ συχνοὺς ἀπέβαλον. 21. διὰ τε οὖν τοῦτο, καὶ ὅτι καὶ τοῦ Τογοδούμνου [p. 420] φθαρέντος οἱ Βρεττανοὶ οὐχ ὅσον ἐνέδοσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον πρὸς τὴν τιμωρίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπισυνέστησαν, φοβηθεὶς ὁ Πλαῦτιος οὐκέτι περαιτέρω προεχώρησεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς τε τὰ παρόντα διὰ φυλακῆς ἐποίησατο καὶ τὸν Κλαῦδιον μετεπέμψατο: [2] εἴρητο γὰρ αὐτῷ, εἴ τι βιαιότερον γίνοιτο, τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, καὶ παρασκευὴ γε ἐπὶ τῇ στρατείᾳ πολλὴ τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ ἐλεφάντων προσυνείλεκτο. ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς ἀγγελίας ὁ Κλαῦδιος τὰ μὲν οἴκοι τῷ Οὐιτελλίῳ τῷ Λουκίῳ τῷ συνάρχοντι τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐνεχείρισε 'καὶ γὰρ ἐξ ἴσου αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ ἐξάμηνον ὅλον ὑπατεῦσαι [3] ἐποίησεν', αὐτὸς δὲ ἐξεστρατεύσατο. καὶ καταπλεύσας ἔς τὰ ὠστια ἐκεῖθεν ἔς Μασσαλίαν παρεκομίσθη, κάντεῦθεν τὰ μὲν περὶ τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν ποταμῶν πορευόμενος πρὸς τε τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἀφίκετο, καὶ περαιωθεὶς ἔς τὴν Βρεττανίαν συνέμιξε τοῖς στρατοπέδοις πρὸς τῷ Ταμέσα [4] ἀναμένουσιν αὐτόν. καὶ παραλαβὼν σφας ἐκεῖνόν τε ἐπιδιέβη, καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ συνεστραμμένοις ἔς χεῖρας ἐλθὼν μάχῃ τε ἐνίκησε καὶ τὸ Καμουλόδουνον τὸ τοῦ Κυνοβελλίνου βασιλεῖον εἴλε. κᾶκ τούτου συχνοὺς τοὺς μὲν ὁμολογία τοὺς δὲ καὶ βίᾳ προσαγαγόμενος αὐτοκράτωρ [5] πολλάκις ἐπωνομάσθη παρὰ τὰ πάτρια 'οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐνὶ οὐδενὶ πλέον ἢ ἅπαξ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἐπικλησιν ταύτην λαβεῖν', καὶ τὰ ὅπλα αὐτῶν ἀφελόμενος ἐκείνους μὲν τῷ Πλαυτίῳ [p. 422] προσέταξεν, ἐντειλάμενός οἱ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσκαταστρέφασθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔς τὴν Ῥώμην ἤπειχθη, τὴν ἀγγελίαν τῆς νίκης διὰ τῶν γαμβρῶν, τοῦ τε 22. Μάγνου καὶ τοῦ Σιλανοῦ, προπέμψας. μαθοῦσα δ' ἡ γερουσία τὰ κατειργασμένα Βρεττανικὸν τε αὐτὸν ἐπεκάλεσε καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια αὐτῷ πέμψαι ἔδωκε. πανήγυριν τε ἐτήσιαν καὶ ἀψῖδας τροπαιοφόρους, τὴν μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει, τὴν

δὲ ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ, ὅθεν ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν ἐξαναχθεῖς ^[2] ἐπεραιώθη, γενέσθαι ἐψηφίσαντο: τῷ τε υἱεῖ αὐτοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἐπέθεσαν, ὥστε καὶ κυρίως τρόπον τινὰ Βρεττανικὸν αὐτὸν ὀνομασθῆναι, καὶ τῇ Μεσσαλίνῃ τὴν προεδρίαν ἦν καὶ ἡ Λιουῖα ἐσχέκει καὶ τὸ καρπέντω χρῆσθαι ἔδωσαν. ^[3] ἐκείνους μὲν δὴ τοῦτοις ἐτίμησαν, τῇ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Γαίου μνήμῃ ἀχθόμενοι τὸ νόμισμα τὸ χαλκοῦν πᾶν, ὅσον τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ ἐντετυπωμένην εἶχε, συγχωνευθῆναι ἔγνωσαν. καὶ ἐπράχθη μὲν τοῦτο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς βέλτιόν τι ὁ χαλκὸς ἐχώρησεν, ἀλλ' ἀνδριάντας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ Μεσσαλῖνα τοῦ ^[4] μνηστῆρος τοῦ ὀρχηστοῦ ἐποιήσατο. ἐπεὶ γὰρ τῷ Γαίῳ ποτὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐκέχρητο, χάριν τινὰ αὐτῷ ταύτην τῆς πρὸς ἑαυτὴν συνουσίας κατέθετο. σφόδρα γὰρ ἦρα, καὶ ἐπεὶ γε μηδὲνα τρόπον μὴθ' ὑπισχνουμένη τι μῆτε ἐκφοβοῦσα αὐτὸν συγγενέσθαι αὐτῇ ἀναπεῖσαι ἐδύνατο, διελέχθη τῷ ἀνδρὶ, ^[p. 424] ἀξιοῦσα αὐτὸν πειθαρχεῖν οἱ ἀναγκασθῆναι ὥς ^[5] καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι αὐτοῦ δεομένη: καὶ οὕτως εἰπόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Κλαυδίου πάνθ' ὅσα ἂν προστάτῃται ὑπὸ τῆς Μεσσαλίνης ποιεῖν, συνῆν αὐτῇ ὥς καὶ τοῦθ' ὑπ' ἐκείνου κεκελευσμένος. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους συχνοὺς ἐπραπτεν: ὥς γὰρ εἰδότος τε τοῦ Κλαυδίου τὰ γινόμενα καὶ συγχωροῦντός οἱ ἀκολασταίνειν ἐμοιχεύετο. 23. τῆς μὲν οὖν Βρεττανίας οὕτω τότε ἐάλω τινά: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Γαίου τε Κρίσπου τὸ δεῦτερον καὶ Τίτου Στατιλίου ὑπατευόντων, ἦλθέ τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὁ Κλαύδιος ἕξ μῆνας ἀποδημήσας, ἀφ' ὧν ἐκκαίδεκα μόνas ἐν τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ ἡμέρας ἐποίησε, καὶ τὰ νικητήρια ἔπεμψε, τὰ τε ἄλλα κατὰ τὸ νομιζόμενον πράξας καὶ τοὺς ἀναβασμοὺς τοὺς ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ τοῖς γόνασιν ἀναβάς, ἀναφερόντων ^[2] αὐτὸν τῶν γαμβρῶν ἐκατέρωθεν. ἔναιμε δὲ τοῖς μὲν βουλευταῖς τοῖς συνεξετασθεῖσιν οἱ τὰς ἐπινικίους τιμάς, οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς ὑπατευκόσιν, ... ὅπερ καὶ ἄλλως ἀφθονώτατα καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐλαχίστοις ἐποiei, Ρουφρίῳ δὲ δὴ Πωλίῳ τῷ ἐπάρχῳ εἰκόνα καὶ ἔδραν ἐν τῷ βουλευτικῷ, ὡσάκις ἂν ἐς ^[3] τὸ συνέδριον αὐτῷ συνεσίη: καὶ ἵνα γε μὴ καινοτομεῖν τι δόξῃ, ἔφη καὶ τὸν Αὐγουστον ἐπὶ Οὐαλερίου τινὸς Λίγυος τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι. τὸν τε Λάκωνα τὸν πρότερον μὲν τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων ἄρξαντα, τότε δὲ τῶν Γαλατῶν ἐπιτροπεύοντα, τῷ τε αὐτῷ τούτῳ καὶ προσέτι ταῖς τῶν ὑπατευκότων ^[4] τιμαῖς ἐσέμνυνε. διατελέσας δὲ ταῦτα τὴν ^[p. 426] πανήγυριν τὴν τῶν νικητηρίων ἐποίησεν, ὑπάτου τινὰ ἐξουσίαν ἐς αὐτὴν λαβών. ἐγίγνετο δὲ ἐν τοῖς δύο ἅμα θεάτροις: καὶ πολλακίς αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπελείπετο τῆς θέας, ἔτεροι δὲ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ^[5] ἐπετέλουν αὐτήν. τῶν δὲ δὴ ἵππων ἐπήγγειλε μὲν ἀμίλλας ὅσας ἂν ἡμέρα ἐνδέξηται, οὐ μέντοι καὶ πλείους τῶν δέκα ἐγένοντο: ἄρκτοι τε γὰρ μεταξὺ τοῦ δρόμου αὐτῶν ἐσφάγησαν καὶ ἀθληταὶ ἠγωνίσαντο, πυρρίχην τε Ἀσιανοὶ παῖδες μετὰπεμπτοὶ ^[6] ὠρχήσαντο. καὶ ἄλλην δὲ τινα πανήγυριν, ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ καὶ αὐτήν, οἱ περὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τεχνῖται, συγχωρηθέν σφισιν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, ἐποίησαν. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ διὰ τὰ Βρεττανικὰ ἐπράχθη, καὶ ἵνα γε καὶ ἄλλοι ῥᾶον ἐς ὁμολογίαν ἴωσιν, ἐψηφίσθη τὰς συμβάσεις ἀπάσας, ὅσας ἂν ὁ Κλαύδιος ἢ καὶ οἱ ἀντιστράτηγοι αὐτοῦ πρὸς τινὰς ποιήσωνται, κυρίας ὥς καὶ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν τὸν τε δῆμον εἶναι. 24. τὴν τε Ἀχαΐαν καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν αἰρετοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἐξ οὗπερ ὁ Τιβέριος ἦρξε, διδομένας

ἀπέδωκεν ὁ Κλαύδιος τότε τῷ κλήρῳ: καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως καταλύσας [2] ταμίαις αὐτὴν κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐπέτρεψεν, οὐχ ὥστε καὶ ἐτησίους σφᾶς, ὅπερ ἐπὶ τε ἐκείνων πρότερον καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, ἄρχειν, ἀλλ' οἱ δύο οἱ αὐτοὶ τρία ὅλα ἔτη αὐτὴν διώκουν, καὶ οἱ μὲν στρατηγίας εὐθὺς ἐλάμβανον, οἱ δὲ καὶ μισθὸν ἔφερον ὅπως ποτὲ [3] καὶ ἔδοξαν ἄρξαι. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ταμίαις τὴν [p. 428] διοίκησιν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἀντέδωκε 'πάσας γὰρ αὐτὰς ἔπαυσέ, τοῖς δὲ δὴ στρατηγοῖς δίκας τινάς, ἃς πρότερον οἱ ὕπατοι διεδίδικαζον, ἀντενεχείρισε. τοῖς τε στρατευομένοις, ἐπειδὴ γυναικας οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἔκ γε τῶν νόμων ἔχειν, τὰ τῶν γεγαμηκότων [4] δικαιώματα ἔδωκε. καὶ Μάρκῳ Ἰουλίῳ Κοττίῳ τὴν πατρῶαν ἀρχήν, ἣν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀλπεων τῶν ὁμωνύμων εἶχε, προσεπηύξησε, βασιλέα αὐτὸν τότε πρῶτον ὀνομάσας. τῶν τε Ῥοδιῶν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀφείλετο, ὅτι Ῥωμαίους τινάς ἀνεσκολόπισαν. [5] καὶ Οὐμβώνιον Σιλίωνα ἄρχοντα Βαιτικῆς μεταπέμψας ἐξέωσεν ἔκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ὡς καὶ σῖτον ὀλίγον τοῖς ἐν τῇ Μαυριτανίᾳ στρατευομένοις ἀποστείλαντα: τοῦτο γὰρ κατηγορήθη, ἐπεὶ τὸ γε ἀληθές οὐχ οὕτως εἶχεν, ἀλλ' [6] ὅτι τισὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων προσέκρουσε. καὶ ὃς συνήνεγκε μὲν ἐς τὸ πρατήριον πάντα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἔπιπλα, πολλὰ τε καὶ περικαλλῆ ὄντα, ὡς καὶ πάντα αὐτὰ ἀποκηρύξων, μόνην δὲ δὴ τὴν βουλευτικὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐπώλησεν, ἐνδεικνύμενός σφισι διὰ τοῦτου ὅτι οὔτε τι δεινὸν πεπονθὼς εἶη καὶ [7] δύναιτο ιδιωτεύων ἡδέως βιοτεύειν. τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν τὴν διὰ τῶν ἐννέα ἡμερῶν ἀγομένην ἐς ἑτέραν ἡμέραν ἱερῶν τινων ἔνεκα μετέθεσαν: καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλοτε πολλάκις ἐγένετο. 25. τῷ δ' ἐπὶ ὄντι ἔτει ὕπατοι μὲν Μᾶρκος τε Οὐνίκιος δεύτερον καὶ Στατίλιος Κορουῖνος ἦρξαν, Κλαύδιος δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν πάντα τὰ εἰθισμένα [p. 430] διώμοσε, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐκώλυσε κατ' ἄνδρα [2] ὁμόσαι: καὶ οὕτως εἰς τις τῶν στρατηγούντων, ὥσπερ ποτέ, καὶ ἕτερος τῶν δημαρχούντων, ἀπὸ τε τῶν ἄλλων ὡς ἐκάστων εἷς, ἐξῆρξε τῶν ὄρκων τοῖς ὁμοίοις. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω ἔτη ἐπράχθη. ἐπειδὴ τε ἡ πόλις πολλῶν εἰκόνων ἐπληροῦτο 'ἐξῆν γὰρ ἀνέδην τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐν γραφῇ καὶ ἐν χαλκῷ λίθῳ τε δημοσιεύεσθαι, [3] τὰς τε πλείους αὐτῶν ἐτέρωσέ ποι μετέθηκε, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἀπηγόρευσε μηδενὶ ιδιώτῃ, ᾧ ἂν μὴ ἡ βουλὴ ἐπιτρέψῃ, τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐξεῖναι, πλὴν εἰ τις ἔργον τι ὠκοδομηκῶς εἶη ἢ καὶ κατασκευάσαιτο: τούτοις γὰρ δὴ, τοῖς τε συγγενέσιν αὐτῶν, [4] ἴστασθαι ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις ἐκείνοις ἐφῆκε. καὶ τινα ἐπὶ δώροις τῶν ἀρξάντων τινὸς ἔθνους φυγαδεύσας, πάνθ' ὅσα ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐπεκτήσατο ἐδήμευσεν. ὅπως τε μὴ διακροοῖντο οἱ τοιοῦτοι τοὺς ἐθέλοντάς σφισι δικάζεσθαι, οὐδενὶ ἀρχὴν [5] ἐπ' ἀρχῇ παραχρῆμα ἐδίδου. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐνενόμιστο μὲν καὶ πρότερον, ἵνα ἀπροφασίστως τις αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ λαγχάνῃ 'οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῖς παριεμένοις τὰς ἐκδημίας ποι ἐπετρέπετο ἐπαλλήλας ποιεῖσθαι, ὅπως εἰ δὴ τι πλημμελήσειαν, μὴ προσλαμβάνοιεν, οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀρχῶν οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀποδημιῶν, τὸ ἀνεύθυνον', [6] ἐξελελοίπει δέ. καὶ οὕτω γε ἀκριβῶς ἐκάτερον [p. 432] αὐτῶν ἐφύλαττεν ὥστε μηδὲ παρεδρεύσαντά τινα ἐπιτρέψαι ἐς ἡγεμονίαν εὐθὺς ἔθνους ἐπιβάλλουσαν οἱ κληροῦσθαι, καίτοι καὶ ἐπὶ δύο

ἐτη τινὰς ἐὼν αὐτῶν ἄρχειν, αἵρετοὺς τε ἔστιν οὐς πέμπων. τοῖς δ' οὖν αἰτουμένοις ὥστε ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀποδημῆσαι ἐφίει μὲν καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἄνευ τῆς βουλῆς, τοῦ γε μὴν καὶ νόμῳ τινὶ αὐτὸ ^[7] δοκεῖν ποιεῖν δόγμα γενέσθαι ἐκέλευσε. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ τῷ ὑστέρω ἔτει ἐψηφίσθη: τότε δὲ τὴν τε πανήγυριν τὴν εὐκταίαν, ἣν τῆς στρατείας αὐτοῦ ἔνεκα προϋπέσχητο, διέθηκε καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ τῷ σιτοδοτουμένῳ πέντε μὲν καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα δραχμὰς ἅπασι διέδωκεν, ἔστι δ' οἷς καὶ πλεον, ὥστε καὶ ἐς τριακοσίας καὶ δώδεκα ^[8] καὶ ἡμίσειάν τισι γενέσθαι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ πάντα αὐτὸς διένειμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ γαμβροὶ αὐτοῦ, ἐπειδήπερ ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας ἡ διάδοσις ἐγένετο καὶ ἠθέλησε καὶ δικάσαι ἐν ταύταις. τοῖς τε Κρονίοις τὴν πέμπτην ἡμέραν τὴν καταδειχθεῖσαν τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαίου καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καταλυθεῖσαν ἀπέδωκε. 26. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἥλιος ἐν τοῖς γενεθλίοις αὐτοῦ ἐκλείπειν ἔμελλεν, ἐφοβήθη τε μὴ τις ἐκ τούτου ταραχὴ γένηται, ἐπεὶ ἄλλα ἄττα τέρατα συνεβεβήκει, καὶ προέγραψεν οὐ μόνον ὅτι τε ἐκλείπει καὶ ὁπότε καὶ ἐφ' ὅποσον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς αἰτίας δι' ἃς ἀναγκαίως γενήσεσθαι τοῦτ' ἔμελλεν. ^[2] εἰσὶ δὲ αἶδε. ἡ σελήνη τὴν κάτω τοῦ ἡλίου περιφοράν, ὥσπερ που πεπίστευται 'εἶτ' οὖν ^[p. 434] ἐφεξῆς αὐτοῦ εἶτε καὶ μετὰ τὸν Ἑρμῆν αὐτὴν τὴν τε Ἀφροδίτην ἔχει 98', κινηθεῖσα, κινεῖται μὲν κατὰ μῆκος, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐκεῖνος, κινεῖται δὲ καὶ ἐν πλάτει, ὅπερ οὐδαμῇ οὐδαμῶς τῷ ἡλίῳ ^[3] ὑπάρχει. ὅταν οὖν κατὰ τε τὴν αὐτὴν αὐτῷ εὐθυωρίαν ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡμετέραν ὄψιν γένηται καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν φλόγα αὐτοῦ ὑποδράμῃ, τότε τὴν αὐγὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐς τὴν γῆν καθήκουσαν τοῖς μὲν ἐπὶ πλεῖον τοῖς δὲ ἐπ' ἔλαττον διεσκέπασεν, ἔστι δ' ^[4] οἷς 100 οὐδὲ ἐπὶ βραχύτατον ἀποκρύπτει: ἴδιον γὰρ αἰεὶ φῶς ὁ ἥλιος ἔχων οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε αὐτοῦ ἀπαλλάττεται, καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' οἷς ἂν ἡ σελήνη μὴ ἐπίπροσθεν, ὥστ' αὐτὸν συσκιάζεσθαι, γένηται, ὁλόκληρος αἰεὶ φαίνεται. περὶ μὲν δὴ τὸν ἥλιον ταῦτά τε συμβαίνει καὶ τότε ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλαυδίου ^[5] ἐδημοσιεύθη: ἡ δὲ σελήνη 'οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἀπὸ τρόπου καὶ τὸ κατ' ἐκείνην εἰπεῖν, ἐπειδὴπερ ἅπαξ τοῦ λόγου τούτου προσηψάμην' ὁσάκις ἂν καταντικρὺ τῷ ἡλίῳ γενομένη ἐν γὰρ ταῖς πανσελήνοις μόνως αὐτῇ τοῦτο, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἐν ταῖς νουμηνίαις, συμβαίνει, ἐς τὸ τῆς γῆς σκίασμα κωνοειδὲς ὃν ἐμπέσῃ 'γίγνεται δὲ τοῦτο ὅταν διὰ τῶν μέσων ἐν τῇ τοῦ πλάτους κινήσει περιφέρηται, στέρεται τε 101 τοῦ ἡλιοειδοῦς φωτός, καὶ αὐτὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν, ὅποιαπερ ἐστί, φαντάζεται. 27. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτά ἐστι, τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκείνου ἐξεληθόντος Οὐαλέριός τε Ἀσιατικὸς τὸ ^[p. 436] δεῦτερον καὶ Μᾶρκος Σιλανὸς ὑπάτευσαν. καὶ οὗτος μὲν ἐφ' ὅσον ἡρέθη ἡρξεν, Ἀσιατικὸς δὲ ἀπεδείχθη μὲν ὡς καὶ δι' ἔτους ὑπατεύσων, ὃ καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων ἐγίγνετο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐποίησε τοῦτο, ^[2] ἀλλ' ἀφῆκε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐθελούσιος. καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ ἕτεροί τινες ἔπραξαν: ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὑπὸ πενίας 'τὰ γὰρ ἀναλώματα τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἵπποδρομίαις γιγνόμενα ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐκεχωρήκει: τετράκις γὰρ καὶ εἰκοσάκις ὡς πληθεὶ ἡμιλλώντῳ, ὃ δ' Ἀσιατικὸς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πλούτου, ὑφ' οὗπερ καὶ ἀπέθανεν: ^[3] ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἔν τε πολλῇ περιουσίᾳ ἦν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου ὑπατεῦειν καὶ ἐπαχθῆς καὶ ἐπίφθορος πολλοῖς 102 ἐγεγόνει, καταλῦσαι τρόπον τινὰ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἠθέλησεν ὡς καὶ ἥττον τι παρὰ τοῦτο

[4] κινδυνεύσων. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐξηπατήθη, ὁ δὲ Οὐνίκιος ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ Κλαυδίου οὐδὲν ἔπαθεν ἦν μὲν γὰρ διαπρεπὴς ἀνὴρ, τὴν δὲ δὴ ἡσυχίαν ἄγων καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πράττων ἐσώζετο, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Μεσσαλίνης, ὑποψία τε ὅτι τὴν 103 γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἰουλίαν ἀπεκτόνει, καὶ ὀργῇ 104 ὅτι οὐκ ἠθέλησέν οἱ συγγενέσθαι, φαρμάκῳ διεφθάρη. καὶ οὕτω ταφῆς τε δημοσίας καὶ ἐπαίνων ἤξιώθη: πολλοῖς γὰρ [5] δὴ καὶ ταῦτ' ἐδίδοτο. Ἀσίνιος 105 δὲ δὴ Γάλλος ὁ τοῦ Δρούσου πρὸς μητρὸς ἀδελφὸς ἐπεβούλευσε μὲν τῷ Κλαυδίῳ, οὐκ ἀπέθανε δὲ ἀλλ' ὑπερωρίσθη. αἷτιον δὲ ἴσως μὲν καὶ ἐκεῖνο ὅτι μῆτε στράτευμα προπαρασκευάσας μῆτε χρήματα προαθροίσας, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀνοίας πολλῆς, ὥς καὶ ἐκουσίῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διὰ τὸ γένος ἄρξων, [p. 438] ἐθρασύνετο: τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον ὅτι καὶ σμικρότατος καὶ δυσειδέστατος ὢν, κάκ τούτου καταφρονηθεὶς, γέλωτα μᾶλλον ἢ κίνδυνον ὥφλεν. 28. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ πάνυ τοῦ Κλαυδίου ἐπήνουν, καὶ νῆ Δία καὶ ἐκεῖνο ὅτι ἐντυχόντος τινὸς τοῖς δημάρχοις κατὰ τοῦ ἐξελευθερώσαντος αὐτόν, καὶ ὑπρέτην ἐπ' αὐτὸν αἰτήσαντος καὶ λαβόντος, ἡγανάκτησε, καὶ ἐκεῖνόν τε καὶ τοὺς συνεξετασθέντας αὐτῷ ἐκόλασε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἀπηγόρευσε μηδὲνα τοῖς τοιοῦτοις 106 κατὰ τῶν δεσποτευσάντων αὐτῶν βοηθεῖν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, στέρεσθαι τοῦ δίκην αὐτοὺς ἑτέροις λαγχάνειν. [2] δουλεύοντα μέντοι αὐτὸν τῇ τε γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀπελευθέροις ὀρῶντες ἡσχαλλον, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ σπουδασάντων ποτὲ τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κλαυδίου τὸν Σαβῖνον τὸν τῶν Κελτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαίῳ ἄρξαντα ἐν μονομαχίᾳ τινὶ ἀποκτεῖναι, ἡ Μεσσαλίνα ἔσωσε: καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ ἐπλησίαζε. [3] τοῦτό τε οὖν αὐτοὺς ἡνία, καὶ ὅτι τὸν Μνησηῖρα ἀποσπάσασα ἀπὸ τοῦ θεάτρου εἶχε, καὶ ὅποτε γε λόγος τις ἐν τῷ δήμῳ 107 περὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι μὴ ὀρχοῖτο γίνοιτο, θαῦμά τε ὁ Κλαύδιος ἐποιεῖτο καὶ ἀπελογεῖτο τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ὁμνύς [4] ὅτι μὴ συνείη αὐτῷ. πιστεύοντες γὰρ ὄντως ἀγνοεῖν αὐτὸν τὰ γιγνόμενα, ἐλυποῦντο μὲν ὅτι μόνος οὐκ ἠπίστατο τὰ ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ δρώμενα, ὅσα καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολέμιους ἤδη διεπεφοιτῆκει, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐξελέγχειν αὐτὰ ἠθελον, τὸ μὲν τι τὴν Μεσσαλίναν αἰδοῦμενοι, τὸ δὲ καὶ τοῦ Μνησηῖρος [p. 440] [5] φειδόμενοι: ὅσον γὰρ ἐκείνῃ διὰ τὸ κάλλος, τοσοῦτον τῷ δήμῳ διὰ τὴν τέχνην ἤρεσκεν. οὕτω γὰρ που δεινὸς σοφιστὴς ἐν τῇ ὀρχήσει ἦν ὥστε τοῦ ὁμίλου μεγάλῃ ποτὲ σπουδῇ δρᾶμά τι αὐτὸν ἐπιβόητον ὀρχήσασθαι δεομένου, παρακῦψαι τε ἐκ τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ εἰπεῖν ὅτι 'οὐ δύναμαι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι: τῷ γὰρ Ὁρέστη συγκεκριμένη.' [6] ὁ δ' οὖν Κλαύδιος ταῦτά τε οὕτως ἔπραττε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ πλῆθος τε δικῶν ἀμύθητον ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἀπήντων ἐπ' αὐτάς 108 οἷ τι 109 προσδοκῶντες ἐλαττωθήσεσθαι, προεῖπε διὰ προγράμματος ὅτι καὶ κατὰ ἀπόντων αὐτῶν ἐντὸς ῥητῆς τινος ἡμέρας δικάσει, καὶ ἐνεπέδωσε τοῦτο. [7] ὅτι Μιθριδάτης ὁ τῶν Ἰβήρων βασιλεὺς ἐνεωτέρισε, καὶ παρεσκευάζετο εἰς τὸν κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πόλεμον. τῆς δὲ μητρὸς ἀντιλεγούσης καὶ φυγεῖν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ πείθειν αὐτὸν ἠδύνατο, βουληθείσης, βουλόμενος ἐπικαλύψαι τὸ σπουδαζόμενον, αὐτὸς μὲν παρεσκευάζετο, πέμπει δὲ Κότυν τὸν ἀδελφὸν εἰς πρεσβείαν, φιλίους λόγους τῷ Κλαυδίῳ κομίζοντα. ὁ δὲ παραπρεσβεύσας πάντα αὐτῷ κατεμήνυσε, καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἰβηρίας ἀντὶ Μιθριδάτου γίνεται." Petr. Patr. exc. de " λεγ.γ

‘ηοεσξη. π. 15~φρ. μυελλ. φραγμα. ηιστ. γρ. π. 184 ς#3.’.”

29. “ ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐξῆς ἔτει ὃ τε Κλαύδιος τὸ τέταρτον καὶ Οὐιτέλλιος Λούκιος τὸ τρίτον, ὀκτακοσιοστοῦ τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἔτους ὄντος, ὑπάτευσαν. καὶ ἐξήλασε μὲν ὁ Κλαύδιος τινὰς καὶ ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς, ὧν οἱ πλείονες οὐκ ἄκοντες ἐξέπεσον ἀλλ’ ἐθέλοντα διὰ πενίαν παρέμενοι, ἀντεσήγαγε δὲ [2] ὁμοίως πολλούς. ἐπειδὴ τε Σουρδινίος τις Γάλλος βουλευῆσαι δυνάμενος ἐς τὴν Καρχηδὸνα ἐξώκησε, σπουδῇ τε αὐτὸν μετεπέμψατο, καὶ ἔφη ὅτι ‘χρυσαῖς σε πέδαις δήσω.’ καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω τῷ ἀξιώματι πεδηθεὶς κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινε: τοὺς μέντοι ἀλλοτρίους ἀπελευθέρους ὁ Κλαύδιος, εἴ [3] πού τις κακουργοῦντας λάβοι, δεινῶς τιμωρῶν, τοῖς ἰδίους οὕτω προσέκειτο ὥσθ’ ὑποκριτοῦ τινος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ποτὲ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ θρυλούμενον εἰπόντος ὅτι ‘ἀφόρητός ἐστιν εὐτυχῶν μαστιγίας,’ καὶ τοῦ τε δήμου παντὸς ἐς Πολύβιον τὸν ἀπελευθέρου αὐτοῦ ἀποβλέψαντος, καὶ ἐκείνου ἐκβοήσαντος ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς μέντοι ποιητῆς εἶπεν ὅτι ‘βασιλεῖς ἐγένοντο χοῖ πρὶν ὄντες αἰπόλοι,’ [4] οὐδὲν δεινὸν αὐτὸν εἰργάσατο. μηνυθέντων δὲ [p. 4] τινων ὡς ἐπιβουλευοίεν αὐτῷ, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποίησατο, εἰπὼν ὅτι ‘οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν χρὴ τρόπον ψῦλλαν τε καὶ θηρίον ἀμύνεσθαι,’ ὁ δὲ Ἀσιατικὸς ἐκρίθη μὲν παρ’ αὐτῷ [5] ὀλίγου δὲ δεῖν ἀπέφυγεν. ἀρνούμενου γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγοντος ὅτι ‘οὐκ οἶδα οὐδὲ γνωρίζω τῶν καταμαρτυροῦντων μου τούτων οὐδένα,’ ἐρωτηθεὶς ὁ στρατιώτης ὁ φάσκων αὐτῷ συγγεγονέναι ὅστις ὁ Ἀσιατικὸς εἶη, φαλακρόν τινα προσεστῶτα κατὰ τύχην ἔδειξε: τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸ σύμβολον [6] μόνον ἦπιστατο. γέλωτος οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλοῦ γενομένου, καὶ τοῦ Κλαυδίου ἀπολύειν αὐτὸν μέλλοντος, ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος τῇ Μεσσαλίνῃ χαριζόμενος παρακεκλησθαι ἔφη ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἵν’ ὅπως ἂν βουλευθῇ ἀποθάνῃ. ἀκούσας δὲ τοῦτ’ ἐκείνος ἐπίστευσέ τε αὐτὸν ὄντως ἑαυτοῦ διὰ τὸ συνειδὸς κατεγνώκεναι, καὶ κατεχρήσατο.” Xiph. 141, 30-142, R. St. “ [6a] ἄλλους δὲ πολλοὺς διαβληθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς Μεσσαλίνης καὶ τὸν Ἀσιατικὸν καὶ τὸν γαμβρὸν τὸν Μάγνον ἀπέκτεινε, τὸν μὲν Ἀσιατικὸν διὰ τὴν οὐσίαν, τὸν δὲ Μάγνον διὰ τὸ γένος καὶ τὸ κῆδος. ἐάλωσαν μέντοι ὡς ἐπ’ ἄλλοις τισίν.” Zon. 11, 9, p. 30, 1-6 D. “ [7.1] ἀνεφάνη δὲ καὶ νησιδιὸν τι ἐν τῷ ἔτει τούτῳ παρὰ τῇ Θήρᾳ τῇ νήσῳ, οὐκ ὃν πρότερον.” Xiph. 142, 25. R. St. “ [7a] ὅτι Κλαύδιος ὁ βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων νόμον προὔθηκε, μὴ δύνασθαι βουλευτὴν ὑπὲρ ἑπτὰ [p. 6] σημείων τῆς πόλεως ὀδεύειν χωρὶς τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύσεως.” Suid. s.v. *klau/dios gl. 2. “ [7.2] ἐπειδὴ τε πολλοὶ δούλους ἄρρωστοῦντας οὐδεμιᾶς θεραπείας ἡξίουσαν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἐξέβαλλον, ἐνομοθέτησε πάντας τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτου περιγενομένους ἐλευθέρους εἶναι.” Xiph. 142, 26-29 R. St. (Zon., Suid.). “ [7b] ἀπηγόρευσε δὲ καὶ τὸ καθήμενόν τινα ἐπὶ ἄρματος διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐλαύνειν.” Suid. s.v. *klau/dios gl. 2. “ 30. ἐν δὲ τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ περιστοιχισθέντος τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ποτὲ καὶ κινδυνεύοντος φθαρῆναι, ὁ Τίτος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ περὶ τῷ πατρὶ δεισας τὴν τε περίσχεσιν αὐτῶν παραλόγῳ τὸλμῃ διέρρηξε, κάκ τούτου φεύγοντάς [2] σφας ἐπιδιώξας

ἔφθειρεν. ὁ δὲ Πλαύτιος ἀπὸ τοῦ Βρεττανικοῦ πολέμου, ὡς καὶ καλῶς αὐτὸν χειρίσας καὶ κατορθώσας, καὶ ἐπηνέθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλαυδίου καὶ ἐθριάμβευσε.” Χιρ. 142, 29-143, R. St. “[3] ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ὀπλομαχίαν πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ξένων ἀπελευθέρων καὶ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι οἱ Βρεττανοὶ ἐμαχέσαντο: καὶ πολλοὺς ὄσους καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ εἶδει τῆς θέας ἀνήλiske, καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἐσεμνύνετο.” Exc. Val. 224 (p. 674). “[4] Γναῖος δὲ Δομίτιος Κορβούλων ἐν τῇ Κελτικῇ στρατηγῶν τὰ τε στρατεύματα συνεκρότησε, καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄλλους τε καὶ οὓς ἐκάλουν Καύχους ἐκάκωσε. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ [p. 8] ὄντα ὁ Κλαύδιος ἀνεκάλεσε: τὴν τε γὰρ ἄρετὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἄσκησιν μαθὼν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν [5] αὐτῷ ἐπὶ πλεόν ἀύξηθῆναι. πυθόμενος δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Κορβούλων ἐπανῆλθε, τοσοῦτον μόνον ἀναβοήσας ‘ὦ μακάριοι οἱ πάσαι ποτὲ στρατηγήσαντες,’ ἐς δὴλῶσιν ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἀκινδύνως ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι ἐξῆν, αὐτὸς δ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος διὰ τὸν φθόνον ἐνεποδίσθη. τιμῶν μέντοι [6] ἐπινικίων καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε. πιστευθεὶς δὲ πάλιν τὸ στράτευμα καὶ οὐδὲν ἦττον ἥσκει αὐτό, καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε εἰρήνουν, διετάφρευσεν δι’ αὐτῶν πᾶν τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Ρήνου καὶ τοῦ Μόσου, σταδίου ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μάλιστα, ἵνα μὴ οἱ ποταμοὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ πλημμυρίδι ἀναρρέοντες πελαγίζωσιν.” Χιρ. 143, 3-16 R. St. “[6a] γεννηθέντος δὲ οἱ ἐγγόνου ἐκ τῆς Ἀντωνίας τῆς θυγατρὸς, ἣν Κορνηλίῳ Φαύστῳ Σύλλᾳ ἀδελφῷ τῆς Μεσσαλίνης ὄντι μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Μάγνου συνώκισε θάνατον, οὐδὲν ἐφῆκε ψηφισθῆναι μετριοφρονῶν. [6b] ἡ δὲ Μεσσαλίνα καὶ οἱ ἐξελεύθεροι αὐτοῦ ἐξώγκωντο. ἦσαν δὲ τρεῖς οἱ μάλιστα τὸ κράτος διειληφότες: ὁ τε Κάλλιστος, ὃς ἐπὶ ταῖς βίβλοις τῶν ἀξιώσεων ἐτέτακτο, καὶ ὁ Νάρκισσος, ὃς τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἐπεστάτει, διὸ καὶ ἐγχειρίδιον παρεζώννυτο, καὶ ὁ Πάλλας, ὃς ἡ τῶν χρημάτων διοίκησις ἐμπεπίστευτο.” Zon. 11, 9, p. 30, 10-19 D. “31. ὅτι ἡ Μεσσαλίνα ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐξαρκοῦν οἱ ὅτι καὶ ἐμοιχευέτο καὶ ἐπορνεύετο ‘τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα [p. 10] αἰσχρῶς ἐπραπτε, καὶ ἐπ’ οἰκήματος ἔστιν ὅτε ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ αὐτὴ τε ἐκαθέζετο καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς πρώτας ἐκάθιζε, καὶ ἐπεθύμησε καὶ ἄνδρας, [2] τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ λόγου, πολλοὺς ἔχειν. καὶ σύμπασιν ἂν τοῖς χρωμένοις αὐτῇ κατὰ συμβόλαια συνώκησεν, εἰ μήπερ εὐθύς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ φωραθεῖσα ἀπώλετο. τέως μὲν γὰρ οἱ Καισάρειοι πάντες ὠμολόγουν αὐτῇ, καὶ οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ ἀπὸ κοινῆς γνώμης ἐποιοῦν: ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Πολύβιον, καίτοι καὶ ἐκείνῳ πλησιάζουσα, καὶ διέβαλε καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν, οὐκέτι αὐτῇ ἐπίστευον, κάκ τούτου ἐρμηθεῖσα τῆς παρ’ αὐτῶν εὐνοίας [3] ἐφθάρη. τὸν τε γὰρ Σίλιον τὸν Γάιον, τὸν τοῦ Σιλίου τοῦ ὑπὸ Τιβερίου σφαγέντος υἱόν, ἄνδρα ἐπεγράψατο, καὶ τοὺς τε γάμους πολυτελῶς εἰσίασε καὶ οἰκίαν αὐτῷ βασιλικὴν ἐχαρίσατο, πάντα τὰ τιμώτατα τῶν τοῦ Κλαυδίου κειμηλίων συμφορήσασα ἐς αὐτήν, καὶ τέλος [4] ὑπάτον αὐτὸν ἀπέφηνε. ταῦτ’ οὖν πρότερον μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀκουόμενα καὶ ὀρώμενα τὸν γοῦν Κλαύδιον ἐλάνθανεν: ὡς δ’ οὕτως τε ἐς τὰ Ὡστια πρὸς ἐπίσκεψιν σίτου κατέβη, καὶ ἐκείνῃ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, πρόφασιν ὡς καὶ νοσοῦσα, ὑπελείφθη, συμπόσιόν τέ τι περιβόητον συνεκρότησε καὶ κῶμον ἀσελγέστατον ἐκώμασεν, ἐνταῦθα ὁ Νάρκισσος μονωθέντι τῷ Κλαυδίῳ μηνύει διὰ τῶν παλλακῶν αὐτοῦ πάντα [p. 12] [5] τὰ γινόμενα. καὶ ἐκφοβήσας

αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ τῆς Μεσσοαλίνης ἐκείνόν τε ἀποκτενεῖν καὶ τὸν Σίλιον ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀντικαθιστάναι μελλούσης, ἀνέπεισε συλλαβεῖν τινὰς καὶ βασανίσαι. ἅμα τε τοῦτ' ἐγίνετο καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἠπειχθη, καὶ ὥσπερ εἶχεν ἐσελθὼν ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν Μνηστοῖρα ἐθανάτωσε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Μεσσοαλῖναν ἐς τοὺς τοῦ Ἀσιατικοῦ κήπους, δι' οὐσπερ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἀπωλώλει, ἀναχωρήσασαν ἀπέσφαξεν.” Exc. Val. 225, Xiph. 143, 16-31 R. St., Zon. 11, 10, p. 30, 20-31, D. “ [5a] Μεθ' ἣν Μεσσοαλῖναν καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ δοῦλον ὁ Κλαύδιος ὑβρίσαντά τινὰ τῶν ἐν ἀξιώσει διέφθειρεν.” Joann. Antioch. fr. M. v. 34, 35. “ [6] καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον τὴν ἀδελφιδὴν Ἀγριππῖναν ἔγημε, τὴν τοῦ Δομιτίου τοῦ Νέρωνος ἐπονομασθέντος μητέρα: καὶ γὰρ καλὴ ἦν καὶ συνεχῶς αὐτῷ προσεφοῖτα, μόνη τε ὡς καὶ θείῳ συνεγίνετο, καὶ τρυφερώτερον ἢ κατ' ἀδελφιδὴν προσεφέρετο.” Xiph. 143, 31-144, R. St. “ [7] ὅτι ὁ Σιλανὸς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐνομιζέτο, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλαυδίου οὕτως ἐτιμᾶτο ὥστε καὶ ἐπινίκιους τιμὰς ἐν παισὶ λαβεῖν, τὴν τε θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ Ὀκταουίαν ἐγγυήσασθαι, καὶ πολὺ πρὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου στρατηγῆσαι, τὴν τε πανήγυριν τὴν προσήκουσαν αὐτῷ τοῖς ἐκείνου τέλεσιν ποιῆσαι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τὸν Κλαύδιον καὶ αἰτῆσαι τινὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ ὥσπερ τινὰ στασιάρχη, καὶ ἐκβοῆσαι πάνθ' ὅσα τοὺς ἄλλους βουλομένους ἑώρα.” Exc. Val. 226 (p. 677). “ [p. 14] [8] ὅτι οὕτω ταῖς γυναιξὶν ὁ Κλαύδιος ἐδεδούλωτο ὥστ' ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς γαμβροὺς δι' αὐτάς ἀποκτείνειν.” Exc. Val. 227 (p. 677). “ ἐκείνης δ' οὕτω διαφθαρείσης τὴν Ἀγριππῖναν τὴν ἀδελφιδὴν ἔγημε σπουδῇ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων, ὅτι τὸν Δομίτιον ἐς προσήβους ἤδη τελοῦντα εἶχεν υἱόν, ὅπως ἔφεδρον αὐτὸν τῇ ἀρχῇ τρέφοντες μηδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Βρεττανικοῦ δεινὸν πάθωσιν, ὡς τὴν αὐτοῦ μητέρα τὴν Μεσσοαλῖναν ἀναιρεθῆναι ποιήσαντες. δεδογμένου δὲ ἤδη τοῦ γάμου δεισαντες τὸν Σιλανὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλαυδίου τιμώμενον ὡς ἄνδρα ἀγαθόν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ τῷ τῆς Ἀγριππίνης υἱῷ τῷ Δομιτίῳ προμνύμενοι, ἐνηγγυημένην τῷ Σιλανῷ, πείθουσι τὸν Κλαύδιον ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντά οἱ τὸν Σιλανὸν ἀποκτείνειν. γενομένου δὲ τούτου λόγους ἐν τῇ βουλῇ ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος ἐποίησατο ὅτι συμφέρει τῷ κοινῷ γῆμαι τὸν Κλαύδιον: καὶ τὴν Ἀγριππῖναν ἐπιτηδεῖαν εἰς τοῦτο ἀπέφαινε, καὶ βιάσασθαι σφισιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν γάμον συνεβούλευεν. ἐντεῦθεν ὀρμηθέντες οἱ βουλευταὶ πρὸς τὸν Κλαύδιον ἦλθον καὶ ἠνάγκασαν δῆθεν αὐτὸν γῆμαι, καὶ ψήφισμα ἐποίησαντο ἐξεῖναι Ῥωμαίοις ἀδελφιδᾶς ἄγεσθαι: πρότερον γὰρ ἐκεκώλυτο.” Zon. 11, 10, p. 31, 15-32, D. “ 32. ὡς δ' ἅπαξ ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ ἡ Ἀγριππῖνα ἐγένετο, τὸν τε Κλαύδιον ἐσφετερίσατο, δεινοτάτη που οὕσα πράγμασι χρῆσθαι, καὶ τοὺς τινὰ αὐτοῦ εὐνοίαν ἔχοντας τὰ μὲν φόβῳ τὰ δὲ εὐεργεσίαις [p. 16] ὤκειώσατο. καὶ τέλος τὸν Βρεττανικὸν τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ τῶν τυχόντων τινὰ τρέφεσθαι ἐποίει: ὁ γὰρ ἕτερος, ὁ καὶ τὴν τοῦ [2] Σεῖανοῦ θυγατέρα ἐγγυησάμενος, ἐτεθνήκει. τὸν τε Δομίτιον τότε μὲν γαμβρὸν τῷ Κλαυδίῳ ἀπέδειξεν, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἐσεποίησεν. ἔπραξεν δὲ ταῦτα τὸ μὲν τι διὰ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἀναπεισάσα τὸν Κλαύδιον, τὸ δὲ καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν καὶ τὸν δῆμον τοὺς τε στρατιώτας ἐπιτηδεῖον τι αἰεὶ ποτε ἐς αὐτὰ συμβοᾶν παρασκεύασα.” Exc. Val. 228 (p. 677), Xiph. 144, 3-7 R.

St., Zon. 11, 10, p. 32, 5-13 D. “^[3] ὅτι ἡ Ἀγριππῖνα τὸν υἱὸν ἐς τὸ κράτος ἐξήσκει καὶ παρὰ τῷ Σενέκᾳ ἐξεπαιδεύει, πλοῦτόν τε ἀμύθητον αὐτῷ συνέλεγεν, οὐδὲν οὔτε τῶν σμικροτάτων οὔτε τῶν ἀτιμοτάτων ἐπ’ ἀργυρισμῷ παραλείπουσα, ἀλλὰ πάντα μὲν καὶ τὸν ὁπωσοῦν εὐποροῦντα θεραπεύουσα, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ δι’ αὐτὸ ^[4] τοῦτο φονεύουσα. ἤδη δὲ τινὰς καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν γυναικῶν ζηλοτυπήσασα ἐφθειρε, καὶ τὴν γε Παυλῖναν τὴν Λολλίαν, ἐπειδὴ τῷ Γαίῳ συνωκῆκει καὶ ἐλπίδα τινὰ ἐς τὴν τοῦ Κλαυδίου συνοικησιν ἐσχέκει, ἀπέκτεινε. τὴν τε κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς κομισθεῖσαν αὐτῇ μὴ γνωρίσασα τὸ τε στόμα αὐτῆς αὐτοχειρίᾳ ἀνέωξε καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας ἐπεσκέψατο ἰδίως πως ἔχοντας.” Exc. Val. 229, Xiph. 144, 7-16 R. St. (Zon.).

“^[4a] ὅτι Μιθριδάτης ὁ τῶν Ἰβήρων βασιλεὺς συμβαλὼν Ῥωμαϊκῷ στρατεύματι καὶ ἡττηθεὶς ἀπογνοῦς τε ἑαυτοῦ ἐδέηθη λόγον αὐτῷ δοθῆναι, ^[p. 18] ἵνα μὴτε βιαίως ἀποθάνῃ μὴτε ἐν ἐπινικίοις εἰσαχθῇ: οὕτως δὴ γενομένου ὁ Κλαῦδιος ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ βήματος αὐτὸν ἐδέξατο καὶ ἀπειλητικῶς αὐτῷ διελέγετο: ὁ δὲ ἄλλα τέ τινα μετὰ παρρησίας ἀπεκρίνατο καὶ τοῦτο προσεπήγαγεν ὅτι ‘ἐγὼ οὐκ ἠνέχθην πρὸς σέ, ἀλλὰ ἀφίγμαι: εἰ δὲ ἀπιστεῖς, ἄφες με καὶ ζήτει.’” Petr. Patr. Exc. Vat. (p. 208 Mai. = p. 191, 3-11 Dind.). “33. ^[2.1] καὶ ἡ μὲν ταχὺ καὶ αὐτὴ Μεσσαλίνα ἐγένετο, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι καὶ τιμὰς ἄλλας τε καὶ τὸ καρπέντω ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσι χρῆσθαι παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἔλαβεν.” Xiph. 144, 16-18 R. St. “^[2a] μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Αὐγουσταν τὴν Ἀγριππῖναν ὁ Κλαῦδιος ἐπεκάλεσε.” Zon. 11, 10, p. 32, 22-23 D. “^[2.2] ὁπότε δὲ ὁ Κλαῦδιος τὸν Νέρωνα τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς ἐσεποίησάτο τε καὶ γαμβρὸν ἐποίησάτο, τὴν θυγατέρα ἐς ἕτερόν τι γένος ἐκποιήσας ἵνα μὴ ἀδελφοὺς συνοικίσειν δοκῇ, τέρας οὐ μικρὸν ἐγένετο: καίεσθαι γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἔδοξεν. 32” Xiph. 144, 19-22 R. St. “^[2β] Ἀγριππῖνα δὲ καὶ Καλπουρνιαὶν γυναῖκα τῶν πρώτων ἐφυγάδευσεν, ἥ ὡς λέγεται καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς ὁ Κλαῦδιος ἐθαύμασε καὶ ἐπήνεσε. ^[2ε] τοῦ δὲ Νέρωνος ‘τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ^[p. 20] ἐξενίκησεν’ ἐς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐγγραφέντος, κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ἣ ἐνεγράφη τὸ δαιμόνιον τὴν τε γῆν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἔσεισε καὶ φόβον νυκτὸς πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ἐνέβαλε.” Zon. 11, 10, p. 32, 29-33, D. “32. ^[5] ὅτι ὁ μὲν Νέρων ἠΰξετο, Βρεττανικὸς δὲ οὔτε τινὰ τιμὴν οὔτε ἐπιμέλειαν εἶχεν, ἀλλ’ ἡ Ἀγριππῖνα τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς περιέποντας αὐτὸν τοὺς μὲν ἐξέβαλε τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τὸν Σωσίβιον, ᾧ ἡ τε τροφή καὶ ἡ παιδεία αὐτοῦ προσετέτακτο, κατέσφαξεν ὡς καὶ τῷ ^[6] Νέρωνι ἐπιβουλεύοντα. κακ τοῦτου παραδοῦσα αὐτὸν οἷς ἤθελεν, ἐκάκου ὅσον ἐδύνατο, καὶ οὔτε τῷ πατρὶ συνεῖναι οὔτε ἐς τὸ δημόσιον προῖέναι εἶα, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἀδέσμῳ τρόπον τινὰ φυλακῇ εἶχεν. 35” Exc. Val. 230 (p. 678), Zon. 11, 10, p. 33, 7-14 D. “^[6a] Δίων ξα βιβλίῳ ‘ἐπειδὴ τε οἱ ἑπαρχοί, ὃ τε Κρισπῖνος καὶ Λούσιος Γέτας, μὴ πάντα αὐτῇ ὑπεῖκον, ἐκείνους κατέλυσεν.’” Bekk. Aneed. 178, 4. “33. ὅτι τῆς Ἀγριππίνης οὐδεὶς τὸ παράπαν ἥπτετο, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν τὸν Κλαῦδιον ἐδύνατο, καὶ ἐν κοινῷ τοὺς βουλομένους ἡσπάζετο: καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐς τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐσεγράφετο.” Exc. Val. 231 (p. 678). “^[3a] ἡδύνατο δὲ πάντα, τοῦ Κλαυδίου κρατοῦσα καὶ τὸν Νάρκισσον καὶ τὸν Πάλλαντα

οἰκείωσαμένη: ὁ γὰρ Κάλλιστος ἐπὶ πολὺ προχωρήσας δυνάμεως ἐτελεύτησεν. ^[3β] οἱ ἀστρολόγοι δὲ ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἰταλίας ἠλάθησαν, καὶ οἱ αὐτοῖς συγγινόμενοι ἐκολάσθησαν.” Zon. 11, (p. 33, 14-19 D.). “ ^[p. 22] ^[3ε] Καράτακος δὲ τις βαρβάρων ἀρχηγὸς ἀλοὺς καὶ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀχθεῖς, καὶ συγγνώμης παρὰ τοῦ Κλαυδίου τυχὼν, εἴτα περινοστήσας τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τὴν ἄφεισιν, καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτῆς τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος, ‘εἴτα’ ἔφη ‘ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κεκτημένοι τῶν σκηνιδίων ἡμῶν ἐπιθυμεῖτε;’ 36” Zon. 11, (p. 33, 19-25 D.). “ ^[3] Ἐν τινι δὲ λίμνῃ ναυμαχίαν ὁ Κλαύδιος ἐπεθύμησε ποιῆσαι, τεῖχος τε ξύλινον περὶ αὐτὴν κατεσκεύασε καὶ ἱκρία ἔπηξε, πληθὺς τε ἀναρίθμητον ἦθροισε. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ὥς που καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κλαύδοις ὁ τε Νέρων στρατιωτικῶς ἐστάλησαν, ἥ τε Ἀγριππῖνα χλαμύδι διαχρύσω ἐκοσμήθη. οἱ δὲ δὴ ναυμαχῆσοντες θανάτῳ τε καταδεδικασμένοι ἦσαν καὶ πεντήκοντα ναῦς ἑκάτεροι εἶχον, οἱ μὲν ^[4] Ῥόδιοι οἱ δὲ Σικελοὶ ὀνομασθέντες. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον συστραφέντες καὶ καθ’ ἓν γενόμενοι Κλαύδιον ἅμα προσηγόρευσαν οὕτω ‘χαῖρε, αὐτοκράτορ: οἱ ἀπολούμενοι σε ἀσπαζόμεθα:’ ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν σωτήριον εὗροντο, ἀλλὰ ναυμαχεῖν καὶ ὥς ἐκελεύσθησαν, διέκπλοις τε ἀπλοῖς ἐχρήσαντο καὶ ἥκιστα ἀλλήλων ἦσαντο, μέχρις Οὐ καὶ ἀνάγκῃ κατεκόπησαν.” Xiph. 144, 22-145, R. St. “ ^[p. 24] ^[5] ὅτι ὁ Νάρκισσος τῆς λίμνης τῆς Φουκίνης συμπεσοῦσης αἰτίαν ἐπ’ αὐτῇ μεγάλην ἔλαβεν: ἐπεστάται γὰρ τοῦ ἔργου, καὶ ἔδοξε πολὺ ἐλάττω ὦν εἰλήφει δαπανήσας εἴτα ἐξεπίτηδες τὸ σύμπτωμα, ὅπως ἀνεξέλεγκτον τὸ κακούργημα αὐτοῦ γένηται, μηχανήσασθαι.” Exc. Val. 232 (p. 678). “ ^[6] ὁ δὲ δὴ Νάρκισσος οὕτως ἐνεντῦφα τῷ Κλαυδίῳ ὥστε λέγεται, ἐπειδὴ ποτε οἱ Βιθυνοί, δικάζοντος τοῦ Κλαυδίου, Ἰουνίου Κίλωνος τοῦ ἄρξαντός σφων πολλὰ κατεβόησαν ὥς οὐ μετρίως δωροδοκῆσαντος, καὶ ἦρετο ἐκεῖνος τοὺς παρεστηκότας ὅ τι καὶ λέγουσιν ‘οὐ γὰρ συνίει διὰ τὸν θόρυβον αὐτῶν’, εἶπέ τε ὁ Νάρκισσος ψευδόμενος ὅτι χάριν τῷ Ἰουνίῳ γιγνώσκουσι, πιστεῦσαι τε αὐτῷ καὶ εἰπεῖν ‘οὐκοῦν ἐπὶ διετὲς ἔτι ἐπιτροπεύσει.’ ^[7] ἡ δὲ Ἀγριππῖνα καὶ δημοσίᾳ πολλάκις αὐτῷ καὶ χρηματίζοντι καὶ πρεσβείας ἀκρωμένῳ παρῆν, ἐπὶ βήματος ἰδίου καθημένη. καὶ ἦν καὶ τοῦτο οὐδενὸς ἐλαττον θέαμα.” Xiph. 145, 2-11 R. St. “ ^[8] Ἰουλίῳ δὲ τινι Γαλλικῷ ῥήτορι δίκην ποτὲ λέγοντι ὁ Κλαύδιος ἀχθεσθεῖς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν Τίβεριν ἐμβληθῆναι: ἔτυχε γὰρ πλησίον αὐτοῦ δικάζων. ἐφ’ ᾧ δὴ ὁ Δομίτιος ὁ Ἄφρος, πλεῖστον τῶν καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἐν τῷ συναγορεύειν τισὶν ἰσχύσας, κάλλιστα ἀπέσκωψε: δεηθέντος γὰρ πινος ἀνθρώπου τῆς παρ’ αὐτοῦ βοηθείας, ^[p. 26] ἐπειδὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαλλικοῦ ἐγκατελείφθη, ἔφη πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι ‘καὶ τίς σοι εἶπεν ὅτι κρεῖττον ἐκείνου νήχομαι;” Xiph. 145, 11-17 R. St., Zon. 11, 10, p. 33, 25-34, D., Petr. Patr. Exc. Vat. (p. 209 Mai. = p. 191, 20-24 Dind.). “ ^[9] νοσήσαντος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ Κλαυδίου εἰσῆλθεν ὁ Νέρων εἰς τὸ συνέδριον, καὶ εἰ ἀναρρωσθεῖ ὁ Κλαύδιος ἵπποδρομίαν ὑπέσχετο. πάντα γὰρ τρόπον ἡ Ἀγριππῖνα ἐκίνει ἵνα τῷ τε πλήθει χαρίζοιτο καὶ μόνος ἔσσεσθαι νομιζοιτο τῆς αὐταρχίας διάδοχος. διὸ τὸν τε ἵππικὸν ἀγῶνα, ᾧ προσέκειντο μάλιστα, ἐποίησε τὸν Νέρωνα ὑποσχέσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Κλαυδίου ὑγείᾳ, ^[10] ἦν καὶ πάνυ ἀπηύχετο: καὶ πρὸς

τὴν πρᾶσιν τῶν ἄρτων θόρυβόν τινα γενέσθαι παρασκευάσασα ἀνέπεισε τὸν Κλαύδιον τῷ τε δήμῳ ἐκ προγραφῆς δηλῶσαι καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἐπιστεῖλαι ὅτι, κἂν αὐτὸς ἀποθάνοι, ὁ Νέρων τὰ κοινὰ ἱκανὸς ἤδη ἐστὶ διοικεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν πολὺς τε ἐκ τούτου ἦν καὶ διὰ στόματος ἦγετο ἅπασι, τὸν δὲ Βρεττανικὸν συχνοὶ συχνοὶ μὲν οὐδ' εἰ ἔζη ἐγίνωσκον, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ παραπλήγῃ καὶ ἐπίληπτον, ταῦτα κηρυττούσης ^[11] τῆς Ἀγριππίνης, ὦντο. ῥαΐσαντος δὲ τοῦ Κλαυδίου τὴν ἵπποδρομίαν ὁ Νέρων μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐπετέλεσε, καὶ τὴν Ὀκταβίαν δὲ τότε ἔγνημεν, ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἀνὴρ ἤδη δοκεῖν. ^[12] οὐδὲν δὲ ἄρκοῦν τῇ Ἀγριππίνῃ ἐδόκει: καίτοι ὅσα τε ἡ Λιβία ἔσχε κἀκείνῃ ἐδέδοτο καὶ ἄλλ' ἅττα πλείω ἐψήφιστο. ἡ δὲ καὶ ἰσοκρατῆς τῷ Κλαυδίῳ ἄντικρυς ὀνομάζεσθαι ἤθελε, καὶ ποτε ^[p. 28] πολλοῦ τὴν πόλιν ἐπινεμομένου πυρὸς πρὸς τὴν ἐπικουρίαν ἐκείνῳ συμπαρεγένετο.” Zon. 11, 11, “ π. 34, 4-28 δ. 34. ὁ δὲ Κλαύδιος τοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀγριππίνης δρωμένοις, ὧν γε καὶ ἡσθάνετο ἤδη, ἀχθόμενος, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν Βρεττανικὸν ἐπιζητῶν, ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῷ ἐπίτηδες ὑπ' ἐκείνης τὰ πολλὰ γιγνόμενον, Νέρωνι, οἷα τῷ ἑαυτῆς παιδί ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς Δομιτίου, πάντα τρόπον περιποιουμένης τὸ κράτος, καὶ ὁπότε ἐντύχοι φιλοφρόνως συγγινόμενος, οὐκ ἦνεγκε τὸ γιγνόμενον, ἀλλ' ἐκείνην τε καταλῦσαι καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐσαγαγεῖν καὶ διάδοχον τῆς ἀρχῆς ^[2] ἀποδείξει παρεσκευάζετο. μαθοῦσα δὲ ταῦτα ἡ Ἀγριππῖνα ἐφοβήθη, καὶ αὐτὸν προκαταλαβεῖν φαρμάκῳ πρὶν τι τοιοῦτονπραχθῆναι ἐσπούδασεν. ὥς δὲ ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τε τοῦ οἴνου, ὃν πολὺν αἰεὶ ποτε ἔπινε, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλλης διαίτης, ἣ πάντες ἐπίπαν πρὸς φυλακὴν σφων οἱ αὐτοκράτορες χρῶνται, κακοῦσθαι ἠδύνατο, Λουκοῦστάν τινα φαρμακίδα περιβόητον ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ νέον ἐάλωκυῖαν μετεπέμψατο, καὶ φάρμακόν τι ἄφυκτον προκατασκευάσασα δι' αὐτῆς ἔς τινα τῶν ^[3] καλουμένων μυκήτων ἐνέβαλε. καὶ αὐτὴ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἦσθιεν, ἐκεῖνον δὲ ἐκ τοῦ τὸ φάρμακον ἔχοντος ‘καὶ γὰρ μέγιστος καὶ κάλλιστος ἦν’ ^[p. 30] φαγεῖν ἐποίησε. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ἐκ μὲν τοῦ συμποσίου ὥς καὶ ὑπερκορῆς μέθης σφόδρα ὧν ἐξεκομίσθη, ὅπερ πού καὶ ἄλλοτε πολλάκις ἐγεγόνει, κατεργασθεὶς δὲ τῷ φαρμάκῳ διὰ τε τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδὲν οὕτ' εἰπεῖν οὕτ' ἀκοῦσαι δυνηθεὶς μετήλλαξε, τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ τοῦ Ὀκτωβρίου, ζήσας ἐξήκοντα καὶ τρία ἔτη καὶ μῆνας δύο καὶ ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ δέκα, αὐταρχήσας δὲ ἔτη τρία καὶ δέκα καὶ μῆνας ὀκτὼ καὶ ἡμέρας εἴκοσι.” Xiph. 145, 17-146, R. St., Zon. 11, 11, “ π. 35, 1-25 δ. ^[4] ταῦτα δὲ δὴ ἡ Ἀγριππῖνα ποιῆσαι ἠδυνήθη ὅτι τὸν Νάρκισσον ἐς Καμπανίαν, προφάσει ὥς καὶ τοῖς ὕδασι τοῖς ἐκεῖ πρὸς τὴν ποδάγραν χρῆσόμενον, προαπέπεμψεν, ἐπεὶ παρόντος γε αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἂν ποτε αὐτὸ ἐδεδράκει: τοιοῦτός τις φύλαξ τοῦ δεσπότης ἦν. ἐπαπώλετο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ Κλαυδίῳ, μέγιστον τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων δυνηθεὶς: μυριάδας τε γὰρ πλείους μυρίων εἶχε, καὶ προσεῖχον αὐτῷ καὶ πόλεις καὶ ^[5] βασιλεῖς: καὶ δῆτα καὶ τότε ἀποσφαγήσεσθαι μέλλων λαμπρὸν ἔργον διεπράξατο: τὰ γὰρ γράμματα τοῦ Κλαυδίου, ὅσα ἀπόρρητα κατὰ τε τῆς Ἀγριππίνης καὶ κατὰ ἄλλων πινῶν, οἷα τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῦ διοικῶν, εἶχε, πάντα προκατέκαυσεν.” Xiph. 146, 5-15 R. St. “ ^[6] ἐσφάγη δὲ παρὰ τῷ τῆς

Μεσσαλίνης μνημείῳ, ὅπερ ἐκ συντυχίας συνενεχθὲν ἔδοξεν εἰς τὴν ἐκείνης τιμωρίαν γενέσθαι.” Zon. 11, 11, p. 36, 4-6 D. “ 35. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Κλαύδιος μετήλλαξεν, ἔς τοῦτό τε ^[p. 32] ὃ τε ἀστήρ ὁ κομήτης ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὀφθείς, καὶ ἡ ψεκὰς ἡ αἱματώδης, ὃ τε σκηπτὸς ὁ ἐς τὰ δορυφορικὰ σημεῖα ἐμπεσών, καὶ ἡ αὐτόματος τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Νικαίου ἄνοιξις, τὸ τε σημῆνος τὸ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ συστραφέν, καὶ ὅτι ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν ἀρχῶν εἷς ἀφ’ ἐκάστης ἐτελεύτησεν, ^[2] ἔδοξε σημῆναι. ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ τῆς ταφῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσων ὁ Αὐγουστος. Ἀγριππῖνα δὲ καὶ ὁ Νέρων πενθεῖν προσεποιούντο ὃν ἀπεκτόνεσαν, ἔς τε τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνήγαγον ὃν ἐκ τοῦ συμποσίου φοράδην ἐξενηνόχεσαν. ὅθενπερ Λούκιος Ἰούνιος Γαλλίων ὁ τοῦ Σενέκα ἀδελφὸς ἀστειότατόν τι ^[3] ἀπεφθέγγατο. συνέθηκε μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὁ Σενέκας σύγγραμμα, ἀποκολοκύντωςιν αὐτὸ ὥσπερ τινὰ ἀθανάτισιν ὀνομάσας: ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐν βραχυτάτῳ ^[4] πολλὰ εἰπὼν ἀπομνημονεύεται. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοὺς ἐν τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ θανατουμένους ἀγκίστροις τισὶ μεγάλοις οἱ δήμιοι ἔς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀνεῖλκον κάντεῦθεν ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἔσυρον, ἔφη τὸν Κλαύδιον ἀγκίστρῳ ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνενεχθῆναι.” Xiph. 146, 15-30 R. St. “ καὶ ὁ Νέρων δὲ οὐκ ἀπάξιον μνήμης ἔπος κατέλιπε: τοὺς γὰρ μύκητας θεῶν βρῶμα ἔλεγεν εἶναι, ὅτι καὶ ἐκεῖνος διὰ τοῦ μύκητος θεὸς ἐγεγόνει. 63” Xiph. 146, 30-32 R. St. ““

^[p. 34] “1. ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ Κλαυδίου κατὰ μὲν τὸ δικαιοτάτον ἡ ἡγεμονία τοῦ Βρεττανικοῦ ἦν ἡγήσιος γὰρ τοῦ Κλαυδίου παῖς ἐπεφύκει, καὶ τῇ τοῦ σώματος ἀκμῇ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν τῶν ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸν ἦνθει, ἐκ δὲ δὴ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῷ Νέρωνι διὰ τὴν ποιήσιν ἐπέβαλλεν. ἀλλ’ οὐδὲν γὰρ 2. δικαίωμα τῶν ὀπλῶν ἰσχυρότερόν ἐστι: πᾶς γὰρ ὁ δυνάμει προὔχων δικαιοτέρα αἰεὶ καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν δοκεῖ: Νέρων οὖν τὰς τε διαθήκας τοῦ Κλαυδίου ἠφάνισε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν πᾶσαν διεδέξατο, τὸν τε Βρεττανικὸν καὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς αὐτοῦ διεχρήσατο: τί γὰρ ἂν τις καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων παθήματα κατοδύραιτο ;” Xiph. 147, 6-19 R. St. ; cf. Zon. 11, 12, p. 37, 22-28 D., Suid. s.v. dikai/wma. “ 2. σημεῖα δ’ αὐτῷ τῆς αὐταρχίας τάδε ἐγένετο. ἀκτῖνες γὰρ τικτόμενον αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὴν ἔω ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς τοῦ ἡλίου φανεραῖς προσβολῆς περιέσχον: καὶ τις ἀστρολόγος ἔκ τε τούτων καὶ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀστέρων φορᾶς τῆς ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμιλίας δύο ἅμα περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐμαντεύσατο, ὅτι τε βασιλεύσει καὶ ὅτι τὴν ^[2] μητέρα φονεύσει. ἀκούσασα δὲ ταῦθ’ ἡ Ἀγριππῖνα παραυτικά μὲν οὕτως ἐξεφρόνησεν ὥς καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀναβοῇσαι, ‘ἀποκτεινάτω με, μόνον βασιλευσάτω,’ ὕστερον δὲ καὶ πάνυ μετανοήσιν ἐπὶ τῇ εὐχῇ ἐμελλεν. ἐς γὰρ τοῦτο μωρίας ἀφικνοῦνται τινες ὥστε, ἂν τι προσδοκῇσωσιν ἀγαθὸν κακῷ μεμιγμένον λήψεσθαι, εὐθὺς μὲν ἐπιθυμία τοῦ κρείττονος καταφρονεῖν τοῦ χειρόνος, ἐπειδὴν δὲ καὶ ἐκείνου ὁ καιρὸς ἔλθῃ, δυσκολαίνειν καὶ μὴ ἂν μηδὲ τὸ βέλτιστον ^[p. 36] ^[3] εἰληφέναι βεβουλῆσθαι. καίτοι καὶ τὴν πονηρίαν καὶ τὴν ἀσέλγειαν τὴν τοῦ Νέρωνος καὶ ὁ Δομίτιος ὁ πατήρ ἱκανῶς, οὐκ ἐκ μαντείας ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῶν τρόπων τῶν τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν τῆς Ἀγριππίνης, προείδετο, καὶ εἶπεν ὅτι ‘ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν ἄνδρα τινὰ ἀγαθὸν ἔκ τε ἑμοῦ καὶ ἐκ ^[4] ταύτης γεννηθῆναι.’ προῖόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου

λεβηρίς περί τὸν αὐχένα τοῦ Νέρωνος παιδίου ἔτ' ὄντος εὐρεθεῖσα παρέδωκε τοῖς μάντεσι λέγειν ὅτι ἰσχὺν παρά του γέροντος μεγάλην λήφεται, ἐπειδὴ τὸ γῆρας διὰ ταῦθ' οἱ ὄφεις ἐκδύεσθαι νομίζονται. 3. ἑπτὰ δὲ καὶ δέκα ἔτη ἦγεν ὅτ' ἦρξεν, ἕς τε τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐσῆλθε, καὶ ἀναγνοὺς ὅσα ὁ Σενέκας ἐγεγράφει, ὑπέσχετο αὐτοῖς ὅσα ὁ Κλαύδιος ἐδεδώκει. τοσαῦτα δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν βουλήν, πρὸς τοῦ Σενέκου καὶ αὐτὰ γραφέντα, ἀνέγνω ὥστε καὶ ἐς ἀργυρᾶν στήλην ἐγγραφῆναι καὶ ἐν ταῖς νέαις τῶν αἰὲ ὑπάτων ἀρχαῖς ἀναγινώσκεσθαι ψηφισθῆναι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκ τούτων ὡς καὶ κατὰ συγγραφὴν τινα καλῶς ἀρχησόμενοι παρεσκευάζοντο. [2] καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἢ Ἀγριππῖνα πάντα αὐτῷ τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ προσήκοντα διώκει, καὶ τὰς ἐξόδους ἅμα ἐποιοῦντο, πολλάκις μὲν καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ φορεῖω κατακείμενοι· τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖον ἢ μὲν ἐφέρετο, ὁ δὲ συμπαρείπετο. ταῖς τε πρεσβείαις [p. 38] ἐχρημάτιζε καὶ ἐπιστολὰς καὶ δήμοις καὶ ἄρχουσι καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ἐπέστελλεν. 6" Xiph. 147, 77-148, R. St. " ὅτι ὁ Πάλλας συνὼν τῇ Ἀγριππίνῃ πάντα φορτικὸς καὶ ἐπαχθὴς ἦν." Exc. UG 37. "[3] ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦτ' ἐγίνετο, ἐδυσχέραναν ὁ τε Σενέκας καὶ ὁ Βοῦρρος, φρονιμώτατοί τε ἅμα καὶ δυνατώτατοι τῶν περὶ τὸν Νέρωνα ἀνδρῶν ὄντες 'ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔπαρχος τοῦ δορυφορικοῦ ἦν, ὁ δὲ διδάσκαλος αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔπαυσαν τὸ γινόμενον τοιαῦδε ἀφορμῆς λαβόμενοι. πρεσβείας Ἀρμενίων ἐλθοῦσης καὶ ἢ Ἀγριππῖνα ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, ἀφ' οὗ σφίσι ὁ Νέρων διελέγετο, ἀναβῆναι [4] ἠθέλησεν. ἰδόντες οὖν αὐτὴν ἐκείνοι πλησιάζουσιν ἐπείσαν τὸν νεανίσκον προκαταβῆναι καὶ προσπαντῆσαι τῇ μητρὶ ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ δεξιῶσι τινί. πραχθέντος τε τούτου οὔτε τότε ἐπανῆλθον, ἐμβالόντες τινὰ αἰτίαν, ὥστε μὴ καὶ ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους τὸ νόσημα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκφανῆναι, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐπραττον ὅπως μὴδὲν ἔτ' αὐτῇ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιτρέπεται. 4. κατεργασάμενοι δὲ τοῦτο αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἅπασαν παρέλαβον, καὶ διώκησαν ἐφ' ὅσον ἡδυνήθησαν ἄριστα καὶ δικαιοτάτα, ὥσθ' ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὁμοίως ἐπαινεθῆναι. ὁ τε γὰρ Νέρων οὗτ' ἄλλως φιλοπραγματίας ἦν καὶ ἔχαιρεν ἐν ῥαστώνῃ διάγων, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τῇ τε μητρὶ πρότερον ὑπεπεπτώκει, καὶ τότε ἡγάπα ὅτι [p. 40] αὐτός τε ἐν ἡδοναῖς ἦν καὶ ἡ ἡγεμονία οὐδὲν [2] ἦττον διηγέτο· καὶ ἐκείνοι συμφρονήσαντες αὐτοὶ μὲν πολλὰ τὰ μὲν μετερρῦθμισαν τῶν καθεστηκότων, τὰ δὲ καὶ παντελῶς κατέλυσαν, ἄλλα τε καινὰ προσενομοθέτησαν, τὸν δὲ δὴ Νέρωνα τρυφᾶν εἶων, ὅπως διακορῆς, ἄνευ μεγάλου τινὸς τῶν κοινῶν πάντων κακοῦ, ὣν ἐπεθύμει γενόμενος μεταβάλλεται, ὥσπερ οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι ψυχὴ νέα τε καὶ αὐθάδης ἐν τε τρυφῇ ἀνεπιπλήκτω καὶ ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ αὐτοτελεῖ τραπεῖσα οὐχ ὅσον οὐ κόρον αὐτῶν ἴσχει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ [3] αὐτῶν τούτων προσδιαφθείρεται. ἀμέλει καὶ ὁ Νέρων τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀπλῶς πως δεῖπνὰ τε ἐποίει καὶ κώμους ἐκώμαζε καὶ ἐμέθυε καὶ ἦρα, ἔπειτα δὲ ὡς οὔτε ἐκείνῳ τις ἐπέπληττεν οὔτε τὰ κοινὰ χεῖρον παρὰ τοῦτο διεχειρίζετο, ἐπίστευσεν ὅτι καὶ καλῶς αὐτὰ ποιεῖ καὶ δύναται [4] καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον σφίσι χρῆσθαι, κάκ τούτου ταῦτά τε ὡς ἕκαστα ἐκφανέστερον καὶ προπετέστερον πράττειν ἤρξατο, καὶ εἰ δὴ τι ἢ ἐκείνοι παραινοῦντες ἢ ἡ μήτηρ νουθετοῦσα αὐτὸν ἔλεγε, παρόντας μὲν σφας ἡδεῖτο καὶ ὑποσχέειτο μεταθήσεσθαι, ἀπελθόντων δὲ τῆς τε ἐπιθυμίας

ἐγίγνετο καὶ τοῖς πρὸς τάναντία αὐτὸν ἄγουσιν, ^[5] ἅτε καὶ ἐπὶ πρᾶν ἐλκουσιν, ἐπειθετο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰ μὲν καταφρονήσας, οἷα που συνεχῶς παρὰ τῶν συνόντων ἀκούων ‘σὺ δὲ τούτων ἀνέχη; σὺ δὲ τούτους φοβῆ; οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι Καῖσαρ εἶ καὶ σὺ ἐκείνων ἐξουσίαν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ^[p. 42] ἐκεῖνοι σοῦ ἔχουσι;’ τὰ δὲ καὶ φιλονεικῶν μῆτε τῆς μητρὸς ὡς καὶ κρείττονος ἐλαττοῦσθαι μῆτε τοῦ Σενέκου τοῦ τε Βούρρου ὡς καὶ φρονιμωτέρων 5. ἡττᾶσθαι, τέλος ἀπηρυθρίασε, καὶ πάντα τὰ παραγγέλματα αὐτῶν συγχέας καὶ καταπατήσας πρὸς τὸν Γάιον ἔτεινεν. ὡς δ’ ἅπαξ ζηλῶσαι αὐτὸν ἐπεθύμησε, καὶ ὑπερεβάλετο, νομίζων τῆς αὐτοκρατορικῆς καὶ τοῦτ’ ἰσχύος ἔργον εἶναι, τὸ μὴδὲ ἐν τοῖς κακίοις μηδενὸς ὑστεριζειν. ^[2] ἐπαινούμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀμίλου, καὶ πολλὰ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡδέα ἀκούων, οὐδ’ ἑαυτοῦ ἐφείσατο, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἴκοι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς συνοῦσιν οἱ ἐχειρουργήσεν αὐτά, ἔπειτα καὶ ἐδημοσίευσεν, ὥστε πολλήν μὲν αἰσχύνην παντὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων γένει προσθεῖναι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ^[3] δεινὰ αὐτοῦς ἐργάσασθαι. καὶ γὰρ βίαι καὶ ὕβρεις ἀρπαγαὶ τε καὶ φόνοι καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν αἰεὶ τι παρ’ αὐτῷ δυναμένων ἀμύθητοι ἐγίγοντο. καὶ ὁ δὴ πάντως ἐξ ἀνάγκης πᾶσι τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἔπεται, πολλὰ μὲν, ὡς εἰκός, χρήματα ἀνῆλiskeτο, πολλὰ δὲ ἀδίκως ἐπορίζετο, πολλὰ δὲ βιαίως ἠρπάζετο. ἦν μὲν ^[4] γὰρ οὐδ’ ἄλλως μικρόφρων: τεκμήριον δέ, Δορυφόρῳ τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ βιβλία διέποντι πεντήκοντα ἅμα καὶ διακοσίας μυριάδας δοθῆναι κελεύσας, εἴτ’ ἐπειδὴ ἡ Ἀγριππῖνα ἐσώρευσεν αὐτάς ἵνα ἄθροον τὸ ἀργύριον ἰδὼν μεταβάλῃται, ἦρετο πόσον εἴη τὸ κείμενον, ^[p. 44] καὶ μαθὼν ἐδιπλασίασεν αὐτό, εἰπὼν ὅτι ^[5] ‘ἡγνόησα ὀλίγον οὕτω κεχαρισμένος.’ πολλῷ δὲ δῆλον καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν δαπανωμένων ταχὺ μὲν τοὺς ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ θησαυροῦς ἐξήντηλσε, ταχὺ δὲ πόρων καινῶν ἐδεήθη, καὶ τέλη τε οὐκ εἰθισμένα ἐξελέγετο καὶ αἱ οὐσίαι τῶν ἐχόντων τι ἐπολυπραγμονοῦντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκεῖνας ἐξ ἐπηρείας ἀπέβαλλον, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ^[6] προσαπώλλυντο. καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἄλλους, εἰ καὶ μὴδὲν μέγα ἐκέκτηντο, ἀλλ’ ἄρετὴν γέ τινα ἢ καὶ γένος εἶχον, ὑποπτεῦων ἄχθεσθαι οἱ καὶ ἐμίσει καὶ διέφθειρε.” Xiph. 148, 18-149, R. St., Exc. UG 37, p. 390 (p. 21, 13-22, 11), Exc. Val. 233, p. 678-682 (p. 21, 15-24, 16), Exc. Val. 234, p. 682 (p. 24, 17-25, 6). “ 6. τοιοῦτος μὲν τὸ σὺμπαν ὁ Νέρων ἐγένετο, λέξω δὲ καὶ καθ’ ἕκαστον. περὶ μὲν οὖν τὰς ἵπποδρομίας τοσαύτη σπουδῇ ὁ Νέρων ἐκέχρητο ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἵππους τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς τοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς τοὺς παρηγηκότας στολῇ τε ἀγοραίῳ ὡς ἄνδρας τινὰς κοσμήσαι καὶ χρήμασιν ὑπὲρ σιτηρεσίου ^[2] τιμῆσαι. ἐπαιρομένων δὲ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἵπποτρόφων καὶ τῶν ἡνιόχων τῇ παρ’ αὐτοῦ σπουδῇ, καὶ δεινῶς τοὺς τε στρατηγούς καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ὑβρίζόντων, Αὐλὸς Φαβρίκιος στρατηγῶν ἐκείνοις μὲν μὴ βουλευθεῖσιν ἐπὶ μετρίοις πσιὼν ἀγωνίσασθαι οὐκ ἐχρήσατο, κύνας δὲ διδάξας ἔλκειν ἄρματα ἀντὶ ἵππων ἐσήγαγε. ^[3] γενομένου δὲ τούτου οἱ μὲν τῇ λευκῇ τῇ τε πυρρᾷ σκευῇ χρώμενοι τὰ ἄρματα εὐθύς καθῆκαν, τῶν δὲ δὴ πρᾶσιων τῶν τε οὐνετιῶν μὴδ’ ὡς ἐσελθόντων, ^[p. 46] ὁ Νέρων τὰ ἄθλα τοῖς ἵπποις αὐτὸς ἔθηκε, καὶ ἡ ἵπποδρομία ἐτελέσθη.” Xiph. 149, 30-150, R. St. “ ^[4] ὅτι ἡ Ἀγριππῖνα οὕτω καὶ τὰ μέγιστα πράττειν ἐπεχείρει ὥστε Μᾶρκον Ἰούνιον

Σιλανὸν ἀπέκτεινε, πέμψασα αὐτῷ τοῦ φαρμάκου ὧ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐδεδολοφονήκει.” Exc. Val. 235 (p. 682). “^[5] ὅτι ἦρχε τῆς Ἀσίας Σιλανός, καὶ ἦν οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἡθεσι τοῦ γένους ἐνδεέστερος. ἀφ’ οὗπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἔλεγεν αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνειν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τοῦ Νέρωνος οὕτω ζῶντος προκριθεῖη. καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἐκαπήλευσε πάντα, καὶ ἐκ τῶν βραχυτάτων τῶν τε αἰσχίστων ἡργυρολόγει.” Exc. Val. 236 (p. 682). “^[6] ὅτι Λαιλιανὸς ὁ ἀποσταλεὶς ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἀντὶ τοῦ Πωλίωνος τὴν τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων ἀρχὴν προσετέτακτο, καὶ ἦν οὐδὲν τοῦ Πωλίωνος βελτίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσω τῇ ἀξιώσει αὐτοῦ προεῖχε, τόσω καὶ ἀπληστότερος ἐπὶ τοῖς κέρδεσιν ἐπεφύκει.” Exc. Val. 237 (p. 682). “7. ἐλυπεῖτο δὲ καὶ ἡ Ἀγριππῖνα μηκέτι τῶν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ διὰ τὴν Ἀκτὴν μάλιστα κυριεύουσα. ἡ δὲ δὴ Ἀκτὴ ἐπέπρατο μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, ἀγαπηθεῖσα δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Νέρωνος ἕς τε τὸ τοῦ Ἀττάλου γένος ἐσῆχθη καὶ πολὺ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἡγαθήθη. ^[2] ἡ οὖν Ἀγριππῖνα διὰ τε τᾶλλα καὶ διὰ ταῦτ’ ἀγανακτοῦσα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον νουθετεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπειράτο, καὶ τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ τοὺς μὲν πληγαῖς ἠκίζετο τοὺς δὲ ἐκποδῶν ἐποιεῖτο, ^[3] ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπέραιεν, ὑπερήλγησε καὶ εἶπεν ^[p. 48] αὐτῷ ὅτι ‘ἐγὼ σε αὐτοκράτορα ἀπέδειξα,’ ὥσπερ ἀφελέσθαι τὴν μοναρχίαν αὐτοῦ δυναμένη: οὐ γὰρ ἠπίστατο ὅτι πᾶσα ἰσχυρὸς αὐταρχος, παρ’ ἰδιώτου δοθεῖσά τω, τοῦ τε δόντος αὐτὴν εὐθύς ἀπαλλάττεται καὶ τῷ λαβόντι κατ’ ἐκείνου προσγίνεται.” Xiph. 150, 11-22 R. St. “^[4] τὸν δὲ Βρεττανικὸν φαρμάκῳ δολοφονήσας ὁ Νέρων, ἐπειδὴ πελιδνὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ φαρμάκου ἐγενήθη, γύψῳ ἔχρισεν. ὑετὸς δὲ διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς αὐτοῦ διαγομένου πολὺς, ὕγρᾶς ἔτι οὕσης τῆς γύψου, ἐπιπεσὼν πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἀπέκλυσεν, ὥστε τὸ δεινὸν μὴ μόνον ἀκοῦεσθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁρᾶσθαι. 21” Xiph. 150, 22-26 R. St. “^[5] ὅτι τοῦ Βρεττανικοῦ τελευτήσαντος οὐκέθ’ ὁ Σενέκας καὶ ὁ Βοῦρρος ἐπιμέλειαν τινα ἀκριβῆ τῶν κοινῶν ἐποιοῦντο, ἀλλ’ ἡγάπων εἰ καὶ μετρίως πως διάγοντες αὐτὰ περισωθεῖεν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου ὁ Νέρων λαμπρῶς ἤδη πάντων ὧν ἠθελεν ^[p. 50] ^[6] ἐπ’ ἀδείας ἐνεπίμπλατο. καὶ οὕτω γὰρ ἐκφρονεῖν ἄντικρυς ἤρξατο ὥστε καὶ Ἀντώνιον τινα ἱππέα αὐτίκα ὡς καὶ φαρμακέα κολάσαι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰ φάρμακα δημοσίᾳ καταφλέξει: αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ διαθήκας τινὰς κακουργήσασί τισιν ἐπεξελεθεῖν ἐσεμνύνετο, τοῖς δὲ δὴ ἄλλοις γέλῳτα ἰσχυρὸν παρέσχε, ὅτι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἔργα δι’ ἐτέρων ἐκόλασεν. 8. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν οἴκοι πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει, νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν, ἐπικρυπτόμενός πῃ ἡσέλγαιεν, καὶ ἕς τε κατηλεῖα ἐσῆει, καὶ πανταχόσε ὡς καὶ ἰδιώτης ἐπλανᾶτο. πληγαὶ τε ἐκ τούτων καὶ ὕβρεις συχναὶ ἐγίνοντο, ὥστε καὶ μέχρι τῶν θεάτρων τὸ δεινὸν προχωρῆσαι. ^[2] οἱ γὰρ τοι περὶ τὴν ὀρχήστραν καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἔχοντες οὔτε τῶν στρατηγῶν οὔτε τῶν ὑπάτων ἐφρόντιζον, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὶ τε ἐστασίαζον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσεπεσπῶντο, οὐχ ὅτι κωλύοντός σφας τοῦ Νέρωνος, ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσεκταράσσοντος: καὶ γὰρ ἔχαιρε τοῖς δρωμένοις, ἐν τε φορεῖῳ τινὶ λάθρᾳ ἐς τὰ θέατρα ἐσκομιζόμενος, κάκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς τοῖς ἄλλοις ^[3] ἐφορῶν τὰ γιγνόμενα. ἀμέλει καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς αἰε ποτε ταῖς τοῦ δήμου συνόδοις παρεῖναι εἰωθότας ἀπηγόρευσε μὴ φοιτᾶν ἐς αὐτάς,

πρόφασιν μὲν ὥς καὶ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ αὐτοὺς μόνα διὰ χειρὸς ποιεῖσθαι
δέον, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἴν' ὅτι πλείστη τοῖς τι βουλομένοις [p. 52] [4] ταράσσειν
ἐξουσία εἴη. τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ σκῆψαι καὶ πρὸς τὴν μητέρα ἐχρήσατο: οὐδὲ γὰρ
οὐδὲ ἐκείνῃ συνεῖναι στρατιώτην τινὰ ἐπέτρεπε, λέγων μηδὲνα ἄλλον ὑπ'
αὐτῶν πλὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος φρουρεῖσθαι χρῆναι. καὶ τοῦτο γε καὶ ἐς
τοὺς πολλοὺς [5] τὴν ἔχθραν αὐτοῦ ἐξέφηεν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα ὅσα καθ'
ἐκάστην ὥς εἰπεῖν ἡμέραν καὶ ἔλεγον ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἔπραττον, ἐξήει μὲν
ἐκ τοῦ παλατίου, οὐ μέντοι καὶ πάντα ἐδημοσιεύετο, ἀλλὰ κατεϊκαζον αὐτὰ
καὶ ἐλογοποιοῦν ἄλλοι ἄλλως: πρὸς γὰρ δὴ τὴν πονηρίαν τὴν τε ἀσελγείαν
σφων τὰ τε ἐνδεχόμενα γενέσθαι ὥς γεγονότα διεθροεῖτο καὶ τὰ πιθανότητά
τινα [6] λεχθῆναι ἔχοντα ὥς καὶ ἀληθῆ ἐπιστεύετο: τότε δὲ πρῶτον ἰδόντες
αὐτὴν ἄνευ δορυφόρων οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἐφυλάττοντο μηδ' ἐκ συντυχίας αὐτῇ
συμμιῆσαι, εἰ δὲ πού τις καὶ συνέτυχε, διὰ ταχέων ἄν, μηδὲν εἰπὼν,
ἀπηλλάγη." Exc. Val. 238 (p. 682), Xiph. 150, 26-151, R. St. " 9. ἐν δὲ τινι
θέῳ ἄνδρες ταύρους ἀπὸ ἵππων, συμπαραθέοντές σφισι, κατέστρεφον,
τετρακοσίας τε ἄρκτους καὶ τριακοσίους λέοντας οἱ ἱππεῖς οἱ
σωματοφύλακες τοῦ Νέρωνος κατηκόντισαν, ὅτε καὶ ἱππεῖς ἐκ τοῦ τέλους
τριάκοντα ἐμονομάχησαν. ἐν μὲν δὴ οὖν τῷ φανερωῷ ταῦτ' ἐποιοί, [2] κρύφα
δὲ νύκτωρ ἐκώμαζε κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν, ὑβρίζων ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ
ἀσελγαίωνων ἐς τὰ μειράκια, ἀποδύων τε τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας, παίων τιτρώσκων
φονεύων. καὶ ἐδόκει μὲν πως λανθάνειν [p. 54] 'καὶ γὰρ ἐσθῆσι ποικίλαις καὶ
κόμαις περιθέτοις ἄλλοτε ἄλλαις ἐχρήτο, ἠλέγχετο δὲ ἐκ τε τῆς
ἀκουλουθίας καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων: οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἂν τοσαῦτα καὶ τηλικαῦτα
ἀδεῶς οὕτως ποιῆσαι [3] ἐτόλμησεν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' οἴκοι μένειν ἀσφαλὲς
οὐδενὶ ἐγίνετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς ἐργαστήρια καὶ ἐς οἰκίας ἐσεπήδα. Ἰούλιος
οὖν τις Μοντανὸς βουλευτής, ἀνανακτήσας ὑπὲρ τῆς γυναικός, προσέπεσέ
τε αὐτῷ καὶ πληγὰς πολλὰς ἐνεφόρησεν, ὥσθ' ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπωπίων συχναῖς
αὐτὸν [4] ἡμέραις κρυφθῆναι. καὶ ἔπαθεν ἂν ἐπὶ τούτῳ δεινὸν οὐδὲν 'ὅ γὰρ
Νέρων ἐκ συντυχίας ἄλλως ὑβρίσθαι νομίσας οὐδεμίαν ὀργὴν ἐποιεῖτο, εἰ
μὴ ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ συγγνώμην αἰτοῦμενος. ὥς γὰρ ἀναγνοὺς ὁ Νέρων τὰ
γράμματα ἔφη 'οὐκοῦν ἦδει Νέρωνα τύπτων,' αὐτὸν κατεχρήσατο. [5] ἐν δὲ
τινι θεάτρῳ θεὰς ἐπιτελῶν, εἴτα πληρώσας ἐξαίφνης τὸ θέατρον ὕδατος
θαλασσίῳ ὥστε καὶ ἰχθύας καὶ κήτη ἐν αὐτῷ νήχεσθαι, ναυμαχίαν τε
ἐποίησε Περσῶν δὴ τινῶν καὶ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν τὸ τε ὕδωρ εὐθὺς
ἐξήγαγε, καὶ ξηράνας τὸ δάπεδον πεζοὺς πάλιν οὐχ ὅπως ἓνα πρὸς ἓνα ἀλλὰ
καὶ πολλοὺς ἅμα πρὸς ἴσους 10. συνέβαλεν. ἐγένοντο δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ
δικανικοὶ ἀγῶνες, ἐξ ὧν καὶ αὐτῶν συχνοὶ καὶ ἔφυγον καὶ ἀπέθανον. ὅτι ὁ
Σενέκας αἰτίαν ἔσχε, καὶ ἐνεκλήθη ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι τῇ Ἀγριππίνῃ
συνεγίνετο: οὐ [p. 56] γὰρ ἀπέχρησεν αὐτῷ τὴν Ἰουλίαν μοιχεῦσαι, οὐδὲ
βελτίων ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ Ἀγριππίνῃ τοιαύτῃ τε οὔσῃ καὶ
τοιοῦτον υἱὸν [2] ἐχούσῃ ἐπλησίαζεν. οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν
ἄλλοις πάντα τὰ ἐναντιώτατα οἷς ἐφιλοσόφει ποιῶν ἠλέγχθη. καὶ γὰρ
τυραννίδος κατηγορῶν τυραννοδιδάσκαλος ἐγίνετο, καὶ τῶν συνόντων τοῖς
δυνάσταις κατατρέχων οὐκ ἀφίστατο τοῦ παλατίου, τοὺς τε κολακευόντας

τινα διαβάλλων αὐτὸς οὕτω τὴν Μεσσαλῖναν καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Κλαυδίου ἐξελευθέρους ἐθώπευεν ὥστε καὶ βιβλίον σφίσιν ἐκ τῆς νήσου πέμψαι ἐπαίνους αὐτῶν ἔχον, ὃ μετὰ ταῦτα ὑπ’ αἰσχύνης ἀπήλειψε. ^[3] τοῖς τε πλουτοῦσιν ἐγκαλῶν οὐσίαν ἐπτακισχιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων μυριάδων ἐκτήσατο, καὶ τὰς πολυτελείας τῶν ἄλλων αἰτιώμενος πεντακοσίους τρίποδας κιτρίνου ξύλου ἐλεφαντόποδας ἴσους καὶ ὁμοίους εἶχε, καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῶν εἰστία. τοῦτο γὰρ εἰπὼν καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ ἀκόλουθα αὐτῷ δεδήλωκα, τὰς τε ἀσελγείας, αἷς πράττων γάμον τε ἐπιφανέστατον ἔγνημε καὶ μεираκίοις ἐξώροις ^[4] ἔχαιρε, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν Νέρωνα ποιεῖν ἐδίδαξε, καίπερ τοσαύτη πρόσθεν αὐστηρότητι τῶν τρόπων χρώμενος ὥστε καὶ αἰτήσασθαι παρ’ αὐτοῦ ^[p. 58] ^[5] μήτε φιλεῖν αὐτὸν μήτε συσσιτεῖν αὐτῷ. καὶ τοῦτου μὲν καὶ πρόφασιν τινα ἔσχεν, ἵνα δὴ καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπὶ σχολῇς δύνηται, μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῶν δειπνων αὐτοῦ ἐμποδιζόμενος, τὸ δὲ δὴ τοῦ φιλήματος οὐκ ἔχω συννοῆσαι διότι ἐξέστη: ὃ γάρ τοι καὶ μόνον ἂν τις ὑποπτεύσειεν, ὅτι οὐκ ἤθελε τοιοῦτο στόμα φιλεῖν, ἐλέγχεται ἐκ τῶν ^[6] παιδικῶν αὐτοῦ ψεῦδος ὄν. ἐκ τε οὖν τούτων καὶ ἐκ τῆς μοιχείας ἐγκληθεῖς τινα τότε μὲν αὐτός τε μηδὲ κατηγορηθεῖς ἀφείθη καὶ τὸν Πάλλαντα τὸν τε Βοῦρρον ἐξητήσατο, ὕστερον δὲ οὐ καλῶς ἀπήλλαξεν.” Xiph. 151, 8-152, R. St., Exc. Val. 239 p. 685 s#3. (p. 29, 17-30, 8; p. 30, 17-32, 6). “^[p. 60]”

“ 11. ^[2] ἦν δέ τις Μᾶρκος Σάλουιος Ὅθων, ὃς οὕτως ἔκ τε τῆς ὁμοιότητος τῶν τρόπων καὶ τῆς κοινωνίας τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων τῷ Νέρωνι ὠκείωτο ὥστε καὶ εἰπὼν ποτε πρὸς αὐτόν ‘οὕτω με Καίσαρα ἴδοις’ οὐδὲν διὰ τοῦτο κακὸν ἔπαθεν, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον μόνον ἀντήκουσεν ὅτι ‘οὐδὲ ὑπατὸν σε ὄψομαι.’ τοῦτω τὴν Σαβίναν, ἐξ εὐπατριδῶν οὔσαν, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποσπάσας ἔδωκε, καὶ ^[3] αὐτῇ ἀμφοτέροι ἅμα ἐχρῶντο. φοβηθεῖσα οὖν ἡ Ἀγριππῖνα μὴ γήμηται τῷ Νέρωνι ‘δεινῶς γὰρ ἤδη αὐτῆς ἐρᾶν ἤρξατό, ἔργον ἀνοσιώτατον ἐτόλμησεν: ὥσπερ γὰρ οὐχ ἱκανὸν ὄν ἐς μυθολογίαν ὅτι τὸν θεῖον τὸν Κλαύδιον ἐς ἔρωτα αὐτῆς ταῖς τε γοητείαις ταῖς τε ἀκολασίαις καὶ τῶν βλεμμάτων καὶ τῶν φιλημάτων ὑπηγάγετο, ἐπεχείρησε καὶ ^[4] τὸν Νέρωνα ὁμοίως καταδουλώσασθαι. ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνο μὲν εἴτ’ ἀληθῶς ἐγένετο εἴτε πρὸς τὸν τρόπον αὐτῶν ἐπλάσθη οὐκ οἶδα: ἃ δὲ δὴ πρὸς πάντων ὠμολόγηται λέγω, ὅτι ἑταίραν τινὰ τῇ Ἀγριππίνῃ ὁμοίαν ὁ Νέρων δι’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἠγάπησε, καὶ αὐτῇ τε ἐκείνῃ προσπαίζων καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐνδεικνύμενος ἔλεγεν ὅτι καὶ τῇ μητρὶ ὁμιλοῖη. 12. μαθοῦσα δὲ ταῦθ’ ἡ Σαβίνα ἀνέπεισε τὸν ^[p. 62] Νέρωνα ὥς καὶ ἐμβουλεύουσάν οἱ αὐτὴν διολεῖσαι. καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ Σενέκας, ὥς πολλοῖς καὶ ἀξιοπίστοις ἀνδράσιν εἴρηται, παρῳξυνεν, εἴτ’ οὖν τὸ ἔγκλημα τὸ καθ’ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπληυγάσασθαι βουληθεῖς, εἴτε καὶ τὸν Νέρωνα ἐς μισοφονίαν ἀνόσιον προαγαγεῖν ἐθέλησας, ἴν’ ὥς τάχιστα καὶ πρὸς ^[2] θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἀπόληται. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς ὥκνουν τὸ ἔργον καὶ κρύφα διὰ φαρμάκων οὐκ εἶχον αὐτὴν ἀνελεῖν ‘πάντα γὰρ ἐκείνη ἰσχυρῶς ἐφυλάσσετό, ναῦν ἰδόντες ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ διαλυομένην τε αὐτὴν ἐφ’ ἑαυτῆς καὶ τινα θηρία ἀφιεῖσαν, καὶ συνισταμένην αὖ πάλιν ὥστε καὶ ἐρρῶσθαι, τοιαύτην ἑτέραν ταχέως ^[3] ἐναυπηγήσαντο. ὥς δὲ ἡ τε ναῦς ἐγγέγονει καὶ ἡ Ἀγριππῖνα ἐτεθεράπευτο ‘πάντα γὰρ τρόπον ἐκολάκευεν αὐτὴν, ἵνα μὴ τι ὑποτοπήσασα φυλάξηται, ἐν μὲν τῇ Ῥώμῃ οὐδὲν ἐτόλμησε ποιῆσαι, μὴ καὶ ἐκδημοσιευθῇ τὸ μίasma, πόρρω δὲ ἐς τὴν Καμπανίαν ἀπάρας καὶ παραλαβὼν τὴν μητέρα ἔπλευσεν ἐπ’ αὐτῆς ἐκείνης τῆς νεῶς λαμπρότατα κεκοσμημένης, ὥς καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτῇ ἐμβαλεῖν αἰεὶ ποτε τῇ νηὶ χρῆσθαι. 13. ἐλθὼν τε ἐς Βαυλοῦς δεῦνά τε πολυτελέστατα ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἐποίησε καὶ τὴν μητέρα ἐν αὐτοῖς φιλοφρόνως εἰστίασεν, ἀποῦσάν τε πάνυ ποθεῖν ἐπλάττετο καὶ παροῦσαν ὑπερησπάζετο, αἰτεῖν τε ἐκέλευεν ὃ τι βούλοιο, καὶ μὴ ^[2] αἰτούσῃ πολλὰ ἐχαρίζετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐνταῦθα ^[p. 64] ἦν, οὕτω δὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ δειπνοῦ περὶ μέσας νύκτας περιλαμβάνει τε αὐτὴν, καὶ πρὸς τὸ στέρνον προσαγαγὼν, καὶ φιλήσας καὶ τὰ ὄμματα καὶ τὰς χεῖρας, ‘μῆτέρ’ τε εἰπὼν, ‘ἔρρωσό μοι καὶ ὑγιαίνει: ἐν γὰρ σοὶ καὶ ἐγὼ ζῶ καὶ διὰ σὲ βασιλεύω,’ παρέδωκεν αὐτὴν Ἀνικτήῳ ἀπελευθέρῳ ὥς καὶ κομιοῦντι οἴκαδε ἐπὶ τοῦ ^[3] πλοίου οὗ κατεσκευάκει. ἀλλ’ οὐ γὰρ ἤνεγκεν ἡ θάλασσα τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐπ’ αὐτῇ τραγωδίαν ἔσεσθαι, οὐδ’ ὑπέμεινε τὴν ψευδολογίαν τῆς ἀνοσιουργίας ἀναδέξασθαι, διελύθη μὲν ἡ ναῦς καὶ ἡ Ἀγριππῖνα ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ

ἐξέπεσεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀπέθανεν, ἀλλὰ καίτοι καὶ ἐν σκότῳ καὶ διακορῆς
 μέθης οὕσα, τῶν τε ναυτῶν ταῖς κώπαις ἐπ' αὐτὴν χρωμένων ὥστε καὶ
 Ἀκερρῳνίαν Πῶλλαν ^[4] τὴν συμπλοῦν αὐτῆς ἀποκτείνει, διεσώθη. καὶ
 ἐλθοῦσα οἴκαδε οὔτε προσεποιήσατο οὐτ' ἐξέφηνε τὸ ἐπιβούλευμα, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν ἔπεμψε κατὰ τάχος, καὶ τὸ τε συμβεβηκὸς αὐτῇ ὡς κατὰ
 τύχην συμπεπτῶκός ἔλεγε, καὶ ὅτι σῶζοιτο εὐηγγελίζετο δῆθεν αὐτῷ.
 ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ Νέρων οὐκ ἐκαρτέρησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν πεμφθέντα ὡς
 ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ σφαγῇ ἤκοντα ἐκόλασε, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν μητέρα τὸν Ἀνίκητον
 εὐθὺς μετὰ τῶν ναυτῶν ^[5] ἀπέστειλε: τοῖς γὰρ δορυφόροις οὐκ ἐπίστευσε
 τὸν θάνατον αὐτῆς. ἰδοῦσα δὲ σφας ἐκείνη ἔγνω τε ἐφ' ᾧ ἤκουσι, καὶ
 ἀναπηδήσασα ἐκ τῆς κοίτης τὴν τε ἐσθῆτα περιερρήξατο, καὶ τὴν ^[p. 66]
 γαστέρα ἀπογυμνώσασα 'παῖε,' ἔφη, 'ταύτην, Ἀνίκητε, παῖε, ὅτι Νέρωνα
 ἔτεκεν.' 14. οὕτω μὲν ἡ Ἀγριππῖνα ἢ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ θυγάτηρ, ἢ τοῦ
 Ἀγρίππου ἔγγονος, ἢ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἀπόγονος, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ υἱέος, ᾧ τὸ
 κράτος ἐδεδώκει, δι' ὃν ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν θεῖον ἀπεκτόνει, ^[2] κατεσφάγη.
 μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Νέρων ὅτι τέθηκεν, οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν: ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ μεγέθους
 τοῦ τολμήματος ἀπιστία αὐτῷ ὑπεχύθη: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτόπτης ἐπεθύμησε
 τοῦ πάθους γενέσθαι. καὶ αὐτὴν τε πᾶσαν εἶδε γυμνώσας καὶ τὰ τραύματα
 αὐτῆς ἐπεσκέψατο, καὶ τέλος πολὺ καὶ τοῦ φόνου ἀνοσιώτερον ἔπος
 ἐφθέγγετο: εἶπε γὰρ ὅτι ^[3] 'οὐκ ᾔδειν ὅτι οὕτω καλὴν μητέρα εἶχον.' καὶ
 τοῖς τε δορυφόροις ἀργύριον ἔδωκεν, ἵνα δῆλον ὅτι πολλὰ τοιαῦτα γίνεσθαι
 εὐχωνται, καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἐπέστειλεν, ἄλλα τε ὅσα συνήδει αὐτῇ
 καταριθμῶν, καὶ ὅτι ἐπεβούλευσέ τε αὐτῷ καὶ ^[4] φωραθεῖσα ἐαυτὴν
 διεχρήσατο. καὶ τῇ μὲν βουλῇ ταῦτα ἐπέστειλεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ταῖς τε νυξὶν
 ἐξεταράττετο ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τῆς εὐνῆς ἐξαπναιῶς ἀναπηδᾶν, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν
 ὑπὸ σαλπίγγων δὴ τινων πολεμικόν τι καὶ θορυβῶδες ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου ἐν ᾧ τὰ
 τῆς Ἀγριππίνης ὅσα ἔκειτο ἠχουσῶν ἐδειματοῦτο. διὸ καὶ ἄλλοσε ἦει, καὶ
 ἐπειδὴ κἀνταῦθα τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτῷ συνέβαιναν, ἄλλοσε ἐμπλήκτως μεθίστατο."

Xiph. 152, 15-154, R. St. " 11. ὅτι ὁ Νέρων, οἷα ἀληθὲς μὲν μηδὲν παρὰ
 μηδενὸς ἀκούων, πάντας δὲ ἐπαινοῦντας τὰ πεπραγμένα ^[p. 68] ὁρῶν,
 λανθάνειν τε ἐφ' οἷς ἐδεδράκει ἢ καὶ ὀρθῶς αὐτὰ πεποιηκέναι ἐνόμιζε, κακ
 τούτου πολὺ χεῖρων καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα ἐγένετο. πάντα τε γὰρ ὅσα ἐξῆν αὐτῷ
 ποιεῖν, καὶ καλὰ ἠγεῖτο εἶναι, καὶ τοῖς φόβῳ τι ἢ κολακείᾳ αὐτοῦ λέγουσιν
 ὡς καὶ πάνυ ἀληθεύουσι προσεῖχεν. τέως μὲν γὰρ φόβοις καὶ θορύβοις
 συνείχετο: ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ πρέσβεις πολλὰ καὶ κεχαρισμένα αὐτῷ εἶπον,
 ἀνεθάρσησε." Exc. Val. 240 (p. 686). " 15. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἄνθρωποι
 ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα, καίπερ ἀχθόμενοι, ἔχαιρον νομιζόντες αὐτὸν ἐκ τούτου
 γε πάντως ἀπολεῖσθαι. τῶν δὲ βουλευτῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες
 προσεποιοῦντο χαίρειν ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσι, καὶ συνήδοντο δῆθεν τῷ Νέρωνι,
 καὶ ἐψηφίζοντο πολλὰ οἷς ὥοντο αὐτῷ χαριεῖσθαι: ^[2] ὁ Πούπλιος δὲ δὴ
 Θρασέας Παῖτος ἦλθε μὲν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἐπήκουσεν,
 ἀναγνωσθείσης δὲ αὐτῆς ἐξανέστη τε εὐθὺς πρὶν καὶ ὀπιοῦν ἀποφύνασθαι
 καὶ ἐξῆλθε, διότι ἃ μὲν ἠθέλεν ^[3] εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἐδύνατο, ἃ δὲ ἐδύνατο οὐκ
 ἠθέλεν. ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα διῆγεν: ἔλεγε γὰρ ὅτι 'εἰ

μὲν ἔμὲ μόνον ὁ Νέρων φονεύσειν ἔμελλε, πολλήν ἂν εἶχον τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑπερκολακεύουσιν αὐτὸν συγγνώμην· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐκείνων τῶν σφόδρα αὐτὸν ἐπαινούντων πολλοὺς τοὺς μὲν ἀνάλωκε τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπολέσει, τί χρὴ μάτην ἀσχημονοῦντα δουλοπρεπῶς φθαρῆναι, ἐξὸν ἐλευθερίως ^[4] ἀποδοῦναι τῇ φύσει τὸ ὀφειλόμενον; ἐμοῦ ^[p. 70] μὲν γὰρ περὶ καὶ ἔπειτα λόγος τις ἔσται, τούτων δέ, πλὴν κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὅτι ἐσφάγησαν, οὐδεῖς.' τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ Θρασέας ἐγένετο, καὶ τοῦτο αἰεὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔλεγεν 'ἐμὲ Νέρων ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν δύνатаι, βλάψαι δὲ οὐ.' 16. Νέρωνα δὲ μετὰ τὸν τῆς μητρὸς φόνον ἐσιόντα ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην δημοσίᾳ μὲν ἐθεράπευον, ἰδίᾳ δέ, ἐν ᾧ γε καὶ παρρησιάσασθαι τινες ἀσφαλῶς ἐδύναντο, καὶ μάλα αὐτὸν ἐσπάραττον. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ μολγόν τέ τινα ἀπ' ἀνδριάντος αὐτοῦ νύκτωρ ἀπεκρέμασαν, ἐνδεικνύμενοι ὅτι ἐς ἐκεῖνον ^[2] αὐτὸν δέοι ἐμβελῆσθαι· τοῦτο δὲ παιδίον ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ῥίψαντες προσέδωκαν αὐτῷ πινάκιον λέγον 'οὐκ ἀναιροῦμαι σε, ἵνα μὴ τὴν μητέρα ἀποσφάξῃς.'" Xiph. 154, 27-155, R. St. " ^[2a] ὅτι εἰσιόντος Νέρωνος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην τοὺς τῆς Ἀγριππίνης ἀνδριάντας καθεῖλον· μὴ φθάσαντες δὲ ἓνα ἀποτεμεῖν ῥάκος αὐτῷ ἐπέβαλον ὥστε δοκεῖν ἐγκαλύπτεσθαι, καὶ τις παραχρῆμα ἐπιγράψας προσέπηξε τῷ ἀνδριάντι 'ἐγὼ αἰσχύνομαι καὶ σὺ οὐκ αἰδῶ.'" Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. (p. 210 s#3. Mai. = p. 193, 13-18 Dind.). " ^[2.2] καὶ ἦν μὲν καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν πολλαχόθι ὁμοίως γεγραμμένον 'νέδρων Ὀρέστης Ἀλκμέων μητροκτόνοι,' ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀκούειν αὐτὸ τοῦτο λεγόντων ὅτι Νέρων ^[3] τὴν μητέρα ἀνεχρήσατο· συχνοὶ γὰρ ὡς καὶ λελαληκότας τινὰς αὐτὸ ἐσῆγγελον, οὐχ οὕτως ^[p. 72] ἴν' ἐκείνους ἀπολέσωσιν, ὡς ἵνα τὸν Νέρωνα διαβάλωσιν. ὅθεν οὐδεμίαν τοιαύτην δίκην προσήκατο, ἥτοι μὴ βουλούμενος ἐπὶ πλεῖον δι' αὐτῆς τὴν φήμην ἐπαυξῆσαι, ἣ καὶ καταφρονῶν ἤδη ^[4] τῶν λεγομένων. ὁ μέντοι ἥλιος σύμπας ἐν μέσαις ταῖς θυσίαις ταῖς ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀγριππίνῃ κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα γενομέναις ἐξέλιπεν, ὥστε καὶ ἀστέρας ἐκφανῆναι· καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες οἱ τὴν τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἀρμάμαξαν ἄγοντες ἐς μὲν τὸν ἱππόδρομον ἐσῆλθον καὶ μέχρι τῆς τῶν βουλευτῶν ἔδρας ἀφίκοντο, γενόμενοι δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἔστησαν ^[5] καὶ περαιτέρω οὐ προεχώρησαν. καὶ ὁ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἂν τις ἐτεκμήρατο ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου γεγονέναι, σκηπτὸς ποτε τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτοῦ πᾶν ἐσπερόμενόν οἱ κατέφλεξεν, ὥσπερ τις ἄρπυια τὰ σιτία αὐτοῦ ἀφελόμενος." Xiph. 155, 19-156, R. St. " 17. ὅτι καὶ τὴν Δομιτίαν τὴν τηθίδα, ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν ὡς μητέρα τιμᾶν ἔλεγεν, ἐπαπέκτεινε φαρμάκῳ, οὐδ' ἀνέμεινεν ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἴν' ἄλλως ὑπὸ τοῦ γήρωος ἀποθάνῃ, ἀλλ' ἐπεθύμησε καὶ ^[2] ἐκείνην ἀπολέσαι· καὶ ἔσπευσέ γε τοῦτο ποιῆσαι διὰ τὰ κτήματα αὐτῆς τὰ ἐν ταῖς Βαίαις καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥαβεννίδι ὄντα, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἡβητήρια εὐθύς μεγαλοπρεπῆ κατεσκεύασεν, ἃ καὶ δεῦρο ἀνθεῖ." Exc. Val. 241 (p. 686), Xiph. 156, 2-6 R. St. " ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ ἐορτὴν μεγίστην δὴ καὶ πολυτελεστάτην ἐποίησεν, ὥστε ἐν πέντε ἢ καὶ ἑξ ἅμα θεάτροις ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας πανηγυρίσαι, ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἐλέφας ἀνήχθη ἐς τὴν ἀνωτάτω τοῦ ^[p. 74] θεάτρου ἀψίδα, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ σχοινίων κατέδραμεν ^[3] ἀναβάτην φέρων. ἐκεῖνο δὲ δὴ καὶ αἰσχιστον καὶ δεινότατον ἅμα ἐγένετο, ὅτι καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες οὐχ ὅπως τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ ἀξιώματος ἐς τὴν

ὀρχήστραν καὶ ἐς τὸν ἵπποδρομον τότε θέατρον τὸ κυνηγετικὸν ἐσῆλθον ὥσπερ οἱ ἀτιμότατοι, καὶ ἡὔλησάν τινες αὐτῶν καὶ ὠρχήσαντο τραγωδίας τε καὶ κωμωδίας ὑπεκρίναντο καὶ ἐκithαρῶδησαν, ἵππους τε ἤλασαν καὶ θηρία ἀπέκτειναν καὶ ἐμονομάχησαν, οἱ μὲν ἐθέλονται οἱ δὲ καὶ πάνυ ἄκοντες. [4] καὶ εἶδον οἱ τότε ἄνθρωποι τὰ γένη τὰ μεγάλα, τοὺς Φουρίους τοὺς Ὀρατίους τοὺς Φαβίους τοὺς Πορκίους τοὺς Οὐαλερίους, τᾶλλα πάντα ὧν τὰ τρόπαια ὧν οἱ ναοὶ ἐωρῶντο, κάτω τε ἐστηκότας καὶ τοιαῦτα δρῶντας ὧν ἕνια οὐδ' ὑπ' ἄλλων [5] γινόμενα ἐθεώρουν. καὶ ἐδακτυλοδείκουν γε αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἐπέλεγον Μακεδόνες μὲν 'οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ Παύλου ἔκγονος,' Ἕλληνες δὲ 'οὗτος τοῦ Μομμίου,' Σικελιώται 'ἴδετε τὸν Κλαύδιον,' Ἡπειρώται 'ἴδετε τὸν Ἀππίον,' Ἀσιανοὶ τὸν Λούκιον, Ἰβηρες τὸν Πούπλιον, Καρχηδόνιοι Ἀφρικανόν, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ πάντας. τοιαῦτα γὰρ που προτέλεια τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀσχημοσύνης ποιῆσαι ἠθέλησεν. 18. ὠλοφύροντο δὲ πάντες οἱ νοῦν ἔχοντες καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀναλίσκομένων. πάντα μὲν γὰρ τὰ πολυτελέστατα ἃ ἄνθρωποι ἐσθίουσι, πάντα δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ τιμιώτατα, ἵππους ἀνδράποδα [p. 76] ζεύγη χρυσίον ἀργύριον ἐσθῆτα ποικίλην, ἐδίδου [2] διὰ συμβόλων: σφαιρία γὰρ μικρά, γεγραμμένα ὡς ἕκαστα αὐτῶν ἔχοντα, ἐς τὸν ὄμιλον ἐρρίπτει, καὶ ἐδίδοτο ὃ τι τις δι' ἐκείνων ἤρπασεν. ἐνενόουν γὰρ ὅτι, ὁπότε τοσαῦτα ἀνήλπισκεν ἵνα ἀσχημονήσῃ, οὐδενὸς τῶν ἀτοπωτάτων ἀφέξεται ἵνα τι κερδάνῃ. τεράτων δὲ τινων γεγονότων τότε οἱ μάντις ὄλεθρον αὐτῷ ταῦτα φέρειν εἶπον, καὶ συνεβούλευσαν ἐς ἐτέρους τὸ δεινὸν ἀποτρέψασθαι. [3] κἂν συχνοὺς εὐθύς κατεχρήσατο, εἰ μὴ ὁ Σενέκας ἔφη αὐτῷ ὅτι 'ὅσους ἂν ἀποσφάξῃς, οὐ δύνασαι τὸν διάδοχόν σου ἀποκτείνειν.'" Xiph. 156, 6-157, R. St. " τότε μὲν δὴ τοσαῦτα σωτήρια, ὡς δὴ ἔλεγεν, ἐώρτασε, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν τῶν ὄψων, τὸ μάκελλον 19. ὠνομασμένον, καθιέρωσε: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἕτερον αὐτῷ εἶδος ἐορτῆς ἤγαγεν, ἐπεκλήθη δὲ Ἰουουενάλια ὥσπερ τινὰ νεανισκεύματα, καὶ ἐτελέσθη ἐπὶ τῷ γενεῷ αὐτοῦ. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τότε πρῶτον ἐξύρατο, καὶ τὰς γε τρίχας ἐς σφαιρίον τι χρυσοῦν ἐμβαλὼν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Διὶ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ: καὶ ἐς τὴν ἐορτὴν οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ οἱ [2] εὐγενέστατοι πάντως τι ἐπέδειξαντο. τεκμήριον δέ, Αἰλία Κατέλλα τοῦτο μὲν γένει καὶ πλούτῳ προήκουσα, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἡλικία προφέρουσα 'ὄγδοηκοντοῦτις γὰρ ἦν' ὠρχήσατο, οἱ τε λοιποὶ οἱ διὰ γῆρας ἢ νόσον ἰδία μηδὲν ποιῆσαι δυνάμενοι ἐχορῶδησαν. ἤσκουν μὲν γὰρ πάντες ὃ τι τις [p. 78] καὶ ὅπως οἶός τε ἦν, καὶ ἐς διδασκαλεῖα ἀποδεδειγμένα συνεφοίτων οἱ ἐλλογιμώτατοι, ἄνδρες, γυναῖκες, κόραι, μεῖράκια, γραῖαι, γέροντες: [3] εἰ δὲ τις μὴ ἐδύνατο ἐν ἐτέρῳ τῷ θεῶν παρασχεῖν, ἐς τοὺς χοροὺς κατεχωρίζετο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ γέ τινες αὐτῶν προσωπεῖα ὑπ' αἰσχύνης, ἵνα μὴ γνωρίζωνται, περιέθεντο, περιεῖλεν αὐτὰ τοῦ δήμου δῆθεν ἀξιώσαντος, καὶ ἐπέδειξε καὶ τοῖς ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀρχθεῖσιν [4] ἀνθρώποις. καὶ τότε δὴ μάλιστα καὶ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τοὺς τεθνηκότας ἐμακάριζον: πολλοὶ γὰρ ἄνδρες τῶν πρώτων ἐν τῷ ἔτει τοῦτῳ ἐτελεύτησαν, ὧν ἐνίους καὶ τῷ Νέρωνι ἐπιβουλευεῖν αἰτιαθέντας οἱ στρατιῶται περιστάντες ἐλιθοβόλησαν. 20. καὶ ἔδει γὰρ καὶ τὸν κολοφῶνα ἄξιον τῶν πραττομένων ἐπενεχθῆναι, παρῆλθέ τε καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Νέρων ἐς τὸ

θέατρον, ὀνομαστί πρὸς τοῦ Γαλλίωνος ἐσκηρυχθεῖς, καὶ ἔσθι τε ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ὁ Καῖσαρ τὴν κιθαρωδικὴν σκευὴν ἐνδεδυκώς, καὶ ‘κύριοί μου, εὐμενῶς μου ἀκούσατε’ [2] εἶπεν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ, ἐκιθαρωδῆσέ τε Ἄττιν τινὰ ἢ Βάκχας ὁ Αὐγουστος, πολλῶν μὲν στρατιωτῶν παρεστηκότων, παντὸς δὲ τοῦ δήμου, ὅσον αἱ ἔδραι ἐχώρησαν, καθημένου, καίτοι καὶ βραχὺ καὶ μέλαν, ὥς γε παραδέδοται, φώνημα ἔχων, ὥστε καὶ γέλωτα ἅμα καὶ δάκρυα πᾶσι κινῆσαι. [3] καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Βοῦρρος καὶ ὁ Σενέκας, καθάπερ τινὲς διδάσκαλοι, ὑποβάλλοντές τι παρειστήκεσαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς τε χεῖρας καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια, ὅποτε φθέγγαιτό τι, ἀνέσειον, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους [p. 80] προσεπεσπῶντο. ἦν μὲν γάρ τι καὶ ἴδιον αὐτῷ σύστημα ἐς πεντακισχιλίους στρατιώτας παρεσκευασμένον, [4] Αὐγούστειοι τε ὠνομάζοντο καὶ ἐξῆρχον τῶν ἐπαίνων: ἡγαγκάζοντο δὲ σφίσι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες καὶ ἄκοντες, πλήν τοῦ Θρασέα, ἐκβοᾶν. οὗτος μὲν γὰρ οὐδέποτε αὐτῷ συγκαθῆκεν, οἱ δὲ δι’ ἄλλοι, καὶ μάλιστα’ οἱ ἐπιφανεῖς, σπουδῇ καὶ ὀδυρόμενοι συνελέγοντο, καὶ πάνθ’ ὅσαπερ οἱ Αὐγούστειοι, ὥς καὶ χαίροντες, συνεβόων: [5] καὶ ἦν ἀκούειν πως αὐτῶν λεγόντων ‘ὁ καλὸς Καῖσαρ, ὁ Ἀπόλλων, ὁ Αὐγουστος, εἷς ὡς Πύθιος, μά σε, Καῖσαρ, οὐδεὶς σε νικᾷ.’ ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἐδειπνισε τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ πλοίων ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἐν ᾧ ἡ ναυμαχία ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐγεγόνει: καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς μεσοῦσης ἐς τὸν Τίβεριν διὰ τάφρου κατέπλευσε.” Χιρῆ. 157, 5-158, R. St., Exc. Val. 242. “ 21. ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ τῷ γένειον ψιλισθῆναι ἔπραξεν: ὑπὲρ δὲ δι’ ἡ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς τε διαμονῆς τοῦ κράτους αὐτοῦ ‘οὕτω γάρ που προέγραψεν’ ἀγῶνα πενταετηρικὸν κατεστήσατο, Νερῶνεια αὐτὸν ὀνομάσας, καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον ὠκοδόμησεν, ἔλαιόν τε ἐν τῇ καθιερώσει αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσι [2] προῖκα ἔνειμε. τὸν μέντοι στέφανον τὸν τῶν κιθαρωδῶν ἀνικεῖ ἔλαβε, πάντων ὡς καὶ ἀναξίων τῆς νίκης ἐκβληθέντων, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ γυμνάσιον ἐν τῇ στολῇ σφῶν ἐσεγράφη. κάκ τούτου καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι αὐτῷ στέφανοι οἱ τῆς κιθαρωδίας ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν ἀγώνων ὡς καὶ μόνῳ ἀξιονίκῳ ἐπέμποντο.” Χιρῆ. 158, 16-24 R. St., Exc. Val. 243 (p. 689). ““

1. “ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπαίζετο, πάθος ἐν τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ δεινὸν συνηνέχθη: δύο τε γὰρ πόλεις ἐπορθήθησαν, καὶ μυριάδες ὀκτὼ τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτῶν ἐφθάρησαν, ἡ τε νῆσος ἡλλοτριώθη. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι πάντα ὑπὸ γυναικὸς αὐτοῖς συνηνέχθη, ὥστε καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο πλείστην αὐτοῖς αἰσχύνην συμβῆναι, ὥς που καὶ τὸ θεῖον τὴν συμφορὰν αὐτοῖς [2] προσήμανεν: ἐκ τε γὰρ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου θροῦς νυκτὸς βαρβαρικὸς μετὰ γέλωτος καὶ ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου θόρυβος μετ’ οἰμωγῆς ἐξηκούετο, μηδενὸς ἀνθρώπων μήτε φθεγγομένου μήτε στένοντος, οἰκίαι τέ τινες ἐν τῷ Ταμέσα ποταμῷ ὕφυδροι ἐωρῶντο, καὶ ὁ ὠκεανὸς ὁ μεταξὺ τῆς τε νήσου καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας αἱματώδης ποτὲ ἐν τῇ πλημμυρίδι ηὔξῃθη. 2. πρόφασις δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ἐγένετο ἡ δήμευσις τῶν χρημάτων ἃ Κλαύδιος τοῖς πρώτοις αὐτῶν ἐδεδῶκει: καὶ ἔδει καὶ ἐκεῖνα, ὥς γε Δεκιανὸς Κάτος ὁ τῆς νήσου ἐπιτροπεύων ἔλεγεν, ἀναπόμπημα γενέσθαι. διὰ τε οὖν τοῦτο, καὶ ὅτι ὁ Σενέκας χιλίας σφίσι μυριάδας ἄκουσιν ἐπὶ χρησταῖς ἐλπίσι τόκων δανείσας ἔπειτ’ ἀθρόας τε ἅμα αὐτὰς καὶ βιαίως ἐσέπρασεν, ἐπανέστησαν.

[2] ἡ δὲ μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἐρεθίσασα καὶ ἐναντία Ῥωμαίων πολεμεῖν ἀναπέσασα, τῆς τε προστατείας αὐτῶν ἀξιοθεῖσα καὶ τοῦ πολέμου [p. 84] παντὸς στρατηγήσασα, Βουδοῦικα ἦν, γυνὴ Βρεττανὶς γένους τοῦ βασιλείου, μεῖζον ἢ κατὰ [3] γυναῖκα φρόνημα ἔχουσα. αὕτη γὰρ συνήγαγέ τε τὸ στράτευμα ἀμφὶ δώδεκα μυριάδας ὄν, καὶ ἀνέβη ἐπὶ βῆμα ἐξ ἐδάφους ἐς τὸν Ῥωμαϊκὸν τρόπον πεπονημένον. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα μεγίστη καὶ τὸ εἶδος βλοσυρωτάτη τὸ τε βλέμμα δριμυτάτη, [4] καὶ τὸ φθῆγμα τραχὺ εἶχε, τὴν τε κόμην πλείστην τε καὶ ξανθοτάτην οὕσαν μέχρι τῶν γλουτῶν καθεῖτο, καὶ στρεπτὸν μέγαν χρυσοῦν ἐφόρει, χιτῶνά τε παμποικίλον ἐνεκεκόλπωτο, καὶ χλαμύδα ἐπ' αὐτῷ παχεῖαν ἐνεπεπόρητο. οὕτω μὲν αἰὲ ἐνεσκευάζετο: τότε δὲ καὶ λόγῃν λαβοῦσα, ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου πάντας ἐκπλήττειν, ἔλεξεν ὧδε.

3. 'πέπεισθε μὲν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῖς ὅσον ἐλευθερία τῆς δουλείας διαφέρει, ὥστ' εἰ καὶ πρότερόν τις ὑμῶν ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ κρείττονος ἀπειρίας ἐπαγωγοῖς ἐπαγγέλμασι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἠπάτητο, ἀλλὰ νῦν γε ἐκατέρου πεπειραμένοι μεμαθήκατε μὲν ὅσον ἡμαρτήκατε δεσποτείαν ἐπισπαστὸν πρὸ τῆς πατρίου διαίτης προτιμήσαντες, ἐγνώκατε δὲ ὅσῳ καὶ πενία ἀδέσποτος πλούτου δουλεύοντος [2] προφέρει. τί μὲν γὰρ οὐ τῶν αἰσχίστων, τί δ' οὐ τῶν ἀλγίστων, ἐξ οὗπερ ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν οὗτοι παρέκυψαν, πεπόνθαμεν; οὐ τῶν μὲν πλείστων καὶ μεγίστων κτημάτων ὄλων ἐστερήμεθα, [3] τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν τέλη καταβάλλομεν; οὐ πρὸς τῷ τᾶλλα πάντα καὶ νέμειν καὶ γεωργεῖν [p. 86] ἐκείνοις, καὶ τῶν σωμάτων αὐτῶν δασμὸν ἐτήσιον φέρομεν; καὶ πόσῳ κρεῖττον ἦν ἅπαξ πισὶ πεπρᾶσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μετὰ κενῶν ἐλευθερίας ὀνομάτων κατ' ἔτος λυτροῦσθαι; πόσῳ δὲ ἐσφάχθαι καὶ ἀπολωλέναι μᾶλλον ἢ κεφαλὰς ὑποτελεῖς περιφέρειν; καίτοι τί τοῦτο εἶπον; [4] οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ τελευτῆσαι παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀζήμιόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἴστε ὅσον καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν τελοῦμεν: παρὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις καὶ τοὺς δουλεύοντάς τισιν ὁ θάνατος ἐλευθεροῖ, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ διὰ μόνοις καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ ζῶσι πρὸς [5] τὰ λήμματα. τί δ' ὅτι, κἂν μὴ ἔξη τις ἡμῶν ἀργύριον 'πῶς γὰρ ἢ πόθεν', ἀποδιδόμεθα καὶ σκυλευόμεθα ὥσπερ οἱ φονευόμενοι; τί δ' ἂν προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου μετριάσαιεν, οὕτως ἡμῖν κατὰ τὴν πρώτην εὐθύς, ὅτε πάντες καὶ τὰ θηρία τὰ νεάλωτα θεραπεύουσι, προσενηνεγμένοι;

4. ἡμεῖς δὲ διὰ πάντων τῶν κακῶν τούτων αἵτιοι, ὥς γε τάληθές εἰπεῖν, γεγόναμεν, οἵτινες αὐτοῖς ἐπιβῆναι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς νήσου ἐπετρέψαμεν, καὶ οὐ παραχρῆμα αὐτοὺς, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τὸν Ἰούλιον ἐκείνον, ἐξηλάσαμεν: οἵτινες οὐ πόρρωθὲν σφισιν, ὥσπερ καὶ τῷ Αὐγουστῳ καὶ τῷ Γαίῳ τῷ Καλιγῳῳ, φοβερὸν τὸ καὶ πειρᾶσαι τὸν [2] πλοῦν ἐποιήσαμεν. τοιγαροῦν νῆσον τηλικαύτην, μᾶλλον δὲ ἡπειρον τρόπον τινὰ περιρρυτον νεμόμενοι καὶ ἰδίαν οἰκουμένην ἔχοντες, καὶ τοσοῦτον ὑπὸ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ ἀφ' ἀπάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἀφωρισμένοι ὥστε καὶ γῆν ἄλλην καὶ [p. 88] οὐρανὸν ἄλλον οἰκεῖν πεπιστεῦσθαι καὶ τινὰς αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς σοφωτάτους γε μηδὲ τὸ ὄνομα ἡμῶν ἀκριβῶς πρότερον ἐγνώκεναι, κατεφρονήθημεν καὶ κατεπατήθημεν ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων μηδὲν [3] ἄλλο ἢ πλεονεκτεῖν εἰδόντων. ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον, νῦν ἔτι, ὧ πολῖται καὶ φίλοι καὶ συγγενεῖς 'πάντας γὰρ ὑμᾶς συγγενεῖς, ἅτε καὶ μιᾶς νήσου οἰκήτορας

ὄντας καὶ ἓν ὄνομα κοινὸν κεκλημένους, νομίζω, τὰ προσήκοντα πράξωμεν, ἕως ἔτι τῆς ἐλευθερίας μνημονεύομεν, ἵνα καὶ τὸ πρόσημα καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῆς τοῖς παισὶ καταλίπωμεν. ἂν γὰρ ἡμεῖς τῆς συντροφῆς εὐδαιμονίας παντελῶς ἐκλαθώμεθα, τί ποτε ἐκεῖνοι ποιήσουσιν ἐν δουλείᾳ τραπέντες; 5. λέγω δὲ ταῦτα οὐχ ἵνα μισήσητε τὰ παρόντα ‘μεμισήκατε γάρ’, οὐδ’ ἵνα φοβηθῆτε τὰ μέλλοντα ‘πεφοβήσθε γάρ’, ἀλλ’ ἵνα ἐπαινέσω τε ὑμᾶς ὅτι καὶ καθ’ ἑαυτοὺς πάνθ’ ὅσα δεῖ προαιρεῖσθε, καὶ χάριν ὑμῖν γνῶ ὅτι καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ ἑαυτοῖς ἐτοιμῶς συναίρεσθε. φοβεῖσθε δὲ μηδαμῶς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους: [2] οὔτε γὰρ πλείους ἡμῶν εἰσιν οὔτ’ ἀνδριότεροι. τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι καὶ κράνεσι καὶ θώραξι καὶ κνημῖσιν ἐσκεπάσθε καὶ προσέτι καὶ σταυρώμασι καὶ τείχεσι καὶ τάφροις ἐσκεύασθε πρὸς τὸ μὴ τι πάσχειν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς τῶν πολεμίων. τοῦτο γὰρ [p. 90] αἰροῦνται μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν φόβων ἢ τὸ καὶ [3] δρᾶσαι τι προχείρως ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς, τοσαύτη γὰρ περιουσία ἀνδρίας χρώμεθα ὥστε καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς ἀσφαλεστέρας τῶν τειχῶν καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας πολυαρκεστέρας τῆς ἐκείνων πανοπλίας νομίζειν. ἐξ οὗπερ ἡμεῖς μὲν καὶ κρατοῦντες αἰροῦμεν αὐτοὺς καὶ βιασθέντες ἐκφεύγομεν, κἂν ἄρα καὶ ἀναχωρήσαι ποι προελώμεθα, ἐς τοιαῦτα ἔλη καὶ ὄρη καταδυσόμεθα ὥστε μῆτε εὐρεθῆναι [4] μῆτε ληφθῆναι: ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οὔτε διῶξαι τινα ὑπὸ τοῦ βάρους οὔτε φυγεῖν δύνανται, κἂν ἄρα καὶ ἐκδράμωσι ποτε, ἐς τε χωρία ἀποδεδειγμένα καταφεύγουσι, κάνταῦθα ὥσπερ ἐς γαλεάγρας [5] κατακλείονται. ἔν τε οὖν τοῦτοις παρὰ πολὺ ἡμῶν ἐλαττοῦνται, καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις, ὅτι οὔτε λιμὸν οὔτε δίψος, οὐ ψῦχος οὐ καῦμα ὑποφέρουσιν ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς, ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν καὶ σκιᾶς καὶ σκέπης σίτου τε μεμαγμένου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου δεόνται, κἂν ἄρα τι τούτων αὐτοὺς ἐπιλίπη διαφθείρονται, ἡμῖν δὲ δὴ πᾶσα μὲν πόα καὶ ῥίζα σῖτός ἐστι, πᾶς δὲ χυμὸς ἐλαιον, πᾶν δὲ [6] ὕδωρ οἶνος, πᾶν δὲ δένδρον οἰκία. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ χωρία ταῦτα ἡμῖν μὲν συνήθη καὶ σύμμαχα, ἐκείνοις δὲ δὴ καὶ ἄγνωστα καὶ πολέμια: καὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἡμεῖς μὲν γυμνοὶ διανέομεν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οὐδὲ πλοίοις ῥαδίως περαιοῦνται. ἀλλ’ ἴωμεν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ θαρροῦντες. δείξωμεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι λαγωὶ καὶ ἀλώπεκες ὄντες κυνῶν καὶ λύκων ἄρχειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν.’ 6. ταῦτα εἰποῦσα λαγῶν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου [p. 92] προήκατο μαντεῖα τινὶ χρωμένη, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν αἰσίῳ σφίσιν ἔδραμε, τὸ τε πλῆθος πᾶν ἡσθὲν ἀνεβόησε, καὶ ἡ Βουδουῖκα τὴν χεῖρα ἐς τὸν [2] οὐρανὸν ἀνατείνασα εἶπε ‘χάριν τέ σοι ἔχω, ὦ Ἀνδράστη, καὶ προσεπικαλοῦμαι σε γυνὴ γυναῖκα, οὐκ Αἰγυπτίων ἀχθοφόρων ἄρχουσα ὡς Νιτωκρις, οὐδ’ Ἀσσυρίων τῶν ἐμπόρων ὡς Σεμίραμις ‘καὶ γὰρ ταῦτ’ ἤδη παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων [3] μεμαθήκαμεν’, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν ὡς πρότερον μὲν Μεσσαλίνα ἔπειτ’ Ἀγριππῖνα νῦν δὲ καὶ Νέρων ὄνομα μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρὸς ἔχει, ἔργῳ δὲ γυνὴ ἐστι: σημειὸν δέ, ἅδει καὶ κιθαρίζει καὶ καλλωπίζεται, ἀλλὰ ἀνδρῶν Βρεττανῶν, γεωργεῖν μὲν ἢ δημιουργεῖν οὐκ εἰδόντων, πολεμεῖν δὲ ἀκριβῶς μεμαθηκότων, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα κοινὰ καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας κοινὰς νομιζόντων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκείνων τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖς [4] ἄρρεσιν ἀρετὴν ἔχουσῶν. τοιούτων οὖν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοιούτων γυναικῶν βασιλεύουσα προσεύχομαι τέ σοι καὶ αἰτῶ νίκην καὶ σωτηρίαν καὶ ἐλευθερίαν κατ’

ἀνδρῶν ὕβριστῶν ἀδίκων ἀπλήστων ἀνοσίῳν, εἰ γε καὶ ἄνδρας χρή καλεῖν ἀνθρώπους ὕδατι θερμῷ λουμένους, ὅψα σκευαστὰ ἐσθιοντας, οἶνον ἄκρατον πίνοντας, μύρῳ ἀλειφομένους, μαλθακῶς κοιμωμένους, μετὰ μεираκιῶν, καὶ τούτων ἐξῶρων, καθεδόντας, κιθαρωδῶ,^[5] καὶ τούτῳ κακῷ, δουλεύοντας. μὴ γάρ ^[p. 94] τοι μήτ' ἐμοῦ μήθ' ὑμῶν ἔτι βασιλεύσειεν ἡ Νερωνὶς ἡ Δομιτία, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἡδουσα δεσποζέτω 'καὶ γὰρ ἄξιοι τοιαύτῃ γυναικὶ δουλεύειν, ἥς τοσοῦτον ἤδη χρόνον ἀνέχονται τυραννοῦσης', ἡμῶν δὲ σὺ, ὦ δέσποινα, αἰεὶ μόνη προστατοῖς.' 22 7. Τοιαῦτ' ἄττα ἡ Βουδουῖκα δημηγορήσασα ἐπῆγε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τὴν στρατιάν: ἔτυχον γὰρ ἄναρχοι ὄντες διὰ τὸ Παυλῖνον τὸν ἡγεμόνα σφῶν εἰς νῆσόν τινα Μῶνναν ἀγχοῦ τῆς Βρεττανίας κειμένην ἐπιστρατεῦσαι. διὰ τοῦτο πόλεις τε δύο Ῥωμαϊκὰς ἐξεπόρθησε καὶ διήρπασε καὶ φόνον ἀμύθητον, ὡς ἔφην, εἰργάσατο: τοῖς τε ἀλικομένοις ἀνθρώποις ὑπ' αὐτῶν οὐδὲν τῶν ^[2] δεινोटάτων ἔστιν ὃ τι οὐκ ἐγένετο. καὶ ὃ δὴ δεινότατον καὶ θηριωδέστατον ἔπραξαν: τὰς γὰρ γυναῖκας τὰς εὐγενεστάτας καὶ εὐπρεπεστάτας γυμνὰς ἐκρέμασαν, καὶ τοὺς τε μαστοὺς αὐτῶν περιέτεμον καὶ τοῖς στόμασί σφων προσέρραπτον, ὅπως ὡς καὶ ἐσθίουσαι αὐτοὺς ὀρῶντο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πασσάλοις ὀξέσι διὰ παντὸς ποῦ σώματος ^[3] κατὰ μῆκος ἀνέπειραν. καὶ ταῦτα πάντα, θύοντές τε ἅμα καὶ ἐσιώμενοι καὶ ὕβριζοντες, ἔν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις σφῶν ἱεροῖς καὶ ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀνδάτης μάλιστα ἄλσει ἐποιοῦν. οὕτω τε γὰρ τὴν Νικην ὠνόμαζον, καὶ ἔσεβον αὐτὴν περιττότατα. 8. ὁ δὲ Παυλῖνος ἔτυχε μὲν ἤδη τὴν Μῶνναν παραστησάμενος, πυθόμενος δὲ τὴν Βρεττανικὴν συμφορὰν ἀπέπλευσεν εὐθὺς ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς Μῶννης. καὶ διακινδυνεύσαι μὲν αὐτίκα πρὸς ^[p. 96] τοὺς βαρβάρους οὐκ ἤθελε, τὸ τε πλῆθος αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν φοβούμενος, ἀλλ' ἐς ἐπιτηδειότερον καιρὸν τὴν μάχην ὑπερετίθετο: ἐπεὶ δὲ οἴτου τε ἐσπάνιζε καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐγκείμενοι οὐκ ἀνίσταν, ἡναγκάσθη καὶ παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῖς ^[2] συμβαλεῖν. ἡ μὲν οὖν Βουδουῖκα ἐς τρεῖς καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν στρατεύμα ἔχουσα αὐτὴ μὲν ἐφ' ἄρματος ὠχεῖτο, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ὡς ἐκάστους διέταξεν: ὁ δὲ δὴ Παυλῖνος μήτε ἀντιπαρατεῖναι οἱ τὴν φάλαγγα δυνηθεὶς 'οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' εἰ ἐφ' ἓνα ἐτάχθησαν ἐξικονῦντο: τοσοῦτον ^[3] ἡλαττοῦντο τῷ πλήθει μήτ' αὖ καθ' ἓν συμβαλεῖν, μὴ καὶ περιστοιχισθεὶς κατακοπῇ, τολμήσας, τριχῇ τε ἔνειμε τὸν στρατὸν ὅπως πολλαχόθεν ἅμα μάχοντο, καὶ ἐπύκνωσεν ἕκαστον τῶν μερῶν ὥστε δύσρηκτον εἶναι. συντάττων δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ καθιστὰς προσπαρήνει, 9. λέγων: 'ἄγετε, ἄνδρες συστρατιῶται, ἄγετε, ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, δεῖξατε τοῖς ὀλέθροις τούτοις ὅσον καὶ δυστυχοῦντες αὐτῶν προφέρομεν: αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ἐστὶν ὑμῖν, ἃ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ὑπ' ἀρετῆς ἐκτήσασθε, νῦν ἀκλεῶς ἀπολέσαι. πολλακὶς τοι τῶν νῦν παρόντων ἐλάττους ὄντες πολὺ πλείονας ἀντιπάλους καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ καὶ ^[2] οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐνίκησαν. μήτ' οὖν τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν φοβηθῇτε καὶ τὴν νεωτεροποιίαν 'ἐκ γὰρ ἀόπλου καὶ ἀμελετήτου προπετείας θρασύνονται, μήθ' ὅτι πόλεις τινὰς ἐμπεπρήκασιν: οὐ ^[p. 98] γὰρ κατὰ κράτος οὐδὲ ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν προδοθεῖσαν τὴν δὲ ἐκλειφθεῖσαν εἶλον: ἀνθ' ὧν νῦν τὴν προσήκουσαν παρ' αὐτῶν δίκην λάβετε, ἵνα καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῖς

ἐκμάθωσιν οἷους ὄντας ἡμᾶς οἷοι ὄντες ἡδίκηκασι.’ 10. ταῦτά τιςιν εἰπὼν ἐφ’ ἐτέρους ἦλθε, καὶ ἔφη: ‘νὺν καιρὸς, ὦ συστρατιῶται, προθυμίας, νὺν τόλμης. ἂν τήμερον ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γέννησθε, καὶ τὰ προειμένα ἀναλήψεσθε: ἂν τούτων κρατήσητε, οὐκέτ’ οὐδεὶς ἡμῖν οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀντιστήσεται. διὰ μιᾶς τοιαύτης μάχης καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα βεβαιώσεσθε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσκαταστρέψεσθε: [2] πάντες γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι που ὄντες στρατιῶται ζηλώσουσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐχθροὶ φοβηθήσονται. ὥστε ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχοντες ἢ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀδεῶς ἄρχειν ὦν καὶ οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν κατέλιπον καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑμεῖς προσεπεκτήσασθε, ἢ πάντως αὐτῶν στερηθῆναι, ἔλεσθε ἐλεύθεροι εἶναι, ἄρχειν πλουτεῖν εὐδαιμονεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τάναντία αὐτῶν ῥαθυμήσαντες παθεῖν.’ 11. τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ τούτοις εἰπὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς τρίτους ἐπιπαρήλθε, καὶ ἔλεξε καὶ ἐκείνοις: ‘ἡκούσατε. μὲν οἷα ἡμᾶς οἱ κατάρστοι οὗτοι δεδράκασι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἔνια αὐτῶν καὶ εἶδετε: [2] ὥσθ’ ἔλεσθε πότερον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκείνοις παθεῖν καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐκπεσεῖν παντελῶς [p. 100] ἐκ τῆς Βρεττανίας, ἢ κρατήσαντες καὶ τοῖς ἀπολωλόσι τιμωρῆσαι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἅπασι παράδειγμα ποιῆσαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ πειθαρχοῦν εὐμενοῦς ἐπεικειας καὶ πρὸς τὸ νεωτερίζον [3] ἀναγκαιᾶς τραχύτητος. μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε νικήσειν ἡμᾶς ἐλπίζω καὶ τῇ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν συμμαχίᾳ ‘τοῖς γὰρ ἀδικουμένοις ὡς τὸ πολὺ συναίρονται καὶ τῇ πατρώᾳ ἡμῶν ἀνδρίᾳ, Ῥωμαίους τε ὄντας καὶ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων κεκρατηκότας, καὶ ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις ‘καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὺς τούτους τοὺς νὺν ἀντικαθεστῶτας ἡτήσαντες κεχειρώμεθ’, τῷ τε ἀξιώματι ‘οὐ γὰρ ἀντιπάλους τιςὶν ἀλλὰ δούλοις ἡμετέροις συμβαλοῦμεν, οὐς καὶ ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους [4] ὄντας ἐνίκησαμεν 35’: ἂν δὲ δὴ παρ’ ἐλπίδα τι συμβῇ ‘οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῦτ’ εἰπεῖν ὀκνήσω, ἅμεινόν ἐστι μαχομένους ἡμᾶς ἀνδρείως πεσεῖν ἢ ἀλόντας ἀνασκολοπισθῆναι, τὰ σπλάγχνα τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐκτμηθέντα ἰδεῖν, πασσάλοις διαπύροις ἀναπαρῆναι καὶ ὕδατι ζέοντι τηκομένους ἀπολέσθαι, καθάπερ ἐς θηρία τινὰ ἄγρια ἄνομα [5] ἀνόσια ἐμπεπτωκότας. ἢ οὖν περιγενώμεθα αὐτῶν, ἢ ἐνταῦθα ἀποθάνωμεν. καλὸν τὸ μνημεῖον τὴν Βρεττανίαν ἔξομεν, κἂν πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐκπέσωσι: τοῖς γὰρ σώμασι τοῖς ἡμετέροις πάντως αὐτὴν ἀεὶ κατέξομεν.’ 12. τοιαῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις εἰπὼν ἦρε τὸ σημεῖον τῆς μάχης: κἂκ τούτου συνῆλθον, [p. 102] οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι κραυγῇ τε πολλῇ καὶ ὠδαῖς ἀπειλητικαῖς χρώμενοι, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι σιγῇ καὶ κόσμῳ, μέχρις οὗ ἐς ἀκοντίου βολὴν ἀφίκοντο. [2] ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἤδη βάδην τῶν πολεμίων προσιόντων σφίσιν ἐξάξαντες ἅμα ἀπὸ συνθήματος ἐπέδραμον αὐτοῖς ἀνὰ κράτος, καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ προσμίξει ῥαδίως τὴν ἀντίταξιν σφων διέρρηξαν, περισχεθέντες δὲ τῷ πλήθει πανταχόθεν ἅμα [3] ἐμάχοντο. καὶ ἦν ὁ ἀγωνισμὸς αὐτῶν πολύτροπος: τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ οἱ φιλοὶ τοὺς φιλοὺς ἀντέβαλλον, τοῦτο δὲ οἱ ὀπλίται τοῖς ὀπλίταις ἀνθίσταντο, οἳ τε ἵππεῖς τοῖς ἵππεῦσι συνεφέροντο, καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄρματα τῶν βαρβάρων οἳ τοξόται τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀντηγωνίζοντο. τοὺς τε γὰρ Ῥωμαίους οἱ βάρβαροι ῥύμῃ τοῖς ἄρμασι προσπίπτοντες ἀνέτρεπον, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τοξευμάτων, ἅτε καὶ δίχα θωράκων μαχόμενοι, ἀνεστέλλοντο: ἵππεὺς τε πεζὸν ἀνέτρεπε, καὶ [4]

πεζὸς ἵππεά κατέβαλλε: πρὸς τε τὰ ἄρματα συμφραζάμενοί τινες ἐχώρουν, καὶ ἄλλοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐσκεδάννυντο: τοὺς τε τοξότας οἱ μὲν ὁμόσε σφίσιν ἰόντες ἔτρεπον, οἱ δὲ πόρρωθεν ἐφυλάσσοντο. καὶ ταῦτα οὐ καθ' ἓν ἀλλὰ τριχῇ ^[5] πάνθ' ὁμοίως ἐγίνετο. ἡγωνίσαντο δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀμφοτέροι προθυμίας καὶ τόλμης. τέλος δὲ ὅψε ποτε οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐνίκησαν, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ πρὸς ταῖς ἀμάξαις τῇ τε ὕλῃ κατεφόνευσαν, πολλοὺς δὲ ^[6] καὶ ζῶντας εἶλον. συχνοὶ δ' οὖν καὶ διέφυγον, καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο μὲν ὥς καὶ αὖθις μαχοῦμενοι, ^[p. 104] ἀποθανούσης δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῆς Βουδουίκης νόσω ἐκείνην μὲν δεινῶς ἐπένθησαν καὶ πολυτελῶς ἔθαψαν, αὐτοὶ δ' ὥς καὶ τότε ὄντως ἡττηθέντες διεσκεδάσθησαν.” Xiph. 158, 24-165, R. St. “ 13. καὶ τὰ μὲν Βρεττανικὰ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὁ Νέρων Ὀκταβίαν τὴν Αὐγουσταν ἀπεπέμψατο μὲν πρότερον διὰ Σαβῖναν τὴν παλλακίδα, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἀπέκτεινε, καίτοι τοῦ Βούρρου ἐναντιουμένου αὐτῷ καὶ κωλύοντος ^[2] ἀποπέμψασθαι, καὶ ποτε εἰπόντος ‘οὐκοῦν καὶ τὴν προῖκα αὐτῇ’ τοῦτ’ ἔστι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ‘ἀπόδος.’ οὕτω γὰρ πως ἐρρωμένως αὐτῇ ἐχρῆτο ὥστε ποτὲ δεύτερον ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ γνώμην περὶ ᾧν ἀπεφάνετο, εἶπεν ἄντικρυς ὅτι ‘περὶ ᾧν ἂν ἅπαξ τι εἴπω, μηκέτι μου αὖθις πύθῃ.” Xiph. 165, 20-28 R. St. “ ^[3] τοῦτον μὲν οὖν φαρμάκῳ διώλεσε, Τιγελλῖνον δὲ τινα Σωφρόνιον, ἀσελγεία τε καὶ μαιφονία πάντας τοὺς καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπους ὑπεράραντα, σὺν ἑτέρῳ τινὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν δορυφόρων ἀρχὴν κατέστησεν.” Xiph. 165, 28-31 R. St. “ ^[p. 106] Ὅτι ὁ Τιγελλῖνος διεδέξατο τὸν Βοῦρρον, ἀσελγεία καὶ μαιφονία πάντας τοὺς καθ’ αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπους ὑπεάρας. τὸν τε Νέρωνα ἀπ’ αὐτῶν προσεποιήσατο, καὶ τὸν συνάρχοντα Ῥοῦφον παρ’ οὐδὲν ἐτίθετο.” Exc. Val. 244 (p. 689). “ πρὸς τοῦτον καὶ τὸ τῆς Πυθιάδος ἀπόφθεγμα ^[4] γενέσθαι λέγεται. ἐπεὶ γὰρ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν ὄντων οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες πλὴν Πυθιάδος συνεπέθεντο μετὰ τῆς Σαβίνης αὐτῇ, τῆς μὲν, ὅτι ἐδυστύχει, καταφρονήσαντες, τὴν δὲ, ὅτι ἴσχυε, κολακεύοντες, μόνῃ ἡ Πυθιάς οὔτε τι κατεφεύσατο αὐτῆς, καίπερ πικρότατα βασανισθεῖσα, καὶ τέλος ὥς ὁ Τιγελλῖνος ἐνέκειτο αὐτῇ, προσέπτυσέ τε αὐτῷ καὶ εἶπε: ‘καθαρώτερον, ὦ Τιγελλῖνε, τὸ αἰδοῖον ἢ δέσποινά μου τοῦ σοῦ στόματος ἔχει.” Xiph. 165, 31-166, R. St. “ 14. ὁ δὲ δὴ Νέρων καὶ γέλωτα καὶ σκώμματα τὰ τῶν συγγενῶν κακὰ ἐποιεῖτο. τὸν γοῦν Πλαῦτον ἀποκτείνας, ἔπειτα τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ προσενεχθεῖσάν οἱ ἰδὼν, ‘οὐκ ἦδεν’ ἔφη ‘ὅτι οὕτω μεγάλῃν ῥίνα εἶχεν,’ ὥσπερ φεισάμενος ἂν αὐτοῦ ^[2] εἰ τοῦτο προηπίστατο. πάντα δὲ ὥς εἰπεῖν τὸν βίον ἐν κατηλικῇ διαίτῃ ποιούμενος ἀπέλιπε τοῖς ἄλλοις μηδὲν ἐφθὼν ἐν κατηλείῳ, πλὴν λαχάνων ^[3] καὶ ἔτνους, πιπράσκειν. τὸν δὲ Πάλλαντα διεχρήσατο, ὅτι καὶ πλοῦτον πολὺν ἐκέκτητο, ὥστε καὶ ἐς μυρίας μυριάδας αὐτὸν ἀριθμεῖσθαι: καὶ δυσκολίᾳ τρόπων πολλῇ ἐχρῆτο, ὥστε μήτε τοῖς οἰκέταις μήτε τοῖς ἐξελευθέροις διαλέγεσθαι τι ^[p. 108] ἀλλ’ ἐς γραμματεῖα πάνθ’ ὅσα ἐβούλετο καὶ προσέτασσε σφίσιν ἐσγράφειν.” Xiph. 166, 7-17 R. St., Exc. Val. 245 (p. 689). “ 15. ^[7] ὅτι ἐκ τῶν συναχθέντων ἐς τὸ Ἄντιον πολλῶν ἀπολομένων ὁ Νέρων ἐν ἐορτῇς μέρει τοῦτο ἐποιεῖτο.” Exc. Val. 246 (p. 689). “ ^[1a] ὅτι Θρασέας τις γνώμην ἀπεφάνετο ἀνδρὶ βουλευτῇ ἐσχάτην εἶναι τιμωρίαν τὴν

φυγὴν.” Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. (p. 212 Mai. = p. 194, 16, Dind.). “ τοσαύτη δ’ ἦν ἢ τοῦ Νέρωνος ἀκολασία ὥστε καὶ ἄρματα δημοσίᾳ ἤλαυνε. καὶ ποτε θηρία ἀποκτείνας ὕδωρ τε εὐθὺς ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἐπωχέτευσε καὶ ναυμαχίαν ἐπετέλεσε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφείλ μονομαχίαν ἐπιδιέθηκε, καὶ τέλος ἐσαγαγὼν αὐτὸ αὖθις δεῖπνον δημοσίᾳ πολυτελὲς [2] ἐδείπνισεν. ἐστιάτωρ μὲν ὁ Τιγελλῖνος ἀπεδέδεικτο, καὶ παρασκευὴ πᾶσα πολλὴ ἐπεπόριστο: ἐσκευάσθη δὲ τὸνδε τὸν τρόπον. Ἐν μὲν τῷ μέσῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ὕδατι τὰ τε σκεύη τὰ οἰνηρὰ τὰ ξύλινα τὰ μεγάλα προκαθεῖτο, καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῶν σανίδες [3] ἐπεπήγεσαν, πέριξ δὲ περὶ αὐτὸ καπηλεῖα καὶ οἰκήματα ἐπεποιήτο, ὥστε τὸν Νέρωνα καὶ τὸν Τιγελλῖνον τοὺς τε συσσίτους αὐτῶν τὸ μέσον ἔχοντας ἐπὶ τε ταπήτων πορφυρῶν καὶ ἐπὶ στρωμάτων ἀπαλῶν ἐπευχωεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ δὴ ἄλλους [4] πάντας ἐν τοῖς καπηλείοις εὐθυμεῖσθαι. Ἐς τε τὰ πορνεῖα ἐσήεσαν, καὶ συνεγίνοντο πάσαις ἀνέδην ἀπλῶς ταῖς ἐνταῦθα καθημέναις: ἦσαν δὲ αἱ τε [p. 110] περικαλλέσταται καὶ ἐκφανέσταται, δοῦλαί τε καὶ ἐλεύθεραι, ἑταῖραι, παρθένοι, γαμεταὶ τινων, οὐχ ὅπως δημότιδες ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐταὶ αἱ εὐγενέσταται [5] καὶ κόραι καὶ γυναῖκες. καὶ ἦν ἐξουσία παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ σχεῖν ἢ ἡθελεν: οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν αὐταῖς οὐδένα ἀπαρνήσασθαι. ὥστε, οἷα συρφετώδης ὁμιλος, ἀπλήστως τε ἅμα ἔπινον καὶ ἀσελγῶς ὕβριζον, καὶ τις καὶ δοῦλος τῇ δεσποινῇ παρόντος τοῦ δεσπότη καὶ μονομάχος εὐγενεῖ [6] κόρῃ ὀρῶντος τοῦ πατρὸς συνεγίνοντο. ὠθισμοὶ τε καὶ πληγαὶ καὶ θόρυβοι, τοῦτο μὲν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐσιόντων, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἔξωθεν περιεστηκότων, αἰσχροὶ συνέβαινον, καὶ ἄνδρες τε ἐκ τούτων συχνοὶ ἐφθάρησαν καὶ γυναῖκες, αἱ μὲν ἀποπνιγεῖσαι αἱ δὲ διαρπαγεῖσαι. 16. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεθύμησεν ὅπερ που αἰεὶ ἠὔχετο, τὴν τε πόλιν ὅλην καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ζῶν ἀναλώσαι: τὸν γοῦν Πρίαμον καὶ αὐτὸς θαυμαστῶς ἐμακάριζεν ὅτι καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἅμα [2] καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολομένας εἶδεν. λάθρᾳ γὰρ τινας ὥς καὶ μεθύοντας ἢ καὶ κακουργοῦντάς τι ἄλλως διαπέμπων, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἓν που καὶ δύο καὶ πλείονα ἄλλα ἄλλοθι ὑπεπίμπρα, ὥστε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν παντὶ ἀπορίας γενέσθαι, μήτ’ ἀρχὴν τοῦ κακοῦ ἐξευρεῖν μήτε τέλος ἐπαγαγεῖν δυναμένους ἀλλὰ πολλὰ μὲν ὀρῶντας πολλὰ δὲ [p. 112] [3] ἀκούοντας ἄτοπα. οὐτε γὰρ θεάσασθαι ἄλλο τι ἢ ἢ πυρὰ πολλὰ ὥσπερ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ, οὐτε ἀκοῦσαι λεγόντων τινῶν ἢ ὅτι ‘τὸ καὶ τὸ καίεται.’ ‘ποῦ;’ ‘πῶς;’ ‘ὑπὸ τίνος;’ ‘βοηθεῖτε.’ θόρυβός τε οὖν ἐξαίσιος πανταχοῦ πάντας κατελάμβανε, καὶ διέτρεχον οἱ μὲν τῇ οἱ δὲ [4] τῇ ὥσπερ ἔμπληκτοι. καὶ ἄλλοις τινὲς ἐπαμύνοντες ἐπυνθάνοντο τὰ οἰκοὶ καιόμενα: καὶ ἕτεροι πρὶν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι ὅτι τῶν σφετέρων τι ἐμπέπρησται, ἐμάνθανον ὅτι ἀπόλωλεν. οἱ τε ἐκ τῶν οἰκίῶν ἐς τοὺς στενωποὺς ἐξέτρεχον ὥς καὶ ἔξωθεν αὐταῖς βοηθήσοντες, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν ὁδῶν εἴσω [5] ἐσέθεον ὥς καὶ ἔνδον τι ἀνύσοντες. καὶ ἦν ἢ τε κραυγὴ καὶ ὀλολυγὴ παίδων ὁμοῦ γυναικῶν ἀνδρῶν γερόντων ἅπλετος, ὥστε μήτε συνιδεῖν μήτε συνεῖναι τι ὑπὸ τοῦ καπνοῦ καὶ τῆς κραυγῆς δύνασθαι: καὶ διὰ ταῦθ’ ὁρᾶν ἦν τινας [6] ἀφώνους ἐστῶτας ὥσπερ ἐνεοὺς ὄντας. κἂν τούτῳ πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ τὰ σφέτερα ἐκκομιζόμενοι, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια ἀρπάζοντες ἀλλήλοισι τε ἐνεπλάζοντο καὶ περὶ τοῖς σκεύεσιν ἐσφάλλοντο, καὶ οὐτε προΐεναι ποι οὐθ’

ἐστάναι εἶχον, [7] ἀλλ' ὥθουν ὠθοῦντο, ἀνέτρεπον ἀνετρέποντο. καὶ συχνοὶ μὲν ἀπεπνίγοντο συχνοὶ δὲ συνετρίβοντο, ὥστε σφίσι μηδὲν ὃ τι τῶν δυναμένων ἀνθρώποις ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ πάθει κακῶν συμβῆναι μὴ συνεχεῖσθαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἀποφυγεῖν που ῥαδίως [p. 114] ἐδύναντο: κἂν ἐκ τοῦ παρόντος τις περιεσώθῃ, ἐς ἕτερον ἐμπεσὼν ἐφθείρετο. 17. καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐν μιᾷ μόνον ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πλείους καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας ὁμοίως ἐγίνετο. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν οἴκοι ἔρημοι τοῦ βοηθήσοντός σφισιν ἀπώλonton, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐπικουρῶντων προσκατεπρήσθησαν: οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται, οἳ τε ἄλλοι καὶ οἱ νυκτοφύλακες, πρὸς τὰς ἀρπαγὰς ἀφορῶντες οὐχ ὅσον οὐ κατεσβέννυσαν [2] τίνα ἀλλὰ καὶ προσεξέκαιον. τοιούτων δὲ δὴ ἄλλων ἄλλοθι συμβαινόντων, ὑπέλαβέ ποτε τὸ πῦρ ἄνεμος καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὁμοῦ πάντα ἤγαγεν, ὥστε σκευῶν μὲν πέρι ἢ οἰκιῶν μηδένα μηδὲν ἔτι φροντίσαι, πάντας δὲ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐστῶτάς που ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ τινι ὄρᾳ ὥσπερ νήσους [3] τινὰς καὶ πόλεις ἅμα πολλὰς φλεγόμενας, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς σφετέροις μηδὲν ἔτι λυπεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ δημόσιον ὀδυρομένους ἀναμνησκεισθαι ὅτι καὶ πρότερόν ποτε οὕτως ὑπὸ τῶν Γαλατῶν τὸ πλεῖον 18. τῆς πόλεως διεφθάρη. πάντων δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων οὕτω διακειμένων, καὶ πολλῶν καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ πῦρ ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους ἐμπηδόντων, ὁ Νέρων ἔς τε τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ παλατίου, ὅθεν μάλιστα σύνοπτα τὰ πολλὰ τῶν καιομένων ἦν, ἀνῆλθε, καὶ τὴν σκευὴν τὴν κιθαρωδικὴν λαβὼν ἤσεν ἄλωσιν, ὡς μὲν αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν, Ἰλίου, ὡς δὲ ἑωρᾶτο, Ῥώμης. [2] τοιούτῳ μὲν δὴ πάθει τότε ἡ πόλις ἐχρήσατο οἷῳ οὕτε πρότερόν ποτε οὐθ' ὕστερον, πλὴν τοῦ Γαλατικοῦ. τὸ τε γὰρ Παλάτιον τὸ ὅρος σύμπαν [p. 116] καὶ τὸ θέατρον τοῦ Ταύρου τῆς τε λοιπῆς πόλεως τὰ δύο που μέρη ἐκαύθη, καὶ ἄνθρωποι ἀναρίθμητοι [3] διεφθάρησαν. ὁ μέντοι δῆμος οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ τι οὐ κατὰ τοῦ Νέρωνος ἥρᾳτο, τὸ μὲν ὄνομα αὐτοῦ μὴ ὑπολέγων, ἄλλως δὲ δὴ τοῖς τὴν πόλιν ἐμπρήσασιν καταρῶμενοι, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι αὐτοὺς ἡ μνήμη τοῦ λογίου τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Τιβερίον ποτε ἀσθέντος ἐθορύβει. ἦν δὲ τοῦτο 'τρίς δὲ τριηκοσίων περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν Ῥωμαίους ἔμφυλος ὀλεῖ στάσις.' [4] ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ Νέρων παραμυθούμενος αὐτοὺς οὐδαμοῦ ταῦτα τὰ ἔπη εὐρέσθαι ἔλεγε, μεταβαλόντες ἕτερον λόγιον ὡς καὶ Σιβύλλειον ὄντως ὄν ἦδον: ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο 'ἔσχατος Αἰνεαδῶν μητροκτόνος ἡγεμονεύσει.' καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως, εἴτε καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς θεομαντεῖα τινὲ προλεχθέν, εἴτε καὶ τότε ὑπὸ τοῦ ὁμίλου πρὸς τὰ παρόντα θειασθέν: τελευταῖος γὰρ τῶν Ἰουλίων τῶν ἀπὸ Αἰνείου γενομένων ἐμονάρχησε. [5] χρήματα δὲ ὁ Νέρων παμπληθῆ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν δῆμων, τὰ μὲν βίᾳ ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει τοῦ ἐμπρησμοῦ, τὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' ἐκόντων δῆθεν ἡργυρολόγησεν, καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν τὸ σιτηρέσιον παρεσπάσατο." Xiph. 166, 17-169, R. St. "[p. 118] 19. πράσσοντι δὲ αὐτῷ ταῦτα ἀγγελία ἐξ Ἀρμενίας καὶ δάφνη ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ αὐθις ἦλθεν. ὁ γὰρ τοι Κορβούλων συστήσας τε τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ἐσκεδασμένα καὶ ἀσκήσας ἡμελημένα, τὸν τε Οὐολόγαισον τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Πάρθων καὶ τὸν Τιριδάτην τὸν τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἡγούμενον καὶ [2] ἀγγελθεὶς μόνον ἐξεφώβησεν. ὁμοία γὰρ δὴ τοῖς πρώτοις Ῥωμαίων, οὐχ ὅτι τῷ γένει λαμπρὸς ἢ τῷ σώματι ἰσχυρὸς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ ἀρτίφρων ἦν, καὶ πολὺ μὲν τὸ ἀνδρεῖον πολὺ δὲ καὶ τὸ

δίκαιον τὸ τε πιστὸν ἐς πάντας καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους^[3] καὶ τοὺς πολέμιους εἶχεν. ὑφ' οὗπερ καὶ ὁ Νέρων ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτὸν ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀπέστειλε, καὶ δύνάμιν αὐτῷ ὅσην οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἐπέτρεψε, πιστεύσας ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους αὐτὸν κατεργάσασθαι καὶ αὐτῷ μὴ ἐπαναστήσεσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐδέτερον τούτων ἐφεύσθη,^[4] τοὺς μέντοι ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους καθ' ἓν τοῦτο μόνον ὁ Κορβούλων ἐλύπησεν, ὅτι τὴν πρὸς τὸν Νέρωνα πίστιν ἐτήρησεν: οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἀντ' ἐκείνου λαβεῖν ἠθελον ὥστε καὶ κακὸν τὸ μέρος τοῦτο γενέσθαι μόνον ἡξίουں.” Xiph. 169, 10-25 R. St., Exc. Val. 247 (p. 689). “ οὗτος οὖν ὁ Κορβούλων ἀκονιτὶ τὰ Ἀρτάξατα 20. λαβὼν τὴν πόλιν κατέσκαψε. πράξας δὲ τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ Τιγρανόκερτα ἤλασε, πάσης μὲν τῆς τῶν ἐνδιδόντων σφᾶς χώρας φειδόμενος, πάντα δὲ τὰ τῶν ἀνθισταμένων πορθῶν, καὶ ἔλαβε καὶ ^[p. 120] ἐκεῖνα ἐθελούσια: ἄλλα τε ἔπραξε λαμπρὰ καὶ ἐπίδοξα, ἐφ' οἷς καὶ τὸν Οὐολόγαισον, καίτοι φοβερόν ὄντα, ἐς διαλλαγὰς ἀρμοζούσας τῷ Ῥωμαίων ἀξιώματι ὑπηγάγετο.” Xiph. 169, 26-32 R. St. “ ^[2] ὅτι ὁ Οὐολόγαισος ἀκούσας ὡς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ὁ Νέρων ἄλλοις διένειμε καὶ τὴν Ἀδιαβηνὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιγράνου πορθουμένην, αὐτὸς μὲν ὡς ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Κορβούλωνα στρατεύσων ἡτοιμάζετο, τὸν δὲ τῶν Ἀδιαβηνῶν βασιλέα Μονόβαζον καὶ Μοναίσην Πάρθον ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ^[3] ἔπεμψεν. οὗτοι δὲ τὸν Τιγράνην ἐς τὰ Τιγρανόκερτα καθεῖρξαν. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐν τῇ προεδρείᾳ οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἐλύπουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁσάκις προσμῖξειάν οἱ ἀπεκροῦντο καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνου καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ, καὶ ὁ Κορβούλων ἀκριβῆ φρουρὰν τῆς Συρίας ἐποίησατο, ἐγνωσιμάχησε καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν ἀφῆκε, ^[4] καὶ πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Κορβούλωνα ἀνοχῆς ἔτυχεν ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς τε τὸν Νέρωνα αὐθις πρεσβεύσασθαι καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν λῦσαι καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἐξαγαγεῖν. Νέρων δὲ ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐδὲ τότε οὐδὲ ταχὺ οὐδὲ σαφὲς ἀπεκρίνατο, Λούκιον δὲ Καισέννιον Παῖτον ἐς τὴν Καππαδοκίαν, ὅπως μηδὲν περὶ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν νεοχμωθῇ, ἀπέστειλεν.” Exc. UG (p. 391). “ 21. ὅτι ὁ Οὐολόγαισος τοῖς Τιγρανοκέρτοις προσέμιξε, καὶ τὸν Παῖτον ἐπιβοηθήσαντά σφισιν ἀπέώσατο, φεύγοντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπιδιώξας τὴν τε ἐπὶ τοῦ Ταύρου καταλειφθεῖσαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φρουρὰν ἐξέκοψε, καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐς Ῥάνδειαν πρὸς ^[p. 122] ^[2] τῷ Ἀρσανίᾳ ποταμῷ οὖσαν κατέκλεισε. κἄν ἀπανέστη μηδὲν περάνας ὅτε γὰρ πελάσαι πῃ τῷ ἐρύματι ἄτε χωρὶς ὀπλιτῶν ὦν ἐδύνατο, οὔτε τῆς τροφῆς, ἄλλως τε καὶ πλήθει πολλῷ ἄνευ παρασκευῆς σιτίων ἀφιγμένος, εὐπόρρῃ, εἰ μὴ ὁ Παῖτος τὴν τε τοξείαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφικνουμένην καὶ τὴν ἵππον πανταχοῦ φαινομένην δείσας λόγους τε ὑπὲρ σπονδῶν αὐτῷ ἔπεμψε καὶ ὠμολόγησε, καὶ ὠμοσεν αὐτὸς τε τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἅπασαν ἐκλείψειν καὶ τὸν Νέρωνα τῷ Τιριδάτῃ αὐτὴν δώσειν. ^[3] ἀγαπήσας γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Πάρθος ὡς καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀπονητὶ ληψόμενος καὶ εὐεργεσίαν ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους μεγάλην καταθησόμενος, καὶ ἅμα καὶ τὸν Κορβούλωνα, ὃν ὁ Παῖτος πρὶν περιστοιχισθῆναι μετεπέμπετο, πλησιάζειν πυθόμενος, ^[4] ἀφῆκεν αὐτούς, προδιομολογησάμενος ἵνα τὸν ποταμὸν αὐτῷ Ἀρσανίαν ζευξωσιν, οὐχ ὅτι γεφύρας ἐδεῖτο ᾧ περὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν διεληλυθεῖ, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐνδειξηται σφισιν ὅτι κρείττων αὐτῶν ἦν. ἀμέλει οὐδὲ τότε διὰ τοῦ ζευγματος ἀνεχώρησεν, ἀλλ'

αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπ’ ἐλέφαντος, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον. 22. ἄρτι τε ἡ ὁμολογία ἐγεγόνει, καὶ ὁ Κορβούλων ἀμηχάνῳ τάχει πρὸς τὸν Εὐφράτην ἐλθὼν ἐνταῦθ’ ὑπέμεινεν. ὅτε δ’ οὖν συνεγένοντο ἀλλήλοις, πλεῖστον ἂν τις τὸ διάφορον τῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν, τῶν μὲν χαιρόντων τε καὶ ^[p. 124] λαμπруνομένων ἐπὶ τῇ σπουδῇ, τῶν δὲ λυπουμένων τε καὶ αἰσχυνομένων ἐπὶ τῇ συνθήκῃ, ^[2] κατενόησεν. ὁ δὲ Οὐολόγαισος Μοναίσην πρὸς Κορβούλωνα πέμψας ἤξιωσεν αὐτὸν τὸ ἔρυμα τὸ ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ ἐκλιπεῖν: καὶ διελέχθησαν ἐκεῖνοι πολλὰ ἀλλήλοις ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ^[3] γεφύρᾳ, τὸ μέσον αὐτῆς λύσαντες. ὑποσχομένου δὲ τοῦ Κορβούλωνος ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι ἐκ τῆς χώρας, ἂν καὶ ὁ Πάρθος τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐκλείπῃ. ἐκάτερον ἐγένετο, μέχρι οὗ ὁ Νέρων τὰ πραχθέντα πυθόμενος, καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῦ Οὐολόγαισου, οὓς αὖθις ἔπεμψε, χρηματίσας, τοῦτοις μὲν ἀπεκρίνατο τὴν Ἀρμενίαν δώσειν τῷ Τιριδάτῃ, ^[4] ἂν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνέλθῃ, τὸν δὲ δὴ Παῖτον τῆς ἀρχῆς παύσας, τοὺς τε στρατιώτας τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ γενομένους ἄλλοσέ ποι πέμψας, τὸν Κορβούλωνα αὖθις τῷ κατ’ αὐτῶν πολέμῳ προσέταξεν. ἐβουλεύσατο μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς συστρατεῦσαι, ἐπεὶ δὲ θύων ἔπεσεν, οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν ἐξορμῆσαι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἔμεινεν.” Exc. UR (p. 392). “ 23. ὅτι ὁ Κορβούλων ἐν μὲν τῷ φανερωῖ τὸν πρὸς Οὐολόγαισον πόλεμον παρεσκευάζετο, καὶ πέμψας ἐκατοντάρχην ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς χώρας, ἰδίᾳ δὲ συνεβούλευεν οἱ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην πέμψαι, καὶ ἔπεισεν, ἐπειδὴ κρείττων ^[2] αὐτοῦ τῇ δυνάμει ἐδόκει εἶναι. συνῆλθον οὖν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥανδεῖᾳ ὃ τε Κορβούλων καὶ ὁ Τιριδάτης: τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ χωρίον ἀμφοτέροις ἤρεσε, τῷ μὲν ὅτι ἀπολαβόντες ἐς αὐτὸ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑποσπόνδους ^[p. 126] ἀφῆκαν, πρὸς ἐνδειξιν ὧν εὐηργέτηντο, τῷ δὲ ὅτι τὴν δύσκειαν τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ πρότερον συμβῆσάν ^[3] σφισιν ἀποτρίψεσθαι ἔμελλον. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπλῶς λόγους τινὰς ἐποίησαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ βῆμα ὑψηλὸν ἠγέρθη καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ εἰκόνες τοῦ Νέρωνος ἐστάθησαν, ὃ τε Τιριδάτης πολλῶν μὲν Ἀρμενίων πολλῶν δὲ Πάρθων καὶ Ῥωμαίων παρόντων προσῆλθέ τε αὐταῖς καὶ προσεκύνησεν, θύσας τε καὶ ἐπευφημήσας τὸ διάδημα ἀπὸ τε τῆς κεφαλῆς ^[4] ἀφεῖλε καὶ παρέθηκεν αὐταῖς: καὶ ὁ Μονόβαζος καὶ ὁ Οὐολόγαισος πρὸς τὸν Κορβούλωνα ἦλθον καὶ ὁμήρους αὐτῷ ἔδωκαν. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Νέρων αὐτοκράτωρ τε πολλάκις ἐπεκλήθη, καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια ἔπεμψε παρὰ τὸ νενομισμένον.” Exc. UG (p. 391). “ ^[5] Κορβούλων μὲν οὖν, καίτοι καὶ ἰσχὺν μεγάλην καὶ δόξαν οὐκ ἐλαχίστην ἔχων, καὶ δυνηθεὶς ἂν ῥᾶστα καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ, ἅτε καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῷ τε Νέρωνι δεινῶς ἀχθομένων καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐς πάντα δὴ πάντως θαυμαζόντων, ἀποδειχθῆναι, ^[6] οὕτε ἐνεωτέρισέ τι οὕτε ἡτιάθη. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐμετρίαζε, καὶ τὸν γαμβρὸν Ἄννιον ὑποστρατηγοῦντά οἱ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς τὸν Τιριδάτην ἀνάξοντα, τὸ δ’ ἀληθὲς ἐφ’ ὁμηρεῖα τῷ Νέρωνι ἐκὼν ἔπεμψεν. οὕτω γὰρ που ἐπεπίστευτο μηδὲν νεοχμῶσειν ὥστε καὶ τὸν γαμβρὸν, καὶ πρὶν στρατηγῆσαι, ὑπαρχον λαβεῖν.” Xiph. 169, 32-170, R. St., Exc. Val. 248 (p. 689 f.). “ 27. ^[2] ὅτι Ἰοῦνιος Τορκουᾶτος, ἀπόγονος τοῦ ^[p. 128] Αὐγούστου ὧν, ἐπὶ θαυμαστῷ δὴ τινι ἐγκλήματι παρεδόθη. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀσωτότερον τῇ

οὐσίᾳ, εἴτε ἐκ φύσεως εἴτε καὶ ἐξ ἐπιτηδεύσεως, ὅπως μὴ πάνυ πλουτοίῃ, κατεχρήσατο, τῶν τε ἄλλοτριῶν αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμεῖν ἅτε καὶ πολλῶν δεόμενον ὁ Νέρων ἔφη, καὶ τοῦτου ὡς καὶ τῆς αὐτοκράτορος ἀρχῆς ἐφίεμενον συκοφαντηθῆναι ἐποίησεν.” Exc. Val. 249 (p. 690). “ 24. ἃ δὲ δὴ Σενέκας καὶ ὁ Ροῦφος ὁ ἑπαρχος ἄλλοι τέ τινες τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐβούλευσαν τῷ Νέρωνι: οὔτε γὰρ τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην οὔτε τὴν ἀσέλγειαν οὔτε τὴν ὠμότητα αὐτοῦ ἐπιφέρειν ἐδύνατο. αὐτοὶ τε οὖν ἅμα τῶν κακῶν τούτων ἀπαλλαγῆναι κάκεῖνον ἐλευθερῶσαι ἠθέλησαν, ὥσπερ ἄντικρυς Σουλπικίος τε Ἀσπρος ἐκατόνταρχος καὶ Σούβριος Φλάουιος χιλιάρχος, ἐκ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ὄντες, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν Νέρωνα [2] ὠμολόγησαν. ἐκεῖνός τε γὰρ ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἐπιθέσεως εἶπεν ὅτι ‘ἄλλως σοι βοηθηῖσαι οὐκ ἐδύναμην,’ καὶ ὁ Φλάουιος ‘καὶ ἐφίλησά σε’ εἶπε ‘παντὸς μᾶλλον καὶ ἐμίσησα. ἐφίλησα μὲν ἐλπίσας ἀγαθὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἔσεσθαι, ἐμίσησα δὲ ὅτι τὰ καὶ τὰ ποιεῖς: οὔτε γὰρ ἀρματηλάτῃ οὔτε κιθαρωδῷ δουλεύειν δύναμαι.’ μηνύσεως οὖν γενομένης οὗτοί τε [3] ἐκολάσθησαν καὶ ἄλλοι δι’ αὐτοὺς πολλοί. πᾶν γὰρ ὃ τι τις ἐγκαλέσαι τῷ ἐκ περιχαρείας καὶ λύπης ῥημάτων τε καὶ νευμάτων οἶός τε ἦν, καὶ ἐπεφέρετο καὶ ἐπιστευέτο: οὐδ’ ἔστιν ὃ τι τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, εἰ καὶ ἐπέπλαστο, ἀπιστεῖσθαι διὰ [p. 130] τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν τοῦ Νέρωνος ἔργων ἐδύνατο. [4] καὶ διὰ τοῦτ’ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα οἱ τε φίλοι οἱ πονηροὶ καὶ οἰκέται τινῶν ἦνθησαν: τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοτριους τοὺς τε ἐχθροὺς ὑποπτεῦντες ἐφυλάσσοντο, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τοὺς συνόντας καὶ ἄκοντες ἐγυμνοῦντο. 25. περὶ μὲν οὖν: τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀπολωλότων πολὺ ἔργον εἶπεῖν: ὁ δὲ δὴ Σενέκας ἠθέλησε μὲν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα Παυλῖναν ἀποκτεῖναι, λέγων πεπεικέναι αὐτὴν τοῦ τε θανάτου καταφρονῆσαι καὶ τῆς σὺν αὐτῷ μεταλλαγῆς ἐπιθυμῆσαι, καὶ [2] ἔσχασε καὶ τὰς ἐκείνης φλέβας, δυσθανατήσας δὲ δὴ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ὀλεθρον ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπείχεῖς προαπηλλάγῃ αὐτῆς, καὶ οὕτως ἡ Παυλῖνα περιεγένετο. οὐ μέντοι πρότερον ἑαυτοῦ ἤψατο πρὶν τὸ τε βιβλίον ὃ συνέγραψεν ἐπανορθῶσαι καὶ τᾶλλα ‘ἐδεδίει γὰρ μὴ καὶ ἐς τὸν Νέρωνα ἐλθόντα φθαρῇ παρακαταθέσθαι [3] τισίν. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐτελεύτησε, καίπερ τὴν τε συνουσίαν τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ ἀσθενῶν προειμένος, καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτῷ τὴν οὐσίαν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν οἰκοδομουμένων προφάσει κεχαρισμένος, καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ὕστερον ἐπαπῶλοντο. 26. ὁ δὲ δὴ Θρασέας καὶ ὁ Σωρανός, καὶ γένους καὶ πλούτου τῆς τε συμπάσης ἀρετῆς ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ἀνήκοντες, ἐπιβουλῆς μὲν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔσχον, [p. 132] ἀπέθανον δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τότε, ὅτι τοιοῦτοι ἦσαν. καὶ τοῦ γε Σωρανοῦ Πούπλιος Ἐγνάπιος Κέλερ [2] φιλόσοφος κατεψευδομαρτύρησε. δύο γὰρ ἀνδρῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ, Κασσίου τε Ἀσκληπιοδότου Νικαέως καὶ ἐκείνου Βηρυτίου, ὁ μὲν Ἀσκληπιόδοτος οὐχ ὅπως κατεῖπέ τι αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούναντίον καλοκάγαθιαν οἱ προσεμαρτύρησε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τότε μὲν ἔφυγεν, ὕστερον δὲ ἐπὶ Γάλβου κατήχθη: ὁ δὲ δὴ Πούπλιος ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ συκοφαντίᾳ καὶ χρήματα καὶ τιμὰς ἔλαβε καθάπερ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ τοιοῦτόν τι ποιήσαντες, μετὰ δὲ [3] τοῦτο ἐξωρίσθη. Σωρανός μὲν οὖν ὡς καὶ μαγεύματι τινι διὰ τῆς θυγατρὸς κεκρημένος, ἐπειδὴ νοσήσαντος αὐτοῦ θυσίαν τινα ἐθύσαντο, ἐσφάγη, Θρασέας δὲ ὅτι οὔτε ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον συνεχῶς ὡς

οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τοῖς ψηφίζομένοις ἀπὴντα, οὐτ' ἦκουσέ ποτε αὐτοῦ
κιθαριζοῦντος, οὔτε ἔθυσσε τῇ ἱερᾷ αὐτοῦ φωνῇ ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι, [4] οὔτε
ἐπεδείξατο οὐδέν, καίτοι ἐν Παταουίῳ 100 τῇ πατρίδι τραγωδίαν κατὰ τι
πάτριον ἐν ἑορτῇ τινι τριακονταετηρίδι ὑποκρινάμενος. ἐντεμὼν οὖν τὴν
φλέβα ἀνέτεινε τὴν χεῖρα, καὶ ἔφη 'σοὶ τοῦτο τὸ αἷμα, ὦ Ζεῦ Ἐλευθέριε,
σπένδω.' 27. καὶ τί ἂν τις θαυμάσειεν 101 εἰ τοιαῦτα ...102 ἐπήχθη, ὁπότε
τις, ὅτι πρὸς τῇ ἀγορᾷ ὥκει 103 καὶ ἐργαστήρια ἐξεμίσθου ἢ καὶ φίλους
τινάς εἰς [p. 134] αὐτὰ ὑπεδέχετο, καὶ ἄλλος, ὅτι τοῦ Κασσίου τοῦ τὸν
Καίσαρα ἀποκτείναντος εἰκόνα εἶχε, καὶ ἐκρίθησαν καὶ ἐφονεύθησαν; [3]
ἄξιον δὲ μνησθῆναι καὶ γυναικὸς τινος Ἐπιχάριτος: αὕτη γὰρ ἐν τε τῇ
συνωμοσίᾳ ἐξετασθεῖσα καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἀκριβῶς πιστευθεῖσα οὐδέν 104
τὸ παράπαν, καίπερ πολλάκις ὑπὸ τῆς Τιγελλίνου [4] δεινότητος
βασανισθεῖσα, ἐξέφηνε. τί δ' ἂν τις καταλέγοι ὅσα ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπιβουλῇ ταύτῃ ἢ
τοῖς δορυφόροις ἐδόθη ἢ τῷ τε Νέρωνι καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ φίλοις ὑπέρογκα
ἐψηφίσθη; Ροῦφος μέντοι Μουσώνιος ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐπὶ τοῦτοις
ἐφυγαδεύθη." Xiph. 170, 4-172, R. St. " καὶ ἡ Σαβῖνα 105 ὑπὸ τοῦ Νέρωνος
τότε ἀπέθανε: κυοῦση γὰρ αὐτῇ λάξ, εἴτε ἐκὼν εἴτε καὶ 106 ἄκων, 28.
ἐνέθορεν. 107 ἡ δὲ δὴ Σαβῖνα αὕτη οὕτως ὑπερετρύφησεν 'ἐκ γὰρ τῶν
βραχυτάτων πᾶν δηλωθήσεται ὥστε τὰς τε ἡμιόνους τὰς ἀγούσας αὐτὴν
ἐπιχρυσάσπαρτια ὑποδεῖσθαι, καὶ ὄνους πεντακοσίας ἀρπιτόκους καθ'
ἡμέραν ἀμέλγεσθαι, ἴν' ἐν τῷ γάλακτι αὐτῶν λούηται: τὴν τε γὰρ ὥραν καὶ
τὴν λαμπρότητα τοῦ σώματος ἰσχυρῶς 108 ἐσπουδάκει, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ
εὐπρεπῇ ποτε αὐτὴν ἐν κατόπτρῳ ἰδοῦσα ἠῤῥατο τελευτῆσαι [2] πρὶν
παρηβῆσαι. καὶ οὕτω γε αὐτὴν ὁ Νέρων ἐπόθησεν ὥστε μετὰ τὸν 109
θάνατον αὐτῆς τὰ μὲν πρῶτα γυναικᾶ τινὰ προσφερῇ οἱ μαθὼν οὔσαν
μετεπέμψατο καὶ ἔσχεν, ἔπειτα καὶ παῖδα ἀπελεύθερον, [p. 136] ὃν Σπόρον
ὠνόμαζεν, ἐκτεμὼν, ἐπειδὴ [3] καὶ αὐτὸς τῇ Σαβίνῃ προσεῴκει, τὰ τε ἄλλα
ὡς γυναικὶ αὐτῷ ἐχρήτο καὶ προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἐγήμεν αὐτόν,
καίπερ Πυθαγόρᾳ τινὶ ἐξελευθέρῳ 110 γεγαμημένος, καὶ προῖκα αὐτῷ κατὰ
συγγραφὴν ἔνειμε, 111 καὶ τοὺς γάμους σφῶν δημοσίᾳ οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ
αὐτοὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐώρτασαν." Xiph. 172, 1-15 R. St., Exc. Val. 250a (p. 690).
" [3a] ὅτι τὸν Σπόρον τὸν ἐκτομίαν ἔχοντος τοῦ Νέρωνος ὡς γυναῖκα εἰς τις
τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ συνόντων αὐτῷ, καὶ πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν παρεσκευασμένος,
ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ ἀρέσκεται τοῖς γάμοις καὶ τῷ συνοικεσίῳ, 'εὖ γε' ἔφη 'ποιεῖς,
ὦ Καῖσαρ, τοιαύταις συνοικῶν. αἶθε καὶ ὁ σὸς πατήρ τὸν αὐτὸν ζῆλον
ἔσχεν καὶ τοιαύτη συνώκησε γαμετῇ,' δεικνὺς ὡς εἰ τοῦτο ἐγεγόνει, οὐκ ἂν
οὗτος ἐτέχθη καὶ μεγάλων κακῶν ἡλευθεροῦτο ἢ πολιτεία." Petr. Patr. " ἐχξ.
φατ. 'π. 213 μαι. ~ π. 195, 1-9 διנד.'. [4] ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο:
τότε δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἐθανατώθησαν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ μεγάλων
χρημάτων τὴν σωτηρίαν παρὰ τοῦ Τιγελλίνου ἐκπριάμενοι ἀπελύθησαν." Xiph. 172, 15-18 R. St., Exc. Val. 250b (p. 690). " 29. ὁ δὲ Νέρων ἄλλα τε
γελοῖα ἔπραττε, καὶ ποτε καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ θεάτρου ὀρχήστραν ἐν πανδήμῳ
τινὶ θεᾷ κατέβη καὶ ἀνέγνω Τρωϊκὰ τινὰ ἑαυτοῦ ποιήματα: καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς
θυσίαι πολλαί, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν οἷς ἔπραττεν, ἐγένοντο. [2]

παρεσκευάζετο δὲ ὡς καὶ τὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων πράξεις ἀπάσας συγγράφων ἐν ἔπεσιν, καὶ περὶ 112 γε τοῦ πλήθους τῶν βιβλίων, πρὶν καὶ ὅτιοῦν αὐτῶν συνθεῖναι, ἐσκέπαστο, παραλαβὼν ἄλλους [p. 138] τε καὶ Ἀνναῖον 113 Κορνοῦτον εὐδοκιμοῦντα τότε [3] ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ. καὶ αὐτὸν ὀλίγου μὲν καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐς νῆσον δ' οὖν ἐνέβαλεν, ὅτι τινῶν τετρακόσια ἀξιούντων αὐτὸν βιβλία 114 γράψαι, πολλὰ τε αὐτὰ εἶναι ἔφη καὶ μηδὲνα αὐτὰ ἀναγνώσεσθαι, καὶ τινος εἰπόντος 'καὶ μὴν Χρῦσιππος, ὃν ἐπαινεῖς καὶ ζηλοῖς, πολὺ πλείω συνέθηκεν' ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι 'ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα χρήσιμα [4] τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίῳ ἐστίν.' ὁ μὲν οὖν Κορνοῦτος φυγὴν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὤφλεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Λουκανὸς 115 ἐκωλύθη ποιεῖν, ἐπειδὴ ἰσχυρῶς ἐπὶ 116 τῇ ποιήσει ἐπηρεῖτο. ἐπὶ δὲ Γαῖου Τελεσίνου καὶ ἐπὶ Σουητωνίου 117 1. Παυλίνου ὑπάτων εὐδοξοτάτον τε ἅμα ἔργον καὶ ἕτερον αἰσχιστον ἐγένετο. ὁ τε γὰρ Νέρων ἐν τοῖς κιθαρωδοῖς ἡγωνίσαστο, καὶ νικητήρια αὐτῷ Μενεκράτους 118 τοῦ τῆς κιθαρωδίας διδασκάλου [2] ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ ποιήσαντος ἡνιόχησε. καὶ ὁ Τιριδάτης ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, οὐχ ὅτι τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Οὐολογαίου τοῦ τε Πακόρου καὶ τοῦ Μονοβάζου ἄγων, ἀνήχθη, καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτῶν πομπὴ διὰ πάσης τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ 2. Εὐφράτου γῆς ὥσπερ ἐν ἐπινικίοις. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ὁ Τιριδάτης καὶ ἡλικία καὶ κάλλει καὶ γένει καὶ φρονήματι ἦνθει, καὶ ἡ θεραπεία ἢ τε παρασκευὴ ἢ βασιλικὴ πᾶσα αὐτῷ συνηκολούθει, τρισχilioi τε ἵππεῖς τῶν Πάρθων καὶ χωρὶς [2] ἕτεροι Ῥωμαίων συχνοὶ συνείποντο. καὶ αὐτοὺς αἱ τε πόλεις λαμπρῶς κεκοσμημένα καὶ οἱ δῆμοι [p. 140] πολλὰ καὶ χαρίεντα ἀναβοῶντες ὑπεδέχοντο: ἤ τε ἐπιτήδεια πάντα προῖκα εἶχον, ὥστε εἶκος! μυριάδας τὸ ἡμερήσιον ἀνάλωμα τῷ δημοσῷ λογισθῆναι. καὶ τοῦτο ἐπ' ἐννέα μῆνας, οἷς [3] ὠδοιπόρησαν, ὁμοίως ἐγένετο. ἵππευσε δὲ πανταχῇ μέχρι τῆς Ἰταλίας, καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ γυνὴ συμπαρίππευε, κράνος χρυσοῦν ἀντὶ καλύπτρας ἔχουσα, ὥστε μὴ ὀρᾶσθαι παρὰ τὰ πάτρια. ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ζεύγεσι πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Νέρωνος ἐκομίσθη, καὶ διὰ Πικεντῶν ἐς Νέαν [4] πόλιν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφίκετο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸν ἀκινάκην, ὅτε προσῆι αὐτῷ, καταθέσθαι καίπερ κελευσθεὶς ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἥλοις αὐτὸν τῷ κολεῷ προσέπηξε, καίτοι καὶ ἐς γῆν τὸ γόνυ καθείς καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐπαλλάξας, δεσπότην τε αὐτὸν ὀνομάσας 3. καὶ προσκυνήσας. ὁ οὖν Νέρων καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ αὐτὸν θαυμάσας τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἐδεξιώσαστο καὶ μονομαχίας ἐν Πουτεόλοις 119 ἔθετο. ἡγνωσθήσε δὲ Πατρόβιος ἐξελεutheros αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοσαύτη γε τῇ λαμπρότητι καὶ τῇ δαπάνῃ ἐχρήσαστο ὥστε ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ μηδὲνα ἄλλον πλὴν Αἰθιοπῶν, καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ παιδῶν, [2] ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἐσελθεῖν. καὶ ἔδει γὰρ τῷ Πατροβίῳ τιμὴν τινα διὰ ταῦτα γενέσθαι, ἐτόξευσεν ὁ Τιριδάτης ἄνωθεν ἐκ τῆς ἔδρας θηρία, καὶ δύο γε ταύρους μιᾷ ἅμα βολῇ, εἰ γέ τω πιστόν, διέτρωσε καὶ ἀπέκτεινε. 4. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐς τε τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτὸν ὁ Νέρων ἀνήγαγε καὶ τὸ διάδημα αὐτῷ ἐπέθηκε. καὶ πᾶσα μὲν ἡ πόλις ἐκεκόσμητο καὶ φωσὶ καὶ στεφανώμασιν, οἱ τε ἄνθρωποι πολλοὶ πανταχοῦ [p. 142] [2] ἐωρῶντο, μάλιστα δὲ ἡ ἀγορὰ ἐπεπλήρωτο: ἤ μὲν γὰρ μέσον αὐτῆς ὁ δῆμος λευχειμονῶν καὶ δαφνηφορῶν κατὰ τέλη εἶχε, τὰ δ' ἄλλα οἱ στρατιῶται λαμπρότατα ὠπλισμένοι, ὥστε καὶ τὰ ὅπλα αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ σημεῖα

ἀσπράττειν. οἳ τε κέραμοι καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντων τῶν τῆδε οἰκοδομημάτων ἐκρύπτοντο ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναβεβηκότων. [3] τούτων δ' οὕτως ἐκ νυκτός προπαρασκευασθέντων ἐσῆλθεν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ὁ Νέρων ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν ἐπινίκιον ἐνδεδυκώς, σὺν τε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ σὺν 120 τοῖς δορυφόροις, καὶ ἐπὶ τε τὸ βῆμα ἀνέβη καὶ ἐπὶ δίφρου ἀρχικοῦ ἐκαθέζετο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὃ τε Τιριδάτης καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ διὰ τε στοιχίων ὀπλιτῶν ἐκατέρωθεν παρατεταγμένων διῆλθον καὶ πρὸς τῷ βήματι προσστάντες 121 προσεκύνησαν αὐτόν, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον. 5. κραυγῆς τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλῆς συμβάσης 122 ἐξεπλάγη τε ὁ Τιριδάτης, καὶ ἄφωνος χρόνον τινὰ ὡς καὶ ἀπολούμενος ἐγένετο. ἔπειτα σιωπῆς κηρυχθείσης ἐπεθάρρυσέ τε, καὶ ἐκβιασάμενος τὸ φρόνημα τῷ τε καιρῷ καὶ τῇ χρειᾷ ἐδόουλεuse, μηδὲν φροντίσας εἴ τι ταπεινὸν φθέγγαιτο, πρὸς [2] τὴν ἐλπίδα ὧν τεύξοιτο. 123 εἶπε γὰρ οὕτως: 'ἐγώ, δέσποτα, Ἀρσάκου μὲν ἕκγονος, Οὐλογοαίσου δὲ καὶ Πακόρου τῶν βασιλέων ἀδελφός, σὸς δὲ δοῦλός εἰμι. καὶ ἦλθόν τε πρὸς σὲ τὸν ἑμὸν θεόν, προσκυνήσων σε ὡς καὶ τὸν Μίθραν, καὶ ἔσομαι τοῦτο ὃ τι ἂν σὺ ἐπικλώσης: σὺ γάρ μοι [3] καὶ μοῖρα εἶ καὶ τύχη.' ὁ δὲ Νέρων ἡμείψατο αὐτόν ὥδε: 'ἀλλ' εὖ τοι ἐποίησας αὐτὸς δεῦρο [p. 144] ἐλθὼν, ἵνα καὶ παρὼν παρόντος μου ἀπολαύσης: ἃ γάρ σοι οὔτε ὁ πατὴρ κατέλιπεν οὔτε οἱ ἀδελφοὶ δόντες ἐτήρησαν, ταῦτα ἐγὼ χαρίζομαι καὶ βασιλεῖα τῆς Ἀρμενίας ποιῶ, ἵνα καὶ σὺ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μάθωσιν ὅτι καὶ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι βασιλείας [4] καὶ δωρεῖσθαι δύναμαι.' ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀνελθεῖν τε αὐτόν κατὰ τὴν ἄνοδον τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος πεποιημένην ἐκέλευσε, καὶ καθιζήθεντι 124 αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τὸν πόδα τὸ διάδημα ἐπέθηκε. βοαί τε καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλαὶ καὶ 6. παντοδαπαὶ ἐγένοντο. ἐγένετο δὲ κατὰ ψήφισμα καὶ πανήγυρις θεατρικὴ. καὶ τὸ θέατρον, οὐχ ὅτι ἡ σκηνὴ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ περιφέρεια αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἔνδοθεν ἐκεχυρῶτο, καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα ἐσθίει χρυσῷ ἐκεκόσμητο: ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτὴν χρυσῇ [2] ἐπωνόμασαν. τὰ γε μὴν παραπετάσματα τὰ διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος διαταθέντα, 125 ὅπως τὸν ἥλιον ἀπερύκοι, 126 ἀλουργὰ ἦν, καὶ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν ἄρμα ἐλαύνων ὁ Νέρων ἐνέστικτο, πέριξ δὲ ἀστέρες χρυσοῖ ἐπέλαμπον. [3] ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐγένετο, καὶ δῆλον ὅτι καὶ συμποσίῳ πολυτελεῖ ἐχρήσαντο: ὁ δὲ Νέρων ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ ἐκίθαρώδησε δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἡρματηλάτησε, τὴν τε στολὴν τὴν πράσινον ἐνδεδυμένος [4] καὶ τὸ κράνος τὸ ἡνιοχικὸν περικείμενος. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Τιριδάτης αὐτόν μὲν δυσχεραίνων τὸν δὲ Κορβούλωνα ἐπαινῶν ἐν αὐτοῦ τοῦτο μόνον ἠτιᾶτο, ὅτι τοιοῦτον δεσπότην ἔχων ἔφερεν. οὐκ οὐκ οὐδὲ πρὸς αὐτόν τὸν Νέρωνα ἀπεκρύψατο, ἀλλ' εἶπέ ποτε αὐτῷ 'ἀγαθόν, ὦ δέσποτα, [5] ἀνδράποδον Κορβούλωνα ἔχεις.' ταῦτα μὲν [p. 146] οὐδὲ συνιέντι αὐτῷ ἔλεγεν, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἐκολάκευεν αὐτόν καὶ ὑπέδραμε δεινότατα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δῶρά τε παντοδαπὰ πεντακισχιλίων μυριάδων ἄξια, ὡς φασιν, ἔλαβε, καὶ Ἀρτάξατα [6] ἀνοικοδομῆσαι ἐπετράπη: δημιουργοὺς τε πρὸς τούτοις πολλοὺς, τοὺς μὲν παρ' ἐκείνου λαβὼν τοὺς δὲ καὶ χρήμασι πείσας, ἐκ τῆς Ρώμης ἐξήγαγεν. μέντοι καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ Κορβούλων ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν διαβῆναι ἐφῆκεν, ἀλλὰ μόνοις τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Νέρωνος αὐτῷ δοθεῖσιν: ὅθεν καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁ Τιριδάτης τοῦτόν τε θαυμάσας 7. καὶ

ἐκείνου κατέγνων. ἀνεκομίσθη δὲ οὐχ ἥπερ ἦλθε διὰ τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἴονιον, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ Δυρράχιον ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου πλεύσας· καὶ εἶδε καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις, ὥστε καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνων τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν καταπλαγῆναι καὶ ἰσχύος ἔνεκα καὶ κάλλους.” Xiph. 172, 18-175, R. St. “[1a] ὅτι θεώμενος Τιριδάτης ποτὲ παγκράτιον, ἐπειδὴ εἶδε 127 θάτερον τῶν παγκρατιαστῶν πεσόντα καὶ τυπτόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου, ἔφη ‘ἄδικος ἡ μάχη: οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον τὸν πεσόντα τύπτεσθαι.’” Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. (p. 214 Mai.= p. 196, 6-9 Dind.). “ [2] ὁ μὲν δὴ Τιριδάτης τὰ Ἀρτάξατα ἀνοικοδομήσας Νερώνεια προσηγόρευσεν: ὁ δὲ δὴ Οὐολόγαισος οὔτε ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὸν Νέρωνα, καίτοι πολλάκις μεταπεμφθεῖς, ἠθέλησε, καὶ τέλος, ὡς ὀχληρὸς αὐτῷ ἐγίνετο, ἀντεπέστειλὲν οἱ ὅτι πολὺ σοι ῥᾶον ἢ ἔμοι ἐστί τοσαύτην θάλασσαν πλεῦσαι. ἂν οὖν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἔλθῃς, τότε συνθησόμεθα [p. 148] ποῦ δυνησόμεθα συμβαλεῖν ἀλλήλοις. τοιαῦτα τὸ τελευταῖον ὁ Πάρθος ἔγραψεν.” R. St. 175, 26-31 R. St., Exc. UR 13. “ 8. Νέρων δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν ἐκείνον οὐκ ἔπλευσε, καίπερ ὀργὴν αὐτῷ ἔχων, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τοῦς Αἰθίοπας [2] ἢ τὰς πύλας τὰς Κασπίας, ὡσπερ ἐνενόει: 128 τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ κατασκόπους ἐκατέρωσε ἔπεμψεν, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ χρόνου καὶ πόνου ὀρῶν δεόμενα ἠλπίζεν αὐτόματὰ οἱ προσχωρήσειν, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπεραιώθη, οὔτι γε ὡς Φλαμίνιος 129 οὐδ' ὡς Μόμμιος 130 ἢ καὶ Ἀγρίππας καὶ Αὐγουστος οἱ πρόγονοι αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τε ἡνιοχῆσει 131 καὶ κιθαρωδῆσει κηρύξει τε καὶ [3] τραγωδίας ὑποκρίσει. οὐ γὰρ ἦρκει αὐτῷ ἡ Ῥώμη, οὐδὲ τὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου θέατρον, οὐδ' ὁ μέγας ἱππόδρομος, ἀλλ' ἐδεήθη καὶ ἐκστρατείας τινός, ἵνα καὶ περιοδονίκης, ὡς ἔλεγε, γένηται. καὶ τοσοῦτόν γε πλῆθος οὐχ ὅτι τῶν Αὐγουστείων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἐπηγάγετο ὅσον, εἴτερ ἐμπολέμιον ἦν, καὶ Πάρθους ἂν καὶ τὰ [4] ἄλλα ἔθνη ἐχειρώσατο. ἀλλ' ἦσαν οἱοι Νερώνειοι ἂν στρατιῶται γένοιτο, καὶ ὅπλα κιθάρας τε καὶ πλῆκτρα προσωπεῖα 132 τε καὶ ἐμβάτας ἔφερον. καὶ ἐνίκησε νίκας οἷας στρατοπέδῳ τοιοῦτῳ ἔπρεπε, καὶ κατέλυσε Τέρπνον καὶ Διόδωρον καὶ Παμμένην [5] ὡς Φίλιππον ἢ Περσέα ἢ 133 Ἀντίοχον. καὶ διὰ τοῦτό γε, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ τὸν Παμμένην ἐκείνον ἐπὶ [p. 150] τοῦ Γαίου ἀκμάσαντα κατηνάγκασε, καίτοι 134 γέροντα ὄντα, ἀγωνίσασθαι, ἵνα αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας κρατήσας αἰκίσῃται. 9. καὶ εἰ μὲν μόνα ταῦτα ἐπεπράχει, γέλωτα ἂν ὠφλήκει. καίτοι πῶς ἂν 135 τις καὶ ἀκοῦσαι, μὴ ὅτι ἰδεῖν, ὑπομείνειεν ἄνδρα Ῥωμαῖον βουλευτὴν εὐπατριδὴν ἀρχιερέα Καίσαρα αὐτοκράτορα Αὐγουστον ἔς τε τὸ λεύκωμα ἐν τοῖς ἀγωνισταῖς ἐγγραφόμενον καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἀσκοῦντα, μελετῶντά τέ τινας ὠδὰς, καὶ τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν κομῶντα [2] τὸ δὲ γένειον ψιλιζόμενον, ἱμάτιον ἀναβαλλόμενον ἐν τοῖς δρόμοις, μεθ' ἐνὸς ἢ δύο ἀκολουθῶν βαδίζοντα, τοὺς ἀντιπάλους ὑποβλέποντα καὶ ἀεὶ τι πρὸς αὐτοὺς μεθ' ἀψιμαχίας λέγοντα, τοὺς ἀγωνοθέτας τοὺς τε μαστιγοφόρους φοβούμενον, καὶ χρήματα αὐτοῖς κρύφα ἅπασιν ἀναλίσκοντα μὴ καὶ ἐλεγχθεῖς μαστιγωθῇ, καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι πάντα ποιοῦντα ἵνα τὸν τῶν κιθαρωδῶν καὶ τῶν τραγωδῶν καὶ τῶν κηρύκων [3] ἀγῶνα νικήσας ἡττηθῇ τὸν τῶν Καισάρων; τις γὰρ ἂν προγραφῇ 136 ταύτης χαλεπωτέρα γένοιτο, ἐν ἧ οὐ 137 Σύλλας μὲν ἄλλους Νέρων δὲ ἑαυτὸν

προέγραφεν; τίς δὲ νίκη ἀτοπωτέρα, ἐν ἧ τὸν κόπινον ἢ τὴν δάφνην ἢ τὸ σέλινον ἢ τὴν πίτυν 138 ^[4] λαβὼν ἀπώλεσε τὸν πολιτικόν; καὶ τί ἂν τις ταῦτα αὐτοῦ μόνα ὀδύραιτο, ὅποτε καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐμβάτας ἀναβαίνων κατέπιπτεν ἀπὸ τοῦ κράτους, καὶ τὸ προσωπεῖον ὑποδύνων ἀπέβαλλε τὸ τῆς ^[p. 152] ἡγεμονίας ἀξίωμα, ἐδεῖτο ὡς δραπέτης, ἐποδηγεῖτο ὡς τυφλός, ἐκύνει 139 ἔτικτεν ἐμαίνεται ἡλᾶτο, 140 τὸν τε Οἰδίποδα καὶ τὸν Θυέστην τὸν τε Ἡρακλέα καὶ τὸν Ἀλκμέωνα τὸν τε 141 Ὀρέστην ὡς ^[5] πλήθει ὑποκρινόμενος, καὶ τὰ γε προσωπεῖα 142 τοτὲ μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις τοτὲ 143 δὲ καὶ ἑαυτῷ εἰκασμένα ἔφερε: τὰ γὰρ τῶν γυναικῶν πάντα πρὸς τὴν Σαβῖναν ἐσκεύαστο, ὅπως κάκεινη καὶ ^[6] τεθηγκυῖα πομπεύῃ. καὶ πάντα ὅσα οἱ τυχόντες ὑποκρίνονται, κάκεῖνος καὶ ἔλεγε καὶ ἔπραττε καὶ ἔπασχε, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον χρυσαῖς ἀλύσεσιν ἐδεσμεύετο: καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἔπρεπεν, ὡς ἔοικεν, αὐτοκράτορι Ῥωμαίων σιδηραῖς δεῖσθαι. 10. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι πάντα οἱ τε ἄλλοι πάντες καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ὀρῶντες ἔφερον ἐπήνουν, Πυθιονίκην τε αὐτὸν καὶ Ὀλυμπιονίκην καὶ περιοδονίκην παντονίκην, πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς εἰώθεσαν, ἀπεκάλουν, συμμιγνύντες δῆλον ὅτι αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὀνόματα, ὥστε ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ τὸν τε Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν Αὐγουστον ἀκροτελευτίον εἶναι.” Xiph. 175, 31-177, R. St., Exc. Val. 251 (p. 690 f.). “^[1a] ὅτι ἀγανακτήσαντος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τινα ὅτι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ ἐσκυθρώπασε καὶ οὐ σφόδρα ὑπερεπήνεσεν, ^[p. 154] ἀπεδίωξεν αὐτὸν ἐπιτρέψας μὴ ἔλθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ: καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἐδέχετο αὐτόν, ἐκείνου εἰπόντος ‘καὶ ποῦ ἀπέλθω;’ ὁ Φοῖβος ὁ ἀπελευθέρος τοῦ Νέρωνος ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ ‘εἰς κόρακας.’” Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. (p. 214 s#3. Mai.=p. 196, 19-24 Dind.). “^[2] οὐδὲ 144 ἐτόλμησεν οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν οὔτε ἐλεῆσαι τὸν κακοδαίμονα οὔτε μισῆσαι, ἀλλ' εἷς μὲν τις στρατιώτης ἰδὼν αὐτὸν δεδεμένον ἡγανάκτησε καὶ προσδραμὼν ἔλυσεν, ἕτερος δὲ ἐρομένου τινὸς ‘τί ποιεῖ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ’ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι ‘τίκτει:’ καὶ γὰρ τὴν 145 Κανάκην ὑπεκρίνετο. ^[3] ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν ἄξιον Ῥωμαίων οὐδεὶς σφων ἐποίησε: τοσαῦτα γὰρ που χρήματα διελάγχανον ὥστε καὶ εὐχεσθαι αὐτὸν πολλὰ τοιαῦτα δρᾶν, ἵν' ἔτι 146 πλείονα λαμβάνωσιν.” Xiph. 177, 10-177, R. St. “ 11. Ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν ταῦτα μόνα οὕτως ἐγεγόνει, αἰσχύνη τε ἂν 147 καὶ χλευασία τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀκίνδυνος 148 ἐνενόμιστο: νῦν δ' ὡς ἀληθῶς, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ πολέμῳ σταλαῖς, πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλεηλάτησε, καίπερ ἐλευθέραν ἀφείς, παμπληθεῖς δὲ ^[2] ἐφόνευσεν ἄνδρας γυναικας παῖδας. καὶ πρότερον μὲν τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς οὐσίας ἐκέλευσέν οἱ καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τοὺς ἀπελευθέρους τῶν θανατουμένων ἀποθνήσκοντας καταλείπειν, αὐτοῖς τε ἐκείνοις διαθήκας γράφειν ἐπέτρεπεν, ὅπως μὴ τῶν χρημάτων ἔνεκα αὐτοὺς ἀποκτείνειν δοκῇ ‘πάντως δὲ πάντα ἢ τὰ γε πλείω αὐτῶν ἐλάμβανεν: εἰ γοῦν 149 τις ἑλαττόν τι αὐτῷ ἢ τῷ ^[p. 156] Τιγελλίνῳ ὦν ἡλπίζον κατέλειπεν, οὐδὲ τῶν διαθηκῶν ^[3] ὠνίνατο 150'. ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ὅλας τὰς οὐσίας ἀφηρεῖτο, τοὺς τε παῖδας σφων πάντας ἅμα δι' ἐνὸς δόγματος ἐξήλασεν. οὐδὲ τοῦτο αὐτῷ ἐξήρκεσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συχνοὺς τῶν φευγόντων ἔφθειρεν. ἐπεὶ τὰς γε οὐσίας ὅσας καὶ ζώντων τινῶν 151 ἐδήμευσε, καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα ὅσα καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ναῶν ἐσύλησεν, οὐδὲ ἐξαριθμήσειεν ^[4] ἂν τις. διέτρεχον γὰρ γραμματοφόροι

μηδὲν ἄλλο διαγγέλλοντες ἢ ὅτι ‘τόνδε ἀπόκτεινον,’ 152 ‘ὃδε τέθηκεν.’
ἔξω γὰρ δὴ τῶν βασιλικῶν γραμμάτων οὐδὲν ἰδιωτικὸν διεπέμπετο.
συχνούς γὰρ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῶν πρώτων ἐξήγαγεν ὥς τι αὐτῶν δεόμενος,
ἴν’ ἐκεῖ ἀποθάνωσιν. 12. τοὺς μέντοι ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ πάντα
Ἡλίῳ τινὶ Καισαρεῖ ἐκδότους παρέδωκε: πάντα γὰρ ἀπλῶς αὐτῷ
ἐπετέτραπτο, ὥστε καὶ δημεῦειν καὶ φυγαδεῦειν καὶ ἀποκτινύναι, καὶ πρὶν
δηλῶσαι τῷ Νέρωνι, καὶ ἰδιώτας ὁμοίως καὶ ἱππέας καὶ βουλευτάς.” Xiph.
177, 17-26 R. St., Exc. Val. 252, 253 (p. 693). “^[2] οὕτω μὲν δὴ τότε ἡ τῶν
Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ δύο αὐτοκράτορσιν ἅμα ἐδοῦλεuse, Νέρωνι καὶ Ἡλίῳ. οὐδὲ
ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὁπότερος αὐτῶν χείρων ἦν: τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου
πάντα ἔπραττον, ἐν ἐνὶ δὲ τούτῳ διήλλασσον, ὅτι ὁ μὲν τοῦ Αὐγούστου
ἀπόγονος κιθαρωδοὺς καὶ τραγωδοὺς, ὁ δὲ τοῦ ^[3] Κλαυδίου ἀπελεύθερος
Καίσαρας ἐξήλου. τὸν γὰρ ^[p. 158] Τιγελλῖνον 153 ἐν προσθήκης μέρει τοῦ
Νέρωνος, ὅτι σὺν αὐτῷ ἦν, τίθημι. χωρὶς δὲ ὁ τε Πολύκλειτος καὶ Καλουῖα
Κρισπινίλλα 154 ἦγον ἐπόρθουν ἐσύλων πάνθ’ ὅσα ἐνεδέχeto, ἐκεῖνος μὲν
μετὰ τοῦ Ἡλίου ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, αὕτη δὲ μετὰ τε τοῦ ^[4] Νέρωνος καὶ μετὰ τῆς
Σαβίνης τοῦ Σπόρου. τὴν τε γὰρ φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐπιτροπείαν τὴν
περὶ ἐσθῆτα, καίπερ γυνὴ καὶ ἐπιφανὴς οὔσα, ἐπεπίστευτο, καὶ δι’ αὐτῆς
πάντες ἀπεδύοντο. 13. ὠνόμασε δὲ Σαβῖναν τὸν Σπόρον οὐ κατὰ τοῦτο
μόνον ὅτι διὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα αὐτῆς ἐξετέμνητο, ἀλλ’ ὅτι καὶ ἐγήμετο αὐτῷ,
ὥσπερ καὶ ἐκεῖνη, ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι κατὰ συμβόλαιον, ἐκδόντος αὐτὸν τοῦ
Τιγελλίνου, ὥσπερ ὁ νόμος ἐκέλευε. καὶ τοὺς 155 γάμους αὐτῶν πάντες οἱ
Ἕλληνες ἐώρτασαν, τὰ τε ἄλλα οἷα εἰκὸς ἦν ἐπιλέγοντες, καὶ γνησίους σφίσι
παῖδας γεννηθῆναι εὐχόμενοι. ^[2] κάκ τούτου συνεγίνοντο ἅμα τῷ Νέρωνι
Πυθαγόρας μὲν ὡς ἀνὴρ, Σπόρος δὲ ὡς γυνή: πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ
κυρία καὶ βασιλὶς καὶ δέσποινα ὠνομάζετο. καὶ τί τοῦτο θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις,
ὅποτε καὶ μεῖράκια καὶ κόρας σταυροῖς γυμνάς προσδέων θηρίου τέ τινος
δορὰν ἀνελάμβανε καὶ προσπίπτων ^[3] σφίσιν ἡσέλγαιεν ὥσπερ τι ἐσθίων.
τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Νέρων ἡσχημόνει. τοὺς δὲ βουλευτάς χιτῶνιόν τι ἐνδεδυκώς
ἄνθινον καὶ σινδόνιον περὶ τὸν αὐχένα ἔχων ἡσπάσατο: καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐν
τούτοις ἤδη παρηνόμει, ὥστε καὶ ἀζώστους χιτῶνας ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ
ἐνδύεσθαι. λέγεται δ’ ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ^[p. 160] τέλους ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ
πρῶτον ἐφιππίοις 156 ἐν τῇ ἐτησίᾳ σφῶν ἐξετάσει ἐχρήσαντο. 14. ἐν δὲ
τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις 157 ἄρμα ἐλάσας καὶ πεσὼν ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὀλίγου δεῖν
συντριβεῖς ὅμως ἐστεφανώθη, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλανοδικαῖς τὰς
πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας, ἃς ὕστερον Γάλβας παρ’ αὐτῶν ἀπήτησεν,
ἔδωκε.” Xiph. 177, 26-178, R. St. “^[2] ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς τῇ Πυθίᾳ δέκα μυριάδας
ἔδωκεν, ὅτι τινὰ κατὰ γνώμην αὐτοῦ ἐθέσπισεν: ἃς ὁ Γάλβας ἐκομίσατο.
τοῦ δὲ δὴ Ἀπόλλωνος, εἴτ’ οὖν ἀγανακτήσας ὅτι λυπηρὰ τινα προεῖπεν
αὐτῷ, εἶτε καὶ ἄλλως μανεῖς, τὴν τε χώραν τὴν Κιρραϊάν ἀφείλετο καὶ
στρατιώταις ἔδωκε, καὶ τὸ μαντεῖον κατέλυσεν, ἀνθρώπους ἐς τὸ στόμιον ἐξ
οὗ τὸ ἱερὸν πνεῦμα ἀνῆει σφάξας. ^[3] ἡγωνίσατο δὲ ἐν πάσῃ ὁμοίως πόλει
ἀγῶνα ἐχούσῃ, κήρυκι πρὸς πάντα τὰ κηρύξεως δεόμενα Κλουουῖῳ 158
Ρούφῳ ἀνδρὶ ὑπατευκότῳ χρησάμενος, πλὴν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Λακεδαιμόνος:

159 ταῦταις γὰρ μόναις οὐδὲ ἐπεφοίτησε τὴν ἀρχήν, τῇ μὲν διὰ τοῦς Λυκούργου νόμους ὡς ἐναντίους τῇ προαιρέσει αὐτοῦ ὄντας, τῇ δὲ διὰ τὸν περὶ τῶν ^[4] Ἐρινύων 160 λόγον. τὸ δὲ δὴ κήρυγμα ἦν ‘Νέρων Καῖσαρ νικᾷ τόνδε τὸν ἀγῶνα, καὶ στεφανοῖ τὸν τε τῶν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν οἰκουμένην.’ ἔχων γάρ, ὡς ἔλεγεν, οἰκουμένην, ἐκίθαρώδει τε καὶ ἐκήρυττε καὶ ἐτραγῶδει.” Xiph. 178, 25-179, R. St., Exc. Val. 254 (p. 694). “^[p. 162] 15. τὴν δὲ γερουσίαν οὕτως δεινῶς ἐμίσει ὥστε καὶ τῷ Οὐατινίῳ 161 ὡς μάλιστα χαίρειν, ὅτι ἔλεγεν αἰεὶ ποτε πρὸς αὐτὸν ‘μίσῶ σε, Καῖσαρ, ὅτι συγκλητικὸς εἶ.’ χρῆσομαι γὰρ αὐτῷ τῷ λεχθέντι ὑπ’ ^[2] αὐτοῦ ῥήματι. ἐτρηοῦντο δὲ ἀκριβῶς καὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰεὶ ποτε καὶ αἱ ἔσοδοι καὶ αἱ ἔξοδοι τὰ τε σχήματα καὶ τὰ νεύματα καὶ τὰ ἐπιβοήματα, καὶ οἱ μὲν αἰεὶ συνόντες αὐτῷ καὶ σπουδαίως ἀκροώμενοι τορῶς τε ἐκβοῶντες ἐπηγοῦντο καὶ ἐτιμῶντο, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ καὶ ἡτιμάζοντο ^[3] καὶ ἐκολάζοντο, ὥστε τινὰς μὴ δυναμένους ἐπὶ πολλὴν ἀντέχειν ‘πολλάκις γὰρ καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἐσπέρας ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ παρετεινοντό προσποιεῖσθαι τε ἐκθνήσκειν καὶ νεκρῶν δίκην ἐκ τῶν θεάτρων ἐκφέρεισθαι. 16. πάρεργον δὲ δὴ τῆς ἐπιδημίας τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐποιήσατο τὸν ἰσθμὸν τῆς Πελοποννήσου διορύξαι ἐπιθυμήσας, καὶ ἤρξατο τοῦ ἔργου καίπερ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁκνοῦντων: αἷμα τε γὰρ τοῖς πρῶτοις ἀψαμένοις τῆς γῆς ἀνέβλυσεν, καὶ οἰμωγαὶ μυκηθμοὶ τέ τινες ἐξηκούοντο, καὶ εἰδῶλα ^[2] πολλὰ ἐφαντάζετο. λαβὼν δὲ αὐτὸς δικελλαν καὶ τι καὶ ἀνασκάψας ἔπεισε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνάγκη αὐτὸν μιμήσασθαι, καὶ πολλὸν πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν μετεπέμψατο. 17. ἔς τε οὖν τᾶλλα καὶ ἐς ταῦτα χρημάτων πολλῶν δεόμενος, καὶ μεγαλοπράγμων καὶ μεγαλόδωρος ὁμοίως ὢν, καὶ ἅμα φοβούμενος τοὺς δυνατωτάτους μὴ ἐπιθωνταὶ οἱ τοιαῦτα ποιοῦντι, ^[2] πολλοὺς τε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἐφθειρεν. ὢν ^[p. 164] ἐγὼ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐάσω ‘πᾶσι τε γὰρ παρ’ αὐτῷ δημόσιον ἔγκλημα ἦν ἀρετὴ τε καὶ πλοῦτος καὶ γένος, καὶ πάντες ἢ ἑαυτοὺς ἀπεκτίννυσαν ἢ ὑπ’ ἄλλων ἐφονεύοντό, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Κορβούλωνος 162 καὶ Σουλπικίων Σκριβωνίων, Ρούφου τε καὶ Πρόκλου, ^[3] μνημονεύσω, τούτων μὲν ὅτι ἀδελφοὶ τε καὶ ἡλικιωταὶ τρόπον τινὰ ὄντες, καὶ μηδὲν μηδέποτε ἄνευ ἀλλήλων πράξαντες, ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ τῷ γένει οὕτω καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει τῇ τε οὐσίᾳ συμπεφυκότες, καὶ τὰς Γερμανίας δὲ ἀμφοτέρας ἐπὶ πολλὸν ἅμα διώκησαν, ἦλθόν τε ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα μεταπεμπτοὶ ὥστε ^[4] αὐτῶν τοῦ Νέρωνος δεομένου, καὶ ἐγκλήματα οἷα ὁ καιρὸς ἐκείνος ἔφερε λαβόντες, καὶ μήτε λόγου τυγχάνοντες μήτε ἐς ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ Νέρωνος ἀφικνούμενοι, καὶ διὰ τοῦθ’ ὑφ’ ἀπάντων ὁμοίως ἀτιμαζόμενοι, ἀποθανεῖν τε ἐπεθύμησαν καὶ ^[5] ἐτελεύτησαν τὰς φλέβας αὐτῶν 163 σχάσαντες, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Κορβούλωνος ὅτι καὶ ἐκείνον ἐντιμότερα μεταπεμφάμενος, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ πατέρα καὶ εὐεργέτην αὐτὸν αἰεὶ ὀνομάζων, ἔπειτ’ ἐπειδὴ τῇ Κεγχρεῖᾳ 164 προσέσχε, σφαγῆναι, πρὶν καὶ ἐς ὄψιν αὐτῷ ἐλθεῖν, προσέταξε: κιθαρῳδῆσιν γὰρ ἡμέλλεν, ὡς τινες λέγουσι, καὶ οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν ^[6] αὐτῷ τὸ ὀρθοστάδιον ἔχων ὀφθῆναι. καὶ ὅς ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τὸ προστεταγμένον ἔγνω, ξίφος τε ἔλαβε, καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐρρωμένως παίων ἔλεγεν ‘ἄξιος:’ τότε γὰρ δὴ, τότε πρῶτον ἐπίστευσεν ὅτι κακῶς ἐπεποιήκει καὶ

φεισάμενος τοῦ κιθαρωδοῦ [p. 166] 18. καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθὼν ἄνοπλος. ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ Ἑλλάδι ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο: τί γὰρ δεῖ λέγειν ὅτι καὶ τὸν Πάριν τὸν ὀρχηστὴν ἀποθανεῖν ἐκέλευσεν, ὅτι ὀρχεῖσθαι παρ' αὐτῷ μαθεῖν ἐθελήσας οὐκ ἠδυνήθη; τί δ' ὅτι Καικίαναν 165 Τοῦσκον ὑπερώρισεν, ὅτι τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἄρχων ἐλούσατο ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ ὃ ἐκείνῳ ὥς καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἦξοντι ἐποιήθη; [2] ἐν δὲ τῇ Ρώμῃ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ὁ Ἥλιος ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ εἰργάσατο, καὶ Σουλπίκιον Καμερίνον ἄνδρα τῶν πρώτων μετὰ τοῦ υἱέος ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐγκαλέσας σφίσιν ὅτι Πυθικοὶ ἐκ προγόνων ἐπικαλούμενοι οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο τὸ πρόσημα τοῦτ' ἔχοντες, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰς τοῦ Νέρωνος νίκας τὰς Πυθικὰς ἐκ τῆς ὁμωνυμίας ἡσέβουν. [3] τῶν δὲ Αὐγουστειῶν ἄγαλμα αὐτοῦ χιλίων λιτρῶν ποιήσιν ὑποσχομένων, πᾶν τὸ ἵππικόν ἠναγκάσθη συντελέσαι σφίσι τὸ ἀνάλωμα. τὰ δὲ δὴ τῆς γερουσίας ἔργον καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπεξελεῖν: τοσαῦται γὰρ αἱ τε θυσίαι καὶ ἱερομνήαι ἐπηγγέλησαν ὥστε μὴδ' ὅλον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐξαρκέσαι. 19. ὁ δὲ Ἥλιος πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον ἐπιστείλας αὐτῷ, παραινῶν ὅτι τάχιστα ἀνακομισθῆναι, ὥς δ' οὐκ ἐπειθετο, ἦλθεν αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐβδόμῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἐξεφόβησεν αὐτὸν εἰπὼν μεγάλην τινὰ ἐπιβουλὴν ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ παρασκευάζεσθαι κατ' αὐτοῦ, ὥστε παρευθὺς ἐς [2] τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀποπλεῦσαι. καὶ ἐγένετο μὲν τις [p. 168] ἐλπίς ὑπὸ χειμῶνος αὐτὸν φθαρήσεσθαι, μάτην δὲ πολλοὶ ἥσθησαν: ἐσώθη γάρ. καὶ τισι καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὀλέθρου αἵτιον ἐγένετο, ὅτι καὶ εὔξαντο 20. καὶ ἤλπισαν αὐτὸν ἀπολεῖσθαι. ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν ἐς τὴν Ρώμην ἐσήλασε, τοῦ τε τείχους τι καθηρέθη καὶ τῶν πυλῶν περιερράγη, νενομίσθαι τινῶν λεγόντων ἑκάτερον τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων [2] στεφανηφόροις γίνεσθαι. καὶ ἐσεφοίτησαν πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ τοὺς στεφάνους οὕς ἀνήρητο 166 κομίζοντες, καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς ἕτεροι σανίδια 167 ἐπὶ δοράτων ἀνατεινοντες, ἐφ' οἷς ἐπεγέγραπτο τὸ τε ὄνομα τοῦ ἀγῶνος καὶ τὸ εἶδος τοῦ ἀγωνίσματος, ὅτι τε Νέρων Καῖσαρ πρῶτος πάντων τῶν ἀπὸ [3] τοῦ αἰῶνος Ρωμαίων ἐνίκησεν αὐτό, ἔπειτα αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἄρματος ἐπινικίου, ἐν ᾧ ποτε ὁ Αὐγουστος τὰ πολλὰ ἐκεῖνα νικητήρια ἐπεπόμεναι, ἀλουργίδα χρυσόπαστον ἔχων καὶ κότινον ἐστεφανωμένος, τὴν Πυθικὴν δάφνην προτείνων: καὶ αὐτῷ [4] ὁ Διόδωρος ὁ κιθαρωδὸς παρωχεῖτο. καὶ οὕτω διὰ τε τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μετὰ τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων τῆς τε βουλής διελθὼν ἐς τὸ Κασιπῶλιον ἀνέβη, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐς τὸ Παλάτιον, πάσης μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἐστεφανωμένης καὶ λυχνοκαυτοῦσης καὶ θυμίωσης, [5] πάντων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ αὐτῶν βουλευτῶν ὅτι μάλιστα, συμβοῶντων 'Ολυμπιονῖκα οὐᾶ, Πυθιονῖκα οὐᾶ, Αὐγουστε Αὐγουστε. Νέρωνι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, Νέρωνι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι. ὥς εἰς περιοδονίκης, εἰς ἀπ' αἰῶνος, Αὐγουστε [p. 170] Αὐγουστε. ἱερὰ φωνή: μακάριοι οἱ σου ἀκούοντες.' τί γὰρ δεῖ περιπλέκειν καὶ οὐκ αὐτὰ τὰ λεχθέντα δηλοῦν; οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' αἰσχύνειν τινὰ τῇ συγγραφῇ τὰ ῥηθέντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ κόσμον τὸ μὴδὲν αὐτῶν ἀποκρυφθῆναι φέρει. 21. ἐκτελέσας δὲ ταῦτα ἵπποδρομίας ἐπήγγειλε, καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους, τούτους τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ὅσους ἄρμασι νικήσας εἰλήφει, ἐς τὸν ἵπποδρομον ἐσήνεγκε καὶ τῷ ὀβελίσκῳ τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ περιέθηκε: καὶ ἦσαν ὀκτὼ καὶ ὀκτακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι. 168 ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα

ἡνιόχησε. ^[2] Λάρκιος δέ τις Λυδὸς προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας προσφέρων ἵνα κιθαρωδήσῃ: καὶ ὃς τὸ μὲν ἀργύριον οὐκ ἔλαβεν, ἀπαξιῶσας μισθοῦ τι ποιῆσαι ‘καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Τιγελλῖνος αὐτὸ ἐσέπραξεν, ἵνα μὴ αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνῃ, ἐς μέντοι τὸ θέατρον καὶ ὥς ἐσελθὼν καὶ ἐκιθαρώδησε καὶ ἐτραγώδησεν, ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε ἵπποις οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε οὐχ ἡμιλλᾷτο. ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ ἐκὼν ἡττᾷτο, ὅπως τὰ γε ἄλλα τὰ πλείω πιστεῦνται 169 ἐπ’ ἀληθείας κρατεῖν.” Xiph. 179, 5-182, R. St. “^[3] Δίων ξβ βιβλίω: ‘καὶ κακὰ ἀμύθητα πολλὰς πόλεις εἰργάζετο.’” Bekk. Anecd. 142, 9. 10. “^[p. 172]”

“ 22. ^[1.1] ὁ μὲν οὖν Νέρων οὕτω τε ἔζη καὶ οὕτως ἐμονάρχει, λέξω δὲ καὶ ὅπως κατελύθη καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξέπεσεν.” Xiph. 182, 6-8 R. St. “ ^[1a] ἔτι δ’ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὄντος τοῦ Νέρωνος Ἰουδαῖοι εἰς προὔπτον ἀπέστησαν, καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς τὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸν ἔπεμψε. καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ δὲ καὶ οἱ Γαλάται βαρυνόμενοι ταῖς εἰσφοραῖς ἡσχαλλον ἐκ πλείονος καὶ ἐφλέγμαινον.” Zon. 11, 13, p. 41, 5-9 D. “ ^[1.2] ἦν τις Γαλάτης ἀνὴρ Γάιος Ἰούλιος Οὐίνδιξ, ἐκ μὲν προγόνων Ἀκυτανὸς τοῦ βασιλικοῦ φύλου, κατὰ δὲ τὸν πατέρα βουλευτῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων, τὸ τε σῶμα ἰσχυρὸς καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν συνετός, τῶν τε πολεμικῶν ἔμπειρος καὶ πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον μέγα εὐτολμος: τὸ τε φιλελεύθερον καὶ τὸ φιλότιμον πλείστον εἶχεν: ὃς προέστη τῶν Γαλατῶν.” Xiph. 182, 8-11 R. St., Exc. Val. 256 (p. 694). “ ^[2] οὗτος ὁ Οὐίνδιξ συναθροίσας τοὺς Γαλάτας πολλὰ πεπονθότας τε ἐν ταῖς συχναῖς ἐσπράξεσι τῶν χρημάτων καὶ ἔτι πάσχοντας ὑπὸ Νέρωνος, καὶ ἀναβάς ἐπὶ βῆμα μακρὰν διεξῆλθε κατὰ τοῦ Νέρωνος ῥῆσιν λέγων δεῖν ἀποστῆναι τε ^[3] αὐτοῦ καὶ ἅμα οἱ ἐπιστῆναι αὐτῷ, ‘ὅτι’ φησὶ ‘πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων οἰκουμένην σεσύληκεν, ^[p. 174] ὅτι πᾶν τὸ ἄνθος τῆς βουλῆς αὐτῶν ἀπολώλεκεν, ὅτι τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἥσχυνε καὶ ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ οὐδ’ αὐτὸ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ἡγεμονίας ^[4] σώζει. σφαγαὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀρπαγαὶ καὶ ὕβρεις καὶ ὑπ’ ἄλλων πολλαὶ πολλάκις ἐγένοντο: τὰ δὲ δὴ λοιπὰ πῶς ἂν τις κατ’ ἀξίαν εἰπεῖν δυνηθεῖ; εἶδον, ὧ ἄνδρες φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι, πιστεύσατέ μοι, εἶδον τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκεῖνον, εἶγε ἀνὴρ ὁ Σπόρον γεγαμηκῶς, ὁ Πυθαγόρα γεγαμημένος, ἐν τῷ τοῦ θεάτρου κύκλῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ὀρχήστρᾳ ποτὲ μὲν κιθάραν ἔχοντα καὶ ὀρθοστάδιον καὶ κοθόρνους, ποτὲ δὲ ἐμβάτας καὶ ^[5] προσωπεῖον. ἤκουσα αὐτοῦ πολλάκις ἄδοντος, ἤκουσα κηρύττοντος, ἤκουσα τραγωδοῦντος. εἶδον αὐτὸν δεδεμένον, εἶδον συρόμενον, κύνοντα δὴ, τίκτοντα δὴ, πάντα ὅσα μυθολογεῖται καὶ λέγοντα καὶ ἀκούοντα καὶ πάσχοντα καὶ δρῶντα. εἰτά τις τὸν τοιοῦτον Καίσαρα καὶ αὐτοκράτορα καὶ Αὐγουστον ὀνομάσει; μηδαμῶς: μηδεὶς ^[6] ὑβρίζειτω τὰ ἱερὰ ἐκεῖνα ὀνόματα. ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ Αὐγουστος καὶ Κλαύδιος ἔσχον, οὗτος δὲ δὴ Θυέστης τε καὶ Οἰδίπους Ἀλκμέων τε καὶ Ὀρέστης δικαιοτάτ’ ἂν καλοῖτο: τοὺτους γὰρ ὑποκρίνεται, καὶ ταύτας ἀντ’ ἐκείνων τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἀντεπιτέθειται. ἀνάστητε οὖν: ἤδη ποτὲ, καὶ ἐπικουρήσατε μὲν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, ἐπικουρήσατε δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ἐλευθερώσατε δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην.” Xiph. 182, 11-183, R. St. “ ^[p. 176] 23. τοιαῦτά τινα τοῦ Οὐίνδικος εἰπόντος ἅπαντες συνεφρόνησαν. οὐχ ἑαυτῷ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν πράττων ὁ Οὐίνδιξ τὸν Γάλβαν τὸν Σέρουιον τὸν Σουλπίκιον ἐπικεκῖα τε καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ πολέμων διαπρέποντα καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἄρχοντα, δύναμιν τε οὐ μικρὰν ἔχοντα, ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν προεχειρίσατο: κάκεῖνος ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτοκράτωρ ἀνγορεύθη.” Xiph. 183, 3-9 R. St. “ 24. Ροῦφος δὲ ἄρχων τῆς Γερμανίας ὥρμησε μὲν ὥς καὶ τῷ Οὐίνδικι πολεμήσων, γενόμενος δὲ ἐν Οὐεσοντίωνι ταύτην ἐπολιόρκει, πρόφασιν ^[2] ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐδέξατο αὐτόν. τοῦ δὲ Οὐίνδικος

πρὸς βοήθειαν τῆς πόλεως ἀντεπρόντος αὐτῷ καὶ οὐ πόρρω στρατοπεδεύσαντος ἀντεπέστειλαν μὲν ἀλλήλοις τινά, καὶ τέλος καὶ ἐς λόγους ἦλθον μόνοι καὶ μηδενὸς σφίσι τῶν ἄλλων παρόντος, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Νέρωνος, ὡς εἰκάζετο, συνέθεντο ^[3] πρὸς ἀλλήλους. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Οὐίνδιξ ὥρμησε ^[p. 178] μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ ὡς τὴν πόλιν καταληφόμενος: καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ τοῦ Ρούφου στρατιῶται προσιόντας αἰσθόμενοι, καὶ νομίσαντες ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἄντικρυς χωρεῖν, ἀντεξώρμησαν αὐτοκέλευστοι, καὶ προσπεσόντες σφίσι ἀπροσδοκῆτοις τε καὶ ἀσυντάκτοις ^[4.1] οὔσι παμπόλλους κατέκοψαν. ἰδὼν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ περιαλγῆσας ὁ Οὐίνδιξ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔσφαξε.” Xiph. 183, 12-25 R. St. “ ^[4a] τῆς δ' ἀποστασίας παρατεινομένης ὁ Οὐίνδιξ ἑαυτὸν ἀπέσφαξε, τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν κινδυνευσάντων ὑπεραλγῆσας καὶ πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀγανακτῆσας ὅτι τοσούτου πράγματος ὀριγνῆθεις, τοῦ τὸν Νέρωνα καθελεῖν καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐλευθερῶσαι, οὐκ ἐξετέλεσεν αὐτό.” Zon. 11, (p. 41, 19-24 D.). “ ^[4] καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς οὕτως ἔχει, πολλοὶ δὲ δὴ μετὰ ταῦτα, τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ κατατρώσαντες, δόξαν τισὶ μάτην ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπεκτονότες αὐτὸν παρέσχον. 25. Ρούφος δὲ τοῦτον μὲν ἰσχυρῶς ἐπένησε, τὴν ^[p. 180] δὲ αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχήν, καίτοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν πολλὰκις αὐτῷ ἐγκειμένων, οὐκ ἠθέλησε δέξασθαι, δυνηθεὶς ἂν ῥαδίως ἐπιτυχῆς αὐτῆς γενέσθαι: δραστήριός τε γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἦν καὶ ἰσχὺν μεγάλην καὶ πρόθυμον εἶχε, καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται τὰς μὲν τοῦ Νέρωνος εἰκόνας καθεῖλον καὶ συνέτριψαν, αὐτὸν δὲ Καίσαρα καὶ Αὐγουστον ^[2] ὠνόμαζον. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐπέιθετο, ἐνταῦθα τῶν στρατιωτῶν τις ἐνὶ τῶν σημείων αὐτοῦ ταῦτα διὰ ταχέων ἐπέγραψε: καὶ ὃς ἐκεῖνά τε ἀπῆλειψε, καὶ μόλις ποτὲ αὐτοὺς καταστήσας ἔπεισε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ποιήσασθαι, ^[3] εἰτ' οὖν ὅτι οὐκ ἤξιον τοὺς στρατιώτας τινὶ τὸ κράτος διδόναι ἢ τῇ τε γὰρ γερουσίᾳ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ προσήκειν τοῦτ' ἔλεγεν, εἴτε καὶ παντελῶς μεγαλογνωμονῶν, ὡς οὐδὲν τῆς αὐτοκρατορικῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὲρ ἧς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντα ἔπραττον, καὶ αὐτὸς δεόμενος. 20” Xiph. 183, 25-184, R. St. “ 26. ὅτι ὁ Νέρων μαθὼν τὰ κατὰ τὸν Οὐίνδικα ἐν Νέᾳ πόλει τὸν γυμνικὸν ἀγῶνα ἀπ' ἀρίστου θεωρῶν, οὐκ ἐλυπήθη, ἀλλὰ καταπηδήσας ἐκ τῆς ἔδρας ἀθλητῇ τινὶ συνεσπούδασεν: οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπειχθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ γράμματα ἀπλῶς τῇ βουλῇ πέμψας παρητήσατο ὅτι οὐκ ἀφίκετο, λέγων βραγχᾶν, καθάπερ τι ἄσαι καὶ τότε αὐτοῖς ^[2] δεόμενος. καὶ τὴν γε αὐτὴν φροντίδα καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς τε φωνῆς καὶ τῶν ἁσμάτων τῶν τε κιθαρισμάτων, οὐχ ὅτι ἐν τῷ τότε παρόντι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐποιεῖτο: καὶ οὔτε τι ἐξ ἐκείνων ^[p. 182] ἐξέκραξεν, εἰ τε καὶ ἠναγκάσθη τι οἷα ἐν τοιοῦτοις ὦν ἐκβοῆσαι, εὐθύς τις αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ κιθαρωδῇσειν μέλλοντα ἀνεχαιτίζεν καὶ ἀνελάμβανεν.” Exc. Val. 257a (p. 694). “ 23. ^[2] λέγεται δὲ ὅτι τοῦ Νέρωνος διακοσίας καὶ πεντήκοντα μυριάδας ἐπικηρύξαντος τῷ Οὐίνδικι ἀκούσας ὁ Οὐίνδιξ ἔφη ὅτι ‘ὁ Νέρωνα ἀποκτείνας τὴν τε κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ κομίσας μοι τὴν ἐμὴν ἀντιλήψεται.’ τοιοῦτος μὲν τις ὁ Οὐίνδιξ ἐγένετο.” Xiph. 183, 9-12 R. St. “ 26. ^[3] τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅσα εἰώθει ὁμοίως ἐποιεῖ, χαίρων τοῖς ἠγγελλέμενοις ὅτι ἄλλως τε κατακρατήσιν τοῦ Οὐίνδικος ἤλπιζεν καὶ ὑπόθεσιν ἀργυρισμοῦ καὶ φόνων

εἰληφέναι ἐδόκει. καὶ ἐτρύφα, καὶ τὸ τῆς Σαβίνης ἥρῳον ἐκποιηθὲν καὶ κοσμηθὲν λαμπρῶς ὠσίωσεν, ἐπιγράψας αὐτῷ ὅτι Σαβίνη ^[4] αὐτὸ θεᾷ Ἀφροδίτῃ αἱ γυναῖκες ἐποίησαν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἠλήθευσεν: ἐκ γὰρ τῶν χρημάτων ἃ πολλὰ καὶ παρὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐσεσύλητο ἐξειργάσθη: συχνὰ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἤθυρεν, ὧν ἐγὼ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παραλείψω, ἐν δὲ εἵπω. νύκτωρ ποτὲ τοὺς πρῶτους τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἐξαπίνης σπουδῇ, ὡς καὶ περὶ τῶν παρόντων τι κοινώσων ^[p. 184] σφίσι, μεταπέμψας ‘ἐξεύρηκα’ ἔφη ‘πῶς ἡ ὕδραυλις’ αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ ῥηθὲν γραφήσεται ^[5] ‘καὶ μεῖζον καὶ ἐμμελέστερον φθέγγεται.’ τοιαῦτα μὲν καὶ τότε ἔπαιζεν, οὐδὲ ἔμελεν αὐτῷ ὅτι αἱ θύραι ἀμφοτέραι, αἶ τε τοῦ μνημείου τοῦ Αὐγουστείου καὶ αἱ τοῦ κοιτῶνος τοῦ ἐκείνου, αὐτόμαται ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτὶ ἀνεῴχθησαν, οὐδ’ ὅτι ἐν τῷ Ἀλβανῷ τοσοῦτῳ δὴ τι αἵματι ὕσεν ὥστε καὶ ποταμούς ῥυῆναι, οὐδ’ ὅτι ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὑπαναχωρήσασα ἐπὶ πολὺ ἡ θάλασσα 27. μέρος μέγα τῆς Λυκίας κατέλαβεν: ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ τε τοῦ Γάλβα ἤκουσεν ὅτι αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀνερρήθη, περὶ τε τοῦ Ρούφου ὅτι αὐτοῦ ἀπέστη, ἐν δέει τε μεγάλῳ ἐγένετο, καὶ αὐτὸς τε ἐν Ῥώμῃ παρεσκευάζετο καὶ ἐπ’ ἐκείνους Ρούβριον Γάλλον καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς ἐπεμψεν.” Exc. Val. 257b, Xiph. 184, 8-23 R. St. “ ^[1a] ὁ δὲ Νέρων μαθὼν καὶ τὸν Πετρώνιον, ὃν κατὰ τῶν ἐπαναστάντων μετὰ τοῦ πλείονος προεπεπόμφει στρατεύματος, τὰ τοῦ Γάλβου φρονήσαντα, οὐκέτ’ οὐδεμίαν ἐλπίδα τῶν ὅπλων ἔσχεν.” Zon. 11, 13, p. 42, 1-4 D. “ ^[2] ὑπὸ πάντων δὲ ὁμοίως ἐγκαταλειφθεὶς ἐβουλεύσατο μὲν τοὺς τε βουλευτὰς ἀποκτείνειν καὶ τὴν πόλιν καταπρῆσαι ἕς τε τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πλεῦσαι, ὑπειπὼν ὅτι ‘ἂν καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ^[p. 186] ἐκπέσωμεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ γε τέχνιον ἡμᾶς ἐκεῖ διαθρέψει.’ ἐς τοῦτο γὰρ ἀνοίας ἐληλύθει ὥστε καὶ πιστεῦσαι ὅτι ἄλλως τε ἰδιωτεῦσαι καὶ προσέτι καὶ κιθαρωδεῖν δυνήσεται.” Xiph. 184, 23-28 R. St., Exc. Val. 258 (p. 696). “ ^[2b] μέλλοντος δὲ ταῦτα πράσσειν ἡ βουλὴ τὴν περὶ τὸν Νέρωνα φρουρὰν ἀποκαλέσασα εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ τὸν μὲν πολέμιον ἀπέφηνε, τὸν δὲ Γάλβαν ἀνθεῖλετο αὐτοκράτορα.” Zon. 11, 13, p. 42, 8-11 D. “ ^[3] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσθετο ὅτι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἐγκαταλέλειπται ‘ἐν κήποις δὲ πρὸς ἐτύγχανε καθεύδων’, φυγεῖν ἐπεχείρησεν. ἐσθῆτά τε οὖν φαῦλην ἔλαβε καὶ ἐπὶ ἵππον οὐδὲν βελτίονα ἀνέβη, καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ κατακεκαλυμμένος πρὸς χωρίον τι Φάωνος Καισαρείου, μετὰ τε αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου καὶ μετὰ Ἐπαφροδίτου τοῦ τε 28. σπόρου, νυκτὸς ἔτι οὔσης ἤλασε. καὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα πράσσοντος σεισμὸς ἐξαισιος ἐγένετο, ὥστε καὶ δόκησιν παρασχεῖν ὅτι ἢ τε γῆ πᾶσα διαρρήγνυται καὶ αἱ τῶν πεφονευμένων ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ψυχαὶ πᾶσαι ἅμα ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἀναθορνύουσι. ^[p. 188] γνωρισθεὶς οὖν καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ τινος, ὡς φασι, τῶν ἀπαντησάντων καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ προσαγορευθεὶς, ἔκ τε τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀπετράπη καὶ ἐς ^[2] καλαμῶδη τόπον τινὰ κατεκρύφθη. καὶ ἐνταῦθα μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ὑπέμεινεν ἐρριμμένος, ὅπως ὡς ἤκιστα διορίζτο. καὶ πάντα μὲν τὸν παριόντα ὡς καὶ ἐφ’ ἐαυτὸν ἤκοντα ὑποπτεύων, πᾶσαν δὲ φωνὴν ὡς καὶ ἀναζητοῦσαν αὐτὸν ὑποτρέμων, εἰ τέ που κυνίδιον ὕλαξεν ἢ καὶ ὀρνίθιον ἐφθέγγατο ῥωπίον τε καὶ κλάδος ὑπ’ ^[3] αὖρας ἐσεισθη, δεινῶς ἐταράττετο, καὶ οὐθ’ ἠσυχάζειν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐδύνατο, οὐτ’ αὖ λαλεῖν τινὲ τῶν παρόντων,

μή καὶ ἕτερός τις ἀκούσῃ, ἐτόλμα, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτὸν τὴν τύχην καὶ ἐθρῆναι καὶ ὠλοφύρετο. ἐλογίζετο γὰρ τὰ τε ἄλλα, καὶ προσέτι ὅτι πολυανθρωποτάτῃ ποτὲ θεραπείᾳ γαυρωθεὶς μετὰ τριῶν ἐξελευθέρων ἐκύπταξε. [4] τοιοῦτον γὰρ δρᾶμα τότε τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτῷ παρεσκεύασεν, ἵνα μηκέτι τοὺς ἄλλους μητροφόνους καὶ ἀλήτας ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ ἑαυτὸν ὑποκρίνηται: καὶ τότε μετεγίνωσκεν ἐφ' οἷς ἐτετολμήκει, καθάπερ ἄπρακτόν τι αὐτῶν ποιῆσαι [5] δυνάμενος. Νέρων μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα ἐτραγώδει, καὶ τὸ ἔπος ἐκεῖνο συνεχῶς ἐνενόει, 'οἰκτρῶς θανεῖν μ' ἄνωγε σύγγαμος πατήρ.' ὅψε δ' οὖν ποτε, ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς αὐτὸν ἀναζητῶν ἐωρᾶτο, μετῆλθεν ἐς τὸ ἄντρον, κάνταῦθα καὶ ἔφαγε πεινήσας ἄρτον ὅποιον οὐδεπώποτε ἐβεβρώκει, καὶ ἔπιε διψήσας ὕδωρ ὅποιον οὐδεπώποτε [p. 190] ἐπεπώκει. ἐφ' ᾧ δυσανασχετήσας εἶπε 'τοῦτό ἐστιν ἐκεῖνο τὸ ποτὸν τὸ ἐμὸν τὸ ἄπεφθον.' 40" Xiph. 184, 28-185, R. St. " 29. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἦν, ὁ δὲ δῆμος τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐβουθῦται καὶ ὑπερέχαιρε καὶ τινες καὶ πιλία ὡς ἡλευθερωμένοι ἔφερον. καὶ τῷ Γάλβᾳ τὰ τῇ αὐτοκράτορι ἀρχῇ προσήκοντα ἐψηφίσαντο. παρὰ πάντα δὲ ζητήσιν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Νέρωνος ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα ἠπόρησαν ὅπου ποτὲ ἀπεληλυθὼς εἶη, ἔπειτα μαθόντες ἔπεμψαν [2] ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἱππέας. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνος προσιόντας [p. 192] αὐτοὺς αἰσθόμενος προσέταξε τοῖς παροῦσιν ἑαυτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι. ἐπεὶ τε οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν, ἀνεστέναξέ τε καὶ ἔφη 'ἐγὼ μόνος οὔτε φίλον οὔτε ἐχθρὸν ἔχω.' κἀν τούτῳ πελασάντων αὐτῷ τῶν ἱππέων αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀπέκτεινε, τὸ θρυλούμενον ἐκεῖνο εἰπὼν, 'ὦ Ζεῦ, οἷος τεχνίτης παραπόλλυμαι.' καὶ αὐτὸν δυσθανατοῦντα ὁ Ἐπαφρόδιτος προσκατειργάσατο. [3] ἐβίω δὲ ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ μῆνας ἑννέα, ἀφ' ὧν ἥρξεν ἔτη δεκατρία καὶ μῆνας ὀκτώ, ἔσχατος τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Αἰνείου καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου γεγονότων, καθάπερ που σαφῶς καὶ αἱ δάφναι [p. 194] αἱ ὑπὸ τῆς Λιουίας φυτευθεῖσαι τὸ τε γένος τῶν λευκῶν ὀρνίθων προδιαφθαρέντα αὐτοῦ ἐσήμανεν." Xiph. 185, 27-186, R. St. "[4] ὅτι οὐδενὶ ἀνέλπιστος ἦν ἡ ἐγχείρησις τῆς βασιλείας ἐν τηλικαύτῃ γενομένη ταραχῇ." Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. (p. 216 Mai.=p. 197, 22, Dind.). "[5] ὅτι ὁ Ροῦφος πρὸς Γάλβαν ἦλθε, καὶ παρὰ μὲν ἐκείνου οὐδὲν ὃ τι ἄξιον εἰπεῖν εὔρετο, εἰ μή τις αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἐκλογίσαιτο ὅτι πολλάκις αὐτοκράτωρ ὀνομασθεὶς ἔζησε: παρὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ὄνομα μέγα, καὶ μεῖζον ἢ εἴπερ ὑπεδέδεκτο τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἐκτήσατο, ὅτι οὐκ ἠθέλησεν αὐτὴν λαβεῖν." Exc. Val. 259 (p. 697). "[6] Γάλβας δ', ἐπεὶ ὃ τε Νέρων διέφθαρτο καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν οἱ ἐψηφίσατο καὶ ὁ Ροῦφος αὐτῷ προσεχώρησεν, ἀνεθάρσησεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸ Καίσαρος ἀνέλαβεν ὄνομα πρὶν τοὺς τῆς βουλῆς πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος πρότερον εἰς οὐδὲν γράμμα ἐνεγεγράφει." Zon. 11, 14, p. 43, 10-15 D. ""

1. “οὕτω μὲν οὖν ὁ Γάλβας αὐτοκράτωρ ἀπεδείχθη, ὥσπερ που προεῖπε μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος, φήσας ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς ἡγεμονίας παραγεύσεται, προεῖπε δὲ καὶ σημεῖα ἐναργέστατα. ^[2] τὴν τε γὰρ Τύχην,” αὐτῷ λέγειν ὅτι χρόνον ἤδη συχὸν αὐτῷ παύμενοι καὶ ὅτι οὐδεὶς αὐτὴν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ἐσδέχοιτο, καὶ δὴ ἐὰν ἐπὶ πλεῖον εἰρχθῇ, πρὸς ἕτερόν τινα μεταστήσεται: καὶ πλοῖα ὀπλων μεστὰ πρὸς Ἰβηρίαν ὑπ’ αὐτὰς ἐκείνας τὰς ἡμέρας αὐτόματα, μηδενὸς ^[p. 196] ^[3] ἀνθρώπων ἄγοντος αὐτά, προσωρμίσθη. ἡμίονός τε ἔτεκεν, ὅπερ αὐτῷ σύμβολον τοῦ κράτους ἔσεσθαι ἐτεθέσπιστο. καὶ παῖς λιβανωτὸν αὐτῷ θύοντι προσφέρων πολιὰς ἐξαιφνης ἔφυσεν, καὶ οἱ μάντις τὴν τοῦ νεωτέρου ἀρχὴν πρὸς τὸ γῆρας αὐτοῦ μεταστήσεσθαι ἔφησαν. 2. ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτῷ φέροντα προεδείχθη: αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μετριῶς ἤρχε καὶ ἀνεπαχθῆς ἦν, νομίζων οὐκ εἰληφέναι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀλλὰ δεδόσθαι αὐτῷ ‘τοῦτο γὰρ συνεχῶς ἔλεγέ, πλὴν ὅτι χρήματά τε ἀπλήστως, ἅτε καὶ πολλῶν δεόμενος, ἡθροίζε, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἐλάχιστα ἀνήλπισκεν, ὥστε μὴδὲ δραχμὰς ἔστιν οἷς ἄλλ’ ὀβολοὺς χαρίζεσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἐξελεύθεροι ^[2] αὐτοῦ πάμπολλα ἐπλημμέλουν, ὥστε καὶ ἐς ἐκείνον αὐτὰ ἀναφέρεσθαι. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἰδιώταις ἀπόχρη μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν, τοῖς δὲ δὴ τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἔχουσιν ἀνάγκη προνοεῖν ὅπως μὴδ’ ἄλλος κακουργῇ: οὐδὲ γὰρ διαφέρει τι τοῖς κακῶς ^[3] πάσχουσιν ὑφ’ ὅτου ἂν καὶ κακῶνται. ὥστ’ εἰ καὶ ἔξω τοῦ τι δεινὸν ποιεῖν ὁ Γάλβας ἦν, ἀλλ’ ὅτι ἐκείνοις ἀδικεῖν ἐπέτρεπεν ἢ ὅτι ἡγνόμενα τὰ γινόμενα, οὐ καλῶς ἤκουε. Νυμφίδιος δὲ τις καὶ Καπίτων οὕτως ἐξεφρόνησαν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ὥστε ὁ Καπίτων, ἐφέντος τινὸς ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ποτε δικάζοντος, μετεπήδησε τε ἐπὶ δίφρον ὑψηλὸν καὶ ἔφη ‘λέγε τὴν δίκην παρὰ τῷ Καίσαρι,’ ^[p. 198] διαγνοὺς τε ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν. τούτοις μὲν δὴ διὰ ταῦτα ὁ Γάλβας ἐπεξῆλθεν. 3. ὡς δ’ ἐπλησίασε τῇ πόλει, ἀπήντησαν αὐτῷ οἱ δορυφόροι τοῦ Νέρωνος, καὶ ἡξιοῦν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ στρατείᾳ φυλαχθῆναι. καὶ ὅς τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ^[2] ἀνεβάλετο ὡς καὶ σκεψόμενος περὶ τούτου, ὡς δ’ οὐκ ἐπειθοντο ἀλλ’ ἐθορύβουν, ἐφῆκε σφισι τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ οἱ μὲν παραχρῆμα ἐς ἐπτακισχιλίους ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δεκατευθέντες. οὕτως, εἰ καὶ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τῇ τε νόσῳ ἐκεκμήκει, ἀλλὰ τῇ διανοίᾳ ἤκμαζεν, οὐδ’ ἡξίου ^[3] τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἀναγκαζόμενόν τι ποιεῖν. ἀμέλει καὶ τοῖς δορυφόροις ἀπαιτοῦσι τὰ χρήματα ἃ ὑπέσχετο ὁ Νυμφίδιος, οὐκ ἔδωκε, καὶ ἔφη γε ὅτι ‘καταλέγειν στρατιώτας ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀγοράζειν εἴωθα.’ τῷ δὲ δῆμῳ σφόδρα ἀξιοῦντι τὸν τε Τιγελλῖνον καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν πρότερον ὑβρισάντων ἀποθανεῖν οὐχ ὑπέῖξε, τάχα ἂν ἀποκτείνας αὐτοὺς εἰ μὴ ἐκείνοι τοῦτ’ ἠτήκεσαν. ^[4.1] τὸν μέντοι Ἥλιον καὶ τὸν Νάρκισσον τὸν τε Πατρόβιον καὶ τὴν Λουκοῦσταν τὴν φαρμακίδα καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Νέρωνος ἐπιπολασάντων κατὰ τε τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν δεδεμένους περιαχθῆναι καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο κολασθῆναι ἐκέλευσε.” Xiph. 186, 17-187, R. St., Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. (p. 216 Mai.=p. 198, 8-10 Dind.). “^[4a] καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι οἱ κατὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν πράξαντές τι ἢ εἰπόντες αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις

ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ παρεδόθησαν.” Zon. 11, 14, p. 43, 15-19 D. “ [p. 200] [46] ὅτι τινὲς τῶν ἰδίων δούλων κατεφρόνησαν βουλόμενοι κακῶν δούλων ἀπαλλαγῆναι.” Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. (p. 216 Mai.=p. 198, 11, Dind.). “ [4ε] καὶ τὰ χρήματα δὲ καὶ τὰ κτήματα ὅσα τινὲς παρὰ τοῦ Νέρωνος εἰλήφεσαν ἀπηρεῖτο. τοὺς γε μὴν ὑπ’ ἐκείνου φυγαδευθέντας ὡς ἡσεβηκότας τι εἰς αὐτὸν κατήγαγε, καὶ τὰ ὅστ’ αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους σφαγέντων εἰς τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου μνημεῖον μετεκόμισε, καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτῶν ἀποκατέστησεν.” Zon. 11, 14, p. 43, 19-25 D. “ [4] καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τούτοις ἐπηρεῖτο, ὅτι δὲ ξίφος μέγα διὰ πάσης τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐξηρτᾶτο καὶ γέρων καὶ ἀσθενῆς τὰ νεῦρα ὦν, καὶ πάνυ πολὺν γέλωτα ὠφλίσκανε. 4. λέξω δὲ καὶ ὅπως αὐτῷ τὸ τέλος συνέβη. οἱ ἐν ταῖς Γερμανίαις στρατιῶται, οὓς εἶχε Ροῦφος, μηδεμίαν εὐεργεσίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γάλβα εὐρόμενοι ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐφλέγγμηναν. τοῦ δὲ διὰ τέλους τῆς ἐπιθυμίας σφῶν ἁμαρτόντες ἐπὶ τοῦ Ροῦφου, ἐζήτουν αὐτὴν ἐφ’ ἐτέρου τινὸς ἀποπληρῶσαι, καὶ [2] ἐποίησαν τοῦτο: προστησάμενοι γὰρ Αὐλὸν Οὐιτέλλιον τῆς κάτω Γερμανίας ἄρχοντα ἐπανάστησαν, πρὸς μόνην τὴν εὐγένειαν αὐτοῦ ἀπιδόντες, ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε παιδικὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐγεγόνει καὶ ὅτι ἀκολουθῶς τῇ ἀσελγείᾳ ταύτῃ ἔζη οὐκ ἐνενόησαν, ἥ καὶ μᾶλλον δι’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀρμόζειν [3] σφίσι αὐτὸν ἐνόμισαν. ἀμέλει οὕτως οὐδ’ αὐτὸς λόγου τινὸς ἄξιον ἑαυτὸν ἔκρινεν εἶναι ὥστε διασκώπτων τοὺς ἀστρολόγους τεκμηρίῳ κατ’ αὐτῶν ἐχρήτο, λέγων ὅτι ‘οὐδὲν ἐπίστανται οἱ γε καὶ [p. 202] ἐμὲ αὐτοκράτορά φασι γενήσεσθαι.’ καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ ὁ Νέρων ἀκούσας ἐγέλασε καὶ κατεφρόνησεν αὐτοῦ, ὥστε μηδὲν δεινὸν αὐτὸν ἐργάσασθαι. 5. ὁ οὖν Γάλβας τὴν ἐπανάστασιν αὐτοῦ πυθόμενος Λούκιον Πίσωνα, νεανίσκον εὐγενῆ ἐπεικῆ [2] φρόνιμον, ἐποίησατο καὶ Καίσαρα ἀπέδειξεν. ὁ δὲ διὰ τῶν Ὀθων ὁ Μάρκος ὁ Σάλουιος, ἀγανακτήσας ὅτι μὴ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ Γάλβα ἐπεποιήτο, ἀρχὴν αὐθις μυρίων τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις κακῶν παρέσχε. καὶ οὕτως ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐτιμᾶτο ὥστε καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐν ᾗ ἀπέθανε, θυομένῳ τι αὐτῷ μόνος τῶν βουλευτῶν παρέστη: ὑφ’ οὗπερ καὶ τὰ [3] μάλιστα συνετύγχανεν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ ἱερόπτης ἐπιβουλευθήσεσθαι αὐτὸν ἔφη, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ’ αὐτὸν μηδαμῇ μηδαμῶς προελθεῖν παρήνευσεν, ἀκούσας τοῦτ’ ἐκεῖνος κατέδραμέ τε εὐθύς ὡς καὶ ἐπ’ ἄλλο τι, καὶ ὑπὸ τινων στρατιωτῶν ὀλίγων, οἱ συνωμωμόκεσαν αὐτῷ, ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐσίστη, κἀνταῦθα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅτε καὶ ἀχθομένους τῷ Γάλβᾳ προσαναπεισας, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐκπριάμενος πολλαῖς ὑποσχέσεσι, παρὰ τε ἐκείνων τὴν ἀρχὴν παραχρηῖμα ἔλαβε καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ 6. παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων. μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Γάλβας τὰ πρασσόμενα ἔπεμψε τινὰς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ὡς καὶ [2] μεταπεῖσαι σφας δυνησόμενος. κἀν τούτῳ στρατιώτης [p. 204] τις γυμνὸν τὸ ξίφος καὶ ἤμαχμένον ἀνατείνων προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἔφη ‘θάρσει, αὐτοκράτορ: Ὀθωνα γὰρ ἀπέκτεινα, καὶ ἔστι σοι δεινὸν ἔτι οὐδέν.’ πιστεύσας οὖν ὁ Γάλβας πρὸς μὲν ἐκεῖνον εἶπε ‘καὶ τίς σοι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι [3] ἐκέλευσεν;’ αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ὡς καὶ θύσων ὤρμησε. καὶ αὐτῷ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀγορᾷ ἀπαντήσαντες ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοὶ ἐνταῦθα τὸν γέροντα τὸν ὑπατον τὸν ἀρχιερέα τὸν Καίσαρα τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, πολλῶν μὲν βουλευτῶν παμπόλλων δὲ δημοτῶν παρόντων, κατέκοψαν, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα

τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ ἐλυμήναντο, ^[4] καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποκόψαντες περὶ κοντὸν ἀνέπειραν. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως, ἀκοντισθεὶς ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν δίφρον ἐν ᾧ ἐφέρετο καὶ προκύψας ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἐτρώθη τοῦτο μόνον εἰπὼν, ‘καὶ τί κακὸν ἐποίησα;’ καὶ αὐτῷ Σεμπρώνιος Δῆνσος ἐκατόνταρχος ἐπαμύνας ἐς ὅσον ἡδυνήθη, τέλος, ὡς οὐδὲν 5.1. ἦνυσεν, ἐπεσφάγη. καὶ διὰ τοῦτό γε καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐνέγραψα, ὅτι ἀξιότατός ἐστι μνημονεῦσθαι: ἀπέθανε μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὁ Πίσων καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοί, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπικουροῦντες τῷ αὐτοκράτορι.” Χίρ. 187, 31-189, R. St., Zon. 11, 14, p. 43, 26-44, D. “ ^[5a] πράξαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ στρατιῶται, τὰς τε κεφαλὰς ἐκείνων ἀποτεμόντες, πρὸς τε τὸν Ὀθωνα αὐτὰς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ἐκόμισαν, ὥστε τοὺς βουλευτὰς καταπλαγέντας χαίρειν τε προσποιεῖσθαι κτλ.” Zon. 11, 14, p. 44, 26-29 D. “ 8. ἡ μέντοι βουλὴ πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν φέροντα ἐψηφίσατο: βεβιάσθαι μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐς ^[p. 206] τὸ τεῖχος ἄκων ἐσῆχθαι κάνταυθα ἀντιλέγων κεκινδυνεύκεναι ἔλεγε, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐπεικῶς ἐφθέγγετο, καὶ τῇ ὑποκρίσει τοῦ σχήματος ἐμετρίαζε, φιλήματά τε ὡς ἐκάστοις διὰ τῶν ^[2.1] δακτύλων ἔπεμπε, καὶ ὑποσχέλιτο πολλὰ. οὐκ ἐλάνθανε δὲ ὡς καὶ ἀσελγέστερον καὶ πικρότερον τοῦ Νέρωνος ἄρξειν ἔμελλε: τὸ γοῦν ὄνομα αὐτοῦ αὐτῷ εὐθύς ἐπέθετο.” Χίρ. 190, 25-31 R. St. “ 6. ^[5.2] ἔζησε δὲ Γάλβας ἔτη δύο καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ εἴκοσιν, ἀφ’ ὧν ἦρξε μῆνας ἑννέα καὶ ἡμέρας δεκατρεῖς. καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Πίσων προσαπώλετο, τιμωρίαν ὑποσχὼν ὅτι Καῖσαρ ἀπεδείχθη.” Χίρ. 189, 14-17 R. St., Zon. 11, 14, “π. 45, 3-5 δ. 7. Γάλβα μὲν δὴ τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο, ἔμελλε δὲ ἄρα καὶ τὸν Ὀθωνα ἡ δίκη οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν μεθήξειν, ὥς που παραχρῆμα ἔμαθε. θύοντι τε γὰρ αὐτῷ τὴν θυσίαν τὴν πρώτην τὰ ἱερὰ πονηρὰ ὤφθη, ὥστ’ αὐτὸν μεταγνόντα ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις εἰπεῖν ‘τί γάρ με ἔδει μακροῖς αὐλοῖς αὐλεῖν;’ ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο δημῶδες, ἐς παροιμίαν φέρον, ἐπὶ τῶν ἔξω τι τοῦ προσφόρου σφίσι ^[2] ποιούντων. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῆς νυκτὸς οὕτω δὴ τι ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις ἐταράχθη ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τῆς εὐνῆς ἐκπεσεῖν τοὺς τε προκοιτοῦντας ἐκπλήξαι: ἐσπηδῆσαντες οὖν εὖρον αὐτὸν χαμαὶ κείμενον. ἀλλ’ οὐ γὰρ εἶχεν ἅπαξ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐσελθὼν ^[3] ἀναδύναί, καὶ ἐνέμεινεν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ δίκην ἔδωκε, καίτοι πολλὰ καὶ μέτρια πρὸς θεραπείαν τῶν ^[p. 208] ἀνθρώπων ποιήσας, οὐχ ὅτι οὕτως ἐπεφύκει, ἀλλ’ ὅτι οἰδούντων αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν Οὐιτέλλιον τῶν πραγμάτων οὐκ ἤθελε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκπολεμῶσαι.” Χίρ. 190, 8-25 R. St. “ 8. ^[2.2] πλὴν τότε καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν συχνοῖς τοῖς μὲν καταδίκας ἀνίει τοῖς δὲ ἄλλ’ ἅττα ἐχαρίζετο, καὶ ἐς τὰ θέατρα συνεχῶς ἐσεφοῖτα θωπεύων τὸ πλῆθος, τοῖς τε ξένοις πολιτείαν ἐδίδου καὶ ἄλλα ^[3] πολλὰ ἐπηγγέλλετο. οὐ μὴν καὶ οἰκειῶσασθαι οὐδένα πλὴν ὀλίγων τινῶν ἡδυνήθη ὁμοίων αὐτῷ. τὸ τε γὰρ τὰς τῶν ἐπαιτίων εἰκόνας ἀποκαταστῆσαι, καὶ ὁ βίος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ δίατα, τὸ τε τῷ Σπόρῳ συνεῖναι καὶ τὸ τοῖς λοιποῖς τοῖς Νερωνεῖοις 9. χρῆσθαι πάνυ πάντας ἐξεφόβει. μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐμίσουν ὅτι τὴν τε ἀρχὴν ὦνιον ἀπεδεδεῖχει καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τοῖς θρασυτάτοις ἐπεποιήκει, καὶ τὴν μὲν βουλήν καὶ τὸν δῆμον παρ’ ^[2] οὐδὲν ἦγε, τοὺς δὲ δὴ στρατιώτας ἐπεπείκει καὶ τοῦθ’, ὅτι καὶ ἀποκτείνει Καίσαρα καὶ ποιῆσαι δύνανται. τοὺς μέντοι στρατιώτας ἐς τοσοῦτον τόλμης καὶ παρανομίας προήγαγεν ἕκ τε ὧν

ἐδίδου καὶ ὦν καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἐκολάκευεν, ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὸ παλάτιον ποτε, ὥσπερ εἶχον, ἐσεβιάσαντο, ἐπειδὴ συχνοὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐνταῦθα τῷ Ὅθωνι συνεδεῖπνον, καὶ τέλος καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ συμπόσιον, προαποκτείναντες τοὺς εἵργοντάς ^[3] σφας, ἐσεπήδησαν: καὶ πάντας ἂν τοὺς ἔνδον ὄντας ἐφόνευσαν εἰ μὴ φθάσαντες ἐξανέστησαν ^[p. 210] καὶ κατεκρύφθησαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ χρήματα, ὥς καὶ δι' εὐνοίαν αὐτὸ τοῦ Ὅθωνος πεποικότες, ἔλαβον: ἐάλω δέ τις καὶ Νέρων εἶναι πλάσάμενος κατὰ τόνδε τὸν καιρὸν, οὗ τὸ ὄνομα τῷ Δίῳι ἡγνόηται, καὶ τὸ τέλος καὶ δίκην ἔδωκεν.” Xiph. 190, 31-191, R. St., exc. Val. 260 (p. 697). “ 10. ὁ δὲ Ὅθων ἐπειδὴ καὶ μὴ ἔπειθε τὸν Οὐιτέλλιον, ἐς κοινωνίαν αὐτὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς πολλάκις παρακαλῶν, ἐς πόλεμον λοιπὸν φανερόν καθίστατο καὶ στρατιώτας ἔπεμπεν, ἡγεμόσιν αὐτοὺς πλείοσι παραδούς: ὃ δὴ καὶ αἰπίωτατον τῶν σφαλμάτων αὐτῷ ἐγένετο.” Xiph. 191, 15-19 R. St. “ 15. ^[3] ὅτι ὁ Οὐάλης οὕτω περὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐσπούδαζεν καὶ οὕτως ἐξ ἅπαντος τρόπου ἡθροίζεν ὥστε καὶ τὸν δέκαρχον τὸν κατακρύψαντά τε αὐτὸν καὶ διασώσαντα ἀποσφάξαι διὰ χιλίας δραχμάς, ἃς ἐκ τῶν σκευῶν αὐτοῦ ὑψηρῆσθαι ἔδοξεν.” Exc. Val. 261 (p. 607). “ ^[p. 212] 10. ^[2] ὅτι ὁ Ὅθων ἀνεχώρησεν ἐκ τῆς μάχης, λέγων μὴ δύνασθαι μάχην ἀνδρῶν ὁμοφύλων ἰδεῖν, ὥσπερ ἐκ δικαίας τινὸς πράξεως αὐταρχήσας, ἀλλ' οὐ τοὺς τε ὑπάτους καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τὸν τε αὐτοκράτορα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ φονεύσας.” Exc. Val. 262 (p. 697). “ ^[3] ἔπεσον δὲ τέσσαρες μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν ἐκατέρωθεν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ταῖς πρὸς τῇ Κρεμῶνι γενομέναις: ὅπου γέ φασι πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἄλλα τε φανῆναι σημεῖα, καὶ τινα ὄρνιν ἐξαίσιον, ὅποιον οὐπώποτε ἐωράκεσαν, ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ὀφθῆναι.” Xiph. 191, 19-23 R. St. “ 11. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ τοῦ Ὅθωνος ἐκρατήθησαν, ἡγγεῖλε μὲν ἱππεὺς τις τὸ πάθος τῷ Ὅθωνι: καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε ἠπιστεῖτο πρὸς τῶν παρόντων ἔτυχον γὰρ πολλοὶ κατὰ τύχην ἡθροισμένοι καὶ οἱ μὲν δραπέτην οἱ δὲ καὶ πολέμιον αὐτὸν ἀπεκάλουν, ‘εἶθε γάρ’ ἔφη ‘ψευδῇ ταῦτα, Καῖσαρ, ἦν: ^[2] ἡδιστα γὰρ ἂν νικῶντός σου ἐτελεύτησα. νῦν δὲ ἐγὼ μὲν πάντως οἰχήσομαι, ἵνα μὴ μέ τις ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ καταπεφευγῆναι δόξῃ, σὺ δὲ βουλεύου, ὥς τῶν πολεμίων οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἤξόντων, ὃ τι χρή πρᾶξαι.’ καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἑαυτὸν 12. διεχρήσατο: πιστευσάντων δ' αὐτῷ ἐκ τούτου πάντων καὶ ἐτοιμῶς ἐχόντων ἀναμαχέσασθαι ^[p. 214] αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ συχνοὶ ἦσαν καὶ ἕτεροι οὐκ ὀλίγοι ἐκ Παννονίας παρήσαν: ὃ τε μέγιστον ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἐστίν, ἐφίλουν τε τὸν Ὅθωνα καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτῷ εὐνοίαν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς γλώττης μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς εἶχον’, καὶ ἰκετευόντων αὐτὸν μὴθ' ἑαυτὸν μῆτε σφᾶς προδοῦναι, ἐπέσχε μέχρις οὗ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀγγελίαν συνεδραμον, καὶ τι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν διαλαλήσας ἔπειτα πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐδημηγόρησεν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ ταῦτα. 13. ‘ἀρκεῖ τὰ γεγονότα, ἀρκεῖ. μισῶ πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον, κἂν κρατῶ: φιλῶ πάντας Ῥωμαίους, κἂν μὴ ὁμολογῶσί μοι. νικάτω Οὐιτέλλιος, ἐπεὶ τοῦτο τοῖς θεοῖς ἔδοξε: σωζέσθωσαν καὶ οἱ ἐκείνου ^[2] στρατιῶται, ἐπεὶ τοῦτ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ. πολὺ γάρ που καὶ κρεῖττον καὶ δικαιότερόν ἐστιν ἕνα ὑπὲρ πάντων ἢ πολλοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑνὸς ἀπολέσθαι, καὶ μὴ βούλεσθαι δι' ἓνα ἄνδρα τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ῥωμαίων στασιάζειν καὶ τοσοῦτον

ὄχλον ἀνθρώπων φθείρεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ Μούκιος καὶ Δέκιος καὶ Κούρτιος καὶ Ῥήγουλος μᾶλλον ἂν ἐλοίμην ἢ Μάριος καὶ Κίννας καὶ Σύλλας, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τοὺς [3] ἄλλους εἴπω, γενέσθαι. μὴτ' οὗν βιάσησθέ με ἕνα τούτων ὧν μισῶ γενέσθαι, μήτε φθονήσητέ μοι ἕνα ἐκείνων ὧν ἐπαινῶ μιμήσασθαι: ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν κεκρατηκότα ἄπιτε καὶ ἐκείνον θεραπεύετε, ἐγὼ δ' αὐτὸς ἐμαυτὸν ἐλευθερώσω, ὅπως καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ ἅπαντες ἀνθρωποὶ μάθωσιν ὅτι τοιοῦτον αὐτοκράτορα εἴλεσθε ὅστις οὐχ [p. 216] ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν δέδωκε.” Xiph. 191, 23-192, R. St., Zon. 11, 15, p. 46, 1-12 D. “ 14. τοιαῦτα μὲν Ὅθων εἶπεν: οἱ δὲ δὴ στρατιῶται, ἐξ ὧν ἤκουον, καὶ ἐθαύμαζον ἅμα καὶ ἠλέουν εἴ τι πείσοιτο, καὶ δάκρυσί τε ἔκλαιον καὶ ἐθρήνουν, πατέρα τε ἀνακαλοῦντες καὶ παιδῶν καὶ γονέων φίλτερον ὀνομάζοντες. ‘ἐν σοί’ τε ‘καὶ ἡμεῖς σωζόμεθα’ ἔλεγον, ‘καὶ ὑπὲρ σοῦ πάντες [2] ἀποθανούμεθα.’ καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐπὶ πλείστον τῆς ἡμέρας ἐλέχθη, τοῦ τε Ὅθωνος τελευτῆσαι δεομένου καὶ ἐκείνων μὴ ἐφίεντων αὐτῷ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, πρὶν δὴ σιγᾶσας αὐτοὺς ἔφη ‘ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως χεῖρων τοῦ στρατιώτου τούτου γενήσομαι, ὃν αὐτοὶ ἐωράκατε ὅπως ἑαυτὸν διὰ τοῦτο μόνον ἀπέσφαξεν, ὅτι τὴν [3] ἡτταν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ αὐτοκράτορι ἠγγεilen: ἀλλ' ἀκολουθήσω πάντως αὐτῷ, ἵνα μηδὲν ἔτι τοιοῦτον μήτε ἴδω μήτε ἀκούσω. ὑμεῖς δέ, εἴπερ ὄντως φιλεῖτέ με, ἐάσατέ με ἀποθανεῖν ὡς βούλομαι, καὶ μὴ με ζῆσαι ἄκοντα ἀναγκάσητε, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τε τὸν κεκρατηκότα ἄπιτε καὶ ἐκείνον κολακεύετε.” Xiph. 192, 18-30 R. St., Exc. Val. 263 (p. 698). “ 15. [1.1] Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἔς τε τὸ δωματίον ἀνεχώρησε, [1a] καὶ τινὰ τοῖς τε οἰκείοις καὶ τῷ Οὐιτελλίῳ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐπιστείλας, τὰ τε γράμματα ὅσα τινὲς αὐτῷ κατ' ἐκείνου ἐγγράφεσαν ἔκαυσεν, ὥστε μηδένα ἐξ αὐτῶν φωραθέντα κινδυνεῦσαι, καὶ καλῶν ἕνα ἕκαστον τῶν παρόντων ἡσπάζετο αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐδίδου σφίσι χρήματα. κἂν τοῦτω παραχρῆς γενομένης στρατιωτῶν ἐξῆλθε, καὶ [p. 218] καταστήσας αὐτοὺς οὐ πρότερον ἀνεχώρησε πρὶν ἔς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἄλλους ἀλλαχοῦ πέμψαι. καὶ 1. [2] οὕτως ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ἔτι παραχῶδες ἐγίνετο, τι ξιφιδιον λαβὼν ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο. καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα οἱ στρατιῶται ἀνείλοντο πενθοῦντες καὶ ἔθαψαν, καὶ τινες ἑαυτοὺς ἐπέσφαξαν αὐτῷ. 2. τοῦτο τὸ τέλος τῷ Ὅθωνι ἐγένετο ζήσαντι μὲν ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη, ἔνδεκα ἡμερῶν δέοντα, [2a] ἄρξαντι δὲ ἡμέρας ἑνενήκοντα. ὅθεν καὶ τὴν ἀσέβειαν καὶ τὴν πονηρίαν τοῦ βίου συνεσκίασε. 2. [2] κάκιστα γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ζήσας κάλλιστα ἀπέθανε, καὶ κακουργότατα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀρπάσας ἄριστα αὐτῆς ἀπηλλάγη. [2b] οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται εὐθὺς μὲν ἐταράχθησαν καὶ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων πολλοὶ ἀνῆρέθησαν, ἔπειτα ὡμονόησαν καὶ προσκεχωρήκεσαν τοῖς κεκρατηκόσιν.” Xiph. 192, 30-193, 5, Zon. 11, 15, p. 46, 12-32 D. “[p. 220]”

“ 1. οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὡς ἤκουσαν τὸ τοῦ Ὅθωνος πάθος, παραχρῆμα, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, μετεβάλλοντο: τὸν τε γὰρ Ὅθωνα, ὃν πρότερον ἐπῆνουν καὶ νικᾶν ἠϋχοντο, ἐλοιδόρουν ὡς πολέμιον, καὶ τὸν Οὐιτέλλιον, ᾧ κατηρῶντο, καὶ ἐπῆνουν καὶ αὐτοκράτορα 2. ἀνηγόρευον: οὕτω που οὐδὲν πάγιόν ἐστι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως οἱ τε ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἀνθοῦντες καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ ταπεινοτάτῳ ὄντες ἀστάθμητὰ τε αἰροῦνται, καὶ πρὸς τὰς τύχας σφῶν καὶ

τοὺς ἐπαίνους καὶ τοὺς ψόγους τὰς τε τιμὰς καὶ τὰς ἀτιμίας λαμβάνουσι.” Xiph. 193, 12-23 R. St. “ [2a] ὄντι δ’ ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ὁ θάνατος ἡγγέλθη τοῦ Ὁθωνος. ἦλθε δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἡ γυνὴ καὶ τὸ παιδίον, καὶ ἐπὶ βήματος Γερμανικόν τε καὶ αὐτοκράτορα ἐπωνόμασεν, ἐξάετες ὄν.” Zon. 11, 16, “ π. 47, 3-7 δ. 3. ὅτι ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος εἶδεν ἐν Λουγδούνῳ μονομάχων ἀγῶνας καὶ ἐν Κρεμῶνι, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἀρκοῦντος τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπολωλότων καὶ τότε καὶ ἔπι ἀτάφων ἐρριμμένων, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐθεάσατο: διεξήλθε γὰρ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χωρίου ἐν ᾧ ἔκειντο, ἐμπιμπλάμενος τῆς θέας ὥσπερ τότε νικῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἐκέλευσέ σφας οὐδ’ ὡς ταφῆναι.” Exc. Val. 264a (p. 698). “ 4. Οὐιτέλλιος δὲ ἐπεὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐγένετο, τᾶλλά [p. 222] τε διώκει ὥς που καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ, καὶ πρόγραμμα ἔθετο δι’ οὗ τοὺς ἀστρολόγους ἐξήλασε, προειπὼν σφισιν ἐντὸς τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας, ῥητὴν τινα τάξας, ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἰταλίας χωρῆσαι. καὶ αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνοι νυκτὸς ἀντιπροθέντες γράμματα ἀντιπαρήγγειλαν ἀπαλλαγῆναι ἐκ τοῦ βίου ἐντὸς τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν ᾗ ἐτελεύτησε. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἀκριβῶς τὸ γενησόμενον προέγνωσαν.” Xiph. 193, 23-30 R. St., Zon. 11, 16, p. 47, 7-13 D. “ 2. αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ τε τρυφῇ καὶ τῇ ἀσελγείᾳ προσκείμενος οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν ἄλλων οὔτε τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων οὔτε τῶν θείων ἐφρόντιζεν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς τοιοῦτος οἶος περὶ τὰ κατηλεῖα καὶ περὶ τὰ κυβευτήρια τοὺς τε ὀρχηστὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀρματηλάτας ἐσπουδακέναι, καὶ ἀμύθητα ἐς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀνήλiske, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ δανειστὰς [2] πολλοὺς εἶχε: τότε δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον, ἅτε καὶ ἐν τοσαύτῃ ἐξουσίᾳ καθεστώς, ὕβριζε, καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐδαπάνᾳ ἀπλήστως τε ἐμφοροῦμενος καὶ συνεχῶς πάντα ἐξεμῶν, ὡς μόνῃ τῇ παρόδῳ τῶν σιτίων τρέφεσθαι. ἀφ’ οὗπερ καὶ ἀνταρκεῖν ἐδύνατο, ἐπεὶ οἱ γε συνδειπνοῦντες αὐτῷ πάνυ κακῶς ἀπήλλασσον. [3] πολλοὺς γὰρ αἰεὶ τοὺς πρῶτους ὁμοσίτους ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ πολλάκις καὶ παρ’ αὐτοῖς εἰσιπᾶτο: ὅθεν χαριέστατον λόγον εἶς τις αὐτῶν Οὐίβιος Κρίσπος ἀρρωστήσας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἡμέρας τινὰς ἀπολειφθεὶς τοῦ συσσιτίου, εἶπεν, ὅτι ‘εἰ [p. 224] 3. μὴ ἐνενοοῆκειν, πάντως ἂν ἀπωλώλειν.’ καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ χρόνος ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ σύμπας οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ μέθαι τε καὶ κῶμοι: πάντα τε γὰρ τὰ τιμιώτατα καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ, ἵνα μὴδὲν εἴπω πλεον, καὶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης συνήγετο, καὶ πολυτελῶς οὕτως ἐσκευάζετο ὥστε Οὐιτελλιανὰ καὶ νῦν ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ πέμματα καὶ [2] ἄλλα τινὰ βρώματα ὀνομάζεσθαι. καὶ τί ἂν τις καθ’ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν καταλέγοι, ὅποτε πρὸς πάντων ὁμοίως ὠμολόγηται δύο τε αὐτὸν μυριάδας μυριάδων καὶ δισχιλίας πεντακοσίας ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνῳ ἐς τὰ δεῖπνα δεδαπανηκέναι; ἐπέλιπέ τε γὰρ πάντα τὰ πολυτίμητα δι’ ὀλίγου, [3] καὶ ἔδει πάντως αὐτὰ εἶναι. μίαν γοῦν ποτε λοπάδα πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδων ἐσκεύασε, γλώττας τε καὶ ἐγκεφάλους καὶ ἥπατα καὶ ἰχθύων καὶ ὀρνίθων τινῶν ἐμβαλὼν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀδύνατον ἦν κεραμεῖν τηλικαύτην γενέσθαι, ἀργύρου τε ἐποιήθη καὶ ἔμεινε πολὺν χρόνον ὥσπερ τι ἀνάθημα, μέχρις οὗ Ἀδριανὸς αὐτὴν ἰδὼν συνεχώνευσεν.” Xiph. 193, 30-194, R. St., Exc. Val. 264b (p. 698). “ 4. ἐπειδὴ δ’ ἅπαξ τούτων ἐμνημόνευσα, καὶ ἐκεῖνο προσθήσω ὅτι οὐδὲ τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῇ τοῦ Νέρωνος τῇ χρυσιῇ ἤρκεῖτο, ἀλλὰ καίτοι σφόδρα καὶ τὸ ὄνομα

καὶ τὸν βίον τὰ τε ἐπιτηδεύματα αὐτοῦ πάντα καὶ ἀγαπῶν καὶ ἐπαινῶν, ὅμως ἡτιᾶτο αὐτὸν κακῶς τε ὠκηκέναι καὶ κατασκευῇ καὶ ὀλίγῃ καὶ ταπεινῇ κεχρηῆσθαι λέγων: νοσήσας γοῦν ποτε ἐζήτησεν οἴκημα ἐν ᾧ κατοικήσει: [2] οὕτως αὐτὸν οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκείνου τι ἤρρεσεν. ἡ γυνὴ δὲ αὐτοῦ Γαλερία ὡς ὀλίγου ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ [p. 226] κόσμῳ εὐρεθέντος κατεγέλα. ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀναλίσκοντες οὐδ' ἡρίθμουν τι ἐκ τῶν δαπανωμένων, οἱ δὲ δὴ δειπνίζοντες σφας ἐν μεγάλῳ κακῷ ἐγίγνοντο, πλὴν ὀλίγων οἷς τι ἀνταπεδίδου. [3] καίπερ οὐδ' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας οἱ αὐτοὶ εἰστίων αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἄλλοι μὲν ἀκρατίσασθαι παρεῖχον, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀριστῆσαι, ἕτεροι δὲ δεῖπνον, ἕτεροι μεταδόρπιά τινα πλησμονῆς παραμύθια: πάντες γὰρ οἱ δυνάμενοι ἐστιᾶν αὐτόν ἐσπούδαζον: ὥστε ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν διελθουσῶν ἑκατὸν ἐς τὸν δεῖπνον μυριάδας ἀναλῶσαι. καὶ τὰ γενέθλια αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας ἐωρτάζετο, καὶ θηρία καὶ ἄνδρες πολλοὶ ἀπεκτάνθησαν.” Xiph. 194, 25-195, R. St., Exc. Val. 265 and 266 (p. 698). “ 6. οὕτω δὲ βιοῦς οὐκ ἄμοιρος ἦν παντάπασι καὶ καλῶν ἔργων. τὸ τε γὰρ ἐπὶ Νέρωνος καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ Γάλβου τοῦ τε Ὁθωνος κοπὲν νόμισμα ἐτήρησεν, οὐκ ἀγανακτῶν ταῖς εἰκόσιν αὐτῶν: καὶ ὅσα πῖσιν ἐδεδώρητο ἐφύλαξε, μηδένα μηδὲν [2] ἀφελόμενος. καὶ οὕτε τὰ ἐκ τῶν συντελειῶν ἐποφληθέντα ἀπήτησεν οὕτε οὐσίαν τινὸς ἐδήμευσεν, ὀλίγους μὲν πάνυ τῶν τὰ Ὁθωνος πραξάντων ἀποκτείνας, μηδὲ τὰς ἐκείνων μέντοι οὐσίας τοὺς προσήκοντάς σφω ἀποστερήσας. καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις δὲ τῶν πρότερόν ποτε θανατωθέντων ἐδωρήσατο πάντα ὅσα ἐτι ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ εὔρητο. [3] ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰς διαθήκας τῶν ἀντιπολεμησάντων αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις πεσόντων ἡτιάσατο. ἀπηγόρευσε δὲ καὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς καὶ τοῖς [p. 228] ἵππεῦσι μονομαχεῖν ἢ ἐν ὀρχήστρῳ θεᾶν τινὰ παρέχειν. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἐπηρεῖτο.” Zon. 11, 16, p. 48, 9-24 D. “ 4. [4] ὅτι τοιοῦτου τοῦ Οὐιτελλίου ὄντος οὐδ' οἱ στρατιῶται ἐσωφρόνουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὕβρεις καὶ ἀσέλγεια ὑπ' αὐτῶν πολλὰ πανταχοῦ ὁμοίως ἐγίγνοντο.” Exc. Val. 267 (p. 701). “ 5. ὅτι Βιτέλλιος ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ ἡσπάσατο. ἐκείνη δὲ ἐπικλήθῃ ἦν, καὶ ὅτε πρῶτον ἤκουσεν ὅτι Γερμανικὸς ἐπεκλήθῃ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτῆς, εἶπεν ‘ἐγὼ μὲν Βιτέλλιον ἀλλ' οὐ Γερμανικὸν τέτοκα.’” Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. (p. 218 Mai.= p. 199, 24-28 Dind.). “ 5. γέλωτα μέντοι ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος πολλοῖς παρεῖχεν: ὀρώντες γὰρ ἄνδρα σεμνοπροσωποῦντα ἐν ταῖς δημοσίαις προσόδοις ὃν ἤδεσαν πεπορνευκότα, καὶ ἐφ' ἵππου βασιλικοῦ καὶ ἐν χλαμύδι πορφυρᾷ ὃν ἡπίσταντο τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς [2] ἵππους ἐν τῇ οὐνετιῳ ἐσθῆτι ψήχοντα, μετὰ τε ὄχλου στρατιωτῶν τοσοῦτου ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνιόντα ὃν οὐδεὶς οὐδ' ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πρότερον διὰ τὸ τῶν δανειστῶν πλῆθος ἰδεῖν ἐδύνατο, καὶ προσκυνούμενον πρὸς πάντων ὃν οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ φιλησαί ποτε ἠδέως ἠθέλησεν, οὐκ [3] εἶχον ὅπως τὸν γέλωτα κατὰσχωσιν. οἱ γε μὴν δεδανεικότες τι αὐτῷ ἐξορμῶντος μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν Γερμανίαν ἐπελάβοντο, καὶ μόλις ποτὲ κατεγγυηθέντα αὐτόν ἀπέλυσαν: τότε δὲ οὐχ ὅσον οὐ κατεγέλων ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐθρήνουν καὶ κατεκρύπτοντο, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀναζητῶν τὴν τε σωτηρίαν [p. 230] σφίσιν ἐς τὸ ὀφειλόμενον ἀποδιδόναι ἔλεγε καὶ τὰ συμβόλαια ἀπῆτει.” Xiph. 195, 4-17 R. St., Exc. Val. 268 (p. 701). “ 7. ἐπεφοῖτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς

θεάτροις συνεχῶς, ὥστε καὶ τὸν ὄμιλον ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἀναρτᾶσθαι. συνεσίτει δὲ καὶ τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις ἀπλοιοῦμενος, ὥστε αὐτοὺς ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον προσεταιρίζεσθαι: τῶν τε ἀρχαίων συμβιωτῶν ἰσχυρῶς ἐμέμνητο, καὶ πάνυ αὐτοὺς ἐτίμα, οὐκ ἀπαξιῶν γνωρίζειν τινὰ αὐτῶν δοκεῖν, ὥσπερ ἕτεροι: πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ μέγα παραλόγως ἀρθέντες μισοῦσι τοὺς συνειδόμενους σφίσι τὴν ἐν τῷ πρὶν ταπεινότητα.” Xiph. 195, 17-24 R. St. “^[2] ὅτι ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος, Πρίσκου ἀντειπόντος τι αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ τινα καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καταδραμόντος, ἐπεκαλέσατο μὲν τοὺς δημάρχους ὡς καὶ τῆς παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐπικουρίας δεόμενος, οὔτε δὲ αὐτὸς τι κακὸν τὸν Πρίσκον ἡργάσατο οὐθ’ ὑπ’ ἐκείνων παθεῖν εἴασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔφη ὅτι ‘μὴ ταράττεσθε, πατέρες, μηδ’ ἀγανακτεῖτε, εἰ δύο ἄνδρες ἐξ ὑμῶν διηνέχθην τι πρὸς ἀλλήλους.’ καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐξ ἐπεικείας ^[3] πεποικέναι ἔδοξεν: ὅτι μέντοι τὸν Νέρωνα μιμεῖσθαι ἠθέλε καὶ ἐνήγισεν αὐτῷ, καὶ ὅτι τοσαῦτα ἐς τὰ δεῖπνα ἀνήλυσεν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι καὶ κατὰ τοῦτ’ ἔχαιρον, οἱ δὲ δὴ νοῦν ἔχοντες ἤχθοντο, εὖ ἐπιστάμενοι ὅτι οὐδὲ τὰ ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης χρήματα ἀρκέσει.” Exc. Val. 269 (p. 701). “ 8. πράττοντι δ’ αὐτῷ ταῦτα σημεῖα πονηρὰ ^[p. 232] ἐγένετο. καὶ γὰρ κομήτης ἀστήρ ἐφαντάσθη καὶ ἡ σελήνη παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς δις ἐκκλειομέναι ἔδοξε: καὶ γὰρ τεταρταῖα καὶ ἑβδομαῖα ἐσκιάσθη. καὶ ἡλίους δύο ἅμα, ἕκ τε τῶν ἀνατολῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν δυσμῶν, τοῦτον μὲν ἀσθενῆ καὶ ὥχρὸν ^[2] ἐκείνον δὲ λαμπρὸν καὶ ἰσχυρόν, εἶδον. ἐν τε τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἴχνη πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα δαιμόνων τινῶν ὡς καὶ κατελθλυθότων ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐωράθη: καὶ ἔλεγον οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην αὐτῷ ἐγκεκοιτηκότες ὅτι ὁ τοῦ Διὸς ναὸς αὐτόματος σὺν πολλῷ κτύπῳ ἠνεώχθη, ὥστε τινὰς τῶν φυλάκων ἐκπλαγέντας ἀποψῦξαι.” Xiph. 195, 24-196, R. St., Zon. 11, 16, p. 48, 25-32 D. “ 3. ἐπράχθη δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ ὁ Οὐέσπασιανὸς Ἰουδαίοις πολεμῶν, πυθόμενος τὴν τε τοῦ Οὐιτελλίου καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ὁθωνος ἐπανάστασιν, ἐβουλεύετο ὅ τι χρὴ πράξαι.” Xiph. 196, 1-3 R. St. “^[3a] ὅτι ὁ Οὐέσπασιανὸς οὗτ’ ἄλλως προπετιῆς ἦν, καὶ ἐς ταραχῶδη οὕτω πράγματα καὶ πάνυ ὥκνει ἑαυτὸν καθεῖναι.” Exc. Val. 270 (p. 701). “ 3. ^[2] ἢ τε γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐνοία πολλή ἦν πρὸς αὐτόν ‘ἢ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Βρεττανίας δόξα καὶ ^[p. 234] ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ἐν χερσὶ πολέμου εὐκλεία τὸ τε ἐπεικὲς καὶ φρόνιμον αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν σφᾶς ἦγε 4. τῆς παρ’ αὐτοῦ προστατείας’, καὶ ὁ Μουκιανὸς ἰσχυρῶς προσέκειτο, ἐλπίσας τὸ μὲν ὄνομα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνον ἔξειν, αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ τὴν ἐπείκειαν αὐτοῦ ἰσομοιρήσειν. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται τούτων, καὶ περιστάντες τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ, 9. ἀνείπον αὐτὸν αὐτοκράτορα. ἐγεγόνει μὲν οὖν καὶ σημεῖα καὶ ὄνειροι τῷ Οὐέσπασιανῷ τὴν μοναρχίαν ἐκ πολλοῦ δηλοῦντα, ἃ καὶ ἐν τῷ ^[2] αὐτοῦ βίῳ λελέξεται: τῆνικαῦτα δὲ τὸν μὲν Μουκιανὸν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐιτέλλιον ἐπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ἐπιδὼν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Ἰουδαίους ἄλλοις πιστὴν προστάξας ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐκομίσθη καὶ συνέλεγε χρήματα, ὧν πού καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐχρηζε, καὶ σῖτον, ἔν’ ὅτι πλεῖστον ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀποστείλῃ. ^[3] οἱ δ’ ἐν τῇ Μυσίᾳ στρατιῶται τὰ κατ’ αὐτὸν πεπυσμένοι οὐδ’ ἀνέμειναν τὸν Μουκιανόν· ἐπυνθάνοντο γὰρ ἐν ὁδῷ εἶναι, ἀλλ’ Ἀντώνιον Πρίμον, φυγόντα μὲν ἐκ καταδίκης ἐπὶ τοῦ Νέρωνος,

καταχθέντα δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Γάλβα καὶ τοῦ Παννονικοῦ στρατοπέδου ἄρχοντα, εἶλοντο ^[4] στρατηγόν. καὶ ἔσχεν οὗτος τὴν αὐτοτελῆ ἀρχὴν μῆθ' ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος μῆθ' ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας αἵρεθείς. τοσαύτη τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἦν πρὸς τε τὸν Οὐιτέλλιον ὀργὴ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀρπαγὰς ὁρμῇ: οὐ γάρ που καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι ταῦτα ἔπραττον ἢ ἵνα τὴν Ἰταλίαν διαρπάσωσιν. ὁ καὶ ἐγένετο. 10. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος αὐτὸς μὲν ^[p. 236] κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινε, τῇ τε ἄλλῃ τρυφῇ καὶ τῷ χρώμενος καὶ ἀγῶνας μονομαχίας τιθείς ἔν οἱ καὶ ὁ Σπόρος μέλλων ἐν κόρης ἀρπαζομένην σχήματι ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἐσαχθήσεσθαι οὐκ ἠνεγκ' τὴν ὕβριν ἀλλ' ἐαυτὸν προαπέσφαξε, τῷ δὲ δ' Ἀλινῶ τὸν πόλεμον μεθ' ἐτέρων προσέταξε· ^[2] Ἀλινὸς δὲ ἐς μὲν τὴν Κρεμῶνα ἀφίκετο καὶ προκατέσχευεν αὐτήν, ὁρῶν δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτῃ τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτοῦ ἔκ τε τῆς τρυφῆς τῆς ἐν τ' Ῥώμῃ ἐκδεδιητημένους καὶ ἔκ τῆς ἀγυμνασίᾳ διατεθρυμμένους, τοὺς δὲ ἐτέρους καὶ τοῖς σώμασι γεγυμνασμένους καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐρρωμένους, ^[3] ἐφοβεῖτο: καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπειδὴ καὶ λόγοι αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ Πρίμου φίλοι ἦλθον συνεκάλεσε τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ τὴν τε τοῦ Οὐιτελλίου ἀσθένειαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἰσχὺν τὸν τε ἐκατέρου τρόπον εἰπὼν μεταστῆναι ἔπεισε. καὶ τότε μὲν τὰς τε τοῦ Οὐιτελλίου εἰκόνας ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων καθεῖλον καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ^[4] Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἀρχήσεσθαι ὤμοσαν, διαλυθέντες δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰς σκηνὰς ἀναχωρήσαντες μετενόησαν, καὶ ἐξαίφνης σπουδῇ καὶ θορυβῷ πολλῷ συστραφέντες τὸν Οὐιτέλλιον αὐτοκράτορα αὐθις ἀνεκάλουν καὶ τὸν Ἀλινὸν ὡς καὶ προδιδόντα σφᾶς ἔδησαν, οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τῆς ὑπατείας αὐτοῦ προτιμήσαντες: τοιαῦτα γὰρ τὰ τῶν πολέμων τῶν ἐμφυλίων μάλιστα ἔργα ἐστίν. 11. παραχρῆς οὖν καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο πολλῆς ἐν τῷ τοῦ Οὐιτελλίου στρατοπέδῳ οὔσης, ἐπήρξεσεν αὐτὴν ἡ σελήνη τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκλιποῦσα, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἐσκιάσθη· καίτοι τοῖς θορυβουμένοις καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα φόβον φέρει ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ αἱματώδης καὶ ^[p. 238] μέλαινα ἄλλα τέ τινα χρώματα φοβερά ἀφιεῖσα ^[2] ὤφθη. οὐ μέντοι καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο οὔτε μετέθεντο οὔτε ἐνέδοσαν, ἀλλ' ἐς χεῖρας ἀλλήλοις ἐλθόντες προθυμότηα ἠγωνίσαντο § 3, καίπερ ἄναρκοι, ὥσπερ εἶπον, οἱ Οὐιτελλίειοι ὄντες: ὁ γὰρ Ἀλινὸς ἐν τῇ Κρεμῶνι ἐδέδετο § 5'." Xiph. 196, 3-197, R. St. " ^[3] ὅτι οἱ στρατιῶται τοῦ Οὐιτελλίου τῷ Πρίμῳ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ, ὑπαγομένῳ σφᾶς δι' ἀγγέλων ὁμολογήσαι, ἀντέπεμψαν ἀντιπαραינוῦντες τὰ τοῦ Οὐιτελλίου προελέσθαι, καὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες τοῖς στρατιώταις αὐτοῦ προθυμότηα ἠγωνίσαντο. ^[4] ἡ δὲ δὴ μάχη οὐκ ἐκ παρασκευῆς ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' αἰφνίδιον ὀλίγοι τινὲς τῶν ἱππέων, οἷα παρὰ τοῖς ἀντιστρατοπεδευομένοις γίγνεται, τοῖς προνομεύουσι τῶν ἐτέρων ἐπέθεντο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο προσβοηθούντων ἐκατέροις ἀμφοτέρωθεν, ὥς που ἐτύγχανον αἰσθόμενοι, τοτὲ μὲν τοῖς τοτὲ δὲ τοῖς ἄλλων, εἴτ' ἄλλων, καὶ πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέων, καὶ ταῖς μάχαις αἱ τροπαὶ συνεγίνοντο, μέχρις οὔ ^[5] πάντες συνέδραμον. τότε δὲ ἐς τάξιν τινὰ ὥσπερ ἐκ συγκειμένου κατέστησαν, καὶ ἐν κόσμῳ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποίησαν καίπερ ἄναρκοι: ὁ γὰρ Ἀλινὸς ἐν τῇ Κρεμῶνι ἐδέδετο." Ex. UG 40a. " 12. κάκ τούτου καὶ ἴση καὶ ἀντίρροπος οὐκ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἡ μάχη αὐτῶν ἐγένετο. καὶ γὰρ νύξ αὐτὴν ἐπέλαβε, καὶ οὐδὲ ἐκείνη σφᾶς

διέλυσε: τοσαύτη που καὶ ὀργῇ καὶ προθυμίᾳ, καίπερ καὶ γνωρίζοντες ἀλλήλους καὶ [p. 240] [2] λαλοῦντες σφίσιν, ἐχρήσαντο. ὅθεν οὐθ' ὁ λιμὸς αὐτοὺς οὔτε ὁ κάματος οὔτε τὸ ψῦχος οὐθ' ὁ σκότος, οὐ τὰ τραύματα, οὐχ οἱ φόνοι, οὐ τὰ λείψανα τῶν προτέρων νεκρῶν, οὐχ ἡ μνήμη τοῦ πάθους, οὐ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μάτην ἀπολομένων [3] ἐπράννε: τοιαύτη τις μανία ἀμφοτέρους ὁμοίως κατέσχε, καὶ οὕτως ἐπεθύμουν, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς τοῦ χωρίου μνήμης παροξυνόμενοι, οἱ μὲν καὶ τότε νικῆσαι, οἱ δὲ μὴ καὶ τότε ἡττηθῆναι, ὥσπερ ἀλλοφύλοις τισὶν ἀλλ' οὐκ οἰκείους πολεμοῦντες, καὶ μέλλοντες ἐξ ἑκατέρου πάντες ὁμοίως ἢ αὐτίκα ἀπολέσθαι ἢ μετὰ ταῦτα δουλεῦν. [4] οὐκουν οὐδὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἐνέδοσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκκαμόντες, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλάκις καὶ ἀναπαυόμενοι καὶ ἐς λόγους ἀλλήλοις 13. ἰόντες, ὅμως ἠγωνίζοντο. καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν, ὅσாகις γε καὶ ἡ σελήνη διέλαμψε 'νέφη γὰρ αὐτὴν πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα διαθέοντα συνεχῶς συνέκρυπτεν', ἔστι μὲν ὅτε μαχομένους αὐτοὺς, ἔστι δ' ὅτε ἐστηκότας καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ δόρατα ἐπερηρειαμένους [2] ἢ καὶ καθημένους. καὶ τοτὲ μὲν κοινῇ τε συνεβόων, οἱ μὲν τὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸν οἱ δὲ τὸν Οὐιτέλλιον ὀνομάζοντες, καὶ ἀντιπροεκαλοῦντο ἀλλήλους, λοιδοροῦντές τε καὶ ἐπαινοῦντες ἑκάτερον: τοτὲ δὲ καὶ ἰδία ἄλλος ἄλλω διελάλει: 'συστρατιῶτα, πολῖτα, τί ποιοῦμεν; τί μαχόμεθα; δεῦρ' ἦκε πρὸς ἐμέ.' 'μὴ δῆτα, ἀλλὰ [3] σὺ πρὸς ἐμέ.' καὶ τί ἂν τις τοῦτο θαυμάσειεν, ὅποτε καὶ σιτία καὶ ποτὰ αἱ τε γυναῖκες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τοῖς τοῦ Οὐιτέλλιου στρατιώταις τῆς νυκτὸς ἐνεγκοῦσαι ἔδωκαν, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι αὐτοὶ τε [p. 242] ἔφαγον καὶ ἔπιον καὶ τοῖς ἀντιμαχομένοις ὠρεγον. καὶ τις αὐτῶν ὀνομαστὶ τὸν ἀντίπαλον ἀνακαλέσας 'πάντες γὰρ ὡς εἰπεῖν καὶ ἥδεσαν ἀλλήλους [4] καὶ ἐγνώριζον' 'λαβέ' ἔφη, 'συστρατιῶτα, καὶ φάγε: οὐ γὰρ ξίφος ἀλλὰ ἄρτον σοι δίδωμι. λαβέ καὶ πίε: οὐ γὰρ ἀσπίδα ἀλλὰ κύλικά σοι προτείνω, ἴνα, ἂν τε σὺ ἀποκτείνης ἐμὲ ἂν τε καὶ ἐγὼ σέ, ῥᾶον ἀπαλλάξωμεν, μηδὲ ἐκλελυμένη καὶ ἀσθενεῖ τῇ χειρὶ μήτε σὺ ἐμὲ κατακόψης μήτε [5] ἐγὼ σέ. ταῦτα γὰρ ἡμῖν ζῶσιν ἔτι τὰ ἐναγίσματα καὶ Οὐιτέλλιος καὶ Οὐεσπασιανὸς διδοῦσιν, ἴν' ἡμᾶς τοῖς πάλαι νεκροῖς καταθύσωσι.' τοιαῦτα ἂν τινες πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰπόντες, καὶ ἀναπασσάμενοι χρόνον πινὰ καὶ ἐμφαγόντες, πάλιν ἂν ἐμαχέσαντο: εἴτ' ἀνασχόντες αὐθις αὖ 14. συνέβαλον. καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτω δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς μέχρι τῆς ἕως ἐγένετο.”

Xiph. 197, 17-198, R. St., Exc. UG 40a. “ [2] ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τοιόνδε τι δύο ἄνδρες τῶν Οὐεσπασιανείων ἔπραξαν: ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἰσχυρῶς ἐκ μηχανήματός τινος ἐβλάπτοντο, ἀσπίδας τε ἐκ τῶν Οὐιτέλλειων σκύλων ἥρπασαν, καὶ τοῖς ἀντικαθεσθηκόσι μιχθέντες ἔλαθον μέχρι τῆς μηχανῆς ἐλθόντες ὡς καὶ ἐκείνων ὄντες, καὶ τὰ σχοινία αὐτῆς διέκοψαν ὥστε μηδὲν ἔτι βέλος [3] αὐτῆς ἀφεῖναι δυναθῆναι. ἀνατείλαντος δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκ τοῦ τρίτου στρατοπέδου τοῦ Γαλατικοῦ καλουμένου καὶ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ χειμάζοντος, τότε δὲ κατὰ τύχην ἐν τῇ τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ μερίδι ὄντος, ἀσπασαμένων [p. 244] αὐτὸν ἐξαίφνης, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν, ὑποτοπήσαντες οἱ τοῦ Οὐιτέλλιου τὸν Μουκιανὸν παρεῖν᾽ ἡλλοιώθησαν καὶ ἡττηθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς βοῆς ἔφυγον: οὕτω που καὶ τὰ βραχύτατα μεγάλως τοὺς [4] προκεκμηκότας ἐκπλήσσει. καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἀναχωρήσαντες χεῖρας τε προετείνοντο καὶ

ἰκέτευον. καὶ ἐπεὶ μηδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐσήκουεν, ἔλυσαν τὸν ὕπατον, καὶ αὐτὸν τῇ τε ἐσθῇ τῇ ἀρχικῇ καὶ ταῖς ῥάβδοις κοσμήσαντες ἔπεμψαν ἀνθ' ἰκετηρίας, καὶ ἔτυχον τῶν σπονδῶν: ὁ γὰρ Ἀλινὸς διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ διὰ τὴν συμφορὰν ἔπεισε ῥαδίως τὸν Πρίμον τὴν ὁμολογίαν σφῶν δέξασθαι. 15. ὡς μέντοι αἱ τε πύλαι ἠνεώχθησαν καὶ ἐν ἀδείᾳ πάντες ἐγένοντο, τότε δὴ ἐξαίφνης πανταχόθεν τε ἅμα ἐσέδραμον καὶ διήρπασαν πάντα καὶ ἐνέπρησαν. καὶ ἐγένετο καὶ τοῦτο τὸ πάθος οὐδενὸς τῶν δεινοτάτων σμικρότερον: ἦ τε γὰρ πόλις καὶ μεγέθεσι καὶ κάλλεσιν οἰκοδομημάτων ἦσκητο, καὶ χρήματα παμπληθῆ καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ τῶν ξένων ἐς αὐτὴν συνεληλύθει. [2] καὶ τὰ γε πλεῖω κακὰ οἱ Οὐιτελλίειοι ἔδρασαν, ἅτε καὶ τὰς οἰκίας τῶν πλουσιωτάτων καὶ τὰς διεξόδους τῶν στενωπῶν ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες: οὐδὲ ἔμελεν αὐτοῖς εἰ ὦν ὑπερεμαχέσαντο, τοὺτους ἀπώλεσαν, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἡδίκημένοι καὶ κεκρατηκότες ἔβαιον ἔσφαττον, ὥστε καὶ πέντε μυριάδας σὺν τοῖς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πεσοῦσιν ἀπολέσθαι. 16. Οὐιτέλλιος δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο τῆς ἥττης, τέως μὲν ἐθορυβεῖτο, τὸ μὲν τι καὶ ὑπὸ σημείων [p. 246] παραχθεὶς ἑύσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ θυσίαν τινά, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ δημηγοροῦντος τοῖς στρατιώταις, γῦπες πολλοὶ προσπεσόντες τὰ τε ἱερὰ διεσκέδασαν καὶ ἐκείνον ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ὀλίγου δεῖν κατέβαλον', [2] τὸ δὲ δὴ πλέον διὰ τὴν ἀγγελίαν τῆς ἥττης: καὶ τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν διὰ ταχέων ἐς Ταρρακῖναν ἔπεμψε, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὴν πόλιν κατέσχευεν ὄχυράν οὔσαν, τῶν δὲ δὴ τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ στρατηγῶν ἐπόντων τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐξεπλάγη τε καὶ [3] ἐξέστη. ἐν μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν οὔτε ἔπραττεν οὔτε ἐφρόνει, ἐμπλήκτως δὲ ἄνω καὶ κάτω ἐφέρετο ὥσπερ ἐν κλύδωνι. καὶ γὰρ ἀντείχετο τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ πάντως ὡς καὶ πολεμήσων παρεσκευάζετο, καὶ ἐκὼν αὐτὴν ἠφίει καὶ πάντως ὡς [4] καὶ ἰδιωτεύσων ἡτοιμάζετο. καὶ ἔστι μὲν ὅτε τὴν χλαμύδα τὴν πορφυρᾶν ἐφόρει καὶ ξίφος παρεζώννυτο, ἔστι δ' ὅτε ἐσθῆτα φοιᾶν ἀνελάμβανεν. ἐδημηγόρει τε καὶ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἄλλοτε ἄλλα, ἐπὶ τε μάχην καὶ ἐπὶ διαλλαγὰς αὐτοῦς [5] προτρεπόμενος: καὶ τότε μὲν καὶ ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ δὴ ἐπεδίδου, τότε δὲ καὶ τὸ παιδίον κατέχων καὶ φιλῶν προέβαλλεν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐλεηθησόμενος. τοὺς τε δορυφόρους ἀπῆλλαττε καὶ πάλιν μετεπέμπετο, τὸ τε παλάτιον ἐκλιπῶν ἂν καὶ ἐς τὴν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ οἰκίαν ἀπιὼν εἴτα ἀνεκομίζετο, ὥστε ἐκ τούτων καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους [6] τοὺς πλείστους τῆς σπουδῆς παραλῦσαι. ὁρῶντες γὰρ αὐτὸν δεῦρο καὶ ἐκέισε ἐμμανῶς ἄττοντα οὔτε [p. 248] τι τῶν προστασσομένων σφίσι ὁμοίως ἔπραττον, οὔτε τὰ ἐκείνου μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ σφῶν διεσκόπουν. καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα αὐτὸν ἐκερτόμουν, καὶ μάλιστα ὅποτε τὸ ξίφος ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῖς τε ὑπάτοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις βουλευταῖς ὠρεγεν ὡς καὶ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν δι' αὐτοῦ ἀποτεθειμένος: οὔτε γὰρ ἐκείνων τις λαβεῖν αὐτὸ ἐτόλμα, καὶ οἱ προσεστηκότες ἐχλευάζον. 17. πρὸς οὖν ταῦτα, ἄλλως τε καὶ πελάζοντος ἤδη τοῦ Πρίμου, συνελθόντες οἱ τε ὕπατοι Γάιος Κυνῖντιος Ἀπτικὸς καὶ Γναῖος Καϊκίλιος Σίμπλιξ καὶ Σαβῖνος 'συγγενῆς οὗτος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ τῶν τε ἄλλων οἱ πρῶτοι γνώμας ἐποίησαντο, καὶ ἐς τὸ παλάτιον ὤρμησαν σὺν τοῖς ὁμογνωμονοῦσί σφισι στρατιώταις ὡς ἡ πείσοντες ἦ καὶ καταναγκάσοντες [2] τὸν Οὐιτέλλιον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπειπεῖν. καὶ

περιπεσόντες τοῖς Κελτοῖς τοῖς φρουροῦσιν αὐτὸν κακῶς ἀπήλλαξαν, καὶ
τοῦτου ἔς τε τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνέφυγον, κἀνταῦθα τὸν Δομιτιανὸν τὸν τοῦ
Οὔεσπασιανοῦ υἱὸν καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ ^[3] μεταπεμφάμενοι ἐν
φυλακῇ ἐποίησαντο. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ προσβαλόντων σφίσι τῶν ἐναντίων
χρόνον μὲν τινα ἀπεκρούσαντο αὐτοὺς, ἐμπρησθέντων δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸ
Καπιτώλιον ἀνεκόπησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός. καὶ οὕτως ἐπαναβάντες οἱ τοῦ
Οὔτελλίου στρατιῶται ἐκείνων τε συχνοὺς ἐφόνευσαν, καὶ διαρπάσαντες
πάντα τὰ ἀνακείμενα κατέπρησαν ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸν ναὸν τὸν μέγαν, τὸν τε
Σαβῖνον καὶ τὸν Ἀττικὸν συλλαβόντες ^[4] πρὸς τὸν Οὔτελλιον ἔπεμψαν.
Δομιτιανὸς δὲ καὶ Σαβῖνος ὁ τοῦ Σαβίνου παῖς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ θορυβῷ
διαφυγόντες ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ^[p. 250] καὶ ἐς οἰκίας τινὰς κατακρυφθέντες
ἐλελήθησαν.” Xiph. 198, 17-200, R. St. “ 18. ὡς δὲ οἱ Οὔεσπασιάνειοι
στρατιῶται πλησίον ἐγένοντο, οὓς ὁ τε Κύντος Πετίλιος Κερεάλιος
βουλευτὴς τῶν πρώτων καὶ τῷ Οὔεσπασιανῷ κατ’ ἐπιγαμίαν τινὰ προσήκων
καὶ ὁ Πρίμος ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἦγον ὃ γὰρ Μουκιανὸς οὕτω ἐπεφθάκει, ἐν παντὶ
δέους ὁ Οὔτελλιος ἐγεγόνει. ^[2] οὗτοι γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν δι’ ἀγγέλων τινῶν, ἔς
τε λάρνακας μετὰ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ἐς ἀρρίχους ὁπώραν ἐχοῦσας ἢ καὶ
καλάμους ὀρνιθευτῶν τὰ γράμματα ἐμβαλλόντων, πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει
δρώμενα ἐμάνθανον καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνα ἐβουλευόντο: τότε δ’ ἰδόντες τὸ πῦρ τὸ
ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ὥσπερ ἐκ φρυκτωρίας αἰρόμενον ^[3] ἠπείχθησαν. καὶ
πρότερος τῇ πόλει μετὰ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ὁ Κερεάλιος προσμιξίας ἡττήθη μὲν
κατ’ αὐτὴν τὴν ἔσοδον, ἅτε ἐν στενῷ μεθ’ ἱππέων ἀποληφθεῖς, ἐπέσχε δ’
οὖν τὸ τι κακὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων γενέσθαι: ὁ γὰρ Οὔτελλιος
καταλλαγήσεσθαι ἐκ τῆς ἐπικρατείας ἐλπίσας τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀνεχαίτισεν,
καὶ τὴν βουλὴν συναγαγὼν πρέσβεις παρ’ αὐτῶν μετὰ τῶν ἀειπαρθένων
πρὸς τὸν Κερεάλιον ἔπεμψεν. 19. ὡς δ’ οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐσήκουσεν, ἀλλ’
ὀλίγου καὶ ἀπέθανον, πρὸς τε τὸν Πρίμον καὶ αὐτὸν ἤδη προσπελάζοντα
ἦλθον, καὶ λόγου μὲν ἔτυχον, ^[2] ἔπραξαν δὲ οὐδέν. οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται ἐπ’
αὐτὸν ὀργῇ ἐχώρησαν, καὶ τὴν τε φυλακὴν τῆς τοῦ Τιβέριδος γεφύρας
ῥαδίως ἔλυσαν ἔπειδὴ γὰρ ^[p. 252] ἐνστάντες ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκώλυσάν σφας
διελθεῖν, διενήξαντο τὸν ποταμὸν οἱ ἱππεῖς καὶ κατὰ τοῦ νώτου σφίσιν
ἐπέπεσον’, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἄλλοι ἄλλῃ ἐσβαλόντες οὐδὲν ὃ τι τῶν
δεινотάτων οὐκ ^[3] ἐποίησαν: πάντα γὰρ ὅσα τῷ Οὔτελλίῳ καὶ τοῖς σὺν
αὐτῷ οὗσιν ἐπεκάλουν, καὶ δι’ ἃ καὶ πολεμεῖν σφίσιν ἐσκήπτοντο, ἔδρασαν,
καὶ ἀπέκτειναν πολλοὺς. συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τε τῶν στεγῶν τῷ
κεράμῳ βαλλόμενοι καὶ ἐν ταῖς στενοχωρίαις ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν
ἀνθισταμένων ὠθούμενοι ἐκόπτοντο, ὥστε ἐς πέντε μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων
ὅλας ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις φθαρῆναι.” Xiph. 200, 25-201, R. St., Exc. UG
40b (p. 396). “ 20. τῆς οὖν πόλεως πορθουμένης, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν
μὲν μαχομένων τῶν δὲ φευγόντων, καὶ ἤδη καὶ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων, ὅπως τῶν
ἐσεληλυθότων δόξαντες εἶναι σωθῶσι, καὶ ἀρπαζόντων τινὰ καὶ
φονευόντων, ὁ Οὔτελλιος φοβηθεὶς χιτωνίσκον τε ῥακώδη καὶ ῥυπαρὸν
ἐνέδου, καὶ ἐς οἴκημα σκοτεινόν, ἐν ᾧ ἐτρέφοντο κύνες, ἐκρύφθη, γνῶμην
ἔχων τῆς νυκτὸς ἐς τὴν Ταρρακῖναν πρὸς τὸν ^[2] ἀδελφὸν ἀποδρᾶναι. καὶ

αὐτὸν ἀναζητήσαντες οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ ἐξευρόντες ‘οὐ γάρ που καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ λαθεῖν ἀκριβῶς ἐδύνατο ἅτε αὐτοκράτωρ γεγονὼς’ συνέλαβον φορυτοῦ καὶ αἵματος ἀνατεπλησμένον ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν κυνῶν ἐλελύμαντό, κάκ τοῦτου τὴν ἐσθῆτα αὐτοῦ περιρρήξαντες καὶ τῷ χεῖρι ἐς τοῦπίσω δῆσαντες, τῷ τε αὐχένι σχοινίον περιθέντες, κατήγαγον ἐκ τοῦ παλατίου τὸν Καίσαρα τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ ἐντρυφήσαντα, [p. 254] [3] καὶ διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ ἔσυραν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τὸν ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ δίφρῳ πολλακίς σοβήσαντα, ἔς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐσεκόμισαν τὸν Αὐγουστον ἐν ᾗ πολλακίς ἐδημηγόρησε. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐρράπιζον αὐτόν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ γενείου ἔτιλλον: πάντες δὲ ἔσκωπτον καὶ πάντες ὕβριζον, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὴν ἀσωτίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπιλέγοντες, ἐπειδὴ 21. καὶ γαστροπίων ἦν. αἰσχυνομένου τε ἐπὶ τοῦτοις αὐτοῦ καὶ κάτω βλέποντος, οἱ στρατιῶται ξιφιδίοις αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὸ γένειον ὑπέκέντουν, ἵνα καὶ ἄκων ἄνω βλέπῃ. ἰδὼν δὲ τοῦτο Κελτός τις οὐκ ἤνεγκεν, ἀλλ’ ἐλεήσας αὐτόν ‘ἐγὼ σοι’ ἔφη ‘βοηθήσω, ὡς μόνως δύναμαι.’ καὶ ὁ μὲν [2] ἐκεῖνόν τε ἔτρωσε καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔσφαξεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος ἀπέθανεν ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος, ἀλλ’ ἐσύρετο ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἀνδριάντες αὐτοῦ, πολλῶν μὲν γελοιῶν πολλῶν δὲ καὶ αἰσχυρῶν ἐπιλεγομένων σφίσιν. ἐπειδὴ τε καὶ ὑπεραλγῆσας καὶ οἷς ἔπαθε καὶ οἷς ἤκουεν ‘ἀλλ’ ἔγωγε’ ἔφη ‘αὐτοκράτωρ ποτὲ ὑμῶν ἐγενόμην,’ ὀργισθέντες οἱ στρατιῶται πρὸς τε τοὺς ἀναβαθμοὺς αὐτὸν ἦγαγον, κάνταῦθα κατέκοψαν, τὴν τε κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποτεμόντες κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν περιήγαγον. 22. καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ὕστερον ἢ γυνὴ ἔθαψε, ζήσαντα μὲν ἐπὶ τέσσαρα ἔτη καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἡμέρας ἑννέα καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα, ἄρξαντα δὲ ἑνιαυτὸν ἡμερῶν δέκα ἀποδέοντα: ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὥρμησε μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ταρρακίνης ὡς καὶ βοηθήσων αὐτῷ, μαθὼν δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὅτι τέθνηκε, καὶ [p. 256] περιπεσὼν ἅμα τοῖς ἐπ’ αὐτὸν πεμφθεῖσιν, ὠμολόγησε μὲν σφίσιν ὡς καὶ σωθισόμενος, [2] ἐσφάγη δ’ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον. καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Οὐιτελλίου παῖς ἐπαπώλετο, καίτοι τοῦ Οὐιτελλίου μηδὲνα μῆτε τῶν τοῦ Ὅθωνος μῆτε τῶν τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ συγγενῶν ἀποκτείναντος. πεπραγμένων δὲ τούτων ἤδη ὡς ἐκάστων ὁ Μουκιανὸς ἐπῆλθε, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα συνδιώκει τῷ Δομιτιανῷ, καὶ ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτὸν παραγαγὼν δημηγορῆσαι ἐποίησε καίπερ καὶ παιδίσκον ὄντα. καὶ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δραχμὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἕκαστος ἔλαβεν.” Xiph. 201, 18-202, R. St. “[p. 258]”

“ 1. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἔσχεν, αὐτοκράτωρ δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ὁ Οὐεσπασιανὸς καὶ πρὸς τῆς βουλῆς ἀπεδείχθη, καὶ Καίσαρες ὁ τε Τίτος καὶ ὁ Δομιτιανὸς ἐπεκλήθησαν, τὴν τε ὑπατον ἀρχὴν ὁ Οὐεσπασιανὸς καὶ ὁ Τίτος ἔλαβον, ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ὁ 2. δὲ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ ὦν. ἐγγόνει μὲν οὖν καὶ σημεῖα καὶ ὀνείρατα τῷ Οὐεσπασιανῷ τὴν μοναρχίαν ἐκ πολλοῦ προδηλοῦντα. βοῦς τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ ἐν ᾧ τὴν διαίταν ὡς πλήθει ἐποιεῖτο, δειπνοῦντι προσελθὼν ὥκλασε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ὑπέθηκε· καὶ κύων αὐθις, σίτον αὐτοῦ καὶ τότε αἱρουμένου, χεῖρα ἀνθρωπίνην 3. ὑπὸ τὴν τράπεζαν ὑπέβαλε. κυπάρισσός τε περιφανῆς πρόρριζος ὑπὸ σφοδροῦ πνεύματος ἀνατραπεῖσα, ἔπειτα τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ὑφ’ ἐαυτῆς ἀνέστη καὶ ἀκμάζουσα διετέλεσε. καὶ παρ’ ὀνείρατος ἔμαθεν ὅτι, ὅταν ὁ Καῖσαρ Νέρων ὀδόντα ἀποβάλῃ, αὐταρχήσῃ· καὶ τοῦτο τε τὸ κατὰ τὸν ὀδόντα τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ συνηνέχθη, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Νέρων ἔδοξε ποτε ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις τὸν τοῦ Διὸς ὄχον ἐς τὴν τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ 4. οἰκίαν ἐσαγαγεῖν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐρμηνεύσεως ἔχρηζεν, Ἰώσηπος δὲ ἀνὴρ Ἰουδαῖος ἀχθεῖς τε [p. 260] ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πρότερον καὶ δεθεῖς ἐγέλασε καὶ ἔφη ‘νῦν μὲν με δῆσεις, μετ’ ἐνιαυτὸν δὲ λύσεις αὐτοκράτωρ γενόμενος.’” Xiph. 203, 8-30 R. St. “ 2. οὕτω μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁ Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν, ὡς καὶ ἄλλοι τινές, ἐγγέγεννητο, ἀπόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔτι ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ὁ Μουκιανὸς τὰ τοῦ κράτους πάντα μετὰ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ διώκει. μέγα γὰρ τι, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῷ Οὐεσπασιανῷ δεδωκώς, ἠγάλλετο διὰ τε τᾶλλα καὶ ὅτι ἀδελφὸς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ὠνομάζετο, καὶ ὅτι ἐξουσίαν εἶχε πάνθ’ ὅσα ἐβούλετο καὶ ἄνευ τῆς αὐτοῦ προστάξεως διοικεῖν καὶ γράφειν, τὸ ὄνομα [2] αὐτοῦ μόνον ἐπιγραφόμενος. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γε καὶ δακτύλιον πεμφθέντα οἱ ἐφόρει, ἵνα τὸ αὐτοκρατορικὸν σφράγισμα τὰ σημαινόμενα λαμβάνῃ. πολλοῖς γοῦν ἀρχάς τε καὶ ἐπιτροπείας αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ Δομιτιανὸς ἔδοσαν, καὶ ἐπάρχους 3. ἄλλους ἐπ’ ἄλλοις καὶ ὑπάτους ἀπέδειξαν. τὸ τε σύμπαν οὕτω πάντα αὐτοὶ ὡς αὐταρχοῦντες ἐποιοῦν ὥστε τὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸν ἐπιστεῖλαι ποτε τῷ Δομιτιανῷ ὅτι ‘χάριν ἔχω σοι, τέκνον, ὅτι με ἔῃς ἄρχειν καὶ οὐδέπω με καταλέλucas.’” Xiph. 203, 30-204, R. St., Zon. 11, 17, p. 52, 11-21 D. “[5] ὁ δὲ Μουκιανὸς καὶ χρήματα ἀμύθητα πανταχόθεν, ὅθεν ἐνεδέχετο, ἐς τὸ δημόσιον ἤθροισεν ἐτοιμότατα, τὴν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἐπηγορίαν ἐς ἑαυτὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἀναδεχόμενος. νεῦρα γὰρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας τὰ χρήματα αἰεὶ ποτε εἶναι ἔλεγε, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκείνῳ πανταχόθεν [p. 262] πορίζειν παρήνει καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς ἀργυρολογῶν διετέλεσε, καὶ μεγάλα μὲν καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ χρήματα παρεσκεύασε, μεγάλα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκτήσατο. 3. ἐν δὲ τῇ Γερμανίᾳ ἄλλαι τε κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐπαναστάσεις ἐγένοντο, οὐδὲν ἐς μνήμην ἐμοὶ γοῦν ὄφελος φέρουσαι, καὶ τι συνηνέχθη καὶ θαύματος ἄξιον. Ἰούλιος γὰρ τις Σαβῖνος, ἀνὴρ πρῶτος τῶν Λιγγόνων, δύναμιν καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδίαν ἤθροισε καὶ Καῖσαρ ἐπωνομάσθη, λέγων ἕγγονος τοῦ Καίσαρος [2] τοῦ Ἰουλίου εἶναι. ἡττηθεὶς δὲ μάχαις τισὶν ἔφυγεν ἐς ἀγρόν τινα, κάνταῦθα ἐς

μνημείον ὑπόγειον, προκαταπρήσας αὐτό, κατέδυν· καὶ οἱ μὲν ζῶντο
κάκεινον ἀπολωλέναι, ὃ δὲ ἐκρύφθη τε ἐν αὐτῷ ἐννέα ἔτη μετὰ τῆς
γυναικός, καὶ [3] παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς δύο ἄρρενας ἐκύησε. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν
Γερμανίᾳ Κερεάλιος μάχαις πολλαῖς κατεστήσατο, ὧν ἐν μιᾷ τοσοῦτον
πλῆθος τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων κατεκόπη ὥστε τὸν
παραρρέοντα ποταμὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πεπτωκότων ἐπισχεθῆναι. [4] ὁ δὲ
Δομιτιανός, ἐξ ὧν ἔδρασε καὶ πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἐξ ὧν ἐπεχείρησεν ὁὐδὲν γὰρ
μικρὸν ἐπενόει φοβηθεὶς τὸν πατέρα, πρὸς τε τῷ Ἀλβανῷ τῷ ὄρει τὰ πολλὰ
διατριβὼν καὶ τῷ ἔρωτι τῆς Δομιτίας τῆς Κορβούλωνος θυγατρὸς προσέχων
ἐτύγχανε· ταύτην γὰρ Λουκίου Λαμίου Αἰλιανοῦ τοῦ ταύτης ἀνδρὸς
ἀποσπάσας τότε μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἐρωμέναις ἐποιήσατο, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἔγημεν.”
Χιρ. 204, 10-205, R. St. “ [p. 264] 4. ὁ δὲ Τίτος τῷ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους πολέμῳ
ἐπιταχθεὶς ἐπεχείρησε μὲν αὐτοὺς λόγοις τισὶ καὶ ἐπαγγελίαις
προσποιεῖσθαι, μὴ πεισθεῖσι δὲ ἐπολέμει. καὶ μάχαις ταῖς μὲν πρῶταις
ἀγχώμαλα ἀγωνισάμενος, εἴτα κρατήσας ἐπολιόρκει τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. ἦν δὲ
τρία αὐτοῖς σὺν [2] τῷ τοῦ νεῶ περιβόλῳ τείχει. οἱ τε οὖν Ῥωμαῖοι χώματὰ τε
πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἐχώννυσαν καὶ μηχανήματα προσῆγον, τοὺς τε ἐπεκθέοντας
ὁμόσε ἰόντες ἀνέστελλον, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους ἐπόντας σφενδόναις καὶ
τοξεύμασιν ἀνεῖργον· συχνοὺς γὰρ καὶ παρὰ βαρβάρων τινῶν βασιλέων [3]
πεμφθέντας εἶχον· καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτόθεν πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ παρὰ
τῶν ὁμοήθων, οὐχ ὅτι ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν πέραν
Εὐφράτου, προσβεβοηθηκότες βέλη τε καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ λίθους, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ
χειρὸς τοὺς δὲ καὶ μηχαναῖς, σφοδρότερον ἅτε καὶ ἀφ’ ὑψηλοῦ, [4] ἔπεμπον,
καὶ ἐπεξιόντες, ἧ καὶρὸς ἦν, νυκτὸς τε καὶ ἡμέρας τὰς μηχανὰς
ἐνεπίμπρασαν, συχνοὺς ἀπεκτίννυσαν, τὸν τε χοῦν ὑπορύσσοντες ὑπὸ τὸ
τεῖχος ὑφείλκον, καὶ τοὺς κριοὺς τοὺς μὲν βρόχοις ἀνέκλων τοὺς δὲ
ἀρπάγαις ἀνέσπων· ἐτέρων τὰς προσβολὰς σανίσι παχείαις συμπεπηγμέναις
τε καὶ σεσιδηρωμέναις, ἃς πρὸ τοῦ [5] τείχους καθίεσαν, ἀπέστρεφον. τὸ δὲ
δὴ πλεῖστον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ ἀνδρίᾳ ἐκακοπάθουν, καὶ [p. 266] φαῦλον καὶ
πόρρωθεν ὕδωρ ἐπαγόμενοι. οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι διὰ τῶν ὑπονόμων ἴσχυον·
ὀρωρυγμένους τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἔνδοθεν ὑπὸ τὰ τεῖχη μέχρι πόρρω τῆς χώρας
εἶχον, καὶ δι’ αὐτῶν διεξιόντες τοῖς τε ὕδρευομένοις ἐπετίθεντο καὶ τοὺς
ἀποσκεδαννυμένους ἐλυμαίνοντο· οὗς ὁ Τίτος πάντας ἀπέφραξε. 5. κὰν τοῖς
ἔργοις τοῦτοις πολλοὶ ἐπιτρώσκοντο ἐκατέρων καὶ ἔθνησκον, καὶ ὁ Τίτος
αὐτὸς λίθῳ τὸν ἀριστερὸν ὦμον ἐπλήγη, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τὴν [2] χεῖρα
ἀσθενεστέραν εἶχεν. χρόνῳ δ’ οὖν ποτε τοῦ ἔξω περιβόλου οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι
ἐπέβησαν, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῶν δύο περιβόλων στρατοπεδευσάμενοι πρὸς τὸ
ἕτερον τεῖχος προσέβαλλον. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὁμοία ἢ πρόσμιξις σφισιν
ἐγίγνετο· ἀναχωρήσαντες γὰρ ἐς ἐκεῖνο πάντες ῥᾶον, ἅτε καὶ ἐκ βραχυτέρας
τῆς τοῦ κύκλου περιβολῆς, ἡμύνοντο. [3] ὁ οὖν Τίτος κήρυγμα αὐθις, ἁδειαὶν
αὐτοῖς διδοὺς, ἐποιήσατο. ἐκεῖνοί τε οὖν καὶ ὥς ἐκαρτέρουν, καὶ οἱ
ἀλίσκομενοι οἱ τε αὐτομολοῦντές σφω τὸ ὕδωρ τῶν Ῥωμαίων λανθανόντως
ἔφθειρον, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὓς που μόνους ἀπολάβοιεν ἔσφαζον. ὁ δὲ
Τίτος οὐκέτ’ οὐδένα [4] αὐτῶν ἐδέχετο. κὰν τοῦτῳ καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τινὲς

ἄδημονήσαντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐν χρόνῳ πολιορκίᾳ, καὶ προσυποτοπήσαντες ὅπερ
 ἐθρυλεῖτο, ἀπόρρητον ὄντως τὴν πόλιν εἶναι, μετέστησαν: καὶ αὐτοὺς
 ἐκεῖνοι, καίπερ σπανίζοντες τῆς τροφῆς, περιεῖπον ἐς ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ καὶ
 αὐτοὶ αὐτομόλους ἔχειν. [p. 268] 6. διακοπέντος δὲ τοῦ τείχους μηχαναῖς κατὰ
 μὲν τοῦτο οὐδ' ὥς ἐάλωσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πολλοὺς ἐσβιαζομένους
 ἀπέκτειναν: ἐμπρήσαντες δὲ τινα τῶν ἐγγὺς οἰκοδομημάτων ὥς καὶ ἐκ
 τούτου τοὺς Ῥωμαίους περαιτέρω, κἄν τοῦ κύκλου κρατήσωσι, προσελθεῖν
 κωλύοντες, τὸ τε τεῖχος ἐλυμήναντο καὶ τὸν περίβολον τὸν περὶ τὸ
 τεμένισμα ἄκοντες συγκατέφλεξαν, καὶ ἀνέωχθη ἡ ἔσοδος ἡ ἐπὶ τὸν [2] νεῶν
 τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. οὐ μὴν καὶ παραχρῆμα διὰ τὸ δεισιδαιμονῆσαι ἐσέδραμον,
 ἀλλ' ὅπερ ποτε, τοῦ Τίτου σφᾶς καταναγκάσαντος, εἴσω προεχώρησαν. καὶ
 αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πολὺ προθυμότερον, ὥσπερ τι ἔρμαιον τὸ πρὸς τε τῷ
 ναῷ καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μαχόμενοι πεσεῖν εὐρηκότες, ἡμύνοντο, ὁ μὲν δῆμος
 κάτω ἐν τῷ προναῷ, οἱ δὲ βουλευταὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀναβασμοῖς, οἱ θ' ἱερῆς ἐν
 αὐτῷ [3] τῷ μεγάρῳ τεταγμένοι. καὶ οὐ πρότερόν γε ἐνίκηθησαν, καίπερ
 ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλῷ πλείους μαχόμενοι, πρὶν ὑποπρησθῆναι τι τοῦ νεῶ: τότε
 γὰρ ἐθελούσιοι οἱ μὲν ξίφεσι σφας τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων περιέπειρον, οἱ δὲ
 ἀλλήλους ἐφόνεον, ἄλλοι ἐαυτοὺς κατεχρῶντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ πῦρ ἐσεπήδων.
 καὶ ἐδόκει πᾶσι μὲν, μάλιστα δὲ ἐκείνοις, οὐχ ὅτι ὄλεθρος ἀλλὰ καὶ νίκη
 καὶ σωτηρία εὐδαιμονία τε εἶναι, ὅτι τῷ ναῷ συναπώλλυντο. 7. ἐάλωσαν δ'
 οὖν καὶ ὥς ἄλλοι τε καὶ [p. 270] ὁ Βαργιόρᾱς ὁ ἄρχων αὐτῶν: καὶ μόνος γε
 οὗτος ἐν τοῖς ἐπινικίοις ἐκολάσθη. [2] οὕτω μὲν τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ
 τοῦ Κρόνου ἡμέρᾳ, ἣν μάλιστα ἔτι καὶ νῦν Ἰουδαῖοι σέβουσιν, ἐξώλετο. καὶ
 ἀπ' ἐκείνου διδραχμον ἐτάχθη τοὺς τὰ πάτρια αὐτῶν ἔθι περιστελλόντας τῷ
 Καπιτωλίῳ Διὶ κατ' ἔτος ἀποφέρειν. καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τὸ μὲν τοῦ
 αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα ἀμφοτέροι ἔλαβον, τὸ δὲ διὰ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ οὐδέτερος
 ἔσχε: καίτοι τὰ τε ἄλλα αὐτοῖς, ὅσα ἐπὶ τηλικαύτῃ νίκῃ εἰκὸς ἦν, καὶ
 ἀψίδες τροπαιοφόροι ἐψηφίσθησαν.” Exc. UG (pp. 396-399), Xiph. 205,
 2-13 R. St. “ 8. τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐσελθόντος ὁ
 Νεῖλος παλαιστῇ πλέον παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπελάγισεν: ὅπερ
 οὐπώποτε πλὴν ἅπαξ γεγονέναι ἐλέγετο. καὶ Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ αὐτὸς
 τυφλὸν τέ τινα καὶ ἕτερον οὐκ ἀρτίχειρα, προσελθόντας οἱ ἐξ ὀψεως
 ὄνειράτων, τοῦ μὲν τὴν χεῖρα πατήσας τοῦ δὲ τοῖν [2] ὀφθαλμοῖν
 προσπτύσας, ὑγιεῖς ἀπέφηνε. τὸ μὲν θεῖον τοῦτοις αὐτὸν ἐσέμνυνεν, οὐ
 μέντοι καὶ οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ἔχαιρον αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ ἤχθοντο, ὥστε μὴ
 μόνον ἰδίᾳ ἀλλὰ καὶ δημοσίᾳ καὶ σκώπτειν αὐτὸν καὶ λοιδορεῖν.
 προσδοκήσαντες γὰρ μέγα τι παρ' αὐτοῦ λήψεσθαι, ὅτι πρῶτοι αὐτὸν
 αὐτοκράτορα ἐπεποιήκεσαν, οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν εὖροντο ἀλλὰ καὶ
 προσεπράσσοντο [3] χρήματα. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως παρ' [p. 272] αὐτῶν
 ἐξέλεξε, μηδὲνα πόρον, μηδὲ τὸν τυχόντα μηδ' εἰ ἐπαίτιός τις ἦν,
 παραλείπων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὁσίων πάντων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ὁμοίως
 χρηματιζόμενος: πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τέλη τὰ μὲν τινα ἐκλελειμμένα ἀνενεώσατο,
 τὰ δὲ καὶ νομιζόμενα προσεπηύξησε, καινὰ τε ἕτερα προσκατεστήσατο. [4] τὸ
 δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ ὑπηκόῳ τῇ τε Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ μετὰ

ταῦτα ἐποίησεν. οἱ δ' οὖν Ἀλεξανδρεῖς διὰ τε ἐκεῖνα, καὶ ὅτι καὶ τῶν βασιλείων τὸ πλεῖστον ἀπέδοτο, χαλεπῶς φέροντες ἄλλα τε ἐς αὐτὸν ἀπερρίπτουν καὶ ὅτι 'Ἐξ ὀβολοὺς προσαιτεῖς,' ὥστε καὶ τὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸν ^[5] καίπερ ἐπαικέστατον ὄντα χαλεπῆναι, καὶ κελεῦσαι μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἔξ ὀβολοὺς κατ' ἄνδρα ἐσπραχθῆναι, βουλευσασθαι δὲ καὶ τιμωρίαν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι: αὐτὰ τε γὰρ τὰ λεγόμενα προπηλακισμόν εἶχε, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ κατακεκλασμένου τοῦ τε ἀναπαίστου σφῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι οὐκ ὀργῇ ^[6] οἱ ἐνεποιεῖ. τοῦ δ' οὖν Τίτου ἐξαιτησαμένου αὐτοὺς τούτων ὁ Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐφείσατο. ἐκεῖνοι δ' αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀπέσχοντο ἀλλὰ μέγα πάννυ ἀθρόοι ἐν συνόδῳ τινὶ κοινῇ πρὸς τὸν Τίτον ἐξεβόησαν, εἰπόντες αὐτὸ τοῦτο 'συγγινώσκωμεν αὐτῷ: οὐ ^[7] γὰρ οἶδε καισαρεῦειν.' καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτω τὸτ' ἐρριποκινδύνουν, καὶ τῆς ἀσελγείας, ὑφ' ἧς αἰεὶ ποτε κακῶς ἀπαλλάσσουσιν, ἄδην ἐνεφοροῦντο, ^[p. 274] 9. τῇ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐπαικείᾳ ἀποχρώμενοι: ὁ δὲ ἐκείνους μὲν εἶα, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπέστειλε, τὴν τε ἀτιμίαν τῶν καταψηφισθέντων ἐπὶ ταῖς λεγομέναις ἀσεβείαις ὑπὸ Νέρωνος καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἀρξάντων, τῶν τε ζώντων καὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων ὁμοίως, ἀπαλείφω, καὶ τὰς γραφὰς τὰς ἐπὶ ^[2] τοιοῦτοις ἐγκλήμασι καταλύνων. τοὺς τε ἀστρολόγους ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐξώρισε, καίτοι πᾶσι τοῖς ἀρίστοις αὐτῶν χρώμενος αὐτός, ὥστε καὶ διὰ Βάρβιλλον τινα ἄνδρα τοιουτότροπον ἀγῶνα τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις ἱερὸν ἄγειν συγχωρήσαι: ὅπερ οὐδεμιᾷ ἄλλῃ πόλει ἐνεμειν." Xiph. 205, 13-206, R. St., Exc. Val. 271 (p. 701 s#3.). "[2a] τὴν μὲν οὖν Αἴγυπτον δι' ὀλίγου κατεστήσατο, καὶ σῖτον πολὺν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς: τὸν δὲ υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Τίτον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καταλελοιπῶς πορθῆσαι αὐτά, τὴν ἐκείνων ἀνέμεινε ἅλωσιν, ἵνα μετὰ τοῦ υἱέος ἐπανέλθῃ πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην. τριβομένου δὲ χρόνου ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τὸν μὲν Τίτον ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὀλκάδος ἐπιβὰς ἐς Λυκίαν ἔπλευσε, κάκειθεν τὰ μὲν πεζῇ τὰ δὲ ναυτιλλόμενος ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐκομίσθη." Zon. 11, 17, p. 52, 28-53, D. "[3] ὁ δὲ Οὐεσπασιανὸς μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσεληλύθει, καὶ Μουκιανῷ μὲν ἄλλοις τε τῶν πρώτων ἐν τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ ἐνέτυχε, Δομιτιανῷ δὲ ἐν Βενεουεντῷ. ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ συνειδότος ὧν τε ἐφρόνει καὶ ὧν ἐπεποιήκει οὐτε ἐθάρσει, καὶ ^[4] προσέτι καὶ μωρίαν ἔστιν ὅτε προσεποιεῖτο. ἐν γοῦν τῷ Ἀλβανῷ χωρίῳ τὰ πλεῖστα διάγων ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ γελοῖα ἔπραττε, καὶ τὰς ^[p. 276] μυίας γραφεῖσις κατεκέντει. τοῦτο γὰρ εἰ καὶ ἀνάξιον τοῦ τῆς ἱστορίας ὄγκου ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι γε ἱκανῶς τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῦ ἐνδείκνυται, ἀναγκαίως ἔγραψα, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι καὶ μοναρχήσας ^[5] ὁμοίως αὐτὸ ἐποιεῖ. ὅθεν οὐκ ἀχαρίτως τις εἶπε πρὸς τὸν ἐρωτήσαντα 'τί πράττει Δομιτιανός;' ὅτι 'ιδιάζει τε, καὶ οὐδὲ μυῖα αὐτῷ παρακάθηται.' 10. ὁ δὲ Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐκείνου μὲν ἐταπείνου τὸ φρόνημα, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους πάντας οὐχ ὡς αὐτοκράτωρ ἀλλ' ὡς ιδιώτης, μνήμη τῆς προτέρας αὐτοῦ τύχης, ἔδεξιοῦτο." Xiph. 206, 7-20 R. St. "[1a] ἐλθὼν δ' ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τῷ δήμῳ παρέσχηκε δωρεάς, καὶ τὰ τεμένη καὶ τὰ δημόσια ἔργα τὰ πεπονηκότα ἀνελάμβανε, καὶ τὰ ἥδη ἐφθαρμένα ἐπανεσκεύαζε, καὶ συντελουμένοις αὐτοῖς οὐ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπέγραφεν ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν πρώτως δομησαμένων." Zon. 11, 17, p. 53,

9-14 D. “^[2] τὸν τε νεῶν τὸν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ εὐθὺς οἰκοδομεῖν ἤρξατο, αὐτὸς τε τοῦ χοῦ πρῶτος ἐκφορήσας καὶ δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι κελεύσας, ἵνα καὶ τῷ λοιπῷ πλήθει ἀπαραίτητον τὸ διακόνημα γένηται.” Xiph. 206, 20-24 R. St. “^[2a] τὰς τε οὐσίας τῶν ἐναντιωθέντων αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις πεσόντων τοῖς παισὶν ἐκείνων ἢ τοῖς ἄλλως οἰκείοις ἀφῆκε, καὶ τὰ συμβόλαια τὰ παλαιὰ τὰ τῷ δημοσίῳ προσήκοντα προσδιέφθειρε.” Zon. 11, 17, p. 53, 14-18 D. “^[3] Μεγαλοφρονέστατα δὲ αἰε ποτε ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ^[p. 278] ὅσα ἐχρῆν ἀναλώσας, καὶ τὰς πανηγύρεις πολυτελέστατα διαθείς, εὐτελέστατα διητᾶτο καὶ οὐδὲν ἔξω τῶν πάνυ ἀναγκαίων ἐδαπάνα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς κατηλείοις ἐφθόν τι πλὴν ὀσπρίων πιπράσκεσθαι ἐπέτρεπε. κάκ τοῦτου καὶ τὰ μάλιστα διέδειξεν ὅτι τὰς συλλογὰς τῶν χρημάτων οὐκ ἐς τὰς ἑαυτοῦ ἡδονὰς ἀλλ’ ἐς τὰς τοῦ δήμου χρείας ἐποιεῖτο.” Xiph. 206, 24-30 R. St. “^[3a] ὅτι Βεσπασιανὸς γέλωτα ὠφλίσκανε ὁσάκις ἀναλίσκων ἔλεγεν ὅτι ‘ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ αὐτὰ δαπανῶ.’” Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. 100 (p. 219 Mai = p. 201, 22-23 Dind.). “^[3b] ἦν δὲ οὔτε ἐξ εὐγενῶν οὔτε πλούσιος.” Zon. 11, 17, p. 53, 20-21 D. “^[4] καταστάσει δὲ τοῦ βίου τοιᾶδε ἐχρῆτο. ὀλίγα μὲν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ὥκει, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον ἐν τοῖς κήποις τοῖς καλουμένοις Σαλουστειοῖς διέτριβε, κἀνταῦθα τὸν βουλόμενον οὐχ ὅτι τῶν ^[5] βουλευτῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐσεδέχετο, καὶ τοῖς πάνυ φίλοις καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἔω ἔν τε τῇ εὐνῇ κείμενος συνεγίνετο, καὶ ἕτεροι ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτὸν ἡσπάζοντο. αἱ τε θύραι τῶν βασιλείων ἠνεωγμέναι διὰ πάσης τῆς ἡμέρας ἦσαν, καὶ φρουρὸς οὐδεὶς ἐν αὐταῖς ἐγκαθιστήκει. ἕς τε τὸ συνέδριον διὰ παντὸς ἐφοῖτα, καὶ περὶ πάντων αὐτοῖς ἐπεκοίνου, κἀν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πολλάκις ἐδίκασεν. ^[6] ὅσα τε μὴ ἐδύνατο αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ γήρωος ἀναλέγεσθαι, ἢ καὶ ὅσα ἀπὼν ἐπέστελλε τῇ βουλῇ, διὰ τῶν υἱέων αὐτοῦ ὡς τὸ πολὺ ἐκέλευεν ἀναγινώσκεσθαι, τιμῶν κἀν τούτῳ αὐτήν. συσσίτους τε ἔκ τε αὐτῶν ἐκείνων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ^[p. 280] καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν συχνοὺς ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ πολλάκις καὶ αὐτὸς παρὰ τοῖς πάνυ φίλοις ἐδείπνει. 11. τὸ τε σύμπαν τῇ μὲν προνοίᾳ τῶν κοινῶν αὐτοκράτωρ ἐνομιζέτο, ἕς δὲ δὴ τᾶλλα πάντα κοινὸς καὶ ἰσοδιαίτος σφισιν ἦν. καὶ γὰρ ἔσκωπε δημοτικῶς καὶ ἀντεσκώπτετο ἡδέως: εἴ τέ τινα γράμματα, οἷα εἴωθεν ἀνώνυμα ἐς τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας, προπηλακισμὸν αὐτῷ φέροντα, ἐξετέθη ποτὲ, ἀντεξετίθει τὰ πρόσφορα μηδὲν ^[2] ταραττόμενος. τοῦ τε Φοίβου προσελθόντος αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπολογουμένου ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῦ Νέρωνος ἐσκυθρωπακότα ποτὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ θεάτρου ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἐφ’ οἷς ἀσχημονοῦντα ἑώρα τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, ἐκέλευσε πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀπελθεῖν, τοῦ δὲ ἐρομένου ὅποι, ‘ἐς κόρακας’ εἶπεν, ὑπὲρ τούτου οὖν ἀπολογουμένου τοῦ Φοίβου οὔτε τι κακὸν αὐτὸν εἰργάσατο, οὔτε ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ ἄλλο οὐδὲν πλὴν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὅτι ‘ἐς κόρακας ^[3] ἀπελθε.’ τοῦ δὲ Οὐολογαίου ἐπιστείλαντος αὐτῷ οὕτως ‘βασιλεὺς βασιλέων Ἀρσάκης Φλαοῦίῳ Οὐεσπασιανῷ χαίρειν,’ οὔτε τι αὐτὸν ἠτιάσατο, καὶ ἀντέγραψε τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, μηδὲν τῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς ὀνομάτων προσθεῖς. 12. ἐπεὶ δὲ Πρίσκος Ἐλουίδιος ὁ τοῦ Θρασέου γαμβρὸς, τοῖς τε στωικοῖς δόγμασιν ἐντραφεὶς καὶ τὴν τοῦ Θρασέου παρρησίαν οὐκ

ἐν καιρῷ μιμούμενος, στρατηγῶν δὲ τῆνικαῦτα, οὔτε τι πρὸς τιμὴν τοῦ
 αὐτοκράτορος ἔδρα καὶ προσέτι καὶ βλασφημῶν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπαύετο, καὶ
 ποτε [p. 282] διὰ τοῦτο οἱ δῆμαρχοι συλλαβόντες αὐτὸν τοῖς ὑπηρεταῖς
 παρέδωσαν, συνεχύθη τε ὁ Οὔεσπασιανὸς καὶ δακρύσας ἐκ τοῦ
 βουλευτηρίου ἐξῆλθε, τοσοῦτον μόνον ὑπείπων ὅτι ‘ἐμὲ μὲν υἱὸς
 διαδέξεται, ἢ οὐδεὶς ἄλλος.’” Xiph. 206, 30-208, R. St. “ [1a] τῶν δ’
 Ἱεροσολύμων ἀλόντων ὁ Τίτος εἰς τὴν Ἱταλίαν ἐπανελθὼν τὰ ἐπινίκια αὐτός
 τε καὶ ὁ πατήρ ἐφ’ ἄρματος ἔπεμψαν: συνέπεμπε δὲ σφισιν αὐτὰ καὶ ὁ
 Δομετιανὸς ὑπατεῶν ἐπὶ κέλῃτος. μετὰ τοῦτο διδασκάλους ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ
 τῆς Λατίνων καὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας κατέστησε, μισθὸν ἐκ τοῦ
 δημοσίου φέροντας.” Zon. 11, 17, p. 53, 29-54, D. “ 13. ὡς δ’ οὖν καὶ ἄλλοι
 πολλοὶ ἐκ τῶν στωικῶν καλουμένων λόγων προαχθέντες, μεθ’ ὧν καὶ
 Δημήτριος ὁ κυνικός, συχνὰ καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτήδεια τοῖς παροῦσι δημοσίᾳ, τῷ
 τῆς φιλοσοφίας προσχήματι καταχρώμενοι, διελέγοντο, κἂκ τοῦτου καὶ
 ὑποδιέφθειρόν τινας, ἔπεισεν ὁ Μουκιανὸς τὸν Οὔεσπασιανὸν πάντας τοὺς
 τοιοῦτους ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκβαλεῖν, εἰπὼν ὀργῇ μᾶλλον ἢ φιλολογίᾳ τινὶ
 πολλὰ κατ’ αὐτῶν.” Xiph. 208, 1-7 R. St. “ 2. [4] ὅτι ὁ Μουκιανὸς τιμᾶσθαι
 ὑφ’ ἀπάντων ὑπὲρ πάντας ἤθελεν, καὶ ἤχθετο εἰ καὶ ὅστισοῦν οὐχ ὅτι
 ὑβρίσειεν αὐτόν, ἀλλ’ οὐ μὴ οὐ μέγας ἀγῆλειε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ὥσπερ
 ἀπληστος ἐν ταῖς τιμαῖς πρὸς τοὺς ὑπουργοῦντάς τι αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ
 βραχύτατον ἦν, οὕτω καὶ μίσει ἀγριωτάτῳ πρὸς τοὺς μὴ τοιοῦτους ἐχρήτο.”
 Exc. Val. 272 (p. 702). “ 13. [1a] ὅτι Μουκιανὸς πρὸς Βεσπασιανὸν κατὰ τῶν
 [p. 284] στωικῶν πλεῖστα τε εἶπε καὶ θαυμάσια, ὡς ὅτι αὐχῆματος κενοῦ εἰσι
 πεπληρωμένοι, κἂν τὸν πῶγυνά τις αὐτῶν καθῇ καὶ τὰς ὀφρῦας ἀνασπάσῃ
 τὸ τε τριβώνιον ἀναβάλῃται καὶ ἀνυπόδητος βαδίσῃ, σοφὸς εὐθύς ἀνδρεῖος
 δίκαιός φησιν εἶναι, καὶ πνεῖ ἐφ’ ἑαυτῷ μέγα, κἂν τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ τοῦτο
 μήτε γράμματα μήτε νεῖν ἐπίστηται. καὶ πάντας ὑπερορῶσι, καὶ τὸν μὲν
 εὐγενῇ τηθαλαδοῦν τὸν δὲ ἀγενῇ σμικρόφρονα, καὶ τὸν μὲν καλὸν ἀσελγῇ
 τὸν δὲ αἰσχροὺς εὐφυᾶ, τὸν δὲ πλούσιον πλεονέκτην τὸν δὲ πένητα
 δουλοπρεπῇ καλοῦσι.” Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. 106 (p. 220 Mai=p. 202, 13-24
 Dind.). “ [2] καὶ πάντας αὐτίκα τοὺς φιλοσόφους ὁ Οὔεσπασιανός, πλὴν τοῦ
 Μουσωνίου, ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐξέβαλε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Δημήτριον καὶ τὸν
 Ὄσπιλιανὸν καὶ ἐς νήσους κατέκλεισε. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ὄσπιλιανός εἰ καὶ τὰ
 μάλιστα μὴ ἐπαύσατο περὶ τῆς φυγῆς ἀκούσας ἔτυχε γὰρ διαλεγόμενός τινί,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλῷ πλείω κατὰ τῆς μοναρχίας [3] κατέδραμεν, ὅμως παραχρῆμα
 μετέστη: τῷ δὲ Δημητρίῳ μηδ’ ὥς ὑπέικοντι ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Οὔεσπασιανός
 λεχθῆναι ὅτι ‘σὺ μὲν πάντα ποιεῖς ἵνα σε ἀποκτείνω, ἐγὼ δὲ κῦνα
 ὑλακτοῦντα οὐ φονεύω.” Xiph. 208, 7-15 R. St. “ 12. [2] ὅτι οὐκ ἤκιστα
 ἐνδηλον ἐγένετο ὅτι Πρίσκον τὸν Ἐλουίδιον οὐ μᾶλλον τι δι’ ἑαυτὸν ἢ διὰ
 τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ, οὓς ὑβρίσεν, ἐμίσησεν ὁ Οὔεσπασιανός, ἀλλ’ ὅτι
 παραχῶδης τε ἦν καὶ τῷ ὄχλῳ προσέκειτο, βασιλείας τε αἰὲ κατηγόρει καὶ
 δημοκρατίαν ἐπῆναι, καὶ ἔπραττεν ἀκόλουθα [p. 286] τοῦτοῖς καὶ συνίστη νίνας,
 ὥσπερ που φιλοσοφίας ἔργον ὃν τὸ τε τοὺς κρατοῦντας προπηλακίζειν καὶ
 τὸ τὰ πλήθη ταράττειν τὸ τε τὰ καθεστηκότα συγχεῖν καὶ τὸ νεώτερα αὐτοῖς

[3] πράγματα ἐπεσάγειν. ἦν γὰρ τοῦ Θρασέου γαμβρὸς καὶ ζηλοῦν αὐτὸν ἐπλάττετο, πολὺ δ' αὐτοῦ ἡμάρτανε. Θρασέας μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ Νέρωνος ὦν οὐκ ἠρέσκετο αὐτῷ, καὶ οὐδὲν μέντοι οὐδ' ὥς ὑβριστικὸν ἔλεγεν ἐς αὐτὸν οὐδὲ ἔπραττεν, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον προσκοινωνεῖν οἱ τῶν δρωμένων οὐκ ἤξιον· οὗτος δὲ Οὐεσπασιανῷ ἤχθετο, καὶ οὐτ' ἰδίᾳ οὔτε ἐν τῷ κοινῷ αὐτοῦ ἀπείχετο, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἐποiei ἐθανάτα, καὶ πολλὰ πράττων ἔμελλέ ποτε δίκην αὐτῶν δώσειν.” Exc. Val. 273 (p. 702). “ 14. τότε δὲ καὶ Καινὶς ἡ τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ παλλακὴ μετήλλαξεν. ἐμνημόνευσα δὲ αὐτῆς ὅτι τε πιστοτάτη ἦν καὶ ὅτι μνήμης ἄριστα ἐπεφύκει. πρὸς γοῦν τὴν δέσποιναν τὴν Ἀντωνίαν τὴν τοῦ Κλαυδίου μητέρα, κρύφα τι δι' αὐτῆς τῷ Τιβερίῳ [2] περὶ τοῦ Σεϊανοῦ γράψασαν, καὶ αὐτὸ ἀπαλειφθῆναι εὐθύς, ὅπως μηδεὶς αὐτοῦ ἔλεγχος ὑπολειφθῇ, κελεύσασαν, ‘μάτην, ᾧ δέσποινα,’ ἔφη ‘τοῦτο προσέταξας· πάντα γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα ἂν ὑπαγορεύσης μοι, ἐν τε τῇ ψυχῇ αἰεὶ [3] φέρω καὶ οὐδέποτε ἐξαλειφθῆναι δύνатаι.’ τοῦτό τε οὖν αὐτῆς ἐθανύμασα, καὶ προσέτι ὅτι καὶ ὁ Οὐεσπασιανὸς αὐτῇ ὑπερέχαιρε, πλείστον τε διὰ τοῦτο ἰσχυσε, καὶ πλοῦτον ἀμύθητον ἠθροισεν, [p. 288] ὥστε καὶ νομισθῆναι ὅτι δι' αὐτῆς ἐκείνης ἐχρηματίζετο· ἀμπολλὰ γὰρ παρὰ πολλῶν ἐλάμβανε, τοῖς μὲν ἀρχὰς τοῖς δὲ ἐπιτροπείας στρατείας ἱερωσύνας, ἥδη δὲ τισι καὶ ἀποφάσεις [4] αὐτοῦ πιπράσκουσα. ἀπέκτεινε μὲν γὰρ Οὐεσπασιανὸς χρημάτων ἔνεκα οὐδένα, ἔσωσε δὲ πολλοὺς τῶν διδόντων· καὶ ἡ μὲν λαμβάνουσα ἐκείνη ἦν, ὑπωπτεῦετο δὲ ὁ Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐκὼν αὐτῇ ἐπιτρέπειν τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν ἔπραττεν, ὧν ὀλίγα δειγματος ἔνεκα διηγῆσομαι. [5] ἀνδριάντα γὰρ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδων στήσαι οἱ ψηφισαμένων τινῶν προέτεινε τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἔφη ‘δότε μοι τὸ ἀργύριον· ἡ γὰρ βάσις αὐτοῦ αὕτη ἐστί.’ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Τίτον ἀγανακτοῦντα τῷ τοῦ οὐρου τέλει, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων κατεδείχθη, εἶπε, λαβὼν ἐξ αὐτοῦ χρυσοῦς πεπορισμένους καὶ δείξας αὐτῷ, ‘ἰδοῦ, τέκνον, εἴ τι ὄζουσιν.’ 15. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἔκτον καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίτου τέταρτον ἀρχόντων τὸ τῆς Εἰρήνης τέμενος καθιερώθη, ὃ τε κολοσσὸς ὠνομασμένος ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ ὁδῷ ἰδρῦθη· φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ τε ὕψος ἑκατὸν ποδῶν καὶ τὸ εἶδος οἱ μὲν τὸ τοῦ Νέρωνος οἱ [2] δὲ τὸ τοῦ Τίτου ἔχειν. σφαγὰς δὲ ὁ Οὐεσπασιανὸς θηρίων μὲν ἐποiei ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις, μονομαχίαις δὲ ἀνδρῶν οὐ πάνν τι ἔχαιρε, καίτοι τοῦ Τίτου ἐν ταῖς τῶν νεανίσκων παιδιαῖς ταῖς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ τελουμέναις σκιαμαχῆσαντός [p. 290] [3] ποτε πρὸς τὸν Ἀλινὸν ὄπλοις. τοῖς δὲ Πάρθοις πολεμωθεῖσι πρὸς τινὰς καὶ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ συμμαχίας δεηθεῖσιν οὐκ ἐβοήθησεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι οὐ προσήκει αὐτῷ τὰ ἀλλότρια πολυπραγμονεῖν. Βερενίκη δὲ ἰσχυρῶς τε ἦνθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ἀγρίππα [4] ἦλθε· καὶ ὁ μὲν στρατηγικῶν τιμῶν ἠξιώθη, ἡ δὲ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ᾤκησε καὶ τῷ Τίτῳ συνεγίνετο. προσεδόκα δὲ γαμηθῆσθαι αὐτῷ, καὶ πάντα ἥδη ὥς καὶ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ οὔσα ἐποiei, ὥστ' ἐκεῖνον δυσχεραίνοντας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπὶ τούτοις [5] αἰσθόμενον ἀποπέμψασθαι αὐτήν. ἄλλως τε γὰρ πολλὰ ἐθρυλεῖτο, καὶ τινες καὶ τότε σοφισταὶ κύνειοι ἐς τὸ ἄστυ πως παραδύντες, Διογένης μὲν πρότερος ἐς τὸ θέατρον πληρες ἀνδρῶν ἐσῆλθε καὶ πολλὰ αὐτοῦς

λοιδορήσας ἔμαστιγώθη, Ἡρᾶς δὲ μετ' αὐτόν, ὡς οὐδὲν πλεῖον πεισόμενος, πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα κυνηδὸν ἐξέκραγε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπετμήθη. 16. Καθ' ὃν δὴ καιρὸν ταῦτα ἐγένετο: οἷνός τε γὰρ ἐν καπηλείῳ τινὶ τοσοῦτος ὑπὲρ τὸ ἀγγεῖον ὑπερεχύθη ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὴν ὁδὸν προχωρῆσαι, καὶ ὁ Σαβῖνος ἐκεῖνος ὁ Γαλάτης ὁ Καίσαρά ποτε ἑαυτὸν ὀνομάσας καὶ ἐς ὄπλα χωρήσας ἡττηθεὶς τε καὶ ἐς τὸ μνημεῖον κατακρυφθεὶς ^[2] ἐφωράθη τε καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνήχθη. συναπέθανε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ Πεπονίλα, ἥπερ ^[p. 292] που καὶ διεσέσωστο αὐτόν, καίτοι καὶ τὰ παιδιά τῷ Οὐεσπασιανῷ προβαλοῦσα καὶ ἐλεεινότατόν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς λόγον εἰποῦσα, ὅτι 'ταῦτα, Καῖσαρ, καὶ ἐγέννησα ἐν τῷ μνημείῳ καὶ ἔθρεψα, ἵνα σε πλείονες ἴκετεύσωμεν.' δακρυῦσαι μὲν γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐποίησεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἠλεήθησαν. ^[3] κἀν τούτῳ ἐπεβουλεύθη μὲν ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Ἀλιννοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου, καίπερ φίλους τε αὐτοῦς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα νομίζων καὶ πάσῃ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀφθονωτάτῃ τιμῇ χρώμενος, οὐ μὴν καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἀπέθανε: φωραθέντες γὰρ Ἀλιννὸς μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ, ἑξαναστὰς ἐκ τοῦ συσσιτίου, εὐθύς ἀπεσφάγη τοῦ Τίτου κελεύσαντος, μὴ καὶ φθάσῃ τι τῆς νυκτὸς νεοχμῶσαι 'τῶν γὰρ στραπιωτῶν συχνοὺς προπαρεσκεύαστό, ^[4] Μάρκελλος δὲ κριθεὶς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ καταδικασθεὶς ἀπέτεμε τὸν λαιμὸν αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ξυρῷ. οὕτω που τοὺς φύσει κακοὺς οὐδ' αἱ εὐεργεσίαι νικῶσιν, ὅποτε κάκεῖνοι τῷ τοσαῦτα εὐηργετηκότι σφᾶς ἐπεβούλευσαν.” Χιρh. 208, 15-210, 14. “^[p. 294]”

“ 17. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἔσχεν, Οὐεσπασιανὸς δέ, ὡς μὲν ἡ ἀλήθεια ἔχει, νοσήσας οὐ τῇ ποδάγρα τῇ συνήθει ἀλλὰ πυρετοῖς μετήλλαξεν ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι τῶν Σαβίνων τοῖς Κουτιλίοις ὠνομασμένοις, ὡς δέ τινες καταψευδόμενοι τοῦ Τίτου, ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀδριανὸς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ, ἐφήμισαν, φάρμακον ^[2] ἐν συμποσίῳ τινὶ λαβών. ἐγεγόνει δὲ σημεῖα αὐτῷ φέροντα ἐς τοῦτο ὃ τε ἀστήρ ὁ κομήτης ἐπὶ πολὺ φαντασθεῖς καὶ τὸ μνημεῖον τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου αὐτόματον ἀνοιχθέν. τῶν δὲ ἱατρῶν ἐπιτιμώντων αὐτῷ ὅτι τῇ τε ἄλλῃ διαίτῃ ὁμοία νοσῶν ἐχρήτο καὶ πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα τῇ ἀρχῇ ἔπραττε, ‘τὸν αὐτοκράτορα’ ἔφη ‘ἐστῶτα ^[3] δεῖ ἀποθνήσκειν.’ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τοῦ κομήτου τι διαλαλοῦντας ‘οὐκ ἔμοιγε’ εἶπεν ‘ἀλλὰ τῷ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλεῖ προσημαίνει: ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ κομᾶ, ἐγὼ δὲ φαλακρὸς εἰμι.’ ἐπειδὴ τε ἐπίστευσεν ὅτι τελευτήσῃ, ἔφη ‘θεὸς ἤδη γίνομαι.’ ἔζησε δὲ ἔτη ἑννέα καὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ μῆνας ὀκτώ, ἐμονάρχησε δὲ ἔτη δέκα ἡμερῶν ^[4] ἔξ δέοντα. καὶ τοῦτου συμβαίνει ἐνιαυτὸν τε καὶ δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέρας ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Νέρωνος μέχρι τῆς τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἀρχῆς διελθεῖν. ἔγραψα δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ μὴ τινος ἀπατηθῆναι, τὴν ἐξαριθμησιν τοῦ χρόνου πρὸς ^[p. 296] ^[5] τοὺς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντας ποιουμένους. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ οὐ διεδέξαντο ἀλλήλους, ἀλλὰ ζῶντός τε καὶ ἔτι ἄρχοντος ἑτέρου ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἐπίστευσεν αὐτοκράτωρ, ἀφ’ οὗ γε καὶ ἐς τοῦτο παρέκυψεν, εἶναι: δεῖ δ’ οὐ πάσας σφῶν τὰς ἡμέρας ὡς καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἀλλήλαις ἐκ διαδοχῆς γενομένας ἀριθμεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐφάπαξ πρὸς τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ χρόνου, καθάπερ εἰρηταί μοι, λογιζέσθαι.” Xiph. 210, 14-211, R. St. “ 18. ^[1a] τοῦτου δὲ τελευτήσαντος ὁ Τίτος τὴν ἀρχὴν διεδέξατο.” Zon. 11, 18, p. 54, 27, D. “ ὁ δὲ δὴ Τίτος οὐδὲν οὔτε φονικὸν οὔτε ἐρωτικὸν μοναρχήσας ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ χρηστὸς καίπερ ἐπιβουλευθεὶς καὶ σώφρων καίτοι καὶ τῆς Βερενίκης ἐς Ῥώμην αὐθις ἐλθούσης ἐγένετο. τάχα μὲν γὰρ ὅτι καὶ μετεβάλετο ‘οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως ἄλλω τέ τινες παραδυναστεύουσι καὶ ^[2] αὐτοὶ αὐταρχοῦσιν, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἀφροντιστοῦντες τῆς τοῦ κράτους δόξης τῇ τε ἐξουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀπλήστως ἀποχρῶνται καὶ πολλὰ ἐπὶ τε φθόνῳ καὶ διαβολῇ αὐτοῦ ποιοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς πάντα ἀνακείμενα εἰδότες προνοοῦνται ^[3] τι καὶ τῆς εὐδοχίας: ὥσπερ που καὶ ὁ Τίτος πρὸς τινά, ὃν πρότερον ἐσπουδάκει, εἶπεν ὅτι οὐχ ὁμοίον ἐστὶν ἑτέρου τι δεῖσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν δικάζειν, οὐδὲ παρ’ ἄλλου τι αἰτεῖν καὶ αὐτὸν διδόναι τινί’, ἤδη δὲ καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ βραχύτατον, ὡς γε ἐς ἡγεμονίαν εἰπεῖν, ἐπεβίω, ὥστε μὴδ’ ^[p. 298] ^[4] ἁμαρτίαν τινὰ αὐτῷ ἐγγενέσθαι. δύο τε γὰρ ἔτη μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ μῆνας δύο ἡμέρας τε εἴκοσιν ἔζησεν ἐπ’ ἑννέα καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτεσι καὶ μηνσὶ πέντε καὶ ἡμέραις πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι. καὶ αὐτὸν ἔξ ἴσου κατὰ τοῦτο τῇ τοῦ Αὐγούστου πολυετείᾳ ἄγουσι, λέγοντες ὅτι οὗτ’ ἂν ἐκεῖνος ἐφιλήθη ποτὲ εἰ ἐλάττω χρόνον ἐζήκει, οὗτ’ ἂν οὗτος ^[5] εἰ πλείονα, ὁ μὲν ὅτι τραχύτερος κατ’ ἀρχὰς διὰ τε τοὺς πολέμους καὶ διὰ τὰς στάσεις γενόμενος ἡδυνήθη μετὰ ταῦτα εὐεργεσίαις ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ λαμπρύνεσθαι, ὁ δ’ ὅτι ἐπικριτὴς ἄρξας ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς δόξης ἀπέθανε,

τάχα ἂν ἐλεγχθῆις, εἶπε ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἐβεβίωκει, ὅτι εὐτυχία πλείονι ἢ ἀρετῇ ἐχρήσατο. 19. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὁ Τίτος οὐδένα τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἡγεμονίᾳ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἄλλος τις αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρχῆς ἐτελεύτησε. τὰς τε δίκας τὰς τῆς ἀσεβείας οὐτ' αὐτὸς ποτε ἐδέξατο οὐτ' ἄλλοις ἐπέτρεψεν, λέγων ὅτι 'ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδὲν οὐθ' ὕβρισθῆναι οὐτε προπηλακισθῆναι [2] δύναμαι: οὐτε γὰρ ἄξιόν τι ἐπηγορίας ποιῶ, οὐτε μοι μέλει τῶν ψευδῶς λεγομένων: οἱ δὲ μετηλλαχότες τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοῖς, ἄνπερ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἥρωές τε ὦσι καὶ δύναμιν τινα ἔχωσι, τιμωρήσουσιν ἂν τί τις αὐτοὺς ἀδικήσῃ.' [3] πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τε τὸ ἀσφαλές καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄλυπον τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατεστήσατο: καὶ γὰρ γράμματα ἐξέθηκε βεβαιῶν πάντα τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν προτέρων αὐτοκρατόρων δοθέντα πῖσιν, [p. 300] ὥστε μὴ καθ' ἐκάστους σφῶν αἰτοῦντας αὐτὸν πράγματα ἔχειν, τοὺς τε μηνυτὰς ἐξήλασεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως." Χίρ. 211, 12-212, R. St. " [3a] ἦν δὲ περὶ χρήματα ἀκριβῆς καὶ οὐ μάτην ἀνήλυσεν, οὐδένα μέντοι ποτὲ διὰ ταῦτα ἐκόλασεν." Ζον. 11, 18, p. 55, 16-18 D. " [3b] ἐπὶ τούτου καὶ ὁ Ψευδονέρων ἐφάνη, ὃς Ἀσιανὸς ἦν, ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Τερέντιος Μάξιμος, προσεοικῶς δὲ τῷ Νέρωνι καὶ τὸ εἶδος καὶ τὴν φωνὴν 'καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐκίθαρώδει. ἔκ τε τῆς Ἀσίας τινὰς προσεποιήσατο καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην [3c] προχωρῶν πολλῶ πλείους ἀνηρτήσατο, καὶ τέλος πρὸς Ἀρτάβανον τὸν τῶν Πάρθων κατέφυγεν ἀρχηγόν, ὃς καὶ δι' ὀργῆς τὸν Τίτον ποιούμενος καὶ ἐδέξατο τοῦτον καὶ καταγαγεῖν εἰς Ῥώμην παρεσκευάζετο. 12" Ζον. 11, 18, p. 55, 19-27 D. " 20. κὰν τούτῳ πολέμου αὐθις ἐν τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ γενομένου τὰ τε τῶν ἐκεῖ πολεμίων Γναῖος Ἰούλιος Ἀγρικόλας πάντα κατέδραμε, καὶ πρῶτός γε Ῥωμαίων ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν ἔγνω τοῦθ' ὅτι ἡ Βρεττανία περιρρυτός ἐστιν. στρατιῶται γὰρ τινες στασιάσαντες, καὶ ἑκατοντάρχους χιλιάρχον [2] τε φονεύσαντες, ἐς πλοῖα κατέφυγον καὶ ἐξαναχθέντες [p. 302] περιέπλευσαν τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν αὐτῆς, ὡς που τὸ τε κύμα καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος αὐτοὺς ἔφερε, καὶ ἔλαθον ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα πρὸς τὰ στρατόπεδα τὰ ταύτῃ ὄντα προσσχόντες. κὰκ τούτου καὶ ἄλλους ὁ Ἀγρικόλας πειράσσοντας τὸν περίπλουν πέμψας ἔμαθε καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ὅτι νῆσός ἐστιν. [3] ἐν μὲν τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν Τίτος αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ πεντεκαίδεκατον ἐπεκλήθη, ὁ δὲ Ἀγρικόλας ἔν τε ἀτιμία τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου καὶ ἐν ἐνδείᾳ, ἅτε καὶ μεῖζονα ἢ κατὰ στρατηγὸν καταπράξας, ἔζησε, καὶ τέλος ἐσφάγη δι' αὐτὰ ταῦτα ὑπὸ Δομιτιανοῦ, καίπερ τὰς ἐπινικίους τιμὰς παρὰ τοῦ Τίτου λαβών. 21. ἐν δὲ τῇ Καμπανίᾳ φοβερὰ τινα καὶ θαυμαστὰ συνηνέχθη: πῦρ γὰρ μέγα κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ φθινόπωρον ἐξαπναιῶς ἐξήφθη. τὸ γὰρ ὄρος τὸ Βέσβιον ἔστι μὲν πρὸς τῇ θαλάσῃ κατὰ Νέαν πόλιν, ἔχει δὲ πυρὸς πηγὰς ἀφθόνους. καὶ ἦν μὲν ποτε πᾶν ὁμοίως ὑψηλόν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μέσου τὸ πῦρ ἀνέτελλε: ταύτῃ γὰρ πεπύρωται μόνον, τὰ δὲ ἔξωθεν αὐτοῦ πάντα ἄπυρα καὶ νῦν [2] ἔτι διαμένει. ἐκ δὲ τούτου, ἐκείνων μὲν ἀκαύστων αἰεὶ ὄντων, τῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ κραυρουμένων καὶ τεφρουμένων, αἱ μὲν πέριξ κορυφαὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὕψος ἐς δεῦρο ἔχουσι, τὸ δὲ ἔμπυρον πᾶν [p. 304] δαπανηθὲν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ κοῖλον ἐκ τοῦ συνίειν γέγονεν, ὥστε κυνηγετικῶ τινι θεάτρῳ τὸ ὄρος σύμπαν, ὡς μικρὰ μεγάλους εἰκάσαι, εἰοικέναι. [3] καὶ

αὐτοῦ τὰ μὲν ἄκρα καὶ δένδρα καὶ ἀμπέλους πολλὰς ἔχει, ὁ δὲ δὴ κύκλος ἀνεῖται τῷ πυρί, καὶ ἀναδίδωσι τῆς μὲν ἡμέρας καπνὸν τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς φλόγα, ὥστε δόξα πολλὰ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ^[4] παντοδαπὰ θυμιάσθαι θυμιάματα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὕτως αἰεὶ, ποτὲ μὲν ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ποτὲ δὲ ἐπὶ ἥττον, γίνεται: πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τέφραν ἀναβάλλει, ὅταν ἀθρόον τι ὑφίξησῃ, καὶ λίθους ἀναπέμπει, ὅταν ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἐκβιασθῇ. ἤχεϊ τε καὶ βοᾷ, ἅτε μὴ συμπεπιλημένους ἀλλ' ἀραιὰς καὶ λαθραίας τὰς ἀναπνοὰς ἔχων. 22. τοιοῦτον μὲν τὸ Βέσβιον ἐστὶ, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν αὐτῷ κατ' ἔτος ὡς πλήθει γίγνεται. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὅσα ἐκείνῳ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ συνηνέχθη, εἰ καὶ μεγάλα παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς τοῖς αἰεὶ ὁρώσιν αὐτὰ εἶναι ἔδοξε, σμικρὰ ἂν πρὸς τὰ τότε συμβάντα, καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐς ἓν συναχθέντα, ^[2] νομισθεῖν. ἔσχε γὰρ οὕτως. ἄνδρες πολλοὶ καὶ μεγάλοι, πᾶσαν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν ὑπερβεβληκότες, οἷοι οἱ γίγαντες γράφονται, τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τῷ ὄρει τοῦτο δ' ἐν τῇ περὶ αὐτὸ χώρα ταῖς τε πόλεσι μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ ἐν τῇ γῇ περινοστοῦντες καὶ ἐν τῷ ἁέρι διαφοιτῶντες ^[3] ἐφαντάζοντο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' αὐχοί τε δεινοὶ καὶ σεισμοὶ ἐξαίφνης σφοδροὶ ἐγίνοντο, ὥστε καὶ τὸ πεδῖον ἐκεῖνο πᾶν ἀναβράττεσθαι ^[p. 306] καὶ τὰ ἄκρα ἀναπηδᾶν. ἤχαι τε αἱ μὲν ὑπόγειοι βρονταῖς ἔοικυιαι αἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπίγειοι μυκηθμοῖς ὅμοιαι συνέβαινον, καὶ ἡ τε θάλασσα συνέβρεμε ^[4] καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς συνεπήχει. καὶ τοῦτου κτύπος τε ἐξαίσιος ἐξαπιναιῶς ὡς καὶ τῶν ὁρῶν συμπιπτόντων ἐξηκούσθη, καὶ ἀνέθορον πρῶτον μὲν λίθοι ὑπερμεγέθεις, ὥστε καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ τὰ ἄκρα ἐξικέσθαι, ἔπειτα πῦρ πολὺ καὶ καπνὸς ἅπλετος, ὥστε πάντα μὲν τὸν ἄερα συσκιασθῆναι, πάντα δὲ τὸν ἥλιον συγκρυφθῆναι καθάπερ ἐκλειοιπότη. 23. νῦν τε οὖν ἐξ ἡμέρας καὶ σκότος ἐκ φωτὸς ἐγένετο: καὶ ἐδόκουν οἱ μὲν τοὺς γίγαντας ἐπανίστασθαι 'πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ τότε εἰδῶλα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ καπνῷ διεφαίνετο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ σαλπίγγων τις βοὴ ἠκούετο, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐς χάος ἢ καὶ πῦρ ^[2] τὸν κόσμον πάντα ἀναλίσκεσθαι. καὶ διὰ ταῦτ' ἔφυγον οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἐς τὰς ὁδοὺς οἱ δὲ ἐξῶθεν εἴσω, ἕκ τε τῆς θαλάσσης ἐς τὴν γῆν καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνης ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, οἷα τεταραγμένοι καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἀπὸ σφῶν ἀπὸν ἀσφαλέστερον ^[3] τοῦ παρόντος ἡγοῦμενοι. ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἐγίνετο, καὶ τέφρα ἀμύθητος ἀνεφυσήθη καὶ τὴν τε γῆν τὴν τε θάλασσαν καὶ τὸν ἄερα πάντα κατέσχε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, ὡς που καὶ ἔτυχε, καὶ ἀνθρώποις καὶ χώραις καὶ βοσκήμασιν ἐλυμήνατο, τοὺς δὲ δὴ ἰχθύας τὰ τε ὄρνεα πάντα διέφθειρε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ πόλεις δύο ὅλας, τὸ τε Ἐρκουλάνεον καὶ τοὺς Πομπηίους, ἐν θεάτρῳ ^[4] τοῦ ὁμίλου αὐτῆς καθημένου, κατέχωσε. τοσαύτη ^[p. 308] γὰρ ἡ πᾶσα κόνις ἐγένετο ὥστ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἦλθε μὲν καὶ ἐς Ἀφρικὴν καὶ ἐς Συρίαν καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἦλθε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, καὶ τὸν τε ἄερα τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐπλήρωσε καὶ τὸν ^[5] ἥλιον ἐπεσκίασε. καὶ συνέβη κἀνταῦθα δέος οὐ μικρὸν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας οὗτ' εἰδόσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ γεγονὸς οὗτ' εἰκάσαι δυναμένοις, ἀλλ' ἐνόμιζον καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πάντα ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω μεταστρέφεσθαι, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἥλιον ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀφανίζεσθαι, τὴν δὲ γῆν ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνιέναι. ἢ μὲν οὖν τέφρα αὕτη οὐδὲν μέγα τότε κακὸν αὐτοὺς εἰργάσατο 'ὕστερον γὰρ νόσον σφίσι λοιμῶδη δεινὴν ἐνέβαλῃ. 24. πῦρ δὲ δὴ ἕτερον ἐπίγειον τῷ ἐξῆς ἔτει πολλὰ πάνυ τῆς Ῥώμης, τοῦ Τίτου

πρὸς τὸ πάθημα τὸ ἐν τῇ Καμπανίᾳ γενόμενον ἐκδημήσαντος, ἐπενείματο: [2] καὶ γὰρ τὸ Σεραπεῖον καὶ τὸ Ἰσεῖον τὰ τε σέπτα καὶ τὸ Ποσειδώνιον τὸ τε βαλανεῖον τὸ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου καὶ τὸ πάνθειον τὸ τε διριβιτώριον καὶ τὸ τοῦ Βάλβου θέατρον καὶ τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου σκηνήν, καὶ τὰ Ὀκταοῦεια οἰκήματα μετὰ τῶν βιβλίων, τὸν τε νεὺν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου μετὰ τῶν συννάων αὐτοῦ κατέκαυσεν. [3] οὕτω τὸ κακὸν οὐκ ἀνθρώπινον ἀλλὰ δαιμόνιον ἐγένετο: πάρεστι γὰρ ἐκ τούτων ὧν κατέλεξα παντὶ τῷ τεκμήρασθαι καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ ἀπολλύμενα. [p. 310] Ὁ δ' οὖν Τίτος τοῖς μὲν Καμπανοῖς δύο ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων οἰκιστὰς ἔπεμψε, καὶ χρήματα ἄλλα τε καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄνευ κληρονόμων [4] τεθνηκότων ἐδώρησατο: αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδὲν οὔτε παρ' ἰδιώτου οὔτε παρὰ πόλεως οὔτε παρὰ βασιλέως, καίτοι πολλῶν πολλὰ διδόντων αὐτῷ καὶ ὑποσχνουμένων, ἔλαβεν, ἀνέστησε μέντοι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων πάντα. 25. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐδὲν ἐξαίρετον ἔπραξε, τὸ δὲ δὴ θέατρον τὸ κυνηγετικὸν τὸ τε βαλανεῖον τὸ ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ ἱερῶσας πολλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ ἐποίησε. γέρανοί τε γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἐμαχέσαντο καὶ ἐλέφαντες τέσσαρες, ἄλλα τε ἐς ἐνακισχίλια καὶ βοτὰ καὶ θηρία ἀπεσφάγη, καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ γυναικες, οὐ μέντοι ἐπιφανεῖς, συγκατεριγάζαντο. [2] ἄνδρες τε πολλοὶ μὲν ἐμονομάχησαν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀθρόοι ἔν τε πεζομαχίαις καὶ ἐν ναυμαχίαις ἠγωνίσαντο. τὸ γὰρ θέατρον αὐτὸ ἐκεῖνο ὕδατος ἐξαίφνης πληρώσας ἐσήγαγε μὲν καὶ ἵππους καὶ ταύρους καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ χειροθήη, δεδιδαγμένα πάνθ' ὅσα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πράττειν καὶ ἐν τῷ ὕγρῳ, [3] ἐσήγαγε δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ πλοίων. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐκεῖ, ὡς οἱ μὲν Κερκυραῖοι οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι ὄντες, ἐναυμάχησαν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἔξω ἐν τῷ ἅλσει τῷ τοῦ Γαίου τοῦ τε Λουκίου, ὃ ποτε ὁ Αὐγούστος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ὠρύξατο. καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ μονομαχία τε καὶ θηρίων σφαγὴ, κατοικοδομηθείσης στανίσι τῆς [p. 312] κατὰ πρόσωπον τῶν εἰκόνων λίμνης καὶ ἱκρία [4] πέριξ λαβούσης, τῇ δὲ δευτέρᾳ ἵπποδρομία καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ναυμαχία τρισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ πεζομαχία ἐγένετο: νικήσαντες γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς Συρακουσίους 'τούτοις γὰρ τοῖς ὀνόμασι χρησάμενοι ἐναυμάχησαν' ἐπεξῆλθον ἐς τὸ νησιδίον, καὶ προσβαλόντες τείχει τινὶ περὶ τὸ μνημεῖον πεπονημένῳ εἶλον αὐτό. ταῦτα μὲν ἐς ὅψιν ἤκοντα καὶ ἐφ' ἑκατὸν ἡμέρας ἐγένετο, παρέσχε δὲ τινα καὶ ἐς ὠφέλειαν φέροντα αὐτοῖς: [5] σφαιρία γὰρ ξύλινα μικρὰ ἄνωθεν ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἐρρίπτει, σύμβολον ἔχοντα τὸ μὲν ἐδωδίου τινὸς τὸ δὲ ἐσθῆτος τὸ δὲ ἀργυροῦ σκεύους, ἄλλο χρυσοῦ ἵππων ὑποζυγίων βοσκημάτων ἀνδραπόδων, ἃ ἀρπάσαντάς τινας ἔδει πρὸς τοὺς δοτῆρας αὐτῶν ἀπενεγκεῖν καὶ λαβεῖν τὸ ἐπιγεγραμμένον. 26. διατελέσας δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ τῇ γε τελευταίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ καταδακρύσας ὥστε πάντα τὸν δῆμον ἰδεῖν, οὐδὲν ἔτι μέγα ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐπιγιγνομένῳ ἔτει, ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Φλαουίου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Πωλίωνος τῶν ὑπάτων, καθιερώσας ὅσα εἴρηται, μετήλλαξεν ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ πατήρ [2] αὐτοῦ, ὡς μὲν ἡ φήμη λέγει, πρὸς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἀναλωθεῖς, ὅτι καὶ πρότερον ἐπεβεβούλευτο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς δὲ τινες γράφουσι, νοσήσας: ἔμπνουν γὰρ τοι αὐτὸν ὄντα καὶ τάχα περιγενέσθαι δυνάμενον ἐς λάρνακα χιόνος πολλῆς γέμουσαν ὃ [p. 314] Δομιτιανὸς ἐνέβαλεν, ὡς δεομένης τῆς νόσου τάχα τινὸς περιψύξεως, ἵνα

θαῖσσον ἀποθάνῃ. ^[3] ἔτι γοῦν ζῶντος αὐτοῦ ἕς τε τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφίππευσε καὶ ἕς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐσῆλθε, τὴν τε ἐπὶ κλησιν καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἔλαβε, δοὺς αὐτοῖς ὅσον περ καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ἐδεδώκει. ὁ δ' οὖν Τίτος ἀποψύχων εἶπε μὲν ὅτι ‘ἐν μόνον ἐπλημμέλησα,’ τί δὲ δὴ τοῦτο εἶη οὐ διεσάφησεν, ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς ἀκριβῶς ἀνέγνω. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὸ οἱ δὲ τὸ κατεΐκασαν: ^[4] κρατεῖ δ’ οὖν, ὡς μὲν τινες λέγουσιν, ὅτι τὴν Δομιτίαν τὴν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ γυναῖκα ἔσχεν, ὡς δ’ ἕτεροι, οἷς ἐγὼ πείθομαι, ὅτι τὸν Δομιτιανὸν σαφῶς ἐπιβουλεύσαντά οἱ λαβῶν οὐκ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς τε ὑπ’ ἐκείνου παθεῖν τοῦτο μᾶλλον εἶλετο, καὶ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἀνδρὶ τοιοῦτῳ ἐξέδωκεν οἷον ἢ διέξοδος τοῦ λόγου δηλώσει. ἥρξε δὲ δύο ἔτη καὶ μῆνας δύο ἡμέρας τε εἴκοσιν, ὡς προεῖρηται.” Χιρῆ. 212, 17-216, R. St. “[p. 316]”

“ 1. Δομιτιανὸς δὲ ἦν μὲν καὶ θρασύς καὶ ὀργίλος, ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐπίβουλος καὶ κρυφίνους, ὥστε ἀφ’ ἐκατέρων τῶν μὲν τὸ προπετὲς τῶν δὲ τὸ δόλιον ἔχων, πολλὰ μὲν ὥσπερ σκηπτὸς ὀξέως ἐμπίπτων τισὶν ἐλυμαίνεται, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ παρασκευῆς 2. ἐκακούργει. θεῶν μὲν γὰρ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἠγαλλε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ Παναθηναία μεγάλως ἐώρταζε, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀγῶνας καὶ ποιητῶν καὶ λογογράφων μονομάχων τε κατ’ ἔτος ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐν τῷ Ἀλβανῷ ἐποίει: τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ χωρίον ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Ἀλβανόν, ἀφ’ οὗπερ οὕτως ὠνομάσθη, ὃν ὥσπερ τινὰ 3. ἀκρόπολιν ἐξείλετο: ἀνθρώπων δὲ ἐφίλησε μὲν ἀληθῶς οὐδένα πλὴν γυναικῶν τινων, ἐπλάττετο δὲ ἀγαπᾶν αἰεὶ ὃν αἰεὶ μάλιστα ἀποσφάζαι ἤθελεν. οὕτω γὰρ ἄπιστος καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦς τοὺς χαριζομένους τι ἔς τε τὰ δεινότερα ὑπηρετοῦντάς οἱ ἐγένετο ὥσθ’, ὁπότε τινὲς ἢ χρήματα αὐτῷ πολλὰ πορίσειαν ἢ ἀνθρώπους πολλοὺς συκοφαντήσειαν, πάντως αὐτοὺς ἐφθειρε, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς δούλους 4. τοὺς κατὰ δεσποτῶν τι μηνύσαντας. καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, καίπερ ἀργύριον καὶ τιμὰς καὶ [p. 318] ἀρχὰς ὁμοῦ οἱ λαμβάνοντες, οὗτ’ ἐντιμότερον τῶν ἑτέρων οὗτ’ ἀσφαλέστερον διῆγον, ἀλλ’ ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς οἷς ὑπὸ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ παρακαλοῦμενοι ἔπραττον ἀπώλλυντο, ἵνα δὴ καὶ τὰ ἀδικήματα ὑπ’ αὐτῶν μόνων γεγονέναι δοκῇ. τῇ δ’ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ διανοίᾳ καὶ προέγραψε ποτε ὅτι αὐτοκράτωρ ὅταν μὴ κολάζῃ τοὺς συκοφάντας, αὐτὸς σφας ποιεῖ τοιοῦτους.” Xiph. 217, 8-27 R. St., Exc. Val. 274 (p. 705). “ 2. τοιοῦτος δὲ δὴ πρὸς πάντας παρ’ ὅλην τὴν ἡγεμονίαν γενόμενος πολὺ καὶ ἑαυτὸν ὑπερεβάλετο ἐν τῇ τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ τε ἀδελφοῦ φίλων ἀτίμῳ τε καὶ ὀλεθρίῳ μεταχειρίσει. καίτοι καὶ αὐτὸς γράμμα ἐξέθηκεν τηρῶν πάντα τὰ πρὸς τε ἐκείνων καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοκρατόρων [2] δοθέντα τισίν. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν καλλώπισμα ἄλλως ἦν. ἐμίσει γὰρ αὐτούς, ὅτι τε μὴ πάνθ’ ὅσα ἦται, πολλὰ τε καὶ οὐ προσήκοντα ὄντα, παρέσχον αὐτῷ, καὶ ὅτι ἐν τιμῇ τινι ἐγεγέννητο: πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀγαπηθὲν τε ὑπ’ αὐτῶν καὶ δυνηθὲν ἐν ἐχθροῦ [3] μοίρᾳ ἐτίθετο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, καίπερ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἑαρίνου τινὸς εὐνοῦχου ἐρῶν, ὅμως, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ Τίτος ἰσχυρῶς περὶ τοὺς ἐκτομίας ἐσπουδάκει, ἀπηγόρευσεν ἐπὶ ἐκείνου ὕβρει μηδὲνα ἔτι ἐν τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ ἐκτέμνεσθαι. τὸ δ’ ὅλον ἔλεγε τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας τοὺς μὴ πολλοὺς κολάζοντας οὐκ ἀγαθοὺς ἀλλ’ εὐτυχεῖς εἶναι.” Xiph. 217, 27-218, R. St., Exc. Val. 275 (p. 705 s#3.). “ [4] ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐφρόντιζεν οὔτε τῶν τὸν [p. 320] Τίτον ἐπαινούντων ὅτι μηδὲνα βουλευτὴν ἀπέκτεινε, οὐθ’ ὅτι ἡ γερουσία πολλάκις ἡξίου ψηφισθῆναι μὴ ἐξεῖναι τῷ αὐτοκράτορι τῶν ὁμοτίμων τινὰ ἀπολέσαι: πάνυ γὰρ οὖν σφισι πολὺ διέφερεν εἴτε ἰδίᾳ τινὰ αὐτῶν εἴτε καὶ δι’ ἐκείνων καταχρησάιτο, ὥσπερ τι ἀντειπεῖν ἢ καὶ [5] μὴ καταψηφίσασθαι τινος δυναμένους. ἐπήνουν δὲ τὸν Τίτον τινὲς οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἀκούοντος τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ ἴσον γὰρ ἂν ἡμάρτανον ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον παρόντα καὶ ἀκούοντα ἐλοιδόρουν’, ἀλλ’ ... ὅτι ἡπίστατο αὐτοῦς λάθρᾳ τοῦτο ποιοῦντας: ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ ἕτερον σκηνοποιᾷ [6] τινὶ ἐοικὸς

ἐγίγνετο. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ καὶ φιλεῖν τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ πενθεῖν προσεποιεῖτο, καὶ τοὺς τε ἐπαίνους τοὺς ἐπ’ αὐτῷ μετὰ δακρῶν ἔλεξε καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἥρωας αὐτὸν σπουδῇ ἐσέγραψε, πάντα τὰ ἐναντιώτατα ὧν ἐβούλετο σκηπτόμενος ἄμελει καὶ τὴν ἵπποδρομίαν τὴν τῶν γενεσιῶν αὐτοῦ [7] κατέλυσέ: καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οὐθ’ ὅπως συνάχθοντο οὐθ’ ὅπως συνήδοντο ἀσφαλῶς εἶχον, τὸ μὲν ὅτι τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ λυπεῖν, τὸ δὲ ὅτι τὴν προσποίησιν ἐλέγχειν ἔμελλον.” Exc. Val. 276 (p. 706), Xiph. 218, 4-10 R. St. “ 3. τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα τὴν Δομιτίαν ἐβουλεύσατο μὲν σφάζει ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ, παρακληθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Οὕρσου ἀπεπέμψατο, τὸν Πάριν τὸν ὀρχηστὴν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ὁδῷ δι’ αὐτὴν φρονεύσας. ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ἄνθεσι καὶ μύροις τὸν τόπον ἐκείνον [p. 322] [2] ἐτίμων, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς σφάττεσθαι. κἂκ τοῦτου τῇ ἀδελφιδῇ τῇ Ἰδίᾳ, ἥγουν τῇ Ἰουλίᾳ, ἀπαρκαλυπτότερον ὡς γαμετῇ συνώκει. εἴτα δεηθέντος τοῦ δήμου κατηλλάγη μὲν τῇ Δομιτίᾳ, ἐχρήτο δ’ οὐδὲν ἥττον τῇ Ἰουλίᾳ. 9” Xiph. 218, 10-16 R. St., Zon. 11, 19, p. 58, 10-15 D. “ 3. πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν κατὰ πολλὰς προφάσεις φόνοις τε καὶ ὑπερορίαις ἐκποδῶν ποιούμενος ‘οὐδὲ τῶν ἀειπαρθένων κ.τ.λ. § 2.’” Xiph. 218, 16-17 R. St. “ 4. [2] ὅτι καὶ συχνοὺς μεθιστάς που κατεχρήσατο, καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγους γε αὐτοὺς ὑφ’ ἐαυτῶν παρεσκεύαζε τρόπον τινὰ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἵνα ἐθελοντηδὸν ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης δοκῶσι τοῦτο πάσχειν.” Exc. Val. 277 (p. 706). “ 3. [2] οὐδὲ τῶν ἀειπαρθένων ἐφείσατο ἀλλ’ ὡς καὶ ἡνδρωμένας ἐτιμωρήσατο, ὅτε καὶ λέγεται, σκληρᾶς καὶ τραχείας τῆς περὶ αὐτάς ἐξετάσεως γενομένης καὶ πολλῶν αἰτιαθέντων καὶ κολαζομένων, οὐκ ἐνεγκῶν εἷς τῶν ποντιφίκων Ἑλουῖος Ἀγρίππας ἀλλ’ ἐκπλαγεὶς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ, ὥσπερ εἶχεν, ἀποψῦσαι.” Xiph. 218, 17-22 R. St. “ 4. ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἡγάλλετο, ὅτι τὰς ἀειπαρθένους ὡς ἡνδρωμένας οὐ κατῶρυξεν, ὡς ἦν ἔθος, ἀλλὰ ἄλλως ἀποθνήσκειν ἐκέλευσε.” Exc. Val. 278 (p. 706). “ 5. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰς Γαλατίαν ἐξομήσας, καὶ λεηλατήσας τινὰ τῶν πέραν Ῥήνου τῶν ἐνσπόνδων, [p. 324] ὠγκοῦτο ὥς τι μέγα κατωρθωκῶς, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπηύξησε τὴν μισθοφοράν, τάχα διὰ τὴν νίκην: πέντε γὰρ καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα δραχμὰς ἐκάστου λαμβάνοντος ἐκατὸν ἐκέλευσα δίδοσθαι. μεταμεληθεὶς δὲ τὴν μὲν ποσότητα οὐκ ἐμείωσε, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν στρατευομένων συνέστειλε. καὶ ἐκατέρωθεν μεγάλα τὸ δημόσιον ἔβλαψε, μὴ’ ἱκανοὺς τοὺς ἀμύνοντας αὐτῷ καὶ τούτους μεγαλομίσθους ποιήσας.” Zon. 11, 19, p. 58, 16-25 D. “ 4. ἐκστρατεύσας δὲ ἐς τὴν Γερμανίαν καὶ μηδ’ ἐορακῶς που πόλεμον ἐπανῆκε. τί γὰρ δεῖ καὶ λέγειν ἃ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκείνῳ τότε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ὁμοίοις αὐτῷ αὐτοκράτορσιν αἰεὶ ἐδόθη, ἵνα μὴ προσυποπτεύοντες ἔκ τε τῆς ὀλιγότητος καὶ ἐκ τῆς σμικρότητος τῶν τιμῶν [2] ἐλέγχεσθαι χαλεπαίνωσι; καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο δεινότατον ἔσχεν, ὅτι καὶ κολακεύεσθαι ἤθελε, καὶ ἀμφοτέροις ὁμοίως ἤχθετο καὶ τοῖς θεραπεύουσι καὶ τοῖς μὴ, τοῖς μὲν ὅτι θωπεύειν τοῖς δὲ ὅτι καταφρονεῖν ἐδόκουν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῇ μὲν βουλῇ χαίρειν ἐφ’ οἷς ἐψηφίζοντο προσεποιεῖτο, τὸν δὲ δὴ Οὕρσον ὀλίγου ἀπέκτεινεν, ὅτι μὴ τοῖς πρᾶσσομένοις ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἡρέσκετο, καὶ τῆς Ἰουλίας αἰτήσαμένης ὑπατον ἀπέδειξεν.” Xiph. 218, 22-29 R. St., Exc. Val. 279 (p. 706). “ [p. 326] [3] οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐπαρθεὶς ὑπ’ ἀνοίας

ὕπατος μὲν ἔτη δέκα ἐφεξῆς, τιμητῆς δὲ διὰ βίου πρῶτος δὴ καὶ μόνος καὶ ἰδιωτῶν καὶ αὐτοκρατόρων ἐχειροτονήθη, ῥαβδούχοις τε τέσσαρσι καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ τῇ στολῇ τῇ ἐπινικίῳ, ὅταν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ^[4] ἐσίῃ, χρῆσθαι ἔλαβε. τὸν τε Ὀκτώβριον Δομιτιανὸν ἀντωνόμασεν, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐγεγέννητο. τοῖς δὲ ἄρματηλάταις δύο γένη ἕτερα, τὸ μὲν χρυσοῦν τὸ δὲ πορφυροῦν ὀνομάσας, προσκατέστησε. τοῖς τε θεωμένοις συχνὰ διὰ τῶν σφαιρίων ἐδίδου, καὶ ποτε καὶ ἐδείπνισεν αὐτοὺς κατὰ χώραν καθημένους, οἶνον τέ σφισι 5. πολλαχῇ ῥέοντα νυκτὸς παρέσχεν. ἃ δὴ τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς ἐν ἡδονῇ, ὡς εἰκός, ἦν, τοῖς δὲ δυνατοῖς ὀλέθρου αἵτια καθίστατο: οὐ γὰρ ἔχων ὁπόθεν ἀναλώσει, συχνοὺς ἐφόνευε, τοὺς μὲν ἐσάγων ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον, τῶν δὲ καὶ ἀπόντων κατηγορῶν. ἡδὴ δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἐνίους λαθραίοις φαρμάκοις ἀπήλλασσε.” Xiph. 218, 29-219, R. St. “ ^[6] πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ὑποτελῶν Ῥωμαίοις ἀφίσταντο χρήματα βιαίως πρρασόμενοι, ὡς καὶ οἱ Νασαμῶνες: τοὺς τε γὰρ τῶν χρημάτων πράκτορας ἔφθειραν, καὶ τὸν Νουμιδίας ἄρχοντα Φλάκκον ἐπελθόντα σφίσιν ἤττησαν οὕτως ὡς πορθῆσαι καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. εὐρόντες δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τᾶλλά τε ἐπιτήδεια καὶ οἶνον ἐμπλησθέντες ὑπνωσαν, καὶ γνοὺς ὁ Φλάκκος τοῦτο ἐπέθετο αὐτοῖς καὶ ^[p. 328] πάντας ἀπώλεσε καὶ τοὺς ἀπομάχους διέφθειρεν ἅπαντας. ἐφ’ ᾧ ὁ Δομιτιανὸς ἐπαρθεὶς εἶπε πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ὅτι ‘Νασαμῶνας ἐκώλυσα εἶναι.’ ^[7] ἡδὴ γὰρ καὶ θεὸς ἡξίου νομίζεσθαι, καὶ δεσπότης καλοῦμενος καὶ θεὸς ὑπερηγάλλετο. ταῦτα οὐ μόνον ἐλέγετο ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγράφετο.” Zon. 11, 19, p. 58, 31-59, D. “ 6. μέγιστος δὲ δὴ πόλεμος Ῥωμαίοις τότε πρὸς τοὺς Δακοὺς ἐγένετο, ὣν τότε Δεκέβαλος ἐβασίλευε, δεινὸς μὲν συνεῖναι τὰ πολέμια δεινὸς δὲ καὶ πρᾶξι, ἐπελθεῖν εὖστοχος ἀναχωρῆσαι καίριος, ἐνέδρας τεχνίτης μάχης ἐργάτης, καὶ καλῶς μὲν νίκη χρήσασθαι καλῶς δὲ καὶ ἦτταν διαθέσθαι εἰδώς: ἀφ’ οὗ δὴ καὶ ἀνταγωνιστῆς ἀξιομαχος ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο. ^[2] Δακοὺς δὲ αὐτοὺς προσαγορεύω, ὥσπερ που καὶ αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι σφας ὀνομάζουσιν, οὐκ ἀγνοῶν ὅτι Ἑλλήνων τινὲς Γέτας αὐτοὺς λέγουσιν, εἰτ’ ὁρθῶς εἶτε καὶ μὴ λέγοντες: ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶδα Γέτας τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Αἵμου παρὰ τὸν ^[3] Ἰστρον οἰκοῦντας: ὁ Δομιτιανὸς μὲν οὖν ἐξεστρατεύσατο μὲν ἐπ’ αὐτούς, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τοῦ πολέμου προσήψατο, ἀλλ’ ἐν πόλει τινὶ Μυσίας ὑπομείνας ὕβριζεν ὥσπερ εἰώθει: οὐ γὰρ ὅτι τὸ τε σῶμα ἄπονός καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἄτολμος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ^[p. 330] ἀσωτότατος καὶ ἀσελγέστατος καὶ πρὸς γυναῖκας καὶ πρὸς μεिरάκια ἦν. ἄλλους δὲ πέμπων ἐς τὸν πόλεμον στρατηγούς τὰ πλείω κακῶς ἀπήλλασσεν.” Xiph. 219, 10-24 R. St., Exc. Val. 284=Suid. s.vv. deino/s, kai/ rios, Exc. Val. 285, 280. “ ^[5] ὅτι Δεκέβαλος ὁ Δακῶν βασιλεὺς ἐπεκηρυκεύετο πρὸς Δομιτιανὸν εἰρήνην ὑπισχνούμενος: ἐφ’ οὗ ἔπεμψε Δομιτιανὸς Φοῦσκον μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως. ὅπερ μαθὼν ὁ Δεκέβαλος ἔπεμψε πρὸς αὐτὸν πρεσβείαν αὐθις ἐν χλευασμῷ λέγων ὡς, εἰ ἔλοιτο ἕκαστος Ῥωμαίων δύο ὀβολοὺς Δεκεβάλῳ ἑκάστου ἔτους τελεῖν, εἰρήνην πρὸς αὐτὸν τίθεσθαι: εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο ἔλοιτο, πολεμήσειν καὶ μεγάλα αὐτοῖς προστρίψεσθαι κακὰ.” Petr. Patr. exc. de leg. (Hoeschel p. 15=4 Muell. Fragm. hist. Gr. 4, p. 185). “ ^[6] Δίῳν ... ἕξ βιβλίῳ ... : ‘ἐπειδὴ οἱ μετὰ τοῦ

Φούσκου στρατευσάμενοι ἡγήσασθαι σφῶν αὐτῶν ἡξίωσαν.” Bekk. Anecd. 147, 29-31. “ 7. ὅτι ὁ Δομιτιανὸς Κουάδους καὶ Μαρκομάνους ἀμύνασθαι, ὅτι μὴ ἐβρόθήσαν οἱ κατὰ Δακῶν, ἠθέλησε, καὶ ἦλθεν ἐς Παννονίαν σφίαι πολεμήσων, καὶ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς δευτέρους, οὓς ἔπεμψαν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης, ἀπέκτεινεν.” Exc. UG (p. 399). “ 6. ^[4] ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς πταίσας τοῖς στρατιάρχαις ἐπεκάλει. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀμείνω πάντα, καίτοι μηδὲν αὐτῶν πράπτων, προσεποιεῖτο, τῶν δὲ δὴ χειρόνων ἑτέρους, εἰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου τι κελεύσεως συνεβεβήκει, ^[p. 332] ἦτι^ατο. καὶ ἐμίσει μὲν τοὺς κατορθώσαντάς τι, ἐμέμφετο δὲ τοὺς πταίσαντας.” Exc. Val. 281 (p. 399). “ 7. ^[2] ὅτι ὁ Δομιτιανὸς ἡττηθεὶς ὑπὸ Μαρκομάνων καὶ φυγῶν ἔπεμψε διὰ ταχέων πρὸς τὸν Δεκεβάλον τὸν Δακῶν βασιλέα, καὶ ἐς σπονδὰς αὐτὸν ὑπηγάγετο, ἃς πολλάκις αἰτήσαντι αὐτῷ πρότερον οὐκ ἔδεδῶκε. καὶ ὃς ἐδέξατο μὲν τὴν σύμβασιν ‘δεινῶς γὰρ ἔτεταλαιπώρητο 22’, οὐ μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸς ἠθέλησεν ἐς λόγους αὐτῷ ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἔπεμψε τὸν Διηγιν μετὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τὰ τε ὅπλα καὶ αἰχμαλώτους τινάς, ὥς καὶ μόνους ^[3] ἐκείνους ἔχων, δῶσοντα. γενομένου δὲ τούτου ὁ Δομιτιανὸς τῷ Διηγιδι διάδημα ἐπέθηκε καθάπερ ὥς ἀληθῶς κεκρατηκῶς καὶ βασιλέα τινὰ τοῖς Δακοῖς δοῦναι δυνάμενος, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τιμὰς καὶ ἀργύριον ἐχαρίσατο, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὥς νενικηκῶς ἐπέστειλε τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ πρέσβεις παρὰ τοῦ Δεκεβάλου ἐπιστολήν τε, ὥς γε ἔφασκεν, ἣν ἐλέγετο πεπλακέναι. ^[4] καὶ πολλοῖς τὴν ἑορτὴν πομπείοις ἐκόσμησεν οὐκ ἐξ ὧν εἶλε ‘πᾶν γὰρ τοῦναντίον καὶ προσανάλωσε ταῖς σπονδαῖς, συχνὰ μὲν καὶ αὐτίκα χρήματα καὶ δημιουργοὺς παντοίας τέχνης καὶ εἰρηνικῆς καὶ πολεμικῆς τῷ Δεκεβάλῳ δούς, συχνὰ δὲ καὶ ἀεὶ δώσειν ὑποσχόμενος’ ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐπίπλων: τούτοις γὰρ ὥς καὶ ^[p. 334] αἰχμαλώτοις ἀεὶ ποτε ἐχρῆτο, ἅτε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτὴν δεδουλωμένος.” Exc. UR (p. 400). “ 8. καὶ τοσαῦτα αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσθη ὥστε πᾶσαν ὀλίγου δεῖν τὴν οἰκουμένην τὴν ὑπ’ αὐτὸν οὔσαν εἰκόνων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνδριάντων καὶ ἀργυρῶν καὶ χρυσῶν ἐμπλησθῆναι. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ θεᾶν πολυτελεῖ, ἐν ἣ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἐς ἱστορίαν ἐπίσημον παρελάβομεν, πλὴν ὅτι καὶ παρθένοι τῷ δρομικῷ ἡγωνίσαντο: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἑορτάς τινας νικητηρίους δῆθεν ἐπιτελῶν ἀγῶνας συχνοὺς ^[2] ἐποίησε. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ μάχας καὶ πεζῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἵππεων αὖ συνέβαλε, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐν καινῷ τινι χωρίῳ ναυμαχίαν ἐπετέλεσε. καὶ ἀπέθανον ἐν αὐτῇ πάντες μὲν ὀλίγου δεῖν οἱ ναυμαχήσαντες, συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐκ ^[3] τῶν θεωμένων: ὑετοῦ γὰρ πολλοῦ καὶ χειμῶνος σφοδροῦ ἐξαίφνης γενομένου οὐδενὶ ἐπέτρεψεν ἐκ τῆς θεᾶς ἀπαλλαγῆναι, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς μανθῦας ἀλλασσόμενος ἐκείνους οὐδὲν εἶασε μεταβαλεῖν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐνόησαν οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ ἐτελεύτησαν. ^[4] ἐφ’ ᾧ που παραμυθούμενος αὐτοὺς δεῖπνόν σφισι δημοσίᾳ διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς παρέσχε. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας νύκτωρ ἐποιεῖ, καὶ ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ νάνους καὶ γυναικας συνέβαλλε. 9. τὸ μὲν οὖν πληθὸς οὕτως τότε ἐδείπνισεν, αὐθις δὲ τοὺς πρῶτους τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τῶν ἵππεων τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. οἶκον μελάντατον ἀπανταχόθεν ἔκ τε τῆς ὀροφῆς καὶ ἐκ τῶν τοίχων τοῦ τ’ ἐδάφους παρασκευάσας, καὶ κλισίας ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ δαπέδου γυμνάς

ὁμοίας ἑτοιμάσας, ἔσεκάλεσεν [p. 336] [2] αὐτοὺς μόνους νυκτὸς ἄνευ τῶν ἀκολούθων. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν στήλην ταφοειδῇ ἐκάστω σφῶν παρέστησε, τὸ τε ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἔχουσαν καὶ λυχνοῦχον μικρόν, οἷος ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις κρεμάννυται: ἔπειτα παῖδες εὐπρεπεῖς γυμνοί, μέλανι καὶ αὐτοὶ κεχρισμένοι, ἐσῆλθον ὥσπερ εἰδῶλα, καὶ περιελθόντες αὐτοὺς μετ' ὀρχήσεώς τινος φοβεράς πρὸ [3] ποδῶν ἰδρῦθησαν: καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πάνθ' ὅσαπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐναγίσμασι καθαρίζεται, καὶ ἐκείνοις μέλανα ἐν σκευέσιν ὁμοίοις προσηνέχθη, ὥστε καὶ φοβεῖσθαι καὶ τρέμειν καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν πάντας, αἰεὶ τε ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη σφαγήσεσθαι προσδέχεσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι παρὰ τε τῶν ἄλλων σιωπῇ πολλῇ ὥσπερ ἐν τεθνηκόσιν ἤδη ἦν, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Δομιτιανὸς πάντα ἕς τε θανάτους [4] καὶ ἕς σφαγὰς φέροντα διελάλει. τέλος δὲ ἀφῆκε μὲν αὐτοὺς, προαπαλλάξας δὲ δὴ τοὺς οἰκέτας σφῶν τοὺς ἐν τοῖς προθύροις ἐστηκότας, δι' ἐτέρων τινῶν ἀγνώστων τοὺς μὲν ὀχήμασι τοὺς δὲ φορεῖοις παραδοὺς πολλὴν πλέον δέος αὐτοῖς ἐνέβαλε. ἄρτι δὲ ἕκαστός σφων οἴκαδε ἐσεληλύθει καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἀναπνεῖν ἤρχετο, καὶ αὐτῷ ἐσηγγέλθη ὅτι παρὰ τοῦ Αὐγούστου [5] τις ἦκοι. προσδοκῶντων τε ἐκ τοῦτου τότε δὴ πάντως ἀπολεῖσθαι, ἐσεκόμισέ τις τὴν στήλην ἀργυρᾶν οὖσαν, εἴτ' ἄλλος ἄλλο τι καὶ ἕτερος ἕτερον τῶν σκευῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ δεῖπνῳ παρατεθέντων, πολυτελεστάτου τινὸς γένους πεποιημένα: καὶ τέλος ὁ παῖς ἐκεῖνος, τὸ δαιμόνιον [p. 338] ἐκάστω, λελουμένος τε καὶ κεκοσμημένος ... καὶ οὕτω διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς φοβούμενοι τὰ δῶρα ἔλαβον. [6] ὁ μὲν οὖν Δομιτιανὸς τοιαῦτα νικητήρια, ἣ ὥς γε ὁ ὁμιλος ἔλεγε, τοιούτους ἐναγισμοὺς ἐπὶ τε τοῖς ἐν τῇ Δακίᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Πώμῃ τεθνηκόσιν ἐποίησε, καὶ τινας καὶ τότε τῶν πρώτων ἀπέσφαξε, τοῦ τε θάψαντος τὸ σῶμα ἐνὸς αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνου χωρίοις ἐτεθνήκει, τὴν οὐσίαν ἀφείλετο. 10. ἐν δὲ τῷ Δακικῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τότε συνεκύρησεν ἀξιόλογα. ὁ γὰρ Ἰουλιανὸς ἐπιταχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τῷ πολέμῳ τᾷλλὰ τε παρεσκεύασατο εὔ, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τὰ τε ἑαυτῶν ὀνόματα καὶ τὰ τῶν ἑκατοντάρχων ἐπὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐπιγράψαι ἐκέλευσεν, ἵνα ἐκφανέστεροι οἱ τι ἀγαθὸν αὐτῶν ἢ κακὸν ποιοῦντες γένωνται. [2] συμβαλὼν δὲ ἐν ταῖς Τάταις τοῖς πολεμίοις πλείστους αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν: ἐν οἷς καὶ Οὐεζίνας, τὰ δευτέρα μετὰ Δεκέβαλον ἔχων, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἠδυνήθη διαφυγεῖν ζῶν, πέπτωκεν ἐξεπίτηδες ὥς καὶ τετελευτηκώς, κακ' αὐτοῦ λαθὼν τῆς νυκτὸς [3] ἔφυγε. δείσας οὖν ὁ Δεκέβαλος μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ οἱ Ρωμαῖοι ἅτε κεκρατηκότες ὀρμήσωσι, τὰ τε δένδρα τὰ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὄντα ἔκοψε καὶ ὅπλα τοῖς στελέχεσι περιέθηκεν, ἵνα φοβηθέντες ὥς καὶ στρατιωτῶν ὄντων ἀναχωρήσωσιν. ὁ καὶ ἐγένετο.” Χιρφ. 219, 24-221, R. St. “ 5. ὅτι Χαριόμηρος ὁ τῶν Χερούσκων βασιλεὺς, [p. 340] ὑπὸ Χάττων ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ρωμαίους φιλίαν ἐκπεσὼν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐτέρους τινὰς παρέλαβε καὶ κρεῖττων ἐν τῇ καθόδῳ ἐγένετο, ἔπειτα ἐγκαταλειφθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπειδὴ ὀμήρους τοῖς Ρωμαίοις ἔπεμψε, τὸν Δομιτιανὸν ἰκέτευσε καὶ συμμαχίας μὲν οὐκ ἔτυχε, χρήματα δὲ ἔλαβεν.” Exc. UG (p. 399). “ 11. Ἀντώνιος δὲ τις ἐν Γερμανίᾳ ἄρχων κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τῷ Δομιτιανῷ ἐπανεστή, ὃν Λούκιος Μάξιμος κατηγωνίσσατο καὶ καθεῖλεν: ὃς ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ νίκῃ οὐδὲν μέγα ἀξίος

ἐστιν ἐπαινέισθαι ἅπολλοὶ γάρ που καὶ ἄλλοι παρὰ δόξαν ἐνίκησαν, οἱ τε στρατιῶται αὐτῷ συνηγωνίσαντο· [2] ὅτι δὲ τὰ γράμματα ὅσα ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κιβωτίοις εὗρέθη, παρὰ βραχὺ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀσφάλειαν πρὸς τὸ μηδένα ἐξ αὐτῶν συκοφαντηῆναι θέμενος, ἔκαυσεν, οὐχ ὁρῶ πῶς ἂν αὐτὸν ἀξίως ὑμῆσαιμι.” Χιρῆ. 221, 20-26 R. St., Exc. Val. 282 (p. 709). “ ὁ δὲ Δομιτιανὸς ἀφορμῆς ἐντεῦθεν εὐπορήσας, ἐπὶ τοὺς φόνους καὶ τῶν γραμμάτων χωρὶς ὁρμήσας, οὐδ’ ἂν εἴποι τις ὅσους ἀπέκτεινεν.” Χιρῆ. 221, 26-28 R. St. “ [3] ὅτι τὸ σύμπαν πλῆθος τῶν ὑπὸ Δομιτιανοῦ κολασθέντων οὐδ’ ἂν εὖρεῖν τις δυνηθεῖη. οὕτω γὰρ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦτω κατέγνω ὥσθ’, ἵνα μηδεμία μνήμη τῶν θανατουμένων ὑπολειφθῇ, ἐκώλυσέ σφας ἐς τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐσγραφῆναι. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν ἀναιρεθέντων τῇ βουλῇ τι ἐπέστειλε, καίπερ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν, [p. 342] ὥσπερ τὴν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, πέμψας ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκθείς.” Exc. Val. 283 (p. 709). “ [4] εἷς δ’ οὖν τις νεανίσκος Ἰούλιος Κάλουαστρος, κεχλιαρχηκῶς ἐς βουλείας ἐλπίδα, παραδοξότατα ἐσώθη. ἐπεὶ δὲ γὰρ πολλάκις κατὰ μόνας συμμαχίῳς ἡλέγχετο, καὶ οὐκ εἶχεν ὅπως ἄλλως τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς συνωμοσίας ἀπολύσεται, ἔφη κατ’ ἐρωτικὴν χρεῖαν αὐτῷ συγγεγονέναι: καὶ γὰρ ἦν οἷος ἐρᾶσθαι δύνασθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἀφείθη, ἐν δ’ ἔτι τοῦτο εἰπὼν περὶ τῶν τότε [5] γενομένων παύσομαι. Λουσιανὸς Πρόκλος βουλευτῆς γέρων, ἐν ἀγρῷ τὰ πολλὰ διατρίβων, συνεξῆλθε μὲν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης καταναγκάσαντι, ἵνα μὴ δόξῃ κινδυνεύοντα αὐτὸν προλιπεῖν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀποθάνῃ, τῆς δ’ ἀγγελίας ἐλθούσης ἔφη τε ‘ἐνίκησας αὐτοκράτορ, ὥσπερ ἡλύχον: ἀπόδος οὖν με τῷ ἀγρῷ,’ καὶ ἐγκαταλιπὼν αὐτὸν ἀπῆλθεν ἐς τὸ χωρίον, καὶ οὐκέτι μετὰ τοῦτο, καίτοι πολὺν ἐπιζήσας χρόνον, προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ. [6] ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τοῦτω ἐπετήδευσάν τινες, φαρμάκῳ βελόνας χρίοντες, κεντεῖν αὐταῖς οὐς ἐβούλοντο: καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐκείνων μηδὲ αἰσθόμενοι ἔθνησκον, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ μηνυθέντες ἐτιμωρήθησαν. καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν πάσῃ ὡς εἰπεῖν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ἐγένετο. 12. Τραϊανῷ δὲ δὴ τῷ Οὐλπίῳ καὶ Ἀκιλίῳ Γλαβρίωνι ὑπατεύουσαι τότε τὰ αὐτὰ σημεῖα [p. 344] λεγεται γενέσθαι: καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν τῷ μὲν Γλαβρίωνι ὀλεθρος, τῷ δὲ Τραϊανῷ ἡ τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας ἀρχὴ προερέθη. συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες τῶν πλουσίων ἐπὶ μοιχεῖα ἐκολάσθησαν, ὧν ἔνια καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐμοιχεύθησαν. καὶ ἄλλαις δ’ αἰτίαις [2] πολλοὶ καὶ ἐζημιώθησαν καὶ ἀπέθανον: γυνὴ γάρ τις ὅτι ἀπεδύσατο ἐναντίον εἰκόνης αὐτοῦ ἐκρίθη τε καὶ ἀπώλετο, καὶ ἕτερος ὡς ἀστρολόγοις ὠμιληκῶς. ἐν δὲ τοῖς τότε τελευτήσασιν πολλοῖς οὖσι καὶ Μέττιος Πομπουσιανὸς ἐγένετο, [3] ὃν ὁ μὲν Οὐεσπασιανὸς μαθὼν ἐκ φήμης τινὸς ὅτι μοναρχήσει οὐδὲν κακὸν εἰργάσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐτίμα, λέγων ὅτι ‘πάντως μου μνημονεύσει καὶ πάντως με ἀντιτιμήσει,’ ἐκεῖνος [4] δὲ πρότερον μὲν ἐς Κύρνον ἐξώρισε, τότε δὲ καὶ ἐφόνευσεν, ἐγκληθέντα ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν τοῖς τοῦ κοιτῶνος τοίχοις εἶχεν ἐγγεγραμμένην, καὶ τὰς δημηγορίας τὰς τῶν βασιλέων τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων, τὰς παρὰ τῷ Λιουίῳ γεγραμμένας, ἐξειλόχευ [5] τε καὶ ἀνεγίνωσκε. Μάτερνον δὲ σοφιστὴν, ὅτι κατὰ τυράννων εἴπε τι ἀσκῶν, ἀπέκτεινε. συνεγίνετο δὲ καὶ

αὐτὸς τοῖς κατηγορήσουσι καὶ τοῖς καταμαρτυρήσουσι, καὶ συνέπλαττε καὶ συνετίθει πάνθ' ὅσα λεχθῆναι ἔδει. καὶ πολλάκις καὶ τοῖς δεσμώταις κατὰ μόνας ἐλάλει, τὰ δεσμὰ αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ κατέχων. οὐτε γὰρ ἄλλοις [p. 346] τὰ λεχθησόμενα ἐπίστευε, καὶ ἐκείνους καὶ δεδεμένους ἐδεδίει.” Xiph. 221, 28-222, R. St., Zon. 11, 19, p. 59, 17-23 D. “ 5. [2] ὅτι ἐν τῇ Μυσίᾳ Λύγιοι Σουήβοις τις! πολεμωθέντες πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν, αἰτοῦντες συμμαχίαν παρὰ Δομιτιανοῦ, καὶ ἔλαβον οὐ τῷ πλήθει ἰσχυρὰν ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀξιώματι: ἑκατὸν γὰρ ἱππεῖς μόνοι αὐτοῖς ἐδόθησαν. ἀγανακτήσαντες ἐπὶ τούτῳ οἱ Σουῆβοι προσπαρέλαβον Ἰάζυγας, καὶ προπαρεσκευάζοντο ὡς καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν τὸν Ἰστρον διαβησόμενοι.” Exc. UG (p. 399). “ 5. [3] ὅτι Μάσσυος ὁ Σεμνόνων βασιλεὺς καὶ Γάννα ἑπαρθένος ἦν μετὰ τὴν Οὐελήδαν ἐν τῇ Κελτικῇ θειάζουσά ἦλθον πρὸς τὸν Δομιτιανόν, καὶ τιμῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ τυχόντες ἀνεκομίσθησαν.” Exc. UG (p. 400) = Suid. s. v. qeia/zousa. “ 13. ἔπραξε δέ τι καὶ ὡς τιμητῆς ἀξιόλογον: Καικίλιον γὰρ Ῥουφῖνον ἀπῆλασεν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, ὅτι ὠρχεῖτο, Κλαῦδιόν τε Πακᾶτον τῷ δεσπότη καίπερ ἑκατονταρχικότα ἀπέδωκεν, [2] ὅτι ἠλέγχθη δοῦλος ὦν. οὐ μὴν καὶ τὸ μέλλον ῥηθῆναι τούτοις ὁμοίον ἐστίν, ὅπερ ὡς αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπεποιήκει: τὸν γὰρ δὴ Ῥούστικον τὸν Ἀρουλῆγον ἀπέκτεινεν ὅτι ἐφιλοσόφει καὶ ὅτι τὸν Θρασῆαν ἱερὸν ὠνόμαζε, καὶ Ἐρέννιον Σενεκίωνα ὅτι τε οὐδεμίαν ἀρχὴν ἐν πολλῷ βίῳ μετὰ τὴν ταμειαν ἠτήκει καὶ ὅτι τοῦ Πρίσκου τοῦ Ἐλουιδίου τὸν βίον συνέγραψεν. [3] ἄλλοι τε ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης τῆς κατὰ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν αἰτίας συχνοὶ διώλοντο, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ [p. 348] πάντες ἐξηλάθησαν αὐθις ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης. Ἰουονέντιος μέντοι τις Κέλσος συνομόσας τε ἀνὰ πρῶτους μετὰ τινων ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ κατηγορηθεὶς [4] ἐπὶ τούτῳ θαυμαστῶς ἐσώθη. μέλλων γὰρ ἀλίσκεσθαι ἠτήσατο δι' ἀπορρήτων εἰπεῖν τι αὐτῷ, κὰν τούτῳ προσκυνήσας αὐτῷ, δεσπότην τε καὶ θεόν, ἃ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἤδη προσηγορεύετο, πολλάκις ὀνομάσας, ‘οὐδὲν μὲν’ ἔφη ‘πεποίηκα τοιοῦτον, ἂν δ' ἀναβολὴν λάβω, πολυπραγμονήσω πάντα, καὶ συχνοὺς σοι καὶ μηνύσω καὶ ἐξελέγξω.’ ἀφεθείς τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ οὐτε ἐνέδειξε τινα, καὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλας προφάσεις προτείνων διῆγαγε μέχρις οὗ Δομιτιανὸς ἀπέθανεν. 14. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπὸ Σινοέσσης ἐς Πουτεόλους ἄγουσα λίθοις ἐστορέσθη. κὰν τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν Φλάουιον τὸν Κλήμεντα ὑπατεύοντα, καίπερ ἀνεψιὸν ὄντα καὶ γυναικα καὶ αὐτὴν συγγενὴ ἑαυτοῦ Φλαουίαν Δομιτίλλαν ἔχοντα, κατέσφαξεν ὁ [2] Δομιτιανός. ἐπηνέχθη δὲ ἀμφοῖν ἔγκλημα ἀθεότητος, ὑφ' ἧς καὶ ἄλλοι ἐς τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἦθη ἐξοκέλλοντες πολλοὶ κατεδικάσθησαν, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ τῶν γούν οὐσιῶν ἐστερήθησαν: ἡ δὲ Δομιτίλλα ὑπερωρίσθη μόνον ἐς [3] Πανδατερίαν. τὸν δὲ δὴ Γλαβρίωνα τὸν μετὰ τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ ἄρξαντα, κατηγορηθέντα τὰ τε [p. 350] ἄλλα καὶ οἷα οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ὅτι καὶ θηρίοις ἐμάχετο, ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐφ' ᾧ που καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ὀργὴν αὐτῷ ὑπὸ φθόνου ἔσχεν, ὅτι ὑπατεύοντα αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ Ἀλβανὸν ἐπὶ τὰ Νεανισκεύματα ὠνομασμένα καλέσας λέοντα ἀποκτεῖναι μέγαν ἠνάγκασε, καὶ ὅς οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν ἐλυμάνθη ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐστοχώτατα αὐτὸν κατειργάσατο. [4] ὑποπτεῦων οὖν ἐκ τούτων πάντας ἀνθρώπους οὐκέτι οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐξελευθέροις, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐπάρχοις,

οὕς γε καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν κρίνεσθαι ἔποιε, ἐλπίδα ἀσφαλείας εἶχε. καὶ τὸν Ἐπαφρόδιτον δὲ τὸν Νέρωνος πρότερον μὲν ἐξεδίωξε τότε δὲ καὶ ἔσφαξεν, ἐπικαλέσας αὐτῷ ὅτι μὴ ἤμυνε τῷ Νέρωνι, ἴν' ἐκ τῆς τιμωρίας, ἣν ὑὲρ ἐκείνου ἐποιεῖτο, πόρρωθεν τοὺς ἰδίους ἐξελευθέρους ἐκφοβήσῃ μηδὲν τοιοῦτο τολμῆσαι. [5] οὐ μὴν ὠφελήθη τι ἐκ τούτου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπεβουλευθὴ τῷ ἐξῆς ἔτει ἐπὶ τε Γαίου Οὐάλεντος, ὃς ἐνενηκοστῷ ἔτει ὑπατεύσας ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ ἐπὶ Γαίου Ἀντιστίου ὑπάτων, καὶ ἀπώλετο. 15. ἐπέθεντο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ συνεσκευάσαντο τὴν πρᾶξιν Παρθενίος τε ὁ πρόκοιτος αὐτοῦ, καίπερ οὕτω τιμώμενος παρ' αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ ξιφηφορεῖν, καὶ Σιγηρὸς ἐν τῇ προκοιτίᾳ καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν, [p. 352] Ἐντελλὸς τε ὁ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς βιβλία διέπων [2] μετὰ Στεφάνου ἀπελευθέρου. καὶ αὐτὸ οὐτε ἡ Δομιτία ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ οὐτε δὲ ὁ Νωρβανὸς ὁ ἑπαρχος οὐδ' ὁ συνάρχων Πετρώνιος Σεκοῦνδος ἠγνόησαν, ὥς γε καὶ λέγονται: ἡ τε γὰρ Δομιτία αἰεὶ ποτε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐμισεῖτο καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐφοβεῖτο μὴ καὶ ἀποθάνῃ, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οὐκέτ' αὐτὸν ἐφίλουν, οἱ μὲν ὅτι ἐνεκαλοῦντό τινα, οἱ δ' ὅτι [3] προσεδέχοντο. ἤκουσα δὲ ἔγωγε καὶ ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι πάντας ἅμα αὐτοὺς ὁ Δομιτιανὸς ὑποπεύσας ἀποκτεῖναι ἠθέλησε, καὶ σφῶν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐς σανίδιον φιλύρινον διθυρον ἐσγράψας ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον ἐν τῇ κλίνῃ ἐν ᾗ ἀνεπαύετο ὑπέθηκε, καὶ αὐτὸ παιδίον τι τῶν γυμνῶν τῶν ψιθύρων καθεύδοντος αὐτοῦ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἀφελόμενον [4] εἶχεν, οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅ τι φέροι, προστυχούσα δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ Δομιτία τὰ τε γεγραμμένα ἀνέγνω καὶ ἐμήνυσε καὶ ἐκείνοις, κάκ τούτου καὶ ἄλλως διανοοῦμενοι συνετάχυναν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν. οὐ μέντοι πρότερον ἐπεχείρησαν ἔργῳ πρὶν τὸν διαδεξόμενον τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ βεβαιώσασθαι. [5] διελέξαντο μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλοις τισί, μηδενὸς δὲ ἐκείνων δεξαμένου πάντες γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὡς διαπειρωμένους σφῶν ἐφοβήθησαν' ἐπὶ τὸν Νέρουαν ἦλθον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ εὐγενέστατος καὶ ἐπικέστατος ἦν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐκινδύνευσε διαβληθεὶς ὑπ' [p. 354] ἀστρολόγων, ὅτι μοναρχήσῃ φησάντων: ἐξ οὗπερ ῥᾶον ἔπεισαν αὐτὸν ἀναδέξασθαι τὴν [6] ἡγεμονίαν. πάντως γὰρ καὶ ὁ Δομιτιανὸς τῶν πρώτων τάς τε ἡμέρας καὶ τὰς ὥρας ἐν αἷς ἐγεγέννητο διασκοπῶν, οὐκ ὀλίγους ἐκ τούτου τῶν οὐδὲ ἐλπίζόντων ἐν δυνάμει τινὶ ἔσεσθαι προανήλiske: καὶ τὸν γε Νέρουαν ἀπέσφαξεν ἄν, εἰ μὴ τις τῶν ἀστρολόγων εὐνοίαν αὐτῷ ἔχων ἔφη ὅτι ἐντὸς ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν τελευτήσῃ. πιστεύσας γὰρ ὄντως τοῦτ' ἔσεσθαι, οὐκ ἠθέλησε κάκεῖνον πεφονευκέναι ὡς πάντως μετὰ μικρὸν τεθνηξόμενον. 69" Xiph. 222, 31-225, R. St., Zon. 11, 20, p. 63, 1-9 D. " 16. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν οὐδὲν τῶν τηλικούτων ἀπρόοπτον, ἄλλα τε αὐτῷ σημεῖα ἐγένετο οὐκ αἴσια, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ τὸν τε Ῥούστικον ξίφει προσιέναι οἶ, καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ἣν ἐν τῷ κοιτῶνι ἰδρυμένην εἶχε, τὰ ὅπλα ἀποβεβληκέναι καὶ ἐπὶ ἄρματος ἵππων μελάνων ἐς χάσμα ἐσπίπτειν ἔδοξεν. ὁ δὲ δὴ μάλιστα διὰ πάντων [2] ἄξιον θαυμάσαι ἐστί, Λαργίνος τις Πρόκλος δημοσίᾳ προειπὼν ἐν Γερμανίᾳ ὅτι τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐν ᾗ ἀπέθανε τελευτήσῃ, ἀνεπέμφθη τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος, καὶ ἐσαχθεὶς πρὸς τὸν Δομιτιανὸν ἔφη καὶ τότε τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔξειν, καὶ καταδικασθεὶς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἀνεβλήθη τε ὅπως διαφυγόντος αὐτοῦ τὸν κίνδυνον [p. 356]

ἀποθάνῃ, κὰν τοῦτω τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ σφαγέντος ἐσώθη καὶ δέκα μυριάδας δραχμῶν ^[3] παρὰ τοῦ Νέρουνα ἔλαβεν. ἕτερος τέ τις πρότερόν ποτε εἰπὼν αὐτῷ καὶ ὅποτε καὶ ὅπως φθαρήσεται, ἔπειτα ἐρωτηθεὶς ὁποῖω αὐτὸς τέλει τοῦ βίου χρήσεται, καὶ ἀποκρινάμενος ὅτι ὑπὸ κυνῶν ἀναλωθήσεται, ἐκελεύσθη μὲν ζῶν κατακαυθῆναι καὶ τὸ πῦρ αὐτῷ προσήχθη, ὕετοῦ δὲ ἐν τοῦτω πολλοῦ καταρρυέντος ἢ τε πυρὰ ἐσβέσθη καὶ ἐκεῖνον κύνες ὀπίσω τῷ χεῖρε δεδεμένον καὶ ἐπικείμενον ἐπ' αὐτῆς εὐρόντες διεσπάραζαν. 17. ἔχω δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι εἰπεῖν παραδοξότατον, ὃ ἐπειδὰν περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ φράσω, σημανῶ. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τάχιστα ἐκ τοῦ δικαστηρίου ἀνέστη καὶ ἀναπαύσεσθαι τὸ μεθημερινόν, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, ἔμελλε, πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ ξίφους, ὃ αἰεὶ ποτε ὑπὸ τῷ προσκεφαλαίῳ αὐτοῦ ἔκειτο, τὸ σιδήριον ὃ Παρθένιος ἐξέειλεν, ὅπως μὴ χρήσεται, ἔπειτα τὸν Στέφανον ἐρρωμενέστερον τῶν ἄλλων ὄντα ^[2] ἐσέπεμψε· καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἔπληξε μὲν τὸν Δομιτιανόν, οὐ μὴν καιρίαν, ἀλλὰ καταβληθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἔκειτο. οὕτω δὲ δεῖσας μὴ διαφύγῃ, ἐπεσεπήδησεν, ἢ ὥς γέ τισι δοκεῖ, Μάξιμον ἐξελεύθερον ἐπεσέπεμψε. καὶ ὃ τε Δομιτιανὸς οὕτω κατεσφάγη, καὶ ὁ Στέφανος παραχρῆμα συνδραμόντων ἐπ' αὐτὸν τῶν οὐ συμμετεσχηκότων τῆς συνωμοσίας προσαπώλετο. 18. ὃ δ' εἶπον ὅτι ὑπὲρ πάντα τᾶλλα θαυμάσας ἔχω, τόδ' ἐστίν. Ἀπολλώνιος τις Τυανεὺς ἐν τε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ καὶ τῇ ὥρᾳ αὐτῇ ἐκείνῃ ἐν ἣ ὁ ^[p. 358] Δομιτιανὸς ἐσφάττετο 'τοῦτο γὰρ ὕστερον ἐκ τῶν ἐκατέρωθεν γενομένων ἡκριβώθῃ ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τινα λίθον ὑψηλὸν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, ἢ καὶ ἑτέρωθι, καὶ συγκαλέσας τὸ πλῆθος ταῦτα εἶπε: 'καλῶς, Στέφανε, εὖ γε, Στέφανε· παῖε τὸν μαιφόνον. ἔπληξας, ἔτρωσας, ἀπέκτεινας.' ^[2] τοῦτο μὲν οὕτως ἐγένετο, κὰν μυριάκις τις ἀπιστήσῃ: Δομιτιανὸς δὲ ἔζησε μὲν ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ μῆνας δέκα καὶ ἡμέρας ἕξ καὶ εἴκοσιν, ἐμονάρχησε δὲ ἔτη πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ ἡμέρας πέντε. καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα Φυλλὶς ἢ τροφὸς κλέψασα ἔθαπεν." Xiph. 225, 4-226, R. St. "[p. 360]"

“ 1. μετὰ δὲ Δομιτιανὸν Νέρουαν Κοκκήιον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀπέδειξαν αὐτοκράτορα. μίσει δὲ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ αἱ εἰκόνες αὐτοῦ, πολλαὶ μὲν ἀργυραῖ πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ χρυσαῖ οὕσαι, συνεχωνεύθησαν, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν μεγάλα χρήματα συνελέγη· καὶ αἱ ἀψῖδες πλεῖστοι δὴ ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ ποιούμεναι καθηρέθησαν. ^[2] καὶ ὁ Νέρουας τοὺς τε κρινομένους ἐπ’ ἀσεβείᾳ ἀφῆκε καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας κατήγαγε, τοὺς τε δούλους καὶ τοὺς ἐξελευθέρους τοὺς τοῖς δεσπότης σφῶν ἐπιβουλεύσαντας πάντας ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ τοῖς μὲν τοιοῦτοις οὐδ’ ἄλλο τι ἔγκλημα ἐπιφέρειν ἐπὶ τοὺς δεσπότης ἐφῆκε, τοῖς δὲ δὴ ἄλλοις οὕτ’ ἀσεβείας οὕτ’ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ βίου καταπιᾶσθαι τινὰς συνεχώρησε. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν συκοφαντησάντων θάνατον κατεδικάσθησαν· ἐν οἷς καὶ Σέρας ἦν ὁ φιλόσοφος. ^[3] ταραχῆς οὖν γενομένης οὐ τῆς τυχοῦσης ἐκ τοῦ πάντας πάντων κατηγορεῖν, λέγεται Φρόντωννα τὸν ὕπατον εἰπεῖν ὡς κακὸν μὲν ἔστιν αὐτοκράτορα ἔχειν ἐφ’ οὗ μηδενὶ μηδὲν ἔξεστι ποιεῖν, χεῖρον δὲ ἐφ’ οὗ πᾶσι πάντα· καὶ ὁ Νέρουας ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἀπηγόρευσε τοῦ λοιποῦ γίνεσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα. ἦν δὲ ὁ Νέρουας ὑπὸ τε τοῦ γήρωος καὶ ὑπ’ ἀρρωστίας, ἀφ’ ἧς καὶ τὴν τοοφὴν ἀεί ^[p. 362] 2. ποτε ἡμεῖ, ἀσθενέστερος. ἀπέλπε δὲ καὶ ἀνδριάντας αὐτῷ χρυσοῦς ἢ ἀργυροῦς γίνεσθαι. τοῖς δὲ τῶν οὐσιῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ μάτην ἑσπερήμενοις πάντα ἀπέδωκεν ὅσα ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ ἔτι ὄντα εὐρέθη. τοῖς τε πάνυ πένησι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐς χιλιάδα καὶ πεντακοσίας μυριάδας γῆς κτῆσιν ἐχαρίσατο, βουλευταῖς τισὶ τὴν τε ἀγορασίαν ^[2] αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν διανομὴν προστάξας. χρημάτων δὲ ἀπορῶν πολλὰ μὲν ἱμάτια καὶ σκευὴ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ χρυσαῖ, ἄλλα τε ἔπιπλα καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ χωρία καὶ οἰκίας, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντα πλὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἀπέδοτο· οὐ μέντοι καὶ περὶ τὰς τιμὰς αὐτῶν ἐμικρολογήσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ^[3] τούτῳ πολλοὺς εὐηργέτησε. καὶ πολλὰς μὲν θυσίας πολλὰς δὲ ἵπποδρομίας ἄλλας τε τινὰς θέας κατέλυσε, συστέλλων ὡς οἶόν τε τὰ δαπανήματα. ὥμοσε δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ μηδένα τῶν βουλευτῶν φονεύσειν, ἐβεβαίωσέ τε τὸν ὄρκον καίπερ ἐπιβουλευθεῖς. ἔπραττε δὲ οὐδὲν ^[4] ὃ τι μὴ μετὰ τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν. ἐνομοθέτησε δὲ ἄλλα τε καὶ περὶ τοῦ μὴ εὐνουχιῆσθαι τινὰ μηδὲ ἀδελφιδῆν γαμεῖν. τὸν δὲ Ροῦφον τὸν Οὐεργίνιον, καίπερ πολλάκις αὐτοκράτορα ὀνομασθέντα, οὐκ ὥκνησεν ὑπατεύσας συνάρχοντα προσλαβεῖν· ἐφ’ οὗ τῷ μνήματι τελευτήσαντος ἐπεγράφη ὅτι νικήσας Οὐνδικα τὸ κράτος οὐχ ἑαυτῷ περιποιήσατο ἀλλὰ τῇ πατρίδι. 3. Νέρουας δὲ οὕτως ἦρχε καλῶς ὥστε ποτὲ ^[p. 364] εἰπεῖν ‘οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον πεποίηκα ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν τε καταθέσθαι καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ^[2] ἰδιωτεῦσαι.’ Κράσσου τε Καλπουρνίου, τῶν Κράσσων ἐκείνων ἐγγόνου, ἐπιβεβουλευκότος μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων αὐτῷ, παρεκαθισατό τε αὐτοὺς ἐν τινὶ θέᾳ ἀγνοοῦντας ἔτι ὅτι καταμεμήνυνται, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ξίφη, λόγῳ μὲν ἴν’ ἐπισκέψωνται αὐτά, ὅπερ εἶωθε γίνεσθαι, εἰ ὀξέα ἐστίν, ἔργῳ δὲ ἐπιδεικνύμενος ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτῷ μέλει κἂν αὐτοῦ παραχρήμα ἀποθάνῃ. ^[3]

Αἰλιανὸς δὲ ὁ Κασπέριος ἄρχων καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ ὑπὸ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ, τῶν δορυφόρων γενόμενος τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐστασίασε κατ’ αὐτοῦ, παρασκευάσας ἐξαιτῆσαι τινας ὥστε θανατωθῆναι. πρὸς οὓς ὁ Νέρουας τοσοῦτον ἀντέσχεν ὥστε καὶ τὴν κλεῖν ἀπογυμνῶσαι καὶ τὴν σφαγὴν αὐτοῦ προδεῖξαι. οὐ μὴν τι καὶ ἤνυσεν, ἀλλ’ ^[4] ἀνηρέθησαν οὓς ὁ Αἰλιανὸς ἐβουλήθη. ὅθεν ὁ Νέρουας διὰ τὸ γῆρας οὕτω καταφρονούμενος ἀνέβη τε ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, καὶ ἔφη γεγωνήσας ‘ἀγαθὴ τύχη τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἐμοῦ αὐτοῦ Μάρκον Οὐλπιον Νέρουαν Τραϊανὸν ποιοῦμαι.’ ^[p. 366] Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ Καίσαρά τε αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξε, καὶ ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ αὐτοχειρίᾳ ἥρχε δὲ τῆς Γερμανίας ἐκεῖνος· τίσειαν Δαναοὶ ἐμὰ δάκρυα σοῖσι βέλεσσι. 4. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Τραϊανὸς Καῖσαρ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο αὐτοκράτωρ ἐγένετο, καίτοι συγγενῶν τοῦ Νέρουα ὄντων τινῶν. ἀλλ’ οὐ γὰρ τῆς τῶν κοινῶν σωτηρίας ὁ ἀνὴρ τὴν συγγένειαν προετίμησεν, οὐδ’ αὖ ὅτι Ἴβηρ ὁ Τραϊανὸς ἀλλ’ οὐκ Ἰταλὸς οὐδ’ Ἰταλιώτης ἦν, ἥττον τι παρὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν ^[2] ἐποίησατο, ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς πρόσθεν ἄλλοεθνῆς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κράτος ἐσχέκει· τὴν γὰρ ἀρετὴν ἀλλ’ οὐ τὴν πατρίδα τινὸς ἐξετάζειν δεῖν ᾔετο. πράξας δὲ ταῦτα μετήλλαξεν, ἄρξας ἔτει ἐνὶ καὶ μηνὶ τέσσαρσι καὶ ἡμέραις ἐννέα· προεβεβίωκει δὲ πέντε καὶ ἐξήκοντα ἔτη καὶ μῆνας δέκα καὶ ἡμέρας δέκα. 5. Τραϊανῷ δὲ ὄναρ ἐγεγόνει, πρὶν αὐταρχῆσαι, τοιόνδε· ἐδόκει ἄνδρα πρεσβύτην ἐν ἱματίῳ καὶ ἐσθῆτι περιπορφύρῳ, ἔτι δὲ καὶ στεφάνῳ ἐστολισμένον, οἷα πού καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν γράφουσι, δακτυλίῳ τινὶ σφραγῖδα αὐτῷ ἔς τε τὴν ἀριστερὰν σφαγὴν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐς τὴν δεξιὰν ^[2] ἐπβεβληκέναι. ὥς δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐγένετο, ἐπέστειλε τῇ βουλῇ αὐτοχειρίᾳ ἄλλα τε καὶ ὥς οὐδένα ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν ἀποσφάξοι ἢ ἀτιμάσοι, καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ὄρκους οὐ τότε μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὕστερον ἐπιστώσατο. ^[p. 368] ^[4] Αἰλιανὸν δὲ καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους τοὺς κατὰ Νέρουα στασιάσαντας, ὥς καὶ χρησόμενός τι αὐτοῖς, μεταπεμφάμενος ἐκποδῶν ἐποίησατο. ἐς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσελθὼν πολλὰ ἐποίει πρὸς τε διόρθωσιν τῶν κοινῶν καὶ πρὸς χάριν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἐκείνων τε διαφερόντως ἐπιμελούμενος, ὥς καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πρὸς τὴν τῶν παιδῶν τροφήν πολλὰ χαρίσασθαι, καὶ τοὺτους ^[5] εὐεργετῶν. Πλωτῖνα δὲ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ὅτε πρῶτον ἐς τὸ παλάτιον ἐσῆι, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀναβαθμοὺς καὶ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος μεταστραφεῖσα εἶπε ‘τοιαύτη μέντοι ἐνταῦθα ἐσέρχομαι οἷα καὶ ἐξελθεῖν βούλομαι.’ καὶ οὕτω γε ἑαυτὴν διὰ πάσης τῆς ἀρχῆς διηγάγεν ὥστε μηδεμίαν ἐπηγορίαν σχεῖν.” Xiph. 226, 18-229, R. St. “ 15. ^[2] ὅτι ὁ Τραϊανὸς τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἀφικνουμένους ἐν τῷ βουλευτικῷ θεάσασθαι ἐποίει.” Exc. UG (p. 401). “ 6. διατρίψας δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ χρόνον τινὰ ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Δακοὺς, τὰ τε πραχθέντα αὐτοῖς λογιζόμενος, τοῖς τε χρήμασιν ἃ κατ’ ἔτος ἐλάμβανον βαρυνόμενος, τὰς τε δυνάμεις αὐτῶν ^[2] αὐξανομένας καὶ τὰ φρονήματα ὀρών. πυθόμενος δὲ ὁ Δεκέβαλος τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτοῦ ἐφοβήθη, ἅτε καὶ εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι πρότερον μὲν οὐ Ῥωμαίους ἀλλὰ Δομιτιανὸν ἐνενικήκει, τότε δὲ ὥς πρὸς τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ πρὸς Τραϊανὸν αὐτοκράτορα πολεμήσοι. πλεῖστον γὰρ ἐπὶ τε δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἐπ’ ^[3] ἀνδρείᾳ τῇ τε ἀπλότῃ τῶν ἡθῶν διέπρεπε. τῷ ^[p. 370] τε γὰρ σώματι

ἔρρωτο· δεύτερον γάρ καὶ τεσσαρακοστὸν ἄγων ἔτος ἦρξεν· ὥς ἐξ ἴσου πάντα τοῖς ἄλλοις τρόπον τινὰ πονεῖσθαι, καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ ἡκμαζεν ὥς μὴθ' ὑπὸ νεότητος θρασύνεσθαι μὴθ' [4] ὑπὸ γῆρωσ ἀμβλύνεσθαι. καὶ οὐτ' ἐφθόνηι οὔτε καθήρει τινά, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πάντας τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἐτίμα καὶ ἐμεγάλυνε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε ἐφοβεῖτο τίνα αὐτῶν οὔτε ἐμίσει. διαβολαῖς τε ἡκιστα ἐπίστευε, καὶ ὀργῇ ἡκιστα ἐδουλοῦτο, τῶν τε χρημάτων τῶν ἀλλοτριῶν ἴσα καὶ φόνων τῶν 7. ἀδίκων ἀπειχετο. καὶ ἐδαπάνα πάμπολλα μὲν ἐς τοὺς πολέμους πάμπολλα δὲ ἐς τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης ἔργα, καὶ πλεῖστα καὶ ἀναγκαιότατα καὶ ἐν ὁδοῖς καὶ ἐν λιμέσι καὶ ἐν οἰκοδομήμασι δημοσίοις κατασκευάσας οὐδενὸς αἷμα ἐς οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἀνάλωσεν. [2] οὕτως γάρ που καὶ μεγαλόφρων καὶ μεγαλογνώμων ἔφω ὥστε καὶ τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ ἐπιγράψαι ὅτι ἐξαρκοῦντα αὐτὸν τῷ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δῆμῳ ἐποίησεν, ἐπειδὴ διαφθαρέντα πῃ καὶ μειζω [3] καὶ περικαλλέστερον ἐξειργάσατο. φιλούμενός τε οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τιμώμενος ἔχαιρε, καὶ τῷ τε δῆμῳ μετ' ἐπικεικίας συνεγίνετο καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ σεμνοπρεπῶς ὠμίλει, ἀγαπητὸς μὲν πᾶσι, φοβερὸς δὲ μηδενὶ πλὴν πολεμίοις ὦν. καὶ γὰρ θήρας καὶ συμποσίων ἔργων τε καὶ βουλευμάτων σκωμμάτων τε συμμετείχε σφίσι, καὶ πολλάκις καὶ τέταρτος ὠχεῖτο, ἔς τε τὰς οἰκίας αὐτῶν καὶ ἄνευ γε φρουραῖς ἔστιν ὦν ἐσιῶν εὐθυμεῖτο. [4] παιδείας μὲν γὰρ ἀκριβοῦς, ὄση ἐν λόγοις, οὐ μετέσχε, τὸ γε μὴν ἔργον αὐτῆς καὶ ἠπίστατο καὶ ἐποίει. οὐδὲ ἔστιν ὃ τι οὐκ ἄριστον εἶχε. [p. 372] καὶ οἶδα μὲν ὅτι καὶ περὶ μεिरάκια καὶ περὶ οἶνον ἐσπουδάκει. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν τι ἐκ τούτων ἢ αἰσχρὸν ἢ κακὸν ἢ ἐδεδράκει ἢ ἐπεπόνθει, ἐπηγορίαν ἂν εἶχε, νῦν δὲ τοῦ τε οἶνου διακórως ἔπινε καὶ νήφων ἦν, ἔν τε τοῖς παιδικοῖς οὐδένα ἐλύπησεν. [5] εἰ δὲ καὶ φιλοπόλεμος ἦν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τε κατορθώσει καὶ τοῦ ἐχθίστου μὲν καθαιρέσει τοῦ οἰκείου δὲ αὐξήσει ἠρκεῖτο. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ὅπερ εἴωθεν ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις γίνεσθαι, τὸ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐξογκοῦσθαι τε καὶ ὑπερφρονεῖν, συνέβη ποτὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ: οὕτως ἐγκρατῶς αὐτῶν ἦρχε.” Xiph. 229, 29-231, R. St., Exc. Val. 286 (p. 708), Suid. “ ζ.ϜϜ. ἀμβλύνω, ἡκμαζεν, καθήρει, μὴθ' ὑπὸ νεότητος, πονεῖσθαι. 8. διὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀπεικόντως ὁ Δεκέβαλος αὐτὸν ἐδεδίει: στρατεύσαντι δὲ τῷ Τραϊανῷ κατὰ τῶν Δακῶν καὶ ταῖς Τάταις, ἔνθα ἐστρατοπέδευον οἱ βάρβαροι, πλησιάσαντι μύκης μέγας προσεκομίσθη, γράμμασι Λατίνοις λέγων ὅτι ἄλλοι τε τῶν συμμάχων καὶ Βοῦροι παραινοῦσι [2] Τραϊανῷ ὀπίσω ἀπιέναι καὶ εἰρηνῆσαι. συμβαλὼν δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ Τραϊανὸς πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν οἰκείων τραυματίας ἐπέϊδε, πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέκτεινεν: ὅτε καὶ ἐπιλιπόντων τῶν ἐπιδέσμων οὐδὲ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἐσθῆτος λέγεται φείσασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰ λαμπάδια ταύτην κατατεμεῖν, τοῖς δὲ τελευτήσασι [p. 374] τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ βωμόν τε στῆσαι καὶ κατ' ἔτος ἐναγίζειν κελεῦσαι.” Xiph. 231, 2-13 R. St. “ 8. [3] ὥς δὲ καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ τὰ 18 ἄκρα ἐπεχείρησε ἀναβῆναι, λόφους ἐκ λόφων μετὰ κινδύνων καταλαμβάνων, καὶ τοῖς τῶν Δακῶν βασιλείοις ἐπέλασεν, ὃ τε Λούσιος ἐτέρωθι προσβαλὼν καὶ ἐφόνευσε πολλοὺς καὶ ἐξώγρησε πλείονας, τηνικαῦτα ὁ Δεκέβαλος πρέσβεις πέμψας τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν πιλοφόρων καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος δεηθεῖς, οὐδὲν ὃ τι οὐχ ἐτοίμως τῶν προσταχθέντων ἔσχε συνθέσθαι.”

Xiphilinus (231, 13-16 R. St.). who gives this in place of ch. 9, §§ 1-4. “ 9. ὅτι ὁ Δεκέβαλος ἐπεπόμφει μὲν καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἡττης πρέσβεις, οὐκέτι τῶν κομητῶν ὥσπερ πρότερον, ἀλλὰ τῶν πιλοφόρων τοὺς ἀρίστους. [2] καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τὰ τε ὄπλα ῥίψαντες καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἐς τὴν γῆν καταβαλόντες ἐδεήθησαν τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ μάλιστα μὲν αὐτῷ τῷ Δεκεβάλῳ καὶ ἐς ὄψιν καὶ ἐς λόγους αὐτοῦ ἐλθεῖν, ὡς καὶ πάντα τὰ κελευσθησόμενα ποιήσονται, ἐπιτραπῆναι, εἰ δὲ μὴ, σταλῆναι γέ τινα τὸν συμβησόμενον αὐτῷ. καὶ ἐπέμφθη ὁ Σούρας καὶ Κλαύδιος Λιουιανὸς [3] ὁ ἑπαρχος. ἐπράχθη δὲ οὐδέν· ὁ γὰρ Δεκέβαλος οὐδὲ ἐκείνοις ἐτόλμησε συμμῖξαι, ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ τότε. ὁ δὲ Τραϊανὸς ὄρη τε ἐντετειχισμένα ἔλαβε, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τὰ τε ὄπλα τὰ τε μηχανήματα τὰ αἰχμάλωτα τὸ τε σημεῖον τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ Φούσκου [4] ἄλὸν εὔρε. δι’ οὗν ταῦτα ὁ Δεκέβαλος, ἄλλως τε [p. 376] καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Μάξιμος ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ τὴν τε ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ χωρίον τι ἰσχυρὸν εἶλεν, οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐχ ἑτοιμῶς τῶν προσταχθέντων ἔσχε συνθέσθαι, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἐμμενεῖν αὐτοῖς ἔμελλεν, [5] ἀλλ’ ἵν’ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἀναπνεύσῃ. τὰ γὰρ ὄπλα καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα τοὺς τε μηχανοποιοὺς παραδοῦναι καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους ἀποδοῦναι, τὰ τε ἐρύματα καθελεῖν καὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς ἐαλωκυίας ἀποστῆναι, καὶ προσέτι τοὺς τε αὐτοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ [6] φίλους τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις νομίζειν, καὶ μὴτ’ αὐτόμολόν τινα ὑποδέχεσθαι μῆτε στρατιώτῃ τινὶ ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς χρῆσθαι ‘τοὺς γὰρ πλείστους τοὺς τε ἀρίστους ἐκεῖθεν ἀναπειθῶν προσεποιεῖτό καὶ ἄκων ὠμολόγησε, πρὸς τε τὸν Τραϊανὸν ἐλθὼν καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν πεσὼν καὶ προσκυνήσας αὐτὸν [7] καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἀπορρίψας. καὶ πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἔπεμψεν, ὅπως καὶ παρ’ ἐκείνου τὴν εἰρήνην βεβαιώσεται. ταῦτα [p. 378] συνθέμενος καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐν Ζερμιζεγεθούσῃ καταλιπὼν, τὴν τε ἄλλην χώραν φρουραῖς διαλαβὼν, ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀνεκομίσθη.” Exc. UG (p. 401), Xiph. 231, 16-24 R. St. “ 10. καὶ οἱ παρὰ τοῦ Δεκεβάλου πρέσβεις ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσχήθησαν, τὰ τε ὄπλα καταθέντες συνῆψαν τὰς χεῖρας ἐν αἰχμαλώτων σχήματι καὶ εἰπόν τέ τινα καὶ ἰκέτευσαν, καὶ οὕτω τὴν τε εἰρήνην ἐσπέισαντο καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἀπέλαβον. [2] Τραϊανὸς δὲ τὰ τε νικητήρια ἤγαγε καὶ Δακικὸς ἐπωνομάσθη, ἐν τε τῷ θεάτρῳ μονομάχους συνέβαλε ‘καὶ γὰρ ἔχαιρεν αὐτοῖς’, καὶ τοὺς ὀρχηστὰς ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἐπανήγαγε ‘καὶ γὰρ ἐνὸς αὐτῶν τοῦ Πυλάδου ἡρά, οὐ μέντοι, οἷα πολεμικὸς ἀνὴρ, τᾶλλα ἤττον διῆγεν ἢ καὶ ἤττον ἐδίκαζεν, ἀλλὰ τοτὲ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τοῦ Αὐγούστου, τοτὲ δ’ ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ Λιουῖα ὠνομασμένη, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἄλλοθι ἔκρινεν ἐπὶ βήματος.” Xiph. 231, 24-232, R. St., Exc. Val. 287 (p. 708). “[3] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Δεκέβαλος πολλὰ παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἀπηγγέλλετο αὐτῷ ποιῶν, καὶ ὄπλα τε κατεσκευάζετο, καὶ τοὺς αὐτομολοῦντας ἐδέχετο, τὰ τε ἐρύματα ἐπεσκευάζε, παρὰ τε τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας ἐπρεσβεύετο, καὶ τοῖς τάναντία οἱ φρονήσασι πρότερον ἐλυμαίνετο, καὶ τῶν Ἰαζύγων καὶ χώραν τινὰ ἀπετέμετο ‘ἦν μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπαιτήσασιν αὐτοῖς Τραϊανὸς οὐκ ἀπέδωκεν’, [4] οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὖθις πολέμιον αὐτὸν ἢ βουλή ἐψηφίσατο, καὶ ὁ Τραϊανὸς δι’ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ αὖθις, ἀλλ’ οὐ δι’ ἐτέρων στρατηγῶν, τὸν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον πόλεμον ἐποίησατο.” Xiph. 232, 2-10 R. St. “[p. 380] 11. ὅτι τῶν Δακῶν συχνῶν

μεθισταμένων πρὸς Τραϊανόν, καὶ δι’ ἄλλα τινά, ἐδεήθη αὐτῷ ὁ Δεκέβαλος εἰρήνης. ὡς δ’ οὐκ ἐπέσθη τὰ τε ὄπλα καὶ ἑαυτὸν παραδοῦναι, τὰς δυνάμεις φανερώς ἤθροϊζε καὶ τοὺς περιχώρους προσπαρεκάλει, ^[2] λέγων ὅτι ἐὰν αὐτὸν προῶνται καὶ αὐτοὶ κινδυνεύσουσι, καὶ ὅτι ἀσφαλέστερον καὶ ῥᾶον μεθ’ ἑαυτοῦ, πρὶν τι κακὸν παθεῖν, ἀγωνισάμενοι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν φυλάξουσιν ἢ ἂν σφᾶς τε ἀπολλυμένους περιῶσι καὶ αὐτοὶ ὕστερον, ἐρημωθέντες τῶν συμμάχων χειρωθῶσιν. 32” Exc. UG (p. 402). “ ^[3] καὶ ὁ Δεκέβαλος κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἰσχυρὸν κακῶς ἔπραττε, δόλῳ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀπάτῃ ὀλίγου μὲν καὶ τὸν Τραϊανὸν ἀπέκτεινε, πέμψας ἐς τὴν Μυσιαν αὐτομόλους τινάς, εἴ πως αὐτὸν εὐπρόσοδον ὄντα καὶ ἄλλως, τότε δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου χρεῖαν πάντα ἀπλῶς τὸν βουλούμενον ἐς λόγους δεχόμενον κατεργάσαιντο. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν πρᾶξαι, συλληφέντος τινὸς ἐξ ὑποψίας καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἐπιβούλευμα αὐτοῦ ἐκ βασάνων 12. ὁμολογήσαντος: Λογγίνον δὲ τινα στρατοπέδου Ῥωμαϊκοῦ ἐξηγουμένον καὶ δεινὸν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις αὐτῷ γεγεννημένον προσκαλεσάμενος, καὶ ἀναπείσας συμμῖξαι οἱ ὡς καὶ τὰ προσταχθησόμενα ποιήσων, συνέλαβε καὶ ἀνέκρινε δημοσίᾳ περὶ τῶν τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ βουλευμάτων, ἐπειδὴ τε μηδὲν ὁμολογήσαι ἠθέλησεν, ἐν ἀδέσμῳ ^[2] φυλακῇ περιῆγε. καὶ πρέσβιν τινὰ πέμψας ^[p. 382] πρὸς τὸν Τραϊανὸν ἠξίου τὴν τε χώραν μέχρι τοῦ Ἰστρου κομίσασθαι καὶ τὰ χρήματα, ὅσα ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐδεδαπανήκει, ἀπολαβεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν Λογγίνον οἱ ἀποδοῦναι. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τινα αὐτῷ μέσα, ἐξ ὧν οὔτε ἐν μεγάλῳ οὔτε ἐν σμικρῷ λόγῳ τὸν Λογγίνον ποιεῖσθαι δόξειν ^[3] ἔμελλε, τοῦ μήτ’ ἀπολέσθαι αὐτὸν μήτ’ ἐπὶ πολλῷ σφίσιν ἀνασωθῆναι, Δεκέβαλος μὲν ἔτι διασκοπῶν ὅ τι πράξῃ ἀνεῖχε, Λογγῖνος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ φαρμάκου διὰ τοῦ ἀπελευθέρου εὐπορήσας ὑπέσχετό τε αὐτῷ τὸν Τραϊανὸν καταλλάξαι, ἵνα ὡς ἥκιστα ὑποτοπήσῃ τὸ γενησόμενον, μὴ καὶ φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ ἀκριβεστέραν ποιήσῃται, καὶ γράμματά τινα ἱκετεῖαν ἔχοντα γράψας ἔδωκε τῷ ἐξελευθέρῳ πρὸς τὸν Τραϊανὸν ἀποκομίσει, ^[4] ἵν’ ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ γένηται. καὶ οὕτως ἀπελθόντος αὐτοῦ τὸ φάρμακον νυκτὸς ἔπεε καὶ ἀπέθανε. γενομένου δὲ τούτου ὁ Δεκέβαλος ἐξήγησε παρὰ τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ τὸν ἀπελεύθερον, τὸ τε σῶμα τοῦ Λογγίνου καὶ δέκα αἰχμαλώτους ἀντιδώσειν οἱ ὑποσχόμενος, καὶ εὐθύς γε τὸν ἑκατοντάρχην τὸν ἀλόντα μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἔπεμψεν ὡς καὶ ταῦτα ^[5] διαπράξοντα: παρ’ οὗ πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὸν Λογγίνον ἐγνώσθη. οὐ μέντοι οὔτε ἐκεῖνον ὁ Τραϊανὸς ἀπέπεμψεν οὔτε τὸν ἐξελεύθερον ἐξέδωκε, προτιμότεραν τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀξίωμα τῆς τοῦ Λογγίνου ταφῆς ποιησάμενος.” Xiph. 232, 10-28 R. St., Exc. UG (p. 402 s#3.). “ 13. Τραϊανὸς δὲ γέφυραν λιθίνην ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰστρου κατεσκεύασατο, περὶ ἧς οὐκ ἔχω πῶς ἂν ἀξίως ^[p. 384] αὐτὸν θαυμάσω: ἔστι μὲν γὰρ καὶ τᾶλλα αὐτοῦ ἔργα διατρεπέστατα, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκεῖνα. ὡς γὰρ κρηπιδές εἰσι λίθου τετραπέδου εἴκοσι, τὸ μὲν ὕψος πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ποδῶν πλὴν ^[2] τῶν θεμελίων, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ἐξήκοντα: καὶ αὗται ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων πόδας ἀπέχουσιν ἀψῖσι συνωκοδόμηνται. πῶς οὐκ ἂν τις τὸ ἀνάλωμα τὸ ἐς αὐτὰς δαπανηθὲν θαυμάσειε; πῶς δ’ οὐκ ἂν τὸν τρόπον ὃν ἕκαστα αὐτῶν ἐν τε ποταμῷ

πολλῷ καὶ ἐν ὕδατι δινώδει δαπέδῳ τε ἰλυώδει ἐγένετο; οὐ γάρ τοι καὶ παρατρέψαι [3] ποι τὸ ῥεῦμα ἡδυνήθη. τὸ δὲ δὴ πλάτος τοῦ ποταμοῦ εἶπον οὐχ ὅτι διὰ τοσούτου ῥεῖ 'καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ διπλάσιον ἔστιν οὗ καὶ ἐπὶ τριπλάσιον αὐτοῦ πελαγίζει, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸ τε στενώτατον καὶ τὸ ἐπιτηδειότατον ἐς τὸ γεφυρωθῆναι τῶν ἐκείνῃ [4] χωρίων τοσοῦτόν ἐστιν. ὅσω δὲ δὴ ἐς στενὸν ταύτῃ ἐκ πελάγους μεγάλου καταβαίνων καὶ ἐς πέλαγος αὐθις μεῖζον προχωρῶν κατακλείεται, τόσω πού καὶ ῥωδέστατος καὶ βαθύτατος γίγνεται, ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο ἐς τὴν χαλεπότητα τῆς [5] κατασκευῆς τῆς γεφύρας τεῖναι. ἡ μὲν οὖν μεγαλόνοια τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ καὶ ἐκ τούτων δείκνυται: οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὠφέλειάν τινα ἡμῖν ἡ γέφυρα παρέχεται, ἀλλ' ἐστᾶσιν αἱ κρηπῖδες ἄλλως, διοδον οὐκ ἔχουσαι, καθάπερ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ μόνον γενόμεναι ἵν' ἐπιδειξῶσι τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐ δυναμένην ἐξεργάσασθαι. [6] ὁ μὲν γὰρ Τραϊανὸς δεισας μὴ ποτε παγέντος [p. 386] τοῦ Ἰστροῦ πόλεμος τοῖς πέραν Ῥωμαίοις γένηται, ἐποίησε τὴν γέφυραν ἵνα αἱ ἐπιβασίαι ῥαδίως δι' αὐτῆς διεξιῶσιν: Ἀδριανὸς δὲ τούναντίον φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις τοὺς φρουροὺς αὐτῆς βιαζομένοις ῥαδία διάβασις ἐς τὴν Μυσιαν ἦ, ἀφείλε τὴν ἐπιπολῆς κατασκευὴν. 14. Τραϊανὸς δὲ διὰ ταύτης τῆς γεφύρας τὸν Ἰστρον περαιωθεὶς, καὶ δι' ἀσφαλείας μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ σπουδῆς τὸν πόλεμον ποιοῦμενος, σὺν χρόνῳ καὶ μόλις ἐκράτησε τῶν Δακῶν, πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὸς στρατηγίας ἔργα καὶ ἀνδρίας ἐπιδειξάμενος, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτῷ κινδυνευσάντων [2] καὶ ἀριστευσάντων. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ἱππεὺς τις κακῶς πληγεὶς ἐξήχθη μὲν ἐκ τῆς μάχης ὥς καὶ θεραπευθῆναι δυνάμενος, αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὥς ἀνιάτως ἔχοι ἔκ τε τοῦ σκηνώματος ἐξεπῆδησεν 'οὐ γάρ πω τὸ κακὸν αὐτοῦ καθίκτο καὶ ἐς τάξιν αὐθις καθιστὰς ἑαυτὸν ἀπέθανε, μεγάλα [3] ἐπιδειξάμενος. Δεκέβαλος δέ, ὥς καὶ τὸ βασιλείον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ χώρα κατεῖληπτο σύμπασα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκινδύνευεν ἀλῶναι, διεχρήσατο ἑαυτόν, καὶ ἡ κεφαλὴ αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπεκομίσθη: καὶ οὕτως ἡ Δακία Ῥωμαίων ὑπήκοος ἐγένετο, [4] καὶ πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ ὁ Τραϊανὸς κατώκισεν. εὐρέθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ τοῦ Δεκεβάλου θησαυροί, καίτοι ὑπὸ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Σαργετιανὸν παρὰ τοῖς βασιλείοις αὐτοῦ κεκρυμμένοι. διὰ γὰρ αἰχμαλώτων τινῶν τὸν τε ποταμὸν ἐξέτρεψε καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος αὐτοῦ ὥρυξε, καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ πολὺν μὲν ἄργυρον πολὺν δὲ χρυσόν, τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ τιμιώτατα καὶ ὑγρότητά τινα ἐνεγκεῖν δυνάμενα, [p. 388] ἐμβαλῶν λίθους τε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπέθηκε καὶ χοῦν ἐπεφόρησε καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπήγαγε: [5] καὶ ἐς τὰ σπήλαια διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τὰ τε ἱμάτια καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ὁμοιότροπα κατέθετο. ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα διέφθειρεν αὐτούς, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐκλαλήσωσι. Βίκιλις δὲ τις ἐταῖρος αὐτοῦ, τὸ γεγονὸς εἰδὼς, ἐάλω τε καὶ κατεμήνυσε ταῦτα. κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον καὶ Πάλμας τῆς Συρίας ἄρχων τὴν Ἀραβίαν τὴν πρὸς τῇ Πέτρᾳ ἐχειρώσατο καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὑπήκοον ἐποίησατο." Xiph. 232, 28-234, R. St. " 15. πρὸς δὲ τὸν Τραϊανὸν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλθόντα πλείστοι ὅσαι πρεσβεῖαι παρὰ βαρβάρων ἄλλων τε καὶ Ἰνδῶν ἀφίκοντο. καὶ θεὰς ἐν τρισὶ καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἡμέραις ἐποίησεν, ἐν αἷς θηρία τε καὶ βοτὰ χιλιά πού καὶ μύρια ἐσφάγη καὶ μονομάχοι μύριοι ἠγωνίσαντο." Xiph. 234, 16-20 R. St., Exc. UG (p. 403). "

3. καὶ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τὰ τε ἔλη τὰ Πομπήϊνα ὠδοποίησε λίθω, καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς παροικοδομήμασι καὶ γεφύραις μεγαλοπρεπεστάταις ἐξεποίησε. τὸ τε νόμισμα πᾶν τὸ ἐξίτηλον συνεχώνευσεν. 49” Xiph. 234, 20-22 R. St. “ 5. ^[3] ὅτι οὗτος ὤμοσεν ὡς οὐ μαιφονήσει, καὶ τοῦτο ἔργω ἐνεπέδωσε καίπερ ἐπιβουλευθεῖς. τῇ τε γὰρ φύσει οὐδὲν οὔτε διπλοῦν οὔτε δόλιον οὔτε τραχὺ εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς ἐφίλει καὶ ἐδεξιοῦτο καὶ ἐτίμα, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἡμέλει: τὸ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἡλικίας πεπαίτερος ἐγεγόνει.” Exc. Val. 288 (p. 710). “ ^[p. 390] 15. ^[3.2] τῷ δὲ Σούρα τῷ Λικινίῳ καὶ ταφήν δημοσίαν καὶ ἀνδριάντα ἔδωκε τελευτήσαντι: ὅστις ἐς τοῦτο καὶ πλούτου καὶ αὐχήματος ἀφίκετο ὥστε καὶ ^[4] γυμνάσιον Ῥωμαίοις οἰκοδομήσαι. τοσαύτη δὲ φιλία καὶ πίστει ὃ τε Σούρας πρὸς τὸν Τραϊανὸν ἐχρήσατο καὶ Τραϊανὸς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὥστε πολλάκις αὐτόν, οἷά που περὶ πάντας τοὺς τι παρὰ τοῖς αὐτοκράτορσι δυναμένους γίνεσθαι πέφυκε, διαβληθέντα οὔτε ὑπώπτευσέ ποτε οὔτε ἐμίσησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγκειμένων οἱ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῶν φθονούντων ^[5] αὐτῷ οἰκαδέ τε ἄκλητος πρὸς αὐτόν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἦλθε, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν φρουρὰν ἀποπέμψας ἐκάλεσε πρῶτον μὲν τὸν ἱατρὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ δι’ ἐκείνου τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑπηλείψατο, ἔπειτα τὸν κουρέα, καὶ δι’ ἐκείνου τὸ γένειον ἐξύρατο ‘τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκ παλαιοῦ πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ αὐτοκράτορες ἐποιοῦν: Ἀδριανὸς γὰρ πρῶτος ^[6] γενειᾶν κατέδειξέ: πράξας δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ λουσάμενος καὶ δειπνήσας, ἔπειτα τοῖς φίλοις τοῖς εἰωθόσιν αἰεὶ τι περὶ αὐτοῦ φαῦλον λέγειν ἔφη τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ὅτι ‘εἰ ἡθελεῖ με Σούρας ἀποκτείνειν, χθὲς ἂν ἀπεκτόνει.’ 16. μέγα μὲν οὖν ἐποίησε καὶ τὸ ἀποκινδυνεῦσαι πρὸς διαβεβλημένον ἄνθρωπον, πολὺ δὲ δὴ μεῖζον ὅτι ἐπίστευσε μηδὲν ἂν ποτε ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ παθεῖν. ^[1a] οὕτως ἄρα τὸ πιστὸν τῆς γνώμης ἐξ ὧν αὐτῷ συνήδει πεπραγότει μᾶλλον ἢ ἐξ ὧν ἕτεροι ἐδόξαζον ἐβεβαιοῦτο. 56” Xiph. 234, 22-235, R. St., Exc. Val. 289 (p. 710), Joann. Antioch. fr. 112 Muell. (v. 14-16). “ ^[p. 392] ^[1.2] ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτε πρῶτον τῷ μέλλοντι τῶν δορυφόρων ἐπάρξειν τὸ ξίφος, ὃ παραζώννυσθαι αὐτόν ἐχρῆν, ὠρεξεν, ἐγὺμνωσέ τε αὐτὸ καὶ ἀνατείνας ἔφη ‘λαβέ τοῦτο τὸ ξίφος, ἴνα, ἂν μὲν καλῶς ἄρχω, ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, ἂν δὲ κακῶς, κατ’ ἐμοῦ αὐτῷ χρήσῃ.’ ^[2] ἔστησε δὲ καὶ τοῦ Σοσίου τοῦ τε Πάλμου καὶ τοῦ Κέλσου εἰκόνας: οὕτω που αὐτοὺς τῶν ἄλλων προετίμησε. τοὺς μέντοι ἐπιβουλευόντας αὐτῷ, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Κράστος, ἐτιμωρεῖτο ἐσάγων ἐς τὴν βουλὴν. ^[3] κατεσκεύασε δὲ καὶ βιβλίων ἀποθήκας. καὶ ἔστησεν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ κίονα μέγιστον, ἅμα μὲν ἐς ταφήν ἑαυτῷ, ἅμα δὲ ἐς ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔργου: παντὸς γὰρ τοῦ χωρίου ἐκείνου ὀρεινοῦ ὄντος κατέσκαψε τοσοῦτον ὅσον ὁ κίων ἀνίσχει, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκ τούτου πεδινὴν κατεσκεύασε. 17. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ’ Ἀρμενίους καὶ Πάρθους, πρόφασιν μὲν ὅτι μὴ τὸ διάδημα ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ εἰλήφει, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ Πάρθου βασιλέως, ὁ τῶν Ἀρμενίων βασιλεὺς, τῇ δ’ ἀληθείᾳ δόξης ἐπιθυμία.” Xiph. 235, 6-20 R. St. “ ^[2] ὅτι τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ ἐπὶ Πάρθους στρατεῦσαντος καὶ ἐς Ἀθήνας ἀφικομένου πρεσβεία αὐτῷ ἐνταῦθα παρὰ τοῦ Ὀρρούου ἐνέτυχε, τῆς εἰρήνης δεομένη καὶ δῶρα φέρουσα. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἔγνω τὴν τε ὁρμὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς ἔργοις τὰς ἀπειλὰς ^[p. 394] ἔτεκμηρίου,

κατέδεισε, καὶ ὑφεῖς τοῦ φρονήματος ἔπεμψεν ἱκετεύων μὴ πολεμηθῆναι, τὴν τε Ἀρμενίαν Παρθαμασίριδι Πακόρου καὶ αὐτῷ υἱεῖ ἦται, καὶ ἐδεῖτο τὸ διάδημα αὐτῷ πεμφθῆναι: [3] τὸν γὰρ Ἐξηδάρην ὡς οὐκ ἐπιτήδειον οὔτε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις οὔτε τοῖς Πάρθοις ὄντα πεπαυκέναι ἔλεγεν. καὶ ὃς οὔτε τὰ δῶρα ἔλαβεν, οὔτ' ἄλλο τι ἀπεκρίνατο ἢ καὶ ἐπέστειλε πλὴν ὅτι ἡ φιλία ἔργοις καὶ οὐ λόγοις κρίνεται, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ', ἐπειδὴν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἔλθῃ, πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα ποιήσει. καὶ οὕτω διανοίας ὦν διὰ τε τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ διὰ Λυκίας τῶν τε ἐχομένων ἐθνῶν 18. ἐς Σελεύκειαν ἐκομίσθη. γενομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ Αὐγαρος ὁ Ὀρροηνὸς αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ὤφθη, δῶρα δὲ δὴ καὶ λόγους φιλίους ἔπεμψεν: ἐκεῖνόν τε γὰρ ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς Πάρθους φοβούμενος ἐπημποτέριζε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' οὐκ ἠθέλησέν οἱ συμμῖξαι.” Exc. UG (p. 403 s#3.), Suid. s.nn. “ τεκμήριον, ὑφεῖς. 32. [4] ὅτι Κυῆτος Λούσιος Μαῦρος μὲν ἦν καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν Μαύρων ἄρχων ὦν καὶ ἐν ἱππεύσιν ἰληγὸς ἐξήταστο, καταγνωσθεὶς δὲ ἐπὶ πονηρίᾳ τότε μὲν τῆς στρατείας ἀπηλλάγη καὶ ἡτιμώθη, ὕστερον δὲ τοῦ Δακικοῦ πολέμου ἐνστάντος καὶ τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ τῆς τῶν Μαύρων συμμαχίας [5] δεθέντος ἦλθέ τε πρὸς αὐτὸν αὐτεπάγγελτος καὶ μεγάλα ἔργα ἀπεδείξατο. τιμηθεὶς δὲ ἐπὶ [p. 396] τοῦτῳ πολὺ πλείω καὶ μειζω ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ πολέμῳ ἐξειργάσατο, καὶ τέλος ἐς τοσοῦτον τῆς τε ἀνδραγαθίας ἅμα καὶ τῆς τύχης ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ προεχώρησεν ὥστε ἐς τοὺς ἐστρατηγηκότας ἐσγραφῆναι καὶ ὑπατεῦσαι τῆς τε Παλαιστίνης ἄρξει: ἐξ ὧν πού καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐφθονήθη καὶ ἐμισήθη καὶ ἀπώλετο.” Exc. Val. 290 (p. 710). “ 18. [2] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐνέβαλεν ἐς τὴν πολεμίαν, ἀπὴντων αὐτῷ οἱ τῇδε σατράπαι καὶ βασιλεῖς μετὰ δώρων, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἵππος ἦν δεδιδαγμένος προσκυνεῖν: τοῖς τε γὰρ ποσὶ τοῖς προσθίοις ὠκλαζε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὑπὸ τοὺς τοῦ πέλας πόδας ὑπετίθει.” Xiph. 235, 20-24 R. St. “ 19. ὅτι ὁ Παρθαμάσιρις βιαιὸν τι ἐποίησε. γράψας δὲ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα τῷ Τραϊανῷ ὡς βασιλεὺς, ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἀντεγράφη, ἐπέστειλέ τε αὐθις τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο περικόψας, καὶ ἤτησε Μάρκον Ἰουνίον τὸν τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἄρχοντα πεμφθῆναι [2] οἱ ὡς καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τι αἰτησόμενος. ὁ οὖν Τραϊανὸς ἐκείνῳ μὲν τὸν τοῦ Ἰουνίου υἱὸν ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ μέχρις Ἀρσαμοσάτων προχωρήσας καὶ ἀμαχεῖ αὐτὰ παραλαβὼν ἐς τὰ Σάταλα ἦλθε, καὶ Ἀγχιάλον τὸν Ἠνιόχων τε καὶ Μαχελόνων βασιλέα δώροις ἡμίψατο. ἐν δὲ Ἑλεγειᾷ τῆς Ἀρμενίας τὸν Παρθαμάσιριν [3] προσεδέξατο. καθῆστο δὲ ἐπὶ βήματος ἐν τῷ ταφρεύματι: καὶ ὃς ἀσπασάμενος αὐτὸν τὸ τε διάδημα ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀφείλε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἔθηκε, σιγῇ τε εἰστήκει, καὶ προσεδόκα αὐτὸ ἀπολήψεσθαι. συμβοησάντων δὲ ἐπὶ [p. 398] τοῦτῳ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, καὶ αὐτοκράτορα τὸν Τραϊανὸν ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ νίκῃ τινὶ ἐπικαλεσάντων [4] ἡ νίκην γὰρ ἀσέλινον ἄναιμον ὠνόμαζον ὅτι τὸν βασιλέα τὸν Ἀρσακίδην, τὸν Πακόρου παῖδα, τὸν Ὀρρόου ἀδελφιδοῦν, προσεστηκότα αὐτῷ ἄνευ διαδήματος εἶδον ὥσπερ αἰχμάλωτον, ἐξεπλάγη τε καὶ ἐνόμισεν ἐπὶ ὕβρει καὶ ὀλέθρῳ [5] αὐτοῦ γεγονέναι. καὶ μετεστράφη μὲν ὡς καὶ φευξόμενος, ἰδὼν δὲ ὅτι περιστοιχίσται ἐξήτήσατο τὸ μὴ ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ τι εἰπεῖν. καὶ οὕτως ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν ἐσαχθεὶς οὐδενὸς ἔτυχεν ὦν 20. ἐβούλετο. ἐκπηδήσαντος οὖν ὀργῇ καὶ ἐκείθεν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μετεπέμψατο

αὐτὸν ὁ Τραϊανὸς, καὶ ἀναβὰς αὐθις ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ πάντων ἀκουόντων εἰπεῖν ὅσα ἤθελεν, ἵνα μὴ ἀγνοήσαντές τινες τὰ κατὰ μόνας σφίσιν ^[2] εἰρημένα λογοποιήσωσι τινα διάφορα. ἀκούσας τοῦτο ὁ Παρθαμάσιρις οὐκέτι τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἤγεν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πολλῆς παρρησίας ἄλλα τέ τινα εἶπε καὶ ὅτι οὐχ ἡττηθεὶς οὐδὲ ζωγρηθεὶς ἀλλ' ἐκὼν ἀφίκετο, πιστεύσας ὅτι οὔτε τι ἀδικηθήσεται καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολήψεται ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Τιριδάτης ^[3] παρὰ τοῦ Νέρωνος. καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Τραϊανὸς πρὸς τε τᾶλλα ἀντέλεξεν ὅσα ἤρμοζεν, καὶ Ἀρμενίαν μὲν οὐδενὶ προήσεσθαι ἔφη "Ρωμαίων τε γὰρ εἶναι καὶ ἄρχοντα Ῥωμαῖον ἔξειν", ἐκείνῳ μέντοι ἀπελθεῖν ὅποι βούλεται ἐπιτρέψειν. ^[4] καὶ τὸν μὲν Παρθαμάσιριν μετὰ τῶν Πάρθων ^[p. 400] τῶν συνόντων οἱ ἀπέπεμψεν, ἀγωγούς σφίσιν ἱππέας, ὅπως μῆτε τινὶ συγγένωνται μῆτε τι νεοχμώσωσι, δούς· τοὺς δὲ Ἀρμενίους πάντας τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐλθόντας προσέταξε κατὰ χώραν, ὡς καὶ αὐτοῦ ἤδη ὄντας, μέναι." Exc. UG (p. 404), Xiph. 235, 24-27 R. St. " 18. ^[36] ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀρμενίων χώραν εἶλε, καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς μὲν ὑποπεσόντας ἐν τοῖς φίλοις ἤγε, τοὺς δὲ τινας καὶ ἀπειθοῦντας 23. ἀμαχεὶ ἐχειροῦτο, τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐψηφίζετο αὐτῷ πολλὰ ἢ βουλή, καὶ ὀπτιμον, εἴτ' οὖν ἄριστον, ἐπωνόμασεν. ἐβάδιζεν αἰεὶ μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ πεζῇ, διεκόσμηι τε αὐτοὺς κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πορείαν καὶ διέταττεν ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ἄγων, τοὺς τε ποταμούς, ὅσους γε καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, πεζῇ ^[2] διέβαινε. καὶ ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἀγγελίας ψευδεῖς διὰ τῶν προσκόπων ἐποίει, ἵν' ἅμα τε τὰ τακτικὰ μελετῶν καὶ ἔτοιμοι πρὸς πάντα καὶ ἀνέκπληκτοι εἶεν. καὶ ὠνομάσθη μὲν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὴν Νισιβιν εἶλε καὶ τὰς Βάτνας, Παρθικός, πολλῶ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ὀπτίμου προσηγορίᾳ ἢ ταῖς ἄλλαις συμπάσαις, ἅτε καὶ τῶν τρόπων αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ὅπλων οὔση, ἐσεμνύνετο." Xiph. 235, 27-236, R. St. " 21. ὅτι ὁ Τραϊανὸς φρουρὰς ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαίροις καταλιπὼν ἦλθεν ἐς Ἑδεσσαν, κἀνταῦθα πρῶτον Αὐγαρον εἶδεν. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρέσβεις ^[p. 402] καὶ δῶρα τῷ βασιλεῖ πολλάκις ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἄλλοτε κατ' ἄλλας προφάσεις οὐ παρεγένετο, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ὁ Μάννος ὁ τῆς Ἀραβίας τῆς πλησιοχώρου οὐδὲ ὁ Σποράκης ὁ τῆς Ἀνθεμουσίας ^[2] φύλαρχος. τότε δὲ τὰ μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱέος Ἀρβάνδου καλοῦ καὶ ὠραίου ὄντος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῷ Τραϊανῷ ὠκειωμένου πεισθεὶς, τὰ δὲ καὶ τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ φοβηθεὶς, ἀπήντησέ τε αὐτῷ προσιόντι καὶ ἀπελογήσατο, συγγνώμης ^[3] τε ἔτυχεν: ὁ γὰρ παῖς λαμπρόν οἱ ἰκέτευμα ἦν. καὶ ὁ μὲν φίλος τε ἐκ τούτου τῷ Τραϊανῷ ἐγένετο καὶ εἰστίασεν αὐτόν, ἐν τε τῷ δεῖπνῳ παῖδα ἑαυτοῦ ὀρχησόμενον βαρβαρικῶς πως παρήγαγεν." Exc. UG (p. 405), Suid. s.v. " παρήγαγεν, εχξ. φαλ. 291 'π. 710'. 22. ὅτι τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ ἐς Μεσοποταμίαν ἐλθόντος, καὶ τοῦ Μάννου ἐπικηρυκευσαμένου, καὶ τοῦ Μανισάρου πρέσβεις ὑπὲρ. εἰρήνης διὰ τὸ τὸν Ὅρρόην ἐπιστρατεύειν αὐτῷ πέμψαντος καὶ τῆς τε Ἀρμενίας καὶ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἐαλωκυίας ἀποστῆναι ἐτοιμῶς ἔχοντος, οὔτε ἐκείνῳ πιστεύσειν τι ἔφη πρὶν ἂν ἐλθὼν πρὸς αὐτόν, ὥσπερ ὑποσχεῖτο, τοῖς ἔργοις τὰς ἐπαγγελίας βεβαιώσῃ, ^[2] καὶ τὸν Μάννον ὑπώπτευεν ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι συμμαχίαν Μηβρασάτῃ τῷ τῆς Ἀδιαβηνῆς βασιλεῖ πέμψας πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπεβεβλήκει: διόπερ οὐδὲ τότε ἐπιόντας αὐτοὺς ^[p. 404]

ὑπέμεινεν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν Ἀδιαβηνὴν πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐξεχώρησε. καὶ οὕτω τὰ τε Σιγγαρα καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ἀμαχεῖ διὰ τοῦ Λουσίου κατεσχέθη.” Exc. UG (p. 406). “ 24. διατρίβοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ σεισμὸς ἐξαισιος γίνεται: καὶ πολλάι μὲν ἔκαμον πόλεις, μάλιστα δὲ ἡ Ἀντιόχεια ἐδυστύχησεν. ἅτε γὰρ τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ ἐκεῖ χειμάζοντος, καὶ πολλῶν μὲν στρατιωτῶν πολλῶν δὲ ἰδιωτῶν κατὰ τε δίκας καὶ κατὰ πρεσβείας ἐμπορίαν τε καὶ θεωρίαν [2] πανταχόθεν συμπεφοιτηκότων, οὔτε ἔθνος οὐδὲν οὔτε δῆμος οὐδεὶς ἀβλαβῆς ἐγένετο, καὶ οὕτως ἐν τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη ἡ ὑπὸ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις οὔσα ἐσφάλη. ἐγένοντο μὲν οὖν καὶ κεραυνοὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀλλόκοτοι ἄνεμοι: ἀλλ' οὔτι καὶ προσεδόκησεν ἂν τις ἐκ τούτων τοσαῦτα κακὰ [3] γενήσεσθαι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ μύκημα ἐξαπίνης μέγα ἐβρυχήσατο, ἔπειτα βρασμὸς ἐπ' αὐτῷ βιαίωτατος ἐπεγένετο, καὶ ἄνω μὲν ἡ γῆ πᾶσα ἀνεβάλλετο, ἄνω δὲ καὶ τὰ οἰκοδομήματα ἀνεπήδα, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν ἐπαιρόμενα συνέπιπτε καὶ κατερρήγνυτο, τὰ δὲ καὶ δεῦρο καὶ ἐκεῖσε κλονούμενα ὥσπερ ἐν σάλῳ περιετρέπετο, καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ τοῦ ὑπαίθρου προσκατελάμβανεν. [4] ὁ τε κτύπος θραυομένων καὶ καταγνυμένων ξύλων ὁμοῦ κεράμων λίθων ἐκπληκτικώτατος ἐγένετο, καὶ ἡ κόνις πλείστη ὄση ἡγείρετο, ὥστε μήτε ἰδεῖν τινα μήτε εἰπεῖν μήτ' ἀκοῦσαι τι δύνασθαι. τῶν δὲ δὴ ἀνθρώπων πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἐκτὸς τῶν [5] οἰκιῶν ὄντες ἐπόνησαν: ἀναβαλλόμενοι τε γὰρ καὶ ἀναρριπτούμενοι βιαίως, εἴθ' ὥσπερ ἀπὸ κρημνοῦ φερόμενοι προσηράσσοντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν [p. 406] ἐπηροῦντο οἱ δὲ ἔθνησκον. καὶ τινα καὶ δένδρα αὐταῖς ῥίζαις ἀνέθορε. τῶν δὲ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις καταληφθέντων ἀνεξεύρετος ἀριθμὸς ἀπώλετο: παμπόλλους μὲν γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ τῶν συμπιπτόντων ῥύμη ἔφθειρε, παμπληθεῖς δὲ καὶ τὰ χῶματα [6] ἐπνιξεν. ὅσοι δὲ δὴ μέρους τοῦ σώματος σφων ὑπὸ λίθων ἢ ξύλων κρατούμενοι ἔκειντο, δεινῶς ἐταλαιπώρησαν, μήτε ζῆν ἔτι μήτ' ἀποθανεῖν αὐτίκα δυνάμενοι. 25. καὶ ἐσώθησαν γὰρ ὅμως καὶ ἐκ τούτων, ἅτε καὶ ἐν ἀμυθῇτῳ πληθεῖ, συχνοὶ, οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι πάντες ἀπαθεῖς ὑπεχώρησαν. συχνοὶ μὲν γὰρ σκελῶν συχνοὶ δὲ ὤμων ἐστερήθησαν, ἄλλοι κεφαλῆς κατεάγησαν ἄλλοι αἶμα ἤμουν, ὧν εἷς καὶ ὁ Πέδων ὁ ὑπάτος ἐγένετο: καὶ εὐθύς τε γὰρ ἀπέθανε. [2] συνελόντι δὲ εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν βιαίου πάθους τότε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκείνοις οὐ συνηνέχθη. καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰς μὲν ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας σείοντος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ἀπόροις καὶ ἀμηχάνοις ἦσαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐρειπομένων οἰκοδομημάτων [3] καταχωννύμενοι καὶ φθειρόμενοι, οἱ δὲ καὶ λιμῷ ἀπολλύμενοι, ὅσοις συνέβη ἐν διακένῳ τινί, τῶν ξύλων οὕτω κλιθέντων, ἢ καὶ ἐν ἀψιδοειδεῖ τινι μεταστυλίῳ σωθῆναι. καταστάντος δὲ ποτε τοῦ κακοῦ θαρσύνσας τις ἐπιβῆναι τῶν πεπτωκότων γυναικὸς ζωσῆς ἦσθετο. αὕτη δὲ ἦν οὐ μόνη, ἀλλὰ καὶ βρέφος εἶχε, καὶ τρέφουσα τῷ γάλακτι καὶ ἑαυτὴν καὶ τὸ παιδίον [4] ἀντήρκεσεν. ἐκείνην τε οὖν 100 ἀνορύξαντες ἀνεσώσαντο [p. 408] μετὰ τοῦ τέκνου, καὶ τοῦτου καὶ τᾶλλα ἀνηρεύνων, ἐν οἷς ζῶντα μὲν οὐδένα ἔτι, πλὴν παιδίου πρὸς μαστῷ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τεθνηκυῖαν θηλάζοντος, εὐρεῖν ἠδυνήθησαν, τοὺς δὲ νεκροὺς ἐξέλκοντες οὐκέτ' οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῇ σφετέρᾳ σωτηρίᾳ ἔχαιρον. [5] τοσαῦτα μὲν τότε πάθη τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν κατειλήφει: Τραϊανὸς δὲ διέφυγε μὲν διὰ θυρίδος

ἐκ τοῦ οἰκήματος ἐν ᾧ ἦν, προσελθόντος αὐτῷ μεζονός τινος ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἐξαγαγόντος αὐτόν, ὥστε μικρὰ ἄττα πληγέντα περιγενέσθαι, ὡς δ' ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας ὁ σεισμὸς ἐπέιχεν, ^[6] ὑπαίθριος ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ διῆγεν. ἐσεισθη δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ Κάσιον 101 οὕτως ὥστε τὰ ἄκρα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπικλίνεσθαι καὶ ἀπορρήγνυσθαι καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν ἐσπίπτειν δοκεῖν. ὄρη τε ἄλλα ὑφίζησε, καὶ ὕδωρ πολὺ μὲν οὐκ ὄν 102 πρότερον ἀνεφάνη, πολὺ δὲ καὶ ῥέον ἐξέλιπε. 26. Τραϊανὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν τῶν πολέμιων ὑπὸ τὸ ἔαρ ἡπειχθη. 103 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ χώρα ἡ πρὸς τῷ Τιγριδι ἄφορος ναυπηγησίμων ξύλων ἐστὶ, τὰ πλοῖα, ἃ ἐν ταῖς ὕλαις ταῖς περὶ τὴν Νισιβιν ἐπεποιήτο, 104 ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἦγαγεν ἐφ' ἀμάξαις: οὕτω γὰρ πῶς κατεσκευάστο ὥστε διαλύεσθαι καὶ συμπήγνυσθαι. ^[2] καὶ ἔξευξεν αὐτόν κατὰ τὸ Καρδύηνον ὄρος ἐπιπονώτατα: οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι ἀντικαταστάντες ἐκώλυνον. ἀλλ' ἦν γὰρ πολλὴ τῷ Τραϊανῷ καὶ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν περιουσία, αἱ μὲν ἐξεύγνυντο πολλῷ τάχει, αἱ δὲ πρὸ ἐκείνων ^[p. 410] ἀνεκώχευον ὀπλίτας τε καὶ τοξότας φέρουσαι, ἕτεραι δὲ ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν ὡς διαβησόμεναι ἐπείρων. ^[3] ἔκ τε οὖν τούτων καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐκπλήξεως τοῦ τοσαύτας ἅμα ναῦς ἀθρόας ἐξ ἡπείρου ἀξύλου ἀναφανῆναι 105 ἐνέδοσαν 106 οἱ βάρβαροι. καὶ ἐπεραιώθησαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ τὴν τε Ἀδιαβηνὴν 4. ἅπασαν παρεστήσαντο ἔστι δὲ τῆς Ἀσσυρίας τῆς περὶ Νίνον μέρος αὕτη, καὶ τὰ τε Ἀρβηλα καὶ τὰ Γαυγάμηλα, παρ' οἷς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τὸν Δαρεῖον ἐνίκησε, ταῦτα τῆσδὲ ἐστί: καὶ πού καὶ Ἀτυρία διὰ τοῦτο βαρβαριστί, τῶν σίγμα ἐς τὸ ταῦ μεταπεσόντων, ἐκλήθη.” Xiph. 236, 7-238, R. St. “ 22. ^[3] ὅτι Ἀθήνυστραι τεῖχος ἦν ἰσχυρόν, πρὸς ὃ Σέντιός τις ἐκατόνταρχος πεμφθεὶς πρὸς τὸν Μηβαρσάπην 107 πρεσβευτῆς καὶ δεθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἔν τε τῷ χωρίῳ ἐκείνῳ ὦν, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπλησίασαν αὐτῷ, τῶν τε συνδεσμοτῶν τινας παρεσκεύασε, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἔκ τε τῶν δεσμῶν διαδράς καὶ τὸν φρούραρχον ἀποκτείνας ἀνέωξε τὰς πύλας τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις.” Exc. UR (p. 407). “ 26. ^[4.2] καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ μέχρι τῆς Βαβυλῶνος αὐτῆς ἐχώρησαν κατὰ πολλὴν τῶν κωλυσόντων 108 αὐτοὺς ἐρημίαν, ἅτε καὶ τῆς τῶν Πάρθων δυνάμεως ἐκ τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων ἐφθαρμένης καὶ τότε ἔτι στασιαζούσης.” Xiph. 238, 11-14 R. St. “ 27. ^[1a] Κοκκειανὸς δὲ Κάσιος Δίων, γραφαῖς Λατίνων τετρακοσίων ἔγραψε ταύτην τὴν Βαβυλῶνα σταδίων εἶναι.” Tzetz. Chil. 9, 572 s#3. “ Ἡ δὲ Σεμίραμις ... πόλιν ... ἐπυργώσατο ^[p. 412] σταδίων τὴν περίμετρον ἔχουσιν κατὰ Κοκκειανὸν Κάσιον Δίωνα τετρακοσίων.” Tzetz. Exeg. in Hom. II. p. 141, s#3. “ ἔνθα 109 μέντοι τὴν τε ἀσφαλτον εἶδε Τραϊανὸς ἐξ ἧς τὰ τεῖχη Βαβυλῶνος ὠκοδόμητο ἵταύτην γὰρ ἀσφάλειαν πλίνθοις ὀπταῖς ἢ καὶ λίθοις λεπτοῖς συμμιχθεῖσα παρέχεται ὥστε καὶ πέτρας καὶ σιδήρου παντὸς ἰσχυρότερα αὐτὰ ποιεῖν, ^[2] καὶ τὸ στόμιον 110 ἐθεάσατο ἐξ οὗ πνεῦμα δεινὸν ἀναδίδοται, ὥστε πᾶν μὲν ἐπιγειον ζῶον πᾶν δὲ πετεινὸν 111 ἀποφθεῖρειν, εἰ καὶ ἐφ' ὅποσονοῦν ὄσφροιτό τι αὐτοῦ. καὶ εἰπερ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἄνω ἐχώρει ἢ καὶ πέριξ ἐσκεδάννυτο, οὐδ' ἂν ὠκεῖτο ὁ χῶρος: νῦν δὲ αὐτὸ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἀνακυκλούμενον ^[3] κατὰ χώραν μένει. καὶ ἐκ τούτου τὰ ἐν ὑψηλοτέρῳ πετόμενα σώζεται καὶ τὰ πέριξ νεμόμενα. 112 εἶδον ἐγὼ τοιοῦτον ἕτερον ἐν

Ἰερὰ πόλει τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ ἐπειράθη αὐτοῦ δι' ὀρνέων, αὐτὸς τε ὑπερκύψας καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδὼν 113 τὸ πνεῦμα: κατακέκλειται 114 τε γὰρ ἐν δεξαμενῇ τινι, καὶ θέατρον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ὠκοδόμητο, φθίρει τε πάντα τὰ ἔμψυχα πλὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν τὰ αἰδοῖα ἀποτετημένων. οὐ μὴν καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτοῦ συννοῆσαι ἔχω, λέγω δὲ ἃ τε εἶδον ὡς εἶδον καὶ ἃ ἤκουσα ὡς ἤκουσα. 28. Τραϊανὸς δὲ ἐβουλεύσατο μὲν τὸν Εὐφράτην κατὰ διώρυχα ἐς τὸν Τίγριν ἐσαγαγεῖν, ἵνα τὰ πλοῖα δι' αὐτῆς κατελθόντα τὴν γέφυραν αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι παράσχη: μαθὼν δὲ ὅτι πολὺ ὑψηλότερος [p. 414] τοῦ Τίγριδος ἐστὶ, τοῦτο μὲν 115 οὐκ ἔπραξε, φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἄπλουν τὸν Εὐφράτην ἀπεργάσεται ἀθρόου τοῦ ρεύματος ἐς τὸ κάπαντες [2] φερομένου, ὑπερενεγκῶν δὲ 116 τὰ πλοῖα ὀλκοῖς διὰ τοῦ μέσου τῶν ποταμῶν ἐλαχίστου ὄντος 'τὸ γὰρ ρεῦμα τὸ τοῦ Εὐφράτου πᾶν ἔς θ' ἔλος ἐκπίπτει καὶ ἐκεῖθεν πως τῷ Τίγριδι συμμίσγεται τὸν Τίγριν ἐπεραιώθη, καὶ ἐς τὴν Κτησιφῶντα ἐσῆλθε, παραλαβὼν τε αὐτὴν αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπωνομάσθη καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ κλησιν τοῦ Παρθικοῦ ἐβεβαίωσατο. [3] ἐψηφίσθη δὲ αὐτῷ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς τὰ τε ἄλλα, καὶ νικητήρια ὅσα ἐθελήσει διεορτάσαι. ἐλὼν δὲ τὴν Κτησιφῶντα ἐπεθύμησεν ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν καταπλεῦσαι. αὕτη δὲ τοῦ τε ὠκεανοῦ μοῖρᾴ ἐστὶ, καὶ ἀπὸ τίνος ἐνδυναστεύσαντός [4] ποτε ἐν αὐτῇ οὕτω κέκληται. καὶ τὴν μὲν νῆσον τὴν ἐν τῷ Τίγριδι τὴν Μεσήνην, ἧς Ἀθάμβηλος 117 ἐβασίλευεν, ἀπόνως ὠκείωσατο, ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ χειμῶνος τῆς τε τοῦ Τίγριδος ὀξύτητος καὶ τῆς τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ ἀναρροίας ἐκινδύνευσε." Χιρ. 238, 15-239, R. St. " ὅτι ὁ Ἀθάμβηλος 118 ὁ τῆς νήσου ἄρχων τῆς ἐν τῷ Τίγριδι οὔσης πιστὸς διέμεινεν τῷ Τραϊανῷ, καίπερ ὑποτελεῖν προσταχθεὶς, καὶ οἱ τὸν Χάρακα τὸν Σπασίνου καλούμενον οἰκοῦντες 'ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ τοῦ Ἀθαμβήλου ἐπικρατεῖα ἦσαν' καὶ φιλικῶς αὐτὸν ὑπεδέξαντο." Exc. Val. 292 (p. 713), Χιρ. 239, 14-16 R. St. " 29. κάντεϋθεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἐλθὼν, τὴν [p. 416] τε φύσιν αὐτοῦ καταμαθὼν καὶ πλοῖόν τι ἐς Ἰνδιαν πλεόν ἰδὼν, εἶπεν ὅτι 'πάντως ἂν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς, εἰ νέος ἔτι ἦν, ἐπεραιώθην.' Ἰνδοὺς τε γὰρ ἐνενόει, καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων πράγματα ἐπολυπραγμόνει, τὸν τε Ἀλέξανδρον ἐμακάριζε. καίτοι 119 ἔλεγε καὶ ἐκείνου περαιτέρω προκεχωρηκέναι, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τῇ βουλῇ ἐπέστειλε, μὴ [2] δυνηθεὶς μηδὲ ἃ ἐκεχειρωτο 120 σῶσαι. καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἄλλα τε ἔλαβε, καὶ ἐπινίκια ὅσων ἂν ἐθελήσῃ ἐθνῶν πέμψαι: διὰ γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν αἰεὶ σφισι γραφομένων οὔτε συνεῖναί τινα αὐτῶν οὔτε [3] ὀνομάσαι καλῶς ἐδύναντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀψίδα αὐτῷ τροπαιοφόρον πρὸς πολλοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀγορᾷ αὐτοῦ παρεσκεύαζον, καὶ ἡτοιμάζοντο ὡς πορρωτέρω ἀπαντήσοντες εἰ ἐπανιοί: ἔμελλε δ' ἄρα μήτε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔπι ἀφίξεσθαι μήτε ἄξιόν τι τῶν προκατειργασμένων πράξειν, καὶ [4] προσέτι καὶ αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα ἀπολέσειν. ἐν γὰρ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐν ᾧ ἐπὶ τὸν ὠκεανὸν κατέπλει καὶ ἐκεῖθεν αὐθις ἀνεκομίζετο, πάντα τὰ ἐαλωκότα ἐταράχθη καὶ ἀπέστη, καὶ τοὺς παρὰ σφισιν ἕκαστοι φρουροὺς οἱ μὲν ἐξέβαλλον 121 οἱ δ' ἀπεκτιννυσαν. 30. μαθὼν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Τραϊανὸς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι 122 (καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖσε ἦλθε κατὰ τε τὴν φήμην, ἧς οὐδὲν ἄξιον εἶδεν ὅ τι μὴ χῶματα καὶ λίθους 123 καὶ ἐρείπια, καὶ διὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ᾧ καὶ ἐνήγισεν ἐν τῷ οἰκῆματι ἐν ᾧ

ἐτετελευτήκει) — [p. 418] μαθὼν δὲ ταῦτα τὸν τε Λούσιον καὶ τὸν Μάξιμον [2] ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀφροσθηκώτας ἔπεμψε. καὶ οὗτος μὲν ἀπέθανεν ἡττηθεὶς μάχῃ, Λούσιος δὲ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ κατῴρθησε καὶ τὴν Νισιβιν ἀνέλαβε, τὴν τε Ἑδεσσαν 124 ἐξεπολιόρκησε καὶ διέφθειρε καὶ ἐνέπρησεν. ἕλῳ δὲ καὶ ἡ Σελεύκεια πρὸς τε Ἑρυκίου Κλάρου καὶ πρὸς Ἰουλίου Ἀλεξάνδρου [3] ὑποστρατήγων, καὶ ἐκαύθη. Τραϊανὸς δὲ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ οἱ Πάρθοι τι νεοχμῶσωσι, βασιλέα αὐτοῖς ἴδιον δοῦναι ἠθέλησε, καὶ ἐς Κτησιφῶντα ἐλθὼν συνεκάλεσεν ἐς πεδίον τι μέγα πάντας μὲν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πάντας δὲ τοὺς Πάρθους τοὺς ἐκεῖ τότε ὄντας, καὶ ἐπὶ βῆμα ὑψηλὸν ἀναβάς, καὶ μεγαληγορήσας ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ κατειργάσατο, Παρθαμασπάτην τοῖς Πάρθοις βασιλέα ἀπέδειξε, τὸ διάδημα αὐτῷ ἐπιθείς.” Χιρῆ. 239, 16-240, R. St. “ ὅτι τῷ Οὐολογαίῳ 125 τῷ Σανατρούκου 126 παιδί 9. [6] ἀντιπααραταξαμένῳ τοῖς περὶ Σεουήρον, καὶ διοκωχὴν 127 πρὶν συμμῖξαι σφισιν αἰτήσαντι καὶ λαβόντι, πρέσβεις τε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέστειλε καὶ μέρος τι τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἐπὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐχαρίσατο.” Exc. UR (p. 414). “ 31. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐς τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἦλθε, καὶ τοῖς Ἀτρηνοῖς, 128 ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀφειστήκεσαν, ἐπεχείρησε. καὶ ἔστι μὲν οὔτε μεγάλη οὔτε εὐδαίμων ἡ πόλις· ἡ τε περίξ χώρα ἔρημος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἔστι, καὶ οὐθ’ ὕδωρ, ὃ τι μὴ βραχὺ καὶ τοῦτο δυσχερές, οὔτε ξύλον οὔτε χιλὸν ἴσχει. [p. 420] [2] καὶ πρὸς τε αὐτῶν τούτων, ἀδύνατον τὴν προσεδρεῖαν πλήθει ποιούντων, πρὸς τε τοῦ Ἥλιου, ὧπὲρ που καὶ ἀνάκειται, ῥύεται· οὔτε γὰρ ὑπὸ Τραϊανοῦ τότε οὔτε ὑπὸ Σεουήρου ὕστερον ἦλω, καίτοι καὶ καταβαλόντων μέρη τινὰ τοῦ τείχους [3] αὐτῆς. Τραϊανὸς δὲ τοὺς τε ἱππέας πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος προπέμψας ἐσφάλῃ, 129 ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοὺς ἐσαρραχθῆναι, 130 καὶ αὐτὸς παριπεύσας βραχυτάτου ἐδέησε τρωθῆναι, καίπερ τὴν βασιλικὴν στολὴν ἀποθέμενος ἵνα μὴ γνωρισθῇ. τῆς δὲ πολιᾶς αὐτοῦ τὸ γαῦρον καὶ τὸ σεμνοπρεπὲς τοῦ προσώπου ἰδόντες ὑπετόπησάν τε εἶναι ὅς ἦν, καὶ ἐπετόξευσαν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἱππέα [4] τινὰ τῶν συνόντων οἱ ἀπέκτειναν. ἐγίνοντο 131 δὲ βρονταί, καὶ ἱριδες ὑπεφαίνοντο, ἀστραπαὶ τε καὶ ζάλη χάλαζα τε 132 καὶ κεραυνοὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐνέπιπτον, ὅποτε προσβάλοιεν. καὶ ὅποτε οὖν δειπνοῖεν, μυῖαι τοῖς βρώμασι καὶ τῷ πῖμασι 133 προσιζάνουσαι δυσχερείας ἅπαντα ἐνεπίμπλων. 32. καὶ Τραϊανὸς μὲν ἐκεῖθεν οὕτως ἀπῆλθε, καὶ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἄρρωστεῖν ἤρχετο. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ κατὰ Κυρήνην Ἰουδαῖοι, Ἀνδρέαν 134 τινὰ προστησάμενοί σφων, τοὺς τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐφθειρον, καὶ τὰς τε σάρκας αὐτῶν ἐσιτοῦντο καὶ τὰ ἔντερα ἀνεδοῦντο τῷ τε αἵματι ἠλείφοντο καὶ τὰ ἀπολέμματα ἐνεδύοντο, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ μέσους ἀπὸ κορυφῆς [2] διέπριον· θηρίοις ἐτέρους ἐδίδοσαν, καὶ μονομαχεῖν ἄλλους 135 ἠγάγκαζον, ὥστε τὰς πάσας δύο [p. 422] καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας ἀπολέσθαι. ἔν τε Αἰγύπτῳ πολλὰ ἔδρασαν ὅμοια καὶ ἐν τῇ Κύπρῳ, ἡγουμένου τινός σφισιν Ἀρτεμίωνος· καὶ ἀπώλοντο [3] καὶ ἐκεῖ μυριάδες τέσσαρες καὶ εἴκοσι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ’ οὐδενὶ 136 Ἰουδαίῳ ἐπιβῆναι αὐτῆς ἔξεστιν, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἀνέμῳ τις βιασθεὶς ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἐκπέσῃ 137 θανατοῦται. ἀλλ’ Ἰουδαίους μὲν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Λούσιος ὑπὸ Τραϊανοῦ πεμφθεὶς κατεστρέψατο. 33. Τραϊανὸς δὲ παρεσκευάζετο μὲν αὖθις ἐς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν στρατεῦσαι, ὥς δὲ τῷ

νοσήματι ἐπιέζετο, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὥρμησε πλεῖν, Πούπλιον 138 δὲ Αἴλιον Ἀδριανὸν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ κατέλιπε μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ. οὕτω μὲν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς τε Ἀρμενίας καὶ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας τῆς πλείονος τῶν τε Πάρθων κρατήσαντες μάτην ^[2] ἐπόνησαν καὶ μάτην ἐκινδύνευσαν: καὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ Πάρθοι τὸν Παρθαμασπάτην ἀπαξιώσαντες ἐν τῷ σφετέρῳ τρόπῳ ἤρξαντο βασιλεύεσθαι. ἐνόσησε δ' ὁ 139 Τραϊανός, ὡς μὲν αὐτὸς ὑπώπτευσεν, ἐκ φαρμάκου λήψεως, ὡς δὲ τινες λέγουσιν, ἐπισχεθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ αἵματος ὃ κατ' ἔτος κάτω ^[3] διεχώρει: ἐγένετο μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀπόπληκτος, ὥστε καὶ τοῦ σώματός τι παρεθῆναι, τὸ δ' ὅλον ὕδρωπίασε. καὶ ἐς Σελινοῦντα τῆς Κιλικίας ἐλθὼν, ἣν δὴ καὶ Τραϊανούπολιν καλοῦμεν, ἐξαίφνης ἀπέψυξε, μοναρχήσας ἔτη δεκαεννέα καὶ μῆνας ἕξ ἡμέρας τε πεντεκαίδεκα.” Xiph. 240, 15-241, R. St. “[p. 424]”

“ 1. Ἀδριανὸς δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν Τραϊανοῦ οὐκ ἐσεποιήθη: ἦν μὲν γὰρ πολίτης αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπετροπεύθη ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, γένους θ’ οἱ ἐκοινώνει καὶ ἀδελφιδὴν αὐτοῦ ἐγεγαμήκει, τὸ τε σύμπαν συνῆν αὐτῷ καὶ ^[2] συνδιητᾶτο, τῇ τε Συρία ἐπὶ τῷ Παρθικῷ πολέμῳ προσετάχθη, οὐ μέντοι οὐτ’ ἄλλο τι ἐξαίρετον παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἔλαβεν οὐθ’ ὕπατος ἐν πρώτοις ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Καίσαρα αὐτὸν καὶ αὐτοκράτορα τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ ἄπαιδος μεταλλάξαντος ὃ τε Ἀττιανὸς πολίτης αὐτοῦ ὦν καὶ ἐπίτροπος γεγινώς, καὶ ἡ Πλωτῖνα ἐξ ἐρωτικῆς φιλίας, πλησίον τε ὄντα ^[3] καὶ δύναμιν πολλὴν ἔχοντα ἀπέδειξαν. ὁ γὰρ πατήρ μου Ἀπρωνιανός, τῆς Κιλικίας ἄρξας, πάντα τὰ κατ’ αὐτὸν ἐμεμαθήκει σαφῶς, ἔλεγε δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα ὡς ἕκαστα, καὶ ὅτι ὁ θάνατος τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ ἡμέρας τινὰς διὰ τοῦτο συνεκρύφθη ἴν’ ^[4] ἡ ποιήσις προεκφοιτήσοι. ἐδηλώθη δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκ τῶν πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν γραμμάτων αὐτοῦ: ταῖς γὰρ ἐπιστολαῖς οὐχ αὐτὸς ἀλλ’ ἡ Πλωτῖνα ὑπέγραψεν, ὅπερ ἐπ’ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου ἐπεποιήκει. 2. ἦν δέ, ὅτε ἀνηγορεύθη αὐτοκράτωρ, Ἀδριανὸς ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει Συρίας Ἀντιοχείᾳ, ἧς ἦρχεν: ἐδόκει δὲ ὄναρ πρὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης πῦρ ἐκ τοῦ ^[p. 426] οὐρανοῦ, ἐν τε αἰθρία καὶ ἐν εὐδία πολλῇ, ἐς τὴν ἀριστερὰν αὐτοῦ σφαγὴν ἐμπεσεῖν, ἔπειτα καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν δεξιὰν παρελθεῖν, μήτε ἐκφοβῆσαν ^[2] αὐτὸν μήτε βλάψαν. ἔγραψε δὲ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ὁ Ἀδριανὸς ἀξιῶν βεβαιωθῆναι αὐτῷ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ παρ’ ἐκείνης, καὶ ἀπαγορεύων μηδὲν αὐτῷ μήτε τότε μήτε ἄλλοτε τιμὴν δὴ τινα φέρον, οἷα εἰώθει γίγνεσθαι, ψηφισθῆναι, πλὴν ἂν τι αὐτὸς ποτε ἀξιώσῃ. 3. τὰ δὲ τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ ὅσα ἐν τῷ κίονι αὐτοῦ κατετέθη, καὶ αἱ θέαι αἱ Παρθικαὶ ὀνομασθεῖσαι ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἔτη ἐγένοντο: ὕστερον γὰρ καὶ αὕτη, ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ, κατελύθη.” Χίρ. 242, 8-243, R. St. “ 4. ὅτι ὁ Ἀδριανὸς ἐν ἐπιστολῇ τινὶ ἔγραψε τὰ τε ἄλλα μεγαλοφρονησάμενος, καὶ ἐπομόσας μήτε τι ἔξω τῶν τῷ δημοσίῳ συμφερόντων ποιήσῃν μήτε βουλευτὴν τινα ἀποσφάξῃν, καὶ ἐξώλειαν ἑαυτῷ, ἂν καὶ ὅτιοῦν αὐτῶν ἐκβῇ, προσεπαράσάμενος.” Exc. Val. 293a (p. 713), Suidas “ ζ.φ. Ἀδριανὸς γλ. 2. 5. Ἀδριανὸς δέ, καίτοι φιланθρωπότατα ἄρξας, ὅμως διὰ τινας φόνους ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν, οὓς ἐν ἀρχῇ τε τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ πρὸς τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου ἐπεποίητο, διεβλήθη, καὶ ὀλίγου διὰ ταῦτ’ οὐδὲ ἐς τοὺς ἥρωας ἀνεγράφη. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ φονευθέντες Πάλμας τε καὶ Κέλσος Νιγρῖνός τε καὶ Λούσιος ἦσαν, οἱ μὲν ὡς ἐν θήρᾳ δῆθεν ἐπιβεβουλευκότες αὐτῷ, οἱ δὲ ἐφ’ ἐτέροις δὴ τισιν ἐγκλήμασιν, οἷα μεγάλα δυνάμενοι καὶ 6. πλούτου καὶ δόξης εὖ ἦκοντες: ἐφ’ οἷς Ἀδριανὸς οὕτω τῶν λογοποιουμένων ἦσθετο ὥστε καὶ ^[p. 428] ἀπελογήσατο καὶ ἐπώμοσε μὴ κεκελευκέναι ἀποθανεῖν αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ Σερουιανός τε ὑπῆρχον καὶ ὁ ἔγγονος αὐτοῦ Φοῦσκος.” Χίρ. 243, 5-15 R. St. “ 6. ^[2] ὅτι Ἀδριανὸς ἦν ἡδὺς μὲν ἐντυχεῖν, καὶ ἐπήνθει τις αὐτῷ χάρις.” Joann. Antioch. fr. 113 Muell. (v. 1, 2). “ 3. ἦν δὲ Ἀδριανὸς γένος μὲν βουλευτοῦ πατρὸς ἐστρατηγηκότος Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀφρου οὕτω γὰρ ὠνομάζετό, φύσει δὲ

φιλόλογος ἐν ἑκατέρῃ τῇ γλώσσῃ: καὶ τινα καὶ περὶ καὶ ἐν ἔπεισι ποιήματα
[2] παντοδαπὰ καταλέλοιπε. φιλοτιμίᾳ τε γὰρ ἀπλήστῳ ἐχρήτο, καὶ κατὰ
τοῦτο καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα καὶ τὰ βραχυτάτα ἐπετῆδευε: καὶ γὰρ ἔπλασσε καὶ
ἔγραφε καὶ οὐδὲν ὃ τι οὐκ εἰρηνικὸν καὶ πολεμικὸν καὶ βασιλικὸν καὶ
ἰδιωτικὸν [3] εἰδέναι ἔλεγε. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲν που τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
ἐβλαπτεν, ὃ δὲ δὴ φθόνος αὐτοῦ δεινότατος ἐς πάντας τοὺς τινι προέχοντας
ὦν πολλοὺς μὲν καθεῖλε συκνοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπώλεσε. βουλόμενος γὰρ πάντων
ἐν πᾶσι περιεῖναι ἐμίσει τοὺς ἔν τινι [4] ὑπεραίροντας. κᾶκ τούτου καὶ τὸν
Φαουωρῖνον τὸν Γαλάτην τὸν τε Διονύσιον τὸν Μιλήσιον τοὺς σοφιστὰς
καταλύειν ἐπεχείρει τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ μάλιστα τῷ τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς σφῶν
ἐξαίρειν, τοὺς μὲν μηδενὸς τοὺς δὲ βραχυτάτου τινὸς ἀξίους [5] ὄντας: ὅτε
Διονύσιος πρὸς τὸν Ἀουίδιον Ἡλιόδωρον, τὸν τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῦ
διαγαγόντα, [p. 430] εἶπεῖν λέγεται ὅτι ‘Καῖσαρ χρήματα μὲν σοι καὶ τιμὴν
δοῦναι δύνатаι, ῥήτορα δὲ σε ποιῆσαι οὐ δύνатаι,’ [6] καὶ ὁ Φαουωρῖνος
μέλλων παρ’ αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς ἀτελείας ἦν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ἔχειν ἡξίου
δικάσασθαι, ὑποτοπήσας καὶ ἐλαττωθήσεσθαι καὶ προσυβρισηθήσεσθαι,
ἐσῆλθε μὲν ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον, εἶπε δὲ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὅτι ‘ὁ διδάσκαλός μου
ὄναρ τῆς νυκτὸς ταύτης ἐπιστάς μοι ἐκέλευσε λειτουργεῖν τῇ πατρίδι ὡς καὶ
ἐκείνῃ γεγεννημένον.’ 11” Xiph. 243, 15-244, R. St., Exc. Val. 293b (p. 713),
Suid. s v. *)adriano/s gl. 1. “ 4. Ἀδριανὸς δὲ τούτων μὲν, καίπερ ἀχθεσθεῖς
σφισιν, ἐφείσατο, μηδεμίαν εὐλογον ὀλέθρου κατ’ αὐτῶν ἀφορμὴν λαβών:
τὸν δ’ Ἀπολλόδωρον τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα τὸν τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸ ὠδεῖον τὸ τε
γυμνάσιον, τὰ τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ ποιήματα, ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ κατασκευάσαντα τὸ μὲν
πρῶτον ἐφυγάδευσεν, [2] ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἀπέκτεινε, λόγῳ μὲν ὡς
πλημμελήσαντά τι, τὸ δ’ ἀληθὲς ὅτι τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ κοινουμένου τι αὐτῷ περὶ
τῶν ἔργων εἶπε τῷ Ἀδριανῷ παραλαλήσαντί τι ὅτι ‘ἄπελθε καὶ τὰς
κολοκύντας γράφε: τούτων γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐπίστασαι.’ ἐτύγχανε δὲ ἄρα τότε
ἐκεῖνος τοιοῦτῳ [3] τινὲ γράμματι σεμνυνόμενος. αὐτοκρατορεύσας οὖν τότε
ἐμνησικάκησε καὶ τὴν παρρησίαν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἤνεγκεν. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ τοῦ
τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τῆς τε Ῥώμης ναοῦ τὸ διάγραμμα αὐτῷ πέμψας, δι’ ἔνδειξιν
ὅτι καὶ ἄνευ ἐκείνου μέγα ἔργον γίγνεσθαι δύνатаι, ἦρετο εἰ εὖ ἔχοι τὸ
κατασκευάσμα: [4] ὁ δ’ ἀντεπέστειλε περὶ τοῦ ναοῦ [p. 432] ὅτι καὶ μετέωρον
αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπεκκεκνωμένον γενέσθαι ἐχρήν, ἴν’ ἔς τε τὴν ἱερὰν ὁδὸν
ἐκφανέστερος ἐξ ὑψηλοτέρου εἴη καὶ ἐς τὸ κοῖλον τὰ μηχανήματα
ἐσδέχοιτο, ὥστε καὶ ἀφανῶς συμπήγνυσθαι καὶ ἐξ οὐ προειδὸς ἐς τὸ
θέατρον ἐσάγεσθαι, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀγαμάτων ὅτι μείζονα ἢ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ
ὑψους τοῦ μεγάρου λόγον [5] ἐποιήθη: ‘ἂν γὰρ αἱ θεαί’ ἔφη ‘ἐξαναστήσεσθαι
τε καὶ ἐξελθεῖν ἐθελήσωσιν, οὐ δυνηθήσονται.’ ταῦτα γὰρ ἄντικρυς αὐτοῦ
γράφαντος καὶ ἡγανάκτησε καὶ υπερήλγησεν ὅτι καὶ ἐς ἀδιόρθωτον
ἀμαρτίαν ἐπεπτώκει, καὶ οὕτε τὴν ὀργὴν οὕτε [6] τὴν λύπην κατέσχευε, ἀλλ’
ἐφόνευσεν αὐτόν. καὶ οὕτω γε τῇ φύσει τοιοῦτος ἦν ὥστε μὴ μόνον τοῖς
ζῶσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς τελευτήσασιν φθονεῖν: τὸν γοῦν Ὅμηρον καταλύων
Ἀντίμαχον ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ ἐσῆγεν, οὗ μὴδὲ τὸ ὄνομα πολλοὶ πρότερον
ἠπίσταντο. 5. Ἡτιῶντο μὲν δὴ ταῦτά τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἀκριβὲς τὸ τε

περίεργον καὶ τὸ πολὺπραγμον· ἐθεράπευε δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ ἀνελάμβανε τῇ τε ἄλλῃ ἐπιμελείᾳ καὶ προνοίᾳ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ καὶ δεξιότητι, καὶ τῷ μῆτε τινὰ πόλεμον ταραῖσαι καὶ τοὺς ὄντας παῦσαι, μῆτε τινὸς χρήματα ἀδίκως ἀφελῆσθαι, καὶ πολλοῖς πολλὰ, καὶ δήμοις [p. 434] καὶ ἰδιώταις καὶ βουλευταῖς τε καὶ ἱππεῦσι, [2] χαρίσασθαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀνέμενεν αἰτηθῆναι τι, ἀλλὰ πάνυ πάντα πρὸς τὴν ἐκάστου χρεῖαν ἐποίει. καὶ τὰ τε στρατιωτικὰ ἀκριβέστατα ἥσκησεν, ὥστ' ἰσχύοντα μὴτ' ἀπειθεῖν μῆτε ὑβρίζειν, καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς τε συμμαχίδας καὶ τὰς ὑπηκόους μεγαλοπρεπέστατα ὠφέλησε. [3] πολλὰς μὲν γὰρ καὶ εἶδεν αὐτῶν, ὅσας οὐδεὶς ἄλλος αὐτοκράτωρ, πάσαις δὲ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐπεκούρησε, ταῖς μὲν ὕδωρ ταῖς δὲ λιμένας σῖτόν τε καὶ ἔργα καὶ χρήματα καὶ τιμὰς ἄλλαις ἄλλας διδούς." Xiph. 244, 1-245, R. St., Exc. Val. 294 (p. 713), Suidas s.v. *)adrianois gl. 4. " 6. ἦγε δὲ καὶ τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐμβριθῶς μᾶλλον ἢ θωπευτικῶς· καὶ ποτε ἰσχυρῶς αἰτοῦντι τι ἐν ὀπλομαχίᾳ οὔτε ἔνειμε, καὶ προσέτι ἐκέλευσε τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ κηρυχθῆναι [2] 'σιωπήσατε.' οὐκ ἐλέγχθη μὲν γάρ· ὁ γὰρ κῆρυξ ἀνατείνας τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦτου ἠσυχάσας, ὥσπερ εἰώθασι ποιεῖν 'οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὁπότε ὑπὸ κηρύγματος σιγάζονται, ἐπειδὴ ἐσιώπησαν, ἔφη 'τοῦτ' ἐθέλει.' καὶ οὐκ ὅτι τινὰ ὀργὴν τῷ κήρυκι ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐτίμησεν αὐτὸν ὅτι τὴν δυσχέρειαν τοῦ κελεύσματος οὐκ ἐξέφησεν. [3] ἔφερε γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ οὐκ ἡγανάκτει εἴ τι καὶ παρὰ γνώμην καὶ πρὸς τῶν τυχόντων ὠφελοῖτο. ἀμέλει γυναικὸς παριόντος αὐτοῦ ὁδῶ τινι δεομένης, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἶπεν αὐτῇ ὅτι 'οὐ σχολάζω,' ἔπειτα ὡς ἐκείνη ἀνακραγοῦσα [p. 436] ἔφη 'καὶ μὴ βασιλεύε,' ἐπεστράφη τε καὶ λόγον αὐτῇ ἔδωκεν. 7. ἔπραττε δὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πάντα τὰ μεγάλα καὶ ἀναγκαιότατα, καὶ ἐδίκαζε μετὰ τῶν πρώτων τοτὲ μὲν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ τοτὲ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῷ τε Πανθείῳ καὶ ἄλλοθι πολλοχόθι, ἀπὸ βήματος, ὥστε δημοσιεῦσθαι τὰ γιγνόμενα. καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἔστιν ὅτε δικάζουσι συνεγίνετο, [2] ἐν τε ταῖς ἱπποδρομίαις αὐτοὺς ἐτίμα. καὶ οἴκαδε ἀνακομιζόμενος ἐν φορείῳ ἐφέρετο, ὅπως μηδὲνα συνακολουθοῦντά οἱ ἐνοχλοῖη. ἐν δὲ ταῖς μῆτε ἱεραῖς μῆτε δημοσίοις ἡμέραις οἴκοι ἔμενε, καὶ οὐδὲνα οὐδ' ὅσον ἀσπάσασθαι προσεδέχετο, εἰ μὴ τι ἀναγκαῖον εἴη, ἵνα μὴ πάνυ [3] ταλαιπωροῖντο. αἶε τε περὶ ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἔξω τοὺς ἀρίστους εἶχε, καὶ συνῆν σφισι καὶ ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τέταρτος πολλακὶς ὠχεῖτο. ἐθήρα δὲ ὁσάκις ἐνεδέχετο, καὶ ἡρίστα ἄνευ οἴνου· καὶ πλείονα ἐσιτεῖτο· πολλακὶς δὲ καὶ δικάζων μεταξὺ τροφῆς μετελάμβανεν· ἔπειτα μετὰ πάντων τῶν πρώτων καὶ ἀρίστων ἐδείπνει, καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ [4] συσσίτιον παντοδαπῶν λόγων πλήρες. τοὺς τε πάνυ νοσοῦντας φίλους ἐπεσκέπτετο, καὶ ἐορτάζουσι σφισι συνδιητᾶτο, τοῖς τε ἀγροῖς καὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις αὐτῶν ἡδέως ἐχρῆτο· ὅθεν καὶ εἰκόνας πολλοῖς μὲν ἀποθανοῦσι πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ ζῶσιν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔστησεν. οὐ μέντοι οὔτε ἐξυβρίσῃ [p. 438] τις αὐτῶν οὔτ' ἀπέδοτό τι οὔθ' ὧν ἔλεγεν οὔθ' ὧν ἔπραττεν, οἷα οἱ τε Καισάρειοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ περὶ τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας ἔχοντες ποιεῖν εἰώθασι. 8. [1.1] ταῦτα περὶ γε τοῦ τρόπου, ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ εἰπεῖν, προειρηκα· λέξω δὲ καὶ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον, ὅσα ἀναγκαῖον ἐστὶ μνημονεύεσθαι." Xiph. 245, 6-246, R. St., Petr. Patr. Exc.

Vat. 107 (p. 221 Mai. = p. 203, 8-13 Dind.). “^[1a] ὅτι Ἀλεξανδρέων στασιασάντων οὐκ ἄλλως ἐπαύσαντο, ἕως οὗ ἐπιστολὴν Ἀδριανοῦ ἐδέξαντο ἐπιτιμῶσαν αὐτοῖς: οὕτω που πλέον ἰσχύσει αὐτοκράτορος λόγος τῶν ὅπλων.” Petr. Patr. Exc. Vat. 108 (p. 221 Mai. = p. 203, 14-17 Dind.). “^[1.2] ἐλθὼν γὰρ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφῆκε τὰ ὀφειλόμενα τῷ τε βασιλικῷ καὶ τῷ δημοσίῳ τῷ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἐκκαιδεκαετῇ ὀρίσας χρόνον ἀφ’ οὗ τε ^[2] καὶ μέχρις οὗ τηρηθήσεσθαι τοῦτ’ ἐμελλεν. ἔν τε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ γενεθλίοις προῖκα τῷ δήμῳ τὴν θεάν ἀπένειμε καὶ θηρία πολλὰ ἀπέκτεινεν, ὥστε ἐφάπαξ καὶ λέοντας ἑκατὸν καὶ λεαίνας ἴσας πεσεῖν, καὶ δῶρα διὰ σφαιρίων καὶ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ χωρὶς μὲν τοῖς ἀνδράσι χωρὶς δὲ ταῖς γυναιξὶ διέρριψε. καὶ γὰρ καὶ λοῦσθαι χωρὶς ἀλλήλων αὐτοῖς προσέταξεν. ^[3] ἐν μὲν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ ταῦτά τε ἐγένετο καὶ ὁ ^[p. 440] Εὐφράτης ὁ φιλόσοφος ἀπέθανεν ἐθελοντής, ἐπιτρέψαντος αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ κώνειον καὶ διὰ τὸ γῆρας καὶ διὰ τὴν νόσον πιεῖν. 9. Ἀδριανὸς δὲ ἄλλην ἀπ’ ἄλλης διαπορευόμενος ἐπαρχίαν, τὰς τε χώρας καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπισκεπτόμενος, καὶ πάντα τὰ φρούρια καὶ τὰ τεῖχη περισκοπῶν τὰ μὲν ἐς ἐπικαιροτέρους τόπους μεθίστη, τὰ δὲ ἔπαυε, τὰ δὲ προσκαθίστατο, ^[2] αὐτὸς πάντα ἀπλῶς, οὐχ ὅπως τὰ κοινὰ τῶν στρατοπέδων, ὅπλα λέγω καὶ μηχανὰς καὶ τάφρους καὶ περιβόλους καὶ χαρακώματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἐνὸς ἐκάστου, καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ στρατευομένων καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτῶν, τοὺς βίους τὰς οἰκῆσεις τοὺς τρόπους, καὶ ἐφορῶν καὶ ἐξετάζων: καὶ πολλὰ γε ἐς τὸ ἀβρότερον ἐκδεδιητημένα καὶ κατεσκευασμένα καὶ μετερρῦθμισε ^[3] καὶ μετεσκεύασεν. ἐγὺμναξέ τε αὐτοὺς πρὸς πᾶν εἶδος μάχης, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐτίμα τοὺς δὲ ἐνουθέτει, πάντας δὲ ἐδίδασκεν ἃ χρὴ ποιεῖν. καὶ ὅπως γε καὶ ὀρῶντες αὐτὸν ὠφελοῖντο, σκληρᾷ τε πανταχοῦ τῇ διαίτῃ ἐχρῆτο, καὶ ἐβάδιζεν ἢ καὶ ἵππευε πάντα, οὐδ’ ἔστιν ὅποτε εἶτε ὀχήματος ^[4] τότε γε εἶτε τετρακύκλου ἐπέβη: οὐδὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν οὐκ ἐν θάλπει, οὐκ ἐν ῥίγῃ ἐκαλύφθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς χίοσι ταῖς Κελτικαῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς καύμασι τοῖς Αἰγυπτιακοῖς γυμνῇ αὐτῇ περιήει. συνελόντι τε εἰπεῖν, οὕτω καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ καὶ τοῖς παραγγέλμασι πᾶν τὸ στρατιωτικὸν δι’ ὅλης τῆς ἀρχῆς ἥσκησε καὶ κατεκόσμησεν ὥστε ^[p. 442] καὶ νῦν τὰ τότε ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ταχθέντα νόμον σφίσι ^[5] τῆς στρατείας εἶναι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ μάλιστα ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὸ πλεῖστον πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλοφύλους διεγένετο: τὴν τε γὰρ παρασκευὴν αὐτοῦ ὀρῶντες, καὶ μήτε τι ἀδικούμενοι καὶ προσέτι καὶ χρήματα ^[6] λαμβάνοντες, οὐδὲν ἐνεόχμωσαν. οὕτω γὰρ καλῶς ἥσκητο τὸ στρατιωτικὸν αὐτῷ ὥστε καὶ τὸ ἱππικὸν τῶν καλουμένων Βατάουων τὸν Ἰστρον μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων διενήξαντο. ἃ ὀρῶντες οἱ βάρβαροι τοὺς μὲν Ῥωμαίους κατεπλήττοντο, τρεπόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐχρῶντο αὐτῷ διαιτητῇ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφορῶν. 10. ἐποίει δὲ καὶ θεάτρα καὶ ἀγῶνας, περιπορευόμενος τὰς πόλεις, ἄνευ τῆς βασιλικῆς μέντοι παρασκευῆς: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔξω τῆς Ῥώμης ἐχρήσατό ποτε αὐτῇ. τὴν δὲ πατρίδα καίπερ μεγάλα τιμήσας καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ὑπερήφανα αὐτῇ δούς, ^[2] ὅμως οὐκ εἶδε. περὶ μέντοι τὰς θήρας ἐσπουδακέναι λέγεται: καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὴν κλεῖν ἐν ταύταις κατέαξε καὶ τὸ σκέλος μικροῦ ἐπηρώθη, καὶ πόλιν ἐν τῇ Μυσίᾳ οἰκίσας Ἀδριανοῦ θήρας

αὐτὴν ὠνόμασεν. οὐ μέντοι τι παρὰ τοῦτ' ἄπρακτον τῶν τῇ ἀρχῇ
προσηκόντων κατέλιπε. τῆς δὲ περὶ τὰς θήρας σπουδῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ
Βορουσθένης ὁ ἵππος, ὃ μάλιστα θηρῶν ἠρέσκετο, σημειὸν ἔστιν:
ἀποθανόντι γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τάφον κατεσκεύασε καὶ στήλην ἔστησε καὶ
ἐπιγράμματα 3. ἐπέγραψεν. ὅθεν οὐ θαυμαστὸν εἰ καὶ τὴν Πλωτῖναν
ἀποθανοῦσαν, δι' ἧς ἔτυχε τῆς ἀρχῆς [p. 444] ἐρώσης αὐτοῦ, διαφερόντως
ἐτίμησεν, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἐννέα μελανειμονῆσαι καὶ ναὸν αὐτῇ
οἰκοδομῆσαι καὶ ὕμνους τινὰς ἐς αὐτὴν ποιῆσαι.” Xiph. 246, 8-247, R. St. “
[3a] ὅτι τῆς Πλωτίνης ἀποθανούσης ἐπῆγει αὐτὴν Ἀδριανός, λέγων ὅτι
‘πολλὰ παρ’ ἐμοῦ αἰτήσασα οὐδενὸς ἀπέτυχεν.’ τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἄλλως
ἔλεγεν, ἀλλ’ ὅτι ‘τοιαῦτα ἦται οἷα οὔτε ἐβάρει με οὔτε συνεχῶρει
ἀντειπεῖν.’” Petr. Patr. Exc. Vat. 109 (p. 221 Mai. = p. 203, 18-21 Dind.). “
[3.2] οὕτω δὲ περὶ τὴν θήραν ἐπιδέξιος ἦν ὡς καὶ μέγαν ποτὲ σὺν μιᾷ πληγῇ
καθελεῖν. 11. ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπώπτευσεν τὰ μυστήρια. διὰ δὲ
τῆς Ἰουδαίας μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς Αἴγυπτον παριὼν καὶ ἐνήγησε τῷ Πομπηίῳ:
πρὸς ὃν καὶ τουτὶ τὸ ἔπος ἀπορρῖψαι λέγεται τῷ ναοῖς βριθόντι πόση σπάνις
ἔπλετο τύμβου. καὶ τὸ μνημα αὐτοῦ διεφθαρμένον ἀνωκοδόμησεν. [2] ἐν δὲ
τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ τὴν Ἀντινίου ὠνομασμένην ἀνωκοδόμησε πόλιν. ὁ γὰρ
Ἀντίνοος ἦν μὲν ἐκ Βιθυνίου πόλεως Βιθυνίδος, ἦν καὶ Κλαυδιούπολιν
καλοῦμεν, παιδικὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐγεγόνει, καὶ ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἐτελεύτησεν, εἴτ’
οὖν ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον ἐκπεσὼν, ὡς Ἀδριανὸς γράφει, εἴτε καὶ [3] ἱερουργηθεὶς,
ὡς ἡ ἀλήθεια ἔχει. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα περιεργότατος Ἀδριανός, ὥσπερ εἶπον,
ἐγένετο, καὶ μαντείας μαγανείαις τε παντοδαπαῖς ἐχρήτο. [p. 446] καὶ οὕτω γε
τὸν Ἀντίνοον, ἦτοι διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα αὐτοῦ ἢ ὅτι ἐθελοντὴς ἐθανατώθη
‘ἐκουσίῳ γὰρ ψυχῇς πρὸς ᾧ ἔπραπτεν ἐδεῖτό, ἐτίμησεν ὡς καὶ πόλιν ἐν τῷ
χωρίῳ, ἐν ᾧ τοῦτ’ ἔπαθε, καὶ συνοικίσαι [4] καὶ ὀνομάσαι ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ. καὶ
ἐκείνου ἀνδριάντας ἐν πάσῃ ὡς εἰπεῖν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀγάλματα,
ἀνέθηκε. καὶ τέλος ἀστέρα τινὰ αὐτὸς τε ὀρᾶν ὡς καὶ τοῦ Ἀντινίου ὄντα
ἔλεγε καὶ τῶν συνόντων οἱ μυθολογούντων ἠδέως ἤκουεν ἔκ τε τῆς ψυχῆς
τοῦ Ἀντινίου ὄντως τὸν ἀστέρα γεγενῆσθαι καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἀναπεφνηναι.
διὰ ταῦτά τε οὖν ἐσκώπτετο, καὶ ὅτι Παυλίνῃ τῇ ἀδελφῇ ἀποθανούσῃ
παραχρῆμα μὲν οὐδεμίαν τιμὴν ἔνειμεν ...” Xiph. 247, 28-248, R. St., Exc.
Val. 295 (p. 714), cf. Suid. s.vv. *)adriano/s “ γλ. 5’, παιδικὰ. 12. ἐς δὲ τὰ
Ἱεροσόλυμα πόλιν αὐτοῦ ἀντὶ τῆς κατασκαφείσης οἰκίσαντος, ἦν καὶ Αἰλίαν
Καπιτωλίαν ὠνόμασε, καὶ ἐς τὸν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τόπον ναὸν τῷ Διὶ
ἕτερον ἀντεγείραντος πόλεμος [2] οὔτε μικρὸς οὔτ’ ὀλιγοχρόνιος ἐκινήθη.
Ἰουδαῖοι γὰρ δεινὸν τι ποιούμενοι τὸ ἀλλοφύλους τινὰς ἐς τὴν πόλιν σφῶν
οἰκισθῆναι καὶ τὸ ἱερὰ ἀλλότρια ἐν αὐτῇ ἰδρυθῆναι, παρόντος μὲν ἐν τε τῇ
Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ αὐθις ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἡσυχάζον, πλὴν καθ’ ὅσον τὰ
ὄπλα τὰ ἐπιταχθέντα σφίσιν ἦττον ἐπιτήδεια ἐξεπότηδες κατεσκεύασαν ὡς
ἀποδοκιμασθεῖσιν αὐτοῖς ὑπ’ ἐκείνων χρήσασθαι, ἐπεὶ δὲ πόρρω ἐγένετο,
φανερῶς ἀπέστησαν. [3] καὶ παρατάξει μὲν φανερᾷ οὐκ ἐτόλμων [p. 448]
διακινδυνεῦσαι πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, τὰ δὲ τῆς χώρας ἐπικαίρα
κατελάμβανον καὶ ὑπονόμοις καὶ τείχεσιν ἐκρατύνοντο, ὅπως ἀναφυγὰς τε

ὁπόταν βιασθῶσιν ἔχωσι καὶ παρ' ἀλλήλους ὑπὸ γῆν διαφοιτῶντες λανθάνωσι, διαπιτράντες ἄνω τὰς ὑπογείους ὁδοὺς ἵνα καὶ ἄνεμον καὶ φέγγος ἐσδέχοντο. 13. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν οὐδενὶ αὐτοὺς λόγῳ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐποιοῦντο: ἐπεὶ δ' ἦ τε Ἰουδαία πᾶσα ἐκεκίνητο, καὶ οἱ ἀπανταχοῦ γῆς Ἰουδαῖοι συνεταράττοντο καὶ συνήεσαν, καὶ πολλὰ κακὰ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τὰ μὲν λάθρα τὰ δὲ καὶ ^[2] φανερώς ἐνεδείκνυντο, πολλοὶ τε ἄλλοι καὶ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων ἐπιθυμία κέρδους σφίσι συνελαμβάνοντο, καὶ πάσης ὡς εἶπεῖν κινουμένης ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῆς οἰκουμένης, τότε δὴ τότε τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ Ἀδριανὸς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν, ὧν πρῶτος Ἰούλιος Σεουήρος ὑπῆρχεν, ἀπὸ Βρεττανίας ἧς ἦρχεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους σταλείς. ^[3] ὃς ἄντικρυς μὲν οὐδαμῶθεν ἐτόλμησε τοῖς ἐναντίοις συμβαλεῖν, τὸ τε πλῆθος καὶ τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν αὐτῶν ὁρῶν: ἀπολαμβάνων δ' ὡς ἐκάστους πλήθει τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπάρχων, καὶ τροφῆς ἀπειργων καὶ κατακλείων, ἡδυνήθη βραδύτερον μὲν ἀκινδυνότερον δὲ κατατρίψαι καὶ ἐκτρυχῶσαι καὶ ἐκκόψαι αὐτοὺς. 14. ὀλίγοι γοῦν κομιδῇ περιεγένοντο. καὶ φρούρια μὲν αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα τὰ γε ἀξιολογώτατα, κῶμαι δὲ ἐνακόσιαι καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ πέντε ^[p. 450] ὀνομαστόταται κατεσκάφησαν, ἄνδρες δὲ ὀκτῶ καὶ πεντήκοντα μυριάδες ἐσφάγησαν ἐν τε ταῖς καταδρομαῖς καὶ ταῖς μάχαις τῶν τε γὰρ λιμῶ καὶ νόσῳ καὶ πυρὶ φθαρέντων τὸ πλῆθος ἀνεξερεύνητον ^[2] ἦν', ὥστε πᾶσαν ὀλίγου δεῖν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐρημωθῆναι, καθάπερ που καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου αὐτοῖς προεδείχθη: τὸ γὰρ μνημεῖον τοῦ Σολομῶντος, ὃ ἐν τοῖς σεβασμίοις οὗτοι ἄγουσιν, ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου διελύθη τε καὶ συνέπεσε, καὶ λύκοι ὕαιναί τε πολλὰ ἐς τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν ^[3] ἐσέπιπτον ὠρυόμεναι. πολλοὶ μέντοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τούτῳ καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπώλοντο: διὸ καὶ ὁ Ἀδριανὸς γράφων πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν οὐκ ἐχρήσατο τῷ προοιμίῳ τῷ συνήθει τοῖς αὐτοκράτορσιν, ὅτι 'εἰ αὐτοὶ τε καὶ οἱ παῖδες ὑμῶν ὑγιαίνετε, εὖ ἂν ἔχοι: ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ὑγιαίνομεν.' ^[4] τὸν δὲ Σεουήρον ἐς Βιθυνίαν ἔπεμψεν, ὅπλων μὲν οὐδέν, ἄρχοντος δὲ καὶ ἐπιστάτου καὶ δικαίου καὶ φρονίμου καὶ ἀξίωμα ἔχοντος δεομένην: ἃ πάντα ἐν ἐκείνῳ ἦν. καὶ ὁ μὲν διήγαγε καὶ διώκησε καὶ τὰ ἴδια καὶ τὰ κοινὰ αὐτῶν οὕτως ὥσθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐς δεῦρο ἀεὶ αὐτοῦ μνημονεῦειν, τῇ δὲ δὴ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ κλήρῳ ἡ Παμφυλία ἀντὶ τῆς Βιθυνίας ἐδόθη." Xiph. 248, 17-249, + 251, 24-27 R. St., Exc. Val. 296 (p. 714). " 15. ὁ μὲν οὖν τῶν Ἰουδαίων πόλεμος ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτησεν, ἕτερος δὲ ἐξ Ἀλανῶν 'εἰσὶ δὲ Μασσαγέται 49' ἐκινήθη ὑπὸ Φαρασμάνου, καὶ ^[p. 452] τὴν μὲν Ἀλβανίδα καὶ τὴν Μηδίαν ἰσχυρῶς ἐλύπησε, τῆς δ' Ἀρμενίας τῆς τε Καππαδοκίας ἀπάμενος, ἔπειτα τῶν Ἀλανῶν τὰ μὲν δώροις ὑπὸ τοῦ Οὐολογαίου πεισθέντων, τὰ δὲ καὶ Φλάουιον Ἀρριανὸν τὸν τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἄρχοντα φοβηθέντων, ἐπαύσατο. 51" Xiph. 251, 27-252, R. St., Exc. UR (p. 414). " ^[2] ὅτι πρεσβευτὰς πεμφθέντας παρὰ τοῦ Οὐολογαίου καὶ παρὰ τῶν Ἰαζύγων, ἐκείνου μὲν κατηγοροῦντός τινα Φαρασμάνου, τούτων δὲ τὴν εἰρήνην πιστουμένων, ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσήγαγε, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ποιήσασθαι ἐπιτραπεῖς συνέγραψέ τε αὐτὰς καὶ ἀνέγνω σφίσιν." Exc. UG (p. 407). " 16. Ἀδριανὸς δὲ τὸ τε Ὀλύμπιον τὸ ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις, ἐν ᾧ καὶ αὐτὸς

ἵδρυνται, ἔξεποίησε, καὶ δράκοντα ἐς αὐτὸ ἀπὸ Ἰνδίας κομισθέντα ἀνέθηκε: τὰ τε Διονύσια, τὴν μεγίστην παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀρχὴν ἄρξας, ἐν τῇ ἐσθῇτι τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ λαμπρῶς ἐπετέλεσε. [2] τὸν τε σηκὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ, τὸ Πανελλήνιον ὠνομασμένον, οἰκοδομήσασθαι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐπέτρεψε, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐπ' αὐτῷ κατεστήσατο, χρήματά τε πολλὰ καὶ σίτον ἐτήσιον τὴν τε Κεφαλληνίαν ὅλην τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐχαρίσατο. ἐνομοθέτησε δὲ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ, καὶ ἵνα μηδεὶς βουλευτῆς μὴτ' αὐτὸς μὴτε δι' ἑτέρου τέλος τι [p. 454] [3] μισθῶται. ἐς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλθὼν, ἐπεὶ ἔν τινι θεᾷ βοῶν ὁ δῆμος ἀρματηλάτην τινα ἐλευθερωθῆναι ἐδεῖτο, ἀντεῖπτε διὰ πινακίου γραφῆς, εἰπὼν ὅτι 'οὐ προσήκει ὑμῖν οὔτε παρ' ἐμοῦ αἰτεῖν ἵνα ἀλλότριον δοῦλον ἐλευθερώσω, οὔτε τὸν δεσπότην αὐτοῦ βιάζεσθαι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι.' 17. ἄρξάμενος δὲ νοσεῖν αἵμα γὰρ εἰώθει μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ πρότερον διὰ τῆς ῥινὸς προχεῖσθαι, τότε δὲ ἰσχυρῶς ἐπλεόνασεν' ἀπεγνώσθη μὲν βιώσεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Κόμομον μὲν Λούκιον, καίτοι αἵμα ἐμοῦντα, Καίσαρα Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέδειξε, Σερουιανὸς δὲ καὶ Φοῦσκον τὸν ἕγγονον αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ ἀγανακτήσαντας ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐφόνευσε, τὸν μὲν ἐνενηκοντούτην ὄντα τὸν δὲ [2] ὀκτωκαιδεκέτην. πρὶν δὲ ἀποσφαγῆναι, ὁ Σερουιανὸς πῦρ ἤτησε, καὶ θυμῶν ἅμα 'ὅτι μὲν οὐδὲν ἀδικῶ' ἔφη 'ὑμεῖς, ὦ θεοί, ἴστε: περὶ δὲ Ἀδριανοῦ τοσοῦτον μόνον εὐχομαι, ἵνα ἐπιθυμήσας ἀποθανεῖν μὴ δυνήθῃ.' καὶ μέντοι καὶ διετέλεσεν Ἀδριανὸς ἐπὶ πλείστον νοσῶν, πολλάκις μὲν ἀποσβῆναι εὐξάμενος, πολλάκις δὲ [3] καὶ ἀποκτανεῖν ἑαυτὸν ἐθελήσας. ἔστι γε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιστολὴ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐνδεικνυμένη, ὅσον κακὸν ἐστὶν ἐπιθυμοῦντά τινα ἀποθανεῖν μὴ δύνασθαι. τὸν δὲ Σερουιανὸν τοῦτον Ἀδριανὸς καὶ τῆς αὐταρχίας ἄξιον ἐνόμισεν εἶναι: εἰπὼν γοῦν ποτε ἐν συμποσίῳ τοῖς φίλοις ἵνα αὐτῷ δέκα ἄνδρας μοναρχεῖν δυναμένους ὀνομάσωσιν, [p. 456] εἴτ' ὀλίγον ἐπισχῶν ἔφη ὅτι 'ἐννέα δέομαι μαθεῖν: τὸν γὰρ ἕνα, τοῦτ' ἔστι Σερουιανόν, ἔχω.'" Xiph. 252, 1-30 R. St. " 18. γεγόνاسι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τότε ἄριστοι ἄνδρες, ὧν ἐπιφανέστατοι Τούρβων τε καὶ Σίμιλις ἦσθιν, οἳ καὶ ἀνδριᾶσιν ἐτιμήθησαν, Τούρβων μὲν στρατηγικώτατος ἀνὴρ, ὃς καὶ ἑπαρχος γεγονώς, εἴτ' οὖν ἄρχων τῶν δορυφόρων, οὔτε τι ἀβρὸν οὔτε τι ὑπερήφανον ἔπραξεν, ἀλλ' ὡς [2] εἷς τῶν πολλῶν διεβίω. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν πᾶσαν πρὸς τῷ βασιλείῳ διέτριβε, καὶ πολλάκις καὶ πρὸ μέσων νυκτῶν πρὸς αὐτὸ ἦει, ὅτε τινὲς τῶν ἄλλων καθεύδειν ἤρχοντο. [3] ἀμέλει καὶ Κορνήλιος Φρόντων ὁ τὰ πρῶτα τῶν τότε Ῥωμαίων ἐν δίκαις φερόμενος, ἐσπέρας ποτὲ βαθείας ἀπὸ δεῖπνου οἴκαδε ἐπανιών, καὶ μαθὼν παρὰ τινος ᾧ συνηγορήσειν ὑπέσχετο δικάζειν αὐτὸν ἤδη, ἔν τε τῇ στολῇ τῇ δειπνίτιδι, ὥσπερ εἶχεν, ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον αὐτοῦ ἐσῆλθε καὶ ἡσπάσατο, οὔτι γε τῷ ἐωθινῷ προσρήματι τῷ χαῖρε, ἀλλὰ [4] τῷ ἐσπερινῷ τῷ ὑγιαίνει χρησάμενος. οἴκοι δὲ ὁ Τούρβων οὔποτε ἡμέρας, οὐδὲ νοσήσας, ὤφθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀδριανὸν συμβουλευόντα αὐτῷ ἀτρεμῆσαι εἶπεν ὅτι 'τὸν ἑπαρχον ἐστῶτα ἀποθνήσκειν δεῖ.' 19. ὁ δὲ δὴ Σίμιλις ἡλικία μὲν καὶ τάξει προήκων αὐτοῦ ἐν τρόποις οὐδενὸς τῶν πάντων, ὥς γε ἐγὼ νομίζω, δευτέρος ἦν. ἔξεστι δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὀλιγιστῶν [p. 458] τεκμήρασθαι. τῷ τε γὰρ Τραϊανῷ ἑκατονταρχοῦντα ἔτι αὐτὸν ἐσκαλέσαντί ποτε εἶσω πρὸ τῶν

ἐπάρχων ἔφη ‘αἰσχρὸν ἔστι, Καῖσαρ, ἑκατοντάρχῳ σε τῶν ἐπάρχων ἔξω ἑστηκότων ^[2] διαλέγεσθαι,’ καὶ τὴν τῶν δορυφόρων ἀρχὴν ἄκων τε ἔλαβε καὶ λαβὼν ἐξίστατο, μόλις τε ἀφεθείς ἐν ἀγρῷ ἡσυχος ἑπτὰ ἔτη τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ βίου διήγαγε, καὶ ἐπὶ γε τὸ μνημα αὐτοῦ τοῦτο ἐπέγραψεν ὅτι ‘Σίμιλις ἐνταῦθα κεῖται βιοὺς μὲν ἔτη τόσα, ζήσας δὲ ἔτη ἑπτὰ.’” Χίρ. 252, 30-253, R. St., Exc. Val. 297, 298, 299. “ 23. ^[4] ὅτι ὁ Φάβιος Ιούλιος μὴ φέρων τὴν τοῦ υἱέος μαλακίαν, ῥίψαι ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἠθέλησεν.” Exc. Val. 300 (p. 714). “ 20. Ἀδριανὸς δὲ φθόῃ τε ἐκ τῆς πολλῆς τοῦ αἵματος ῥύσεως ἐχρήτο, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς καὶ ὕδρωπίασεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνέβη τὸν Λούκιον τὸν Κόμμοδον ἐξαίφνης ἐγκαταλειφθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ αἵματος πολλοῦ τε καὶ ἀθρόου ἐκπεσόντος, συνεκάλεσε τοὺς πρῶτους καὶ ἀξιολόγους τῶν βουλευτῶν οἵκαδε, καὶ κατακείμενος εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ^[2] τάδε: ‘ἐμοί, ὦ ἄνδρες φίλοι, γόνον μὲν οὐκ ἔδωκεν ἡ φύσις ποιήσασθαι, νόμῳ δὲ ὑμεῖς ἐδώκατε. διαφέρει δὲ τοῦτο ἐκείνου, ὅτι τὸ μὲν γεννώμενον, ὅποῖον ἂν δόξῃ τῷ δαιμονίῳ, γίγνεται, τὸ δὲ δὴ ποιοῦμενον αὐθαίρετόν τις αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ προστίθεται, ^[3] ὥστε παρὰ μὲν τῆς φύσεως ἀνάπηρον καὶ ἄφρονα πολλάκις δίδοσθαι τινι, παρὰ δὲ τῆς ^[p. 460] κρίσεως καὶ ἀρτιμελῆ καὶ ἀρτίνουν πάντως αἰρεῖσθαι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρότερον μὲν τὸν Λούκιον ἐξ ἀπάντων ἐξελεξάμην, οἷον οὐδ’ ἂν ^[4] εὖξασθαι παῖδα ἡδυνήθην ἑμαυτῷ γενέσθαι: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκείνον τὸ δαιμόνιον ἡμῶν ἀφείλετο, εὖρον ἀντ’ ἐκείνου αὐτοκράτορα ὑμῖν, ὃν δίδωμι, εὐγενῆ πρῶον εὐεικτον φρόνιμον, μὴθ’ ὑπὸ νεότητος προπετὲς μὴθ’ ὑπὸ γήρως ἀμελὲς ποιῆσαι τι δυνάμενον, ἡγμένον κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, ἡγεμονευκότα κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, ὥστε μῆτε τι ἀγνοεῖν τῶν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν φερόντων καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς καλῶς ^[5] δύνασθαι χρήσασθαι. λέγω δὲ Αὐρήλιον Ἀντωνῖνον τουτονί: ὃν εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα οἶδα ἀπραγμονέστατον τε ἀνδρῶν ὄντα καὶ πόρρω τοιαύτης ἐπιθυμίας καθεστηκότα, ἀλλ’ οὐτι γε καὶ ἀφροντιστήσιν οἶμαι οὔτε ἐμοῦ οὔτε ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄκοντα τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑποδέξεσθαι.’ 21. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος αὐτοκράτωρ ἐγένετο: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν ἅπαις ἀρρένων παιδῶν, τὸν τε Κομμόδου υἱὸν Κόμμοδον ἐσεποίησεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτῳ Μάρκον Ἄννιον Οὐῆρον, βουλευθεὶς ἐπὶ πλείστον καὶ τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα αὐταρχήσαντας ἀποδείξα. ἦν δὲ οὗτος ὁ Ἄννιος ὁ Μάρκος, ὁ Κατίλιος πρότερον ὀνομαζόμενος, Ἀννίου Οὐῆρου τοῦ τρις ὑπατεῦσαντος καὶ πολιαρχήσαντος ^[2] ἔγγονος. καὶ ἀμφοτέρους μὲν ἐσποίησασθαι τῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ ἐκέλευε, προετίμησε δὲ τὸν Οὐῆρον διὰ τε τὴν συγγένειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, καὶ ὅτι φύσιν ψυχῆς ἐρρωμενεστάτην ἤδη ὑπέφαιναν: ^[p. 462] ἀφ’ οὗ καὶ Οὐῆρισσιμον αὐτόν, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ ῥήματος ἔννοιαν κομψευόμενος, ἀπεκάλει. 22. Ἀδριανὸς δὲ μαγχαναῖς μὲν τισι καὶ γοητείαις ἐκενοῦτό ποτε τοῦ ὕγροῦ, πάλιν δ’ αὐτοῦ διὰ ταχέος ἐπίμπλατο. ἐπεὶ οὖν πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον αἰεὶ ἐπεδίδου καὶ καθ’ ἐκάστην τῶν τρόπον τινὰ ἡμέραν ἀπώλλυτο, ἀποθανεῖν ἐπεθύμησε, καὶ ἤτει μὲν πολλάκις καὶ φάρμακον καὶ ξίφος, ^[2] ἐδίδου δὲ οὐδείς. ὥς δ’ οὖν οὐδείς αὐτῷ καίτοι χρήματα καὶ ἄδειαν ὑπισχνουμένῳ ὑπήκουε, μετεπέμψατο Μάστορα ἄνδρα βάρβαρον Ἰάζυγα, ὃ αἰχμαλώτῳ γενομένῳ πρὸς τὰς θήρας διὰ τε ἰσχὺν καὶ δι’ εὐτολμίαν

ἐκέχρητο, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀπειλῶν αὐτῷ τὰ δὲ ὑπισχνούμενος ἠνάγκασεν ^[3] αὐτὸν ἐπαγγείλασθαι τὴν σφαγὴν. καὶ τι καὶ χωρίον ὑπὸ τὸν μαστόν, πρὸς Ἑρμογένους τοῦ ἱατροῦ ὑποδειχθέν, χρώματι τινι περιέγραψεν, ὅπως κατ' αὐτὸ πληγείς καιρίαν ἀλύπως τελευτήσῃ. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲ τοῦτο αὐτῷ προεχώρησεν ὁ γὰρ Μάστωρ φοβηθεὶς τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ ἐκπλαγείς ὑπεχώρησέ, πολλὰ μὲν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ νόσῳ ὠδύρατο πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ οὐκ ^[4] ἐξουσίᾳ, ὅτι μὴ οἷός τ' ἦν ἑαυτὸν ἀναχρήσασθαι, καίτοι τοὺς ἄλλους ἔτι καὶ τότε δυνάμενος· καὶ τέλος τῆς τε ἀκριβείας τῆς κατὰ τὴν δίαιταν ἀπέσχετο, καὶ ταῖς μὴ προσηκούσαις ἐδωδαῖς καὶ ποτοῖς χρώμενος ἐτελεύτησε, λέγων καὶ βοῶν τὸ δημῶδες, ὅτι πολλοὶ ἱατροὶ βασιλέα ἀπώλεσαν. ^[p. 464] 23. ἔζησε δὲ ἔτη μὲν δύο καὶ ἐξήκοντα μῆνας δὲ πέντε καὶ ἡμέρας ἑννεακαίδεκα, καὶ ἐμονάρχησεν ἔτη εἴκοσι καὶ μῆνας ἑνδεκα. ἐτάφη δὲ πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ ποταμῷ, πρὸς τῇ γεφύρᾳ τῇ Αἰλίᾳ· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ τὸ μνημα κατεσκευάσατο. τὸ γὰρ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐπεπλήρωτο, καὶ οὐκέτι οὐδεὶς ἐν αὐτῷ ἐτέθη.” Xiph. 253, 23-255, R. St. “ ^[2] οὗτος ἐμισήθη μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, καίτοι τᾶλλα ἄριστα αὐτῶν ἄρξας, διὰ τε τοὺς πρώτους καὶ τοὺς τελευταίους φόνους ἅτε καὶ ἀδίκως καὶ ἀνοσίως γενομένους, ἐπεὶ οὕτω γε ἥκιστα φονικὸς ἐγένετο ὥστε καὶ προσκρουσάντων αὐτῷ τινων ἄρκοῦν νομίζειν τὸ ταῖς πατρίσιν αὐτῶν αὐτὸ τοῦτο γράψαι, ὅτι αὐτῷ οὐκ ἀρέσκουσιν. ^[3] εἰ τέ τινα τῶν τέκνα ἐχόντων ὀφλήσῃσι πάντως τι ἔδει, ἀλλ' οὖν πρὸς γε τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν παίδων καὶ τὰς τιμωρίας αὐτῶν ἐπεκουφίζεν. οὐ μέντοι ἀλλ' ἡ γερουσία ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντέσχε, τὰς τιμὰς μὴ ψηφίσασθαι ἐθέλουσα, καὶ αἰτιωμένη τινὰς τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πλεονασάντων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τιμηθέντων, οὕς καὶ κολασθῆναι ἔδει.” Xiph. 255, 14-19 R. St., Exc. Val. 301 (p. 714). “ ^[p. 466] Ἐγένετο δὲ μετὰ θάνατον Ἀδριανῷ τηλικούτον ἄγαλμα μετὰ τεθρίππου, ὥστε διὰ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ ἐκάστου ἵππου παχύτατον ἄνδρα διέναι. οἱ δὲ ἐν γῇ βαδίζοντες ἐκ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς τοῦ ὕψους τοῦ κτίσματος αὐτοὺς τε μυελλερ, δὲ ξοδ. τοὺς ἵππους βραχυτάτους καὶ τὸν Ἀδριανὸν νομίζουσι.” Exc. Salm. fr. 114 Muell. (p. 396, 23-27 Cram.). “ ^[p. 468]”

“ 1. Ιστέον ὅτι τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς ἐν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις τοῦ Δίωνος οὐχ εὐρίσκεται, παθόντων τι ὡς εἰκὸς τῶν βιβλίων, ὥστε ἀγνοεῖσθαι τὴν κατ’ αὐτὸν ἱστορίαν σχεδὸν σύμπασαν, πλὴν ὅτι τοῦ Λουκίου Κομόδου, ὃν ὁ Ἀδριανὸς ἐποιήσατο, πρὸ τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ τελευτήσαντος οὗτος παρ’ ἐκείνου καὶ ἐποιήθη καὶ ^[2] αὐτοκράτωρ ἐγένετο ‘ξφ. 69, 20’, καὶ ὅτι μὴ βουλομένης τῆς γερουσίας τὰς ἡρωικὰς τιμὰς δοῦναι τῷ Ἀδριανῷ τελευτήσαντι διὰ τινας φόνους ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος ἄλλα τε πολλὰ δακρύων καὶ ὀδυρόμενος αὐτοῖς διελέχθη, καὶ τέλος εἶπεν ‘οὐδὲ ἐγὼ ἄρα ὑμῶν ἄρξω, εἶγε ἐκείνος καὶ κακὸς καὶ ἐχθρὸς ὑμῖν καὶ ^[3] πολέμιος ἐγένετο: πάντα γὰρ δῆλον ὅτι τὰ πραχθέντα ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, ὧν ἐν καὶ ἡ ἐμὴ ποιήσις ἐστὶ, καταλύσετε.’ ἀκούσασα δὲ τοῦτο ἡ γερουσία καὶ αἰδεσθεῖσα τὸν ἄνδρα, τὸ δέ τι καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας φοβηθεῖσα, ἀπέδωκε τῷ Ἀδριανῷ τὰς τιμὰς. 2. ταῦτα μόνον περὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου ἐν τῷ Δίῳ σωζεται, καὶ ὅτι Αὐγουστον αὐτὸν καὶ Εὐσεβῆ διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν ἐπωνόμασεν ἡ βουλή, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας αὐτοῦ πολλῶν αἰτιαθέντων καὶ τινων καὶ ὀνομαστὶ ἐξαιτηθέντων ὅμως οὐδένα ἐκόλασεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι ‘οὐ δεῖ με ἀπὸ τοιούτων ἔργων τῆς προστασίας ὑμῶν ἄρξασθαι.’” Xiph. 256, 6-28 R. St. “ ^[p. 470] ὅτι Φαρασμάνη τῷ Ἰβηρι ἐς τὴν Ρώμην μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐλθόντι τὴν τε ἀρχὴν ἐπηύξησε καὶ θῦσαι ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἐφῆκεν, ἀνδριάντα τε ἐπὶ Ἰππου ἐν τῷ Ἐννείῳ ἔστησε, καὶ γυμνασίαν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ υἱέος τῶν τε ἄλλων πρώτων Ἰβήρων ἐν ὅλοις εἶδεν.” Exc. UG (p. 407). “ ^[2] οὐ σώζεται δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦ μετὰ Ἀντωνίνου ἄρξαντος Μάρκου Βήρου τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἱστορουμένων, ὅσα περὶ τὸν Λούκιον τὸν τοῦ Κομόδου υἱόν, ὃν ὁ Μάρκος γαμβρὸν ἐποιήσατο, ἔπραξεν οὗτος αὐτός, καὶ ὅσα οὗτος εἰς τὸν κατὰ Οὐολογαίου πόλεμον ὑπὸ τοῦ πενθεροῦ πεμφθεὶς ἔδρασε. διὸ βραχέα περὶ τούτων ἐξ ἐτέρων ἀναλεξάμενος βιβλίων ἐρῶ: εἴθ’ οὕτως ἐπὶ τὰ ἐξῆς τοῦ Δίωνος μεταβήσομαι. 3. ὁ γὰρ Ἀντωνῖνος ὁμολογεῖται παρὰ πάντων καλὸς τε καὶ ἀγαθὸς γενέσθαι, καὶ οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων ὑπηκόων τισὶ βαρὺς οὔτε Χριστιανοῖς ἐπαχθής, ἀλλὰ πολλήν τινα τούτοις νέμων αἰδῶ, καὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ τιμῇ, ἣν ἐκείνος ἐτίμα ^[2] Χριστιανούς, προστιθείς. ὁ γὰρ τοῦ Παμφίλου Εὐσέβιος καὶ ἐπιστολάς τινας τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ αὐτοῦ ἱστορίᾳ παρατίθεται, ἐν αἷς ἐκείνος δείκνυται τοῖς λυποῦσι τι ἢ κατηγοροῦσι τῶν Χριστιανῶν δεινὰ ἀπειλῶν, καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλεᾶ ἐπομνύμενος ὡς τεύξονται τιμωρίας. ^[3] λέγεται δὲ ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος ζητητικὸς γενέσθαι, καὶ μηδὲ περὶ τὰ μικρὰ καὶ τὰ τυχόντα τῆς ἀκριβολογίας ἀφίστασθαι: ὅθεν αὐτὸν οἱ σκώπτοντες καὶ κυμινοπρίστην ἐκάλουν. Κοδρᾶτος δὲ γηραιὸν μὲν φησιν αὐτὸν τελευτῆσαι, τὴν δὲ τελευτὴν ^[p. 472] ἡδίστην αὐτῷ κατ’ ἴσον ὕπνῳ τῷ μαλακωτάτῳ γενέσθαι.” Xiph. 256, 28-257, R. St. “ 4. ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου λέγεται καὶ φοβερώτατος περὶ τὰ μέρη τῆς Βιθυνίας καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου σεισμὸς γενέσθαι, καὶ ἄλλας τε πόλεις καμεῖν ἰσχυρῶς καὶ πεσεῖν ὀλοσχερῶς, καὶ ἐξαιρέτως τὴν

Κύζικον, καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ ναὸν μέγιστόν τε ^[2] καὶ κάλλιστον ναῶν ἀπάντων καταρριφῆναι, ὃ τετράοργοι μὲν πάχος οἱ κίονες ἦσαν, ὕψος δὲ πεντήκοντα πήχεων, ἕκαστος πέτρας μιᾶς, καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ἕκαστον θαυμάσαι πλέον ἢ ἐπαινέσαι. περὶ δὲ τὴν μεσόγειον ἄνω κορυφῆς ὄρους διαστάσης θαλάσσιόν φασιν ἐκχυθῆναι κύμα, ἐπὶ πολὺ τε τῆς γῆς ἐλθεῖν ῥιπιζομένην τὴν ἄχνην ἀκράτου καὶ διαυγοῦς θαλάσσης. 1. ^[1.1] περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου τὸ γε νῦν ἔχον τοσαῦτα, ἥρξε δὲ εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρα ἔτη.” Χίρμ. 257, 14-24 R. St. ““

“ 1. Μάρκος δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ποιησαμένου αὐτὸν τελευτήσαντος Ἀντωνίνου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχε, προσειλήφει ἐς κοινωνίαν τοῦ κράτους εὐθὺς τὸν τοῦ Λουκίου Κομόδου υἱὸν [2] Λούκιον Βῆρον. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ἀσθενὴς ἦν τῷ σώματι καὶ τὰ πολλὰ λόγοις ἐσχόλαζε ἔλεγετα γὰρ καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ ὢν μὴ αἰδεῖσθαι μηδὲ ὀκνεῖν ἐς διδασκάλου φοιτᾶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Σέξτω προσίεναι τῷ ἐκ Βοιωτῶν φιλοσόφῳ, καὶ ἐς ἀκρόασιν τῶν ῥητορικῶν Ἑρμογένους λόγων μὴ ὀκνῆσαι παραγενέσθαι: [3] προσέκειτο δὲ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς στοᾶς μάλιστα δόγμασιν, ὁ δὲ Λούκιος ἔρρωτό τε καὶ νεώτερος ἦν, τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς τε ἔργοις καταλληλότερος. ὅθεν καὶ γαμβρὸν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ Λουκίλλᾳ ὁ Μάρκος ποιήσας εἰς τὸν πρὸς Πάρθους ἔπεμψε πόλεμον. 2. ὁ γὰρ Οὐολόγαισος πολέμου ἤρξε, καὶ στρατόπεδόν τε ὅλον Ῥωμαϊκὸν τὸ ὑπὸ Σεβηριανῶ τεταγμένον ἐν τῇ Ἑλεγειᾷ, χωρίῳ τινὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας, περισχὼν πάντοθεν αὐτοῖς ἡγεμόσι κατετόξευσε καὶ διέφθειρε, καὶ τῆς Συρίας [2] ταῖς πόλεσι πολὺς ἐπήγει καὶ φοβερός. ὁ οὖν Λούκιος ἐλθὼν ἐς Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ πλείστους στρατιώτας συλλέξας, καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν [p. 4] ἡγεμόνων ὑφ’ ἑαυτὸν ἔχων, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐκάθητο διατάπτων ἕκαστα καὶ τὰς τοῦ πολέμου χορηγίας ἀθροίζων, Κασσίῳ δὲ τὰ στρατεύματα 3. ἐπέτρεψεν. καὶ ὃς ἐπόντα τε τὸν Οὐολόγαισον γενναίως ὑπέμεινε, καὶ τέλος ἐγκαταλειφθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων καὶ ὀπίσω ἀναχωρήσαντα ἐπέδιωξε, μέχρι τε Σελευκείας καὶ Κτησιφῶντος ἤλασε, καὶ τὴν τε Σελεύκειαν διέφθειρεν ἐμπρήσας, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Οὐολογαίου βασιλεία τὰ ἐν τῇ 4. Κτησιφῶντι κατέσκαψεν. ἔν γε μὴν τῇ ὑποστροφῇ πλείστους τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ νόσου ἀπέβαλεν, ἀπενόστησε δ’ ὅμως ἐς τὴν Συρίαν μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν στρατιωτῶν. καὶ ὁ μὲν Λούκιος τοῦτοις ἐπεκυδαινέτο καὶ μέγα ἐφρόνει, οὐ μὴν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ τῆς ἄκρας εὐτυχίας 3. [1.1] ἐς ἀγαθὸν τι ἀπέβη: λέγεται γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῷ πενθερῷ Μάρκῳ ἐπιβεβουλευκῶς, πρὶν τι καὶ δρᾶσαι, φαρμάκῳ διαφθαρῆναι.” Χιρ. 258, 9-259, R. St. “ ὅτι Μάρτιος Βῆρος τὸν Θουκυδίδην ἐκτέμπει καταγαγεῖν Σόαιμον εἰς Ἀρμενίαν: ὃς δέει τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τῇ οἰκείᾳ περὶ πάντα τὰ προσπίπτοντα εὐβουλία τοῦ πρόσω εἶχετο ἐρρωμένως. ἦν δὲ ἱκανὸς ὁ Μάρτιος οὐ μόνον ὅπλοις βιάσασθαι τοὺς ἀντιπολέμους ἢ ὀξὺτητι προλαβεῖν ἢ ἀπάτη κατασοφίσασθαι, ἥπερ ἐστὶ στρατηγῶν ἀλήκη, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγῳ πιθανῶ πεῖσαι καὶ δωρεαῖς μεγαλόφροσιν οἰκειώσασθαι καὶ ἐλπίδι ἀγαθῇ δελεᾶσαι. χάρις τε ἦν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς πρασσομένοις ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ λεγομένοις, τὸ μὲν ἀγανακτοῦν ἐκάστου καὶ τὸ θυμοῦμενον παραμυθουμένη, τὸ δὲ ἔλπίζον ἔτι μᾶλλον αὖξουσα. κολακείας τε καὶ [p. 6] δώρων καὶ τῆς παρὰ τραπέζαις δεξιώσεως καιρὸν ἤδει. οἷς προσὸν τὸ πρὸς τὰς πράξεις σύντονον καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς σὺν ὀξὺτητι δραστήριον, αἰρετώτερον ἐδείκνυε τοῖς βαρβάροις εἶναι τῆς φιλίας αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἐχθρας ἀντιποιεῖσθαι. ἀφικόμενος οὖν εἰς τὴν Καινὴν πόλιν, ἣν φρουρὰ Ῥωμαίων κατεῖχεν ἐκ Πρίσκου καταστᾶσα, νεωτερίζειν πειρωμένους λόγῳ

τε καὶ ἔργῳ σωφρονίσας, ἀπέφηνε πρώτην εἶναι τῆς Ἀρμενίας.” Suidas s. v. *ma/rtios. “ ζεύγνυται δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἀπονώτατα τῶν ποταμῶν τὰ ρεύματα, ἅτε καὶ τοῦτο διὰ μελέτης αἰεὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν πολεμικῶν ὃν καὶ ἀσκοῦμενον ἐπὶ τε Ἰστροῦ καὶ Ῥήνῳ καὶ Εὐφράτῃ. ἔστι δὲ ὁ τρόπος ὅτ’ οὐ γὰρ δὴ πάντας εἰκὸς εἰδέναι τοιόσδε. πλατεῖαι μὲν εἰσιν αἱ νῆες δι’ ὧν ὁ ποταμὸς ζεύγνυται, ἀνορμίζονται δὲ ὀλίγον ἄνω τοῦ ρεύματος ὑπὲρ τὸν μέλλοντα ζεύγνυσθαι τόπον. ἐπ’ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ σημεῖον δοθῇ, ἀφ’ ἧς πρῶτην μίαν ναῦν κατὰ ῥοῦν φέρεσθαι πλησίον τῆς οἰκείας ὄχθης. ἐπ’ αὐτὴν δὲ κατὰ τὸν ζευγνύμενον ἦκη τόπον, ἐμβάλλουσιν εἰς τὸ ρεῦμα φορμὸν λίθων ἐμπεπλησμένον, καλωδίῳ δῆσαντες, ὥσπερ ἄγκυραν: ἀφ’ οὗ δεθεῖσα ἡ ναὺς πρὸς τῇ ὄχθῃ ἴσταται, καὶ σανίσιν καὶ ζεύγμασιν, ἅπερ ἄφθονα αὐτοῖς ἡ ναὺς φέρει, παραχρῆμα μέχρι τῆς ἀποβάσεως καταστρώννυται. εἴτα ἄλλην ἀφ’ ἧς ὀλίγον ἀπ’ ἐκείνης, καὶ ἄλλην ἀπ’ ἐκείνης, ἔστ’ ἂν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντιπέραν ὄχθην ἐλάσῃσι τὸ ^[p. 8] ζεῦγμα. ἡ δὲ πρὸς τῇ πολεμίᾳ ναὺς καὶ πύργους ἐπ’ αὐτῇ καὶ πυλίδας καὶ τοξότας καὶ καταπέλτας φέρει. βαλλομένῳ δὲ τῶν βελῶν πολλῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ζευγνύντας, ὁ Κάσσιος ἀφιέναι βέλη καὶ καταπέλτας κελεύει. πεσόντων δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων τῶν πρώτων ἐφεστηκότων οἱ ἕτεροι εἶκον. 8” Suidas s. v. zeu=gma. “^[p. 10]”

“ 3. ^[1.2] τὸν μέντοι Κάσσιον ὁ Μᾶρκος τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπάσης ἐπιτροπεύειν ἐκέλευσεν. αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰστρον βαρβάρους, Ἰάζυξι τε καὶ Μαρκομάνοις, ἄλλοτε ἄλλοις χρόνον συχνὸν ὡς εἰπεῖν δι’ ὅλου τοῦ βίου, τὴν Παννονίαν ἔχων ὀρμητήριον, ἐπολέμησε.” Χίρ. 259, 10-13 R. St. “ ^[1a] ὅτι Λαγγοβάρδων καὶ Ὀβίων ἑξακισχιλίων τὸν Ἰστρον περαιωθέντων, τῶν περὶ Βινδिका ἱππέων ἐξελασάντων καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ Κάνδιδον πεζῶν ἐπιφθασάντων, εἰς παντελῇ φυγῇν οἱ βάρβαροι ἐτράποντο, ἐφ’ οἷς οὕτω πραχθεῖσιν ἐν δέει καταστάντες ἐκ πρώτης ἐπιχειρήσεως οἱ βάρβαροι, πρέσβεις παρὰ Ἰάλλιον Βάσσον τὴν Παννονίαν διέποντα στέλλουσι, Βαλλομάριον τε τὸν βασιλέα Μαρκομάνων καὶ ἐτέρους δέκα, κατ’ ἔθνος ἐπιλεξάμενοι ἕνα. καὶ ὅρκους τὴν εἰρήνην οἱ πρέσβεις πιστωσάμενοι οἴκαδε χωροῦσιν.” Petr. Patr. exc. de leg. G (Hoesch. p. 15=fr. Muell. Fragm. hist. gr. p. 186). “ ^[2] πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ῥῆνον Κελτῶν μέχρι τῆς Ἰταλίας ἤλασαν, καὶ πολλὰ ἔδρασαν ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους δεινά: οἷς ὁ Μᾶρκος ἀντεπιὼν Πομπηιανόν τε καὶ Περτίνακα τοὺς ὑποστρατήγους ἀντικαθίστη. καὶ ἠρίστευσεν ὁ Περτίναξ, ὅστις καὶ ὕστερον αὐτοκράτωρ ἐγένετο. ἐν μέντοι τοῖς νεκροῖς τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ γυναικῶν σώματα ^[p. 12] ^[3] ὠπλισμένα εὗρέθη. καίτοι δὲ ἰσχυροτάτου ἀγῶνος καὶ λαμπρᾶς νίκης γεγεννημένης, ὅμως ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ αἰτηθεὶς παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὐκ ἔδωκε χρήματα, αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἰπὼν ὅτι ὅσω ἂν πλεῖον τι παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς λάβωσι, τοῦτ’ ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος τῶν τε γονέων σφῶν καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν 4. ἐσπεπράξεται: περὶ γάρ τοι τῆς αὐταρχίας ὁ θεὸς μόνος κρίνειν δύναται. οὕτω καὶ σωφρόνως καὶ ἐγκρατῶς αὐτῶν ἦρχεν, ὥστε καίπερ ἐν τοσοῦτοις καὶ τηλικούτοις πολέμοις ὦν μηδὲν ἕξω τοῦ προσήκοντος μῆτ’ ἐκ κολακείας μῆτ’ ἐκ φόβου ποιῆσαι.” Χίρ. 259, 13-26 R. St. “ 11. ὅτι ὁ Μᾶρκος Ἄντωνῖνος ἐν τῇ Παννονίᾳ κατέμεινεν, ἵνα καὶ ταῖς τῶν βαρβάρων πρεσβείαις χρηματίζῃ. πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ τότε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦλθον, οἱ μὲν συμμαχίας ὑποσχομένοι, ὦν ἡγεῖτο Βαττάριος παῖς ἐτῶν δώδεκα, καὶ χρήματά τε ἔλαβον, καὶ Τάρβον δυνάστην πλησιόχωρόν σφων, ἕς τε τὴν Δακίαν ἐλθόντα καὶ ἀργύριον αἰτούντα, ἀπειλοῦντά τε πολεμήσειν ^[2] εἰ μὴ λάβοι, ἀνεῖρξαν: οἱ δὲ εἰρήνην αἰτοῦμενοι, ὥσπερ οἱ Κοῦαδοι, καὶ ἔτυχόν γε αὐτῆς, ἵνα τε ἀπὸ τῶν Μαρκομάνων ἀποσπασθῶσι, καὶ ὅτι ἵππους καὶ βοῦς πολλὰς ἔδωκαν, τοὺς τε αὐτομόλους πάντας καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, πρότερον μὲν ἐς μυρίους καὶ τρισχιλίους, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ^[3] τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀποδώσειν ὑπέσχοντο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ τῆς ἐπιμιξίας τῆς ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἔτυχον, ^[p. 14] ἵνα μὴ καὶ οἱ Μαρκομάνοι οἱ τε Ἰάζυγες, οὓς οὔτε δέξεσθαι οὔτε διῆσειν διὰ τῆς χώρας ὠμωμόκεσαν, ἅμα μιγνύωνται σφισι καὶ ὡς Κοῦαδοι καὶ αὐτοὶ ὄντες τά τε τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατασκέπτωνται καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀγοράζωσιν. οὗτοι τε οὖν πρὸς τὸν Μᾶρκον ἀφίκοντο, καὶ ἕτεροι συχνοὶ παραδώσοντες ἑαυτοὺς οἱ μὲν κατὰ ^[4] γένῃ οἱ δὲ καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη ἐπρεσβεύσαντο. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐστρατεύσαντο ἄλλοσέ ποι πεμφθέντες,

ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ἀλίσκομένων τῶν τε αὐτομολούντων οἱ δυνάμενοι, οἱ δὲ καὶ γῆν οἱ μὲν ἐν Δακίᾳ οἱ δὲ ἐν Παννονίᾳ οἱ δὲ Μυσίᾳ καὶ ^[5] Γερμανίᾳ τῇ τε Ἰταλίᾳ αὐτῇ ἔλαβον. καὶ αὐτῶν ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ πινὲς οἰκοῦντες ἐνεωτέρισαν, ὥστε καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατασχεῖν τολμήσαι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' οὐκέτ' ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν οὐδένα τῶν βαρβάρων ἐσήγαγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς προαφιγμένους ἐξώκισεν.” Exc. UG (p. 407), Suid. s. vv. a)pei=rgen et dih/sein. “ ^[6] ὅτι ἦλθον καὶ Ἀστιγγοὶ καὶ Λάκριγγοι εἰς βοήθειαν τοῦ Μάρκου.” Petr. Patr. exc. de leg. G “ ἡοεσξη. π. 16 ~ φρ. μυελλ. φραγμ. ηιστ. γρ. π. 186’. 12. ὅτι Ἀστιγγοὶ, ὧν Ῥᾶός τε καὶ Ῥάπτος ἡγοῦντο, ἦλθον μὲν ἐς τὴν Δακίαν οἰκῆσαι ἐλπίδι τοῦ καὶ χρήματα καὶ χώραν ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ λήψεσθαι, μὴ τυχόντες δὲ αὐτῶν παρακατέθεντο τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τῷ Κλήμεντι ὡς καὶ τὴν τῶν Κοστούβωκων χώραν τοῖς ὅπλοις κτησόμενοι, νικήσαντες δὲ ἐκείνους καὶ τὴν Δακίαν ^[2] οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐλύπουν. δείσαντες δὲ οἱ Λάκριγγοι μὴ καὶ ὁ Κλήμης φοβηθεὶς σφας ἐς τὴν γῆν ἦν ^[p. 16] αὐτοὶ ἐνώκουν ἐσαγάγῃ, ἐπέθεντο αὐτοῖς μὴ προσδεχομένοις καὶ πολὺ ἐκράτησαν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἔτι πολέμιον τοὺς Ἀστιγγοὺς πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πρᾶξαι, πολλὰ δὲ δὴ τὸν Μᾶρκον ἱκετεύσαντας χρήματά τε παρ’ αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν καὶ χώραν γε ἀπαιτῆσαι, ἂν γέ τι κακὸν τοὺς ^[3] τότε πολεμοῦντάς οἱ δράσωσι. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἔπραξαν τι ὧν ὑπέσχοντο, Κοτινοὶ δὲ ἐπηγγεῖλαντο μὲν αὐτοῖς ὅμοια, Ταρρουτήνιον δὲ Πάτερνον τὸν τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῦ τὰς Λατίνας διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντα παραλαβόντες ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Μαρκομάνους αὐτῷ συστρατεύσοντες οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐποίησαν τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείνων δεινῶς ἐκάκωσαν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπώλοντο.” Exc. UG (p. 408). “ 3. ^[5] τῶν δὲ Μαρκομάνων εὐτυχησάντων ἔν τινι μάχῃ καὶ τὸν Οὐίνδικα τὸν Μᾶρκον ἔπαρχον ὄντα ἀποκτεινάντων, τούτῳ μὲν τρεῖς ἀνδριάντας ἔστησε, κρατήσας δὲ αὐτῶν Γερμανικὸς ὠνομάσθη: Γερμανοὺς γὰρ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χωρίοις οἰκοῦντας ὀνομάζομεν. 4. καὶ οἱ καλούμενοι δὲ Βουκόλοι κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον κινήθεντες καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Αἰγυπτίους προσαποστήσαντες ὑπὸ ἱερεῖ τινὶ Ἰσιδώρῳ, πρῶτον μὲν ἐν γυναικείοις στολαῖς τὸν ἐκατόνταρχον τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡπατηκότες ὡς δὴ γυναῖκες τῶν Βουκόλων καὶ χρυσία δώσουσαι αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ ^[p. 18] τῶν ἀνδρῶν προσιόντα σφίσι κατέκοψαν, καὶ τὸν συνόντα αὐτῷ καταθύσαντες ἐπὶ τε τῶν σπλάγχχνων αὐτοῦ συνώμοσαν καὶ ἐκεῖνα κατέφαγον: ^[2] ἦν δὲ Ἰσιδωρος ἀνδρία πάντων τῶν καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἄριστος: ἔπειτα ἐκ παρατάξεως τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Ῥωμαίους νικήσαντες μικροῦ καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξανδρείαν εἶλον, εἰ μὴ Κάσσιος ἐκ Συρίας πεμφθεὶς ἐπ’ αὐτούς, καὶ στρατηγήσας ὥστε τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους σφῶν ὁμόνοιαν λῦσαι καὶ ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων ἀποχωρίσαι ‘διὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐθάρρησε συμβαλεῖν ἀθρόοις αὐτοῖς’, οὕτω δὴ στασιάζοντας ἐχειρώσατο. 5. ἐν δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ τοῦ Μάρκου τῷ πρὸς τοὺς Γερμανοὺς, ἵνα καὶ ταῦτα μνήμης ἀξιωθεῖη, μειράκιον μὲν αἰχμάλωτον ἐρωτηθέν τι ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ‘οὐ δύναμαι’ ἔφη ‘ἀποκρίνασθαι σοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥίγους: ὥστε εἰ τι μαθεῖν ἐθέλεις, κέλευσόν μοι ^[2] ἱματίδιόν τι, εἶγε ἔχεις, δοθῆναι:’ στρατιώτης δὲ τις νυκτὸς φυλακὴν τοῦ Ἰστρου ποιούμενος, καὶ τινα βοήν ἐκ τῆς περαιᾶς συστρατιωτῶν ἐαλωκότων ἀκούσας, διενήξατό τε εὐθὺς ὥσπερ

εἶχε, καὶ λύσας αὐτοὺς ἀνεκομίσθη.” Xiph. 259, 26-260, 6; 249, 27-250, R. St. “ ἦν δὲ τῷ Μάρκῳ ὁ Ροῦφος ὁ Βασσαῖος ἑπαρχος, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀγαθός, ἀπαιδευτος δὲ ὑπ’ ἀγροικίας, καὶ τὰ πρῶτά γε τοῦ βίου ἐν ^[3] πενίᾳ τραφεῖς: ἀναδενδράδα δὲ ποτε αὐτὸν κλῶντα ἀνέλαβέ τις, καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε μὴ εὐθύς ἅμα τῷ πρῶτῳ κελεύσματι κατέβη, ἐπετίμησεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἔφη ‘ ἄγε, ἑπαρχε, κατάρβηθι.’ τοῦτο ^[p. 20] γὰρ ὡς καὶ πρὸς ὑπερηφανοῦντα καὶ τεταπεινωμένον αὐτὸν εἶπεν: ὅπερ ἡ τύχη μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτῷ ἔδωκεν.” Xiph. 250, 7-14 R. St. “ ὅτι ὁ Μάρκος ἐλάλει πρὸς τινα τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐκεῖνος ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ἄλλος τις τῶν παρόντων ἔγνω τὸ λαληθέν, ὥστε Ροῦφον τὸν ἑπαρχον εἰπεῖν ‘εἰκός ἐστι, Καῖσαρ, μὴ γινῶναι αὐτὸν τὰ παρ’ ὑμῶν λαληθέντα: οὔτε γὰρ ἐλληνιστὶ ἐπίσταται.’ καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἠγνόηκε τὸ λεχθέν.” Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. 117 (p. 223 Mai.=p. 206, 14-49 Dind.). “ ὅτι ὁ Μᾶρκος οὐδ’ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ συνετὰ ἐφθέγγετο: ἦν γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀγαθός, ἀπαιδευτος δὲ ὑπὸ ἀγροικίας.” Exc. Val. 302 (p. 717). “ ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐκὼν ἐστράτευτο, ἀλλ’ ἀναδενδράδα εὐρεθεὶς κλῶν. (ὕστερον δὲ βασιλεύσας) .” Exc. Val. 303 (p. 717). “ 6. ὁ δ’ αὐτοκράτωρ ὁσάκις ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου σχολὴν ἦγεν, ἐδίκασε, καὶ ὕδωρ πλεῖστον τοῖς ῥήτορσι μετρεῖσθαι ἐκέλευε, τὰς τε πύστεις καὶ τὰς ἀνακρίσεις ἐπὶ μακρότερον ἐποίητο, ὥστε πανταχόθεν τὸ δίκαιον ἀκριβοῦν. καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἔνδεκα πολλάκις καὶ δώδεκα ἡμέραις τὴν αὐτὴν δίκην, καίπερ νυκτὸς ἔστιν ὅτε δικάζων, ^[2] ἔκρινε. φιλόπονος γὰρ ἦν, καὶ ἀκριβῶς πᾶσι τοῖς τῇ ἀρχῇ προσήκουσι προσεφέρετο, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐν παρέργῳ οὔτε ἔλεγεν οὔτε ἔγραφεν οὔτε ^[p. 22] ἐποίει, ἀλλ’ ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ περὶ τοῦ βραχυτάτου ἡμέρας ὅλας ἀνήλiskeν, οὐκ ἄξιῳ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς τι πράττειν: καὶ γὰρ ἐνόμιζεν ὅτι κἂν ἐλάχιστόν τι παρίδῃ, διαβολὴν αὐτῷ ^[3] τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα οἶσει. καίτοι οὕτως ἀσθενὴς τῷ σώματι ἐγένετο ὥστε μήτε τὸ ψῦχος τὴν γε πρῶτην ὑπομεῖναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὶν διαλεχθῆναι τοῖς στρατιώταις συνελλυθόσιν ἤδη κατὰ τὸ παρηγγελμένον ἀναχωρῆσαι, καὶ τροφὴν βραχυτάτην, καὶ ταύτην ἐν νυκτὶ ἀεὶ, λαμβάνειν. ^[4] οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὃ τι μεθ’ ἡμέραν πλὴν τοῦ φαρμάκου τοῦ θηριακοῦ καλουμένου ἐσιτεῖτο. ἐλάμβανε δὲ τοῦ φαρμάκου οὐχ οὕτως ὅτι ἐδεδίει τι, ὡς ὅτι τοῦ τε στομάχου καὶ τοῦ θώρακος φαύλως εἶχε: καὶ φασιν ὅτι δι’ ἐκεῖνο ἀνταρκεῖν πρὸς τε τᾶλλα καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἐδύνατο. 7. τοὺς δὲ Ἰάζυγας οἱ Ρωμαῖοι ἐν τε τῇ γῇ τότε καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ἐνίκησαν. λέγω δὲ οὐχ ὅτι ναυμαχία τις ἐγένετο, ἀλλ’ ὅτι διὰ τοῦ Ἰστρου πεπηγότος φεύγουσὶ σφισιν ἐπακολουθήσαντες καὶ ἐκεῖ ὡς ἐν ἡπείρῳ ἐμαχέσαντο. ^[2] αἰσθόμενοι γὰρ οἱ Ἰάζυγες ὅτι ἐπιδιώκονται, ὑπέστησαν αὐτοὺς ἐλπίσαντες ῥαδίως ἅτε καὶ ἀήθεις τοῦ κρυστάλλου ὄντας κατεργάσεσθαι, καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῖς συνέρραξαν, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων παριππεύσαντες: οἱ γὰρ ἵπποι σφῶν δεδιδαγμένοι καὶ ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ θεῖν ^[3] ἀσφαλῶς ἦσαν. ἰδόντες δὲ τοῦτο οἱ Ρωμαῖοι οὐκ ἐφοβήθησαν, ἀλλὰ συστραφέντες καὶ πᾶσιν ἅμα αὐτοῖς ἀντιμέτωποι γενόμενοι τὰς τε ἀσπίδας ^[p. 24] οἱ πλείους ἔθηκαν, καὶ τὸν ἕτερον πόδα ἐπ’ αὐτῶν, ὅπως ἦττον ὀλισθαίνωσιν, ἀπερείσαντες ἐδέξαντό σφας προσπεσόντας, καὶ ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι οἱ μὲν τῶν χαλινῶν οἱ

δὲ τῶν Ἀσπίδων τῶν τε ^[4] κοντῶν ἔπεσπῶντο αὐτούς, κάκ τούτου συμπλεκόμενοι κατέβαλλον καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τοὺς ἵππους· ἕκ γάρ τοι τῆς βίας οὐκέτ' ἀντέχειν πρὸς τὸν Ὀλισθον ἐδύναντο. ὠλισθαίνον μὲν γὰρ καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι· ἀλλ' εἴθ' ὕπτιός τις αὐτῶν ἔπεσε, συνεφείλκετο τὸν ἀντίπαλον καὶ τοῖς ποσὶν ἐς τοῦπίσω ἀνερρίπτει ὥσπερ ἐν πάλῃ, ^[5] καὶ οὕτως ἐπάνωθεν αὐτοῦ ἐγίγνετο· εἴτε καὶ ἐπὶ στόμα, κατελαμβάνεν αὐτὸν προκαταπίπτοντα αὐτῷ τῷ στόματι. οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι καὶ ἄπειροι τοιοῦτοτρόπου ἀγωνίας καὶ κουφότεροι ὄντες οὐχ οἷοι τε ἦσαν ἀντέχειν, ὥστε καὶ ἀπὸ πολλῶν ὀλίγοι διέφυγον.” Χιρh. 250, 7-251, R. St. “ 13. ὅτι ἐπρεσβεύσαντο οἱ Ἰάζυγες εἰρήνης δεόμενοι πρὸς Μᾶρκον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἔτυχόν τινος· ἄπιστόν τε γὰρ τὸ φῦλον αὐτῶν ὁ Μᾶρκος εἰδὼς ὄν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Κουάδων ἀπατηθεῖς, ^[2] ἐπίπαν ἐξελεῖν ἠθέλησεν. οἱ γὰρ Κουάδοι οὐχ ὅτι ἐκείνοις τότε συνεμάχησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς Μαρκομάνους πρότερον, ὡς ἔτι ἐπολέμουν, καταφεύγοντας ἐς τὴν σφετέραν ὅτε βιασθεῖεν ἐδέχοντο, καὶ οὕτ' ἄλλο τι ὦν ὠμολογήκεσαν ἐποιοῦν, οὕτε τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους πάντας ἀπέδωσαν ἀλλ' ὀλίγους, καὶ τούτους οἷς οὕτε ἐς πρᾶσιν οὕτε ἐς ^[3] ὑπηρεσίαν τινὰ χρήσασθαι ἐδύναντο. εἰ δ' οὖν τινὰς καὶ τῶν ἀκμαζόντων ἀπεδίδοσαν, ἀλλὰ ^[p. 26] τοὺς γε συγγενεῖς αὐτῶν οἴκοι κατεῖχον, ἵνα καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς αὐτομολῶσι. καὶ τὸν βασιλέα σφῶν Φούρτιον ἐκβαλόντες Ἀριόγαισον αὐτοὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν βασιλέα σφίσιν ἐστήσαντο. ^[4] καὶ τούτοις διὰ ταῦτα ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ οὕτε ἐκείνον ὡς καὶ νόμῳ τινὶ γεγονότα ἐβεβαίωσεν, οὕτε τὰς σπονδὰς, καίπερ πέντε μυριάδας αἰχμαλώτων ἀποδώσειν ὑποσχομένους, ἀνενεώσατο.” Exc. UG (p. 409). “ 14. ὅτι τῷ Ἀριόγαίῳ ὁ Μᾶρκος οὕτω χαλεπῶς ἔσχεν ὥστε καὶ ἐπικηρῦξαι ἵνα, ἂν μὲν τις ζῶντα αὐτὸν ἀγάγῃ, χιλίους, ἂν δὲ ἀποκτείνας τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποδείξῃ, πεντακοσίους χρυσοὺς λάβῃ, καίτοι τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀεὶ ποτε φιλανθρώπως ^[2] καὶ τοῖς πολεμιοτάτοις χρώμενος, καὶ Τιριδάτην σατράπην τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ ταραξάντα καὶ τὸν τῶν Ἡνιόχων βασιλέα ἀποσφάξαντα, τῷ τε Οὐήρῳ ἐπιτιμῶντι οἱ περὶ τούτων τὸ ξίφος ἐπανατεινόμενον, μὴ κτείνας ἀλλ' ἐς Βρεττανίαν πέμψας. οὕτω μὲν οὖν τότε ἐπ' αὐτὸν παρωξύνθη, οὐ μέντοι καὶ κακὸν τι ἄλόντα μετὰ ταῦτα ἔδρασεν, ἀλλ' ἐς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀπέστειλεν.” Exc. V. 304 (p. 717). “ 8. Μαρκομάνους μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἰάζυγας πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ἀγῶσι καὶ κινδύνοις Μᾶρκος ὑπέταξεν· ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς καλουμένους Κουάδους καὶ πόλεμος αὐτῷ συνέστη μέγας καὶ νίκη παράδοξος εὐτυχῆθη, μᾶλλον δὲ παρὰ θεοῦ ἐδωρήθη. κινδυνεύσαντας γὰρ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ^[p. 28] ^[2] παραδοξότατα τὸ θεῖον ἐξέσωσε. κυκλωσάντων γὰρ αὐτοὺς τῶν Κουάδων ἐν τόποις ἐπιτηδεῖοις συνασπίσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι προθύμως ἠγωνίζοντο, καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι τὴν μὲν μάχην ἐπέσχον, προσδοκῆσαντές σφας ῥαδίως ὑπὸ τε τοῦ καύματος καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δίψους αἰρήσειν, πάντα δὲ τὰ πέριξ διαλαβόντες ἀπέφραξαν, ὅπως μηδαμόθεν ὕδωρ λάβωσι· πολὺ γὰρ καὶ τῷ πλήθει περιῆσαν. ^[3] τῶν οὖν Ῥωμαίων ἐν παντὶ κακοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ καμάτου καὶ ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων τοῦ τε ἡλίου καὶ τοῦ δίψους γενομένων, καὶ μήτε μάχεσθαι διὰ ταῦτα μήτε χωρῆσαι πη δυναμένων, ἀλλ' ἐν τε τῇ τάξει καὶ τοῖς τόποις ἐστηκότων καὶ

κατακακιομένων, νέφη πολλά ἐξαίφνης συνέδραμε καὶ ^[4] ὑετὸς πολὺς οὐκ ἄθεεϊ κατερράγη· καὶ γάρ τοι λόγος ἔχει Ἀρνοῦφιν τινα μάγον Αἰγύπτιον συνόντα τῷ Μάρκῳ ἄλλους τέ τινας δαίμονας καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν ἄεριον ὅτι μάλιστα μαγγανείαις τισὶν ἐπικαλέσασθαι καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τὸν ὄμβρον ἐπισπάσασθαι. 9. Ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τούτων ὁ Δίων φησίν, ἔοικε δὲ ψεύδεσθαι, εἴτε ἐκὼν εἴτε ἄκων. οἶμαι δὲ τὸ πλεον ἐκὼν· καὶ πῶς γὰρ οὐ, ὅστις οὐκ ἠγνόει τὸ τάγμα τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὸ κεραυνοβόλον ἰδίως καλούμενον ἔν γὰρ τῷ τῶν λοιπῶν καταλόγῳ ^[2] καὶ αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει, ὅπερ ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς ἐτέρας αἰτίας ὁ οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλη τις λέγεται ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τόνδε συμβάντος τὸν πόλεμον οὕτω προσηγορεύθη. ^[p. 30] ὁ καὶ αἴτιον τότε τοῖς τε Ῥωμαίοις τῆς σωτηρίας ἐγένετο καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις τῆς ἀπωλείας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ Ἀρνοῦφης ὁ μάγος· οὐδὲ γὰρ μάγων συνουσίαις καὶ γοητείαις ὁ Μάρκος ^[3] χαίρειν ἰστόρηται. ἔστι δὲ ὁ λέγω τοιοῦτον. τάγμα ἦν τῷ Μάρκῳ ἑκατομμύριον δὲ τὸ τάγμα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι λεγεῶνά τῶν ἀπὸ Μελιτηνῆς στρατιωτῶν· εἰσὶ δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν πρεσβεύοντες ἅπαντες. ἐν οὖν τῇ μάχῃ ἐκείνῃ προσιόντα τῷ Μάρκῳ τὸν ἑπαρχον, ἀμνηχανοῦντι πρὸς τὴν περίστασιν καὶ ^[4] δεδιότι περὶ σὺμπαντι τῷ στρατῷ, εἰπεῖν λέγεται ὡς οἱ καλούμενοι Χριστιανοὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι οὐ δύνανται ταῖς εὐχαῖς, καὶ ὅτι παρὰ σφίσι τάγμα ὅλον τυγχάνει ὄν τούτου τοῦ γένους. τὸν οὖν Μάρκον ἀκούσαντα παρακλήσει χρήσασθαι πρὸς ^[5] αὐτοὺς ὡς ἂν εὐξωνται τῷ σφετέρῳ θεῷ, εὐξαμένων δὲ αὐτῶν παραχρῆμα ἐπακούσαντα τὸν θεὸν τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους κεραυνῷ βαλεῖν, τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίους ὄμβρῳ παραμυθήσασθαι· ἐφ' οἷς καταπλαγέντα τὸν Μάρκον ἰσχυρῶς τοὺς τε Χριστιανοὺς κατὰ δόγμα τιμῆσαι καὶ τὴν λεγεῶνα ^[6] κεραυνοβόλον προσαγορεύσαι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολὴν τινα περὶ τούτων εἶναι τοῦ Μάρκου. ἀλλ' οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὅτι μὲν τὸ τάγμα κεραυνοβόλον λέγεται, ἴσασιν καὶ αὐτοὶ μαρτυροῦσι, τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν τῆς προσηγορίας ἥκιστα λέγουσι. 10. προστίθησι δὲ ὁ Δίων ὅτι τοῦ ὄμβρου καταρραγέντος πρῶτον μὲν ἄνω πάντες ἀνέκυπτον καὶ ἐς τὰ στόματα αὐτὸν ἐδέχοντο, ἔπειτα οἱ μὲν τὰς ἀσπίδας οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰ κράνη ὑποβάλλοντες ^[p. 32] αὐτοὶ τε χανδὸν ἔσπων καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις πίνειν ἐδίδουσαν, καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων σφίσιν ἐπιδραμόντων ^[2] ἔπινον τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐμάχοντο, καὶ ἤδη γέ τινες τιτρωσκόμενοι τὸ τε αἷμα περιχεόμενον ἐς τὰ κράνη καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἅμα ἀνερρόφουν. κἂν ἔπαθόν τι δεινὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πολέμιων ἐπικειμένων αὐτοῖς, περὶ τὸ πίνειν οἱ πλείους ἡσυχολημένοι, εἰ μὴ χάλαζα ἰσχυρὰ καὶ κεραυνοὶ οὐκ ὀλίγοι ^[3] τοῖς πολέμοις ἐνέπεσον. ἦν οὖν ὁρᾶν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χωρίῳ ὕδωρ τε ἅμα καὶ πῦρ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φερόμενα· καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑγραίνοντο τε καὶ ἔπινον, οἱ δὲ ἐπυροῦντο καὶ ἔθνησκον· καὶ οὕτε τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὸ πῦρ ἤπτετο, ἀλλ' εἴ που καὶ προσέμιξε σφίσιν, εὐθὺς ἐσβέννυτο, οὕτε τοὺς βαρβάρους ὁ ὑετὸς ὠφέλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ μάλλον τὴν φλόγα αὐτῶν ὥσπερ ἔλαιον ἠγείρειν, ὕδωρ τε ^[4] ὑόμενοι ἐζήτουν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἑαυτοὺς ἐτίτρωσκον ὡς καὶ τῷ αἵματι τὸ πῦρ κατασβέσοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους προσέτρεχον ὡς καὶ μόνους σωτήριον ὕδωρ ἔχοντας· ἠλέησε γοῦν αὐτοὺς καὶ ὁ Μάρκος. παρὰ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ^[5] τὸ ἔβδομον αὐτοκράτωρ προσηγορεύθη. καίπερ δὲ οὐκ εἰθώς, πρὶν τὴν βουλὴν ψηφίσασθαι, τοιοῦτόν τι προσίεσθαι, ὅμως

ἐδέξατο τε αὐτὸ ὡς καὶ παρὰ θεοῦ λαμβάνων, καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἐπέστειλεν. ἢ μέντοι Φαυστίνα μήτηρ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐπεκλήθη.” Xiph. 251, 22-24+260, 6-262, R. St. “ [p. 34] 22. τοῦ δὲ Περτινακος ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀνδραγαθίαις ὑπατεῖαν λαβόντος, ὅμως ἦσαν οἱ νεμεσῶντες ἐπὶ τῷ εἶναι αὐτὸν τὸ γένος ἐξ ἀφανῶν τὸ τῆς τραγωδίας ἐπέλεγον, ‘τοιαῦθ’ ὁ τλήμων πόλεμος ἐξεργάζεται,’ οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ μοναρχήσει. 39” Xiph. 262, 5-9 R. St. “ 15. ὅτι τοῖς Μαρκομάνοις πρεσβεύσασιν, ὅτι πάντα τὰ προσταχθέντα σφίσι χαλεπῶς μὲν καὶ μόλις, ἐποίησαν δ’ οὖν, τὸ τε ἡμισυ τῆς χώρας τῆς μεθορίας ἀνῆκεν, ὥστε αὐτοὺς ὀκτώ που καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίου ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ἀποικεῖν, καὶ τὰ χωρία τὰς τε ἡμέρας τῆς ἐπιμιξίας ἀφώρισε ‘πρότερον γὰρ οὐ διεκέκριντό, τοὺς τε ὁμήρους ἠλλάξατο. 41” Exc. UG (p. 410). “ 16. ὅτι οἱ Ἰάσυγες κακωθέντες ἐς ὁμολογίαν ἦλθον, αὐτοῦ Ζαντικοῦ τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον ἰκετεύσαντος. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ τὸν Βανάδασπον τὸν δευτέρον σφον βασιλέα ἔδησαν, ὅτι διεκηρυκεύσατο αὐτῷ: τότε δὲ πάντες οἱ πρῶτοι μετὰ τοῦ Ζαντικοῦ ἦλθον, καὶ συνέθεντο τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς Κουάδοις καὶ τοῖς Μαρκομάνοις, πλὴν καθ’ ὅσον τὸ διπλάσιον αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ἀποικήσιν [p. 36] ἤμελλον. ὁ γὰρ αὐτοκράτωρ ἠθέλε μὲν αὐτοὺς [2] καὶ παντάπασιν ἐκκόψαι: ὅτι γὰρ καὶ τότε ἔτι ἔρρωντο καὶ ὅτι μεγάλα τοὺς Ῥωμαίους κακὰ ἔδρασαν, ἐξ ἐκείνου κατεφάνη ὅτι τῶν τε αἰχμαλώτων μυριάδας δέκα ἀπέδωκαν, οὐς μετὰ πολλοὺς μὲν πραθέντας πολλοὺς δὲ τελευτήσαντας πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ φυγόντας εἶχον, καὶ ἱππέας εὐθύς ὀκτακισχιλίους ἐς συμμαχίαν οἱ παρέσχον, ἀφ’ ὧν πεντακισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους ἐς Βρεττανίαν ἔπεμψεν.” Exc. UG (p. 410). “ 17. ὅτι ὁ Κάσσιος καὶ ἡ Συρία νεοχμῶσαντες ἠνάγκασαν καὶ παρὰ γνώμην τὸν Μάρκον Ἀντωνῖνον τοῖς Ἰάσυξι συμβῆναι: οὕτω γὰρ πρὸς τὰ ἀγγελλέντα ἐξεπλάγη ὥστε μηδὲ ἐπιστεῖλαι τῷ συνεδρίῳ τὰς αἰρέσεις ἐφ’ αἷς αὐτοῖς συνηλλάγη, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐποίει.” Exc. UG (p. 410). “ 22. [2] τοῦ δὲ Κασσίου κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν νεωτερίσαντος σφόδρα ἐκπλαγεῖς ὁ Μάρκος τὸν Κόμμοδον τὸν υἱὸν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης, ὡς καὶ ἐς ἐφήβους ἤδη τελεῖν δυνάμενον, μετεπέμψατο. ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάσσιος Σύρος μὲν ἐκ τῆς Κύρου ἦν, ἀνὴρ δὲ ἄριστος ἐγένετο, καὶ ὅποιον ἂν τις αὐτοκράτορα ἔχειν εὕξαιτο, πλὴν καθ’ ὅσον Ἡλιοδώρου τινὸς ἀγαπητῶς ἐς τὴν τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἡγεμονίαν ἐξ ἐμπειρίας [3] ῥητορικῆς προχωρήσαντος υἱὸς ἦν. τοῦτο δὲ δὴ δεινῶς ἡμαρτεν ὑπὸ Φαυστίνης ἀπατηθείς: αὕτη γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀρρωστήσαντα ἦν δὲ τοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Ἀντωνίνου θυγάτηρ’ προσδοκῆσασα ὅσον οὐκ ἦδη τελευτήσιν, ἐφοβήθη μὴ τῆς [p. 38] ἀρχῆς ἐς ἄλλον τινά, ἅτε τοῦ Κομμόδου καὶ νέου καὶ ἀπλουστεροῦ τοὺς τρόπους ὄντος, περιελθούσης ιδιωτεύσει, καὶ ἔπεισε τὸν Κάσσιον δι’ ἀπορρήτων παρασκευάσασθαι ἴν’, ἂν τι ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος πάθῃ, καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν αὐταρχίαν 23. λάβῃ. ταῦτ’ οὖν αὐτῷ διανοομένῳ ἀγγελία ἦλθε τὸν Μάρκον τεθνηκέναι, οἷά που φιλεῖ τοιαῦτα ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἀεὶ θρυλεῖσθαι: καὶ εὐθύς, οὐκ ἀναμείνας αὐτὴν ἀκριβῶσαι, ἔφεσιν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐποίησατο ὡς καὶ πρὸς τῶν στρατιωτῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Παννονίᾳ τότε ὄντων προκεχειρισμένος. [2] καὶ ὁ μὲν, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα μὴ ἐς μακρὰν τάληθές ἔμαθεν, ὅμως, ἐπειδὴ περ ἅπαξ ὑπεκεκίνηκει, οὐ μετεβάλετο, ἀλλὰ

τὰ τε ἐντὸς τοῦ Ταύρου πάντα διὰ βραχείας προσεποιήσατο καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ πολέμῳ ^[3] τὸ κράτος ἔξω· ὁ δὲ δὴ Μάρκος παρὰ τοῦ Οὐήρου τοῦ τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἄρχοντος τὴν ἐπανάστασιν αὐτοῦ μαθὼν τέως μὲν συνέκρυπτεν αὐτά, ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται τῇ τε φήμῃ ἰσχυρῶς ἐταράσσοντο καὶ ἐλογοποιοῦν πολλά, συνεκάλεσεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνέγνω τοιάδε· ^[p. 40] 24. ‘οὐκ ἀγανακτήσων, ὦ συστρατιῶται, ἀλλ’ ὀδυροῦμενος παρελήλυθα. χαλεπαίνειν μὲν γὰρ τί δεῖ πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον, ὧ πάντα ἔξεστιν; ὀλοφύρεσθαι δὲ ἴσως ἀνάγκη τοὺς ἀδίκως δυστυχοῦντας· ὁ καὶ ἐμοὶ νῦν συμβέβηκε. πῶς γὰρ οὐ δεινὸν πολέμοις ἡμᾶς ἐκ πολέμων συμφέρεσθαι; πῶς δ’ οὐκ ἄτοπον καὶ ἐμφυλίῳ συμπλακῆναι; ^[2] πῶς οὐκ ἀμφοτέρω καὶ δεινότητι καὶ ἀτοπίᾳ νικᾷ τὸ μηδὲν πιστὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἶναι, ἀλλ’ ἐπιβεβουλεῦσθαι τέ με ὑπὸ τοῦ φιλτάτου καὶ ἐς ἀγῶνα ἀκούσιον καθίστασθαι μήτε τι ἡδικηκότα μήτε τι πεπλημμεληκότα; τίς μὲν γὰρ ἀρετὴ ἀσφαλῆς, τίς δὲ φιλία ἔτι νομισθήσεται ἐμοῦ ταῦτα πεπονθότος; πῶς δ’ οὐκ ἀπόλῳε μὲν πίστις, ἀπόλῳε δὲ ἐλπίς ἀγαθῇ; ^[3] ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν μόνος ἐγὼ ἐκινδύνεον, παρ’ οὐδὲν ἂν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐποίησάμην· οὐ γάρ που καὶ ἀθάνατος ἐγεννήθην· ἐπεὶ δὲ δημοσία τε ἀπόστασις, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπανάστασις γέγονε, καὶ ὁ πόλεμος πάντων ὁμοίως ἡμῶν ἄπτεται, ἐβουλόμην, εἰ οἷόν τε ἦν, προσκαλέσασθαι τὸν Κάσσιον καὶ δικαιολογήσασθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν παρ’ ὑμῖν ἢ ^[4] παρὰ τῇ γερουσίᾳ· καὶ ἡδέως ἂν ἀμαχεὶ παρεχώρησα αὐτῷ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, εἰ τοῦτο τῷ κοινῷ συμφέρειν ἔδεδόχει, ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ γὰρ καὶ πονῶν καὶ κινδυνεύων διατελῶ, τοσοῦτόν τε ἐνταυθοῖ χρόνον ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας πεποίηκα, ἄνθρωπος καὶ γέρων ἤδη καὶ ἀσθενὴς καὶ οὔτε τροφὴν ἄλσπον οὔθ’ ὕπνον ἄφροντιν λαβεῖν δυνάμενος. ^[p. 42] 25.

ἐπεὶ δ’ οὐκ ἂν ποτε συγκαθεῖναι ἐς τοῦτο ὁ Κάσσιος ἐθελήσειε ‘πῶς γὰρ ἂν πιστεύσειέ μοι, ἄπιστος οὕτω περὶ ἐμὲ γεγενημένος;’, ὑμᾶς γε, ὦ συστρατιῶται, χρὴ θαρρεῖν. οὐ γάρ που κρείττους Κίλικες καὶ Σύροι καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ὑμῶν οὔτε ἐγένοντό ποτε οὔτε ἔσονται, οὐδ’ ἂν μυριάκις πλείους ὑμῶν, ὅσῳ νῦν ἐλάττους ^[2] εἰσίν, ἀθροισθῶσιν. οὐ μὴν οὐδ’ αὐτὸς ὁ Κάσσιος, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ στρατηγικὸς εἶναι καὶ πολλὰ κατωρθωκέναι δοκεῖ, λόγου τινὸς ἄξιος νῦν ἂν φανεῖη· οὔτε γὰρ ἀετὸς κολοιῶν ἢ καὶ λέων νεβρῶν ἡγησάμενος ἀξιόμαχος γίγνεται, καὶ τὸν Ἀραβικὸν τὸν τε Παρθικὸν ἐκείνον πόλεμον οὐ Κάσσιος ἀλλ’ ὑμεῖς κατειργάσασθε. ^[3] ἄλλως τε, εἰ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Πάρθους πραχθέντων εὐδόκιμός ἐστιν, ἔχετε καὶ ὑμεῖς Οὐήρον, ὃς οὐδὲν ἥττον ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνίκησε πλεῖστα καὶ κατεκτήσατο. ἀλλὰ τάχα μὲν καὶ ἤδη μετανενόηκε, ζῶντά με μεμαθηκώς· οὐ γάρ που καὶ ἄλλως ἢ ὡς τετελευτηκότος μου τοῦτ’ ἐποίησεν. ἂν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀντίσχη, ἀλλ’ ὅταν γε καὶ προσιόντας ἡμᾶς πύθηται, πάντως γνωσιμαχήσει, καὶ ὑμᾶς φοβηθεῖς καὶ ἐμὲ αἰδεσθεῖς. 26.

ἐγὼ γοῦν ἐν μόνον, ὦ συστρατιῶται, δέδοικα· εἰρήσεται γὰρ πᾶσα πρὸς

ὕμᾱς ἢ ἀλήθειά, μὴ ἦτοι αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀποκτείνει, αἰσχυνθεὶς ἐς τὴν ἡμετέραν ὄψιν ἐλθεῖν, ἢ ἕτερός τις μαθὼν ὅτι τε ἤξω καὶ ὅτι ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ὀρμῶμαι [p. 44] [2] τοῦτο ποιήσῃ. μέγα γάρ μου ἄθλον καὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῆς νίκης, καὶ ἡλικὸν οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἀνθρώπων ἔλαβεν, ἀφαιρήσεται. τί δὲ τοῦτο ἐστίν; ἀδικήσαντα ἀνθρώπων ἀφεῖναι, πρὸς φιλίαν ὑπερβάντα φίλον μεῖναι, πίστιν καταλῦσαντι [3] πιστὸν διαγενέσθαι. παράδοξα μὲν ἴσως ταῦθ’ ὑμῖν φαίνεται, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀπιστεῖν ὑμᾶς αὐτοῖς δεῖ: οὐ γάρ που καὶ ἀπλῶς πάντα τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπόλωλεν, ἀλλ’ ἔστι καὶ παρ’ ἡμῖν ἔτι τῆς ἀρχαίας ἀρετῆς λείψανον. ἂν δὲ που ἀπιστῇ τις, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μεῖζόν ἐστὶ μοι τὸ ἐπιθύμημα, ἵνα ὁ μηδεὶς ἂν πιστεύσειε [4] γενέσθαι δύνασθαι, τοῦτο ἴδῃ γενόμενον. ὥς ἔγωγε τοῦτ’ ἂν μόνον ἐκ τῶν παρόντων κακῶν κερδάναιμι, εἰ δυνηθεῖην καλῶς θέσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ δεῖξαι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὅτι καὶ ἐμφυλίοις πολέμοις ἔστιν ὀρθῶς χρήσασθαι.

‘ 27. ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Μάρκος καὶ πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας εἶπε καὶ πρὸς τὴν γερουσίαν ἔγραψεν, οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ τὸν Κάσιον κακηγορήσας, πλὴν ὅτι ἀχάριστον αὐτὸν συνεχῶς ἀπεκάλει. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος ὑβριστικὸν τι οὔτε εἶπε ποτε ἐς τὸν Μάρκον οὐτ’ ἔγραψε.” Xiph. 262, 9-264, R. St. “ [1α] ὅτι παρασκευαζομένου τοῦ Μάρκου εἰς τὸν κατὰ Κασσίου πόλεμον, οὐδεμίαν βαρβαρικὴν συμμαχίαν ἐδέξατο, καίτοι πολλῶν συνδραμόντων αὐτῷ, λέγων μὴ χρῆναι τοὺς βαρβάρους εἰδέναι τὰ μεταξὺ Ῥωμαίων κινούμενα κακὰ.” Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. 119 (p. 224 Mai.=p. 206, 24-28 Dind.). “ [2] παρασκευαζομένῳ δὲ Μάρκῳ πρὸς τὸν ἐμφύλιον [p. 46] πόλεμον ἄλλαι τε πολλαὶ νῖκαι κατὰ διαφόρων βαρβάρων ἐν ταύτῳ καὶ ὁ Κασσίου θάνατος ἀπηγγέλθη. προσπεσὼν γὰρ βαδίζοντι τῷ Κασσίῳ Ἀντώνιος ἐκατόνταρχος ἐξαίφνης ἔτρωσε κατὰ τοῦ αὐχένος οὐ πᾶν πληγῆ 3. καιρίᾳ. καὶ ὁ μὲν τῇ ῥύμῃ τοῦ ἵππου ἐξαχθεὶς ἀτελες τὸ τόλμημα κατέλιπεν, ὥστ’ ὀλίγου διαφυγεῖν αὐτόν, ὁ δὲ δέκαρχος ἐν τούτῳ τὸ λοιπὸν προσκατειργάσατο: καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποτεμόντες πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ὥρμησαν.” Xiph. 264, 25-32 R. St. “ 28. ὅτι ὁ Μάρκος Ἀντωνῖνος τοσοῦτον ἤχθετο τῷ τοῦ Κασσίου ὀλέθρῳ ὥστε ἀποκεφαλισθέντος οὐδὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἰδεῖν ὑπέμεινεν, ἀλλὰ πρὶν πλησιάσαι τοὺς αὐτόχειρας ταφῆναι που ἐκέλευσεν.” Exc. Val. 305 (p. 717). “ 27. [3.2] καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω μῆνᾱς τε τρεῖς καὶ ἡμέρας ἔξ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὄνειρώξας ἐσφάγη, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἐτέρωθιν ὦν ἐφονεύθη: καὶ ὁ Μάρκος, ἐπιὼν τὰ ἔθνη τὰ τῷ Κασσίῳ συνεξαναστάντα, πᾶν φιλανθρώπως πᾶσιν ἐχρήσατο, καὶ οὐδένα οὔτε τῶν ἐλαττόνων οὔτε τῶν ἐπιφανεστέρων διεχρήσατο. 67” Xiph. 264, 32-265, R. St. “ [p. 48] 28. [2] ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς τῶν βουλευτῶν τινὰ τῶν σὺν τῷ Κασσίῳ οὐτ’ ἀπέσφαξεν οὔτε ἔδυσεν οὔτε ἐν ἄλλῃ τινὶ φρουρᾷ οὐδένα ἐποίησατο, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον αὐτοῦ ἐσῆγαγεν, ἀλλ’ ἀπλῶς ὥς καὶ ἄλλο τι ἐγκαλουμένους πρὸς τὴν γερουσίαν ἔπεμψεν, ἡμέραν αὐτοῖς ῥητὴν δίκης [3] προθεῖς. τῶν δ’ ἄλλων ὀλίγους πᾶν, ὅσοι καὶ ἔργῳ τι οὐ μόνον τῷ Κασσίῳ συνεπεπράχσαν ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ’ ἑαυτοὺς ἐκεκαουργήκεσαν, ἐδικαίωσεν. τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι Φλάουιον Καλούσιον τὸν τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἄρχοντα οὔτε

ἐφόνευσεν οὔτε τὴν οὐσίαν ἀφείλετο, ἀλλ' ἐς νῆσον ἀπλῶς^[4] ἐνέβαλεν. τὰ δὲ ὑπομνήματα τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ γενόμενα κατέκαυσεν, ἵνα μηδ' ὀνειδισμὰ τι ἐξ αὐτῶν σχῇ, καὶ πάντας τοὺς συγγενομένους αὐτῷ ἀφῆκεν.” Exc. Val. 306 (p. 717). “ 29. κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον μετέλλαξε καὶ ἡ Φαυστίνα, εἴτε ὑπὸ τῆς ποδάγρας ἦν εἶχεν, εἴτε ἄλλως, ἵνα μὴ ἐλεγχθῇ ἐφ' οἷς πρὸς τὸν Κάσσιον συνετέθειτο. καίτοι ὁ Μάρκος πάντα τὰ γράμματα τὰ ἐν τοῖς κιβωτίοις εὐρεθέντα τοῦ Πούδεντος διέφθειρε μηδὲν ἀναγνούς, ἵνα μηδ' ὄνομά τινων τῶν ἐπιβούλων μάθῃ τῶν τι κατ' αὐτοῦ γεγραφότων, κὰκ τούτου καὶ ἄκων^[2] αὐτοὺς ἀναγκασθῇ μισῆσαι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὅτι Οὐῆρος ἐς τὴν Συρίαν, ἧς καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβε, προπεμφθεὶς, καὶ εὐρὼν αὐτὰ ἐν τοῖς σκεύεσι τοῦ Κασσίου ἠφόνισεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι μάλιστα μὲν^[p. 50] ἐκείνῳ τοῦτ' ἔσται κεχαρισμένον, ἂν δὲ καὶ χαλεπήνῃ τι, ἄμεινόν γε ἔσται ἕνα ἑαυτὸν ἀντὶ^[3] πολλῶν ἀπολέσθαι. Μάρκος γε μὴν οὕτω τι φόνοις οὐκ ἔχαιρεν ὥστε καὶ τοὺς μονομάχους ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὥσπερ ἀθλητὰς ἀκινδύνως ἑώρα μαχομένους: σιδήριον γὰρ οὐδέποτε οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν ὀξὺ ἔδωκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀμβλέσιν ὥσπερ ἐσφαιρωμένοις^[4] πάντες ἐμάχοντο. καὶ οὕτω γε πόρρῳ παντὸς φόνου καθειστήκει ὥστε καὶ λέοντά τινα δεδιδραγμένον ἀνθρώπους ἐσθίειν ἐκέλευσε μὲν ἐσαχθῆναι αἰτησαμένου τοῦ δήμου, οὔτε δὲ ἐκείνον εἶδεν οὔτε τὸν διδάσκαλον αὐτοῦ ἡλευθέρωσε, καίπερ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγκειμένων οἱ, ἀλλὰ καὶ κηρυχθῆναι προσέταξεν ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄξιον ἐλευθερίας πεποίηκεν.” Xiph. 265, 5-16 R. St., Exc. Val. 307, 308 (p. 718). “ 30. τὴν δὲ Φαυστίναν ἀποθανοῦσαν ἰσχυρῶς πενθήσας ἔγραψε τῇ βουλῇ μηδένα τῶν Κασσίῳ συναραμένων τεθνάναι, ὡς καὶ ἐκ μόνου τούτου παραμυθίου τινὸς ἐπὶ τῇ Φαυστινῇ τυχεῖν^[2] δυνησόμενος. ‘μὴ γὰρ γένοιτο’ ἔφη ‘μηδένα^[p. 52] ὑμῶν ὑπ' ἐμοὶ μῆτε τῇ ἐμῇ μῆτε τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ψήφῳ σφαγῆναι.’ καὶ τέλος ἔφη ὅτι ‘ἂν μὴ τούτου τύχω, σπεύσω πρὸς τὸν θάνατον.’ οὕτω τι καθαρὸς διὰ πάντων καὶ χρηστὸς καὶ εὐσεβὴς ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἐξεβιάσατο ἔξω τι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἡθῶν πρᾶξαι, οὐχ ἡ ἀνοσιουργία τῶν τετολμημένων οὐχ ἡ προσδοκία τῶν ὁμοίων ἐκ^[3] τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνους συγγνώμης. τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀπέσχε συμπλάσαι τινὰ ἐπιβουλὴν ἐψευσμένην καὶ σκευωρήσασθαι τινα τραγωδίαν μὴ γεγεννημένην, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς φανερώτατα ἐπαναστάντας αὐτῷ καὶ ὄπλα κατὰ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ υἱέος αὐτοῦ λαβόντας, καὶ στρατηγούς καὶ δημάρχους καὶ βασιλέας, ἀφῆναι, καὶ μηδένα αὐτῶν μῆτε δι' ἑαυτοῦ μῆτε διὰ τῆς γερουσίας μῆτε δι' ἄλλης προφάσεως μηδεμιᾶς ἀποκεῖναι.^[4] ἔξ οὗπερ καὶ πάνν τι πιστεύω ὅτι καὶ τὸν Κάσσιον αὐτὸν, εἴπερ ἐζωγρήκει, πάντως ἂν ἐσεσώκει. καὶ γὰρ πολλοὺς καὶ εὐηγέτησε τῶν σφαγῶν, ὅσον τὸ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ υἱέος αὐτοῦ.” Xiph. 265, 16-24 R. St., Exc. Val. 309 (p. 718). “ 31. ἐνομοθετήθη δὲ τότε μηδένα ἐν τῷ ἔθνει ὅθεν τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἔστιν ἄρχειν, ὅτι ὁ Κάσσιος ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ ἐχούσῃ ἡγεμονεῦων ἐνεόχμωσε. τῷ δὲ Μάρκῳ καὶ τῇ Φαυστινῇ ἐψηφίσατο ἡ βουλὴ ἐν τε τῷ Ἀφροδισίῳ τῷ^[p. 54] τε Ῥωμαίῳ εἰκόνας ἀργυρᾶς ἀνατεθῆναι καὶ βωμὸν ἰδρυθῆναι, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πάσας τὰς κόρας τὰς ἐν τῷ ἄστει γαμουμένας μετὰ τῶν νυμφίων^[2] θύειν, καὶ ἐς τὸ θέατρον χρυσοῖν εἰκόνα τῆς Φαυστινῆς ἐπὶ δίφρου ἀεῖ,

ὁσάκις γ' ἂν ἐκεῖνος θεωρῇ, ἐσφέρεσθαι τε καὶ ἐν τῇ προεδρίᾳ ἐξ ἧς ζῶσα ἐθεᾶτο τίθεσθαι, καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν τὰς γυναικας τὰς δυνάμει προεχοῦσας συγκαθίζεσθαι. [3] ὁ δὲ Μᾶρκος ἐλθὼν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ μνηθεὶς ἔδωκε μὲν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τιμὰς, ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις διδασκάλους ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἐπὶ πάσης λόγων παιδείας μισθὸν 32. ἐτήσιον φέροντας. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον διαλεγόμενος, ἐπειδὴ μεταξὺ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ὅτι πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἀποδεδιμηκῶς ἦν, ἀνεβόησαν ‘ὀκτώ’ καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ταῖς χερσίν, ἵνα δὴ καὶ χρυσοῦς τοσοῦτους ἐς τὸ δεῖπνον λάβωσι, προσενεδείξαντο, διεμειδίασε καὶ ἔφη καὶ αὐτὸς ‘ὀκτώ,’ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνὰ διακοσίας δραχμὰς αὐτοῖς [2] κατένειμεν, ὅσον οὕτω πρότερον εἰλήφεσαν. ταῦτά τε ἔπραξε, καὶ τοῖς ὀφείλουσι τι τῷ βασιλικῷ καὶ τῷ δημοσίῳ πᾶσι πάντα τὰ ὀφειλόμενα ἀφῆκεν ἀπὸ ἐτῶν ἕξ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα, χωρὶς τῶν ἐκκαίδεκα τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ· καὶ πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν γράμματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καυθῆναι [p. 56] [3] ἐκέλευσε. χρήματά τε πολλὰς πόλεσιν ἔδωκεν, ἐν αἷς καὶ τῇ Σμύρνῃ δεινῶς ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ φθαρῆσαι· καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ βουλευτῇ ἐστρατηγηκότι ἀνοικοδομησάι προσέταξεν. ἀφ’ οὗπερ καὶ νῦν θαυμάζω τῶν αἰπιωμένων αὐτὸν ὡς οὐ μεγαλόφρονα γενόμενον· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα οἰκονομικώτατος ὡς ἀληθῶς ἦν, τῶν δ’ ἀναγκαίων ἀναλωμάτων οὐδὲ ἐν ἐξίστατο, καίπερ μήτε τινα ἐσπράξει χρημάτων, ὥσπερ εἶπον, λυπῶν, καὶ πλεῖστα ὅσα ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἔξω τῶν ἐγκυκλίων δαπανῶν. 33. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ Σκυθικὰ αὐθις αὐτοῦ ἐδέηθη, γυναῖκα τῷ υἱεῖ θάπτον δι’ αὐτὰ ἡ ἐβούλετο Κρισπῖναν συνώκισεν· οἱ γὰρ Κυντίλιοι οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν, καίπερ δύο τε ὄντες καὶ φρόνημα καὶ ἀνδρίαν ἐμπειρίαν τε πολλὴν ἔχοντες, τὸν πόλεμον παῦσαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ’ ἀναγκαίως [2] αὐτοὶ οἱ αὐτοκράτορες ἐξεστράτευσαν. ὁ δὲ Μᾶρκος καὶ χρήματα ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου ἤτησε τὴν βουλὴν, οὐχ ὅτι μὴ ἔκειντο ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἐξουσίᾳ, ἀλλ’ ὅτι ὁ Μᾶρκος πάντα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ τᾶλλα ἔλεγεν εἶναι· ‘ἡμεῖς γάρ,’ ἔφη πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν λέγων, ‘οὕτως οὐδὲν ἴδιον ἔχομεν ὥστε καὶ ἐν τῇ [3] ὑμετέρᾳ οἰκίᾳ οἰκοῦμεν.’ ταῦτά τε εἰπὼν, καὶ τὸ δόρυ τὸ αἱματῶδες παρὰ τῷ Ἐννείῳ ἐς τὸ [p. 58] πολέμιον δὴ χωρίον, ὡς γε καὶ τῶν συγγενομένων αὐτῷ ἦκουσα, ἀκοντίσας ἐξωρμήθη, καὶ τῷ Πατέρνῳ δοὺς χεῖρα μεγάλην ἔπεμψεν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν τῆς μάχης ἀγῶνα. καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἀντέτειναν μὲν διὰ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀπάσης, κατεκόπησαν 4. δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πάντες, καὶ ὁ Μᾶρκος τὸ δέκατον αὐτοκράτωρ προσηγορεύθη.” Xiph. 265, 24-267, R. St. “ 18. ὅτι οἱ Ἰάχυγες ἐπρεσβεύσαντο, καὶ ἤτησάν τινα ἀφεθῆναι σφισιν ἐκ τῶν ὠμολογημένων· καὶ συνεχωρήθη τινα αὐτοῖς, ἵνα μὴ καὶ παντελῶς ἀλλοτριωθῶσιν. οὐ μέντοι πρότερον οὔτε οὗτοι οὔτε οἱ Βοῦροι συμμαχεῖν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἠθέλησαν, πρὶν πίστεις παρὰ Μάρκου λαβεῖν ἢ μὴν μέχρι παντὸς τῷ πολέμῳ χρήσεσθαι· ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ μὴ καταλλαγείς τοῖς Κουάδοις, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, προσοίκους σφίσι πολεμίους ὑπολείπηται.” Exc. UG (p. 410). “ 19. ὅτι ὁ Μᾶρκος τοὺς πρεσβευομένους τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐδέχετο οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς πάντας, ἀλλ’ ὡς που ἕκαστοι αὐτῶν ἢ πολιτείαν ἢ ἀτέλειαν ἢ ἰδίον ἢ καὶ πρὸς χρόνον τινα ἄνεσιν τοῦ φόρου λαβεῖν ἢ καὶ τὴν τροφὴν

ἀθάνατον ἔχειν ἄξιοι ἦσαν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ οἱ Ἰάζυγες χρησιμώτατοι αὐτῷ ^[2] ἐγίνοντο, πολλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων σφίσις ἀφήκε, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντα πλὴν τῶν κατὰ τε τὰς συνόδους αὐτῶν καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐπιμιξίας συγκειμένων, τοῦ τε μὴ ἰδίους πλοίοις σφᾶς χρῆσθαι καὶ τοῦ τῶν νήσων τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἰστρῷ ἀπέχεσθαι. καὶ ἐφῆκεν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς Ῥοξολάνους ^[p. 60] διὰ τῆς Δακίας ἐπιμῖγνυσθαι, ὡσὰκις ἂν ὁ ἄρχων αὐτῆς ἐπιτρέψῃ σφίσις.” Exc. UG (p. 411). “ 20. † ὅτι τοῖς Κουάδοις καὶ τοῖς Μαρκομάνοις πρεσβευσασμένοις † δύο μυριάδες ἑκατέροις στρατιωτῶν ἐν τείχεσιν ὄντες οὔτε νέμειν οὔτε γεωργεῖν οὔτ’ ἄλλο τι μετὰ ἀδείας ποιεῖν ἐπέτρεπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτομόλους παρ’ αὐτῶν καὶ αἰχμαλώτους τῶν σφετέρων πολλοὺς ὑπεδέχοντο, μὴ πάνυ τι αὐτοὶ ταλαιπωρούμενοι διὰ τὸ καὶ βαλανεῖα καὶ πάντα ἀφθόνως ἔχειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ^[2] ὥστε τοὺς Κουάδους μὴ φέροντας τὸν ἐπιτειχισμὸν μεταναστεῖναι πανδημεῖ πρὸς Σεμνόνας ἐπιχειρῆσαι. ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος προμαθῶν τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν, τὰς διόδους ἀποφράξας ἐκώλυσεν. οὕτως οὐ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν προσκτήσασθαι ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τιμωρήσασθαι ἐπεθύμει.” Exc. UG (p. 411). “ 21. ὅτι καὶ Ναρισταὶ ταλαιπωρήσαντες τρισχίλιοι ἅμα ἠϋτομόλησαν καὶ γῆν ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἔλαβον.” Exc. UG (p. 412). “ 33. ^[4.2] καὶ εἶγε πλέον ἐβεβιώκει, πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖ ἂν ἐκεχείρωτο: νῦν δὲ τῇ ἑπτακαίδεκάτῃ τοῦ Μαρτίου μετέλλαξεν, οὐχ ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου ἦν καὶ τότε ἐνόσησεν, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱατρῶν, ὡς ἐγὼ σαφῶς ἤκουσα, 34. τῷ Κομοδόῳ χαριζομένων. μέλλων οὖν ἀποθνήσκειν τοῦτόν τε τοῖς στρατιώταις παρακατέθετο ‘οὐ γὰρ ἤθελε δοκεῖν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ θνήσκειν’ καὶ τῷ χιλιάρχῳ τὸ σύνθημα αἰτοῦντι ἔφη ‘ἄπελθε ^[p. 62] πρὸς τὸν ἀνατέλλοντα: ἐγὼ γὰρ ἦδη δύνωμαι.’ τελευτήσας δὲ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐς τιμὴν ἔλαβε καὶ χρυσοῦς ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ συνέδριον ἔστη. ὁ μὲν οὖν Μάρκος οὕτω μετέλλαξεν.” Xiph. 267, 4-14 R. St. “ ^[2] ὅτι οὕτω θεοσεβῆς ἦν ὁ Μάρκος ὥστε καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀποφράσιν οἴκοι θύειν.” Exc. Val. 310 (p. 721). “ ὅτι εἶχε μὲν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς ἀπάσας, καὶ ἄριστα διὰ πάντων τῶν ἐν κράτει τινὲ γενομένων ἦρξε, πλὴν καθ’ ὅσον οὐ πολλὰ τῷ σώματι ἀνδρίζεσθαι ἐδύνατο: καὶ τοῦτο ἐξ ἀσθενεστάτου ^[3] καρτερικώτατον ἀπέδειξε. πλείστον δὲ ἐν εὐεργεσίᾳ διῆγεν: ὅθεν πού καὶ νεῶν αὐτῆς ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἰδρύσατο, ὀνόματι τινὶ ἰδιωτάτῳ καὶ μήπω ἀκουσθέντι προσκαλέσας αὐτήν. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ἀπάντων τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἀπείχετο, καὶ οὔτε ἐκῶν οὔτ’ ἄκων ἐπλημμέλει: τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων ἁμαρτήματα, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ τῆς γυναικός, ἔφερε καὶ οὔτε ἐπολυπραγμόνει οὔτε ^[4] ἐκόλαζεν, ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν τις χρηστὸν τι ἐπραττεν, ἐπῆνει καὶ ἐχρῆτο ἐς ἐκεῖνο αὐτῷ, τῶν δὲ ἐτέρων οὐ προσεποιεῖτο, λέγων ὅτι ποιῆσαι μὲν τινὶ ἀνθρώπους ὁποῖους βούλεται ἔχειν ἀδύνατόν ἐστι, τοῖς δὲ δὴ οὕσι προσήκει, ἐς ὃ τι ἂν τις αὐτῶν τῷ κοινῷ χρήσιμος ᾖ, χρῆσθαι. καὶ ὅτι οὐ προσποιητῶς ἀλλ’ ἐξ ἀρετῆς πάντα ἐπραττε, πρόδηλον: ^[5] ἔτη γὰρ ὀκτὼ καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ μῆνας δέκα ^[p. 64] ἡμέρας τε εἴκοσι καὶ δύο ζήσας, κἂν τούτοις τῷ τε πρὶν Ἀντωνίνῳ συχνὸν χρόνον ὑπάρξας καὶ αὐτὸς ἐννέα καὶ δέκα ἔτη καὶ ἑνδεκα ἡμέρας αὐταρχήσας, ὁμοῖος διὰ πάντων ἐγένετο καὶ ἐν οὐδενὶ ἡλλοιώθη. οὕτως ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ ἦν καὶ οὐδὲν προσποιητὸν εἶχε. 35. πάμπολλα μὲν

γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ παιδείας ὠφελήθη, ἔν τε τοῖς ῥητορικοῖς ἔν τε τοῖς ἐκ φιλοσοφίας λόγοις ἀσκηθεῖς· τῶν μὲν γὰρ τὸν τε Φρόντωννα τὸν Κορνήλιον καὶ τὸν Ἡρώδη τὸν Κλαύδιον διδασκάλους εἶχε, τῶν δὲ τὸν τε Ροῦστικόν τὸν Ἰούνιον καὶ Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν Νικομηδεά, τοὺς [2] Ζηνωνεῖους λόγου μελετῶντας, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ παμπληθεῖς φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπλάττοντο, ἵν' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πλουτιζῶνται. πλείστον δὲ ὁμως ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐξήρθη· καὶ γὰρ πρὶν ἐκείνοις ὁμιλῆσαι, ἰσχυρῶς πρὸς ἀρετὴν ὥρμητο. τοῖς τε γὰρ συγγενέσι πᾶσι, πολλοῖς καὶ δυνατοῖς πλουσίοις τε οὖσιν, [3] οὕτω τι ἔπι παῖς ὦν ἤρεσεν ὥσθ' ὑπὸ πάντων αὐτῶν ἀγαπηθῆναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ὅτι μάλιστα ἐς τὸ γένος ποιηθεῖς οὐχ ὑπερεφρόνησεν, ἀλλὰ καίτοι νέος ὦν καὶ Καῖσαρ τῷ τε Ἀντωνίνῳ παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐμμελέστατα ἐδούλευσε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς πρώτους [4] ἀνεπαχθῶς ἐτίμησεν. ἡσπάζετο τε τοὺς ἀξιωτάτους ἐν τῇ Τιβεριανῇ οἰκίᾳ ἐν ἧ ὥκει, πρὶν τὸν πατέρα ἰδεῖν, οὐχ ὅπως τὴν στολὴν τὴν καθήκουσαν ἐνδεδυκώς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰδιωτικῶς ἐσταλμένος, [p. 66] καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ γε τῷ δωματίῳ ἐν ᾧ ἐκάθευδε. καὶ πολλοὺς νοσοῦντας ἐπεσκέπτετο, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς [5] διδασκάλους οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε οὐκ ἐφοίτα. μανθῦας τε φαιάς, ὁσάκις γε καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς προΐει, ἐνεδύετο, καὶ τῷ φωτὶ τῷ προηγουμένῳ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐχρήσατο. καὶ πρόκριτος τῆς ἵππᾶδος ἀποδειχθεὶς ἐσῆλθεν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν μετὰ [6] τῶν λοιπῶν, καίπερ Καῖσαρ ὦν. οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἄλλως τε καλῶς ἐπεφύκει καὶ ἐκ τῆς παιδείας ἐπὶ πλείστον ὠφελήθη, Ἑλληνικῶν τε καὶ Λατίνων ῥητορικῶν καὶ φιλοσόφων λόγων, καίπερ ἐς ἄνδρας ἤδη τελῶν καὶ ἐλπίδα αὐταρχήσιν 36. ἔχων, αἰεὶ διεπίμπλατο. καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Καῖσαρ ἀποδειχθῆναι ὄναρ ἔδοξεν ὦμους τε καὶ χεῖρας ἐλεφαντίνους ἔχειν καὶ αὐταῖς πάντα ὅσα τοῖς ἄλλοις χρῆσθαι. [2] ἐκ δ' οὖν τῆς πολλῆς ἀσχολίας τε καὶ ἀσκήσεως ἀσθενέστατον τὸ σῶμα ἔσχε, καίτοι τοσαύτῃ εὐεξίᾳ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς χρησάμενος ὥστε καὶ ὀπλομαχεῖν καὶ σὺς ἀγρίους ἐν θήρᾳ καταβάλλειν ἀπὸ ἵππου, τὰς τε ἐπιστολὰς τὰς πλείστας οὐ μόνον ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡλικίᾳ ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοχειρίᾳ τοῖς πάνυ φίλοις γράφειν. [3] οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπαξίως ἑαυτοῦ εὐδαιμόνησεν· οὔτε γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ἔρρωτο, καὶ κακοῖς πλείστοις παρὰ πᾶσαν ὥς εἰπεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν περιέπεσεν. ἀλλ' ἔγωγε ἐξ αὐτῶν τούτων μᾶλλον αὐτὸν τεθαύμακα, ὅτι ἐν τε ἀλλοκότοις καὶ ἐν ἐξαισίοις πράγμασι αὐτός τε διεγένετο καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν [4] διεσώσατο. ἐν δ' οὖν τοῦτο ἐς τὴν οὐκ εὐδαιμονίαν αὐτοῦ συνηνέχθη, ὅτι τὸν υἱὸν καὶ θρέψας [p. 68] καὶ παιδεύσας ὥς οἶόν τε ἦν ἄριστα, πλείστον αὐτοῦ ὅσον διήμαρτε. περὶ οὗ ἤδη ῥητέον, ἀπὸ χρυσῆς τε βασιλείας ἐς σιδηρᾶν καὶ κατιωμένην τῶν τε πραγμάτων τοῖς τότε Ρωμαίοις καὶ ἡμῖν νῦν καταπεσοῦσης τῆς ἱστορίας.” Xiph. 267, 14-268, R. St., Exc. Val. 311, 312a (p. 721 s#3.), Suid. s.n. *ma/rkos gl. 3. “ “ [p. 70]

“οὐ μὴν διὰ τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐχρηματίζετο, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ποτὲ γεγωνὶς ἀργυρίων, πολέμων ἐπικειμένων, οὔτε τέλος καινὸν ἐπενόησεν οὐτ' αἰτῆσαι παρὰ τοῦ ἡνέσχετο χρήματα, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πάντα τὰ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις κειμήλια θέμενος, καὶ εἴ τι πρὸς κόσμον προσῆν τῇ αὐτοῦ γαμετῇ, ὠνεῖσθαι ταῦτα τὸν βουλόμενον προετρέπετο· ὅθεν ἀθροίσας καὶ ἀδδ. ε ἀργύρια τοῖς στρατιώταις διέδωκε. καὶ νικήσας τὸν πόλεμον ἐκτήσατο

πολυπλάσια, καὶ κήρυγμα ἔθετο τὸν βουλόμενον ἐκ τῶν ὠνησαμένων τὰ κτήματα βξξ, χρήματα αε τὰ βασιλικά ἀναδιδόναι τὸ ὠνηθὲν καὶ λαμβάνειν τὸ τίμημα. καὶ αβξξ, ὅ ε τινες μὲν τοῦτο ἐποίησαν, οἱ δὲ πλείους ἀνένευσαν: καὶ οὐδένα ἀναδοῦναι τὸ κτηθὲν αὐτῷ ἐβιάσατο.” Zon. 12, (p. 79, 15-29 D). “ Μάρκος Ἀντωνῖνος, ἐν πολέμῳ τῶν δημοσίων ἐξηντλημένων ταμείων, πράξασθαι μὲν χρήματα παρὰ τὸ σύνηθες οὐκ ἠνέσχετο, πάντα δὲ τὸν βασιλικὸν κόσμον ἐπ’ ἀγορᾶς ἀγαγὼν πρὸς χρυσίον ἀπέδοτο. καταστάσης δὲ τῆς βαρβαρικῆς κινήσεως, τοῖς μὲν ἐκουσίαν ποιουμένοις τὴν τῶν βασιλικῶν σκευῶν ἀνάδοσιν, τὸ αὐτὸ μέτρον τῆς τιμῆς ἀπεδίδου, τοὺς δὲ μὴ θέλοντας οὐκ ἠνάγκαζε.” Exc. Salm. n. 117 Muell. p. 396, 29-397, Cram. ““

“ 1. οὗτος πανοὔργος μὲν οὐκ ἔφν, ἀλλ’ εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων ἄκακος, ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τῆς πολλῆς ἀπλότητος καὶ προσέτι καὶ δειλίας ἐδοῦλευσε τοῖς συνοῦσι, καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀγνοίᾳ τὸ πρῶτον τοῦ κρείττονος ἀμαρτῶν ἐς ἔθος κάκ τοῦτου καὶ ἐς^[2] φύσιν ἀσελγῆ καὶ μαιφόνον προήχθη. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Μᾶρκος σαφῶς προγνῶναι. ἦν δὲ ἐννεακαίδεκαέτης ὅτε μετήλλαξεν ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ, πολλοὺς αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐπιτρόπους καταλιπών: ὧν ὁ Κόμμοδος ταῖς ὑποθήκαις καὶ συμβουλiais χαίρειν εἰπών, καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις σπειςάμενος, ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἤπειχθη, μισόπονος τε ὧν καὶ τῆς ἀστικῆς ῥαστώνης ἐπιθυμῶν.” Xiph. 269, 6-18 R. St., Exc. Val. 312b (p. 722). “ 2. ὅτι οἱ Μαρκομάνοι οὔτε τροφήν οὔτ’ ἄνδρας συχνοὺς ὑπὸ τε τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἀπολλυμένων καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς αἰεί τῶν χωρίων κακώσεως ἔτι εἶχον: δύο γοῦν μόνους τῶν πρώτων καὶ δύο ἄλλους τῶν καταδεεστέρων πρέσβεις πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς^[2] εἰρήνης ἔπεμψαν. καὶ ἐξεργάσασθαι αὐτοὺς δυνάμενος ῥαδίως, μισόπονος δὲ δὴ ὧν καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀστικὰς ῥαστώνας ἐπειγόμενος ἐσπείσατο αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐφ’ οἷς ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ συνετέθειτο, καὶ ἵνα τοὺς τε αὐτομόλους καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, οὓς μετὰ ταῦτα ἔλαβον, ἀποδῶσιν^[p. 74] αὐτῷ, καὶ σῖτόν τινα κατ’ ἔτος τακτὸν τελῶσιν,^[3] ὃν ὕστερον αὐτοῖς ἀφῆκεν. ὅπλα τέ τινα παρ’ αὐτῶν ἔλαβε, καὶ στρατιώτας παρὰ μὲν τῶν Κουάδων μυρίους καὶ τρισχιλίους, παρὰ δὲ τῶν Μαρκομάνων ἐλάττους: ἀνθ’ ὧν ἀνῆκεν αὐτοῖς τὸ^[4] κατ’ ἔτος διδόναι τινὰς. προσεπέταξε μέντοι σφίσιν ἵνα μῆτε πολλάκις μῆτε πολλαχοῦ τῆς χώρας ἀθροίζωνται, ἀλλ’ ἅπαξ ἐν ἐκάστῳ μηνὶ καὶ ἐς τόπον ἓνα ἑκατοντάρχου τινὸς Ῥωμαίου παρόντος, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἵνα μῆτε τοῖς Ἰάζυξι μῆτε τοῖς Βούροις μῆτε τοῖς Οὐανδίοις πολεμῶσιν. ἐπὶ μὲν τούτοις συνηλλάγη, καὶ τὰ τε φρούρια πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν μεθορίαν τὴν ἀποτετεμημένην ὄντα ἐξέλιπεν...” Exc. UG (p. 412). “ 3. ὅτι τοῖς Βούροις ὁ Κόμμοδος εἰρήνην ἔδωκε πρεσβεύσασι. πρότερον μὲν γάρ, καίτοι πολλάκις αὐτὴν αἰτήθεις, οὐκ ἐποίησατο, ὅτι τε ἔρρωντο καὶ ὅτι οὐκ εἰρήνην ἀλλὰ ἀνοχὴν ἐς τὸ^[2] παρασκευάσασθαι λαβεῖν ἤθελον: τότε δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἐξετρυχώθησαν, συνηλλάγη σφίσιν ὁμήρους λαβὼν καὶ αἰχμαλώτους παρὰ τε τῶν Βούρων πολλοὺς καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους κομισάμενος, καὶ ἀναγκάσας τοὺς ἄλλους ὁμόσαι ὥστε μὴτ’ ἐνοικήσειν ποτὲ μὴτ’ ἐννεμεῖν τεσσαράκοντα στάδια τῆς χώρας σφῶν^[p. 76]^[3] τῆς πρὸς τῇ Δακίᾳ οὔσης. ὁ αὐτὸς Σαβινιανὸς καὶ Δακῶν τῶν προσόρων μυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας ἐκπεσόντας καὶ μέλλοντας τοῖς ἄλλοις βοηθήσειν ὑπηγάγετο, γῆν τινὰ αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ Δακίᾳ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ δοθήσεσθαι ὑποσχόμενος.” Exc. UG (p. 413). “ 4. ὅτι ὁ Κόμμοδος πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἀπρεπῆ ἔπραξε, πλείστους δὲ ἐφόνευσε.” Exc. Val. 313 (p. 722). “ καὶ ἐπεβουλεύθη μὲν πολλάκις ὑπὸ τινων, πλείστους δὲ ἐφόνευσε καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας, τοὺς μὲν φανερώς τοὺς δὲ λάθρᾳ φαρμάκοις, καὶ ὥς εἰπεῖν πάντας τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ^[2] ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου ἀνθήσαντας,

πλὴν τοῦ τε Πομπηιανοῦ καὶ τοῦ Περτίνακος καὶ τοῦ Οὐικτωρίνου· τοὺτους γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε. λέγω δὲ ταῦτα τε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ οὐκ ἐξ ἁλλοτρίας ἔτι παραδόσεως ἄλλ' ἐξ οἰκείας ἤδη τηρήσεως. ἔλθων δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ πρὸς τὴν γερουσίαν διαλεχθεὶς ἄλλα τέ τινα ἀπελήρησε, καὶ τι καὶ ^[3] τοιοῦτον ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐπαίνοις εἶπεν, ὅτι τὸν πατέρα ποτὲ ἐς πηλὸν βαθὺν ἐμπεσόντα ἱππεύων ἐρρῦσατο. τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ σεμνολογήματα αὐτοῦ ^[4] ἦν, ἐσιόντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐς τὸ θέατρον τὸ κυνηγετικὸν Κλαύδιος Πομπηιανὸς ἐπεβούλευσε· ξίφος γάρ τι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τῆς ἐσόδου στενοχωρία ἀνατείνας, 'ἰδοῦ,' ἔφη, 'τοῦτό σοι ἡ βουλὴ πέπομφεν.' οὗτος ἠγγύητο μὲν τὴν θυγατέρα Λουκιλλης, ἐχρῆτο δὲ καὶ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ καὶ τῇ τῆς κόρης μητρί, ^[5] καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τῷ Κομμόδῳ ὠκείωτο ὥς καὶ ^[p. 78] συνεσιτῆσθαι καὶ συννεανιεύεσθαι αὐτῷ. ἡ γὰρ Λουκιλλα οὐδὲν ἐπείκεστέρα οὐδὲ σωφρονεστέρα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Κομμόδου ὑπάρχουσα ἤχθετο μὲν τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς τῷ Πομπηιανῷ· ὅθεν καὶ ἀνέπεισε τὸν εἰρημένον ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ Κομμόδῳ, καὶ αὐτόν τε ἀπώλεσε καὶ αὐτὴ φωραθεῖσα ^[6] ἐπανηρέθη. ἀπέκτεινε δὲ καὶ τὴν Κρισπίναν ὁ Κόμμοδος, ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ δὴ τινι ὀργισθεὶς αὐτῇ. πρὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀναιρεθῆναι καὶ ἀμφοτέραι ἐς τὴν νῆσον τὴν Καπρίαν ὑπερωρίσθησαν. Μαρκία δὲ τις Κουαδράτου τῶν τότε φονευθέντων ἐνὸς παλλακῆ, καὶ Ἐκλεκτος πρόκοιτος, ὁ μὲν καὶ τοῦ Κομμόδου πρόκοιτος, ἡ δὲ παλλακῇ ^[7] ἐγένετο καὶ τοῦ Ἐκλέκτου μετὰ ταῦτα γυνή· καὶ ἐπεῖδε καὶ ἐκείνους βιαίως ἀποθνήσκοντας. ἱστορεῖται δὲ αὕτη πολλὰ τε ὑπὲρ τῶν Χριστιανῶν σπουδάσαι καὶ πολλὰ αὐτοὺς εὐηργετηκέναι, ἅτε καὶ παρὰ τῷ Κομμόδῳ πᾶν δυναμένη." Xiph. 269, 19-270, R. St. " 5. ὅτι ὁ Κόμμοδος καὶ Ἰουλιανὸν τὸν Σάλουιον καὶ Πάτερνον Ταρρουτήνιον ἐς τοὺς ὑπατευκότας κατειλεγμένον, ἄλλους τε μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ τινα καὶ γυναῖκα εὐπατριδα ἀπέσφαξεν. καίτοι καὶ Ἰουλιανὸς δυνηθεὶς ἂν μετὰ τὴν Μάρκου τελευτήν ^[2] πᾶν εὐθύς κατ' αὐτοῦ ὃ τι καὶ ἐβούλετο, ἅτε καὶ ἐλλογιμώτατος ὢν καὶ στρατιὰν μεγάλην ἐπιτετραμμένος τοὺς τε στρατιώτας ἀνηρτημένους, πρᾶξαι, οὐδὲν ἠθέλησε διὰ τε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐπείκειαν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου καὶ τεθνηκότος εὐνοίαν ^[p. 80] νεοχμῶσαι· καὶ ὁ Πάτερνος ῥαδίως ἂν αὐτόν, εἴπερ ἐπεβεβουλεύκει οἱ, ὥσπερ ἠτιάθη, φονεύσας ἕως ἔτι τῶν δορυφόρων ἦρχεν, οὐκ ἐποίησεν." Exc. Val. 314 (p. 725), cf. Xiph. 270, 15-18 R. St. " ^[3] ἐφόνευσεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς Κυντιλίου, τὸν τε Κονδιανὸν καὶ τὸν Μάξιμον· μεγάλην γὰρ εἶχον δόξαν ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ στρατηγίᾳ καὶ ὁμοφροσύνῃ καὶ πλούτῳ. ἐκ γὰρ δὴ τῶν προσόντων σφίσιν ὑπωπτεύοντο καλῶν, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν νεώτερον ^[4] ἐνενόουν, ἄχθεσθαι τοῖς παροῦσι. καὶ οὕτως αὐτοί, ὥσπερ ἔζησαν ἅμα, οὕτω καὶ ἀπέθανον μεθ' ἐνὸς τέκνου· διαπρεπέστατα γὰρ τῶν πώποτε ἐφίλησαν ἀλλήλους, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε οὐδὲ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς διεχωρίσθησαν. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ πολυκτήμενες καὶ παμπλούσιοι, καὶ ἦρχον ὁμοῦ καὶ παρήδρευον ἀλλήλοις. 6. Κονδιανὸς δὲ Σέξτος ὁ τοῦ Μαξίμου υἱός, φύσει τε καὶ παιδείᾳ τῶν ἄλλων διαφέρων, ἐπειδὴ ἦσθετο καὶ τῆς ἐς αὐτόν φεροῦσης θανατηφόρου ψήφου 'διέτριβε δὲ ἐν Συρίᾳ, αἷμα λαγῶ ἔπιδε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ τε ἵππον ἀνέβη καὶ κατέπεσεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιτήδες, τὸ τε αἷμα ἤμεσεν ὥς ἴδιον, καὶ ἀρθεὶς ὥς καὶ παραχρῆμα τελευτήσων ^[2] ἐς

οἶκημα ἐκομίσθη, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἀφανῆς ἐγένετο, κριοῦ δὲ σῶμα ἐς λάρνακα ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἐμβλήθην ἐκαύθη. καὶ ἐκ τούτου ὁ μὲν ἀμείβων ἀεὶ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ^[p. 82] ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ ἐπλανᾶτο, διαδοθέντος δὲ τοῦ λόγου τούτου 'οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τ' ἐστὶ τὰ τηλικαῦτα ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον λανθάνειν' ζήτησις ^[3] αὐτοῦ μεγάλη πανταχοῦ ὁμοίως ἐγένετο, καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ δι' ὁμοιότητα πολλοὶ δὲ ὡς καὶ συνεννοκότες τι αὐτῷ ἢ καὶ ὑποδεδεγμένοι πῃ αὐτὸν ἐκολάσθησαν, ἔτι δὲ πλείους οὐδὲ ἑορακότες ποτὲ ἴσως αὐτὸν τῶν οὐσιῶν ἐστερήθησαν. ^[4] καὶ ὁ μὲν εἶτε ὄντως ἐσφάγη 'πλεῖστοι γὰρ κεφαλαὶ ὡς ἐκείνου οὔσαι ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκομίσθησαν' εἶτε καὶ ἀπέφυγεν, οὐδεὶς οἶδεν: ἕτερος δὲ τις ἐτόλμησε μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Κομμόδου θάνατον Σέξτος τε εἶναι φῆσαι καὶ πρὸς ἀνάληψιν τοῦ τε πλούτου καὶ τοῦ ἀξιώματος αὐτοῦ ὁρμῆσαι. καὶ πολλὰ γε ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀνακριθεὶς ἐκομφεύσατο, ^[5] ὡς μέντοι καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τι αὐτὸν ὁ Περτίναξ, ὢν ἐκεῖνος διεπεφύκει, ἀνῆρετο, πλεῖστον ἐσφάλη, μηδὲ συνεῖναι τὸ λεγόμενον δυνηθεῖς. οὕτω που τὸ μὲν εἶδος ἐκ φύσεως καὶ τᾶλλα ἐξ ἐπιτηδεύσεως αὐτῷ ἐώκει, τῆς δὲ δὴ παιδείας αὐτοῦ οὐ μετεσχέκει. 7. τοῦτό τε οὖν αὐτὸς ἤκουσα παρῶν, καὶ ἕτερον τοιόνδε εἶδον. ἔστιν ἐν Μαλλῷ πόλει τῆς Κιλικίας Ἀμφιλόχου χρηστήριον, καὶ χρᾶ δι' ὄνειράτων. ἔχρησεν οὖν καὶ τῷ Σέξτῳ, ὃ διὰ γραφῆς ἐκεῖνος ἐδήλωσε: παιδίον γὰρ τῷ πίνακι ἐνεγέγραπτο δύο δράκοντας ἀποπνίγον καὶ λέων ^[2] νεβρὸν διώκων. οὐδὲ ἔσχον αὐτὰς συμβαλεῖν, τῷ πατρὶ συνὼν ἄρχοντι τῆς Κιλικίας, πρὶν ^[p. 84] πυθέσθαι τοὺς τε ἀδελφοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κομμόδου, ὃς μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐξήλωσε, τρόπον τινὰ πνιγέντας, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἔτι νήπιος ὢν ἰστόρηται τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς Ἥρας ἐπιπεμφθέντας αὐτῷ δράκοντας ἀποπνίξαι 'καὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ Κυντίλιοι ἀπηγονήθησαν', καὶ τὸν Σέξτον φεύγοντα καὶ διωκόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος." Xiph. 270, 18-271, R. St., Exc. Val. 315 (p. 725)=Suid. s. v. *se/ctos. "[3] πάμπολυν ἂν ὄχλον τῇ συγγραφῇ παράσχοιμι, εἰ ἀκριβῶς καθ' ἕκαστον τοὺς θανατωθέντας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γράφοιμι, ὅπόσους ἐκεῖνος ἢ διὰ συκοφαντίας ψευδεῖς ἢ δι' ὑποψίας οὐκ ἀληθεῖς ἢ διὰ πλοῦτον λαμπρὸν ἢ διὰ γένος εὐδόκιμον ἢ διὰ παιδείας ὑπεροχὴν ἢ δι' ἄλλην τινὰ ἀρετὴν διεχρήσατο." Xiph. 271, 25-30 R. St. "[4] ὅτι ὁ Κόμμοδος πολλὰ μὲν πλούτου ἐπιδείγματα, πολλῷ δὲ πλείω καὶ φιλοκαλίας ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ παρέσχετο. ἔστι δὲ τι καὶ δημωφελὲς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πραχθέν: Μανιλίου γὰρ τῷ Κασσίῳ συγγενομένου καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῦ τὰς Λατίνας διοικήσαντος, καὶ μέγιστον παρ' αὐτῷ δυνηθέντος καὶ φυγόντος, εἶτα φωραθέντος, οὔτε τι ἀκοῦσαι καίτοι πολλὰ μηνύσειν ὑπισχνουμένου ἠθέλησε, καὶ τὰ γράμματα αὐτοῦ πάντα κατέκαυσε πρὶν ἀναγνωσθῆναι." Exc. Val. 316 (p. 725). "8. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ πόλεμοι τινες αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ τὴν Δακίαν βαρβάρους, ἐν οἷς ὁ τε Ἀλβῖνος καὶ ὁ Νιγρος οἱ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι Σεουήρῳ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀντιπολεμήσαντες εὐδοκίμησαν, μέγιστος ^[p. 86] [2] δὲ ὁ Βρεττανικός. τῶν γὰρ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐθνῶν ὑπερβεβηκότων τὸ τεῖχος τὸ διόριζον αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδα, καὶ πολλὰ κακουργούντων, στρατηγόν τέ τινα μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὐς εἶχε κατακοψάντων, φοβηθεὶς ὁ Κόμμοδος Μάρκελλον Οὐλπιον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν. [3] οὗτοσὶ δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ μέτριος καὶ

εὐτελής ὢν, στρατιωτικῶς τε αἰεὶ καὶ περὶ τὴν τροφήν καὶ περὶ πάντα τᾶλλα ζῶν, ὅτε ἐπολέμει, ὑψηλόφρων καὶ φρονηματῶδης ἐγίγνετο, χρημάτων τε διαφανῶς ἀδωρότατος ἦν, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἡδὺς τὸ ἦθος ἢ φιλάνθρωπος. [4] ἀπνότατος δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν γενόμενος, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς συνόντας αὐτῷ ἐργηγορέναι βουλόμενος, δώδεκα γραμματεῖα, οἷά γε ἐκ φιλῦρας ποιεῖται, καθ' ἐκάστην ἐσπέραν ὡς εἰπεῖν συνέγραφε, καὶ προσέταπτε τινι ἄλλο ἄλλῃ ὥρᾳ κομίζειν τισίν, ἵν' ἐργηγορέναι τὸν στρατηγὸν αἰεὶ νομίζοντες μηδὲ αὐτοὶ ἄδην καθεύδοιεν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως ὑπνομαχεῖν πεφυκῶς, ἐπὶ πλέον δὲ τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς ἀσιτίας [5] ἡσκήκει. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα ἥκιστα ἄδην ἐσιτεῖτο, καὶ ὅπως μηδὲ τῶν ἄρτων διαπιμπλᾶται, ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης αὐτοὺς μετεπέμπετο, οὐχ ὡς οὐ δυνάμενος τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐσθίειν, ἀλλ' ἵν' ὑπὸ τῆς παλαιότητος αὐτῶν μὴ δύνηται μηδὲ σμικρῷ πλέον τοῦ πάνυ ἀναγκαίου φαγεῖν: τὰ γὰρ οὖλα αὐτοῦ κακῶς ἔχοντα ῥαδίως ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ἄρτων ξηρότητος ἡμάσσετο. ἐπετῆδευε δ' οὖν ἐπὶ μεῖζον αὐτὸ πλάττεσθαι, ἵν' ὡς μάλιστα διαγρυπνεῖν δοκῇ. [p. 88] [6] Μάρκελλος μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτος ὢν τοὺς τε βαρβάρους τοὺς ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ δεινῶς ἐκάκωσε, καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κομμόδου μετὰ ταῦτα διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν ἀποθανεῖν μελλήσας ὅμως ἀφείθη. 9. Περέννιον δὲ τῶν δορυφόρων μετὰ τὸν Πάτερνον ἄρχοντα συνέβη διὰ τοὺς στρατιώτας στασιάσαντας ἀναιρεθῆναι: τοῦ γὰρ Κομμόδου ἀρματηλασίαις καὶ ἀσελγείαις ἐκδεδωκότος ἑαυτὸν, καὶ τῶν τῇ ἀρχῇ προσηκόντων οὐδὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν πράττοντος, ὁ Περέννιος ἠναγκάζετο οὐχ ὅτι τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ἀλλὰ καὶ τᾶλλα διὰ χειρὸς ἔχειν [2] καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ προστατεῖν. οἱ οὖν στρατιῶται, ὅποτε τι σφίσι μὴ καταθῦμιον ἀπαντήσαι, τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Περέννιον ἀναφέροντες ἐμήνιον αὐτῷ.” Χιρh. 271, 30-272, R. St., Exc. Val. 317 (p. 725)=Suid. s. v. *ma/rkellos. “ [2a] ὅτι οἱ ἐν βρεττανίᾳ στρατιῶται Πρίσκον ὑποστράτηγον εἶλοντο αὐτοκράτορα: ὁ δὲ παρητήσατο εἰπὼν ὅτι ‘τοιοῦτος ἐγὼ εἰμι αὐτοκράτωρ οἷοι ὑμεῖς στρατιῶται ἐστε.’” Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. 122 (p. 224 Mai.=p. 208, 8-11 Dind.). “ [2.2] καὶ οἱ ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ τοίνυν ὑπάρχοντες, ἐπειδὴ τι καὶ ἐπετιμήθησαν ἐφ' οἷς ἐστασίαζον ‘οὐ γὰρ πρὶν ἡσυχασαν ἢ αὐτοὺς τὸν Περτίνακα παῦσαι, χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους ἀκοντιστὰς ἀπὸ σφῶν ἀπολέξαντες ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπεμψαν. [3] ὢν μηδενὸς κωλύοντος τῇ Ῥώμῃ πλησιασάντων, ὁ Κόμμοδος ἀπὴντησέ τε αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐπύθετο ‘τί ταῦτα, ὦ συστρατιῶται; τί βουλόμενοι πάρεστε;’ εἰπόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ‘ἤκομεν: [p. 90] Περέννιος γὰρ σοι ἐπιβουλεύει, ἵνα αὐτοκράτορα τὸν υἱὸν ἀποδείξῃ,’ ἐπείσθη τε αὐτοῖς, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ Κλεάνδρου ἐνάγοντος, ὃς κωλυόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Περεννίου ποιεῖν ὅσα [4] ἡβούλετο δεινῶς αὐτὸν ἐμίσει, καὶ ἐξέδωκε τὸν ἔπαρχον τοῖς στρατιώταις ὢν ἦρχεν, οὐδὲ ἐτόλμησε καταφρονῆσαι χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους, πολλαπλασίους αὐτῶν δορυφόρους ἔχων. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνοι καὶ ἠκίσαντο καὶ κατέκοψαν, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ καὶ υἱεῖς δύο προσδιεφθάρησαν. 10. ὁ μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐσφάγη, ἥκιστα δὲ τοῦτο παθεῖν καὶ δι' ἑαυτὸν καὶ διὰ τὴν πᾶσαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ὀφείλων, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον διὰ τὴν φιλαρχίαν αἰτιώτατος τῷ Πατέρνῳ τῷ συνάρχοντι τοῦ ὀλέθρου ἐγένετο: ἰδίᾳ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν πώποτε οὔτε πρὸς δόξαν οὔτε πρὸς

πλοῦτον περιεβάλετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀδωρότατα καὶ σωφρονέστατα διήγαγε, τοῦ δὲ Κομμόδου καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν ἀσφάλειαν ἐποιεῖτο.” Xiph. 272, 28-273, R. St. “ [2] ὅτι ὁ Κόμμοδος εὐθυμίαις τε πάνν προσέκειτο καὶ ἀρματηλασίᾳ προσεῖχε, καὶ οὐτ’ ἀρχὴν τῶν τοιούτων τι αὐτῷ ἔμελεν, οὐτ’ εἰ καὶ σφόδρα ἐπεφροντίκει, διαθέσθαι γε αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀβρότητος καὶ τῆς ἀπειρίας ἐδύνατο. καὶ οἱ Καισάρειοι τοῦτου ἀπαλλαγέντες ἦν [p. 92] δὲ αὐτῶν κορυφαῖος ὁ Κλέανδρος· οὐδὲν ὃ τι κακὸν οὐκ ἔδρων, πωλοῦντες πάντα, ὑβρίζοντες, ἀσελγαίνοντες.” Exc. Val. 318 (p. 726), Xiph. 273, 15-18, R. St. “ Κόμμοδος δὲ τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ βίου περὶ τε τὰς ῥαστώνας καὶ τοὺς ἵππους περὶ τε τὰς μάχας [3] τῶν τε θηρίων καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν εἶχεν. ἄνευ γὰρ ὧν οἴκοι ἔδρα, πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνδρας ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ πολλὰ δὲ καὶ θηρία πολλάκις ἐφθειρε· καὶ πέντε γοῦν ἵππους ποταμίους ἅμα καὶ δύο ἐλέφαντας ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη ἡμέρᾳ χωρὶς αὐτὸς ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ χερσὶ κατεχρήσατο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ῥινοκέρωτας ἀπέκτεινε καὶ καμηλοπάρδαλιν. ταῦτα μὲν μοι κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ περὶ αὐτὸν λόγου γέγραπται.” Xiph. 273, 18-25, R. St. “ 11. ὅτι τῷ Οὐικτωρίῳ πολιαρχήσαντι ἀνδριάς ἔστη. ἀπέθανε δὲ οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς, καὶ δὴ ποτε πολλῆς μὲν φήμης πολλῶν δὲ καὶ λόγων ὡς εἰπεῖν περὶ τοῦ ὀλέθρου αὐτοῦ γιγνομένων ἀπεθρασύνετο, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Περέννιον προσελθὼν, ‘ἀκούω,’ ἔφη, ‘ὅτι με ἀποκτείνειν ἐθέλετε· τί οὖν μέλλετε; τί δὲ ἀναβάλλεσθε, [2] ἐξὸν ὑμῖν ἤδη καὶ τήμερον αὐτὸ δρᾶσαι;’ ἀλλ’ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐκ τούτου δεινὸν ὑπ’ ἄλλου τινὸς ἔπαθεν, ἀλλ’ αὐτομάτῳ θανάτῳ ἐχρήσατο, καίπερ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάρκου ἐν τοῖς πάνν τιμηθεῖς, καὶ [p. 94] τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετῇ καὶ τῇ τῶν λόγων παρασκευῇ οὐδενὸς τῶν καθ’ ἑαυτὸν δεῦτερος γενόμενος. ἀμέλει δύο ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν πάντα τὸν [3] τρόπον αὐτοῦ δηλώσω. τῆς τε Γερμανίας ποτὲ ἄρχων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἴκοι καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἐπειράθη τὸν ὑποστράτηγον πείσαι μὴ δωροδοκεῖν, ἐπεὶ δ’ οὐκ ἐσήκουεν αὐτοῦ, ἀνέβη τε ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ σιωπῇν τῷ κήρυκι κηρυῖσαι προστάξας ὥμοσε [4] μὴτ’ εἰληφέναι δῶρά ποτε μῆτε λήψεσθαι, ἔπειτα καὶ ἐκεῖνον ὁμόσαι ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς δ’ οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἐπιορκῆσαι, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς ἀρχῆς· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῆς Ἀφρικῆς ἡγεμονεύσας ἓνα τῶν παρέδρων ὁμοιότροπὸν πῶς ἐκείνῳ ὄντα τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, ἐπὶ πλοῖον δὲ τι ἐπιθείς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπέπεμψεν.” Exc. Val. 319 (p. 726), Xiph. 273, 25-274, R. St. “ 12. τοιοῦτος μὲν τις ὁ Οὐικτωρίνος ἦν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κλέανδρος ὁ μετὰ τὸν Περέννιον μέγιστον δυνηθεῖς καὶ ἐπράθη μετὰ τῶν ὁμοδούλων, μεθ’ ὧν καὶ ἀχθοφορήσων ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκεκόμιστο, χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος οὕτως ηὔξηθη ὥστε καὶ τοῦ Κομμόδου προκοιτῆσαι, τὴν τε παλλακίδα αὐτοῦ [2] Δαμοστρατίαν γῆμαι, καὶ τὸν Σαώτερον τὸν Νικομηδεά τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τὴν τιμὴν ἔχοντα ταύτην ἀποκτείνει πρὸς πολλοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις· καίτοι καὶ ἐκεῖνος μέγιστον ἠδυνήθη, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ Νικομηδεῖς καὶ ἀγῶνα ἄγειν καὶ νεῶν τοῦ Κομμόδου ποιήσασθαι παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς [3] ἔλαβον. ὁ δ’ οὖν Κλέανδρος μέγας ὑπὸ τῆς [p. 96] τύχης ἀρθεῖς καὶ ἐχαρίσατο καὶ ἐπώλησε βουλείας, στρατείας, ἐπιτροπείας, ἡγεμονίας, πάντα πράγματα. καὶ ἤδη τινὲς πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντά σφισιν ἀναλώσαντες βουλευταὶ ἐγένοντο, ὥστε καὶ λεχθῆναι ἐπὶ Ἰουλίου Σόλωνος ἀνδρὸς

ἀφανεστάτου ὅτι ἐς τὸ συνέδριον τῆς οὐσίας στερηθεὶς [4] ἐξωρίσθη. ταῦτά τε ὁ Κλέανδρος ἐποίει, καὶ ὑπάτους ἐς ἓνα ἐνιαυτὸν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἀπέδειξεν: ὁ μῆτε πρότερόν ποτε μὴθ' ὕστερον ἐγένετο: καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ Σεουήρος ὁ μετὰ [5] ταῦτα αὐταρχήσας ὑπάτευσεν. ἡργυρολόγει μὲν οὖν πανταχόθεν, καὶ ἐκτίησας πλεῖστα τῶν πώποτε ὀνομασθέντων προκοίτων, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν πολλὰ μὲν τῷ Κομμόδῳ ταῖς τε παλλακαῖς αὐτοῦ ἐδίδου, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐς οἰκίας καὶ ἐς βαλανεῖα ἄλλα τέ τινα χρήσιμα καὶ ιδιώταις καὶ πόλεσιν ἐδαπάνη. 13. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Κλέανδρος ἐς τοσοῦτον ὄγκον ἀρθεὶς ἔπεσε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξαίφνης καὶ ἀπώλετο [2] μετὰ ἀτιμίας. ἀπέκτειναν δὲ αὐτὸν οὐχ οἱ στρατιῶται ὥσπερ τὸν Περέννιον, ἀλλ' ὁ δῆμος. ἐγένετο μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως ἰσχυρὰ σιτοδεῖα, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δ' αὐτὴν Παπῖριος Διονύσιος ἐπὶ τοῦ σίτου τεταγμένος ἐπηύξησεν, ἵν' ὥς αἰπίωτατον αὐτῆς τὸν Κλέανδρον ἀπὸ τῶν κλεμμάτων ὄντα [3] καὶ μισήσωσιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ διαφθείρωσι. καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως. ἵπποδρομία τις ἦν, μελλόντων δὲ τὸ ἔβδομον τῶν ἵππων ἀγωνιεῖσθαι πληθὸς τι παιδίων ἐς τὸν ἵπποδρομον ἐσέδραμε, καὶ αὐτῶν παρθένος τις μεγάλη καὶ βλοσυρὰ ἠγεῖτο, ἣν δαίμονα ἐκ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα συμβάντων ἐνόμισαν [p. 98] [4] γεγονέναι. τὰ τε γὰρ παιδία συνεβόησαν πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ, καὶ ὁ δῆμος παραλαβὼν αὐτὰ οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ ἐξέκραγε, καὶ τέλος καταπηδήσας ὥρμησε πρὸς τὸν Κόμμοδον ἐν τῷ Κυντιλίῳ προαστείῳ ὄντα, πολλὰ μὲν ἐκείνῳ κάγαθὰ ἐπευχόμενος, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Κλεάνδρου καταρώμενος. καὶ ὃς στρατιώτας τινὰς ἐπ' αὐτοῦς ἔπεμψε, καὶ ἔτρωσάν τινας καὶ ἀπέκτειναν: [5] οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀνείρχηθ' διὰ τοῦτο ὁ δῆμος, ἀλλὰ τῷ τε πλήθει σφῶν καὶ τῇ τῶν δορυφόρων ἰσχυρῇ θαρρήσας ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἠπείχθη. πλησιαζόντων δὲ αὐτῶν τῷ Κομμόδῳ, καὶ μηδενὸς οἱ μηνύοντος τὸ γινόμενον, Μαρκία ἐκείνη ἢ τοῦ Κουαδράτου [6] ἐσήγγειλε τὸ πραπτόμενον: καὶ ὁ Κόμμοδος οὕτως ἔδεισεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ δειλότερος ὢν, ὥστε αὐτίκα καὶ τὸν Κλέανδρον καὶ τὸ παιδίον αὐτοῦ, ὃ καὶ ἐν ταῖς τοῦ Κομμόδου χερσὶν ἐτρέφετο, σφαγῆναι κελεῦσαι. καὶ τὸ μὲν παιδίον προσουδίσθη καὶ διεφθάρη, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Κλεάνδρου σῶμα παραλαβόντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἔσυραν καὶ ἠκίσαντο, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ κοντοῦ περιήνεγκαν, καὶ τινας καὶ ἄλλους τῶν μέγα ἐπ' αὐτοῦ δυναμένων ἐφόνευσαν.” Χιρ. 274, 4-275, 19, Exc. Val. 320. “ 14. Κόμμοδος δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν εὐθυμῶν καὶ παιδιῶν ἀνανεῶν ἐφύνα καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς ἄνδρας διεχειρίζετο: ὢν ἦν καὶ Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ ἑπαρχος, ὃν καὶ δημοσίᾳ περιελάμβανε τε καὶ κατεφίλει καὶ πατέρα ὠνόμαζεν, Ἰούλιός τε Ἀλέξανδρος, οὗτος μὲν ὥς καὶ λέοντα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου κατακοντίσας: [p. 100] [2] ὅστις ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοὺς σφαγέας παρόντας ἦσθετο, ἐκείνους τε τῆς νυκτὸς ἐφόνευσεν, καὶ τῶν Ἑμεσηνῶν, ὅθεν ἦν, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ πάντα προσκατεχρήσατο, ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἵππον τε ἀνέβη καὶ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ὥρμησε. κἂν [3] ἐξέφυγεν, εἰ μὴ παιδικὰ τινα συνεπῆκτο: αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ κράτιστα ἵππευε, τὸ δὲ μεῖράκιον καμὸν οὐχ ὑπέμεινε καταλιπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὥς κατελαμβάνετο, ἀπέκτεινε καὶ ἐκείνον καὶ ἑαυτόν. ἀνῆρέθη δὲ καὶ Διονύσιος πρὸς τοῦ Κομμόδου, ὃ ἐπὶ τοῦ σίτου ταχθεὶς, γέγονε δὲ καὶ νόσος μεγίστη ὣν ἐγὼ οἶδα: δισχίλιοι γοῦν πολλακίς ἡμέρας μιᾷς ἐν τῇ [4] Ῥώμῃ

ἐτελεύτησαν. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως οὐκ ἐν τῷ ᾧσται μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ
ὥς εἰπεῖν τῇ ἀρχῇ ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν κακούργων ἀπέθανον: βελόνας γὰρ μικρὰς
δηλητηρίοις τισὶ φαρμάκοις ἐγχρίοντες ἐνίεσαν δι' αὐτῶν ἐς ἑτέρους ἐπὶ
μισθῷ τὸ δεινόν: ὅπερ που καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ ἐγεγόνει. 15. καὶ οὗτοι
μὲν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἀπώλλυντο, ἦν δὲ ἀπάντων νοσημάτων καὶ ἀπάντων
κακουργημάτων χαλεπώτερος Ῥωμαῖος ὁ Κόμμοδος, διὰ τε τᾶλλα καὶ ὅτι
ἠναγκάζοντο, ᾧ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ κατ' εὐνοίαν ἐψηφίζοντο, ταῦτ' ἐκείνῳ διὰ
φόβον [2] ἀπονέμειν ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος. Κομμοδιανὴν γοῦν τὴν τε Ῥώμην αὐτὴν
καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα Κομμοδιανὰ, τὴν τε ἡμέραν ἐν ἣ ταῦτα ἐψηφίζετο
Κομμοδιανὰ καλεῖσθαι προσέταξεν. ἑαυτῷ δὲ [p. 102] ἄλλας τε παμπόλλους
ἐπωνυμίας καὶ τὴν Ἡρακλέους ἀπήνεγκε. τὴν δὲ Ῥώμην ἀθάνατον εὐτυχῇ
κολωνίαν τῆς οἰκουμένης 'καὶ γὰρ ἄποικον αὐτὴν ἑαυτοῦ δοκεῖν ἐβούλετό
ἐπωνόμασεν. [3] καὶ ἀνδριάς τε αὐτῷ χρυσοῦς χιλίων λιτρῶν μετὰ τε ταύρου
καὶ βοῶς θηλείας ἐγένετο, καὶ τέλος καὶ οἱ μῆνες ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πάντες
ἐπεκλήθησαν, ὥστε καταριθμεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς οὕτως, Ἀμαζόνιος Ἀνίκητος
Εὐτυχῆς Εὐσεβῆς Λούκιος Αἴλιος Αὐρήλιος Κόμμοδος Αὐγουστος
Ἡράκλειος Ῥωμαῖος [4] ὑπεραίρων. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοτε ἄλλα μετελάμβανε
τῶν ὀνομάτων, τὸν δ' Ἀμαζόνιον καὶ τὸν Ὑπεραίροντα παγίως ἑαυτῷ ἔθετο
ὥς καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς πάντας ἀνθρώπους καθ' ὑπερβολὴν νικῶν: οὕτω
καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἐμεμῆναι τὸ [5] κάθαρμα. καὶ τῇ βουλῇ οὕτως ἐπέστελλεν:
'αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Αἴλιος Αὐρήλιος Κόμμοδος Αὐγουστος
Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς, Σαρματικὸς Γερμανικὸς Μέγιστος Βρεττανικὸς,
Εἰρηνοποιὸς τῆς οἰκουμένης, Ἀνίκητος, Ῥωμαῖος Ἡρακλῆς, Ἀρχιερεὺς,
δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ὀκτωκαδέκατον, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ ὄγδοον, ὕπατος
τὸ ἔβδομον, Πατὴρ Πατρίδος, ὑπᾶτοις στρατηγοῖς [6] δημάρχοις γερουσίᾳ
Κομμοδιανῇ εὐτυχεῖ χαίρειν.' καὶ ἀνδριάντες αὐτοῦ παμπληθεῖς ἐν
Ἡρακλέους ὁμοσχηματί ἔστησαν. καὶ τὸν αἰῶνα τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ χρυσοῦν τε
ὀνομάζεσθαι καὶ [p. 104] ἐς τὰ γράμματα πάντα ὁμοίως ἐσγράφεσθαι
ἐψηφίσθη. 16. οὗτος οὖν ὁ χρυσοῦς, οὗτος ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, οὗτος ὁ θεὸς 'καὶ
γὰρ καὶ τοῦτ' ἦκουεν' ἐξαίφνης ποτὲ μετὰ μεσημβρίαν ἐκ τοῦ προαστείου
σπουδῇ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλάσας τριάκοντα ἵππων ἀμίλλας ἐν δυσὶν ὥραις
ἐποίησεν. ὅθεν οὐχ ἦκιστα καὶ [2] τὰ χρήματα αὐτὸν ἐπέλιπεν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ
καὶ φιλόδωρος, καὶ πολλάκις τῷ δήμῳ κατὰ δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν καὶ
τεσσαράκοντα ἔδωκεν: τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον ἐς ἐκεῖνα ᾧ εἶπον ἑδωπάνα. ὅθεν καὶ
ἐγκλήματα καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἐπιφέρων οὐς μὲν ἐφόνευεν, οἷς δὲ τὴν
σωτηρίαν τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῶν [3] ἐπίπρασκε. καὶ τέλος ἐν τοῖς γενεθλίοις τοῖς
ἑαυτοῦ ἡμᾶς τε καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἡμῶν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας δύο χρυσοῦς
ἕκαστον, ὥσπερ τινὰ ἀπαρχὴν, κατ' ἔτος ἐκέλευσέν οἱ ἀποφέρειν, τοὺς τε ἐν
ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀπάσαις πόλεσι βουλευτὰς κατὰ πέντε δραχμὰς. καὶ οὐδὲν ἐκ
τούτων περιποιεῖτο, ἀλλὰ πάντα κακῶς ἐς τὰ θηρία καὶ τοὺς μονομάχους
ἀνήλiske. 17. καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ δημοσίῳ οὐδαμῶθεν ἄρματα ἤλασε, πλὴν εἰ μὴ
που ἐν Ἀσελῆνῳ νυκτί, ἐπιθυμήσας μὲν καὶ δημοσίᾳ ἄρματληατῆσαι,
αἰσχυνηθεὶς δὲ καὶ ὀφθῆναι τοῦτο ποιῶν: οἴκοι δὲ συνεχῶς [p. 106] τοῦτ'
ἔπραττε, τῇ πρασίνῳ σκευῇ χρώμενος. [2] θηρία μέντοι πολλὰ μὲν οἴκοι

ἀπέσφαξε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ. καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἐμονομάχει, οἴκοι μὲν ὥστε καὶ φονεῦειν τινὰ ἐν ξυρῷ τε ἐτέρων, ὡς καὶ τὰς τρίχας ἀφαιρῶν, παρέτεμνε τῶν μὲν ῥίνα τῶν δὲ οὕς τῶν δὲ ἄλλο τί, ἐν δὲ τῷ κοινῷ ἄνευ σιδήρου καὶ ἄνευ αἵματος ἀνθρωπείου. [3] ἐνέδυνε δέ, πρὶν μὲν ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἐσιέναι, χιτῶνα χειριδωτὸν σηρικὸν λευκὸν διάχρυσον καὶ ἐν τούτῳ γε αὐτὸν τῷ σχήματι ὄντα ἡσπαζόμεθ᾽, ἐσιὼν δὲ ὀλοπόρφυρον χρυσῷ κατάπαστον, χλαμύδα τε ὁμοίαν τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν τρόπον λαμβάνων, καὶ στέφανον ἔκ τε λίθων Ἰνδικῶν καὶ ἔκ χρυσοῦ πεποιημένον, κηρύκειόν [4] τε τοιοῦτον φέρων ὅποιον ὁ Ἑρμῆς. ἡ γὰρ λεοντῇ τὸ τε ῥόπαλον ἔν τε ταῖς ὁδοῖς προεφέρετο αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἐπὶ δίφρου ἐπιχρύσου, εἴτε παρειαί εἴτε καὶ ἀπειή, ἐτίθετο· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ σχήματι ἐσήει τε ἐς τὸ θέατρον, καὶ ἀπορρίψας τὰ ἄλλα οὕτως ἐν τῷ χιτῶνι ἀνυπόδητος ἔργου εἶχετο. 18. καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἄρκτους τε ἑκατὸν αὐτὸς μόνος, ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς περιβολῆς τῆς κρηπιδος ἀκοντίζων, ἀπέκτεινε· διείληπτο γὰρ τὸ θέατρον πᾶν συμπήκτοις τισὶ διαμέτροις, τὴν τε στέγην περιδρομον ἔχουσι καὶ διχῇ τέμνουσιν ἄλληλα, ἴν' ἐξ ὀλίγου πανταχόθεν τετραχῇ τὰ [2] θηρία μεμερισμένα ῥᾶον ἀκοντίζονται. καὶ ἔπεν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἀγωνίᾳ καμῶν, κύλικι ῥοπαλωτῇ παρὰ [p. 108] γυναικὸς γλυκὺν οἶνον ἐψυγμένον λαβὼν, ἀμυστί· ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡμεῖς παραχρήμα πάντες τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις εἰωθὸς λέγεσθαι ἐξεβοήσαμεν, 'ζήσεας.' 72" Xiph. 275, 19-278, R. St., Exc. Val. 321, 322, 323, 324, Suid. s. vv. "ἀμυστί ἐτ κύλιξ ῥοπαλωτή. [3] καὶ μὴ μέ τις κηλιδοῦν τὸν τῆς ἱστορίας ὄγκον, ὅτι καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα συγγράφω, νομίση. ἄλλως μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν εἶπον αὐτά· ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς τε τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐγένετο καὶ παρῶν αὐτὸς ἐγὼ καὶ εἶδον ἕκαστα καὶ ἤκουσα καὶ ἐλάλησα, δίκαιον ἡγησάμην μηδὲν αὐτῶν ἀποκρύψασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτά, ὥσπερ τι ἄλλο τῶν μεγίστων καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτων, τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν ἐσέπειτα ἐσομένων παραδοῦναι. [4] καὶ μέντοι καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα τὰ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ πραχθέντα καὶ λεπτουργήσω καὶ λεπτολογήσω μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ πρότερα, ὅτι τε συνεγενόμην αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὅτι μηδὲνα ἄλλον οἶδα τῶν τι δυναμένων ἐς συγγραφὴν ἀξίαν λόγου καταθέσθαι διηκριβωκότα αὐτὰ ὁμοίως ἐμοί. 19. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ταῦτ' ἐγένετο· ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις τοτὲ μὲν βοτὰ, κάτω ἐς τὸ τοῦ κύκλου ἔδαφος καταβαίνων ἄνωθεν, ὅσα ἐπλησίαζε, τὰ δὲ καὶ προσαγόμενα ἢ καὶ ἐν δικτύοις αὐτῷ προσφερόμενα, κατέκοπτε, καὶ τίγριν ἔσφαξεν [2] ἵππον τε ποτάμιον καὶ ἐλέφαντα. πράξας δὲ ταῦτα ἀπηλλάττετο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐξ ἀρίστου ἐμονομάχει. ἦσκει δὲ καὶ ἐχρήτο τῇ ὀπλίσει τῇ τοῦ σεκούτορος καλουμένου, τὴν μὲν ἀσπίδα ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ τὸ δὲ ξίφος τὸ ξύλινον ἐν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ [p. 110] ἔχων· καὶ πάνυ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέγα ἐφρόνει ὅτι [3] ἦν ἐπαρίστερος. ἀντηγωνίζετο δὲ αὐτῷ γυμναστής τις ἢ καὶ μονομάχος νάρθηκα ἔχων, ἔστι μὲν ὅτε ὃν αὐτὸς προεκαλεῖτο, ἔστι δὲ ὅτε ὃν ὁ δῆμος ἡρεῖτο· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ τᾶλλα ἐξ Ἰσου τοῖς ἄλλοις μονομάχοις ἐποίει, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὀλίγον τι λαμβάνοντες ἐσίασι, τῷ δὲ δὴ Κομμόδῳ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐκ τῶν μονομαχικῶν χρημάτων ἐδίδοντο. [4] παρειαίηκεσαν δὲ αὐτῷ μαχομένῳ

Αἰμίλιός τε Λαΐτος ὁ ἑπαρχος καὶ Ἑκλεκτος ὁ πρόκοιτος, οὓς καὶ σκιαμαχήσας καὶ νικήσας δῆλον ὅτι ἐφίλει ὥσπερ εἶχε διὰ τοῦ κράνους. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐμάχοντο. καὶ τῇ γε πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτὸς πάντας σφᾶς κάτωθεν, τὸ τε τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ σχῆμα πᾶν μετ' ἐπιχρύσου ράβδου λαβὼν καὶ ἐπὶ βῆμα ὅμοιον ἀναβάς, συνέβαλεν: ὅπερ ^[5] που καὶ ἐν τέρατος λόγῳ ἔσχομεν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τε τὴν συνήθη ἔδραν ἀνῆει καὶ ἐκεῖθεν τὰ λοιπὰ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐθεώρει: ἐπράττετο δ' οὐδὲν ἔτι παιδιᾶς ἐχόμενον, ἀλλ' ὥστε πᾶν πολλοὺς ἀποθνήσκειν. καὶ δὴ ποτε βραδυνάντων τινῶν περὶ τὰς σφαγὰς τοὺς τε ἀντιπάλους συνέδησεν ἀλλήλοις καὶ πάντας ἅμα μόχεσθαι ἐκέλευσε. ^[6] καὶ καὶ τοῦτου ἡγωνίσαντο μὲν εἷς πρὸς ἓνα οἱ συνδεδεμένοι, ἔσφαξαν δὲ τινες καὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν προσήκοντάς σφισιν, ὑπὸ τε τοῦ ὄχλου καὶ τῆς στενοχωρίας ἐμπελασθέντες αὐτοῖς. 20. τοιαύτη μὲν τὸ σύμπαν ἢ θέα ἐκείνη τέσσαρσι καὶ δέκα ἡμέραις ἐγένετο: ἀγωνιζομένου δ' αὐτοῦ ^[p. 112] ἡμεῖς μὲν οἱ βουλευταὶ ἀεὶ μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων συνεφοιτῶμεν, χωρὶς ἢ ὅτι Πομπηϊανὸς Κλαῦδιος ὁ γέρων οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε ἀπήνησεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν υἱεῖς ἐπεμπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδέποτε ἀφίκετο, αἰρούμενος ἀποσφαγῆναι ἐπὶ τούτῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τὸν τοῦ Μάρκου παῖδα ἐπιδεῖν ^[2] τοιαῦτα ποιοῦντα. πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἐπεβοῶμεν τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅσα ἐκελευόμεθα, καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο συνεχῶς, 'καὶ κύριος εἶ καὶ πρῶτος εἶ καὶ πάντων εὐτυχέστατος. νικᾷς, νικήσεις. ἀπ' αἰῶνος, Ἀμαζόνιε, νικᾷς.' τοῦ δὲ δὴ λοιποῦ δήμου πολλοὶ μὲν οὐδὲ ἐσῆλθον ἐς τὸ θέατρον, εἰσὶ δ' οἱ παρακύψαντες ἀπηλλάττοντο τὸ μὲν τι αἰσχυρόμενοι τοῖς ποιουμένοις, τὸ δὲ καὶ δεδιότες, ἐπειδὴ λόγος διῆλθεν ὅτι τοξεῦσαι τινὰς ἐθελήσει ὥσπερ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς τὰς Στυμφαλίδας. ^[3] καὶ ἐπιστεύθη γε οὗτος ὁ λόγος, ἐπειδὴ ποτε πάντας τοὺς τῶν ποδῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ὑπὸ νόσου ἢ καὶ ἐτέρας τινὸς συμφορᾶς ἐστερημένους ἀθροίσας δρακόντων τέ τινα αὐτοῖς εἶδη περὶ τὰ γόνατα περιέπλεξε, καὶ σπόγγους ἀντὶ λίθων βάλλειν δοὺς ἀπέκτεινέ σφας ῥοπάλῳ παίων ὡς γίγαντας." *Xiph.* 278, 4-279, *R. St., Exc. Val.* 325, 326. 21. οὗτος μὲν ὁ φόβος πᾶσι κοινὸς καὶ ἡμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἦν: ἔπραξε δὲ καὶ ἕτερόν τι τοιόνδε πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς βουλευτάς, ἐξ οὗ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἀπολείσθαι προσεδοκήσαμεν. στρουθὸν γὰρ ἀποκτείνας καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποτεμὼν προσῆλθεν ἔνθα ἐκαθήμεθα, τῇ τε ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ ^[p. 114] ἐκείνην καὶ τῇ δεξιᾷ τὸ ξίφος ἡματωμένον ἀνατείνας, ^[2] καὶ εἴπε μὲν οὐδὲν, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν τὴν ἐαυτοῦ σεσηρῶς ἐκίνησεν, ἐνδεικνύμενος ὅτι καὶ ἡμᾶς τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο δράσει. καὶ συχνοὶ παραχρῆμα ἐπ' αὐτῷ γελάσαντες ἀπηλλάγησαν τῷ ξίφει 'γέλως γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἀλλ' οὐ λύπη ἔλαβεν', εἰ μὴ δάφνης φύλλα, ἃ ἐκ τοῦ στεφάνου εἶχον, αὐτὸς τε διέτραγον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς πλησίον μου καθημένους διατραγεῖν ἔπεισα, ἵν' ἐν τῇ τοῦ στόματος συνεχεῖ κινήσει τὸν τοῦ γελαῖν ἔλεγχον ἀποκρυψώμεθα. ^[3] τοιούτων δ' οὖν τούτων γενομένων παρεμυθήσατο ἡμᾶς ὅτι μέλλων αὖθις μονομαχεῖν παρήγγειλεν ἡμῖν ἐν τε τῇ στολῇ τῇ ἱππᾷ καὶ ἐν ταῖς μανδύαις ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἐσελθεῖν, ὅπερ οὐκ ἄλλως ποιοῦμεν ἐσιόντες ἐς τὸ θέατρον εἰ μὴ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων τις μεταλλάξειε, καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῇ τελευταίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ τὸ κράνος αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὰς πύλας καθ' ὥς οἱ τελευτῶντες ἐκφέρονται ἐξεκομίσθη. ἐκ γὰρ τούτων καὶ

πάνυ πᾶσι πάντως ἀπαλλαγὴ τις αὐτοῦ γενήσεσθαι ἐνομίζετο. 22. ἀπέθανε γέ τοι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνῆρέθη, οὐκ ἐς μακράν. ὁ γὰρ Λαῖτος καὶ ὁ Ἑκλεκτος ἀχθόμενοι αὐτῷ δι' ἃ ἐποiei, καὶ προσέτι καὶ φοβηθέντες ἠπείλει γὰρ σφισιν, ὅτι ἐκωλύετο ταῦτα ποιεῖν', [2] ἐπεβούλευσαν αὐτῷ. ὁ γὰρ Κόμμοδος ἀμφοτέρους ἀνελεῖν ἐβούλετο τοὺς ὑπάτους, Ἐρῦκίον τε Κλαῦρον καὶ Σόσσιον Φάλκωνα, καὶ Ὑπατός τε ἅμα καὶ σεκούτωρ ἐν τῇ νουμηνίᾳ ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου ἐν ᾧ οἱ μονομάχοι τρέφονται προελθεῖν: καὶ γὰρ τὸν οἶκον τὸν πρῶτον παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὡς καὶ εἷς ἐξ [p. 116] [3] αὐτῶν ὢν, εἶχε. καὶ μηδεὶς ἀπιστήση: καὶ γὰρ τοῦ κολοσσοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμὼν καὶ ἑτέραν ἑαυτοῦ ἀντιθείς, καὶ ῥόπαλον δοὺς λέοντά τέ τινα χαλκοῦν ὑποθείς ὡς Ἡρακλεῖ ἑοικέναι, ἐπέγραψε πρὸς τοῖς δηλωθεῖσιν αὐτοῦ ἐπωνύμοις καὶ τοῦτο, 'πρωτόπαλος σεκουτόρων, ἀριστερὸς μόνος νικήσας δωδεκάκις' οἶμαι 'χιλίους.' 279, 26-280, p. στ. [4] διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὁ τε Λαῖτος καὶ ὁ Ἑκλεκτος ἐπέθεντο αὐτῷ, κοινωσάμενοι καὶ τῇ Μαρκίᾳ τὸ βούλευμα. ἐν γοῦν τῇ τελευταίᾳ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρᾳ, ἐν τῇ νυκτί, τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀσχολίαν περὶ τὴν ἐορτὴν ἐχόντων, φάρμακον διὰ τῆς Μαρκίας ἐν [5] κρέασι βοείοις αὐτῷ ἔδωκεν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἠδυνήθη παραχρηῖμα ὑπὸ τε τοῦ οἴνου ὑπὸ τε τῶν λουτρῶν, οἷς αἰεὶ ἀπλήστως ἐχρήτο, φθαρῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξήμεσέ τι κακ τοῦτου ὑποτοπῆσας αὐτὸ ἠπείλει τινά, οὕτω δὴ Νάρκισσον τινα γυμναστὴν ἐπέπεμψαν αὐτῷ, καὶ δι' ἐκείνου λούμενον αὐτὸν [6] ἀπέπνιξαν. τῷ μὲν οὖν Κομμόδῳ τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο ἔτη δώδεκα καὶ μῆνας ἑννέα καὶ ἡμέρας τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ἄρξαντι, ἐβίω δὲ ἔτη τριάκοντα ἐν καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας: καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν ἡ οἰκία ἡ τῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς Αὐρηλιῶν αὐταρχοῦσα ἐπαύσατο. 23. πόλεμοι δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ στάσεις μέγισται συνέβησαν, συνέθηκα δ' ἐγὼ τούτων τὴν συγγραφὴν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης. βιβλίον τι περὶ τῶν [p. 118] ὄνειράτων καὶ τῶν σημείων δι' ὧν ὁ Σεουήρος τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἤλπισε, γράψας ἐδημοσίευσεν: [2] καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκεῖνος πεμφθέντι παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐντυχῶν πολλὰ μοι καὶ καλὰ ἀντεπέστειλε. ταῦτ' οὖν ἐγὼ τὰ γράμματα πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἤδη λαβὼν κατέδαρθον, καὶ μοι καθεύδοντι προσέταξε τὸ δαιμόνιον ἱστορίαν γράφειν. καὶ οὕτω δὴ [3] ταῦτα περὶ ὧν νῦν καθίσταμαι ἔγραψα. καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Σεουήρῳ μάλιστα ἤρεσε, τότε δὴ καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα τὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσήκοντα συνθεῖναι ἐπεθύμησα: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκέτι ἰδίᾳ ἐκεῖνο ὑπολιπεῖν ἀλλ' ἐς τὴνδε τὴν συγγραφὴν ἐμβαλεῖν ἔδοξέ μοι, ἵν' ἐν μιᾷ πραγματείᾳ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς πάντα, μέχρις ἂν [4] καὶ τῇ Τύχῃ δόξῃ, γράψας καταλίπω. τὴν δὲ δὴ θεὸν ταύτην ἐπιρρωννύουσάν με πρὸς τὴν ἱστορίαν εὐλαβῶς πρὸς αὐτὴν καὶ ὀκνηρῶς διακείμενον, καὶ πονοῦμενον ἀπαγορεύοντά τε ἀνακτωμένην δι' ὄνειράτων, καὶ καλὰς ἐλπίδας περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος χρόνου διδοῦσάν μοι ὡς ὑπολειφομένου τὴν ἱστορίαν καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἀμαυρῶσοντος, ἐπίσκοπον τῆς τοῦ βίου διαγωγῆς, ὡς ἔοικεν, [5] εἴληχα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτῇ ἀνάκειμαι. συνέλεξα δὲ πάντα τὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις μέχρι τῆς Σεουήρου μεταλλαγῆς πραχθέντα ἐν ἔτεσι δέκα, καὶ συνέγραψα ἐν ἄλλοις δώδεκα: τὰ γὰρ λοιπὰ, ὅπου ἂν καὶ προχωρήσῃ, γεγράφεται. 24. πρὸ δὲ τῆς τοῦ Κομμόδου τελευτῆς σημεῖα ταδε ἐγένετο: ἅετοί τε γὰρ περὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον [p.

^{120]} πολλοὶ καὶ ἔξεδροι ἐπλανῶντο, προσεπιφθεγγόμενοι οὐδὲν εἰρηναῖον, καὶ βύας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔβυξε, πῦρ τε νύκτωρ ἄρθρὸν ἐξ οἰκίας τινὸς καὶ ἐς τὸ Εἰρηναῖον ἐμπεσὼν τὰς ἀποθήκας τῶν τε Αἰγυπτίων ^[2] καὶ τῶν Ἀραβίων φορτίων ἐπενείματο, ἔς τε τὸ παλάτιον μετεωρισθὲν ἐσῆλθε καὶ πολλὰ πάνυ αὐτοῦ κατέκαυσεν, ὥστε καὶ τὰ γράμματα τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ προσήκοντα ὀλίγου δεῖν πάντα φθαρῆναι. ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα δῆλον ἐγένετο ὅτι οὐκ ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸ δεινὸν στήσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην αὐτῆς ^[3] ἀφίξεται. οὐδὲ γὰρ κατασβεσθῆναι ἀνθρωπίνῃ χειρὶ ἠδυνήθη, καίτοι παμπόλλων μὲν ἰδιωτῶν παμπόλλων δὲ στρατιωτῶν ὑδροφορούντων, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κομμόδου ἐπελθόντος ἐκ τοῦ προαστείου καὶ ἐπισπέρχοντος. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πάντα ὅσα κατέσχε διέφθειρεν, ἐξαναλωθὲν ἐπαύσατο.” Χιρῆ. 280, 24-282, 8, R. St.

“Περτίναξ δὲ ἦν μὲν τῶν καλῶν κάγαθῶν, ἦρξε 1. δὲ πάνυ βραχὺν τινα χρόνον, εἴτα πρὸς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀνηρέθη. λανθάνοντος γὰρ ἔτι τοῦ γεγεννημένου περὶ τὸν Κόμμοδον ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἑκλεκτον καὶ Λαῖτον, καὶ τὸ πραχθὲν ἐμήνυσαν· διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα 2. αὐτοῦ ἠδέως αὐτὸν ἐπελέξαντο. ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνος, καὶ ἀκούσας ὧν ἔλεγον, ἔπεμψε τὸν πιστότατον τῶν ἐταίρων τὸ σῶμα τὸ τοῦ Κομμόδου ὀφόμενον. ὥς δὲ τὸ πραχθὲν ἐβεβαιώσατο, οὕτω δὴ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον κρύφα ἐσεκομίσθη, καὶ ἔκπληξιν μὲν τοῖς στρατιώταις παρέσχε, τῇ δὲ δὴ παρουσίᾳ τῶν περὶ τὸν Λαῖτον, καὶ ἐξ ὧν ὑπέσχετο ἑκατομυρίας γὰρ αὐτοῖς δραχμὰς κατ’ ἄνδρα δώσειν ἐπηγγεῖλατο 2’, προσεποιήσατο 3. αὐτοὺς. κἂν πάντως ἡσύχασαν, εἰ μὴ τελευτῶν τὸν λόγον ὥδὲ πως εἶπε, ‘πολλὰ μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες συστρατιῶται, καὶ δυσχερῆ τῶν παρόντων ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα αὐθις σὺν ὑμῖν ἐπανορθώσεται·’ ἀκούσαντες γὰρ τοῦτο ὑπετόπησαν πάντα τὰ ἑαυτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κομμόδου παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς δεδομένα καταλυθήσεσθαι, καὶ ἐδυσκόλαναν μὲν, ἡσύχασαν δὲ ὅμως ἐπικρύπτοντες τὴν ὀργήν. 4. ἐξελθὼν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ τείχους πρὸς τὸ συνέδριον [p. 124] νυκτὸς ἔτι οὔσης ἀφίκετο, καὶ ἀσπασάμενος ἡμᾶς ὅπως τις, οἷα ἐν ὁμίλῳ καὶ ἐν ὠθισμῷ τοσοῦτω, προσελθεῖν αὐτῷ ἠδυνήθη, ἔπειτα ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοσχεδίου εἶπεν ὅτι ‘ὠνόμασμαι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτοκράτωρ, οὐδὲν μέντοι τῆς ἀρχῆς δεόμαι, ἀλλ’ ἐξίσταμαι ἤδη καὶ τήμερον αὐτῆς διὰ τε τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ ἡλικίαν καὶ ἀρρωστίαν καὶ [5] διὰ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων δυσχέριαν.’ λεχθέντων δὲ καὶ ἐπρηνοῦμεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ γνώμης καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἠροῦμεθα· τὴν τε γὰρ ψυχὴν ἄριστος ἦν καὶ τῷ σώματι ἔρρωτο, πλὴν καθ’ ὅσον βραχὺ τι ὑπὸ τῶν ποδῶν ἐνεποδίζετο. 2. καὶ οὕτως ὁ τε Περτίναξ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ὁ Κόμμοδος πολέμιος ἀπεδείχθη, πολλὰ γε ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ δεινὰ καὶ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου [2] συμβουσιάντων. ἠθέλησαν μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ σῦραι καὶ διασπάσαι ὥσπερ καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας, εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Περτίνακος τῇ γῇ ἤδη τὸν νεκρὸν κεκρύνθαι, τοῦ μὲν σώματος ἀπέσχοντο, τῶν δ’ ἄλλων ἐνεφοροῦντο, οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ ἐπιλέγοντες· Κόμμοδον μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὐδ’ αὐτοκράτορα αὐτὸν ὠνόμαζεν, ἀλιτήριον δὲ τινα καὶ τύραννον ἀποκαλοῦντες προσετίθεσαν ἐπισκώπτοντες τὸν μονομάχον, τὸν ἀρματηλάτην, [3] τὸν ἀριστερόν, τὸν κηλήτην. τοῖς τε βουλευταῖς, ὅσοις καὶ μάλιστα ἐκ τοῦ Κομμόδου φόβος ἐπήρητο, ὁ ὄχλος ἐπέλεγεν ‘εὖγε εὖγε, ἐσώθης, ἐνίκησας.’ ὅσα τε εἰώθεσαν ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Κομμόδου θεραπείᾳ εὐρύθμως πως ἐκβοᾶν, ταῦτα τότε μετασχηματίζοντες [p. 126] [4] ἐς τὸ γελοιότατον ἐξῆδον. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἀπηλλαγμένοι, τὸν δὲ οὐδέπω φοβούμενοι, τὸ τε διὰ μέσου αὐτῶν ὡς ἐλεύθεροι ἐκαρποῦντο, καὶ ἀξίωμα παρρησίας ἐν τῷ ἀδεεῖ αὐτοῦ ἐλάμβανον· οὐ γὰρ ἐξήρκει σφίσι τὸ μηκέτι φοβεῖσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ θαρσοῦντι καὶ ἐξυβρίζειν ἠθέλον.” Xiph. 282, 15-283, R. St. “3. ἦν δὲ ὁ Περτίναξ Λίγυς ἐξ Ἄλβης Πομπηίας, πατρὸς οὐκ εὐγενοῦς, γράμματα ὅσον ἀποζῆν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἡσκημένος. καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῷ Πομπηιανῷ τῷ

Κλαυδίῳ συνεγεγόνει, καὶ δι' αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἱππεύσι χιλιαρχήσας ἐς τοῦτο προεχώρησεν ὥστε καὶ ἐκείνου αὐτοῦ ^[2] αὐταρχῆσαι. καὶ ἔγωγε τότε ἐπὶ τοῦ Περτίνακος καὶ πρῶτον καὶ ἔσχατον ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ τὸν Πομπηιανὸν εἶδον· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἀγροῖς τὰ πλεῖστα διὰ τὸν Κόμμοδον διῆγε, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἄστρῳ ἐλάχιστα κατέβαινε, τὸ τε γῆρας καὶ τὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν νόσημα προβαλλόμενος, οὐδὲ ἔστιν ὅτε πρότερον ἐμοῦ παρόντος ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν ^[3] ἐσῆλθε. καὶ μέντοι καὶ μετὰ τὸν Περτίνακα πάλιν ἐνόσει· ἐπὶ γὰρ ἐκείνου καὶ ἔβλεπε καὶ ἔρρωτο καὶ ἐβούλευε, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Περτίναξ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἰσχυρῶς ἐτίμα καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βάθρου ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ παρεκάθιζεν. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν Γλαβρίωνα τὸν Ἀκίλιον ἐποίει· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος 4. τότε καὶ ἤκουεν καὶ ἔβλεπε. τοὺτους μὲν οὖν ^[p. 128] ἐς ὑπερβολὴν ἐτίμα, ἐχρήτο δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν δημοτικώτατα· καὶ γὰρ εὐπροσήγορος ἦν, ἤκουέ τε ἐτοίμως ὅ τι τις ἀξιοίη, καὶ ἀπεκρίνετο ἀνθρωπίνως ὅσα αὐτῷ δοκοίη. εἰστία τε ἡμᾶς σωφρόνως· καὶ ὅποτε μὴ τοῦτο ποιοίη, διέπεμπεν ἄλλοις ἄλλα καὶ τὰ εὐτελέστατα. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ οἱ μὲν πλούσιοι καὶ μεγάλαυχοι διεγέλων, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι, οἷς ἀρετὴ ἀσελγείας προτιμωτέρα ἦν, ἐπηνοῦμεν.” Χιρρ. 283, 29-284, R. St., Exc. Val. 327 (p. 729). “ 2. ^[5] ὅτι τοσοῦτον τὸ διάφορον τῆς περὶ Περτίνακος δόξης πρὸς τὸν Κόμμοδον πάντες εἶχον, ὥστε τοὺς ἀκούοντας τὰ γεγονότα ὑποπτεῦειν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κομμόδου τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἐπὶ πείρᾳ καθεῖσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλοὺς τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀρχόντων τοὺς ἀγγεῖλαντάς σφισιν αὐτὰ ^[6] καταδηῖσαι, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἠθέλον ἀληθῆ εἶναι, ἀλλ' ὅτι μᾶλλον ἐφοβοῦντο δόξαι τὸν Κόμμοδον ἀπολωλέναι βεβουλησθαι ἢ τῷ Περτίνακι μὴ προστίθεσθαι, διότι τὸν μὲν καὶ ἀμαρτῶν τι τοιοῦτο πᾶς ἐθάρσει, τὸν δὲ οὐδεὶς οὐδ' ἀναμάρτητος ὢν.” Exc. Val. 328 (p. 729). “ 4. ἔτι δὲ ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ μετὰ τὴν μεγάλην ἐκείνην στάσιν ἦν ἔπαυσε, καὶ ἐπαίνων παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀξιουμένου, ἵππος τις ὄνομα Περτίναξ ἐνίκησεν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ· ἦν δὲ τῶν πρασίων καὶ ^[2] ὑπὸ τοῦ Κομμόδου ἐσπουδάζετο. τῶν οὖν στασιωτῶν αὐτοῦ μέγα ἀναβοησάντων, καὶ εἰπόντων ^[p. 130] αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ‘Περτίναξ ἐστίν,’ οἱ ἕτεροι οἱ ἀντιστασιωταὶ σφων, οἷά που ἀχθόμενοι τῷ Κομμόδῳ, προσεπεύξαντο, εἰπόντες οὐ πρὸς τὸν ἵππον ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, ‘εἰ γὰρ ὠφείλεν ^[3] εἶναι.’ ὕστερον δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ἵππον ἀπαλλαγέντα τε τῶν δρόμων ὑπὸ τοῦ γήρως καὶ ἐν ἀγρῷ ὄντα μετεπέμψατο ὁ Κόμμοδος, καὶ ἐσήγαγεν ἐς τὸν ἵπποδρομον τὰς τε ὀπλὰς αὐτοῦ καταχρυσώσας καὶ τὰ νῶτα δέρματι ἐπιχρῶσιν κοσμήσας· καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐξαπίνης ^[4] ἰδόντες ἀνεβόησαν αὐθις ‘Περτίναξ ἐστὶ.’ καὶ ἦν μὲν που μαντικὸν αὐτὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸ τὸ λεχθέν, ἐπεὶ δὴ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἐν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ ἵπποδρομίᾳ ἐγένετο, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπ' αὐτῇ τὸ κράτος ἐς τὸν Περτίνακα περιῆλθεν· ἐλογοποιήθη δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ροπάλου τὰ ὅμοια, ἐπεὶ δὴ τῷ Περτίνακι αὐτὸ ὁ Κόμμοδος μονομαχήσειν τῇ τελευταίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ μέλλων ἔδωκεν. 5. οὕτω μὲν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Περτίναξ κατέστη, καὶ ἔλαβε τὰς τε ἄλλας ἐπικλήσεις τὰς προσηκούσας καὶ ἑτέραν ἐπὶ τῷ δημοτικῷ εἶναι βούλεσθαι· πρόκριτος γὰρ τῆς γερουσίας κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐπωνομάσθη. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐς κόσμον, ὅσα πρὶν πλημμελῶς εἶχε καὶ ἀτάκτως, καθίστατο· ^[2] φιланθρωπία τε γὰρ καὶ χρηστότης καὶ οἰκονομία βελτίστη καὶ πρόνοια τοῦ

κοινοῦ ἐπιμελεστάτη περὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα διεδεικνυτο. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα, ὅσα ἂν ἀγαθὸς αὐτοκράτωρ, ἔπραττεν ὁ Περτίναξ, καὶ τὴν ἀτιμίαν ἀφεῖλε τῶν ἀδίκως πεφονευμένων, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπώμοσε ^[3] μηδέποτε τοιαύτην δίκην προσδέξεσθαι. καὶ ^[p. 132] αὐτίκα οἱ μὲν τοὺς συγγενεῖς οἱ δὲ τοὺς φίλους ἀνεκάλουν μετὰ δακρύων ὁμοῦ καὶ χαρᾶς· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῦτο πρὶν ἐξῆν ποιεῖν· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνορύττοντες τὰ σώματα, οἱ μὲν ὀλόκληρα οἱ δὲ μέρη, ὥς που ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἢ τοῦ ὀλέθρου ἢ τοῦ χρόνου εἶχεν, εὐθέτουν καὶ ἐς τὰ προγονικὰ μνημεῖα ἀπετίθεντο. ^[4] τοσαύτη δ' ἄρα τότε τὸ βασιλεῖον εἶχεν ἀχρηματία ὥστε πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες δραχμῶν μόναι εὐρέθησαν. χαλεπῶς δ' οὖν ὁ Περτίναξ ἔκ τε τῶν εἰκόνων καὶ τῶν ὄπλων τῶν τε ἵππων καὶ ἐπιπλυν καὶ τῶν παιδικῶν τῶν τοῦ Κομμόδου ἀγείρας ἀργύριον, τοῖς τε δορυφόροις ἔδωκεν ὅσα ὑπέσχητο, καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ^[5] καθ' ἑκατὸν δραχμάς. σύμπαντα γὰρ ὅσα ὁ Κόμμοδος ἐπὶ τε τῇ τρυφῇ καὶ ἐς ὀπλομαχίαν ἢ καὶ ἐς ἀρματηλασίαν ἐκέκτητο, ἐς τὸ πωλητήριον ἐξετέθη, τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον πράσεως ἔνεκα, ἥδη δὲ καὶ ἐς ἐπίδειξιν τῶν τε ἔργων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν διαιτημάτων, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐς ἔλεγχον τῶν ὠνησομένων αὐτά.” Χίρh. 284, 12-285, R. St. “ 6. ὁ δὲ Λαῖτος τὸν Περτίνακα δι’ εὐφημίας ἤγε καὶ τὸν Κόμμοδον ὕβριζε. βαρβάρους γοῦν τινὰς χρυσίον παρ’ αὐτοῦ πολὺ ἐπ’ εἰρήνῃ εἰληφότας μεταπεμψάμενος ἔτι γὰρ ἐν ὁδῷ ἦσαν ἀπήτησεν αὐτό, εἰπὼν αὐτοῖς ὅτι ‘λέγετε τοῖς οἰκοὶ Περτίνακα ἄρχειν.’ ἥδεσαν γὰρ καὶ πάνν το ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐξ ὧν ἐπεπόνθεσαν ὅτε ^[p. 134] ^[2] μετὰ τοῦ Μάρκου ἐστρατεῦετο. καὶ ἕτερον δὲ τι τοιόνδε ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Κομμόδου διαβολῇ ὁμοίως ἔπραξε. κοπρίας τινὰς καὶ γελωτοποιοὺς αἰσχίστα μὲν τὰ εἶδη αἰσχίω δὲ τὰ τε ὀνόματα καὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ἔχοντας καὶ διὰ τὴν ὕβριν τὴν τε ἀσέλγειαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κομμόδου ὑπερπλουτοῦντας εὐρών, ἐδημοσίευσεν τὰς τε προσηγορίας αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὧν ἐκέκτηντο, καὶ ἦν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς γέλωσι, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ὀργῇ τε καὶ λύπῃ· τοσαῦτα γὰρ τινες αὐτῶν ἔχοντες ἦσαν ἐφ’ ὅσοις ^[3] ἐκεῖνος πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐσφάκει. οὐ μέντοι γε καὶ δι’ ὅλου ὁ Λαῖτος πιστὸς ἔμεινε τῷ Περτίνακι, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδ’ ἐν ἀκαρεῖ· ὧν γὰρ ἤθελε μὴ τυγχάνων προσπαρῶξυνε τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὥς λελέγεται, κατ’ αὐτοῦ.” Χίρh. 285, 19-286, R. St., Exc. Val. 329, 330. “ 7. τὸν μὲν οὖν πενθερόν αὐτοῦ ὁ Περτίναξ τὸν Σουλπικιανὸν τὸν Φλάουιον πολιαρχεῖν ἔταξε, καὶ ἄλλως ἄξιον ὄντα τούτου τυχεῖν· οὐτε δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα Αὐγουσταν οὐτε τὸν υἱὸν Καίσαρα, καίπερ ψηφισαμένων ἡμῶν, ποιῆσαι ἠθέλησεν, ^[2] ἀλλ’ ἐκάτερον ἰσχυρῶς διεκρούσατο, εἰτ’ οὖν ὅτι μηδέπω τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐρριζώκει, εἴτε καὶ ὅτι ἐκείνην τε ἀκολασταίνουσαν οὐκ ἠβουλήθη τὸ τῆς Αὐγούστης ὄνομα μιᾶναι, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν παιδίον ἔτι ὄντα οὐκ ἠθέλησε, πρὶν παιδευθῆναι, τῷ τε ὄγκῳ καὶ τῇ ἐλπίδι τῇ ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος διαφθαρήναι. ^[3] ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ αὐτὸν ἔτρεφεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῷ πρότερον ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ εὐθὺς ἡμέρᾳ ἀποθέμενος, ^[p. 136] ταῦτά τε τοῖς τέκνοις διένειμε· καὶ γὰρ καὶ θυγατέρα εἶχε καὶ παρὰ τῷ πάππῳ διαιτᾶσθαι αὐτὰ ἐκέλευσεν, ὀλίγα ἄττα αὐτοῖς, ὥς πατήρ καὶ οὐχ ὥς αὐτοκράτωρ, συγγινόμενος.” Χίρh. 286, 3-15 R. St. “ 8. ἐπεὶ οὖν οὐτε τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀρπάζειν οὐτε τοῖς Καισαρείοις ἀσελγαίνειν ἔτι ἐξῆν, δεινῶς οὗτοι ἐμίσουν

αὐτόν. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν Καισάρειοι οὐδέν, ἅτε καὶ ἄοπλοι ὄντες, ἐνεωτέρισαν, οἱ δὲ δὴ στρατιῶται οἱ δορυφόροι καὶ ὁ ^[2] Λαῖτος ἐπεβούλευσαν αὐτῷ. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τὸν ὕπατον Φάλκωνα, ὅτι καὶ γένει καὶ χρήμασιν ἤκμαζεν, αὐτοκράτορα ἐπιλέγονται, καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτὸν ἐσάξουν, τοῦ Περτίνακος ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ τὴν τοῦ σίτου παρασκευὴν ἐξετάζοντος, ^[3] ἤμελλον. μαθὼν δὲ τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνος σπουδῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἦλθε, καὶ παρελθὼν ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν ἔφη: 'οὐ χρή ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ὦ πατέρες, ὅτι πέντε πού καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας δραχμῶν εὐρὼν τοσοῦτον τοῖς στρατιώταις διένειμα ὅσον Μάρκος τε καὶ Λούκιος, οἷς ἐξακισμῦραι καὶ ἑπτακισχίλια καὶ πεντακόσiai ^[4] μυριάδες κατελείφθησαν. ἀλλ' αἵτιοι τῆς ἀχρηματίας ταύτης οἱ θαυμαστοὶ Καισάρειοι γεγόνاسι.' καὶ ἐψεύσατο μὲν ὁ Περτίναξ ὅτι ἐπ' Ἰσῆς τῷ Λουκίῳ καὶ τῷ Μάρκῳ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐδώρησατο 'οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐς πεντακισχίλιας ὁ δὲ ἐς τριοχίλιας αὐτοῖς ἐδεδώκει, οἱ δὲ δὴ στρατιῶται καὶ οἱ Καισάρειοι παρόντες ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ 'πάμπολλοι δὲ ἦσαν' δεινῶς ἡγανάκτησαν ^[5] καὶ φοβερὸν τι διετονθόρυσαν. μελλόντων ^[p. 138] δὲ ἡμῶν καταψηφιεῖσθαι τοῦ Φάλκωνος, καὶ ἤδη γε αὐτὸν πολέμιον ὀνομαζόντων, ἀναστὰς ὁ Περτίναξ καὶ ἀνακραγὼν 'μὴ γένοιτο' ἔφη 'μηδένα βουλευτὴν ἐμοῦ ἄρχοντος μηδὲ δικαίως θανατωθῆναι.' καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐσώθη, καὶ εὐλαβηθεὶς καὶ αἰδεσθεὶς τὸν λειπόμενον χρόνον ἐν ἀγρῷ διῆγεν. 9. ὁ δὲ Λαῖτος παραλαβὼν τὴν κατὰ τὸν Φάλκωνα ἀφορμὴν, πολλοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὡς καὶ ἐκείνου κελεύοντος διέφθειρεν. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τοῦτο αἰσθόμενοι, καὶ φοβηθέντες μὴ καὶ ^[2] αὐτοὶ προσαπτόλωνται, ἐθορύβησαν: διακόσιοι δὲ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων θρασύτεροι καὶ ἐς τὸ παλάτιον τὰ ξίφη ἀνατετακότες ὤρμησαν. οὐδὲ ἔγνω πρότερον προσιόντας ὁ Περτίναξ αὐτοὺς πρὶν ἄνω γενέσθαι: τότε δὲ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἐσδραμοῦσα ^[3] ἐμήνυσεν αὐτῷ τὸ γενόμενον. μαθὼν οὖν ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνος πρᾶγμα εἰτ' οὖν γενναῖον εἶτε ἀνόητον, εἰθ' ὅπως τις αὐτὸ ὀνομάσαι ἐθέλει, ἔπραξε. δυνηθεὶς γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα μὲν ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς ἐπελθόντας 'τῇ τε γὰρ νυκτερινῇ φυλακῇ καὶ τοῖς ἱππεύσιν ὥπλιστο, καὶ ἦσαν καὶ ἄλλοι ἐν ^[4] τῷ παλατίῳ τότε ἄνθρωποι πολλοί', εἰ δὲ μὴ, κατακρυφθῆναι γε καὶ διαφυγεῖν ποι τὰς τε πύλας τοῦ παλατίου καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς διὰ μέσου θύρας κλείσας, τούτων μὲν οὐδέτερον ἐποίησεν, ἐλπίσας δὲ καταπλήξειν αὐτοὺς ὀφθεῖς καὶ πείσειν ἀκουσθεὶς ἀπήντησε τοῖς προσιούσιν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἥδη οὖσιν: οὕτε γὰρ τῶν συστρατιωτῶν τις αὐτοὺς εἴρξε, καὶ οἱ πύλωροί οἱ τε ^[p. 140] ἄλλοι Καισάρειοι οὐχ ὅτι τι συνέκλεισαν, ἀλλὰ 10. καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς προσανέωξαν. ἰδόντες δ' οὖν οἱ στρατιῶται τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἠδέσθησαν, πλὴν ἑνός, καὶ τοὺς τε ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐς τὸ δάπεδον ἤρρισαν καὶ τὰ ξίφη ἐς τοὺς κουλεοὺς ἐναπέθεντο: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος προσηδησας εἶπέ τε ὅτι 'τοῦτό σοι τὸ ξίφος οἱ στρατιῶται πεπόμεφασι,' καὶ προσπεσὼν εὐθὺς ἔπληξεν αὐτόν, οὐκ ἐπέσχον ἀλλὰ τὸν τε αὐτοκράτορά σφω κατέκοψαν ^[2] καὶ τὸν Ἑκλεκτον. μόνος γὰρ δὴ οὗτος οὗτ' ἐγκατέλιπεν αὐτόν καὶ ἐπήμυνεν αὐτῷ ὅσον ἠδυνήθη, ὥστε καὶ τρώσαι τινας: ὅθεν ἐγὼ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἄνδρα αὐτόν ἀγαθὸν γεγονέναι νομίζων, τότε δὴ καὶ πάνυ ἐθαύμασα. ἀποτεμόντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Περτίνακος περὶ τε δόρυ περιέπειραν, τῷ ἔργῳ ἐλλαμπρυνόμενοι. ^[3] οὕτω μὲν ὁ Περτίναξ

ἐπιχειρήσας ἐν ὀλίγῳ πάντα ἀνακαλέσασθαι ἐτελεύτησεν, οὐδὲ ἔγνω καίπερ ἐμπειρότατος πραγμάτων ὢν, ὅτι ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν ἀθρόα τινὰ ἀσφαλῶς ἐπανορθοῦσθαι, ἀλλ' εἴπερ τι ἄλλο, καὶ πολιτικὴ κατάστασηις καὶ χρόνου καὶ σοφίας χρήζει. ἐβίω δὲ ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ ἐξήκοντα τεσσάρων μηνῶν καὶ τριῶν ἡμερῶν δέοντα, ἤρξε δὲ ἡμέρας ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ.” Xiph. 286, 15-288, R. St., Exc. Val. 331, Exc. Vat. 126. “ 11. Διαγγελλομένου δὲ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Περτίνακα πάθους οἱ μὲν ἐς τὰς οἰκίας ἔτρεχον οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν, καὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀσφαλείας πρόνοιαν ἐποιοῦντο. Σουλπικιανὸς δὲ ἔτυχε γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ Περτίνακος ἀποσταλεῖς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἵνα τὰ ἐκεῖ καταστήσῃται ἔμεινέ [p. 142] τε ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἔπραττεν ὅπως ἂν αὐτοκράτωρ [2] ἀποδειχθῇ. κἂν τοῦτῳ Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ Δίδιος, χρηματιστὴς τε ἅπληστος καὶ ἀναλωτὴς ἀσελγής, νεωτέρων τε αἰεὶ πραγμάτων ἐπιθυμῶν, διὸ καὶ πρὸς τοῦ Κομμόδου ἐς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα τὸ Μεδιόλανον ἐξεληλάτο — οὗτος οὖν ἀκούσας τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Περτίνακος σπουδῇ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον παρεγένετο, καὶ πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις τοῦ τείχους ἐστῶς παρεκάλει τοὺς στρατιώτας [3] ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας. ὅτε δὴ καὶ πρᾶγμα αἰσχιστόν τε καὶ ἀνάξιον τῆς Ῥώμης ἐγένετο: ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐν πωλητηρίῳ τινὶ καὶ αὕτῃ καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ αὐτῆς πᾶσα ἀπεκρηύχθη. καὶ αὐτὰς ἐπίπρασκον μὲν οἱ τὸν αὐτοκράτορά σφων ἀπεκτονότες, ὠνητίων δὲ ὁ τε Σουλπικιανὸς καὶ ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς ὑπερβάλλοντες [4] ἀλλήλους, ὁ μὲν ἔνδοθεν ὁ δὲ ἐξωθεν. καὶ μέχρι γε πεντακισχιλίων δραχμῶν κατ' ἄνδρα κατὰ βραχὺ προστιθέντες προῆλθον, διαγγελλόντων τινῶν καὶ λεγόντων τῷ τε Ἰουλιανῷ ὅτι ‘Σουλπικιανὸς τοσοῦτον δίδωσι: τί οὖν σὺ προστίθης;’ καὶ τῷ Σουλπικιανῷ ὅτι ‘Ἰουλιανὸς τοσοῦτον ἐπαγγέλλεται: τί οὖν σὺ προσυπισχνῇ;’ [5] κἂν ἐπεκράτησεν ὁ Σουλπικιανὸς ἔνδον τε ὦν καὶ πολιάρχῳ, τὰς τε πεντακισχιλίας πρότερος ὀνομάσας, εἰ μὴ ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς οὐκέτι κατ' ὀλίγον ἀλλὰ χιλίαις καὶ διακοσίαις καὶ πεντήκοντα ἅμα δραχμαῖς ὑπερέβαλε, καὶ τῇ φωνῇ [p. 144] [6] μέγα βοῶν καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ἐνδεικνύμενος. τῇ τε γὰρ ὑπερβολῇ αὐτοῦ δουλωθέντες, καὶ ἅμα καὶ τὸν Σουλπικιανὸν ὥς καὶ τιμωρήσοντα τῷ Περτίνακι φοβηθέντες, ὅπερ ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς αὐτοῖς ὑπέτεινεν, ἐσεδέξαντο τε αὐτὸν καὶ αὐτοκράτορα ἀπέδειξαν.” Xiph. 288, 13-289, R. St., Exc. Val. 332 (p. 730). “ 12. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἔς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ πρὸς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἡπείχθη, παμπληθεῖς δορυφόρους μετὰ σημείων συχνῶν ὥσπερ ἐς παράταξιν τινὰ ἄγων, ἵνα καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸν δῆμον προκαταπλήξας πρόσθηται: καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ στρατιῶται τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐμεγάλυνον καὶ Κόμμοδον [2] ἐπωνόμαζον. ἡμεῖς δὲ πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα, ὥς που ἐκάστῳ διηγέλλετο, ἐφοβούμεθα μὲν τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοι τι ἢ πρὸς τὸν Περτίνακα ἐπιτήδειον ... ‘καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἦν, ἐπειδὴ ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Περτίνακος τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐτετιμήμην καὶ στρατηγὸς ἀπεδεδείγμην, καὶ ἐκεῖνον πολλὰ πολλὰκις ἐν δίκαις συναγορεύων πισὶν ἀδικοῦντα [3] ἐπεδεδείχιν’: ὅμως δ' οὖν καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ‘οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει ἡμῖν ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι οἴκοι, μὴ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦτου ὑποπτευθῶμεν, καταμεῖναι προήλθομεν, οὐχ ὅτι λελουμένοι ἀλλὰ καὶ δεδειπνηκότες, καὶ ὡσάμενοι διὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐς τὸ [4]

βουλευτήριον ἐσήλθομεν, καὶ ἠκούσαμεν αὐτοῦ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀξίως ἑαυτοῦ λέγοντος, καὶ ὅτι ὕμᾱς τε ὁρῶ ἄρχοντος δεομένους, καὶ αὐτός, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος, ἀξιώτατός εἰμι ὑμῶν ἡγεμονεῦσαι. [p. 146] καὶ εἶπον ἂν πάντα τὰ προσόντα μοι ἀγαθὰ, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἦδeite καὶ πεπειραμένοι μου ἦτε. διὸ οὐδὲ ἐδεήθην πολλοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπάγεσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μόνος πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀφίγμαι, ἵνα μοι [5] τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνων δοθέντα ἐπικυρώσητε.' 'μόνος' τε (γὰρ ἦκω) ἔλεγε, πᾶν μὲν ἔξωθεν τὸ βουλευτήριον ὀπλίταις περιστοιχισμένος, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ συνεδρίῳ στρατιώτας ἔχων, καὶ τοῦ συνεδότος ἡμᾶς τοῦ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀνεμίμησκεν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἐμisoῦμεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐφοβούμεθα. 13. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω τὴν αὐταρχίαν καὶ ἐκ τῶν τῆς βουλῆς δογμάτων βεβαιωσάμενος ἀνῆλθεν ἐς τὸ παλάτιον, καὶ εὐρών τὸ δεῖπνον τὸ τῷ Περτίνακι παρεσκευασμένον πολλὰ τε αὐτοῦ κατεγέλασε, καὶ μεταπεμφάμενος ὅθεν τι καὶ ὅπως οὖν εὑρεθῆναι τότε ἡδυνήθη πολυτίμητον, διεπίμπλατο ἔνδον ἔτι τοῦ νεκροῦ κειμένου, καὶ ἐκύβευεν, ἄλλους τε καὶ Πυλάδην τὸν ὀρχηστὴν [2] παραλαβών. τῇ δὲ δὴ ὑστεραῖα ἡμεῖς μὲν ἀνῆειμεν ὡς αὐτόν, πλαττόμενοι τρόπον τινὰ καὶ σχηματιζόμενοι ὅπως μὴ κατάφωροι ἐπὶ τῇ λύπῃ γενώμεθα: ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐσκυθρῳπάζεε φανερώς, καὶ διελάλουν ὅσα ἠθελον, καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο [3] πρᾶξαι ὅσα ἐδύναντο. καὶ τέλος, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὸ συνέδριον ἦλθε καὶ τῷ Ἰανῷ τῷ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν αὐτοῦ θύσειν ἔμελλεν, ἐξέκραγον πάντες ὥσπερ ἐκ συγκειμένου τινός, τῆς τε ἀρχῆς ἄρπαγα αὐτόν καὶ πατροφόνον ὀνομάζοντες. ὡς δὲ προσποιησάμενος μὴ χαλεπαίνειν ἀργυρίον [p. 148] τι αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχετο, ἀγανακτήσαντες ὡς καὶ δεκαζόμενοι ἀνεβόησαν ἅμα πάντες 'οὐ θέλομεν, [4] οὐ λαμβάνομεν.' καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ περὶ οἰκοδομήματα φρικῶδές τι συνεπήχησεν. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς οὐκέτ' ἐκαρτέρησεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐγγὺς προσεσηκώτας κτείνεσθαι προσέταξε. καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπιπαρωξύνθη, καὶ οὐκ ἐπαύσατο οὔτε τὸν Περτίνακα ποθῶν οὔτε τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν λοιδορῶν οὔτε τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπιβώμενος οὔτε τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπαρώμενος, ἀλλὰ καίτοι πολλοὶ πολλαχοῦ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τιτρωσκόμενοι καὶ φονευόμενοι ἀντεῖχον. [5] καὶ τέλος ὅπλα ἀρπάσαντες συνέδραμον ἐς τὸν ἵπποδρομον, κάνταῦθα διετέλεσαν τὴν νύκτα καὶ τὴν μετ' αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ἄσιτοι καὶ ἄποτοι βοῶντες, τοὺς τε λοιποὺς στρατιώτας καὶ μάλιστα τὸν Νίγρον τὸν Πεσκήννιον καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ὄντας ἐπαμῦναι σφισι δεόμενοι. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῇ τε κραυγῇ καὶ τῷ λιμῷ τῇ τε ἀγρυπνίᾳ κακωθέντες διελύθησαν καὶ ἡσυχίαν ἦγον, τὰς ἔξωθεν ἐλπιδας ἀναμένοντες." Xiph. 289, 12-290, R. St. "[5a] 'οὐ βοηθῶ τῷ δήμῳ: οὐ γὰρ με ἐπεβοήσατο.'" Bekk. Anecd. p. 142, 14. "14. Ἰουλιανὸς δὲ οὕτω τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀρπάσας ἀνελευθέρως τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐχρῆτο, θωπεύων τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς τι δυναμένους καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπαγγελλόμενος τὰ δὲ χαριζόμενος, προσεγέλα τε καὶ προσέπειζε πρὸς τοὺς τυχόντας, ἔς τε τὰ [p. 150] θέατρα συνεχῶς ἐσεφοῖτα, καὶ συμπόσια πολλὰ [2] συνεκρότει, τὸ τε σύμπαν οὐδὲν ὃ τι οὐκ ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ ἡμῶν ἐποίει. οὐ μέντοι καὶ πιθανὸς ἦν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀκράτῳ τῇ θωπείᾳ χρώμενος ὑπωπτεύετο: πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ἔξωθεν τοῦ εἰκότος, κἂν χαριζεσθῇ τισι δοκῇ, δολερὸν τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσι νομίζεται."

Xiph. 290, 32-291, R. St. “^[2a] ψηφισαμένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς χρυσοῦν ἀνδριάντα αὐτοῦ οὐ προσεδέξατο, εἰπὼν ὅτι ‘χαλκοῦν μοι δότε, ἵνα καὶ μείνῃ: καὶ γὰρ τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ αὐτοκρατόρων τοὺς μὲν χρυσοὺς καὶ ἀργυροὺς ὁρῶ καθαιρεθέντας, τοὺς δὲ χαλκοὺς μένοντας,’ οὐκ ὀρθῶς τοῦτο εἰπὼν: ἀρετὴ γὰρ ἡ διαφυλάττουσα τὴν μνήμην τῶν κρατούντων: ὁ γὰρ δοθεὶς αὐτῷ χαλκοὺς ἀναιρεθέντος αὐτοῦ καθηρέθη.” Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. 128 (p. 226 Mai.=p. 209, 24-32 Dind.). “^[3] ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ Ῥώμῃ ταῦτα ἐγένετο, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἔξω ταύτης γενομένων καὶ νεωτερισθέντων ἤδη ἐρῶ. τρεῖς γὰρ δὴ τότε ἄνδρες, τριῶν ἑκάστος πολιτικῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ ἄλλων ξενικῶν συχνῶν ἄρχοντες, ἀντελάβοντο τῶν πραγμάτων, ὃ τε Σεουήρος καὶ ὁ Νίγρος καὶ ὁ Ἀλβίνος, οὗτος μὲν τῆς Βρεττανίας ἄρχων, ^[4] Σεουήρος δὲ τῆς Παννονίας, Νίγρος δὲ τῆς Συρίας. καὶ τοὺτους ἄρα οἱ ἀστέρες οἱ τρεῖς οἱ ἐξαίφνης φανέντες καὶ τὸν ἥλιον περισχόντες, ὅτε τὰ ἐσιτήρια πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἔθυσεν ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς παρόντων ἡμῶν, ὑπηνίττοντο. οὕτω γὰρ ἐκφανέστατοι ἦσαν ὥστε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας συνεχῶς τε αὐτοὺς ὀρᾶν καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἀντεπιδεικνύειν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ διαθροεῖν ὅτι δεινὸν αὐτῷ συμβήσεται. ^[p. 152] ^[5] ἡμεῖς γὰρ εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ηὐχόμεθα ταῦθ’ οὕτω γενέσθαι καὶ ἡλπίζομεν, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ γε τοῦ παρόντος δέους οὐδ’ ἀναβλέπειν ἐς αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ παρορῶντές πως, ἐτολμῶμεν. καὶ 15. τοιοῦτο μὲν τοῦτο οἶδα γενόμενον: τῶν δὲ δὴ τριῶν ἡγεμόνων ὧν εἴρηκα δεινότατος ὁ Σεουήρος ὢν, καὶ προγνοὺς ὅτι μετὰ τὸ καταλῦσαι τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ τρεῖς συναρᾶξουσιν καὶ ἀντιπολεμήσουσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐγνώκει τὸν ἕνα τὸν ἐγγύτερον αὐτῷ προσποιήσασθαι, καὶ γράμματά τινα τῶν πιστῶν δοὺς τῷ ^[2] Ἀλβίνῳ ἐπεπόμφει, Καίσαρα αὐτὸν ποιῶν: τὸν γὰρ δὴ Νίγρον φρόνημα ἔχοντα ἐκ τοῦ ἐπικλητὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου γεγονέναι ἀπέγνων. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀλβίνος ὡς καὶ κοινωνὸς τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ Σεουήρῳ ἐσόμενος κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινεν, ὁ δὲ Σεουήρος τὰ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ πάντα πλήν τοῦ Βυζαντίου προσποιησάμενος ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἡπείγετο, ^[3] οὐδέποτε ἔξω τῶν ὅπλων γινόμενος, ἀλλ’ ἐξακοσίους τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐν μέσοις αὐτοῖς μεθ’ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ διῆγεν: οὐδὲ ἀπεδύσαντό ποτε ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς θώρακας πρὶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ γενέσθαι.” Xiph. 291, 8-292, R. St. “^[4] ὅτι οὗτος ἐπὶ πονηρίᾳ καὶ ἀπληστίᾳ ἀσελγείᾳ τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Περτίνακος, ὅτε τῆς Ἀφρικῆς ^[p. 154] ἦρχε, κατεδεδίκαστο, τότε δὲ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου τῇ τοῦ Σεουήρου χάριτι ἀπεδέδεικτο. 54” Exc. Val. 334 (p. 730). “16. καὶ ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς ταῦτα μαθὼν πολέμιόν τε τὸν Σεουήρον διὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐποίησατο, καὶ παρεσκευάζετο κατ’ αὐτοῦ: καὶ γὰρ τάφρευμα ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ διετάφρευσεν καὶ πύλας ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἐπέστησεν ὡς καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐκστρατεύσων ^[2] καὶ ἐκεῖθεν πολεμήσων. καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ πόλις ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ στρατόπεδον, ὥσπερ ἐν πολεμίᾳ. πολλὴ μὲν γὰρ ταραχὴ καὶ αὐλιζομένων καὶ γυμναζομένων ὡς ἐκάστων, ἀνδρῶν ἵππων ἐλεφάντων, πολλὺς δὲ καὶ φόβος ἐς τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐκ τῶν ὀπλισμένων, ^[3] ἅτε καὶ μισούντων σφᾶς, ἐγίγνετο. ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ γέλως ἡμᾶς ἐλάμβανεν: οὕτε γὰρ οἱ δορυφόροι ἄξιόν τι τοῦ τε ὀνόματος καὶ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας σφῶν, ἅτε καὶ ἀβρῶς διαιτᾶσθαι μεμαθηκότες, ἐποίουν, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τοῦ ἐν

τῷ Μισηνῶ ναυλοχοῦντος μεταπεμφθέντες οὐδ' ὅπως γυμνάσωνται ἤδεσαν, οἳ τε ἐλέφαντες ἀχθόμενοι τοῖς πύργοις οὐδ' αὐτοὺς ἔτι τοὺς ἐπιστάτας ἔφερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκείνους κατέβαλλον. [4] μάλιστα δὲ ἐγγελῶμεν ὅτι τὸ παλάτιον κιγκλίσι τε καὶ θύραις ἰσχυραῖς ἐκρατύνετο: ἐπεὶ γὰρ τὸν Περτίνακα οὐκ ἂν ποτε οἱ στρατιῶται ῥαδίως οὕτως, εἴπερ συνεκέκλειτο, πεφονευκέναι [p. 156] ἐδόκουν, ἐπίστευεν ὅτι δυνήσεται κατακλεισθεὶς ἐς αὐτό, ἂν ἡττηθῇ, περιγενέσθαι.” Χιρh. 292, 2-17 R. St., Exc. Val. 335 (p. 730 s#3.), Suid. s. n. e)pista/tis. “ ὅτι Οὐεσπρώνιος Κάνδιδος ἀξιώσει μὲν ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ἀνήκων, σκυθρωπότητι δὲ καὶ ἀγροικίᾳ πολὺ πλεῖον προφέρων, ἐκινδύνευεν ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν.” Exc. Val. 336 (p. 733). “[5] ἔσφαξε μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸν Λαῖτον καὶ τὴν Μαρκίαν, ὥστε σύμπαντας τοὺς ἐπιβουλευσάντας τῷ Κομμόδῳ φθαρῆναι ‘καὶ γὰρ τὸν Νάρκισσον ὕστερον ὁ Σεουήρος θηρίοις ἔδωκεν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο κηρύξας ὅτι ‘οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Κόμμοδον ἀποπνίξας’”, ἔκτεινε δὲ καὶ παῖδας συχνοὺς ἐπὶ μαγγανεύμασιν, ὡς καὶ ἀποστρέψαι τι τῶν μελλόντων, εἰ προμάθοι αὐτά, δυνησόμενος. ἐπὶ τε τὸν Σεουήρον αἰετινας ὡς δολοφονήσοντας 17. αὐτὸν ἀπέστειλεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφίκετο καὶ τὴν Ῥάβενναν ἀκονιτὶ παρέλαβε, καὶ οὓς ἐκεῖνος ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἔπεμπεν ἢ πείσοντας ὑποστρέψαι ἢ εἰρξοντας τῶν παρόδων, προσεχώρουν [2] αὐτῷ, οἳ τε δορυφόροι, οἷς μάλιστα ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς ἐθάρρει, τῇ τε συνεχείᾳ τῶν πόνων ἀπεκναίοντο καὶ πρὸς τὴν φήμην τῆς τοῦ Σεουήρου παρουσίας δεινῶς ἐξεπλήττοντο, συγκαλέσας ἡμᾶς ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς κοινωνὸν αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς [3] ἐκέλευε τὸν Σεουήρον ψηφίσασθαι. οἱ δὲ δὴ στρατιῶται ἐκ γραμμάτων τοῦ Σεουήρου πεισθέντες ὅτι οὐδὲν κακόν, ἂν τοὺς σφαγέας τοῦ Περτίνακος ἐκδῶσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγωσι, [p. 158] πείσονται, τοὺς τε ἀποκτείναντας τὸν Περτίνακα συνέλαβον, καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο Σιλίῳ Μεσσάλᾳ τῷ [4] ὑπατεύοντι τότε ἐμήνυσαν. καὶ ὃς συναγαγὼν ἡμᾶς ἐς τὸ Ἀθήναιον καλούμενον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ τῶν παιδευομένων ἀσκήσεως, τὰ παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐδήλωσε: καὶ τοῦ τε Ἰουλιανοῦ θάνατον κατεψηφισάμεθα καὶ τὸν Σεουήρον αὐτοκράτορα ὠνομάσαμεν, τῷ τε Περτίνακι [5] ἥρωικὰς τιμὰς ἀπεδώκαμεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰουλιανὸς οὕτως ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ παλατίῳ κατακείμενος ἐφονεύθη, τοσοῦτον μόνον εἰπὼν, ‘καὶ τί δεινὸν ἐποίησα; τίνα ἀπέκτεινα;’ ἔζησε δὲ ἐξήκοντά τε ἔτη καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας καὶ ἡμέρας ἴσας, ἀφ’ ὧν ἕξ καὶ ἐξήκοντα ἥρξεν ἡμέρας.” Χιρh. 292, 17-293, R. St. “[6] Δίων οδ βιβλίῳ: ‘ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἐστὶ φρονίμων μῆτ’ ἄρχειν πολέμου μῆτ’ ἐπιφερόμενον αὐτὸν ἀναδύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν ἐθελοντὶ σωφρονήσαντι συγγνώμην, κἂν προαμάρτη τι, ποιέισθαι...” Bekk. Anecd. 168, s#3#3.

“ 1. Σεουήρος μὲν δὴ αὐτοκράτωρ οὕτω γενόμενος τοὺς μὲν δορυφόρους τοὺς χειρουργήσαντας τὸ κατὰ τὸν Περτίνακα ἔργον θανάτῳ ἐξημίωσε, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους, πρὶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ γενέσθαι μεταπεμφάμενος καὶ ἐν πεδίῳ περισχῶν οὐκ εἰδότας τὸ μέλλον σφίσι συμβήσεσθαι, πολλὰ τε καὶ πικρὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐς τὸν αὐτοκράτορά σφων παρανομίας ὀνειδίσας αὐτοῖς, τῶν τε ὅπλων ἀπέλυσε τοὺς τε ἵππους ἀφείλετο καὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπῆλασεν. ^[2] ἔνθα δὴ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι καὶ ἄκοντες τὰ τε ὅπλα ἀπερρίπτουν καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἠφίεσαν, ἔν τε τοῖς χιτῶσιν ἄζωστοι ἐσκεδάννυντο: εἷς δὲ τις, οὐκ ἐθέλησαντος τοῦ ἵππου ἀποσιῆναι ἀλλ’ ἐπακολουθοῦντος αὐτῷ καὶ χρεμετίζοντος, καὶ ἐκείνον καὶ ἑαυτὸν κατεχρήσατο: καὶ ἐδόκει τοῖς ὁρώσι καὶ ὁ ἵππος ἡδέως ἀποθνήσκειν. ^[p. 162] ^[3] πράξας δὲ ὁ Σεουήρος ταῦτα ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἐσῆει, μέχρι μὲν τῶν πυλῶν ἐπὶ τε τοῦ ἵππου καὶ ἐν ἐσθῆτι ἱππικῇ ἐλθὼν, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τὴν τε πολιτικὴν ἀλλαξάμενος καὶ βαδίσας: καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ στρατὸς πᾶς, καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς, ὠπλισμένοι ^[4] παρηκολούθησαν. καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ θεὰ πασῶν ὦν ἐόρακα λαμπροτάτη: ἡ τε γὰρ πόλις πᾶσα ἄνθεσι τε καὶ δάφναις ἐστεφάνωτο καὶ ἱματίοις ποικίλοις ἐκεκόσμητο, φωσί τε καὶ θυμιάμασιν ἔλαμπε, καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι λευχειμονοῦντες καὶ γανύμενοι πολλὰ ἐπευφήμουν, οἳ τε στρατιῶται ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὥσπερ ἐν πανηγύρει τινὶ πομπῆς ἐκπρεπόντως ἀνεστρέφοντο, καὶ προσέτι ἡμεῖς ^[5] ἐν κόσμῳ περιήειμεν. ὁ δ’ ὅμιλος ἰδεῖν τε αὐτὸν καὶ τι φθεγγομένου ἀκοῦσαι, ὥσπερ τι ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης ἡλλοιωμένου, ποθοῦντες ἡρεθίζοντο: καὶ τινες καὶ ἐμετεώριζον ἀλλήλους, ὅπως ἐξ ὑψηλότερου αὐτὸν κατιδωσιν.” Xiph. 293, 19-294, R. St. “ 2. ἐσελθὼν δὲ οὕτως ἐνεανιεύσατο μὲν οἷα καὶ οἱ πρώην ἀγαθοὶ αὐτοκράτορες πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὡς οὐδένα τῶν βουλευτῶν ἀποκτενεῖ: καὶ ὥμοσε περὶ τούτου, καὶ τὸ γε μείζον, ψηφίσματι κοινῷ αὐτὸ κυρωθῆναι προσετετάχει, πολέμιον καὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα καὶ τὸν ὑπηρετήσοντα αὐτῷ ἕς τι τοιοῦτον, αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν, ^[2] νομιζεσθαι δογματίσας. πρῶτος μέντοι αὐτὸς τὸν νόμον τουτονὶ παρέβη καὶ οὐκ ἐφύλαξε, πολλοὺς ἀνελών: καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Σόλων ὁ Ἰούλιος, ὁ καὶ τὸ δόγμα τοῦτο κατὰ πρόσταξιν ^[p. 164] αὐτοῦ συγγράφας, οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐσφάγη. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἡμῖν οὐ καταθύμια ἔπραπεν, 3. αἰτίαν τε ἔσχεν ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει στρατιωτῶν ὀχλῶδη τὴν πόλιν ποιῆσαι καὶ δαπάνη χρημάτων περιττῇ τὸ κοινὸν βαρῦναι, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ὅτι μὴ ἐν τῇ τῶν συνόντων οἱ εὐνοία ἀλλ’ ἐν τῇ ἐκείνων ἰσχύι τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας ἐποιεῖτο: 4. μάλιστα δὲ ἐπεκάλουν αὐτῷ τινὲς ὅτι, καθεστηκότος ἕκ τε τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας τῆς τε Μακεδονίας καὶ τοῦ Νωρικοῦ μόνον τοὺς σωματοφύλακας εἶναι, κάκ τούτου καὶ τοῖς εἰδесιν αὐτῶν ἐπαικεστέρων καὶ τοῖς ἡθεσιν ἀπλουστέρων 5. ὄντων, τοῦτο μὲν κατέλυσεν, ἕκ δὲ δὴ τῶν στρατοπέδων ὁμοίως πάντων τὸ αἰεὶ ἐνδεὲς ὄν ἀντικαθίστασθαι τάξας, αὐτὸς μὲν ὡς καὶ ἐπιστησομένοις διὰ τοῦτο τὰ στρατιωτικὰ μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς χρῆσόμενος, καὶ τι καὶ ἄθλον τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τὰ

πολέμια προθήσων ἐποίησεν αὐτό, τῷ δὲ δὴ ἔργῳ σαφέστατα τὴν τε ἡλικίαν τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας παραπώλεσε πρὸς ληστείας καὶ μονομαχίας 6. ἀντὶ τῆς πρὶν στρατείας τραπομένην, καὶ τὸ ἄστυ ὄχλου στρατιωτῶν συμμίκτου καὶ ἰδεῖν ἀγριωτάτων καὶ ἀκοῦσαι φοβερωτάτων ὁμιλῆσαι τε ἀγροικοτάτων ἐπλήρωσε.” Χιρῆ. 294, 15-30 R. St., Exc. Val. 337 (p. 733). “ 3. σημεῖα δὲ αὐτῷ ἐξ ὧν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἤλπισε, ταῦτα ἐγένετο. ὅτε γὰρ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσεγράφη, ὄναρ ἔδοξε λυκαρινάν τινα κατὰ ταῦτα [p. 166] τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ θηλάζειν. μέλλοντί τε αὐτῷ τὴν Ἰουλίαν ἄγεσθαι ἢ Φαυστίνα ἢ τοῦ Μάρκου γυνὴ τὸν θάλαμόν σφισιν ἐν τῷ Ἀφροδισίῳ τῷ [2] κατὰ τὸ παλάτιον παρεσκεύασεν. ὕδωρ τε ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῷ καθεύδοντί ποτε, ὥσπερ ἐκ πηγῆς, ἀνεδόθη. καὶ ἐν Λουγδούνῳ ἄρχοντι πᾶσα αὐτῷ ἢ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δύναιμι προσῆλθέ τε καὶ ἡσπάσατο, ὄναρ φημί. καὶ ἄλλοτε ἀνήχθη ἐς περιωπὴν ὑπὸ τινος, καὶ καθορῶν ἀπ’ αὐτῆς πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν γῆν πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν θάλατταν ἐφήπτετο αὐτῶν ὥσπερ παναρμονίου τινὸς ὀργάνου, [3] καὶ ἐκεῖνα συνεφθέγγετο. καὶ αὖθις ἵππον ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῇ Ῥωμαίᾳ τὸν μὲν Περτίνακα ἀναβεβηκότα ἀπορρίψαι, ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἐκόντα ἀναλαβεῖν ἐνόμισε. ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὄνειράτων ἔμαθεν, ὕπαρ δὲ ἐς τὸν βασιλικὸν δίφρον ἔφηβος ὧν ἔτι ἀγνοία ἐνιδρύθη. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἡγεμονίαν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ταῦτα αὐτῷ προεδίηλωση. 4. καταστάς δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ἡρώων τῷ Περτίνακι κατεσκεύασε, τό τε ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τε ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἀπάσαις καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρκοις ἅπασι προσέταξεν ἐπιλέγεσθαι, καὶ χρυσοῖν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ ἐφ’ ἄρματος ἐλεφάντων ἐς τὸν ἵππόδρομον ἐσάγεσθαι, καὶ ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ ἐκέλευσε θέατρα θρόνους τρεῖς [2] καταχρῦσους αὐτῷ ἐσκομίζεσθαι. ἢ δὲ δὴ ταφή καίτοι πάλαι τεθνηκότος αὐτοῦ τοιαύδε ἐγένετο. ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῇ Ῥωμαίᾳ βῆμα ξύλινον ἐν χρῷ τοῦ λιθίνου κατεσκευάσθη, καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ οἴκημα [p. 168] ἄτοιχον περιστυλον, ἐκ τε ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ πεποικιλμένον, ἐτέθη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κλίνη ὁμοία, [3] κεφαλὰς πέριξ θηρίων χερσαίων τε καὶ θαλασσιῶν ἔχουσα, ἐκομίσθη στρώμασι πορφυροῖς καὶ διαχρύσοις κεκοσμημένα, καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν εἰδωλὸν τι τοῦ Περτίνακος κήρινον, σκευῇ ἐπινικίῳ εὐθετημένον, ἀνετέθη, καὶ αὐτοῦ τὰς μυίας παῖς εὐπρεπῆς, ὡς δῆθεν καθεύδοντας, πτεροῖς ταῶνος [4] ἀπεσόβει. προκειμένου δ’ αὐτοῦ ὃ τε Σεουήρος καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ βουλευταὶ αἱ τε γυναῖκες ἡμῶν προσήειμεν πενθικῶς ἐσταλμένοι: καὶ ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἐν ταῖς στοαῖς, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὑπαίθριοι ἐκαθεζόμεθα. κἄκ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν ἀνδριάντες πάντων τῶν ἐπιφανῶν 5. Ῥωμαίων τῶν ἀρχαίων, ἔπειτα χοροὶ παίδων καὶ ἀνδρῶν θρηνώδη τινὰ ὕμνον ἐς τὸν Περτίνακα ᾄδοντες παρῆλθον: καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰ ἔθνη πάντα τὰ ὑπήκοα ἐν εἰκόσι χαλκαῖς, ἐπιχωρίως σφίσι ἐσταλμένα, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἄστει αὐτῷ γένη, τό τε τῶν ῥαβδούχων καὶ τὸ τῶν γραμματέων τῶν τε κηρύκων καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιουτότροπα, 6. ἐφείπετο. εἴτ’ εἰκόνας ἦκον ἀνδρῶν ἄλλων, οἷς τι ἔργον ἢ ἐξεύρημα ἢ καὶ ἐπιτήδευμα λαμπρὸν ἐπέπρακτο, καὶ μετ’ αὐτοὺς οἱ τε ἵππεῖς καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ ὠπλισμένοι οἱ τε ἀθληταὶ ἵπποι καὶ τὰ ἐντάφια, ὅσα ὃ τε αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ἡμεῖς αἱ τε γυναῖκες ἡμῶν καὶ οἱ ἵππεῖς οἱ ἐλλόγιμοι οἱ τε δῆμοι καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει συστήματα ἐπέμψαμεν: καὶ αὐτοῖς βωμὸς περιχύρσος, ἐλέφαντί τε καὶ 5. λίθοις Ἰνδικοῖς ἡσκημένος,

ἡκολούθει. ὡς δὲ παρεξήλθε ταῦτα, ἀνέβη ὁ Σεουήρος ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα τὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων, καὶ ἀνέγνω ἐγκώμιον τοῦ Περτίνακος. ἡμεῖς δὲ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ διὰ μέσου τῶν [p. 170] λόγων αὐτοῦ ἐπεβοῶμεν, τὰ μὲν ἐπαινοῦντες τὰ δὲ καὶ θρηνοῦντες τὸν Περτίνακα, πλεῖστα δὲ [2] ἐπειδὴ ἐπαύσατο. καὶ τέλος, μελλούσης τῆς κλίνης κινηθῆσθαι, πάντες ἅμα ὠλοφυράμεθα καὶ πάντες ἐπεδακρύσαμεν. κατεκόμισαν δὲ αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος οἱ τε ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ αἱ ἀρχαὶ αἱ τε ἐνεστώσαι καὶ αἱ ἐς νέωτα ἀποδεδειγμένα, [3] καὶ ἱππεῦσι τισι φέρειν ἔδωσαν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι πρὸ τῆς κλίνης προήειμεν, καὶ τινες ἐκόπτοντο ἐτέρων πένθιμόν τι ὑπαυλούντων· ὁ δ' αὐτοκράτωρ ἐφ' ἅπασιν εἶπετο, καὶ οὕτως ἐς τὸ Ἄρειον πεδῖον ἀφικόμεθα. ἐπεσκεύαστο δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ πυρὰ πυργοειδῆς τριβόλος, ἐλέφαντι καὶ χρυσῷ μετὰ ἀνδριάντων τινῶν κεκοσμημένη, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἄκρας ἄρμα ἐπίχρυσον, ὅπερ ὁ [4] Περτίναξ ἤλαυνεν. ἐς οὖν ταύτην τὰ ἐντάφια ἐνεβλήθη καὶ ἡ κλίνη ἐνετέθη, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ εἶδωλον ὃ τε Σεουήρος καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς τοῦ Περτίνακος ἐφίλησαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ βῆμα ἀνέβη, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἡ βουλὴ πλὴν τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπὶ ἱκρία, ὅπως ἀσφαλῶς τε ἅμα καὶ ἐπιτηδεῖως τὰ γινόμενα [5] θεωρήσωμεν. οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες καὶ ἡ ἱππὰς τὸ τέλος προσφόρως σφίσιν ἐσκευασμένοι, οἱ τε ἱππεῖς οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ περὶ τὴν πυρὰν πολιτικάς τε ἅμα καὶ πολεμικάς διεξόδους διελίττοντες διεξήλθον· εἴθ' οὕτως οἱ ὕπατοι πῦρ ἐς αὐτὴν ἐνέβαλον. γενομένου δὲ τούτου αἰετὸς τις ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀνέπτατο. καὶ ὁ μὲν Περτίναξ οὕτως ἠθανάτισθη.” Xiph. 294, 30-296, R. St. “[6] ὅτι ὁ Περτίναξ, τὸ μὲν εὐπόλεμον ἄγροικον τὸ [p. 172] δὲ εἰρηνάιον δειλὸν ὡς τὸ πολὺ ἐκβαῖνον, ἀμφοτέρω κράτιστος ὁμοίως ἐγένετο, φοβερὸς μὲν πολεμῆσαι σοφὸς δὲ εἰρηνεῦσαι ὦν· καὶ τὸ μὲν θρασὺ, οὗ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον μετέχει, πρὸς τε τὸ ἀλλόφυλον καὶ πρὸς τὸ στασίαζον, τὸ δὲ ἐπικέες, οὗ τὸ δίκαιον μεταλαμβάνει, πρὸς τε τὸ οἰκεῖον καὶ [7] πρὸς τὸ σῶφρον ἐνεδείκνυτο. προαχθεὶς δὲ ἐς τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης προστασίαν οὐκ ἠλέγχθη ποτὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ μείζονος αὐξήσεως, ὥστε ἐν μὲν τοῖς ταπεινότερος ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὀγκωδέστερος τοῦ καθήκοντος γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως ἀπ' ἀρχῆς διὰ πάντων μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς διετέλεσεν σεμνὸς ἔξω τοῦ σκυθρωποῦ, πρᾶος ἔξω τοῦ ταπεινοῦ, φρόνιμος ἄνευ κακουργίας, δίκαιος ἄνευ ἀκριβολογίας, οἰκονομικὸς χωρὶς ῥυπαρίας, μεγαλόνους χωρὶς αὐχλήματος.” Exc. Val. 338 (p. 734). “ 6. ὁ δὲ Σεουήρος ἐξεστράτευσε κατὰ τοῦ Νιγρου. οὗτος δὲ Ἰταλὸς μὲν ἦν, ἐξ ἱππέων, οὔτε δὲ ἐς τὸ κρεῖττον οὔτε ἐς τὸ χεῖρον ἐπίσημος, ὥστε τινὰ ἢ πάνν αὐτὸν ἐπαινεῖν ἢ πάνν ψέγειν· διὸ καὶ τῇ [2] Συρίᾳ ὑπὸ Κομμόδου προσετάχθη. ἐχρήτο δὲ ὑποστρατήγῳ μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῷ Αἰμιλιανῷ, ὅτι τε μεσεύων καὶ ἐφεδρεύων τοῖς πράγμασι πάντων τῶν τότε βουλευόντων καὶ συνέσει καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ πραγμάτων προφέρειν ἐδόκει ἐπὶ πολλῶν γὰρ ἐθνῶν ἐξήταστο, ὑφ' ὧν περ καὶ ἐξώγκωτό, ὅτι τε τοῦ Ἀλβίνου προσήκων ἦν.” Xiph. 296, 32-297, R. St., Exc. Val. 339, 340 (p. 734). “[2a] ὅτι ὁ Νιγρος ἦν μὲν οὐδ' ἄλλως ἀρτίφρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνν πολλὰ δυνηθεὶς ἐπλημμέλησε· τότε δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον ὠγκώθη, ὥστε τοῖς μὲν [p. 174] Ἀλεξάνδρον αὐτὸν νέον ὀνομάζουσι χαίρειν, τῷ δὲ ἐρομένῳ ‘τίς σοι ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἐπιτέτροφεν;’ τὸ ξίφος δεῖξαι, καὶ εἰπεῖν ὅτι ‘τοῦτο.’” Exc. Val. 341

(p. 734). “ [3] συνερρωγότης δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ἦλθε τε ἐς τὸ Βυζάντιον, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Πέρινθον ἐπεστράτευσε. γενομένων δὲ αὐτῷ σημείων οὐκ ἀγαθῶν ἐταράχθη: ἀετός τε γὰρ ἐπ’ ἄγαλμα στρατιωτικὸν ἰζήσας ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπέμεινε, καίπερ ἀποσοβούμενος, ὥστε καὶ ἀλῶναι, καὶ μέλισσαι κηρία περὶ τὰ σημεῖα τὰ στρατιωτικά, τὰς τε εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ μάλιστα, περιέπλασσον. διὰ ταῦτα οὖν ἀπῆρεν ἐς τὸ Βυζάντιον. [4] ὁ Αἰμιλιανὸς δὲ περὶ Κυζίκον συμβαλὼν τισι τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν τοῦ Σεουήρου ἡττήθη πρὸς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐσφάγη. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μεταξὺ τῶν στενῶν τῆς τε Νικαίας καὶ τῆς Κίου πόλεμος [5] αὐτοῖς μέγας γίνεται καὶ πολύτροπος: οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ συστάδην ἐμάχοντο, οἱ δὲ τοὺς λόφους καταλαμβάνοντες ἐξ ὑπερδεξιῶν ἔβαλλον καὶ ἠκόντιζον ἐς τοὺς ἐναντίους, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης ἐς πλοῖα ἐμβεβηκότες τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπετοξάζοντο. κατ’ ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν ἐνίκων οἱ Σεουήρειοι, ὑπὸ τῷ Κανδίδῳ ταπτόμενοι, καὶ τοῖς χωρίοις ὅθεν ἐμάχοντο, ὑπερδεξιῶσι οὖσι, πλεονεκτοῦντες: [6] μετὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Νιγρου ἐπιφανέντος παλινδιῶξις γίνεται καὶ νίκη τῶν Νιγρείων. ἔπειτα τοῦ Κανδίδου τῶν σημειοφόρων ἐπιλαμβανομένου, καὶ στρέφοντος αὐτοῦς ἀντιπροσώπους τοῖς πολεμίοις, τοῖς τε στρατιώταις τὴν φυγὴν ὀνειδιζοντος, αἰσχυρθέντες οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ὑπέστρεψαν καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀντεπεκράτησαν.

[p. 176] καὶ πανωλεθρία τοὺτους διέφθειραν, εἰ μὴ ἡ πόλις ἐγγὺς ἦν καὶ νύξ σκοτεινὴ ἐγένετο. 7. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν Ἰσοῦ πρὸς ταῖς καλουμέναις πύλαις μεγίστη γίνεται μάχη, τῷ μὲν Σεουηρείῳ στρατεύματι Οὐαλεριανοῦ τε καὶ Ἀνυλλίνου ἐπιστατούντων, Νιγρου δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῖς οἰκείοις παρόντος τάγμασι καὶ συντάσσοντος ἐς τὸν πόλεμον. ἡ δὲ ἐσβολὴ αὕτη, αἱ Κιλίκειοι πύλαι, [2] διὰ τὴν στενότητα οὕτω προσαγορεύονται: ἔνθεν μὲν γὰρ ὄρη ἀπότομα ἀνατείνει, ἔνθεν δὲ κρημοὶ βαθεῖς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν καθήκουσιν. ὁ οὖν Νιγρος στρατόπεδον ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ λόφῳ τινὸς ἰσχυροῦ ἐποίησατο, καὶ πρῶτως μὲν τοὺς ὀπλίτας, ἔπειτα τοὺς ἀκοντιστὰς τοὺς τε λιθοβόλους, καὶ τοὺς τοξότας ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἔταξεν, ἴν’ οἱ μὲν ἐκ χειρὸς τοὺς προσμιγνύντας σφίσιν ἀμύνοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐκ πολλοῦ τῇ ἰσχύι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων χρῶντο: [3] τὸ τε γὰρ ἐπ’ ἀριστερὰ καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ὑπὸ τε τῶν κρημνῶν πρὸς τῇ θαλάσῃ ὑπὸ τε τῆς ὕλης ἀνεκβάτου οὕσης ἐπέφρακτο. τὸ τε οὖν στράτευμα οὕτω διέταξε, καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα ἐπ’ αὐτῷ κατεχώρισεν, ὅπως, ἂν τις αὐτῶν φυγεῖν ἐθέλῃ, [4] μὴ δυνηθῇ. ὁ οὖν Ἀνυλλῖνος συνιδὼν τοῦτο τὴν μὲν ἀσπίδα προεβάλετο, καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῇ τὸ κοῦφον πᾶν ἐπέταξεν, ἴν’ οἱ μὲν πόρρωθεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀνείργωσι τοὺς ἐναντίους, οἱ δ’ ἀσφαλῆ τὴν ἄνοδον σφίσιν ἀντιπαράσχωσι: τοὺς δ’ ἱππέας [p. 178] μετὰ Οὐαλεριανοῦ ἔπεμψε, τὴν τε ὕλην τρόπον τινὰ περιελθεῖν καὶ κατὰ νώτου τοῖς Νιγείοις [5] αἰφνιδιον ἐπιπυσεῖν κελεύσας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς χεῖρας ἦσαν, τῶν Σεουηρείων τὰς ἀσπίδας τὰς μὲν προβαλομένων τὰς δὲ ἐπιβαλομένων ἐς χελώνης τρόπον, καὶ οὕτω πλησιασάντων τοῖς ἐναντίοις, ἐγένετο μὲν ἰσόρροπος ἡ μάχη ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἔπειτα οἱ τοῦ Νιγρου πολὺ τῷ πλήθει σφῶν καὶ [6] τῇ τοῦ χωρίου φύσει προέσχον. καὶ παντελῶς ἐκράτησαν, εἰ μὴ νέφη ἐξ αἰθρίας καὶ ἄνεμος ἐκ νηνεμίας βρονταὶ τε σκληραὶ καὶ ἀστραπαὶ ὀξεῖαι μεθ’ εὐτοῦ λάβρου κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῖς προσέπεσον. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Σεουηρείους ἅτε

καὶ κατόπιν ὄντα οὐκ ἐλύπει ταῦτα, τοὺς δὲ Νιγρείους ἐμπίπτοντα ἐξ ἐναντίας ^[7] ἰσχυρῶς ἐτάραττε. μέγιστον δ' αὕτη ἡ συντυχία τοῦ γενομένου τοῖς μὲν θάρσος ὡς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ θείου βοηθουμένοις, τοῖς δὲ δέος ὡς καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πολεμουμένοις ἐμβαλοῦσα τοὺς μὲν καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἰσχὺν ἐπέρρωσε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὴν ^[8] δύναμιν ἐξεφόβησε: καὶ σφισι φεύγουσιν ἤδη ὁ Οὐαλεριανὸς ἐπεφάνη. ἰδόντες οὖν αὐτὸν ἀνάπαλιν ἐτράποντο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τοῦ Ἀνυλλίνου σφᾶς ἀνακόψαντος ἀνέστρεψαν: εἴτ' ἄνω καὶ κάτω διατρέχοντες, ὅπῃ διαπέσοιεν, ἐπλανῶντο. 8. καὶ φθόρον δὴ τοῦτον πλεῖστον ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ συνέβη γενέσθαι: δύο γὰρ μυριάδες τῶν μετὰ τοῦ Νιγρου διώλοντο. καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρα τὸ τοῦ ^[2] ἱερέως ὄναρ ἐδήλου: ἐν γὰρ τῇ Παννονίᾳ ὄντος τοῦ ^[p. 180] Σεουήρου ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς ὄναρ εἶδεν ἄνδρα τινὰ μέλανα ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ ἐσβιαζόμενον καὶ ὑπὸ χειρῶν ἀπολλύμενον: τὸ γὰρ ὄνομα τοῦ Νιγρου ἐξελληνίζοντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὸν μέλανα ^[3] ἐκεῖνον εἶναι ἔγνωσαν. ἀλούσης δὲ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἔφυγε μὲν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὡς πρὸς τὸν Εὐφράτην ὁ Νιγρος, διανοούμενος ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους φυγεῖν, ἐάλω δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν καταδιωξάντων καὶ ἀπετμήθη τὴν κεφαλὴν. καὶ ταύτην ὁ Σεουήρος ἐς τὸ Βυζάντιον πέμψας ἀνεσταύρωσεν, ἵν' ἰδόντες αὐτὴν οἱ Βυζάντιοι προσχωρήσωσι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Σεουήρος τοὺς τὰ τοῦ Νιγρου φρονήσαντας ἐδίκαιον.” Xiph. 297, 5-299, R. St. “ ^[4] ὅτι ὁ Σεουήρος τὰς πόλεις τοὺς τε ἰδιώτας τοὺς μὲν ἐκόλαζε τοὺς δὲ ἡμείβετο, τῶν δὲ δὴ βουλευτῶν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπέκτεινε μὲν οὐδένα, τοὺς δὲ δὴ πλείους τὰς οὐσίας ἀφείλετο καὶ ἐς νήσους κατέκλεισεν. ἡργυρολόγησέ τε δεινῶς: τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ὅσα τῷ Νιγρῷ καὶ ἰδιῶται τινες καὶ δῆμοι, οὐχ ὅτι ἐκούσιοι ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀναγκαστοί, ^[5] ἐδεδώκεσαν, τετραπλάσια ἐπεσέπραξεν. καὶ ἡσθάνετο μὲν που καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦτο, πολλῶν δὲ δὴ χρημάτων χρήζων ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τὰ θρυλούμενα ἐποιεῖτο.” Exc. Val. 342 (p. 734). “ 9. Κάσσιος δὲ Κλήμης βουλευτῆς παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ Σεουήρῳ κρινόμενος οὐκ ἀπεκρύψατο τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἀλλ' ὥδέ πως ἐπαρρησιάσατο. ‘ἐγώ’ ἔφη ‘οὔτε σὲ οὔτε Νιγρον ἡπιστάμην, καταληφθεῖς δὲ δὴ ἐν ^[p. 182] τῇ ἐκείνου μερίδι τὸ παρὸν ἀναγκαιῶς ἐθεράπευσα, οὐχ ὡς σοὶ πολεμήσων ἀλλ' ὡς Ἰουλιανὸν καταλύσων. ^[2] οὐτ' οὖν ἐν τούτῳ τι ἡδίκησα, τὰ αὐτὰ σοι κατ' ἀρχὰς σπουδάσας, οὐθ' ὅτι μὴ πρὸς σὲ ὕστερον, ἐγκαταλιπὼν ὃν ἅπαξ ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου ἔλαχον, μετέστην: οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ σὺ τῶν παρακαθημένων σοι καὶ συνδικαζόντων τούτων οὐδένα ἂν ἠθέλησας προδόντα σε πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ^[3] αὐτομολῆσαι. ἐξέταξε οὖν μὴ τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν μηδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα. πᾶν γὰρ ὃ τι ἂν ἡμῶν καταγνῶς, τοῦτο καὶ σεαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν ἐταίρων καταψηφιῇ: καὶ γὰρ εἰ τὰ μάλιστα μήτε δίκη μήτ' ἀποφάσει τινὶ ἀλώσῃ, ἀλλὰ τῇ παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις φήμῃ, ἥς ἐς αἶδιον μνήμη καταλελείφεται, δόξεις † ταῦτα ἐφ' οἷς ^[4] συνέβη † ἑτέροις ἐγκαλεῖν.’ τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ὁ Σεουήρος τῆς παρρησίας θαυμάσας, τὴν ἡμίσειαν αὐτῷ τῆς οὐσίας ἔχειν συνεχώρησεν.” Xiph. 299, 9-25 R. St. “ ὅτι συχνοὶ ὡς καὶ τὰ τοῦ Νιγρου φρονήσαντες, καὶ τῶν οὐτ' ἰδόντων ποτὲ αὐτὸν οὔτε συναραμένων οἱ, ἐπηρεάσθησαν.” Exc. Val. 343 (p. 737). “ 10. οἱ δὲ δὴ Βυζάντιοι καὶ ζῶντος

τοῦ Νιγρου καὶ τελευτήσαντος πολλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ ἔδρασαν. ἡ δὲ πόλις αὐτῶν ἐν καιρῷ πάνυ καὶ τῶν ἡπείρων καὶ τῆς διὰ μέσου σφῶν θαλάσσης κεῖται, τῇ τε τοῦ χωρίου ἅμα καὶ τῇ τοῦ Βοσπόρου φύσει [2] ἰσχυρῶς παρεσκευασμένη. αὐτὴ τε γὰρ ἐπὶ μετεώρου πεπόλισται, προέχουσα ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν: [p. 184] καὶ ἐκείνη χειμάρρου δίκην ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου καταθέουσα τῇ τε ἄκρᾳ προσπίπτει, καὶ μέρει μὲν τινι ἐς τὰ δεξιὰ ἀποτρέπεται κάνταῦθα τὸν τε κόλπον καὶ τοὺς λιμένας ποιεῖ, τῷ δὲ δὴ πλείονι πρὸς τὴν Προποντίδα παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν [3] πολλῇ σπουδῇ χωρεῖ. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὰ τείχη καρτερώτατα εἶχον. ὁ τε γὰρ θώραξ αὐτῶν λίθοις τετραπέδοις παχέσι συνωκοδόμητο, πλαξὶ χαλκαῖς συνδουμένοις, καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς αὐτῶν καὶ χώμασι καὶ οἰκοδομήμασιν ὠχυρωτο, ὥστε καὶ ἐν τείχος παχὺ τὸ πᾶν εἶναι δοκεῖν, καὶ ἐπάνωθεν αὐτοῦ περιδρομον καὶ στεγανὸν καὶ εὐφύλακτον [4] ὑπάρχειν. πύργοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ μεγάλοι ἔξω τε ἐκκείμενοι καὶ θυρίδας πέριξ ἐπαλλήλας ἔχοντες ἦσαν, ὥστε τοὺς προσβάλλοντας τῷ κύκλῳ ἐντὸς αὐτῶν ἀπολαμβάνεσθαι: δι' ὀλίγου τε γὰρ καὶ οὐ κατ' εὐθὺ, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τῇ οἱ δὲ τῇ σκολιώτερον ὠκοδομημένοι, πᾶν τὸ προσπίπτον σφισιν ἐνεκυκλοῦντο. [5] τοῦ δὲ δὴ περιβόλου τὰ μὲν πρὸς τῆς ἡπείρου μέγα ὕψος ἦρτο, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς τυχόντας ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀμύνασθαι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ ἦττον: αἱ τε γὰρ πέτραι ἐφ' ὧν ἐπωκοδόμητο καὶ ἡ τοῦ Βοσπόρου δεινότης θαυμαστῶς σφίσι συνεμάχουν. οἱ τε λιμένες ἐντὸς τείχους ἀμφοτέροι κλειστοὶ ἀλύσεσιν ἦσαν, καὶ αἱ χηλαὶ αὐτῶν πύργους ἐφ' ἑκάτερα πολλὸν προέχοντας ἔφερον, ὥστ' ἄπορον τῷ πολεμίῳ τὸν πρόσπλουν [6] ποιεῖν. τὸ δ' ὅλον ὁ Βόσπορος σφας μέγιστα [p. 186] ὠφελεῖ: ἀνάγκη γὰρ πᾶσα, ἂν ἅπαξ τις ἐς τὸ ῥεῦμα ἐμπέσῃ, καὶ ἄκοντα αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἐκπεσεῖν. τοῦτο δὲ τῷ μὲν φίλῳ ἡδιστόν ἐστι, τῷ δὲ ἐναντίῳ ἀπορώτατον. 11. οὕτω μὲν οὖν τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐτετείχιστο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ μηχαναὶ κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ τείχους ποικιλώταται ἦσαν. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς πλησιάζοντας καὶ πέτρας καὶ δοκοὺς ἐνέβαλλον, τοῦτο δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας καὶ λίθους καὶ βέλη δόρατά τε ἠφίεσαν, ὥστε ἐντὸς: πολλοῦ χωρίου μηδένα αὐτῶν ἀκινδύνως πελάσαι δύνασθαι: [2] ἀρπάγας τε ἕτεραι ἔχουσαι καὶ καθιέντο ἐξαπιναιῶς καὶ ἀνέσπων διὰ βραχέος καὶ πλοῖα καὶ μηχανήματα. Πρίσκος πολίτης ἐμὸς τὰ πλείω αὐτῶν ἐτεκτῆνατο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θανάτου τε ἅμα ὤφλε καὶ ἐσώθη: ὁ γὰρ Σεουῆρος τὴν τέχνην αὐτοῦ μαθὼν ἐκώλυσεν αὐτὸν ἀποθανεῖν, κάκ τούτου ἕς τε ἄλλα τινὰ αὐτῷ ἐχρήσατο καὶ ἐς τὴν τῶν Ἀτρων πολιορκίαν, καὶ μόνον γε τὰ ἐκείνου μηχανήματα οὐκ ἐκάυθη ὑπὸ τῶν [3] βαρβάρων. καὶ πλοῖα δὲ τοῖς Βυζαντίοις πεντακόσια, τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα μονήρη, ἔστι δ' ἅ καὶ δίκροτα, κατεσεκύαστο ἐμβόλους ἔχοντα: καὶ τινὰ αὐτῶν ἐκατέρωθεν καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρύμνης καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρῶρας πηδαλίοις ἦσκητο καὶ κυβερνήτας ναύτας τε διπλοῦς εἶχεν, ὅπως αὐτοὶ μὴ ἀναστρεφόμενοι καὶ ἐπιπλέωσι καὶ ἀναχωρῶσι, καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους καὶ ἐν τῷ πρόσπλῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀπόπλῳ σφῶν σφάλλωσι. 12. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἔδρασαν καὶ ἔπαθον οἱ [p. 188] Βυζάντιοι, ἅτε τοῖς ἐκ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὡς εἰπεῖν στόλοις ἐπὶ ὅλον τριετῇ χρόνον πολιορκούμενοι: λελέξεται δὲ ὀλίγα καὶ τὰ ἐχόμενά τινος θαύματος. ἦρουν μὲν γὰρ καὶ πλοῖα τινὰ παραπλέοντα εὐκαιρῶς ἐπιτιθέμενοι, ἦρουν δὲ

καὶ τριῆρεις τῶν ^[2] ἐν τῷ ὄρμῳ τῶν ἐναντίων οὐσῶν. τὰς γὰρ ἀγκύρας αὐτῶν ὑφύδροις κολυμβηταῖς ὑποτέμνοντες, καὶ ἥλους ἐς τοὺς ταρσοὺς σφων, καλωδίοις ἐκ τῆς φιλίας ἐκδεδεμένους, ἐμπηγνύντες, ἐπεσπῶντο, ὥστ' αὐτὰς ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν αὐτομάτας προσπλεούσας ὀρᾶσθαι, μὴτ' ἐρέτου μὴτ' ἀνέμου μηδενὸς ἐπισπέρχοντος. ^[3] ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἐθελονταὶ τινες ἔμποροι, ὡς καὶ ἄκοντες, ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἠλίσκοντο, καὶ τὰ ἀγώγιμα μεγάλων χρημάτων πωλήσαντες ἐξέπλεον ἐκδιδράσκοντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντων αὐτοῖς ἐκδαπανηθέντων τῶν ἔνδον ἐς τὸ στενὸν κομιδῇ τῶν τε πραγμάτων καὶ τῶν ἐλπιδῶν τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐληλύθεσαν, ^[4] πρότερον μὲν, καίπερ πάνυ πιεζόμενοι ἄτε καὶ τῶν ἔξω πάντων ἀποκεκλειμένοι, ὅμως ἀντεῖχον, καὶ ἐς τε τὰς ναῦς τοῖς τε ξύλοις τοῖς ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν καὶ ταῖς θριξὶ ταῖς τῶν γυναικῶν, σχοινία ἀπ' αὐτῶν πλέκοντες, ἐχρῶντο, καὶ ὁπότε τινὲς τῷ τείχει προσβάλοιεν, τοὺς τε λίθους σφισι τοὺς ἐκ τῶν θεάτρων καὶ ἵππους χαλκοῦς καὶ ^[5] ἀνδριάντας χαλκοῦς ὅλους ἐπερρίπτουν: ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἡ τροφή σφας ἐπέλιπεν ἡ νανομισμένη καὶ δέρματα διαβρέχοντες ἦσθιον, εἴτα καὶ ταῦτα καταναλώθη, οἱ μὲν πλείους ἐξέπλευσαν, τηρήσαντες ^[p. 190] ζάλην καὶ καταιγίδα ὥστε μηδὲνα ἀνταναχθῆναι σφισιν, ἔν' ἡ ἀπόλωνται ἡ ἐπισιτίσωνται, καὶ προσπίπτοντες ἀπροσδοκῆτως τοῖς ἀγροῖς πάνθ' ὁμοίως ἐλῆζοντο, οἱ δ' ὑπολειπόμενοι ^[6] δεινότατον ἔργον ἔδρασαν: ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀσθενεστάτῳ ἐγένοντο, ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἐτράποντο καὶ ἀλλήλων ἐγεύοντο. 13. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἐν τούτοις ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἐπεὶ τὰ σκάφη καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν κατεγέμισαν, ἦραν χειμῶνα μέγαν καὶ τότε ἐπιτηρήσαντες. οὐ μὴν καὶ ὦναντό γε αὐτοῦ: οἱ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι καταβαρεῖς αὐτοὺς καὶ βραχὺ πάνυ τοῦ ^[2] ὕδατος ὑπερέχοντας ἰδόντες ἀντανήχθησαν, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐσκεδασμένοις, ὡς που καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος καὶ ὁ κλύδων ἦγε, προσπίπτοντες ναυμαχίας μὲν οὐδὲν ἔργον ἔσχον, τὰ δὲ δὴ πλοῖα αὐτῶν ἀφειδῶς ἔκοπτον, πολλὰ μὲν τοῖς κοντοῖς ὠθοῦντες, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐμβόλοις ἀναρρηγνύντες, ἔστι δ' ἃ καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ προσβολῇ σφῶν ἀνατρέποντες. ^[3] καὶ ἐκεῖνοι δρᾶσαι μὲν οὐδὲν, οὐδ' εἰ τὰ μάλιστα ἤθελον, ἠδύναντο: διαφυγεῖν δὲ πη πειρώμενοι οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος, ἀπλήστως αὐτῷ χρώμενοι, ἐβαπτίζοντο, οἱ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων καταλαμβάνόμενοι ^[4] διώλλυντο. θεώμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ ἐν τῷ Βυζαντίῳ τέως μὲν ἐθεοκλύτουν καὶ ἐπεβῶν ἄλλοτε ἄλλοι τοῖς γινομένοις, ὡς ἐκάστω τι τῆς θεάς ἐκείνης ἢ τοῦ πάθους προσέπιπτεν: ἐπεὶ δὲ πανσυδὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπολλυμένους εἶδον, τότε δὴ ^[p. 192] ἄθροοι καὶ ἀνῶμωξαν καὶ ἀνεθρήνησαν, κάκ τούτου τὸ τε λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τὴν νύκτα ^[5] πᾶσαν ἐπένθουν. τοσαῦτα γὰρ τὰ πάντα ναυάγια ἐγένετο ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὰς νήσους καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐξενεχθῆναι τινα, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἡττάν σφων, καὶ πρὶν ἀκουσθῆναι, γνωσθῆναι. καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τοῖς Βυζαντίοις ἐπὶ μεῖζον τὸ δεινὸν ^[6] ηὐξήθη: ὡς γὰρ ὁ κλύδων ἐστόρεστο, πᾶσα ἡ θάλασσα ἢ πρὸς τῷ Βυζαντίῳ καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυαγίων καὶ τοῦ αἵματος ἐπληρώθη, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐξεβράσθη, ὥστε καὶ χαλεπώτερον ἐκ τῆς ὀψεὸς σφων τὸ δεινὸν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔργου φανῆναι. 14. παρέδωσαν μὲν οὖν αὐτίκα τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἄκοντες οἱ Βυζάντιοι, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας καὶ τοὺς ἐν τέλει διεχρήσαντο ... πάντας,

πλὴν τοῦ πύκτου ὃς πολλὰ τοὺς Βυζαντίους ὠφέλησε καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἔβλαψεν: οὗτος γὰρ παραχρηῖμα πύξ τε παίσας τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινὰ καὶ ἐτέρῳ λαῷ ἐνθорών, ὅπως ὀργισθέντες διαφθείρωσιν αὐτόν, προαπώλετο. [2] ὁ δὲ Σεουήρος οὕτως ἦσθη ἐπὶ τῇ ἀλώσει τοῦ Βυζαντίου ὡς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ τότε ὦν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, ‘εἴλομεν [3] δὲ καὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον.’ ἔπαυσε δὲ τὴν πόλιν τῆς τε ἐλευθερίας καὶ τοῦ ἀξιώματος τοῦ πολιτικοῦ, καὶ δασμοφόρον ἀποφήνας τὰς τε οὐσίας τῶν πολιτῶν δημεύσας, αὐτὴν τε καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῆς Περινηθίοις ἐχαρίσατο, καὶ αὐτῇ ἐκεῖνοι οἷα κώμη [p. 194] [4] χρώμενοι οὐδὲν ὃ τι οὐχ ὕβριζον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν δικαίως πως ποιῆσαι ἔδοξε: τὰ δὲ δὴ τείχη τῆς πόλεως διαλύσας ἐκείνους μὲν οὐδὲν πλέον τῆς στερήσεως τῆς δόξης, ἣν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιδείξεως αὐτῶν ἐκαρποῦντο, ἐλύπησε, τῶν δὲ δὴ Ῥωμαίων μέγα καὶ φυλακτήριον καὶ ὀρμητήριον πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας βαρβάρους καθεῖλε. [5] καὶ εἶδον ἐγὼ τὰ τε τείχη πεπτωκότα ὥσπερ ὑπ’ ἄλλων τινῶν ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐάλωκότα, ἐτεθεάμην δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ ἐστηκότα καὶ ἡκηκόειν αὐτῶν καὶ λαλοῦντων. ἑπτὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν Θρακίων πυλῶν πύργοι καθήκοντες πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ἦσαν, τούτων δ’ εἰ μὲν τις ἄλλῳ τῷ [6] προσέμιξεν, ἥσυχος ἦν, εἰ δὲ δὴ τῷ πρώτῳ ἐνεβόησέ τινα ἢ καὶ λίθον ἐνέριψεν, αὐτὸς τε ἤχει καὶ ἐλάλει καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιεῖν παρεδίδου, καὶ οὕτω διὰ πάντων ὁμοίως ἐχώρει, οὐδὲ ἐπετάραπτον ἀλλήλους, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ μέρει πάντες, παρὰ τοῦ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ὁ ἕτερος, τὴν τε ἡχὴν καὶ τὴν φωνὴν διεδέχοντο τε καὶ παρεπέμποντο. 1. τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ τῶν Βυζαντίων τείχη ἦν, Σεουήρος δέ, ἐν ᾧ ταῦτα ἐπολιορκεῖτο, κατὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιθυμία δόξης ἐστράτευσε, τῶν τε Ὀρροηνῶν καὶ τῶν Ἀδιαβηνῶν καὶ τῶν Ἀραβίων.” Xiph. 299, 25-303, R. St. “ [2] ὅτι οἱ Ὀρροηνοὶ καὶ οἱ Ἀδιαβηνοὶ ἀποστάντες καὶ Νισιβιν πολιορκοῦντες, καὶ ἡττηθέντες ὑπὸ Σεουήρου, ἐπρεσβεύσαντο πρὸς αὐτόν μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Νιγρου θάνατον, οὐχ ὅπως ὡς καὶ ἡδικοκότες [p. 196] τι παραιτούμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐεργεσίαν ἀπαιτοῦντες ὡς καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦτο πεποιηκότες: τοὺς γὰρ στρατιώτας τὰ τοῦ Νιγρου [3] φρονήσαντας ἔλεγον ἐκείνου ἕνεκα ἐφθαρκεῖναι. καὶ τινα καὶ δῶρα αὐτῷ ἔπεμψαν, τοὺς τε αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τὰ λάφυρα τὰ περιοντα ἀποδώσειν ὑπέσχοντο. οὐ μὲντοι οὔτε τὰ τείχη ἃ ἠρήκεσαν ἐκλιπεῖν οὔτε φρουροὺς λαβεῖν ἤθελον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐξαχθῆναι ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἠξίου. διὰ ταῦτα ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος συνέστη.” Exc. UG (p. 413). “ 2. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Εὐφράτην διαβάς ἐς τὴν πολεμίαν ἐσέβαλεν, ἀνύδρου τῆς χώρας οὕσης ἄλλως τε δὴ καὶ τότε πλέον ὑπὸ τοῦ θέρους ἐξικμασμένης ἐκινδύνευσεν παμπληθεῖς στρατιώτας ἀποβαλεῖν: [2] κεκμηκόσι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς πορείας καὶ τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ κονιορτοῦς ἐμπίπτων ἰσχυρῶς ἐλύπησεν, ὥστε μῆτε βαδίζειν μῆτε λαλεῖν ἔτι δύνασθαι, τοῦτο δὲ μόνον φθέγγεσθαι, ‘ὕδωρ ὕδωρ.’ ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεφάνη μὲν, ἐξ ἴσου δὲ τῷ μὴ εὐρεθέντι ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ ἀτοπίας ἦν, ὁ Σεουήρος κύλικά τε ἦτησε καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος πληρώσας ἀπάντων [3] ὀρώντων ἐξέπιε. καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτω καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς προσπίνοντες ἀνερρώσθησαν: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐς τὴν Νισιβιν ὁ Σεουήρος ἐλθὼν αὐτὸς μὲν ἐνταῦθα ὑπέμεινε, Λατερανὸν δὲ καὶ Κάνδιδον καὶ

Λαῖτον ἐς τοὺς προειρημένους βαρβάρους ἄλλον ἄλλη ἀπέστειλε, καὶ ἐπερχόμενοι οὗτοι τὴν τε χώραν τῶν βαρβάρων ἐδήουν [p. 198] [4] καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐλάμβανον. μέγα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ Σεουήρῳ φρονοῦντι, ὡς καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ συνέσει καὶ ἀνδρίᾳ ὑπερβεβηκότι, πρᾶγμα παραδοξότατον συνηνέχθη: Κλαῦδιος γάρ τις ληστής καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ τὴν Συρίαν κατατρέχων καὶ πολλῇ διὰ τοῦτο σπουδῇ ζητούμενος, προσῆλθέ τε αὐτῷ ποτὲ μεθ' ἱππέων ὡς καὶ χιλίαρχός τις ὢν, καὶ ἡσπάσατο αὐτὸν καὶ ἐφίλησε, καὶ οὔτε εὐθὺς ἐφωράθη οὐθ' ὕστερον συνελήφθη.” Χιρh. 303, 21-304, R. St. “ [5] ὅτι οἱ Ἀράβιοι, ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς σφισι τῶν πλησιοχώρων βοηθῆσαι ἠθέλησε πρὸς Σεουῆρον αὐθις ἐπρεσβεύσαντο, ἐπεικέστερά τινα προτεινόμενοι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἔτυχον ὧν ἐβούλοντο, ἐπειδὴ μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦλθον.” Exc. UG (p. 414). “ 3. ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ τοὺς Σκύθας πολεμησείοντας βρονταὶ τε καὶ ἀστραπαὶ μετ' ὄμβρου καὶ κεραυνοὶ βουλευομένοις σφίσιν ἐξαίφνης ἐμπεσόντες, καὶ τοὺς πρώτους αὐτῶν τρεῖς ἀνδρας ἀποκτείναντες, ἐπέσχον. [2] ὁ δὲ Σεουῆρος αὐθις τρία τέλη τοῦ στρατοῦ ποιήσας, καὶ τὸ μὲν τῷ Λαίτῳ τὸ δὲ τῷ Ἀνυλλίνῳ καὶ τῷ Πρόβῳ δούς, ἐπὶ τὴν † ἀρχὴν † ἐξέπεμψε. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταύτην, τριχῇ ἐσβαλόντες, οὐκ ἀμογητὶ ἐχειροῦντο: ὁ δὲ Σεουῆρος ἀξίωμα τῇ Νισίβει δούς ἱππεῖ ταύτην ἐπέτρεψεν, ἔλεγέ τε μεγάλην τέ τινα χώραν προσκεκτῆσθαι καὶ πρόβολον [3] αὐτὴν τῆς Συρίας πεποιῆσθαι. ἐλέγχεται [p. 200] δὲ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ πολέμων ἡμῖν συνεχῶν, ὡς καὶ δαπανημάτων πολλῶν, αἰτία οὕσα: δίδωσι μὲν γὰρ ἐλάχιστα, ἀναλίσκει δὲ παμπληθῆ, καὶ πρὸς ἐγγυτέρους καὶ τῶν Μήδων καὶ τῶν Πάρθων προσεληλυθότες αἰεὶ τρόπον τινὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μαχόμεθα.” Χιρh. 304, 8-22 R. St.

“ 4. τῷ δὲ Σεουήρῳ πόλεμος αὖθις, μήπω ἐκ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν ἀναπνεύσαντι, ἐμφύλιος πρὸς τὸν Ἀλβῖνον τὸν Καίσαρα συνηνέχθη. ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτῷ ἔτι ἐδίδου τιμὴν, ἐπειδὴ τὸν Νίγρον ἐκποδῶν ἐποίησατο, τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ ἐνταῦθα ὡς ἐβούλετο κατεστήσατο: ὁ δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐζήτει ὑπεροχὴν. [2] συγκινουμένης οὖν διὰ ταῦτα τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡμεῖς μὲν οἱ βουλευταὶ ἡσυχίαν ἤγομεν, ὅσοι μὴ πρὸς τοῦτον ἢ ἐκεῖνον φανερώς ἀποκλίναντες ἐκοινώνουν σφίσι καὶ τῶν κινδύνων καὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων, ὁ δὲ δῆμος οὐκ ἐκατέρησεν ἀλλ’ ἐκφανεστάτα κατωδύρατο. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἡ τελευταία πρὸ τῶν Κρονίων ἵπποδρομία, καὶ συνέδραμεν ἐς αὐτὴν ἅπλεκτόν τι χρεῖμα ἀνθρώπων. [3] παρῆν δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ τῇ θῆρ διὰ τὸν ὕπατον φίλον μου ὄντα, καὶ πάντα τὰ λεχθέντα ἀκριβῶς ἤκουσα, ὅθεν καὶ γράψαι τι περὶ αὐτῶν ἡδυνήθην. ἐγένετο δὲ ὥδε. συνῆλθον μὲν ὥσπερ εἶπον ἀμύθητοι, καὶ τὰ ἄρματα ἐξαχῶς ἀμιλλώμενα ἐθεάσαντο, ὅπερ που καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Κλεάνδρου ἐγεγόνει, μηδὲν μηδένα παράπαν ἐπαινέσαντες, [4] ὅπερ εἴθισται: ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκεῖνοί τε οἱ δρόμοι ἐπαύσαντο καὶ ἔμελλον οἱ ἥνιοχοι ἐτέρου ἄρξασθαι, [p. 204] ἐνταῦθα ἡδη σιγάσαντες ἀλλήλους ἐξαίφνης τάς τε χεῖρας πάντες ἅμα συνεκρότησαν καὶ προσεπεβόησαν, εὐτυχίαν τῇ τοῦ δήμου [5] σωτηρίᾳ αἰτούμενοι. εἰπόν τε τοῦτο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ βασιλίδα καὶ ἀθάνατον ὀνομάσαντες ‘μέχρι πότε τοιαῦτα πάσχομεν;’ ἔκραξαν ‘καὶ μέχρι ποῦ πολεμοῦμεθα;’ εἰπόντες δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ τοιουτότροπα τέλος ἐξεβόησαν ὅτι ‘ταῦτά ἐστιν,’ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν ἵππων ἐτράποντο. οὕτω μὲν ἔκ τινος θείας [6] ἐπιπνοίας ἐνεθουσίασαν: οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλως τοσαῦτα μυριάδες ἀνθρώπων οὔτε ἤρξαντο τὰ αὐτὰ ἅμα ἀναβοᾶν ὥσπερ τις ἀκριβῶς χορὸς δεδιδαγμένος, οὐτ’ εἶπον αὐτὰ ἀπταιστῶς ὡς καὶ μεμελετημένα. ταῦτά τε οὖν ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς ἐτάραττε, καὶ πῦρ αἰφνιδιον νυκτὸς ἐν τῷ ἅερὶ τῷ πρὸς βορρᾶν τοσοῦτον ὥφθη ὥστε τοὺς μὲν τὴν πόλιν ὅλην τοὺς δὲ καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν [7] αὐτὸν καίεσθαι δοκεῖν. ὁ δὲ δὴ μάλιστα θαυμάσας ἔχω, ψεκᾶς ἐν αἰθρίᾳ ἀργυροειδῆς ἐς τὴν τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἀγορὰν κατερρῦη. φερομένην μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν οὐκ εἶδον, πεσοῦσης δὲ αὐτῆς ἡσθόμην, καὶ κέρματά τινα ἀπ’ αὐτῆς χαλκᾷ κατηργύρωσα, ἃ καὶ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας τὴν αὐτὴν ὄψιν εἶχε: τῇ γὰρ τετάρτῃ πᾶν τὸ ἐπαλειφθὲν αὐτοῖς ἡφανίσθη. 5. Νουμεριανὸς δέ τις γραμματιστὴς τῶν τὰ παιδιά γράμματα διδασκόντων, ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν, οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅ τι δόξαν αὐτῷ, ἀφορμηθεὶς, βουλευτῆς τε εἶναι τῶν Ῥωμαίων πλασάμενος καὶ ἐπὶ στρατιᾶς ἄθροισιν ὑπὸ τοῦ [p. 206] Σεουήρου πεμφθῆναι, συνήγαγέ τινα βραχεῖαν πρῶτον ἰσχύν, καὶ τινὰς τῶν τοῦ Ἀλβίνου ἱππέων διέφθειρε, καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ [2] Σεουήρου ἐνεανιεύσατο. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Σεουήρος, καὶ νομίσας ὄντως τινὰ τῶν βουλευτῶν εἶναι, ἐπέστειλεν ἐπαινῶν τε αὐτὸν καὶ δύναμιν κελεύων πλείονα προσλαβεῖν: καὶ ὃς λαβὼν πλείονα δύναμιν ἄλλα τε θαυμαστὰ ἐπεδείξατο, καὶ χιλίας καὶ ἑπτακοσίας καὶ πεντήκοντα μυριάδας [3] δραχμῶν ἐλὼν τῷ

Σεουήρῳ ἔπεμψε. νικήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Σεουήρου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθὼν οὐτ' ἀπεκρύψατό τι οὐτ' ἦτησεν ὡς ἀληθῶς βουλευτῆς γενέσθαι, καὶ τιμαῖς μεγάλαις πλοῦτῳ τε ἂν αὐξηθῆναι δυνηθεὶς οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀγρῶ τινί, σμικρὸν τι ἐφ' ἡμέραν λαμβάνων παρ' αὐτοῦ, διεβίω. 6. ὁ δὲ δὴ ἀγὼν τῷ τε Σεουήρῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀλβίνῳ πρὸς τῷ Λουγδούνῳ τοιοῦσδε ἐγένετο. πεντεκαίδεκα μὲν μυριάδες στρατιωτῶν συναμφοτέροις ὑπῆρχον, παρῆσαν δὲ καὶ ἀμφοτέροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἅτε περὶ ψυχῆς θέοντες, καίτοι τοῦ Σεουήρου [2] μηδεμιᾷ πω μάχῃ ἐτέρᾳ παραγεγονότος. ἦν δὲ ὁ μὲν Ἀλβῖνος καὶ τῷ γένει καὶ τῇ παιδείᾳ προήκων, ἄτερος δὲ τὰ πολέμια κρείττων καὶ δεινὸς στρατηγῆσαι. συνέβη δὲ τὸν Ἀλβῖνον προτέρᾳ μάχῃ νικῆσαι τὸν Λοῦπον τῶν τοῦ Σεουήρου στρατηγῶν ὄντα, καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ διαφθεῖραι στρατιωτῶν. ὁ δὲ τότε ἀγὼν [3] πολλὰς ἔσχεν ἰδέας τε καὶ τροπὰς. τὸ μὲν γὰρ λαὸν κέρας τοῦ Ἀλβίνου ἠττήθη τε καὶ κατέφυγεν ἐς τὸ ἔρυμα, καὶ οἱ Σεουήρειοι στρατιῶται διώκοντες συνεσέπεσον, καὶ ἐκείνους τε ἐφόνευσαν [p. 208] καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς διήρπαζον. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ οἱ περὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας τεταγμένοι τοῦ Ἀλβίνου στρατιῶται, κρυπτὰς τάφρους ἔχοντες πρὸ αὐτῶν καὶ ὀρύγματα γῆ ἐπιπολαίως κεκαλυμμένα, μέχρι μὲν ἐκείνων προήεσαν καὶ ἠκόντιζον πόρρωθεν, περαιτέρῳ δὲ οὐ προεχώρουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς δεδιότες ἀνέστρεφον, ὅπως ἐπισπάσωνται τοὺς [4] ἐναντίους ἐς δίωξιν: ὁ δὴ ποτε καὶ ἐγένετο. ἀγανακτήσαντες γὰρ οἱ Σεουήρειοι πρὸς τὴν δι' ὀλίγου αὐτῶν ἐξόρμησιν, καὶ καταφρονήσαντες αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν ἐκ βραχείας ἀνάφευσιν, ὥρμησαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ παντὸς τοῦ μεταίχμιου σφῶν ἐμβατοῦ ὄντος, καὶ γενόμενοι κατὰ τὰς τάφρους [5] παθήματι δεινῷ συνηνέχθησαν: οἱ τε γὰρ πρωτοστάται καταρραγέντων εὐθύς τῶν ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς ἐπικειμένων ἐς τὰ ὀρύγματα ἐνέπεσον, καὶ οἱ ἐπιτεταγμένοι σφίσιν ἐπίπτοντες αὐτοῖς ἐσφάλλοντο καὶ κατέπιπτον, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ δείσαντες ἀνεχώρουν ὀπίσω καὶ ἅτε ἐξαίφνης ἀναστρεφόμενοι αὐτοὶ τε ἔπαιον καὶ τοὺς οὐραγοῦντας ἀνέτρεπον, ὥστε καὶ ἐς φάραγγα αὐτοὺς βαθεῖαν [6] συνῶσαι. ἐγένετο δὴ τούτων τε καὶ τῶν ἐς τὰς τάφρους πεσόντων φόνος πολλὸς ἀναμιξὺ ἵππων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν. ἐν δὲ τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ καὶ οἱ μεταξὺ τῆς τε φάραγγος καὶ τῶν τάφρων βαλλόμενοι τε καὶ τοξευόμενοι διεφθείροντο. ἰδὼν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Σεουήρος ἐπεκούρησε μὲν αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῶν δορυφόρων, τοσούτου δὲ ἐδέησεν αὐτοὺς ὠφελεῖσθαι ὥστε καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους ὀλίγου δεῖν προσαπώλεσε καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν ἵππον ἀποβαλὼν [7] ἐκινδύνευσεν. ὡς δὲ εἶδε φεύγοντας πάντας τοὺς [p. 210] ἑαυτοῦ, τὴν χλαμύδα περιρρηξάμενος καὶ τὸ ξίφος σπασάμενος ἐς τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐσεπήδησεν, ὅπως ἢ αἰσχυνθέντες ὑποστρέψωσιν ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτοῖς συναπόληται. ἔστησαν γοῦν τινὲς τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν ἰδόντες καὶ ὑπέστρεψαν, κἂν τούτῳ τοῖς ἐφεπομένοις σφίσιν ἐναντίοι ἐξαίφνης φανέντες συχνοὺς μὲν ἐκείνων ὡς καὶ Ἀλβινεῖους κατέκοψαν, πάντας δὲ τοὺς ἐπιδιώκοντάς σφας [8] ἔτρεψαν. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐνταῦθα ἵππεῖς ἐκ πλαγίου οἱ μετὰ τοῦ Λαίτου ἐπιγενόμενοι τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξειργάσαντο. ὁ γὰρ Λαῖτος, ἕως μὲν ἀγχωμάλως ἠγωνίζοντο, περιεωρᾶτο ἐλπίζων ἐκείνους τε ἀμφοτέρους ἀπολεῖσθαι καὶ ἑαυτῷ τὸ κράτος τοὺς λοιποὺς στρατιώτας ἐκατέρωθεν δώσειν, ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδεν ἐπικρατέστερα τὰ τοῦ

Σεουήρου γενόμενα, προσεπελάβετο τοῦ ἔργου. 7. ὁ μὲν δὴ Σεουήρος οὕτως ἐνίκησεν, ἡ δὲ δύναμις ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἰσχυρῶς ἔπταισεν ἅτε ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἀναριθμητῶν πεσόντων. καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν κρατησάντων ὠλοφύραντο τὸ πάθος: [2] τὸ τε γὰρ πεδῖον πᾶν μεστὸν νεκρῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἵππων ἐωρᾶτο, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν τραύμασι πολλοῖς κατακεκομμένοι καὶ οἷα κρεουργηθέντες ἔκειντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄτρωτοι ἐσεσώρευντο, τὰ τε ὅπλα ἔρριπτο, καὶ τὸ αἷμα πολὺ ἐρρῦη, ὥστε καὶ [3] ἐς τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἐσπεσεῖν. ὁ δ' Ἀλβῖνος καταφυγὼν ἐς οἰκίαν τινὰ πρὸς τῷ Ῥοδανῶ κειμένην, ἐπειδὴ πάντα τὰ πέριξ φρουρούμενα ἦσθετο, ἑαυτὸν ἀπέκτεινε: λέγω γὰρ οὐχ ὅσα ὁ Σεουήρος ἔγραψεν, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἀληθῶς ἐγένετο. ἰδὼν δ' οὖν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς [p. 212] πολλὰ δὲ τῇ γλῶττι χαρισάμενος, τὸ μὲν ἄλλο ρίφῃναι ἐκέλευσε, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην [4] πέμψας ἀνεσταύρωσεν. ἐφ' οἷς δῆλος γενόμενος ὡς οὐδὲν εἶη οἱ αὐτοκράτορος ἀγαθοῦ, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς τε καὶ τὸν δῆμον, οἷς ἐπέστειλεν, ἐξεφόβησεν: ἅτε γὰρ παντὸς ἤδη τοῦ ὠπλισμένου κεκρατηκῶς ἐξέχεεν ἐς τοὺς ἀνόπλους πᾶν ὅσον ὀργῆς ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν χρόνου ἡθροίκει. μάλιστα δ' ἡμᾶς ἐξέπληξεν ὅτι τοῦ τε Μάρκου υἱὸν καὶ τοῦ Κομμόδου ἀδελφὸν ἑαυτὸν ἔλεγε, τῷ τε Κομμόδῳ, ὃν πρόωγν ὕβριζεν, ἡρωικᾶς 8. ἐδίδου τιμάς. πρὸς τε τὴν βουλὴν λόγον ἀναγινώσκων, καὶ τὴν μὲν Σύλλου καὶ Μαρίου καὶ Αὐγούστου αὐστηρίαν τε καὶ ὠμότητα ὡς ἀσφαλεστέραν ἐπαινῶν, τὴν δὲ Πομπηίου καὶ Καίσαρος ἐπιείκειαν ὡς ὀλεθρίαν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις γεγεννημένην κακιζων, ἀπολογία τινὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ [2] Κομμόδου ἐπήγαγε, καθαρτόμενος τῆς βουλῆς ὡς οὐ δικαίως ἐκείνον ἀτιμαζούσης, εἶπε καὶ αὐτῆς οἱ πλείους αἴσχιον βιοτεύουσιν. ‘εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἦν’ ἔφη ‘δεῖνόν, ὅτι αὐτοχειρίᾳ ἐφόνευεν ἐκεῖνος θηρία, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμῶν τις χθὲς καὶ πρόωγν ἐν Ὡσίοις, ὑπατευκῶς γέρων, δημοσίᾳ μετὰ πόρνῃς [3] πάρδαλιν μιμουμένης ἔπαιζεν. ἀλλ’ ἐμονομάχει νῆ Δία. ὑμῶν δ’ οὐδεὶς μονομαχεῖ; πῶς οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τί τάς τε ἀσπίδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ κράνη τὰ χρυσᾶ ἐκεῖνα ἐπρίαντό τινες;’ ἀναγνοὺς δὲ [p. 214] ταῦτα τριάκοντα μὲν καὶ πέντε ἀπέλυσε τῶν τὰ [4] Ἀλβίνου φρονῆσαι αἰτιαθέντων, καὶ ὡς μηδεμίαν τὸ παράπαν αἰτίαν ἐσχηκόσιν αὐτοῖς προσεφέρετο ‘ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τῆς γερουσίας’, ἐννέα δὲ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἀνδρῶν θάνατον κατεψηφίσατο, ἐν οἷς ἄρα καὶ Σουλπικιανὸς ὁ τοῦ Περτινακος πενθερὸς ἡριθμεῖτο.” Xiph. 304, 22-308, R. St. “ [5] ὅτι πάντες μὲν ἐπλάττοντο τὰ Σευήρου φρονεῖν, ἡλέγχοντο δὲ ἐν ταῖς αἰφνιδίαις ἐπαγγελίαις, μὴ δυνάμενοι ἐπικαλύπτειν τὸ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κεκρυμμένον: τῆς γὰρ ἀκοῆς ἐξαπίνης αὐτοῖς προσπιπτούσης ἀφυλάκτως ἐκινούντο, καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ὀψεως καὶ τῶν ἡθῶν ὡς ἕκαστοι κατάδηλοι ἐγίνοντο. τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ σφόδρα προσποιεῖσθαι πλέον ἐγινώσκοντο.” Petr. Patr. exc.Vat. 130 (p. 227 Mai.=p. 210, 19-26 Dind.) “ 9. [5] ὅτι ὁ Σεουήρος ἐπεχείρησε τοὺς τιμωρουμένους ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ... τῷ Κλάρῳ τῷ Ἑρικήῳ μηνυτῇ κατ’ αὐτῶν χρήσασθαι, ἵνα τὸν τε ἄνδρα διαβάλῃ καὶ τὸν ἔλεγχον ἀξιοχρεώτερον πρὸς τε τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὴν δόξαν ποιεῖσθαι νομισθεῖν: καὶ τὴν γε σωτηρίαν τὴν τε ἄδειαν [6] αὐτῷ δώσειν ὑπέσχετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τοιοῦτόν τι ἐνδεῖξαι

εἵλετο, πρὸς τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν ἐτράπετο, καὶ τοῦτον ἀνέπεισεν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' αὐτὸν ἀφῆκεν, ὅσον γε μήτ' ἀποκτείνειν μήτ' ἀτιμάσαι: ταῖς γὰρ δὴ βασάνοις ἰσχυρῶς πάντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἠκριβώσεν, ἐν οὐδενί ^[p. 216] λόγῳ τὸ ἀξίωμα τὸ τότε αὐτῷ ποιησάμενος. 16” Exc. Val. 344 (p. 737). “ ὅτι διὰ τοὺς Καληδονίους μὴ ἐμμείναντας 5. ^[4] ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσι καὶ τοῖς Μαιάταις παρεσκευασμένους ἀμῦναι, διὰ τε τὸ τότε τὸν Σεουήρον τῷ παροίκῳ πολέμῳ προσκεῖσθαι, κατηναγκάσθη ὁ Λοῦπος μεγάλων χρημάτων τὴν εἰρήνην παρὰ τῶν Μαιατῶν ἐκπρίασθαι, αἰχμαλώτους τινὰς ὀλίγους ἀπολαβών.” Exc. UR (p. 414). “ 9. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Σεουήρος ἐκστρατεύει κατὰ τῶν Πάρθων: ἀσχολουμένου γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐς τοὺς ἐμφυλίους πολέμους ἐκεῖνοι ἀδείας λαβόμενοι τὴν τε Μεσοποταμίαν εἶλον, στρατεύσαντες παμπληθεῖ, καὶ μικροῦ καὶ τὴν Νισιβιν ἐχειρώσαντο, εἰ μὴ Λαῖτος αὐτὴν, πολιορκούμενος ἐν ^[2] αὐτῇ, διεσώσατο. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐδοξάσθη, ὦν καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα καὶ τὰ ἴδια καὶ τὰ δημόσια καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις καὶ ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἄριστος. ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὴν προειρημένην Νισιβιν ὁ Σεουήρος ἐνέτυχε συῖ μεγίστῳ: ἵππεά τε γὰρ ἔκτεινεν ὀρμήσας καταβαλεῖν αὐτὸν ^[p. 218] πειρώμενον καὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἰσχύι θαρρήσαντα, μόλις δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν στρατιωτῶν συλληφθεὶς τε καὶ σφαγεῖς, τριάκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντων τῶν συλλαβόντων αὐτόν, τῷ Σεουήρῳ προσεκομίσθη. ^[3] τῶν δὲ Πάρθων οὐ μεινάντων αὐτόν ἀλλ' οἵκαδε ἀναχωρησάντων ἦρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Οὐολόγαισος, οὗ ἀδελφὸς συνῆν τῷ Σεουήρῳ πλοῖα κατασκευάσας ὁ Σεουήρος ἐν τῷ Εὐφράτῃ, καὶ πλέων τε καὶ βαδίζων παρ' αὐτόν, διὰ τὸ εἶναι λίαν ὀξύτατα καὶ ταχινὰ καὶ εὖ ἐσταλμένα ἑῆς παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ὕλης καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖσε χωρίων ἄφθονον διδούσης αὐτῷ τὴν τῶν ξύλων χορηγίαν' τὰ κατασκευασθέντα, ταχέως τὴν τε Σελεύκειαν ^[4] καὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἐκλειφθείσας ἔλαβε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν Κτησιφῶντα ἐλὼν ἐκείνην τε πᾶσαν διαρπάσαι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐφῆκε, φόνον τε ἀνθρώπων πλεῖστον εἰργάσατο, καὶ ζῶντας ἐς δέκα μυριάδας εἶλεν. οὐ μέντοι οὔτε τὸν Οὐολόγαισον ἐπεδίωξεν οὔτε τὴν Κτησιφῶντα κατέσχευεν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦτο μόνον ἐστρατευκὼς ἴν' αὐτὴν διαρπάσῃ ὥχετο, τὸ μὲν ἀγνωσίᾳ τῶν χωρίων τὸ δ' ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. ^[5] ὑπέστρεψε δὲ καθ' ἑτέραν ὁδόν: τὰ τε γὰρ ξύλα καὶ ὁ χόρτος ὁ ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ εὗρεθεὶς κατανάλωτο: καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῷ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πεζῇ ἄνω παρὰ τὸν Τίγγριν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πλοίων ἀνεπορεύθησαν.” Xiph. 308, 21-309, R. St., Exc. Val. 345 (p. 737). “ 10. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ Σεουήρος τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν διαβὰς ἐπειράθη μὲν καὶ τῶν Ἄτρων οὐ πόρρω ὄντων, ἐπέρανε δ' οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα κατεκαύθη καὶ στρατιῶται συχνοὶ μὲν ἀπώλοντο ^[p. 220] ἀμυλλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐτρώθησαν. ἀπανέστη οὖν ^[2] ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀνέξευξεν ὁ Σεουήρος. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἐπολέμει, δύο ἄνδρας τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀπέκτεινεν, Ἰοῦλιον Κρίσπον χιλιαρχοῦντα τῶν δορυφόρων, ὅτι ἀχθεσθεὶς τῇ τοῦ πολέμου κακώσει ἔπος τι τοῦ Μάρωνος τοῦ ποιητοῦ παρεφθέγγατο, ἐν ᾧ ἐνῆν στρατιώτης τις τῶν μετὰ Τοῦρνον τῷ Αἰνείᾳ ἀντιπολεμούντων ὀδυρόμενος καὶ λέγων ὅτι ἴνα δη τὴν Λαουινίαν ὁ Τοῦρνος ἀγάγηται, ἡμεῖς ἐν οὐδενί λόγῳ παραπολλύμεθα.’ καὶ τὸν κατηγορήσαντα αὐτοῦ στρατιώτην Οὐαλέριον

χιλίαρχον [3] ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ὁ Σεουήρος ἀπέδειξεν. ἀπέκτεινε δὲ καὶ τὸν Λαῖτον, ὅτι τε φρόνημα εἶχε καὶ ὅτι ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἠγαπᾶτο καὶ οὐκ ἄλλως στρατεύσειν ἔλεγον, εἰ μὴ Λαῖτος αὐτῶν ἠγοῖτο. καὶ τούτου τὸν φόνον, διότι οὐκ εἶχε φανεράν αἰτίαν εἰ μὴ τὸν φθόνον, τοῖς στρατιώταις προσῆπτεν ὡς παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῦ τοῦτο τετοληκόσιν. 11. αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ Ἄτρα ἐστράτευσε, πολλὰ μὲν σιτία παρασκευάσας πολλὰ δὲ καὶ μηχανήματα ἐτοιμασάμενος· καὶ γὰρ δεινὸν ἐποιεῖτο, τῶν ἄλλων κεχειρωμένων, μόνην ταύτην ἐν μέσῳ κειμένην ἀντέχειν. καὶ ἀπώλεσε καὶ χρήματα πλεῖστα καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα πάντα, πλὴν τῶν Πρισκειῶν, ὡς ἀνωτέρω ἔφην, καὶ σὺν [2] τούτοις καὶ στρατιώτας πολλούς. συχνοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐν ταῖς προνομαῖς ἐφθείροντο, τῆς βαρβαρικῆς ἵππου ἑφημὶ δὴ τῆς τῶν Ἀραβίων [p. 222] πανταχοῦ ὀξέως τε καὶ σφοδρῶς ἐπιπιπτούσης αὐτοῖς· καὶ οἱ Ἀτρηνοὶ ἐξικνουῖντο μὲν καὶ ταῖς τοξείαις ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἑκαὶ γὰρ ἐκ μηχανῶν [3] βέλη τινὰ ἐξέκρουον, ὥστε πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν τοῦ Σεουήρου ὑπασπιστῶν βαλεῖν, σὺνδύο τε αὐτῶν βέλη ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν ῥύμην ἰέντων, πολλαῖς τε ἅμα χερσὶ καὶ πολλοῖς τοξεύμασι βαλλόντων, πλεῖστον δὲ ὅμως ἐκάκωσαν αὐτοὺς ἐπειδὴ τῷ τείχει προσέμιξαν, καὶ πολὺ πλεῖον ἐπεὶ καὶ [4] διέρρηξάν τι αὐτοῦ· τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τὸ νάφθα τὸ ἀσφαλτῶδες ἐκείνο, περὶ οὗ ἄνω μοι γέγραπται, ἀφιέντες σφίσι τὰ τε μηχανήματα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας πάντας, οἷς ἐπεβλήθη, κατέπρησαν. καὶ αὐτὰ ὁ Σεουήρος ἀπὸ βήματος 12. ὑψηλοῦ ἐθεώρει. πεσόντος δὲ πῃ τοῦ ἔξωθεν περιβόλου, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πάντων προθυμουμένων ἐς τὸν λοιπὸν ἐσβιάσασθαι, ἐκώλυσεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Σεουήρος τοῦτο πρᾶξι, τορῶς πανταχόθεν τὸ ἀνακλητικὸν σημανθῆναι κελεύσας· δόξα [2] τε γὰρ τοῦ χωρίου ὡς καὶ πάμπολλα τὰ τε ἄλλα χρήματα καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἥλιου ἀναθήματα ἔχοντος μεγάλῃ ἦν, καὶ προσεδόκησεν ἐθελοντὶ τοὺς Ἀραβίους, ἵνα μὴ βίᾳ ἀλόντες ἀνδραποδισθῶσιν, [3] ὁμολογήσιν. μίαν γοῦν διαλιπὼν ἡμέραν, ὡς οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο, προσέταξεν αὐθις τοῖς στρατιώταις τῷ τείχει, καίπερ ἀνοικοδομηθέντι νυκτός, προσβαλεῖν· καὶ αὐτῷ τῶν μὲν Εὐρωπαίων τῶν δυναμένων τι κατεργάσασθαι οὐδεὶς ἔτ' ὀργῇ ὑπήκουσεν, ἕτεροι δὲ δὴ Σύροι [p. 224] ἀναγκασθέντες ἀντ' αὐτῶν προσβαλεῖν κακῶς [4] ἐφθάρησαν. καὶ οὕτω θεὸς ὁ ῥυσάμενος τὴν πόλιν τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας δυνηθέντας ἂν ἐς αὐτὴν ἐσελθεῖν διὰ τοῦ Σεουήρου ἀνεκάλεσε, καὶ τὸν Σεουήρον αὖ βουληθέντα αὐτὴν μετὰ τοῦτο [5] λαβεῖν διὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκώλυσεν. οὕτως γοῦν ὁ Σεουήρος ἐπὶ τούτοις διηπορήθη ὥστε τινὸς τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ὑποσχομένου αὐτῷ ἕαν γε αὐτῷ δώσῃ πεντακοσίους καὶ πεντήκοντα μόνους τῶν Εὐρωπαϊῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἄνευ τοῦ τῶν ἄλλων κινδύνου τὴν πόλιν ἐξαίρησιν, ἔφη πάντων ἀκουόντων ἑκαὶ πόθεν τοσοῦτους στρατιώτας ἔχω· πρὸς τὴν ἀπίθειαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοῦτο εἰπών.” Χιρ. 309, 17-311, R. St.

“ 13. εἴκοσι δ' οὖν ἡμέρας τῇ πολιορκίᾳ προσεδρεύσας ἐς τὴν Παλαιστίνην μετὰ τοῦτο ἦλθε καὶ τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἐνήγισε, καὶ ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον τὴν ἄνω διὰ τοῦ Νείλου ἀνέπλευσε καὶ εἶδε πᾶσαν αὐτὴν πλὴν βραχέων· οὐ γὰρ ἠδυνήθη πρὸς τὰ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας μεθόρια διὰ λοιμῶδη νόσον [2] ἐσβαλεῖν. καὶ ἐπολυπραγμόνησε πάντα καὶ τὰ πάνυ κεκρυμμένα· ἦν γὰρ οἷος μηδὲν μήτε

ἀνθρώπινον μήτε θεῖον ἀδιερεύνητον καταλιπεῖν: κᾶκ τοῦτου τὰ τε βιβλία πάντα τὰ ἀπόρητον τι ἔχοντα, ὅσα γε καὶ εὐρεῖν ἠδυνήθη, ἐκ πάντων ὡς εἶπεῖν τῶν ἀδύτων ἀνέειλε καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου μνημεῖον συνέκλεισεν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἔτι μήτε τὸ τοῦτου σῶμα ἴδῃ μήτε τὰ ἐν ἐκείνοις γεγραμμένα ἀναλέξηται.” Xiph. 311, 5-14 R. St., Exc. Val. 346 (p. 737)=Suid. s. vv. *sebh=ros sofisthls “ Ῥωμαῖος, οἶος, ἐτ ἀναλεξάμενος. [p. 226] [3] καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ’ ἐποiei: ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τῆς Αἰγύπτου οὐδὲν δέομαι γράφειν, ὃ δὲ δὴ περὶ τοῦ Νείλου πολλαχόθεν ἀκριβῶσας ἔχω, δικαιοτάτος εἰμι εἰπεῖν. ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ Ἀτλαντος τοῦ ὄρους σαφῶς ἀναδιδόται. τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Μακεννίτιδι παρ’ αὐτῷ τῷ ὠκεανῷ πρὸς ἐσπέραν, καὶ ὑπεραίρει πολὺ πλείστον ἀπάντων ὀρῶν, ὅθεν οἱ ποιηταὶ κίονα αὐτὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἶναι ἔφησαν: οὔτε γὰρ ἀνέβη ποτέ τις ἐπ’ ἄκρον [4] αὐτοῦ οὔτε τὰς κορυφὰς αὐτοῦ εἶδε. χιόνος τε οὖν αἰεὶ διὰ ταῦτα πεπλήρωται, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐξ αὐτῆς παμπληθὲς ὑπὸ τὸ θέρος ἀφίησιν. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως ἐλώδη πάντα τὰ περὶ τοὺς πρόποδας αὐτοῦ, τότε δὲ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον πληθύνεται, καὶ ἐκ τοῦτου τὸν Νεῖλον τὴν ὠραίαν ἐπαύξει: πηγὴ γὰρ ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ που καὶ τοῖς κροκοδείλοις καὶ ἄλλοις ἐκατέρωθι ὁμοίως γεννωμένοις [5] τεκμηριοῦται. καὶ θαυμάση μηδεὶς εἰ τὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις Ἑλλήσιν ἀγνωστα ἐξηυρήκαμεν: πλησίον γὰρ οἱ Μακεννῖται τῇ Μαυριτανίᾳ τῇ κάτω οἰκοῦσι, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ στρατευομένων καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀτλαντα ἀφικνοῦνται. 14. τοῦτο μὲν οὕτως ἔχει, Πλαυτιανὸς δὲ παραδυναστεύων τῷ Σεουήρῳ καὶ τὴν ἐπαρχικὴν ἔχων ἐξουσίαν, πλείστα τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ μέγιστα δυνηθεῖς, πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὁμοτίμων αὐτῷ ἐθανάτωσε...” Xiph. 311, 14-32 R. St. “ [2] ὅτι ὁ Πλαυτιανὸς τὸν Αἰμίλιον Σατορνῖνον ἀποκτείνας τῶν ἄλλων τῶν μετ’ αὐτῶν ἀρξάντων τοῦ δορυφορικοῦ πάντα τὰ ἰσχυρότατα περιέκοψεν, [p. 228] ὅπως μηδεὶς φρόνημα ἀπὸ τῆς προστασίας αὐτῶν σχὼν τῇ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἡγεμονίᾳ ἐφεδρεύσῃ: ἤδη γὰρ οὐχ ὅπως μόνος ἀλλὰ καὶ [3] ἀθάνατος ἑπαρχος εἶναι ἤθελεν. ἐπεθύμει τε πάντων καὶ πάντα παρὰ πάντων ἦται καὶ πάντα ἐλάμβανε, καὶ οὔτε ἔθνος οὐδὲν οὔτε πόλιν οὐδεμίαν ἀσύλητον εἶασεν, ἀλλὰ πάντα δὴ πανταχόθεν ἥρπαζε καὶ συνεφόρει: καὶ πολὺ πλείονα αὐτῷ ἢ τῷ Σεουήρῳ ἅπαντες ἔπεμπον. καὶ τέλος ἵππους Ἡλίῳ ἱεροὺς τιγροειδεῖς ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσῃ νήσων, πέμψας ἑκατοντάρχους, [4] ἐξέκλεψεν: ἐν γὰρ τοῦτο εἰπὼν πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν περιεργίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπληστίαν δεδηλωκέναι νομίζω. καίτοι καὶ ἐκεῖνο προσθήσω, ὅτι ἀνθρώπους ἑκατὸν εὐγενεῖς Ῥωμαίους ἐξέτεμεν οἴκοι, καὶ τοῦτο οὐδεὶς ἡμῶν πρὸ τοῦ τελευτῆσαι αὐτὸν ἦσθετο: πᾶσαν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦτου τὴν τε παρανομίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἄν τις καταμάθοι. ἐξέτεμε δὲ οὐ παῖδας μόνον οὐδὲ μεράκια, ἀλλὰ καὶ [5] ἄνδρας, καὶ ἐστὶν οὐς αὐτῶν καὶ γυναῖκας ἔχοντας, ὅπως ἢ Πλαυτίλλα ἢ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ, ἣν ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος μετὰ ταῦτ’ ἔγνε, δι’ εὐνοῦχων τὴν τε ἄλλην θεραπείαν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν τὴν τε λοιπὴν θεωρίαν ἔχη. καὶ εἶδομεν τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀνθρώπους εὐνοῦχους τε καὶ ἄνδρας, καὶ πατέρας καὶ ἀρχεῖς, ἐκτομίας τε καὶ [6] πωγωνίας. ἀφ’ οὗ δὴ οὐκ ἀπαικóτως ὑπὲρ πάντας τὸν Πλαυτιανόν, καὶ ἐς αὐτοὺς τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας, [p. 230] ἰσχύσαι ἄν τις εἴποι. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα

καὶ ἀνδριάντες αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνες οὐ μόνον πολλῶ [7] πλείους ἀλλὰ καὶ
μειζους τῶν ἐκείνων, οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ
Ῥώμῃ, οὐδ' ὑπ' ἰδιωτῶν ἢ δῆμων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς γερουσίας
ἀνέτιθεντο: τὴν τε τύχην αὐτοῦ πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ οἱ βουλευταὶ
ὤμνυσαν, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ δημοσίᾳ ἅπαντες ηὔχοντο.” Xiph.
312, 1-23 R. St., Exc. Val. 347 (p. 737 s#3.). “ 15. αἴτιος δὲ τούτων αὐτὸς ὁ
Σεουῆρος μάλιστ' ἐγένετο, ὃς οὕτως αὐτῷ ὑπέϊκεν ἐς πάντα ὥστ' ἐκείνον
μὲν ἐν αὐτοκράτορος αὐτὸν δὲ ἐν ἐπάρχου μοίρᾳ εἶναι: τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ
ὁ μὲν πάνθ' ἀπλῶς ὅσα ὁ Σεουῆρος καὶ ἔλεγε καὶ ἔπραττεν ἦδει, τῶν δὲ δὴ
τοῦ Πλαυτιανοῦ ἀπορρήτων [2] οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ἠπίστατο. τὴν τε θυγατέρα
αὐτοῦ τῷ υἱεὶ ἐμνήστευσε, πολλὰς καὶ σεμνὰς κόρας παραλιπών, ὕπατόν τε
ἀπέδειξε, καὶ διάδοχον τῆς αὐταρχίας ὡς εἰπεῖν ἔχειν ηὔξατο, καὶ ποτε καὶ
ἐπέστειλε: ‘φιλῶ τὸν ἄνδρα ὥστε καὶ εὖχεσθαι προασποθανεῖν αὐτοῦ.”
Xiph. 312, 23-31 R. St. “ [2a] ... ὥστε ... καὶ τινα τολμῆσαι γράφειν πρὸς
αὐτόν, πρὸς τέταρτον Καίσαρα.” Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. 132b (p. 227 Mai.=p.
211, 7-8 Dind.) “ [2b] ὅτι καὶ πολλῶν εἰς τιμὴν αὐτοῦ ψηφισθέντων παρὰ τῆς
συγκλήτου ὀλίγα ἐδέξατο εἰπὼν αὐτοῖς ὅτι ‘ταῖς ψυχαῖς με φιλεῖτε καὶ μὴ
τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν.” Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. 133 (p. 227 Mai.= p. 211, 9-11 Dind.)
“ [p. 232] [3] ἡνείχετό γέ τοι ὀρῶν καὶ ἐν ταῖς καταλύσεσιν αὐτὸν ταῖς
κρείττοσιν αὐλιζόμενον καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ ἀμείνω καὶ ἀφθονώτερα αὐτοῦ
ἔχοντα, ὥστε δεηθεὶς ποτε ἐν τῇ Νικαίᾳ τῇ πατρίδι μου κεστρέως, οὓς ἡ
λίμνη μεγάλους ἐκτρέφει, παρ' [4] ἐκείνου μετεπέμψατο. ὅθεν εἰ καὶ τι ἐπὶ
μειώσει τῆς δυναστείας αὐτοῦ ποιεῖν ἐδόκει, ἀλλ' ἔκ γε τῶν ἐναντιῶν, πολὺ
καὶ μειζόνων καὶ λαμπροτέρων ὄντων, καὶ ἐκεῖνο πᾶν ἀπημβλύνετο. ποτὲ
γοῦν τοῦ Σεουήρου ἐν Τυάνοις νοσήσαντα αὐτὸν ἐπισκεπτομένου, οἱ
στρατιῶται οἱ περὶ τὸν Πλαυτιανὸν ὄντες οὐκ εἴασαν τοὺς ἀκολουθοῦντας
[5] αὐτῷ συνεσελεῖν: ὁ τε τὰς δίκας τὰς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ λεγομένας διατάπτων
κελευσθεὶς ποτε ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεουήρου ἀργοῦντος δίκην τινὰ ἐσαγαγεῖν οὐκ
ἠθέλησεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι ‘οὐ δύναμαι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, [6] ἂν μὴ Πλαυτιανὸς μοι
κελεύσῃ.’ καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ὁ Πλαυτιανὸς αὐτοῦ κατεκράτει
ὥστε καὶ τὴν Ἰουλίαν τὴν Αὐγουσταν πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἐργάσασθαι: πάνυ
γὰρ αὐτῇ ἤχθετο, καὶ σφόδρα αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸν Σεουῆρον ἀεὶ διέβαλλέν,
ἐξετάσεις τε κατ' αὐτῆς καὶ [7] βασάνους κατ' εὐγενῶν γυναικῶν ποιούμενος.
καὶ ἡ μὲν αὕτη τε φιλοσοφεῖν διὰ ταῦτ' ἤρξατο καὶ σοφισταῖς συνημέρευεν:
ὁ δὲ δὴ Πλαυτιανὸς ἀσωτότατος τε ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος, ὥστε καὶ
εὐωχεῖσθαι ἅμα καὶ ἐμείν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν τε σιτίων καὶ
τοῦ οἴνου πέψαι ἐδύνατο, καὶ τοῖς μεираκίοις ταῖς τε κόραις οὐκ ἄνευ
διαβολῆς χρώμενος, τῇ γυναικὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ [p. 234] οὐθ' ὀρᾶν τινὰ οὐθ'
ὀρᾶσθαι τὸ παράπαν, οὐδ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεουήρου ἢ τῆς Ἰουλίας, μήτι γε ἑτέρων
τινῶν, ἐπέτρεπεν.” Xiph. 312, 31-313, R. St., Exc. Val. 348=Suid. s. v.
*)iouli/a *au)gou/sta, Exc. Val. 349 (p. 738 s#3.). “ 16. ἐγένετο δ' ἐν ταῦταις
ταῖς ἡμέραις καὶ ἀγὼν γυμνικός, ἐν ᾧ τοσοῦτον πλῆθος ἀθλητῶν
ἀναγκασθὲν συνῆλθεν ὥσθ' ἡμᾶς θαυμάσαι πῶς αὐτοὺς τὸ στάδιον
ἐχώρησε. καὶ γυναῖκες δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι τούτῳ ἀγριώτατα ἀμιλλώμεναι

ἐμαχέσαντο, ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὰς ἄλλας πάνυ ἐπιφανεῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀποσκώπτεσθαι: καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐκωλύθη μηκέτι μηδεμίαν γυναῖκα μηδαμόθεν μονομαχεῖν. [2] εἰκόνων δέ ποτε πολλῶν τῷ Πλαυτιανῷ γενομένων ἄξιον γὰρ ἀφηγησασθαι τὸ πραχθέν' δυσχεράνας πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ὁ Σεουήρος τινὰς αὐτῶν συνεχώνευσεν, καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἐκ τούτου θροῦς διήλθεν ὡς καὶ καθήρηται καὶ διέφθαρται, καὶ τινες συνέτριψαν εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ, ἐφ' ᾧ ὕστερον ἐκολάσθησαν: ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ ὁ τῆς Σαρδοῦς ἄρχων Ῥάκιος Κώνστας, ἀνὴρ ἐλλογιμώτατος. [3] ἀλλ' οὗ χάριν τούτων ἐμνήσθην, ὅτι τοῦ ῥήτορος, ὃς τοῦ Κώνσταντος κατηγόρησε, καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰπόντος, θᾶσσον ἂν τὸν οὐρανὸν συμπεσεῖν ἢ Πλαυτιανὸν τι ὑπὸ Σεουήρου παθεῖν, καὶ μᾶλλον ἂν εἰκότως ἐκείνῳ τῷ λόγῳ, εἴπερ τι τοιοῦτον ἐλέχθη, πιστεῦσαι [4] τινὰ, — ταῦτα τοῦ ῥήτορος εἰπόντος, καὶ προσέτι [p. 236] καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σεουήρου νεανιευσαμένου πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς συνδικάζοντας αὐτῷ καὶ φήσαντος ὅτι 'ἀδύνατόν ἐστι κακόν τι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ Πλαυτιανῷ γενέσθαι,' οὐδ' ἀπηγνῶστιςεν αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ Πλαυτιανός, ἀλλ' ἐσφάγη καὶ αἱ εἰκόνες αὐτοῦ [5] σύμπασαι διεφθάρησαν. πρὸ δὲ τούτου κῆτος ὑπερμέγεθες ἐς τὸν τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐπὶ κλην λιμένα ἐξώκειλε καὶ ἐάλω, καὶ τὸ μίμημα αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸ κυνηγέσιον ἐσαχθὲν πεντήκοντα ἄρκτους εἴσω ἐδέξατο. ὥφθη δὲ ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας καὶ κομήτης ἀστήρ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, καὶ οὐκ αἰσιὸν τι σημαίνειν ἐλέγετο." Χίρ. 313, 21-314, R. St.

“ 1. ὁ δὲ Σεουήρος ἐπὶ τῆς δεκετηρίδος τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ ἐδωρήσατο τῷ τε ὀμίλῳ παντὶ τῷ σιτοδοτουμένῳ καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις τοῖς δορυφόροις ἰσαριθμούς τοις τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἔτεσι χρυσοῦς. ἐφ’ ᾧ καὶ μέγιστον ἡγάλλετο: καὶ γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς οὐδεὶς πώποτε τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς ἀθρόοις ἐδεδώκει: ἐς γὰρ τὴν δωρεὰν ταύτην πεντακισχίλια μυριάδες ^[2] δραχμῶν ἀναλώθησαν. ἐποiehθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ γάμοι τοῦ τε Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Σεουήρου καὶ τῆς Πλαυτίλλης τῆς τοῦ Πλαυτιανοῦ θυγατρὸς: καὶ τοσαῦτα τῇ θυγατρὶ οὗτος ἔδωκεν ὅσα καὶ πεντήκοντα γυναῖξί βασιλίσσαις ἤρκεσεν ἄν. εἶδομεν δὲ αὐτὰ διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐς τὸ παλάτιον κομιζόμενα. εἰσιπιάθημεν δὲ ἐν ταύτῳ ἅμα, τὰ μὲν βασιλικῶς τὰ δὲ βαρβαρικῶς, ἐφθά τε πάντα ὅσα νομίζεται, καὶ ὡμὰ ζῶντὰ τε ἄλλα ^[3] λαβόντες. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ θεαὶ τηνικαῦτα παντοδαπαὶ ἐπὶ τε τῇ ἀνακομιδῇ τοῦ Σεουήρου καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ δεκετηρίδι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις. ἐν ταύταις ταῖς θεαῖς καὶ σῦες τοῦ Πλαυτιανοῦ ἐξήκοντα ἄγριοι ἐπάλαισαν ἀλλήλοις ὑπὸ παραγγέλματος, ἐσφάγησαν δὲ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ θηρία καὶ ἐλέφας ^[4] καὶ κοροκότας: τὸ δὲ ζῶον τοῦτο Ἰνδικόν τέ ἐστι, καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, ὅσα καὶ ἐγώ ^[p. 240] ἐπίσταμαι, ἐσῆχθη, ἔχει δὲ χροιάν μὲν λεαίνης τίγριδι μεμιγμένης, εἶδος δὲ ἐκείνων τε καὶ κυνὸς καὶ ἀλώπεκος ἰδίως πως συγκεκραμένον. τῆς δὲ δεξαμενῆς ἀπάσης τῆς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἐς πλοίου σχῆμα κατασκευασθείσης ὡς τετρακόσια θηρία ^[5] καὶ δεῖξασθαι καὶ ἀφείναι ἀθρόως, ἔπειτα ἐξαίφνης διαλυθείσης ἀνέθορον ἄρκτοι λέαιναι πάνθηρες λέοντες στρουθοὶ ὄναγροι βίσωνες ῥοῶν τι τοῦτο εἶδος, βαρβαρικὸν τὸ γένος καὶ τὴν ὄψιν, ὥστε ἐπτακόσια τὰ πάντα καὶ θηρία καὶ βοτὰ ὁμοῦ καὶ διαθέοντα ὀφθῆναι καὶ σφαγῆναι: πρὸς γὰρ τὸν τῆς ἐορτῆς ἀριθμὸν ἑπταήμερου γεγονυίας καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐπτάκις ἑκατὸν ἐγένετο. 2. ἐν δὲ τῷ Βεσβίῳ τῷ ὄρει πῦρ τε πλείστον ἐξέλαμψε καὶ μυκήματα μέγιστα ἐγένετο, ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὴν Καπύην, ἐν ἧ, ὁσάκις ἂν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ οἰκῶ, διάγω, ἐξακουσθῆναι: τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ χωρίον ἐξειλόμην τῶν τε ἄλλων ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς ἡσυχίας ὅτι μάλιστα, ἵνα σχολὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀστικῶν πραγμάτων ^[2] ἄγων ταῦτα γράψαιμι. ἐδόκει οὖν ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸ Βέσβιον γεγονότων νεοχμὸν τι ἔσσεσθαι, καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Πλαυτιανὸν αὐτίκα ἐνεοχμώθη. μέγας μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ Πλαυτιανὸς καὶ ὑπέρμεγας ἐγεγόνει, ὥστε καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ ποτὲ εἰπεῖν: ‘τί τρέμεις, ^[3] τί δὲ ὠχρίᾳς; πλεῖον τῶν τριῶν κέκτησαι.’ ἔλεγον δὲ τοῦτο οὐ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον δῆθεν ἀλλ’ ἄλλως, ^[p. 242] τρεῖς δὲ ἐνέφαινον τὸν τε Σεουήρον καὶ τοὺς υἱέας αὐτοῦ Ἀντωνῖνον καὶ Γέταν: ὥχρια δὲ ἀεὶ καὶ ἔτρεμεν ἐκ τε τῆς διαίτης ἣν διητᾶτο, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐλπίδων ὧν ἠλπίζε, καὶ ἐκ τῶν φόβων ὧν ἐφοβεῖτο. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τέως μὲν ἦτοι ἐλάνθανε τὰ πλείω αὐτὸν τὸν Σεουήρον, ἣ καὶ εἰδῶς αὐτὰ οὐ ^[4] προσεποιεῖτο: ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῷ Γέτας τελευτῶν πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὸν Πλαυτιανόν, ἅτε καὶ μισῶν αὐτὸν καὶ μηκέτι φοβούμενος, ἐμήνυσεν, ἐκεῖνόν τε χαλκοῦν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἔστησε καὶ τοῦτον οὐκέθ’ ὁμοίως ἐτίμησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ^[5] τῆς πολλῆς

παρέλυσεν. ὅθεν ὁ Πλαυτιανὸς δεινῶς ἠγανάκτησε, καὶ τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον καὶ πρότερον διὰ τὴν θυγατέρα ἀτιμαζομένην ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ μισῶν τότε δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἤχθαιεν ὡς αἴτιον τῆς ἀτιμίας ἐκείνης αὐτῷ, καὶ τραχύτερον αὐτῷ προσφέρεσθαι ἤρξατο. 3. δι’ οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος τῇ τε γυναικὶ ἀναιδεστάτῃ οὕσῃ ἀχθόμενος, καὶ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ, ὅτι τε πάντα ὅσα ἐπραπτεν ἐπολυπραγμόνει καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ πᾶσιν αὐτῷ ἐπετίμα, βαρυνόμενος, ἀπαλλαγῆναι ^[2] τρόπον τινὰ αὐτοῦ ἐπεθύμησε. καὶ τοῦτου δι’ Εὐόδου τοῦ τροφῆος αὐτοῦ Σατορνῖνόν τινα ἐκατόνταρχον καὶ ἄλλους δύο ὁμοίους αὐτῷ ἔπεισεν ἐσαγγεῖλαι οἱ ὅτι δέκα τισὶν ἐκατοντάρχους, ἐξ ὧν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν, ὁ Πλαυτιανὸς κεκελευκῶς εἶη ^[3] καὶ τὸν Σεουῆρον καὶ τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον κτείνειν· καὶ τινα καὶ γραφὴν ὡς καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τοῦτῳ εἰληφότες ἀνεγίνωσκον. ἐξαίφνης δὲ ταῦτ’ ἐν ταῖς θεωρίαις ^[p. 244] ταῖς ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ἤρωσι πεπονημέναις, τῆς τε θεάς ἀφειμένης καὶ δαίμνους μέλλοντος ἔσεσθαι, ἐγίνετο. ὅθεν οὐχ ἠκιστα τὸ σκευῶρημα κατεφάνη· ^[4] οὐ γὰρ ἂν οὕτε ἐκατοντάρχους δέκα ἅμα οὔτε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ οὔτε ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ οὔτε ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὔτε ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ τοιοῦτό τι ὁ Πλαυτιανός, ἄλλως τε καὶ γράψας, προστάξει ἐτετολμήκει. ὅμως πιστὸν αὐτὸ ἔδοξε τῷ Σεουήρῳ, ὅτι τῇ νυκτὶ τῇ προτεραιᾷ τὸν Ἀλβῖνον ὄναρ ζῶντά τε καὶ ἐπιβουλευόντα αὐτῷ ἐώρακει. 4. σπουδῇ οὖν, ὡς καὶ ἐπ’ ἄλλο τι, τὸν Πλαυτιανὸν μετεπέμψατο. καὶ ὅς οὕτως ἠπείχθη, μᾶλλον δὲ οὕτως αὐτῷ τὸν Ὀλεθρον τὸ δαιμόνιον προεμήνυσεν, ὥστε τὰς ἡμιόνους τὰς ἀγούσας αὐτὸν πεσεῖν ἐν ^[2] τῷ παλατίῳ. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐσιόντα οἱ θυρωροὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν κιγκλίδων μόνον ἐσεδέξαντο, οὐδ’ εἴασαν οὐδένα αὐτῷ συνεσελθεῖν· ὅπερ ποτὲ αὐτὸς περὶ τὸν Σεουῆρον ἐν τοῖς Τυάνοις ἐπεποιήκει. καὶ ὑπώπτεισε μὲν τι ἐκ τοῦτου, περίφοβός τε ἐγένετο, οὐ μέντοι ἔχων ὅπως ἀναχωρήσει ἐσῆλθε. ^[3] καὶ ὁ Σεουῆρος καὶ πάνυ πρῶως αὐτῷ διελέχθη· ‘τί τε τοῦτο ἔδοξέ σοι ποιῆσαι, καὶ διὰ τί ἀποκτείνει ἡμᾶς ἠθέλησας;’ λόγον τε αὐτῷ ἔδωκε, καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ ἀπολογουμένου αὐτοῦ ἀκούσων. ἀλλ’ ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος ἀρνούμενόν τε αὐτὸν καὶ θαυμάζοντα τὰ λεγόμενα τὸ τε ξίφος προσπηδήσας ^[p. 246] ^[4] ἀφείλετο καὶ πῦξ ἔπαισε· καὶ ἠθέλησε μὲν καὶ αὐτοχειρίᾳ σφάξαι εἰπόντα ὅτι ‘ἔφθης με κτείνειν,’ ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς κωλυθεὶς ἐκέλευσέ τινα τῶν ὑπηρετῶν φονεῦσαι αὐτόν. καὶ αὐτὸν τις τῶν τριχῶν τοῦ γενείου ἐκτίλας τῇ τε Ἰουλίᾳ καὶ τῇ Πλαυτίλλῃ προσήνεγκεν ὁμοῦ οὕσαις, πρὶν καὶ ὅτιοῦν αὐτὰς ἀκοῦσαι, καὶ εἶπεν ‘ἴδετε τὸν Πλαυτιανὸν ὑμῶν,’ καὶ τοῦτου τῇ μὲν πένθος ^[5] τῇ δὲ χαρὰν ἐνέβαλεν. ἐκείνος μὲν καὶ μέγιστον τῶν ἐπ’ ἐμοῦ ἀνθρώπων δυνηθεὶς, ὥστε καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων μᾶλλον πάντας καὶ φοβεῖσθαι αὐτόν καὶ τρέμειν, καὶ ἐπὶ μειζόνων ἐλπίδων αἰωρηθεὶς, οὕτως ὑπὸ τε τοῦ γαμβροῦ ἐσφάγη καὶ ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ παλατίου ἐς ὁδὸν τινα ἐρρίφη· μετὰ ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ ἀνηρέθη καὶ ἐτάφη τοῦ Σεουῆρου κελεύσαντος. 5. καὶ ὁ Σεουῆρος μετὰ ταῦτα συνήγαγε μὲν τὴν βουλὴν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ κατηγόρησέ τι τοῦ Πλαυτιανοῦ, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς μὲν τὴν τε φύσιν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ὡς μὴ δυναμένην τιμὰς ὑπερόγκους ^[2] στέγειν ὠδύρατο, καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἠτιάσατο ὅτι οὕτως αὐτὸν ἐτετιμῆκει καὶ ἐπεφιλήκει, τοὺς δὲ δὴ μηνύσαντάς οἱ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν αὐτοῦ πάνθ’ ἡμῖν

εἶπεῖν ἐκέλευσεν, ἐκβαλὼν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου τοὺς οὐκ ἀναγκαίους, ἱν' ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν διηγήσασθαι ^[3] ἐνδείξηται ὅτι οὐ πάνυ σφίσι πιστεύει. πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν διὰ τὸν Πλαυτιανὸν ἐκινδύνευσαν, καὶ τινες καὶ ἀπέθανον: ὁ μέντοι Κοίρανος ἔλεγε μὲν, οἷά που πλεῖστοι πρὸς τοὺς εὐτυχοῦντας πλάττονται ^[p. 248] αἰεὶ, ἐταῖρός τε αὐτοῦ εἶναι, καὶ ὅσakis γε ἐκεῖνοι πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀσπαζομένων αὐτὸν ἐσεκαλοῦντο, συνεφείπετό σφισι μέχρι τῆς κιγκλίδος τῆς τελευταίας, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκοινώνει ^[4] τῶν ἀπορρήτων, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μεταχμῶ διατριβῶν Πλαυτιανῷ μὲν ἔξω τοῖς δὲ ἔξω ἔνδον ἐδόκει εἶναι: καὶ διὰ τε τοῦτο πλέον ὑπωπτεύθη, καὶ διότι ὄναρ ποτὲ τοῦ Πλαυτιανοῦ ἰδόντος ἰχθῦς τινὰς ἐκ τοῦ Τιβέριδος ἀναβάντας πρὸς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ προσπετωκέναι, ἔφη καὶ τῆς γῆς ^[5] αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος ἄρξιν. ἀλλ' οὗτος ἐπὶ ἐπτὰ ἔτη ἐν νήσῳ περιορισθεὶς κατήχθη τε μετὰ τοῦτο, καὶ ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν πρῶτος Αἰγυπτίων κατελέχθη, καὶ ὑπάτευσσε μηδεμίαν ἄλλην ἀρχὴν ^[6] προάρξας, ὥσπερ ὁ Πομπήιος. Καικίλιος μέντοι Ἀγρικόλας ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν κολάκων αὐτοῦ ἀριθμοῦμενος, πονηρίᾳ δὲ καὶ ἀσελγείᾳ οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων δεύτερος ὢν, κατεψηφίσθη ἀποθανεῖν, ἐλθὼν δὲ οἴκαδε καὶ οἴνου ἐψυγμένου ἐμπλησθεὶς τὸ τε ποτήριον, ὃ πέντε μυριάδων ἐώνητο, συνέτριψε, καὶ ἐπαπέθανεν αὐτῷ τὰς φλέβας τεμὼν. 6. Σατορνῖνος μέντοι καὶ Εὐδοος τότε μὲν ἐτιμήθησαν, ὕστερον δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου ἐθανατώθησαν. ψηφιομένων δὲ ἡμῶν ἐπαίνους τινὰς τῷ Εὐδόῳ ὁ Σεουήρος ἐκώλυσεν εἰπών: 'αἰσχρὸν ἐστὶν ἐν δόγματι ὑμῶν τοιοῦτό τι περὶ Καίσαρειο ^[p. 250] ^[2] ἀνδρὸς γεγράφθαι.' καὶ οὐ τοῦτον μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας τοὺς βασιλικοὺς ἀπελευθέρους οὐθ' ὑβρίζειν οὐθ' ὑπεραυχεῖν εἶα: ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ καλῶς ἤκουεν. ἢ δ' αὖ γερουσία ὑμνοῦσά ποτε αὐτὸν καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἄντικρυς ἐξεβόησεν, ὅτι 'πάντες πάντα καλῶς ποιοῦσιν, ἐπειδὴ σὺ ^[3] καλῶς ἄρχεις.' Πλαυτίλλα δὲ καὶ Πλαῦτιος, οἱ τοῦ Πλαυτιανοῦ υἱεῖς, τότε μὲν ἐσώθησαν ἐς Λιπάραν ἐξορισθέντες, ἐπὶ δ' Ἀντωνίνου ἀπώλοντο: καίτοι καὶ ζῶντες ἔν τε δέει καὶ ταλαιπωρίᾳ πολλῇ τῶν τε ἀναγκαίων οὐκ εὐπορίᾳ διῆγον." Χίρ. 314, 13-318, R. St., Exc. Val. 350 (p. 741). " 7. οἱ δὲ τοῦ Σεουήρου παῖδες, ὃ τε Ἀντωνῖνος καὶ ὁ Γέτας, οἷον παιδαγωγοῦ τινὸς ἀπηλλαγμένοι τοῦ Πλαυτιανοῦ, οὐδὲν ὃ τι οὐκ ἐποιοῦν. καὶ γὰρ καὶ γυναῖκας ἡσυχον καὶ παῖδας ὑβρίζον χρήματά τε παρεξέλεγον, καὶ τοὺς μονομάχους τοὺς τε ἄρματηλάτας προσηταιρίζοντο, τῇ μὲν ὁμοιότητι τῶν ἔργων ζηλοῦντες ἀλλήλους, τῷ δὲ ^[2] ἀντισπουδάξειν στασιάζοντες: εἰ γὰρ τῷ ὁ ἕτερος προσέθετο, πάντως ἂν τὸ ἐναντίον ὁ ἕτερος ἀνθῆρεῖτο. καὶ τέλος συμβαλόντες ἐν γυμνασίᾳ τινὶ ἵππων σμικρῶν ζεύγεσιν ἐς μεγάλην φιλονεικίαν ἤλασαν, ὥστε τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον ἐκπεσεῖν τε ἐκ τοῦ ^[3] δικύκλου καὶ τὸ σκέλος κατεάξει. παθόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦτο καὶ νοσηλευομένου ὁ Σεουήρος οὐδὲν τῶν ἀναγκαίων τὸ παράπαν ἐξέλιπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐδίκασεν καὶ πάντα τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ προσήκοντα διώκει. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τούτῳ καὶ ἐπηνεῖτο, τὸν δὲ διὰ Κύντιλλον τὸν Πλαυτιανὸν φονεύσας αἰτίαν ^[p. 252] ἔσχεν. ἀπέκτεινε δὲ καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς βουλευτάς, τοὺς μὲν κατηγορηθέντας παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπολογησαμένους καὶ ἀλόντας." Exc. Val. 351 (p. 741), Χίρ. 318, 9-20 R. St. " ^[4] ὅτι ὁ Κύντιλλος εὐγενέστατός τε ὢν

καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τῆς βουλῆς ἀριθμηθεῖς, ἔν τε ταῖς τοῦ γήρως πύλαις ἐστῶς καὶ ἐν ἀγρῷ ζῶν, καὶ οὔτε πολυπραγμονῶν τι οὔτε παραπράσσων, ὅμως καὶ ἐσυκοφαντήθη καὶ ἀνηρέθη. μέλλων δ' οὖν τελευτήσειν ἦρτησε τὰ ἐντάφια, ἃ πρὸ πολλοῦ παρεσκεύαστο: καὶ ἐπειδὴ διερρηκτότα αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου εἶδε, 'τί τοῦτο;' ἔφη, ^[5] 'ἐβραδύναμεν.' καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο λιβανωτοῦ θυμιάσας εἶπεν ὅτι 'τὴν αὐτὴν εὐχὴν εὐχομαι ἦν καὶ Σερουιανὸς ἐπ' Ἀδριανῷ ηὔξατο.' ἐκεῖνός τε οὖν ἀπώλετο, καὶ μονομάχων ἀγῶνες ἐγένοντο ἐν οἷς τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τίγριδες δέκα ἅμα ἐσφάγησαν." Exc. Val. 352 (p. 741), Xiph. 318, 20-29 R. St. " 8. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἀπρωνιανὸν ἐτελέσθη, παράδοξα ὄντα καὶ ἀκουσθῆναι. ἔσχε γὰρ αἰτίαν ὅτι ποτὲ ἢ τήθη αὐτοῦ ὄναρ ἐορακέναι ἐλέχθη ὡς βασιλεύσει, καὶ ὅτι μαγεία τινὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ χρῆσασθαι ἔδοξε: καὶ ἀπὼν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ^[2] τῆς Ἀσίας κατεψηφίσθη. ἀναγινωσκομένων οὖν ἡμῖν τῶν βασάνων τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ γενομένων, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐνεγέγραπτο ὅτι ὁ μὲν τις ἐπύθετο τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξετάσεως τεταγμένων τίς τε διηγῆσατο τὸ ὄναρ τίς τε ἤκουσεν, ὁ δὲ τις ἔφη τὰ τε ἄλλα. ^[p. 254] καὶ ὅτι 'φαλακρόν τινα βουλευτὴν παρακύψαντα ^[3] εἶδον.' ἀκούσαντες δὲ τοῦθ' ἡμεῖς ἐν δεινῷ πάθει ἐγενόμεθα: ὄνομα μὲν γὰρ οὐδενὸς οὔτε ἐκεῖνος εἰρήκει οὔτε ὁ Σεουῆρος ἐγεγράφει, ὑπὸ δὲ ἐκπλήξεως καὶ οἱ μηδεπώποτε ἐς τοῦ Ἀπρωνιανοῦ πεφοιτηκότες, οὐχ ὅτι οἱ φαλακροὶ ἀλλὰ ^[4] καὶ οἱ ἄλλως ἀναφαλαντίαι, ἔδεισαν. καὶ ἐθάρσει μὲν οὐδεὶς πλὴν τῶν πάνυ κομῶντων, πάντες δὲ τοὺς τοιοῦτους περιεβλέπομεν, καὶ ἦν θροῦς 'ὁ δεῖνὰ ἐστίν:' 'οὐκ, ἀλλ' ὁ δεῖνὰ.' οὐκ ἀποκρύβομαι τὸ τότε μοι συμβάν, εἰ καὶ γελοιοτάτον ἐστίν: τοσαύτη γὰρ ἀμηχανία συνεσχέθη ὥστε καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὰς τρίχας τῇ ^[5] χειρὶ ζητῆσαι. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἕτεροι πολλοὶ ἔπαθον. καὶ πάνυ γε ἐς τοὺς φαλακροειδεῖς ἀφεωρῶμεν ὡς καὶ ἐς ἐκείνους τὸν ἑαυτῶν κίνδυνον ἀπωθούμενοι, πρὶν δὴ προσανεγνώσθη ὅτι ἄρα περιπόρφυρον ἱμάτιον ὁ φαλακρὸς ^[6] ἐκεῖνος εἶχε. λεχθέντος γὰρ τούτου πρὸς Βαίβιον Μαρκελλῖνον ἀπειδομεν: ἡγορανομήκει γὰρ τότε καὶ ἦν φαλακρότατος. ἀναστὰς γοῦν καὶ παρελθὼν ἐς μέσον 'πάντως που γνωριεῖ με, ^[7] εἰ ἐόρακεν' ἔφη. ἐπαινεσάντων δὲ τοῦτο ἡμῶν ἐσῆχθη τε ὁ μηνυτής, καὶ χρόνον πολὺν ἐσιώπησε παρεστῶτος αὐτοῦ, περιβλέπων ὃν γνωρίσειε, τέλος δὲ νεύματι τινος ἀφανεῖ προσσχὼν ἔφη 9. τοῦτον ἐκεῖνον εἶναι. καὶ οὕτω καὶ ὁ Μαρκελλῖνος ἐάλω φαλακροῦ παρακύψεως, ἐξήχθη τε ἐκ ^[p. 256] τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ὀλοφυρόμενος. καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς διεξελθὼν οὐκέτ' ἠθέλησε περαιτέρω προχωρῆσαι, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ταύτη τὰ τέκνα τέσσαρα ὄντα ἀσπασάμενος λόγον εἶπε περιπαθέστατον: ἔφη γάρ: 'ἐν με τοῦτο λυπεῖ, τέκνα, ὅτι ὑμᾶς ^[2] ζῶντας καταλείπω.' καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπετμήθη, πρὶν τὸν Σεουῆρον μαθεῖν ὅτι καὶ κατεψηφίσθη: τῷ μέντοι τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῷ τοῦ θανάτου παρασχόντι Πολληνίῳ Σεβεννῷ δίκη τιμωρὸς ἀπήντησεν. ἐκδοθεὶς γὰρ ὑπὸ Σαβίνου τοῖς Νωρικοῖς, ὧν ἄρξας οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἐπεποιήκει, ^[3] αἰσχίστα πέπονθε: καὶ εἶδομεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τε τῆς γῆς κείμενον καὶ ἰκετεύοντα οἰκτρῶς, καὶ εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸν Ἀσπακα τὸν θεῖον αὐτοῦ φειδοῦς ἔτυχε, κἂν ἀπωλώλει οἰκτρῶς. ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἀσπαξ οὗτος δεινότατος ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο σκῶψαι, στωμύλασθαι, πάντων ἀνθρώπων

καταφρονήσαι, φίλοις χαρίσασθαι, ἐχθρὸν ἀμύνασθαι. ^[4] καὶ αὐτοῦ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους πικρὰ καὶ ἀστεῖα ἀποφθέγματα φέρεται, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σεουήρον αὐτόν. ὢν ἓν καὶ τοῦτο: ἐς γὰρ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ τὸ τοῦ Μάρκου ἐγγραφέντος ‘συγχαίρω σοι, Καῖσαρ,’ ἔφη, ‘ὅτι πατέρα εὖρες,’ ὡς καὶ ἀπάτορος αὐτοῦ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ὑπ’ ἀφανείας ὄντος. 10. ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ Βούλλας τις Ἰταλὸς ἀνὴρ, ληστήριον συστησάμενος ὡς ἐξακοσίων ἀνδρῶν, ἐλήζετο τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπὶ ἑτῇ δύο, παρόντων μὲν τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων, παρόντων δὲ καὶ ^[p. 258] ^[2] στρατιωτῶν τοσούτων. ἐδιώκετο μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ συχνῶν ἀνδρῶν, φιλοτίμως αὐτὸν ἀνιχνεύοντος τοῦ Σεουήρου, οὔτε δὲ ἑωρᾶτο ὁρώμενος οὔτε εὕρισκετο εὕρισκόμενος οὔτε κατελαμβάνετο ἀλίσκόμενος: τοσαύτη καὶ μεγαλοδωρίᾳ καὶ σοφίᾳ ἐχρήτο. ἐμάνθανε γὰρ πάντα τοὺς τε ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐξιόντας καὶ τοὺς ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον καταίροντας, τίνες τε καὶ πόσοι εἰσὶ, καὶ τίνα καὶ ^[3] ὁπόσα κέκτηνται: καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους, μέρος ἂν τι παρ’ αὐτῶν ὢν εἶχον λαβῶν, εὐθὺς ἠφίει, τοὺς δὲ δὴ τεχνίτας κατεῖχε χρόνον τινά, καὶ χρησάμενός σφισιν, εἴτα καὶ προσδοῦς τι ἀπέλυε. καὶ ποτε δύο ληστῶν αὐτοῦ ἀλόντων καὶ θηρίοις δοθήσεσθαι μελλόντων πρὸς τε τὸν δεσμοφυλάκα κατῆλθε, πλασάμενος ὡς τῆς πατρίδος ἄρχων καὶ τινων ἀνθρώπων τοιούτων δεόμενος, καὶ οὕτω ^[4] λαβῶν αὐτοὺς ἔσωσε. τῷ δὲ ἑκατοντάρχῳ τῷ τὸ ληστρικὸν καθαιροῦντι προσελθὼν κατηγόρησεν αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ ὥσπερ ἄλλος τις ὢν, καὶ ὑπέσχετο, εἰ ἀκολουθήσει αὐτῷ, παραδοῦναι οἱ τὸν ληστήν: καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸν ἐς κοῖλὸν τίνα καὶ λοχμῶδη τόπον ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Φήλικα ἀγαγὼν ‘καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτὸς προσωνόμαστό ῥαδίως συνέλαβε. ^[5] καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ’ ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀνέβη σχῆμα ἄρχοντος ἀναλαβῶν, καὶ καλέσας τὸν ἑκατόνταρχον τῆς τε κεφαλῆς ἀπεξύρησε, καὶ ἔφη ‘ἄγγελλε τοῖς δεσπόταις σου ὅτι τοὺς δούλους ὑμῶν τρέφετε, ἵνα μὴ ληστεύωσι.’ πλείστους γὰρ ^[p. 260] ὅσους τῶν Καισαρείων εἶχε, τοὺς μὲν ὀλιγομίσθους ^[6] τοὺς δὲ καὶ παντελῶς ἀμίσθους γεγονότας. ταῦτ’ οὖν ὁ Σεουήρος ὡς ἕκαστα πυνθανόμενος, ὀργῇ ἔφερεν ὅτι ἐν τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ τοὺς πολέμους δι’ ἐτέρων νικῶν αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ληστοῦ ἥττων ἐγένετο: καὶ τέλος χιλίαρχον ἐκ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων σὺν ἵππευσι πολλοῖς ἔστειλε, δεινὰ ἅττα αὐτῷ ἀπειλήσας, ἂν μὴ ζῶντα αὐτὸν ἀγάγῃ. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνος μαθὼν ὅτι γυναικὶ τινὶ ἄλλοτριᾳ χρῶτο, ἀνέπεισεν αὐτὴν διὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπ’ ἀδείᾳ ^[7] συνάρασθαι σφίσι. κάκ τούτου ἐν σπηλαίῳ τινὶ καθεύδων συνελήφθη. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Παπινιανὸς ὁ ἑπαρχὸς ἀνῆρετο ‘διὰ τί ἐλήστευσας;’ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπεκρίνατο ‘διὰ τί σὺ ἑπαρχὸς εἶ;’ καὶ θηρίοις μετὰ τοῦτο ὑπὸ κηρύγματος ἐδόθη, καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ληστρικὸν διελύθη: οὕτω που ἐν ἐκείνῳ πᾶσα ἡ τῶν ἐξακοσίων ἰσχὺς ἦν. 11. ὁ δὲ δὴ Σεουήρος ἐπὶ Βρεττανίαν ἐστράτευσε τοὺς τε παῖδας ἐκδiciaτωμένους ὁρῶν καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ὑπὸ ἀργίας ἐκλυόμενα, καίπερ εἰδὼς ὅτι οὐκ ἀνακομισθήσεται. ἦδει δὲ τοῦτο μάλιστα μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀστέρων ὑφ’ ὧν ἐγεγέννητο ‘καὶ γὰρ ἐς τὰς ὁροφὰς αὐτοῦς τῶν οἴκων τῶν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ, ἐν οἷς ἐδίκαζεν, ἐνέγραψεν, ὥστε πᾶσι, πλὴν τοῦ μορίου τοῦ τὴν ὥραν, ὡς φασιν, ἐπισκοπήσαντος ὅτε ἐς τὸ φῶς ἐξῆι, ὁρᾶσθαι: τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐκατέρωθι ἐνετύπωσεν,’ ἦδει δὲ ^[2] καὶ παρὰ μάντεων ἀκούσας.

ἀνδριάντι γὰρ αὐτοῦ ^[p. 262] πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις δι' ὧν ἐκστρατεύουσιν ἔμελλεν ἐστῶτι, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐκεῖσε φέρουσιν ἀποβλέποντι, σκηπτὸς ἐμπεσὼν τρία ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ γράμματα ἀπῆλειψε: καὶ διὰ τοῦθ', ὡς οἱ μάντιες ἀπεφήναντο, οὐκ ἐπανῆκεν ἀλλὰ καὶ τρίτῳ ἔτει μετὰ τοῦτο μετήλλαξε. καὶ χρήματα δὲ πάμπολλα συνεξήγαγε.” Xiph. 318, 29-321, R. St.

“ 12. δύο δὲ γένη τῶν Βρεττανῶν μέγιστα εἰσι, Καληδόνιοι καὶ Μαιάται: καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων προσρήματα ὡς εἰπεῖν συγκεχώρηκεν. οἰκοῦσι δὲ οἱ μὲν Μαιάται πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ διατειχίσματι ὃ τὴν νῆσον δίχῃ τέμνει, Καληδόνιοι δὲ μετ' ἐκείνους, καὶ νέμονται ἑκάτεροι ὄρη ἄγρια καὶ ἄνυσδρα καὶ πεδία ἔρημα καὶ ἐλώδη, μήτε τεῖχη μήτε πόλεις μήτε γεωργίας ἔχοντες, ἀλλ' ἔκ τε νομῆς καὶ θήρας ἀκροδρῶν τέ τινων ζῶντες: ^[2] τῶν γὰρ ἰχθύων ἀπείρων καὶ ἀπλέτων ὄντων οὐ γεύονται. διαιτῶνται δὲ ἐν σκηναῖς γυμνοὶ καὶ ἀνυπόδητοι, ταῖς γυναιξίν ἐπικοινωνοὶς χρώμενοι καὶ τὰ γεννώμενα πάντα κοινῶς ἐκτρέφοντες. δημοκρατοῦνται τε ὡς πλήθει, καὶ ληστεύουσιν ἥδιστα. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἄρχοντας τοὺς θρασυτάτους ^[3] αἰροῦνται. στρατεύονται δὲ ἐπὶ τε ἁρμάτων, ἵππους ἔχοντες μικροὺς καὶ ταχεῖς, καὶ πεζοί: καὶ εἰσι καὶ δραμεῖν ὀξύτατοι καὶ συστῆναι παγιώτατοι. τὰ δὲ ὄπλα αὐτῶν ἀσπίς ^[p. 264] καὶ δόρυ βραχὺ, μῆλον χαλκοῦν ἐπ' ἄκρου τοῦ στύρακος ἔχον, ὥστε σειόμενον κτυπεῖν πρὸς κατάπληξιν τῶν ἐναντίων: εἰσὶ δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ^[4] ἐγχειρίδια. δύνανται δὲ καὶ λιμὸν καὶ ψῦχος καὶ ταλαιπωρίαν πᾶσαν ὑπομένειν: ἔς τε γὰρ τὰ ἔλη καταδυόμενοι καρτεροῦσιν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας, τὴν κεφαλὴν μόνην ἔξω τοῦ ὕδατος ἔχοντες, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὕλαις τῷ τε φλοιῷ καὶ ταῖς ῥίζαις διατρέφονται, καὶ πρὸς πάντα σκευάζουσι τι βρώμα, ἀφ' οὗ κυάμου τι μέγεθος ἐμφαγόντες οὔτε πεινῶσιν οὔτε διψῶσι.” Xiph. 321, 24-322, R. St., Treu Exc. Anon. Byz. p. 21, 26-22, 15.

“ ^[5] τοιαύτη μὲν τις νῆσος ἡ Βρεττανία ἐστὶ, καὶ τοιοῦτους οἰκῆτορας ἣ γε πολεμία ἔχει. νῆσος γὰρ ἐστὶ, καὶ τότε σαφῶς ὥσπερ εἶπον ἐλήλεγκεται. καὶ αὐτῆς τὸ μὲν μῆκος στάδιοι ἑπτακισχίλιοι καὶ ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα δύο εἰσὶ, τοῦ δὲ δὴ πλάτους τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον δέκα καὶ τριακόσιοι καὶ δισχίλιοι, τὸ δὲ ἐλάχιστον τριακόσιοι: καὶ τούτων ἡμεῖς οὐ πολλῷ τινὶ τῆς ἡμισείας ἔλαττόν τι ἔχομεν. 13. ὃ δ' οὖν Σεουῆρος πᾶσαν αὐτὴν καταστρέψασθαι ἐθέλῃσας ἐσέβαλεν ἐς τὴν Καληδονίαν, καὶ διῶν αὐτὴν ἀμύθητα πράγματα ἔσχε, τὰς τε ὕλας τέμνων καὶ τὰ μετέωρα κατασκάπτων τὰ τε ἔλη χωννύων καὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς ^[2] ζευγνύων: οὔτε γὰρ μάχην τινὰ ἐμαχέσατο οὔτε πολέμιόν τινα ἐν παρατάξει εἶδε. πρόβατα δὲ ^[p. 266] καὶ βοῦς προβαλλομένων αὐτῶν ἐξεπιτήδες οἱ στρατιῶται ἥρπαζον, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀπατῶμενοι τρύχωνται: καὶ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ὕδατων δεινῶς ἐκακοῦντο καὶ ἀποσκεδαννύμενοι ἐπεβουλεύοντο. εἴτ' ἀδυνατοῦντες βαδίζειν ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν οἰκείων ἐφρονεῦοντο ἵνα μὴ ἀλίσκωνται, ὥστε ἐς πέντε ^[3] μυριάδας ὅλας τελευτήσαι. οὐ μέντοι ἀπέστη γε πρὶν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ τῆς νήσου πλησιάσαι, ὅπου γε τὰ μάλιστα τὴν τε τοῦ ἡλίου παράλλαξιν καὶ τὸ τῶν ἡμερῶν τῶν τε νυκτῶν καὶ τῶν θερινῶν καὶ τῶν χειμερινῶν μέγεθος ἀκριβέστατα κατεφώρασε. ^[4] καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω διὰ πάσης ὡς εἰπεῖν τῆς πολεμίας κομισθεὶς ἔκομισθη γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐν σκιμποδίῳ καταστέγῳ τινὶ τὰ πολλὰ διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν ἐς τὴν φιλίαν

ἐπανήλθεν, ἐς ὁμολογίαν τοὺς Βρεττανούς, ἐπὶ τῷ χώρᾳ οὐκ ὀλίγης ἐκστῆναι, ἀναγκάσας ἐλθεῖν. 14. ἐξέπληττε δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος καὶ ἐς φροντίδας ἀνηνύτους καθίστη, ὅτι τε ἀκολάστως ἔζη, καὶ ὅτι καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν δῆλος ἦν, εἰ δυνηθεῖη, φονεύσων, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ὅτι καὶ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ ἐπεβούλευσε. ποτὲ μὲν γὰρ ἐξεπήδησεν ἐξαίφνης ἐκ τοῦ σκηνώματος βοῶν καὶ κεκραγῶς ὡς ὑπὸ [2] τοῦ Κάστορος ἀδικούμενος: οὗτος δὲ ἀνὴρ ἄριστος τῶν περὶ τὸν Σεουήρον Καισαρείων ἦν, καὶ ἐπεπίστευτο τὴν τε μνήμην αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν κοιτῶνα. καὶ συνέστησαν μὲν τινες ἐπὶ τούτῳ στρατιῶται προπαρεσκευασμένοι καὶ συνεβόησαν, κατελήφθησαν [p. 268] δὲ δι' ὀλίγου αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ Σεουήρου ἐπιφανέντος σφίσι καὶ τοὺς ταραχωδεστέρους [3] κολάσαντος. ἄλλοτε δὲ προσήλαννον μὲν ἀμφοτέροι πρὸς τοὺς Καληδονίους, ἵνα τὰ τε ὅπλα παρ' αὐτῶν λάβωσι καὶ περὶ τῶν ὁμολογιῶν διαλεχθῶσιν, ὁ δ' Ἀντωνῖνος ἀποκτείνει αὐτὸν ἀντικρυς αὐτοχειρίᾳ ἐπεχείρησεν. ἦσαν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ ἵππων, καὶ ὁ Σεουήρος, καίπερ καὶ τοὺς ταρσοὺς ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας ὑποτετακώς, ὅμως ἵππευσε καὶ αὐτός, καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα συνεφείπετο, [4] τὸ τε τῶν πολεμίων καὶ αὐτὸ συνεωρᾶτο: κὰν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ τῇ τε σιγῇ καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ τὸν ἵππον ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος ἀναχαιτίσας ἐσπάσατο τὸ ξίφος ὡς καὶ κατὰ νώτου τὸν πατέρα πατάξων. ἰδόντες δὲ τοῦτο οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ συνιππεύοντες ἐξεβόησαν, καὶ οὕτως ἐκείνός τε ἐκπλαγείς οὐκέτι οὐδὲν ἔδρασε, καὶ ὁ Σεουήρος μετεστράφη μὲν πρὸς τὴν βοήν αὐτῶν καὶ εἶδε τὸ ξίφος, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐφθέγγατό τι, ἀλλ' ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, καὶ τελέσας ὅσα ἐχρῆν, [5] ἐς τὸ στρατήγιον ἐπανήλθε. καὶ καλέσας τὸν τε υἱὸν καὶ τὸν Παπνιανδὸν καὶ τὸν Κάστορα ξίφος τέ τι τεθῆναι ἐς τὸ μέσον ἐκέλευσε, καὶ ἐγκαλέσας αὐτῷ ὅτι τε ἄλλως τοιοῦτόν τι ἐτόλμησε καὶ ὅτι πάντων ὀρώντων τῶν τε συμμάχων καὶ τῶν πολεμίων τηλικούτον κακὸν δράσειν ἔμελλεν, τέλος ἔφη: 'ἀλλ' εἶγε ἀποσφάξαι με ἐπιθυμεῖς, [6] ἐνταῦθ' αὖ με κατὰχρησαι: ἔρρωσαι γάρ, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ γέρων εἰμὶ καὶ κεῖμαι. ὡς εἶγε τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἀναδύη, τὸ δὲ αὐτόχειρ μου γενέσθαι ὀκνεῖς, [p. 270] παρέστηκε σοι Παπνιανὸς ὁ ἑπαρχος, ὃς δύνασαι κελεῦσαι ἵνα με ἐξεργάσῃται: πάντως γάρ που πᾶν τὸ κελευσθὲν ὑπὸ σοῦ, ἅτε καὶ αὐτοκράτορος [7] ὄντος, ποιήσῃ.' τοιαῦτα εἰπὼν ὅμως οὐδὲν δεινὸν αὐτὸν ἔδρασε, καίπερ πολλάκις μὲν τὸν Μάρκον αἰτιασάμενος ὅτι τὸν Κόμμοδον οὐχ ὑπεξείλε, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ υἱεὶ ἀπειλήσας τοῦτο ποιήσῃν. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν ὀργιζόμενος αἰεὶ ποτε ἔλεγε, τότε δὲ φιλότεκνος μᾶλλον ἢ φιλόπολις ἐγένετο: καίτοι καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἐν τούτῳ παῖδα προέδωκε, σαφῶς εἰδὼς τὰ γενησόμενα. 15. ἀποστάντων δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ αὐθις, καλέσας τοὺς στραπιώτας ἐκέλευσεν ἐς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐμβαλεῖν καὶ οἷς ἂν ἐντύχωσιν ἀποκτείνειν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἰπὼν, 'μή τις ὑπεκφυγοὶ αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον χεῖράς θ' ἡμετέρας, μηδ' ὄντινα γαστέρι μήτηρ κοῦρον ἐόντα φέροι: μηδ' ὅς φυγοὶ αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον.' [2] γενομένου δὲ τούτου, καὶ τῶν Καληδονίων προσαιοσάντων τοῖς Μαιάταις, ἡτοιμάζετο μὲν ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτοῖς πολεμήσων, καὶ αὐτὸν περὶ ταῦτ' ἔχοντα ἢ νόσος τῇ τετάρτῃ τοῦ Φεβρουαρίου ἀπῆνεγκε, συνεργασαμένου τι πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου, ὡς λέγεται. πρὶν γοῦν μεταλλάξαι, τάδε λέγεται τοῖς παισὶν

εἰπεῖν ἑρῶ γὰρ αὐτὰ τὰ λεχθέντα, μηδὲν ὃ τι καλλωπίσας. ὁμονοεῖτε, τοὺς στρατιώτας πλουτίζετε, τῶν [p. 272] [3] ἄλλων πάντων καταφρονεῖτε. ἔκ δὲ τούτου τό τε σῶμα αὐτοῦ στρατιωτικῶς κοσμηθὲν ἐπὶ πυρὰν ἐτέθη καὶ τῇ τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῇ τῶν παιδων περιδρομῇ ἐτιμήθη, τὰ τε δῶρα τὰ στρατιωτικὰ οἷ τι τῶν παρόντων ἔχοντες ἐς [4] αὐτὴν ἐνέβαλον, καὶ τὸ πῦρ οἱ υἱεῖς ἐνήκαν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰ ὅστ᾽ ἐς ὕδριαν πορφυροῦ λίθου ἐμβληθέντα ἔς τε τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκομίσθη καὶ ἐς τὸ Ἀντωνινεῖον ἀπετέθη. λέγεται δὲ τὴν ὕδριαν ὀλίγον πρὸ τοῦ θανάτου μεταπέμψασθαι τε αὐτόν, καὶ ἐπιψηλαφήσαντα εἰπεῖν ἡρώσεις ἄνδρα ὃν ἡ οἰκουμένη οὐκ ἐχώρησεν.”

Xiph. 322, 12-324, R. St. “ 16. [2] ἦν δὲ τὸ σῶμα βραχὺς μὲν ἰσχυρὸς δέ, καίπερ ἀσθενέστατος ὑπὸ τῆς ποδάγρας γενόμενος, τὴν δὲ διῆ ψυχὴν καὶ δριμύτατος καὶ ἐρρωμενέστατος· παιδείας μὲν γὰρ ἐπεθύμει μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπετύγχανε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολυγνῶμων μᾶλλον ἢ πολύλογος ἦν. φίλοις οὐκ ἀμνήμων, ἐχθροῖς βαρύτερος, ἐπιμελὴς μὲν πάντων ὧν πρᾶξαι ἤθελεν, ἀμελὴς δὲ τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ λογοποιουμένων· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ χρήματα ἐξ ἅπαντος τρόπου, πλὴν καθ’ ὅσον [3] οὐδένα ἔνεκα αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινε, πορίζων, πάντα μὲν τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἐδαπάνα ἀφθονώτατα, καὶ πλεῖστα γέ καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων οἰκοδομημάτων ἀνεκτήσατο, καὶ σφισι τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ὄνομα ὥς καὶ ἐκ καινῆς αὐτὰ καὶ ἐξ ἰδίων χρημάτων κατεσκευακῶς ἐπέγραψε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ μάτην ἔς τε ἐπισκευὰς καὶ κατασκευὰς ἐτέρων ἀνάλωσεν, ὅς γε καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ νεῶν ὑπερμεγέθη [4] ὑποδομήσατο. καίτοι δὲ πάμπλειστα δαπανήσας, [p. 274] ὅμως οὐκ εὐαριθμήτους τινὰς μυριάδας δραχμῶν καταέλοιπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πολλὰς, καὶ ἐνεκάλει μὲν τοῖς μὴ σωφρονοῦσιν, ὥς καὶ περὶ τῆς μοιχείας νομοθετῆσαι τινα· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γραφαὶ αὐτῆς ὅσαι πλεῖσται ἐγένοντο ἑτρισχιλίας γοῦν ὑπατεύων εὖρον ἐν τῷ πίνακι ἐγγεγραμμένας· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὀλίγοι πάνυ αὐταῖς ἐπεξήρουν, [5] οὐκέτι οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἐπολυπραγμόνει. ὅθεν καὶ μάλα ἀστείως Ἀργεντοκόξου τινὸς γυνὴ Καληδονίου πρὸς τὴν Ἰουλίαν τὴν Αὐγουσταν, ἀποσκοῶπτουσάν τι πρὸς αὐτὴν μετὰ τὰς σπονδὰς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνέδην σφῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἄρρενας συνουσίᾳ, εἰπεῖν λέγεται ὅτι ἡ πολλῶ ἄμεινον ἡμεῖς τὰ τῆς φύσεως ἀναγκαῖα ἀποπληροῦμεν ὑμῶν τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν· ἡμεῖς γὰρ φανερώς τοῖς ἀρίστοις ὁμιλοῦμεν, ὑμεῖς δὲ λάθρα ὑπὸ τῶν κακίστων μοιχεύεσθε.” Xiph. 324, 25-325, R. St., Exc. Val. 353 (p. 741). “ 17. τοῦτο μὲν ἡ Βρεττανὶς εἶπεν, ἐχρήτο δὲ ὁ Σεουήρος καταστάσει τοῦ βίου εἰρήνης οὐσης τοιᾶδε. ἔπραττε τι πάντως νυκτὸς ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ’ ἐβάδιζε καὶ λέγων καὶ ἀκούων τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ πρόσφορα· εἴτ’ ἐδίκαζε, χωρὶς εἰ μὴ τις ἐορτὴ μεγάλη εἴη. καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἄριστα αὐτὸ ἔπραττε· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς δικάζομένοις ὕδωρ ἱκανὸν ἐνέχει, καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς συνδικάζουσιν αὐτῷ παρρησίαν πολλὴν ἐδίδου.

[2] ἔκρινε δὲ μέχρι μεσημβρίας, καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ’ ἔππευεν ἐφ’ ὅσον ἂν ἐδυνήθη· εἴτ’ ἐλοῦτο, γυμνασάμενός τινα τρόπον. ἡρίστα δὲ ἢ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν [p. 276] ἢ μετὰ τῶν παιδων, οὐκ ἐνδεῶς. εἴτ’ ἐκάθειπεν ὥς πληθεῖ· ἔπειτ’ ἐξαρθεῖς τὰ τε λοιπὰ προσδιώκει καὶ λόγοις καὶ Ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ Λατίνοις [3] συνεγίνετο ἐν περιπάτῳ. εἴθ’ οὕτω πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἐλοῦτο αὐθις, καὶ ἐδείπνει μετὰ τῶν ἀμφ’ αὐτόν· ἡκιστα τε γὰρ ἄλλον τινὰ συνέστιον ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ ἐν μόναις

ταῖς πάνυ ἀναγκαίαις ἡμέραις τὰ ^[4] πολυτελῆ δεῖπνα συνεκρότει. ἐβίω δὲ ἔτη ἐξήκοντα πέντε καὶ μῆνας ἑννέα καὶ ἡμέρας πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἣν γὰρ ἑνδεκάτη τοῦ Ἀπριλίου ἐγεγέννητό, ἀφ' ὧν ἦρξεν ἔτη ἑπτακαίδεκα καὶ μῆνας ὀκτὼ καὶ ἡμέρας τρεῖς. τὸ τε σύμπαν οὕτως ἐνεργὸς ἐγένετο ὥστε καὶ ἀποψύχων ἀναφθέγξασθαι: ἄγετε, δότε, εἴ τι πρᾶξαι ἔχομεν.” Χιρh. 325, 15-32 R. St.

“ 1. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος πᾶσαν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔλαβε: λόγῳ μὲν γὰρ μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, τῷ δὲ δὴ ἔργῳ μόνος εὐθύς ἦρξε. καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους κατελύσατο καὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτοῖς ἐξέστη καὶ τὰ φρούρια ἐξέλιπε, τοὺς δὲ δὴ οἰκείους τοὺς μὲν ἀπῆλλαξεν, ὧν καὶ Παπινιανὸς ὁ ἑπαρχος ἦν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν, ὧν ἦν καὶ Εὐδοὸς ὁ τροφεὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ Κάστωρ, ἣ τε γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἡ Πλαυτίλλα καὶ ὁ ταύτης ἀδελφὸς ^[2] Πλαῦτιος. καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ δὲ αὐτῇ ἄνδρα ἄλλως μὲν οὐκ ἐλλόγιμον διὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιτήδευσιν ἐπιφανέστατον ἐξεργάσατο: τὸν γὰρ Εὐπρεπῇ τὸν ἄρματῆλάτην, ἐπειδὴ τάναντία αὐτῷ ἐσπούδαζεν, ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐν γῆρᾳ ἀπέθανε, πλείστοις ἀγῶσιν ἵππων στεφανωθείς: δύο γὰρ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑπτακοσίους ἀνείλετο, ^[3] ὅσους οὐδεὶς ἄλλος. τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν ἠθέλησε μὲν καὶ ζῶντος ἔπι τοῦ πατρὸς φονεῦσαι, οὐκ ἡδυνήθη δὲ οὔτε τότε δι’ ἐκεῖνον οὔθ’ ὕστερον ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ διὰ τὰ στρατεύματα: πάνυ γὰρ εὐνοίαν αὐτοῦ εἶχον, ἄλλως τε ὅτι καὶ τὸ εἶδος ὁμοιότατος τῷ πατρὶ ἦν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἀνῆλθε, ^[4] καὶ τοῦτον κατεργάσατο. προσεποιῶντο μὲν γὰρ καὶ φιλεῖν ἀλλήλους καὶ ἐπαινεῖν, πάντα δὲ ^[p. 280] τὰ ἐναντιώτατα ἔδρων, καὶ ἦν οὐκ ἄδηλον ὅτι δεινόν τι παρ’ αὐτῶν γενήσοιτο. ὅπερ πού καὶ πρὶν πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτοὺς ἐλθεῖν προεγνώσθη: θύειν τε γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁμονοίας αὐτῶν τοῖς τε ἄλλοις θεοῖς καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ Ὀμονοίᾳ ψηφισθὲν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, οἱ μὲν ὑπηρεταὶ τὸ τῇ Ὀμονοίᾳ ^[5] τυθησόμενον ἱερεῖον ἡτοίμασαν, καὶ ὁ ὕπατος ὡς καὶ βουθυτήσων ἀφίκετο, οὔτε δὲ οὕτως ἐκείνους οὔθ’ οἱ ὑπηρεταὶ τὸν ὕπατον εὐρεῖν ἡδυνήθησαν, ἀλλὰ διετέλεσαν πᾶσαν ὡς εἶπεῖν τὴν νύκτα ζητοῦντες ἀλλήλους, ὥστε μὴ δυνηθῆναι ^[6] τότε τὴν θυσίαν γενέσθαι. καὶ τῇ ὕστεραιᾳ δύο λύκοι ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀναβάντες ἐκεῖθεν ἐξεδιώχθησαν, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ που καταληφθεὶς ὁ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου ἐσφάγη. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ ἐκείνους ἐγένετο. 2. ἐβουλήθη μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς Κρονίοις τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος φονεῦσαι, οὐκ ἡδυνήθη δέ: καὶ γὰρ ἐκφανέστερον ἦδη τὸ κακὸν ἢ ὥστε συγκρυβῆναι ἐγεγόνει, καὶ ἐκ τούτου πολλαὶ μὲν μάχαι αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ ἐπβουλευόντων ἀλλήλοις, πολλαὶ ^[2] δὲ καὶ ἀντιφυλακαὶ συνέβαινον. ἐπεὶ οὖν καὶ στρατιῶται καὶ γυμνασταί, καὶ ἔξω καὶ οἴκοι, καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ, συχνοὶ τὸν Γέταν ἐφρούρουν, ἔπεισε τὴν μητέρα μόνους σφᾶς ἐς τὸ δωμάτιον, ὡς καὶ συναλλάξουσιν, μεταπέμψασθαι: καὶ οὕτω πιστεύσαντος τοῦ Γέτα ἐσῆλθε ^[3] μὲν μετ’ αὐτοῦ, ἐπεὶ δὲ εἴσω ἐγένοντο, ἐκατόνταρχοι τινες ἐσεπῆδησαν ἄνθρωποι, παρὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου προπαρασκευασμένοι, καὶ αὐτὸν ^[p. 282] πρὸς τε τὴν μητέρα, ὡς εἶδε σφας, προκαταφυγόντα καὶ ἀπὸ τε τοῦ αὐχένος αὐτῆς ἐξαρτηθέντα καὶ τοῖς στήθεσι τοῖς τε μαστοῖς προσφύντα κατέκοψαν ὀλοφυρόμενον καὶ βοῶντα: ‘μῆτερ μῆτερ, τεκοῦσα τεκοῦσα, βοήθει, σφάζομαι.’ ^[4] καὶ ἡ μὲν οὕτως ἀπατηθεῖσα τὸν τε υἱὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐαυτῆς κόλποις ἀνοσιώτατα ἀπολλύμενον ἐπέιδε, καὶ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἐς αὐτὰ τὰ σπλάγχνα τρόπον τινά, ἐξ ὧν ἐγεγέννητο, ἐσεδέξατο: καὶ γὰρ τοῦ αἵματος πᾶσα ἐπλήσθη, ὡς

ἐν μηδενὶ λόγῳ τὸ τῆς χειρὸς τραῦμα ὃ ἐτρώθη ^[5] ποιήσασθαι. οὔτε δὲ
 πενθῆσαι οὔτε θρηνῆσαι τὸν υἱόν, καίπερ πρόωρον οὕτως οἰκτρῶς
 ἀπολωλότα, ὑπῆρξεν αὐτῇ ἑξήκοντα καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτη καὶ μῆνας ἑννέα ἐβίω,
 ἀλλ' ἠναγκάζετο ὡς καὶ ἐν μεγάλῃ τινὶ εὐτυχίᾳ οὔσα χαίρειν καὶ γεῶναι· ^[6]
 οὕτω που πάντα ἀκριβῶς καὶ τὰ ῥήματα αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ νεύματα τὰ τε
 χρώματα ἐτηρεῖτο· καὶ μόνη ἐκείνη, τῇ Αὐγουστῇ, τῇ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος
 γυναικί, τῇ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων μητρὶ, οὐδ' ἰδίᾳ που ἐπὶ τηλικούτῳ παθήματι
 δακρῦσαι ἐξῆν." Xiph. 326, 9-328, R. St. " 3. ὁ δ' Ἀντωνῖνος καίπερ ἐσπέρας
 οὔσης τὰ στρατόπεδα κατέλαβε, διὰ πάσης τῆς ὁδοῦ κεκραγῶς ὡς
 ἐπιβεβουλευμένος καὶ κινδυνεύων. ἐσελθὼν δὲ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος 'χαίρετε,' εἶπεν,
 'ὦ ἄνδρες συστρατιῶται· καὶ γὰρ ἥδη ἔξεστί μοι εὐεργετεῖν ὑμᾶς.' καὶ πρὶν
 πάντα ἀκοῦσαι, ἐνέφραξέ σφωιν τὰ στόματα τοσαύταις καὶ τηλικαύταις
 ὑποσχέσεσιν ὥστε μήτ' ἐννοῆσαι μήτε φθέγγασθαι τι ^[2] αὐτοὺς εὐσεβὲς
 δυνηθῆναι. 'εἷς' γὰρ ἔφησεν 'ἐξ ὑμῶν εἰμὶ, καὶ δι' ὑμᾶς μόνους ζῆν ἐθέλω,
^[p. 284] ἵν' ὑμῖν πολλὰ χαρίζωμαι· ὑμέτεροι γὰρ οἱ θησαυροὶ πάντες εἰσὶ.' καὶ
 δὴ καὶ τοῦτο εἶπεν ὅτι 'μάλιστα μὲν μεθ' ὑμῶν ζῆν, εἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλὰ μεθ'
 ὑμῶν γε ἀποθανεῖν εὐχομαι. οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως δέδια τὸν θάνατον, καὶ ἐν
 πολέμῳ τελευτήσαι βούλομαι· ἡ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα δεῖ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀποθνήσκειν ^[3]
 ἢ μηδαμοῦ.' πρὸς δὲ τὴν σύγκλητον τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἄλλα τέ τινα διελέχθη, καὶ
 μετὰ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ βήθρου ἐξαναστῆναι καὶ πρὸς τῇ θύρᾳ γενέσθαι 'ἀκούσατέ
 μου' εἶπε 'μέγα πρᾶγμα· ἵνα πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη χαρῇ, πάντες οἱ φυγάδες οἱ
 καὶ ἐφ' ὅτῳ οὖν ἐγκλήματι καὶ ὅπως οὖν καταδεδικασμένοι κατελθέτωσαν.'
 τὰς μὲν οὖν νήσους οὕτω τῶν φυγάδων κενώσας, καὶ τοῖς κακίστοις τῶν
 καταδεδικασμένων ἄδειαν δεδωκώς. εἶτ' οὐ πολλῷ 4. ὕστερον ἀνεπλήρωσε,
 τῶν δὲ δὴ Καισαρείων τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν τῶν μετὰ τοῦ Γέτα γενομένων
 καὶ ἐς δύο μυριάδας παραχρῆμα ἀπέκτεινεν, ἄνδρας ἀπλῶς καὶ γυναῖκας,
 ὡς ποὺ τις καὶ ἔτυχεν ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ ὦν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν
 ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν Παπινιανόν. 10" Xiph. 328, 1-23 R. St., Exc. Val. 354,
 355. "[1α] ὅτι Ἀντωνῖνος Παπινιανόν καὶ Πατρουινόν, τῶν δορυφόρων ἐπὶ τισὶ
 κατηγορησάντων αὐτῶν, ^[p. 286] ἐπέτρεψεν ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτοὺς, εἰπὼν κάκεῖνο
 ὅτι 'ἐγὼ ὑμῖν καὶ οὐκ ἐμαυτῷ ἄρχω, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πείθομαι ὑμῖν καὶ
 ὡς κατηγόροις καὶ ὡς δικασταῖς.'" Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. 138 (p. 228 Mai.=p.
 212, 22-26 Dind.) " [2] καὶ τῷ γε τὸν Παπινιανόν φονεύσαντι ἐπετίμησεν ὅτι
 ἀξίνῃ αὐτὸν καὶ οὐ ξίφει διεχρήσατο." Xiph. 328, 23-24 R. St. " τὸν δὲ δὴ
 Κίλωνα τὸν τροφέα τὸν εὐεργέτην, τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ
 πεπολιαρχηκότα, ὃν καὶ πατέρα πολλάκις ἐκεκλήκει, ἡβουλήθη μὲν ^[3]
 ἀποστερεῖν τοῦ ζῆν· καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὰ μὲν
 ἀργυρώματα καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια τὰ τε χρήματα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τὰ ἐκείνου
 διήρπασαν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀνήγαγον διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ ὡς καὶ ἐς τὸ παλάτιον
 κομιοῦντες, βλαύτας τε ὑποδεδεμένον ἐν βαλανείῳ γὰρ ὦν ἔτυχέ καὶ
 χιτωνίσκον ἐνδεδυμένον, ὡς καὶ ἐκεῖ ^[4] που καταχρησόμενοι. καὶ τὴν τε
 ἐσθῆτα αὐτοῦ περιέρρηξαν καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἠκίσαντο, ὥστε καὶ τὸν δῆμον
 καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἀστικοὺς ὑποθορυβῆσαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν
 Ἀντωνῖνον καὶ αἰδεσθέντα αὐτοὺς καὶ φοβηθέντα ἀπαντῆσαι σφισι, καὶ τῇ

χλαμύδι τὴν γὰρ στρατιωτικὴν ἐσθῆτα εἶχέ περιβαλόντα αὐτὸν εἶπεῖν: ‘μήτε τὸν πατέρα ὕβριζετε μήτε τὸν τροφέα παίετε.’ ^[5] ὁ δὲ δὴ χιλιάρχος ὁ κελευσθεὶς αὐτὸν φονεῦσαι καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ συμπεμφθέντες αὐτῷ ἀνῆρέθησαν, λόγῳ μὲν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύσαντες αὐτῷ, τὸ δ’ ἀληθὲς ὅτι μὴ κατέσφαξαν αὐτόν.” Xiph. 328, 24-329, R. St. “ 5. ὅτι τὸν Κίλωνα τοσοῦτον δῆθεν ἠγάπα ὁ ^[p. 288] Ἀντωνῖνος ὥστε εἶπεῖν ὅτι ‘οἱ τοῦτω ἐπιβεβουλευκότες ἐμοὶ ἐπιβεβουλευκάσιν.’ ἐφ’ ᾧ δὴ ἐπαινούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν προσεστηκότων ἔφη: ‘ἐμὲ μὴ’ Ἡρακλέα μὴτ’ ἄλλον θεόν τινα ἐπικαλεῖτε,’ οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἐβούλετο θεὸς ὀνομάζεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ὅτι ^[2] οὐδὲν ἄξιον θεοῦ πράττειν ἤθελεν. ἔμπληκτος γὰρ φύσει πρὸς πάντα τὰ πράγματα ὦν καὶ ἐτίμα τινὰς μεγάλως καὶ ἡτίμαζεν ἐξαίφνης τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀλογώτατα, ἔσωζέ τε οὐς ἥκιστα ἐχρῆν, καὶ ἐκόλαζεν οὐς οὐκ ἂν τις προσεδόκησεν.” Exc. Val. 356 (p. 742). “ ^[3] ὅτι τὸν Ἀσπρον τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν οὐδ’ ἄλλως εὐκαταφρόνητον καὶ διὰ παιδείαν καὶ διὰ φρόνημα ὄντα ἐξάρας ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν πολλαῖς τοσαύταις ῥάβδοις ὁμοῦ ἐμπομπεύσαντα, προεπηλάκισε παραχρῆμα δεινῶς καὶ ἐς τὴν πατρίδα μεθ’ ὕβρεως καὶ μετὰ δέους ἰσχυροῦ ἀπέπεμψε.” Exc. Val. 357 (p. 742). “ ^[4] ὅτι καὶ τὸν Λαῖνον ἡτιμάκει ἂν ἢ καὶ ἀπεκτόνει, εἰ μὴ κακῶς ἐνόσει: καὶ τὴν ἀρρωστίαν αὐτοῦ ἀσεβῆ παρὰ τοῖς στρατιώταις ὠνόμασεν, ὅτι μὴ καὶ περὶ ἐκεῖνον ἀσεβῆσαι αὐτῷ ἐπέτρεψεν.” Exc. Val. 358 (p. 742). “ ^[5] ὅτι καὶ Θρασέαν Πρίσκον, ἄνδρα οὐδενὸς οὔτε γένει οὔτε φρονήσει δεῦτερον, κατεχρήσατο.” Exc. Val. 359 (p. 742). “ ^[p. 290] Ὅτι καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς καὶ φίλους τὸ πρότερον ὄντας ἀπέκτεινεν.” Exc. Val. 360 (p. 742). “ 6. πάντας δ’ οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μυθήσομαι οὐδ’ ὀνομήνω, ὅσους τῶν ἐπιφανῶν οὐδεμιᾷ δικῇ ἀπέκτεινεν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Δίων, ἅτε γνωριμωτάτων κατ’ ἐκείνους τοὺς καιροὺς τῶν πεφονευμένων ὄντων, καὶ ἐξ ὀνόματος αὐτῶν ποιεῖται κατάλογον: ἐμοὶ δ’ εἶπεῖν ἐξαρκεῖ ὅτι πάντας ὁμοίως οὐς ἤθελε κατεχειρίζετο, ὅστ’ αἴτιος ὅστε καὶ οὐκί, καὶ ὅτι τὴν Ῥώμην ἡκρωτηρίασεν, ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν στερήσας αὐτήν.” Xiph. 329, 8-14 R. St. “ ^[1a] ὅτι τρισὶν ἔθνεσιν ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος προσήκων ἦν, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν αὐτῶν οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν τὰ δὲ δὴ κακὰ πάντα συλλαβὼν ἐκτήσατο, τῆς μὲν Γαλατίας τὸ κοῦφον καὶ τὸ δειλὸν καὶ τὸ θρασὺ, τῆς Ἀφρικῆς τὸ τραχὺ καὶ ἄγριον, τῆς Συρίας, ὅθεν πρὸς μητρὸς ἦν, τὸ πανοῦργον.” Exc. Val. 361 (p. 742). “ ^[2] ἐκ δὲ τῶν φόνων ἐς τὰς παιδιὰς ἀποκλίνων οὐδὲν ἤττον καὶ ἐν ταύταις ἐφόνα. ἐλέφαντα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ῥινοκέρωτα καὶ τίγριν καὶ ἱπποτίγριν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ θείῃ ἂν τις φονευομένους ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ: ὁ δὲ καὶ μονομάχων ἀνδρῶν ὅτι πλείστων ἔχαιρεν αἵμασι, καὶ ἓνα γε αὐτῶν Βάτωνα τρισὶν ἐφεξῆς ἀνδράσιν ὀπλομαχῆσαι τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναγκάσας, ἔπειτα ἀποθανόντα ὑπὸ τοῦ τελευταίου περιφανεῖ ταφῇ ἐτίμησε.” Xiph. 329, 14-20 R. St. “ ^[p. 292] 7. περὶ δὲ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οὕτω τι ἐπτόητο ὥστε καὶ ὄπλοις πσι καὶ ποτηρίοις ὡς καὶ ἐκείνου γεγονόσι χρῆσθαι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ πολλὰς καὶ ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ στήσαι, φάλαγγά τέ τινα ἐκ μόνων τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐς μυρίους καὶ ἑξακισχιλίους συντάξαι, καὶ αὐτὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τε ἐπονομάσαι καὶ τοῖς ὄπλοις οἷς ποτὲ ἐπ’ ἐκείνου ^[2] ἐκέχρηντο ὀπίσσαι: ταῦτα δ’ ἦν κράνος ὠμοβόειον, θώραξ λινοῦς τρίμιτος,

ἀσπίς χαλκῇ, δόρυ μακρόν, αἰχμὴ βραχεῖα, κρηπίδες, ξίφος. καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα μέντοι αὐτῷ ἐξήρκεσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείνον ἐῷον Αὐγουστον ἐπεκαλεῖτο, καὶ ποτε καὶ τῇ βουλῇ ἔγραψεν, ὅτι ἐς τὸ σῶμα αὐθις τὸ τοῦ Αὐγουστοῦ ἐσθλῆθεν, ἵνα, ἐπειδὴ ὀλίγον τότε χρόνον ἐβίω, πλείονα αὐθις δι' ^[3] ἐκείνου ζήσῃ. καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς φιλοσόφους τοὺς Ἀριστοτελείους ὠνομασμένους τὰ τε ἄλλα δεινῶς ἐμίσει, ὥστε καὶ τὰ βιβλία αὐτῶν κατακαῦσαι ἐθέλησαι, καὶ τὰ συσσίτια ἃ ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρεῖα εἶχον, τὰς τε λοιπὰς ὠφελείας ὅσας ἐκαρποῦντο, ἀφείλετο, ἐγκαλέσας σφίσιν ὅτι συναίτιος τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοῦ θανάτου Ἀριστοτέλης γεγονέναι ^[4] ἔδοξε. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐποίησε, καὶ νῆ Δία καὶ ἐλέφαντας πολλοὺς συμπεριήγετο, ὅπως καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸν Διόνυσον, μιμεῖσθαι δόξῃ. 8. οὕτω δ' οὖν δὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐφίλει, ὥστε ποτὲ χιλιάρχον Μακεδόνα ἐπαινέσας ὅτι κούφως ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνεπήδησεν, ἐπύθετο αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον 'πόθεν ^[p. 294] εἶ;', ἔπειτα μαθὼν ὅτι Μακεδὼν εἶη, ἐπανάηρετο ^[2] 'τίς δὲ ὀνομάζῃ;' καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀκούσας ὅτι Ἀντίγονος, προσεπανάηρετο 'τίς δέ σου ὁ πατήρ ἐκαλεῖτο;' ὥς δὲ καὶ οὗτος Φίλιππος ὢν εὐρέθη, 'πάντ' ἔχω,' φησίν, 'ὅσα ἤθελον,' καὶ εὐθύς τε αὐτὸν ταῖς λοιπαῖς στρατείαις ἐσέμνυνε, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἐς τοὺς βουλευτὰς τοὺς ἐστρατηγηκότας ^[3] κατέταξεν. ἕτερον δὲ τινα τῇ μὲν Μακεδονίᾳ μηδὲν προσήκοντα, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ δεινὰ δεδρακότα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἐκκλητίου δίκης κρινόμενον, ἐπειδὴ Ἀλέξανδρός τε ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ ὁ κατηγορῶν αὐτοῦ ῥήτωρ συνεχῶς ἔλεγεν 'ὁ μισαιφόνος Ἀλέξανδρος, ὁ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς Ἀλέξανδρος,' ὠργίσθη τε ὥς καὶ αὐτὸς κακῶς ἀκούων, καὶ ἔφη 'εἰ μὴ ἀρκέσει σοι ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀπολέυσαι.'" Xiph. 329, 20-330, R. St., Exc. Val. 362, 363, 364 (p. 743 s#3.). " 9. οὗτος οὖν ὁ φιλαλεξανδρότατος Ἀντωνῖνος ἐς μὲν τοὺς στρατιώτας, οὓς πάνυ πολλοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἶχε, προφάσεις ἐκ προφάσεων καὶ πολέμους ἐκ πολέμων σκηπτόμενος, φιλαναλωτῆς ἦν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἔργον εἶχε περιδύειν ἀποσυλᾶν ἐκτρέχειν, οὐχ ἡκιστα τοὺς ^[2] συγκλητικούς. χωρὶς γὰρ τῶν στεφάνων τῶν χρυσῶν οὓς ὥς καὶ πολεμίους τινὰς ἀεὶ νικῶν πολλακίς ἦται 'λέγω δὲ οὐκ αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ τῶν στεφάνων ποίημα: πόσον γὰρ τοῦτο γέ ἐστιν; ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν χρημάτων πλῆθος τῶν ἐπ' ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ^[p. 296] διδομένων, οἷς στεφανοῦν αἱ πόλεις τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας ^[3] εἰώθασιν', τῶν τε ἐπιτηδεῖων ἃ πολλὰ καὶ πανταχόθεν τὰ μὲν προῖκα τὰ δὲ καὶ προσαναλίσκοντες ἐσεπρασσόμεθα, ἃ πάντα ἐκεῖνος τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐχαρίζετο ἢ καὶ ἐκατήλευεν, καὶ τῶν δώρων ἃ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τῶν πλουσίων καὶ παρὰ τῶν δήμων προσήτει, ^[4] τῶν τε τελῶν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἃ καινὰ προσκατέδειξεν, καὶ τοῦ τῆς δεκάτης ἦν ἀντὶ τῆς εἰκοστῆς ὑπὲρ τε τῶν ἀπελευθερουμένων καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν καταλειπομένων τισὶ κλήρων καὶ δωρεᾶς ἐποίησε πάσης, τὰς τε διαδοχὰς καὶ τὰς ^[5] ἀτελείας τὰς ἐπὶ τούτοις τὰς δεδομένας τοῖς πάνυ προσήκουσι τῶν τελευτώντων καταλύσας 'οὐ ἔνεκα καὶ Ῥωμαίους πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ, λόγῳ μὲν τιμῶν, ἔργῳ δὲ ὅπως πλείω αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτου προσιῇ διὰ τὸ τοὺς ξένους τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν μὴ συντελεῖν, ἀπέδειξεν' ^[6] — ἔξω δὴ τούτων ἀπάντων καὶ οἰκίας

αὐτῷ παντοδαπάς, ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐξώρμησε, καὶ καταλύσεις πολυτελεῖς ἐν μέσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς καὶ ταῖς βραχυτάταις οἰκείοις δαπανήμασι κατασκευάζειν ἠναγκαζόμεθα, ἐν αἷς οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἐνῶκησέ ποτε, ^[7] ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὄψεσθαι αὐτῶν τινὰ ἔμελλε. προσέτι καὶ θέατρα κυνηγετικά καὶ ἵπποδρόμους πανταχοῦ, ὅπου περ καὶ ἐχείμασεν ἢ καὶ χειμάσειν ἤλπισε, κατεσκευάσαμεν, μηδὲν παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντες. καὶ αὐτίκα πάντα κατεσκάφη: οὕτω ^[p. 298] πῶς διὰ τοῦτο μόνον ἐγένετο, ἵν' ἡμεῖς ἐπιτριβῶμεν." Exc. Val. 365, 366 (p. 745), Xiph. 330, 2-32 R. St. " 10. αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ χρήματα ἔς τε τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὡς ἔφαμεν, καὶ ἔς θηρία ἵππους τε ἐδαπάνα: πᾶμπολλα γάρ τοι καὶ θηρία καὶ βοτὰ, τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα παρ' ἡμῶν καὶ ἀνάγκῃ λαμβάνων, ἤδη δὲ τινα καὶ ὠνούμενος, ἀπεκτιννυε, καὶ ποτε ἑκατὸν ὕς ἅμα αὐτοχειρία ἔσφαξεν. ἡρματηλάτει ^[2] τε τῇ οὐνετίῳ στολῇ χρώμενος. ἦν γὰρ ἐς πάντα καὶ θερμότατος καὶ κουφότατος, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις εἶχε καὶ τὸ πανοῦργον τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τῶν Σύρων, ὅθεν ἐκείνη ἦν. ἀγωνοθέτην δὲ ἡ τῶν ἐξελευθέρων τινὰ ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πλουσίων ἐκάθιζεν, ἵνα καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀναλίσκηται: προσεκύνει τε αὐτοὺς κάτωθεν τῇ μάστιγι, καὶ χρυσοὺς ὥσπερ τις τῶν ταπεινοτάτων ^[3] ἤτει. καὶ ἔλεγε κατὰ τὸν Ἥλιον τῇ ἡρματηλασίᾳ χρῆσθαι, καὶ ἐσεμνύνετο ἐπ' αὐτῇ. οὕτω δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ χρόνον πᾶσα ἡ γῆ ἡ ὑπακούουσα αὐτῷ ἐπορθήθη ὥστε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ποτὲ ἐν ἵπποδρομίᾳ ἄλλα τε συμβοῆσαι καὶ ὅτι 'τοὺς ζῶντας ἀπολοῦμεν, ^[4] ἵνα τοὺς τεθνεώτας θάψωμεν.' καὶ γὰρ ἔλεγε πολλάκις ὅτι 'οὐδένα ἀνθρώπων πλὴν ἐμοῦ ἀργύριον ἔχειν δεῖ, ἵνα αὐτὸ τοῖς στρατιώταις χαρίζωμαι.' καὶ ποτε τῆς Ἰουλίας ἐπιτιμησάσης αὐτῷ ὅτι πολλὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀνήλπισκε, καὶ εἰπούσης ^[p. 300] ὅτι 'οὐκέθ' ἡμῖν οὔτε δίκαιος οὔτ' ἄδικος πόρος ὑπολείπεται,' ἀπεκρίνατο, τὸ ξίφος δεῖξας, ὅτι 'θάρσει, μήτερ: ἔως γὰρ ἂν τοῦτ' ἔχωμεν, οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς ἐπιλείπει χρήματα.' 11. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τοῖς κολακεύουσιν αὐτὸν καὶ κτήματα καὶ χρήματα ἀπένεμεν." Xiph. 330, 32- 331, R. St. " ^[1a] ὅτι ὁ Ἰούλιος Παῦλος ὑπατικὸς ἀνὴρ ψιθυρὸς καὶ σκωπτικὸς καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτῶν τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων ἀπεχόμενος, ὃν καὶ ὁ Σευῆρος φυλακῇ ἀδέσμῳ παραδέδωκεν. ὡς δὲ ἐν φρουραῖς ὦν ἀπέσκωπτεν εἰς τοὺς βασιλεῖς, μεταπεμφάμενος ὁ Σευῆρος ὦμνυ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκτεμεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο: 'ἐκτεμεῖν αὐτὴν δύνασαι, ἐφ' ὅσον δὲ αὐτὴν ἔχω, οὔτε σὺ οὔτε ἐγὼ κατασχεῖν αὐτὴν δύναμαι,' ὥστε γελάσαντα τὸν Σευῆρον ἀπολύσαι αὐτόν." Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. 142 (p. 229 Mai.= p. 213, 11-19 Dind.). " ^[1.2] Ἰουνίῳ γοῦν Παυλίνῳ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας ἐχαρίσατο, ὅτι καὶ ἄκων διασιλλῶσαι τι αὐτόν σκωπτόλης ὦν προήχθη: ἔφη γὰρ αὐτόν ὀργιζομένῳ τινὶ εἰοικέναι, ἐπεὶ πρὸς τὸ θυμοειδέστερόν ^[2] πῶς ἐαυτὸν ἐσχημάτιζεν. οὐδὲν γὰρ ^[p. 302] τῶν καλῶν ἐλογίζετο: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔμαθέ τι αὐτῶν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ὠμολόγει, διόπερ καὶ ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ ἡμᾶς τοὺς τι παιδείας ἐχόμενον εἰδόμενος ἐποιεῖτο. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Σεουῆρος καὶ πάνυ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐς ἀρετὴν τεινουςι καὶ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα καὶ κατὰ τὴν ^[3] ψυχὴν ἡσκησεν αὐτόν, ὥστε καὶ αὐτοκράτορα ἤδη ὄντα καὶ διδασκάλοις συνεῖναι καὶ τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἡμέρας φιλοσοφεῖν: ἐξηραλοῖφει τε, καὶ ἵππευε καὶ ἐς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑπτακοσίους σταδίου, καὶ προσέτι καὶ νήχεσθαι καὶ ἐν κλύδωνι ἡσκητο.

ὁ δὲ ἐκ μὲν τούτων τρόπον τινὰ ἐρρώσθη, τῆς δὲ δὴ παιδεύσεως ὡς οὐδὲ τοῦνομα αὐτῆς^[4] πώποτε ἀκηκοὺς ἐπελάθετο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ κακορρήμων ἢ κακογνῶμων ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνίει τὰ πολλὰ ὀξύτατα καὶ ἔφραζεν ἐτοιμότατα: τῇ τε γὰρ ἐξουσίᾳ καὶ τῇ προπετείᾳ, τῷ πάνθ' ὁμοίως τὰ ἐπελθόντα οἱ ἀπερισκέπτως ἐκλαλεῖν καὶ τῷ μηδὲν αὐτῶν ἐκφαίνειν αἰσχύνεσθαι, καὶ ἐπιτυχίᾳ τινὶ πολλὰκις περιέπιπτε.” Xiph. 331, 21-332, 5, Exc. Val. 367 (p. 745), Suid. s.v. “ Ἀντωνῖνος βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων. ^[5] ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς αὐτογνωμονῶν πολλὰ ἐσφάλῃ: πάντα τε γὰρ οὐχ ὅτι εἰδέναι ἀλλὰ καὶ μόνος εἰδέναι ἤθελε, καὶ πάντα οὐχ ὅτι δύνασθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ μόνος δύνασθαι ἠβούλετο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε τινὶ συμβούλῳ ἐχρήτο καὶ τοῖς χρηστόν τι εἰδόσιν ἐφθόνηι. ἐφίλησε μὲν γὰρ οὐδένα πώποτε, ἐμίσησε δὲ πάντας τοὺς προφέροντας ^[p. 304] ἔν τινι, μάλιστα δὲ οὓς μάλιστα ἀγαπᾶν προσεποιεῖτο: ^[6] καὶ αὐτῶν συχνοὺς καὶ διέφθειρεν τρόπον τινά. ἐφόνευσεν γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ πολλοὺς: ἤδη δὲ καὶ πέμπων τινὰς ἐς ^[7] ἔθνη μὴ ἐπιτήδεια σφίσιν, ἀλλ' ἐναντίαν τῇ τοῦ σώματος αὐτῶν καταστάσει τὴν τοῦ ἀέρος ἀκρασίαν ἔχοντα, οὕτως αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ πάνυ τιμῶν ὑπεξήρει, τοὺς μὲν καύμασι τοὺς δὲ ψύχεσιν ἀκράτοις, οἷς οὐκ ἔχαιρεν, ἐκδιδούς. εἰ δ' οὖν καὶ ἐφείδετο τινων μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι σφας, ἀλλ' ἐπῆζε γε αὐτοὺς ὥστε καὶ † κηλιδοῦσθαι. † 41” Exc. Val. 368 (p. 746). “ 12. τὸ μὲν οὖν σύμπαν τοιοῦτος ἦν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολέμοις ὁποῖος, ἐροῦμεν.” Xiph. 332, 5, R. St. “ ^[1a] ὅτι Ἀγβαρος ὁ τῶν Ὀσροηνῶν βασιλεὺς ἐπειδὴ ἅπαξ ἐν κράτει τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἐγένετο, οὐδὲν ὅ τι τῶν δεινотάτων τοὺς προέχοντας αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐξειργάσατο. λόγῳ μὲν ἐς τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἦθη μεθίστασθαι ἠνάγκαζεν, ἔργῳ δὲ τῆς κατ' αὐτῶν ἐξουσίας ἀπλήστως ἐνεφορεῖτο.” Exc. Val. 369 (p. 746). “ ^[1.2] Ἡπατικῶς γὰρ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ὀσροηνῶν Αὐγαρον ὡς δὴ παρὰ φίλον αὐτὸν ἦκειν, ἐπειτα συλλαβὼν ἔδησε, καὶ τὴν Ὀσροηνὴν οὕτως ἀβασίλευτον οὔσαν λοιπὸν ἐχειρώσατο. τὸν δὲ τῶν Ἀρμενίων βασιλέα διαφερόμενον μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων παιδων ἐκάλεσε μὲν φιλικοῖς γράμμασιν ὡς δὴ εἰρηνεύσων αὐτούς, ἔδρασε δὲ καὶ περὶ τοὺτους ἃ καὶ περὶ τὸν Αὐγαρον. ^[p. 306] ^[2] οὐ μὴν καὶ οἱ Ἀρμένιοι προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ἐς ὅπλα ἐχώρησαν, καὶ οὐκέτ' οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ἐπίστευσεν, ὥστε καὶ ἔργῳ αὐτὸν ἐκμαθεῖν ὅσον αὐτοκράτορι ζημιώμᾳ ἐστί τὸ τι ἀπατηλὸν πρὸς φίλους πρᾶξαι.” Xiph. 332, 7-16 R. St. “ ^[2a] ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς μέγιστον ἐμεγαλοφρόνει ὅτι τοῦ Οὐολογαίσου τοῦ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλέως τελευτήσαντος οἱ παῖδες περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐμάχοντο, ὡς ἐξ ἰδίας παρασκευῆς τὸ κατὰ τύχην συμβᾶν γεγονὸς προσποιούμενος. οὕτω που σφόδρα αἰεὶ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ καὶ τῇ διχοστασίᾳ τῇ τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ τῇ τῶν ἁλλοτριῶν ἀλληλοφονίᾳ ἔχαιρεν.” Exc. Val. 370 (p. 746). “ ^[3] οὐκ ὤκνησε δὲ γράψαι πρὸς τὸ συνέδριον καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Πάρθοις βασιλευόντων, ἀδελφῶν τε ὄντων καὶ πρὸς ἁλλήλους στασιαζόντων, ὅτι ἡ τῶν ἀδελφῶν διαφορὰ μέγα τι κακὸν τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Πάρθων ἐργάσεται, ὥσπερ που τῶν βαρβαρικῶν πραγμάτων φθαρῆναι διὰ τοῦτο δυναμένων, τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαϊκῶν σεσωσμένων ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄρδην ^[4] τρόπον τινὰ ἀνατετραμμένων, οὐ κατ' ἐκεῖνο μόνον ὅτι ἐπὶ μεγάλῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κακῷ τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα τῆς

τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σφαγῆς ὑποφόνια τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐδεδώκει, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ
πάμπολλοι ἐσυκοφαντήθησαν, οὐχ ὅπως οἱ ἐπιστειλαντές τι ἢ
δωροφορήσαντες αὐτῷ ἢ Καίσαρι ἔτι ὄντι ἢ καὶ αὐτοκράτορι γενομένῳ,
ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἷς μηδεπώποτε πρᾶγμα^[5] πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγεγονεί. καὶ εἰ γέ
τις ἔγραψε τὸ ^[p. 308] ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ Γέτα μόνον ἢ εἶπε μόνον, εὐθὺς ἀπώλετο.
ὄθεν οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς κωμωδίαις οἱ ποιηταὶ ἔτι αὐτῷ ἐχρῶντο: καὶ γὰρ καὶ αἱ
οὐσίαι πάντων ὧν ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα γεγραμμένον εὐρέθη
ἐδημοσιώθησαν.” Xiph. 332, 16-30 R. St. “^[6] ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ ἀργυρολογίας
ἐνεκα ἐποίει. ὅτι καὶ μῖσος πρὸς τὸν τετελευτηκότα ἀδελφὸν ἐπεδείκνυτο
καταλύσας τὴν τῶν γενεσίων αὐτοῦ τιμὴν, καὶ τοῖς τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ
βαστάσασι λίθοις ὠργίζετο, καὶ τὸ νόμισμα τὸ προφέρον αὐτὸν
συνεχώνευσεν. καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἀπέχρησεν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε μάλιστα
ἀνοσιουργεῖν ἐπετήδευσε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μισιφωνεῖν ἠνάγκαζεν, ὥσπερ
τινὰ ἐναγισμόν ἐτήσιον τῷ ἀδελφῷ ποιοῦμενος.” Exc. Val. 371 (p. 746). “
13. ^[3] ὅτι τοιαῦτα ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνου φόνῳ φρονῶν καὶ πράττων χαίρειν τῇ τῶν
βαρβάρων ἀδελφῶν διχοστασίᾳ ὡς καὶ μέγα τι κακὸν ἐκ τούτου τῶν
Πάρθων πεισομένων. οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὰ Κελτικὰ ἔθνη οὐθ' ἡδονὴν οὐτε
σοφίας ἢ ἀνδρείας προσποίησιν τινα ἤνεγκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ καὶ ἀπατεῶνα
καὶ εὐήθη καὶ δειλότατον αὐτὸν ἐξήλεγξεν ὄντα.” Exc. Val. 372 (p. 749). “
^[4] ὅτι ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος ἐς τοὺς Ἀλαμαννοὺς στρατεύσας διέταπτεν, εἰ πού τι
χωρίον ἐπιτήδειον πρὸς ἐνοίκησιν εἶδεν, ‘ἐνταῦθα φρουρίον τειχισθῆτω,
ἐνταῦθα πόλις οἰκοδομηθῆτω.’ καὶ ^[p. 310] ἐπωνυμίας γέ τινας τοῖς τόποις ἀφ'
ἑαυτοῦ ἐπωνόμαζε, τῶν ἐπιχωρίων μὴ ἀλλοιουμένων: οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἡγνῶουν,
οἱ δὲ παίζειν αὐτὸν ἐδόκουν. ^[5] ἐξ οὗ δὴ καταφρονήσας αὐτῶν οὐδὲ
ἐκείνων ἀπέσχετο, ἀλλ' οἷς συμμαχήσων ἀφίχθαι ἔλεγεν, τούτους τὰ τῶν
πολεμιωτάτων ἔδρασε: συνεκάλεσε γὰρ τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ
μισθοφορήσουσαν, καὶ πᾶσαν ἀπὸ παραγγέλματος, αὐτὸς τὴν ἀσπίδα
ἀναδείξας, ἐνεκυκλώσατο καὶ κατέκοψε, καὶ τοὺς λοιπούς, περιπέμψας
ἱππέας, συνέλαβεν.” Exc. Val. 373 (p. 749). “^[6] ὅτι ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος Πανδιόνα,
ἄνδρα πρότερον μὲν ἡνιόχων ὑπέρτερον γενόμενον, ἐν δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ
πρὸς Ἀλαμαννοὺς ἀρματηλατοῦντα αὐτῷ καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐταῖρον ὄντα
καὶ συστρατιώτην, ἐπῆνεσεν ἐν τῇ γερουσίᾳ διὰ γραμμάτων ὡς καὶ ἐκ
κινδύνου τινὸς ἐξαισίου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σωθεῖς, οὐδ' ἡσυχνῆθη πλείονα ἐκείνῳ
χάριν ἢ τοῖς στρατιώταις, οὓς καὶ ἡμῶν ἀεὶ κρείττους ἦγεν, ἔχων. 54” Exc.
Val. 374 (p. 749). “^[7] ὅτι τῶν ἐλλογιμωτάτων οὓς ἔσφαξεν ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος
ἀτάφους τινὰς ῥίπτεσθαι ἐκέλευσε. 55” Exc. Val. 375 (p. 749). “ὅτι τὸ τοῦ
Σύλλου μνημεῖον ἀναζητήσας ἐπεσκεύασε, τῷ τε Μεσομήδει τῷ τοὺς
κιθαρωδικοὺς νόμους συγγράψαντι κενοτάφιον ἔχωσε, τῷ μὲν ὅτι καὶ
κιθαρωδεῖν ἐμάνθανεν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ὅτι τὴν ὠμότητα αὐτοῦ ἐζήλου.” Exc.
Val. 376 (p. 749)=Suid. s. v. *mesomh/dhs. “^[p. 312] 13. ἐν μέντοι ταῖς
ἀναγκαίαις καὶ κατεπειγούσαις στρατείαις λιτὸς ἦν καὶ ἀπέριττος, τὰ μὲν
διακονικὰ ὑπηρετήματα καὶ πάνυ ἀκριβῶς ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς ἄλλοις
διαπονούμενος ‘καὶ γὰρ συνεβάδιζε τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ συνέτρεχε, μὴ
λουτρῷ χρώμενος, μὴ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἀλλάσσω, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶν ἔργον

συνεργαζόμενος καὶ πᾶσαν ^[2] τροφήν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνοις αἰρούμενος: καὶ πολλάκις καὶ πρὸς τοὺς προέχοντας τῶν πολεμίων πέμπων προεκαλεῖτο αὐτοὺς ἐς μονομαχίαν, τὰ δὲ δὴ στρατηγικά, ὧν πέρ που καὶ μάλιστα διαπεφυκέναι αὐτὸν ἐχρῆν, ἥκιστα καλῶς μεταχειριζόμενος, ὡς ἂν τῆς νίκης ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς ὑπηρετήμασιν ἄλλ’ οὐκ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ οὕσης.

14. ἐπολέμησε καὶ πρὸς τινὰς Κέννους, Κελτικὸν ἔθνος: οὗς λέγεται μετὰ τοσοῦτου θυμοῦ προσπεσεῖν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὥστε καὶ τὰ βέλη, οἷς ὑπὸ τῶν Ὀσροηνῶν ἐπιτρώσκοντο, τοῖς στόμασιν ἐκ τῶν σαρκῶν ἀποσπᾶν, ἵνα μὴ τὰς χεῖρας ἀπὸ ^[2] τῶν σφαγῶν αὐτῶν ἀποδιατρίβωσιν. οὐ μέντοι ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ τῆς ἥττης ὄνομα πολλῶν χρημάτων ἀποδόμενοι συνεχώρησαν αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν Γερμανίαν ἀποσωθῆναι. τούτων γυναικες ἀλοῦσαι ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἐρωτήσαντος αὐτὰς τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου πότερον πραθῆναι ἢ φονευθῆναι βούλονται, τοῦθ’ εἵλοντο: ἔπειτ’ ἀπεμποληθεῖσαι ^[p. 314] πᾶσαι μὲν ἑαυτάς, εἰσὶ δ’ αἶ καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἀπέκτειναν.” Xiph. 332, 31-333, R. St. “^[3] ὅτι πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν παρ’ αὐτῷ τῷ ὤκεανῳ περὶ τὰς τοῦ Ἀλβιδος ἐκβολὰς οἰκούντων ἐπρεσβεύσαντο πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν αἰτοῦντες, ἵνα χρήματα λάβωσιν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὕτως ἐπεπράγει, συχνοὶ αὐτῷ ἐπέθεντο πολεμήσειν ἀπειλοῦντες, οἷς πᾶσι συνέθετο. καὶ γὰρ εἰ καὶ παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῖς ἐλέγετο, ἀλλ’ ὀρώντες τοὺς χρυσοῦς ἐδουλοῦντο: ἀληθεῖς γὰρ τοὺς χρυσοῦς αὐτοῖς ^[4] ἐδωρεῖτο. τοῖς δὲ δὴ Ῥωμαίοις κίβδηλον καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον παρείχεν: τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ μολίδου καταργυρούμενον, τὸ δὲ ἐκ χαλκοῦ καταχρυσούμενον ἐσκευάζετο.” Exc. Val. 378 (p. 750), Xiph. 333, 18-20 R. St. “ 15. ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς τὰ μὲν ἄντικρυς ὡς καὶ καλὰ καὶ ἐπαίνου ἄξια, καὶ τὰ αἰσχιστα, ἐφάνερον, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἄκων δι’ αὐτῶν ὧν ἀντικατεσκεύαζεν ἐξέφαινε, ὥσπερ που καὶ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων.” Exc. Val. 379 (p. 750). “^[2] ὅτι πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπόρθησεν ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος, καὶ οὐδὲν ὅ τι τῶν ἀπάντων ἀκάκωτον κατέλιπεν.” Exc. Val. 380 (p. 750). “ ὅτι τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον ἔκφρονα καὶ παραπλήγα αἱ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπῳδαὶ ἐπεποιήκεσαν: ἀκούοντες γὰρ τινες τῶν Ἀλαμαννῶν ἔφασαν ὅτι μαγγανείαις τισὶν ἐπ’ ἐκπλήξει τῶν φρενῶν αὐτοῦ ^[p. 316] ^[3] κέχρηται. ἐνόσει μὲν γὰρ καὶ τῷ σώματι τὰ μὲν ἐμφανέσι τὰ δὲ καὶ ἄρρητοις ἄρρωσθήμασιν, ἐνόσει δὲ καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ πικροῖς πσι φαντάσμασι, καὶ πολλάκις γε καὶ ἐλαύνεσθαι ὑπὸ τε τοῦ ^[4] πατρὸς ὑπὸ τε τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ξιφηρῶν ἐδόκει. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἐψυχαγώγησε μὲν, ὅπως τινὰ ἄκεσιν αὐτῶν λάβῃ, ἄλλας τέ τινὰς καὶ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ τε Κομμόδου ψυχὴν, εἶπε δ’ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν αὐτῷ πλὴν τοῦ Κομμόδου: τῷ γὰρ Σεουήρῳ καὶ ὁ Γέτας, ὡς φασι, καὶ ἄκλητος ἐφέσπετο. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐξέφηνεν οὐδὲν ὠφελῆσαν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ ^[5] καὶ πᾶν τοῦναντίον, ὥστε καὶ προσεκφοβῆσαι: ἔφη γὰρ ταῦτα, ‘στέιχε δίκης ἄσσον, θεοὶ ἦν σ’ αἰτοῦσι Σεουήρῳ,’ εἰθ’ ἕτερόν τι, καὶ ἐπὶ τελευτῆς ‘ἐν κρυφίοισι τόποισιν ἔχων δυσάλθεα νοῦσον.’ Ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τούτοις δημοσιευθεῖσι πολλοὶ ἐπηρεάσθησαν: ἐκείνῳ δὲ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ τῶν θεῶν οὐδὲν οὔτε ἐς τὴν τοῦ σώματος οὔτε ἐς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἴασιν φέρον, καίτοι πάντα τοὺς ^[6] ἐπιφανεστάτους θεραπεύσαντι, ἔχρησεν. ἀφ’ οὗπερ ἐναργέστατα διεδείχθη ὅτι μήτε τοῖς ἀναθήμασι μήτε ταῖς θυσίαις ἀλλὰ τοῖς

βουλῆμασι [p. 318] καὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτοῦ προσεῖχον. οὐτε γὰρ ὁ Ἀπόλλων ὁ Γράννος οὐθ' ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς οὐθ' ὁ Σάραπις καίπερ πολλὰ ἱκετεύσαντι αὐτῷ πολλὰ δὲ καὶ προσκαρτερήσαντι ὠφέλησεν. ἔπειμφε γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀποδημῶν καὶ εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας καὶ ἀναθήματα, καὶ πολλοὶ καθ' ἑκάστην [7] οἱ τοιοῦτὸ τι φέροντες διέθεον· ἦλθε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς καὶ τῇ παρουσίᾳ τι ἰσχύων, καὶ ἔπραξεν πάνθ' ὅσα οἱ θρησκεύοντές τι ποιοῦσιν, ἔτυχε δ' οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐς ὑγίειαν τεινόντων.” Exc. Val. 381 (p. 750), Xiph. 333, 21-28 R. St. “ 16. ὅτι λέγων εὐσεβέστατος πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἶναι περιττότητι μισαιφονιῶν κατεχρήσατο, τῶν ἀειπαρθένων τέσσαρας ἀποκτείνας, ὧν μίαν αὐτός, ὅτε γε καὶ ἐδύνατο, ἡσχύκει· ὕστερον γὰρ ἐξησθένησεν πᾶσα αὐτῷ ἢ περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια [2.1] ἰσχύς. ἀφ' οὗπερ καὶ ἕτερόν τινα τρόπον αἰσχρογυγεῖν ἐλέγετο, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἕτεροι τῶν ὁμοιοτρόπων, οἱ οὐχ ὅτι ὠμολόγουν τοιοῦτὸ τι ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας δὴ τῆς ἐκείνου πράττειν ταῦτα ἔφασκον.” Exc. Val. 382 (p. 753), Xiph. 333, 28-31 R. St. “ [5] ὅτι νεανίσκος τις ἱππεὺς νόμισμα τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ † ἐς πορνεῖον ἐσήνεγκεν, ἔδειξαν·% ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ τότε μὲν ὡς καὶ θανατωθισόμενος ἐδέθη, ὕστερον [2.2] δὲ τελευτῆσαι φθάσαντος αὐτοῦ ἀπελύθη. ἡ δὲ δὴ κόρη αὕτη, περὶ ἧς λέγω, Κλωδία Λαῖτα [p. 320] [3] ὠνομάζετο· ἦτις καὶ μέγα βοῶσα, ‘οἶδεν αὐτὸς Ἀντωνῖνος ὅτι παρθένος εἰμί, οἶδεν αὐτὸς ὅτι καθαρεῦω,’ ζῶσα κατωρύγη. καὶ συνεκοινώνησαν αὐτῇ καὶ ἕτεραι τρεῖς τῆς καταδίκης, ὧν αἱ μὲν δύο, Αὐρηλία τε Σεουῆρα καὶ Πομπωνία Ρουφῖνα, ὁμοίως ἀπέθανον, Καννουτία δὲ Κρησκεντίνα ἑαυτὴν ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας ἔρριπεν.” Exc. Val. 383 (p. 753), Xiph. 333, 31-334, R. St. “ [4] ὅτι καὶ περὶ τῶν μοιχευόντων τὸ αὐτὸ ἐποίει· μοιχικώτατος γὰρ ἀνδρῶν, ἐς ὅσον γε καὶ ἡδυνήθη, γενόμενος, τοὺς ἄλλους τοιαύτην αἰτίαν ἔχοντας καὶ ἡχθαιρε καὶ ἐφόνευε παρὰ τὰ νενομισμένα. καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀχθόμενος τιμᾶν τινὰς αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντας ἐπλάττετο.” Exc. Val. 384 (p. 754). “ [6] ὅτι Ἀντωνῖνος πᾶσιν ἐπέτιμα καὶ ἐνεκάλει ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἦτουν· καὶ ἔλεγε πρὸς πάντας· ‘δὴλόν ἐστιν ὅτι οὐ θαρρεῖτέ μοι ἐξ ὧν μὴ αἰτεῖτέ με. εἰ δὲ μὴ θαρρεῖτε, ὑποπτεύετε με, εἰ δὲ ὑποπτεύετε, φοβεῖσθε, εἰ δὲ φοβεῖσθε, μισεῖτε.’ ταῦτα δὲ πρόφασιν ἐπιβουλῆς ἐποιεῖτο.” Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. 145 (p. 230 Mai.=p. 214, 1-6 Dind.) “ [6a] ὅτι Ἀντωνῖνος Κορνιφικίαν μέλλων ἀναιρεῖν, ὡς δὴθεν τιμῶν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὴν ἐλέσθαι θάνατον ὃν βούλεται ἀποθανεῖν. ἡ δὲ κλαύσασα πολλὰ, καὶ μνησθεῖσα τοῦ πατρὸς Μάρκου καὶ τοῦ πάππου Ἀντωνίνου καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Κομμόδου, τέλος ἐπήγαγεν ταῦτα· ‘ὦ δυστυχὲς ψυχιδιον ἐν πονηρῷ σώματι καθειργμένον, ἔξελθε, ἐλευθερώθητι, δεῖξον αὐτοῖς ὅτι Μάρκου θυγάτηρ εἶ, κἄν μὴ θέλωσιν.’ καὶ ἀποθεμένη πάντα τὸν κόσμον [p. 322] ὃν περιεβέβλητο, καὶ εὐθετήσασα ἑαυτὴν τὰς φλέβας ἐπέτεμε καὶ ἀπέθανεν.” Petr. Patr. exc. “ Γατ. 146 ‘π. 230 μαι.~π. 214, 7-17 διδδ.’ [7] ὅτι ἐς τὴν Θράκην ἀφίκετο ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος μηδὲν ἔτι τῆς Δακίας φροντίσας, καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον οὐκ ἀκινδύνως διαβαλὼν τὸν τε Ἀχιλλέα καὶ ἐναγίσμασι καὶ περιδρομαῖς ἐνοπλίσις καὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐτίμησε, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐκείνοις τε, ὡς καὶ μέγα τι κατωρθώκοσι καὶ τὸ Ἰλιον ὡς ἀληθῶς αὐτὸ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἡρηκόσι, χρήματα ἔδωκε, καὶ

αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα χαλκοῦν ἔστησεν.” Exc. Val. 385 (p. 754). “^[8] ὅτι εἰς Πέργαμον ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος παραγενόμενος καὶ τινων ἀμφισβητούντων ἔδοξεν ἕκ τινος μαντείου ἔπος τοιοῦτον προφέρειν, ‘Τηλεφίης γαίης ἐπιβήσεται Αὐσόνιος θήρ.’ καὶ ὅτι μὲν θήρ ἐπεκλήθη, ἔχαιρε καὶ ἐσεμνύνετο καὶ πολλοὺς πάνυ ἀθρόως ἀνεῖλεν. ὁ δὲ τὸ ἔπος ποιήσας ἐγέλα καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι αὐτὸς τὸ ἔπος ἐποίησεν, ἐνδεικνύμενος ὅτι παρὰ πεπρωμένην οὐκ ἂν τις ἀποθάνοι, ἀλλ’ ἔστιν ἀληθὲς τὸ δημῶδες ὅτι ψεύσται καὶ ἀπατεῶνες οὐδ’ ἂν ἀληθὲς εἰπωσί ποτε πιστεῦνται.” Petr. Patr. “εχξ. Γατ. 147 ‘π. 230 #3. μα.~π. 214, 18-28 διנד.’ 17. ἐδίκασε μὲν οὖν ἢ τι ἢ οὐδέν, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τῇ φιλοπραγμοσύνῃ ἐσχόλαζε. πάντα γὰρ δὴ οἱ πανταχόθεν καὶ τὰ βραχύτατα ἀνηγγέλλετο: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ^[p. 324] τοὺς ὠτακουστοῦντάς τε καὶ διοπτεῦοντας αὐτὰ προσέταξεν ὑπὸ μηδενὸς πλὴν ὑφ’ ἑαυτοῦ κολάζεσθαι. καὶ ἐγένετο κατὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲν χρηστόν, ^[2] ἀλλ’ ἐτυράννησαν ἡμῶν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι. καὶ ὁ γε μάλιστα καὶ ἀσχημονέστατον καὶ ἀναξιώτατον καὶ τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τοῦ δήμου Ῥωμαίων ἐγένετο, καὶ εὐνοῦχος ἡμῶν, τὸ γένος Ἰβήρ, τὸ δὲ ὄνομα Σεμπρώνιος Ῥοῦφος, τὸν δὲ δὴ τρόπον φαρμακεὺς καὶ γόης, ἐφ’ ᾧ δὴ καὶ ὑπὸ Σεουήρου ^[3] ἐς νῆσον κατεκέκλειτο, κατεκράτησε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔμελλέ που δίκην ἐπὶ τούτῳ δώσειν ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐνδείξαντές τινας: ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐπήγγελλε μὲν ὡς καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἔω αὐτίκα δικάσων ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι δημόσιον πράξων, παρέτεινε δὲ ἡμᾶς καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν μεσημβρίαν καὶ πολλάκις καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἐσπέρας, μηδὲ ἐς τὰ πρόθυρα ἐσδεχόμενος ἀλλ’ ἔξω που ἐστῶτας: ὁψὲ γὰρ ποτε ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ μηκέτι μηδ’ ἀσπάζεσθαι ἡμᾶς ὡς πλήθει. ^[4] Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐφιλοπραγμόνει ὥσπερ εἶπον, καὶ ἄρματα ἤλαυνε θηρία τε ἔσφαζε καὶ ἐμονομάχει καὶ ἔπινε καὶ ἐκραιπάλα, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις τοῖς τὴν ἔνδον αὐτοῦ φρουρὰν ἔχουσι καὶ κρατῆρας πρὸς τῇ ἄλλῃ τροφῇ ἐκεράννυε καὶ κύλικας καὶ παρόντων ἡμῶν καὶ ὀρώντων διέπεμπε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἐδίκασε. 18. ταῦτά τε ἐν τῇ Νικομηδεῖα χειμάσας ἔπραξε, καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα τὴν Μακεδονικὴν ἐξήσκησε, μηχανήματά τε δύο μέγιστα πρὸς τε τὸν Ἀρμενικὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Παρθικὸν πόλεμον κατεσκεύασεν, ἵνα διαλύσας αὐτὰ ἐπὶ πλοίων ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἀποκομίσῃ. ^[p. 326] τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐμιαφόνει καὶ παρηνόμει καὶ ^[2] τὰ χρήματα κατανήλισκεν. οὐδὲ ἐπέθετο οὔτε περὶ τούτων οὔτε περὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῇ μητρὶ πολλὰ καὶ χρηστὰ παραινούσῃ, καίτοι καὶ τὴν τῶν βιβλίων τῶν τε ἐπιστολῶν ἐκατέρων, πλὴν τῶν πάνυ ἀναγκαίων, διοίκησιν αὐτῇ ἐπιτρέψας, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἐπιστολαῖς ὁμοίως τῷ τε ἰδίῳ καὶ τῷ τῶν στρατευμάτων, ^[3] ὅτι σώζεται, μετ’ ἐπαίνων πολλῶν ἐγγράφων. τί γὰρ δεῖ λέγειν ὅτι καὶ ἡσπάζετο δημοσίᾳ πάντας τοὺς πρώτους καθάπερ καὶ ἐκεῖνος; ἀλλ’ ἢ μὲν καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐφιλοσόφει, ὁ δὲ ἔλεγε μὲν μηδενὸς ἔξω τῶν ἀναγκαίων προσδεῖσθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἐσεμνύνετο ὡς ὅτι εὐτελεστάτῃ τῇ διαίτῃ χρῆσθαι δυνάμενος, ἦν δὲ οὐδὲν οὐκ ἐπιγειον, οὐ θαλάττιον, οὐκ ἀέριον, ὃ μὴ οὐ καὶ ^[4] ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ αὐτῷ παρείχομεν. καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἐλάχιστα μὲν τοῖς φίλοις τοῖς συνοῦσιν οἱ ἀνήλπισκεν ‘οὐδὲ γὰρ συσσιτεῖν ἔθ’ ἡμῖν ἠθελεν’, τὰ δὲ δὴ πλείω μετὰ τῶν ἐξελεuthέρων

ἑδ' ἀπάντα. τοῖς δὲ μάγοις καὶ γόησιν οὕτως ἔχαιρεν ὥς καὶ Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν
 Καππαδόκην τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ ἀνθήσαντα ἐπαινεῖν καὶ τιμᾶν, ὅστις
 καὶ γόης καὶ μάγος ἀκριβὴς ἐγένετο, καὶ ἡρῶον αὐτῷ κατασκευάσαι.” Xiph.
 334, 1-335, R. St., Exc. Val. 386 (p. 754). “ 19. Ἐκστρατεύσαντι δὲ αὐτῷ
 κατὰ τῶν Πάρθων πρόφασις τοῦ πολέμου ἦν ὅτι Οὐολόγαισος τὸν τε
 Τιριδάτην καὶ Ἀντιόχον τινα μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἐξαιτήσαντι αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐξέδωκεν. ὁ
 δὲ Ἀντιόχος [p. 328] Κίλιξ μὲν ἦν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν κυνηδὸν τὰ πρῶτα
 ἐπλάττετο, καὶ πλεῖστά γε ἐκ τούτου τοὺς [2] στρατιώτας ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ
 ὠφέλησεν: ἀπαλγοῦντας γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ ῥίγους ἐπερρώννυνεν,
 ἔς τε τὴν χιόνα ῥίπτων ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ καλινδούμενος, ὅθεν περ καὶ
 χρημάτων καὶ τιμῶν καὶ παρ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σεουήρου καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου
 ἔτυχεν: ἐπαρθεὶς δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις τῷ Τιριδάτῃ συνεξητάσθη, καὶ μετ’ αὐτοῦ
 πρὸς τὸν Πάρθον ἠυτομόλησε.” Xiph. 335, 9-18 R. St., Exc. Val. 387 (p.
 754), Suid. s.vv. *)anti/oxos “ ὁ αὐτόμολος, ἀπαλγοῦντες. 20. [2.2] ὅτι ὁ
 Ἀντωνῖνος ἑαυτὸν διέβαλε, φάσκων ὅτι τῶν Κελτῶν τὴν θρασύτητα καὶ τὴν
 ἀπληστίαν τὴν τε ἀπιστίαν, ἀνάλωτον οὔσαν βίᾳ, ἀπατήσας εἰλήφει.” Exc.
 Val. 388 (p. 754). “ [3] ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς τὸν μὲν Λουσκῖνον τὸν Φαβρίκιον ἐπῆγει
 ὅτι μὴ ἠθέλησε τὸν Πύρρον διὰ τοῦ φίλου αὐτοῦ δολοφονῆσαι,
 ἐμεγαλοφρονεῖτο δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς Οὐανδῖλους καὶ τοὺς Μαρκομάνους φίλους
 ὄντας ἀλλήλοις συγκεκρουκέναι, καὶ ὅτι καὶ τὸν τῶν Κουάδων βασιλέα
 Γαῖοβόμαρον [4] κατηγορηθέντα ἀπεκτόνει. καὶ ὅτι τῶν συνόντων τις καὶ
 συγκατηγορουμένων αὐτῷ προαπήγξατο, ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς βαρβάροις τὸν
 νεκρὸν αὐτοῦ κατατρῶσαι, ἵν’ ὥς καὶ καταδεδικασμένος ἐσφάχθαι, ἀλλὰ μὴ
 ἐκουσίως, ὅπερ εὐδοξον παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐνομιζέτο, τετελευτηκέναι νομισθεῖν.”
 Exc. Val. 389 (p. 754). “ [p. 330] Ὅτι Καικίλιον Αἰμιλιανὸν τῆς Βαιτικῆς
 ἄρξαντα ὥς καὶ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ ἐν τοῖς Γαδείροις χρησάμενον ἀπέκτεινεν.”
 Exc. Val. 390 (p. 757). “ 19. [3] πρὶν δὲ ἀπᾶραι ἀπὸ Νικομηδείας, ἀγῶνα
 μονομαχίας ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ γενεθλίοις ἐποίησεν: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν
 ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν φόνων ἀπείχετο. ἔνθα λέγεται, ἡττηθέντος τινὸς καὶ
 ἱκετεύοντος αὐτὸν ὅπως σωθῇ, τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον [4] εἰπεῖν ‘ἄπελθε καὶ τοῦ
 ἀντιπάλου δεήθητι: ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἐξεστὶ σου φείσασθαι.’ καὶ οὕτως ὁ
 ἄθλιος, τάχ’ ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνταγωνιστοῦ σωθεῖς εἰ μὴ τοῦτο εἶρητο,
 διεφθάρη: οὐ γὰρ ἐτόλμησεν αὐτὸν ἀφεῖναι, ἵνα μὴ καὶ φιλανθρωπότερος
 τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος εἶναι δόξῃ. 20. καὶ μέντοι τοιαῦτα ποιῶν, καὶ ἐν τῇ
 Ἀντιοχείᾳ τρυφῶν ὥστε καὶ τὸ γένειον πάννυ ψιλίζεσθαι, αὐτὸς τε ὠδύρετο
 ὥς ἐν μεγάλοις δὴ τισι καὶ πόνοις καὶ κινδύνοις ὦν, καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ
 ἐπετίμα, τὰ τε ἄλλα ῥαστωναεῖν σφᾶς λέγων καὶ μῆτε συνιέναι προθύμως
 μῆτε κατ’ ἄνδρα τὴν γνώμην [2] διδόναι. καὶ τέλος ἔγραψεν ὅτι ‘οἶδα μὲν ὅτι
 οὐκ ἀρέσκει τὰ ἐμὰ ὑμῖν: διὰ τοῦτο μέντοι καὶ ὄπλα καὶ στρατιώτας ἔχω,
 ἵνα μηδὲν τῶν λογοποιουμένων ἐπιστρέφωμαι.’ 21. τοῦ δὲ Πάρθου
 φοβηθέντος καὶ τὸν Τιριδάτην καὶ τὸν Ἀντιόχον ἐκδόντος, ἀφῆκε τὴν
 στρατείαν ἐν τῷ παραντικᾷ. ἐς δὲ τοὺς Ἀρμενίους στείλας τὸν Θεόκριτον
 μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἰσχυρῶς ἔπταισε παρ’ αὐτῶν ἡττηθεὶς.” Xiph. 335, 18-336, R.
 St. “ [p. 332] [2] ὅτι Θεόκριτος ὁ Καισάρειος, δι’ οὗ ὀρχεῖσθαι ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος

μεμάθηκεν, καὶ παιδικὰ τοῦ Σαωτέρου ἐγγέγονει καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων θέατρον ἐσῆκτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ κακῶς ἐν αὐτῷ ἐφέρετο, ἐκ μὲν τῆς Ῥώμης ἐξέπεσεν, ἐς δὲ τὸ Λούγδουνον ἐλθὼν ἐκείνους ἄτε καὶ ἀγροικοτέρους ἔτερπε, καὶ ἐκ δούλου καὶ ἐξ ὀρχηστοῦ καὶ στρατιάρχης καὶ ἑπαρχος ἐγένετο.” Exc. Val. 391 (p. 757). “ ἦν δὲ ὁ Θεόκριτος ἐκ δούλου γεγωνὺς καὶ τῇ ὀρχήστρᾳ ἐμπαιδοτριβηθείς, ἐς τοσαύτην μέντοι ἤλασε δυναστείαν παρ’ Ἀντωνίνῳ ὥς μηδὲν εἶναι ἄμφοι πρὸς αὐτὸν τοὺς ἐπάρχους. τὰ δ’ ἴσα αὐτῷ καὶ Ἐπάγαθος, Καισάρειος καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν, ^[3] καὶ ἡδύνατο καὶ παρηνόμει. ὁ γοῦν Θεόκριτος ‘διεφοῖτα γὰρ ἄνω καὶ κάτω τῆς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καὶ παρασκευῆς καὶ καπηλείας ἔνεκεν’ συχνοὺς διὰ τε ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλως ἀπέκτεινε: μεθ’ ὧν καὶ ^[4] Τιτιανὸς Φλάουιος ἐφονεύθη. ἐπιτροπεύων γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ προσέπταισέ τι αὐτῷ, κάκῃνους ἀνασπιδήσας ἐκ τοῦ βάθρου τὸ ξίφος ἐσπάσατο: ἐφ’ ᾧ ὁ Τιτιανὸς ‘καὶ τοῦτο’ εἶπεν ‘ὥς ὀρχηστής ἐποίησας.’ ὅθεν ἐκεῖνος ὑπεραγανακτήσας ἀποσφαγῆναι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν. 22. ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος, καίτοι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπεραγαπᾶν φάσκων, τοὺς ἐκεῖνου πολίτας μικροῦ δεῖν πάντας ἄρδην ἀπώλεσεν. ἀκούων γὰρ ὅτι διαβάλλοιτο καὶ σκώπτοιτο παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τε τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῇ ἀδελφοκτονίᾳ, ^[p. 334] ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξανδρείαν, ἐπικρυπτόμενος ^[2] τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ ποθεῖν αὐτοὺς προσποιούμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς τὸ προάστειον ἦλθε, τοὺς μὲν πρῶτους αὐτῶν μεθ’ ἱερῶν τινῶν ἀπορρήτων ἐλθόντας δεξιωσάμενος ὥς καὶ συνεστίους ποιῆσαι ἀπέκτεινε, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο πάντα τὸν στρατὸν ἐξοπλίσας ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐνέβαλε, πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς τῇδε ἀνθρώποις προπαραγγείλας οἴκοι μένειν, πάσας δὲ τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ ^[3] προσέτι καὶ τὰ τέγη προκατασχών. καὶ ἵνα τὰς κατὰ μέρος συμφορὰς τὰς τότε κατασχούσας τὴν ἀθλίαν πόλιν παρῶ, τοσοῦτους κατέσφαξεν ὥστε μηδὲ εἰπεῖν περὶ τοῦ πλήθους αὐτῶν τολμῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ γράφαι ὅτι οὐδὲν διαφέρει πόσοι σφῶν ἢ τίνες ἐτελεύτησαν: πάντες γὰρ τοῦτο παθεῖν ἄξιοι ἦσαν. τῶν δὲ χρημάτων τὰ 23. μὲν διηρπάσθη τὰ δὲ διεφθάρη. συναπώλοντο δ’ οὖν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν ξένων πολλοί, καὶ συχνοί γε τῶν μετὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου ἐλθόντων ἀγνοίᾳ συνδιεφθάρησαν: τῆς τε γὰρ πόλεως μεγάλης οὕσης, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν πάσῃ ἅμα αὐτῇ καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν φονευομένων, οὐδένα, οὐδὲ εἰ πάνυ τις ἐβούλετο, διακρίναι ἡδύνατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔθνησκον ὥς που ἔτυχον, καὶ τὰ σώματά σφον αὐτίκα ἐς τάφρους βαθείας ἐνεβάλλετο, ὅπως ἀφανὲς ἦ τοῖς λοιποῖς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ^[2] συμφορᾶς. ταῦτα μὲν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἔπαθον, οἱ δὲ δι’ ἑξένοι πάντες ἐξηλάθησαν πλὴν τῶν ἐμπόρων, καὶ δηλὸν ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων πάντα διηρπάσθη: καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἱερὰ τινα ἐσυλήθη. καὶ τούτων τὰ μὲν πλείω αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος παρὼν καὶ ^[p. 336] ὁρῶν ἐποίει, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Σερατείου προσέταττε πρὸς αὐτοὺς: ἐν γὰρ τῷ τεμένει διητᾶτο κἀν ταῖς τῶν μισιφονιῶν αὐτῶν νυξὶ καὶ ἡμέραις.” Xiph. 336, 3-337, R. St. “ ^[2a] ὅτι τοὺς Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ἀποσφάπτων ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος καὶ ἐν τῷ τεμένει διαιτώμενος ἐπέστειλε τῇ γερουσίᾳ ὅτι ἡγγενυσεν ἐν αὐταῖς ἐν αἷς τὰ τε βοσκήματα ἅμα τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἑαυτῷ 100 ἔθυσεν.” Exc. Val. 392 (p. 757). “ ^[3] καὶ τί τοῦτο εἶπον, ὅποτε καὶ τὸ ξίφος δι’ οὗ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀπεκτόνει

ἀναθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ ἐτόλμησεν; ἐκ δὲ τούτου τάς τε θεάς καὶ τὰ συσσίτια τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων καταλύσας τὴν Ἀλεξανδρείαν διατειχισθῆναι τε καὶ φρουρίοις διαληφθῆναι 101 ἐκέλευσεν, ὅπως μηκέτ' ἀδεῶς παρ' ^[4] ἀλλήλους φοιτῶεν. τοιαῦτα περὶ τὴν ταλαίπωρον Ἀλεξανδρείαν ἔδρασεν ὁ Αὐσόνιος θῆρ, ὡς τὸ ἀκροτελευτίον τοῦ περὶ αὐτοῦ χρησμοῦ τοῦτον ὠνόμασεν, ὧ καὶ χαίρειν ἔφασαν αὐτόν, τῇ τοῦ θηρὸς κλήσει καλλωπιζόμενον, εἰ καὶ πολλοὺς προφάσει τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἐφόνευσεν ὡς προενεγκαμένους αὐτόν.” Χιρῆ. 337, 9-17 R. St., Exc. Van. 393 (p. 757). “ 24. ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς τοῖς στρατιώταις ἄθλα τῆς στρατείας, τοῖς μὲν ἐν τῷ δορυφορικῷ τεταγμένοις ἑξακισχιλίας 102 διακοσίας πεντήκοντα, τοῖς δὲ πεντακισχιλίας λαμβάνειν ... “ Exc. Val. 394 (p. 757). “ ^[2] ὅτι ὁ σῶφρων ἐκεῖνος, ὡς γε καὶ ἔλεγεν, ὁ τῆς ^[p. 338] τῶν ἄλλων ἀσελγείας ἐπιτιμητής, αἰσχίστου τε ἅμα καὶ δεινοτάτου τολμήματος γενομένου ἔδοξε μὲν ὀργὴν πεποιῆσθαι, τῷ δὲ δὴ μήτ' 103 ἐκείνη κατ' ἀξίαν ἐπελθεῖν καὶ τοῖς νεανίσκοις προσεπιτρέψαι ποιεῖν ἃ μηδεὶς μέχρι τότε ἐτετολμήκει, 104 πολὺ σφισιν ἐλυμήνατο μιμησαμένοις 105 τὰ τῶν ἐταιρῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν γελωτοποιῶν.” Exc. Val. 395 (p. 757). “ ^[3] ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ θεᾷ τῇ Κουλήνῃ ἐπηγορία πολλὴ οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς ποιοῦσιν ἐκεῖ τι τῶν εἰωθότων ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὀρῶσιν ἐγίγνετο.” Exc. Val. 396 (p. 757).

1. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐς τοὺς Πάρθους στρατεύσας πρόφασιν ὅτι οὐκ ἠθέλησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀρτάβανος τὴν θυγατέρα μνηστευσάμενῳ συνοικίσαι 'καὶ γὰρ εὖ ἠπίστατο ὅτι λόγῳ μὲν ἐκείνην γῆμαι, ἔργῳ δὲ τὴν τῶν Πάρθων βασιλείαν παρασπάσασθαι ἐπεθύμει, πολλὰ μὲν τῆς χώρας τῆς 2. περὶ τὴν Μηδιαν, ἅτε καὶ ἐξαπιναιῶς ἐμπεσὼν ἐς αὐτήν, ἐκάκωσε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τείχη ἐπόρθησε, τὰ τε Ἄρβηλα παρεστήσατο, καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα τὰ βασιλικά τῶν Πάρθων ἀνορύξας τὰ ὁστ' ἔρριπεν: οἱ γὰρ Πάρθοι οὐδὲ ἐς χεῖρας αὐτῷ ἦλθον. 3. οὐκουν οὐδὲ ἔσχον τι ἐξαίρετον περὶ τῶν τότε πραχθέντων συγγράψαι, πλὴν ὅτι δύο στρατιῶται ἀσκὸν οἴνου ἀρπάσαντες προσῆλθον αὐτῷ, ἰδιούμενος ὅλον ἐκάτερος τὸ λάφυρον, καὶ κελευσθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ νείμασθαι τὸν οἶνον τὰ τε ξίφη ἐσπᾶσαντο καὶ τὸν ἀσκὸν διέτεμον ὥς καὶ ἐξ ἡμισείας αὐτὸν μετὰ τοῦ οἴνου ληψόμενοι. 4. οὕτω γὰρ καὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορά σφον ἠδοῦντο ὥστ' αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐνοχλεῖν, καὶ φρονήσει ἐχρῶντο ὥς καὶ τὸν ἀσκὸν καὶ τὸν οἶνον ἀπολέσαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν βάρβαροι ἐς τὰ ὄρη καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν Τίγριν ἀπέφυγον, ἵνα παρασκευάζωνται: ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἄντωνῖνος τοῦτο μὲν ἀπεκρύπτετο, ὥς [p. 342] 5. δὲ δὴ καὶ παντελῶς αὐτῶν, οὐς μὴδὲ ἐωράκει, κεκρατηκῶς ἐσεμνύνετο, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι λέων τις ἐξαίφνης ἐξ ὄρους καταδραμὼν συνεμάχησεν [2] αὐτῷ, ὥς αὐτὸς ἐπέστειλεν. οὐ μόνον δὲ τὰ ἄλλα ἐκδιητᾶτο καὶ παρηνόμει καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς στρατείαις ἄλλὰ καὶ τινα ἰδίαν κ. τ. λ. ξ. 3. 3'. χιπη. 337, 17-338, ρ. στ. ... ἀλλ' ἀλήθεια: καὶ γὰρ τῷ βιβλίῳ τῷ περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφέντι οἱ ἐνέτυχον. οὕτω γὰρ που πρὸς πάντας τοὺς βουλευτὰς διακειμένῳ συνήδει ἑαυτῷ ὥστε μὴδ' ἐγκαλουμένων τι πολλῶν τοὺς τε δούλους καὶ τοὺς ἐξελευθέρους τοὺς τε φίλους αὐτῶν τοὺς πάνυ συλλαμβάνεσθαι τε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ βασάνων ἐρωτᾶσθαι 'εἰ ἄρα ὁ δεῖνά με φιλεῖ' ἢ 'ὁ δεῖνά με μισεῖ,' καὶ γὰρ τοι καὶ πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἀστέρων διαγράμματα, καθ' ἃ ἐγεγέννητό τις τῶν πρώτων τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ, ἐτεκμαίρετο, ὥς ἔλεγεν, τὸν τε οἰκείως οἱ καὶ τὸν ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοντα, καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ ἐκ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἐτίμα τοὺς δ' ἀπώλλυνεν. 3. τῶν δ' οὖν Πάρθων τῶν τε Μήδων δεινῶς ἐφ' οἷς ἐπεπόνθεσαν ἀγανακτησάντων καὶ χεῖρα πολλὴν παρασκευαζομένων ἐν παντὶ δέους ἐγένετο: θρασύτατος μὲν γὰρ ἀπειλῆσαι τι καὶ προπετέστατος τολμῆσαι, δειλότατος δὲ διακινδυνεῦσαι πῃ καὶ ἀσθενέστατος πονῆσαι ἦν. [p. 344] [2] οὕτω γὰρ οὐτε τὸ καῦμα οὐθ' ὄπλα φέρειν ἔτι ἐδύνατο ὥστε καὶ τοὺς χειριδωτοὺς χιτῶνας ἐς θῶρακος τρόπον τινὰ εἶδος πεποιημένους ἐνδύνειν, ἵνα τὴν τοῦ ὄπλου δόξαν χωρὶς τοῦ βάρους αὐτοῦ ἔχων μήτε ἐπibουλεύηται καὶ θαυμάζηται. καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄνευ μάχης πολλάκις ἐχρήτο. [3] χλαμύδα τε τοτὲ μὲν ὀλοπόρφυρον τοτὲ δὲ μεσόλευκον, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ μεσοπόρφυρον, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐγὼ εἶδον, ἐφόρει. ἐν γὰρ τῇ Συρίᾳ τῇ τε Μεσοποταμίᾳ Κελτικοῖς καὶ ἐσθήμασιν καὶ ὑποδήμασιν ἐχρήσατο. καὶ τινα ἰδίαν ἔνδυσιν βαρβαρικῶς πως κατακόπτων καὶ συρράπτων ἐς μανδύης τρόπον προσεπεξεῦρεν, καὶ αὐτὸς τε συνεχέστατα αὐτήν ἐνέδυνεν, ὥστε καὶ Καρακάλλος διὰ τοῦτο

ἐπικληθῆναι, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας μάλιστα ἀμφιέννυσθαι ἐκέλευεν. ^[4] αὐτὸν τε οὖν τοιοῦτον οἱ βάρβαροι ὀρώντες ὄντα, καὶ ἐκείνους πολλοὺς μὲν ἀκούοντες εἶναι, ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῆς προτέρας τρυφῆς 'τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ἐν οἰκίαις ἐχείμαζον, πάντα τὰ τῶν ξενοδοκούντων σφᾶς ὡς καὶ ἴδια ἀναλίσκοντες' καὶ ἐκ τῶν πόνων τῆς τε ταλαιπωρίας τῆς τότε αὐτοῖς παρούσης οὕτω καὶ τὰ σώματα τετρυχωμένους καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς τεταπεινωμένους ^[5] ὥστε μηδὲν τῶν λημμάτων ἔτι, ἃ πολλὰ ἀεὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐλάμβανον, προτιμᾶν, αἰσθόμενοι, ἐπῆρθησαν ὡς καὶ συναγωνιστὰς αὐτοῦς ἄλλ' ^[p. 346] οὐ πολεμίους ἔξοντες, κ ... μάζοντος 4. ... Ἀντωνῖνος ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο: οὐ μέντοι καὶ πολεμῆσαι αὐτῷ ἐξεγένετο, ἄλλ' ἐν μέσοις τοῖς στρατιώταις, οὓς μάλιστα ἐτίμα καὶ οἷς ἰσχυρῶς ἐθάρρει, κατεσφάγη. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ μάντις τις ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ εἶπεν, ὥστε καὶ δημοσιευθῆναι, ὅτι καὶ τὸν Μακρίνον τὸν ἑπαρχον καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Διαδουμενιανὸν ^[2] αὐταρχῆσαι δεῖ, καὶ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνός τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀναπεμφθεὶς Φλαουίῳ Ματερνιανῷ τῷ τότε τῶν ἐν τῷ ἄστει στρατιωτῶν ἄρχοντι ἐξέφηνε, καὶ ὅς τῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ παραχρῆμα ἐπέστειλεν, καὶ συνέβη ταῦτα μὲν τὰ γράμματα ἐς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν πρὸς τὴν μητέρα τὴν Ἰουλίαν ^[3] παραπεμφθῆναι, ἐπειδὴ ἐκεκείμεστο αὐτῇ πάντα τὰ ἀφικνούμενα διαλέγειν ἵνα μὴ μάτην οἱ ὄχλος γραμμάτων ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ ὄντι πέμπηται, ἕτερα δὲ ὑπὸ Οὐλπίου Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ τότε τὰς τιμῆσεις ἐγκεχειρισμένου δι' ἄλλων γραμματοφόρων ὀρθῇ πρὸς τὸν Μακρίνον, δηλοῦντα τὰ γιγνόμενα, ἀφικέσθαι, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο τοῖς μὲν πρὸς τὸν ^[4] αὐτοκράτορα γραφεῖσι διατριβὴν γενέσθαι, τὰ δὲ ἐκείνῳ ἐπισταλέντα φθῆναι ἀναγνωσθέντα αὐτῷ, ἐφοβήθη τε ὁ Μακρίνος μὴ καὶ διαφθαρεῖ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διὰ τε τοῦτο καὶ ὅτι Σεραπίων τις Αἰγύπτιος ἀντικρυς τῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ πρὸ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν εἰρήκει ὅτι τε ὀλιγοχρόνιος ἔσοιτο καὶ ὅτι ἐκεῖνος ^[5] αὐτὸν διαδέξοιτο, καὶ οὐκ ἀνεβάλετο. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Σεραπίων ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον λέοντι παρεβλήθη, ἐπεὶ δ' οὐχ ἦψατο αὐτοῦ τὴν χεῖρα μόνον, ὥς φασι, προτεινάντος, ἐφονεύθη, δυνηθεὶς ^[p. 348] ἄν, ὡς γε ἔφη, μηδὲ τοῦτο παθεῖν δαιμόνων τινῶν ἐπικλήσει, εἰ μίαν ἡμέραν ἐπεβεβιώκει. 5. ὁ δὲ δὴ Μακρίνος ἔπαθε μὲν οὐδέν, ἔσπευσε δ' ὑποπτεύσας ἀπολεῖσθαι, ἄλλως τε ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους αὐτοῦ τοὺς συνόντας ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος ἐξαίφνης, ... τῶν γενεθλίων αὐτοῦ, ἄλλον κατ' ἄλλην πρόφασιν, ὡς καὶ τιμῶν, ἀπέωστο. ^[2] ... ταλα

... της1

... ιτης1

... ... ου

... πεπρωμένον αὐτῷ λήψεσθαι προσδοκῶν, καὶ τὸ παρωνύμιον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τούτου ἐπεποιήτο. κἀκ τούτου δύο τε χιλιάρχους τῶν ἐν τῷ δορυφορικῷ τεταγμένων, Νεμεσιανόν τε καὶ Ἀπολλινάριον ^[3] ἀδελφοὺς Αὐρηλίου, καὶ Ἰούλιον Μαρτιάλιον ἐν τε τοῖς ἀνακλητοῖς στρατευόμενον καὶ ὀργὴν οἰκείαν τῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ ἔχοντα ὅτι οἱ ἑκατονταρχίαν αἰτήσαντι οὐκ ἔδεδώκει, παρασκευάσας ἐπεβούλευσεν ^[4] αὐτῷ. ἐπράχθη δὲ ὥδε. τῇ ὀγδόῃ τοῦ Ἀπριλίου ἐξορμήσαντά τε αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἐδέσσης ἐς Κάρρας, καὶ κατελθόντα

ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου ὅπως ἀποπατήσῃ, προσελθὼν ὁ Μαρτιάλιος ὡς γε εἶπεῖν τι δεόμενος ἐπάταξε ξιφιδίῳ μικρῷ. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν αὐτίκα ἀπέφυγε, καὶ διέλαθεν ἂν εἰ [5] τὸ ξίφος ἀπερρίφει: νῦν δὲ γνωρισθεὶς ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τινος τῶν Σκυθῶν τῶν σὺν Ἀντωνίνῳ ὄντων κατηκοντίσθη: ἐκεῖνον δὲ .. οἱ χιλιάρχοι ὡς [p. 350] καὶ βοηθοῦντες κατέσφαξαν. ὁ δὲ δὴ Σκύθης οὗτος οὐχ ὡς καὶ συμμαχῶν αὐτῷ μόνον, ἀλλ’ ὡς καὶ φρουρὰν αὐτοῦ τρόπον τινὰ ἔχων συνῆν. 6. καὶ γὰρ Σκύθας καὶ Κελτούς, οὐ μόνον ἐλευθέρους ἀλλὰ καὶ δούλους, καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ἀφελόμενος, ὠπλίζει καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχεν, ὡς καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ἢ τοῖς στρατιώταις θαρσύν: τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ἑκατονταρχίαις σφᾶς ἐτίμα, [2] λέοντάς τε ἐκάλει. καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν αὐτῶν πεμπομένοις καὶ διελέγετο πολλάκις μηδενὸς ἄλλου πλην τῶν ἐρμηνέων παρόντος, καὶ ἐνετέλλετο ὅπως, ἂν τι πάθῃ, ἔς τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσβάλωσι καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλαύνωσιν ὡς καὶ εὐαλωτοτάτην οὔσαν: καὶ ἵνα δὴ μηδὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐς ἡμᾶς ἐκφοιτήσῃ, [3] τοὺς ἐρμηνέας εὐθὺς ἐφόνευεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῦτο τε ἀπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν βαρβάρων ὕστερον ἐμάθομεν, καὶ τὸ τῶν φαρμάκων παρὰ τοῦ Μακρίνου: πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ποικίλα παρὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἄνω Ἀσίᾳ ἀνθρώπων τὰ μὲν μετεπέμψατο τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπρίατο, ὥστε ἐπακοσίας καὶ πεντήκοντα μυριάδας ἐς αὐτὰ ἀριθμηθῆναι, ἵνα καὶ παμπόλλους, ὅσους ἂν ἐθελήσῃ, καὶ διαφόρως [4] δολοφονήσῃ. καὶ ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ μετὰ ταῦθ’ εὐρεθέντα κατεκαύθη: τότε δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις [p. 352] τῷ τοὺς βαρβάρους σφῶν προτιμᾶσθαι δυσχεραίνοντες, οὗτ’ ἄλλως ἔτι ὁμοίως ἔχαιρον αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐπιβουλευθέντι οὐκ ἐβοήθησαν. [5] τοιοῦτῳ μὲν τέλει ἐχρήσατο βιούς τε ἔτη ἑννέα καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἡμέρας τέσσαρας ἤ τῃ γὰρ τετράδι τοῦ Ἀπριλίου ἐγεγέννητό καὶ αὐταρχήσας 7. ἔτη ἕξ καὶ μῆνας δύο καὶ ἡμέρας δύο. καὶ μοι καὶ ἐνταῦθα τοῦ λόγου θαυμάσαι πάμπολλα ἐπέρχεται. ὁ τε γὰρ πατήρ αὐτοῦ μέλλοντι οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας τὴν τελευταίαν ἔξοδον ποιήσασθαι ξιφῆρης ὄναρ ἐπέστη, λέγων ὅτι ‘ὡς σὺ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀπέκτεινας, καὶ ἐγὼ σὲ ἀποσφάξω.’ [2] καὶ οἱ μάντεις εἶπον αὐτῷ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην φυλάσσεσθαι, τοῦτῳ τῷ ῥήματι ἄντικρυς χρησάμενοι, ὅτι ‘αἱ τοῦ ἥπατος τοῦ ἱερείου πύλαι κέκλεινται.’ ἀφ’ οὗ δὴ καὶ διὰ θύρας τινὸς ἐξῆλθε, μηδὲν μηδὲ τοῦ λέοντος, ὃν καὶ Ἀκινάκην ὠνόμαζε καὶ ὁμοτράπεζον ὁμόκλινόν τε ἐποιεῖτο, φροντίσας, ὅτι καὶ ἐκράτησεν αὐτὸν ἐξίσοντα καὶ [3] τὴν ἐσθῆτα αὐτοῦ προσκατέρρηξεν: ἔτρεφε μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλους λέοντας πολλούς, καὶ αἰεῖ τινὰς περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχεν, ἐκεῖνον δὲ καὶ δημοσίᾳ πολλάκις κατεφίλει. ταῦτά τε οὖν οὕτως ἔσχε, καὶ ὀλίγον πρὸ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ ἐν τε τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ πῦρ ἐξαίφνης πολὺ, ὡς γε καὶ ἤκουσα, πάντα τὸν τοῦ Σαράπιδος ναὸν ἐνδοθεν κατασχόν [4] ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἐλυμήνατο, τὸ δὲ δὴ ξίφος ἐκεῖνο ᾧ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀπεσφάκει μόνον ἐφθειρεν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο παυσάμενου αὐτοῦ ἀστέρες πολλοὶ ἐφάνησαν: καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ δαίμων τις ἀνθρώπου σχῆμα ἔχων ὄνον ἔς τε τὸ [p. 354] Καπιτώλιον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὸ παλάτιον ἀνῆγαγεν, ζητῶν τὸν δεσπότην αὐτοῦ, ὡς γε καὶ ἔφασκεν, καὶ λέγων ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἀπολωλέναι τὸν [5] δὲ Δία ἄρχειν. συλληφθεὶς τε ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον ὑπὸ τοῦ

Ματερνιανοῦ πεμφθεὶς ‘ἀπέρχομαι μὲν’ ἔφη ‘ὥς κελεύεις, ἀφίξομαι δὲ οὐ
πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἕτερον,’ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ’ ἐς τὴν
Καπύην 8. ἐλθὼν ἀφανῆς ἐγένετο. τοῦτο μὲν ζῶντος ἔτι αὐτοῦ συνηνέχθη,
τῇ δὲ ἵπποδρομίᾳ τῇ τῆς τοῦ Σεουήρου ἀρχῆς ἔνεκα ποιουμένη κατέπεσε
μὲν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀρεως ἀγαλμα πομπεῦον, ἀλλὰ ^[2] τοῦτο μὲν ἦττον ἂν τις
θαυμάσειε: τὸ δὲ δὴ μέγιστον, ἡττημένοι οἱ πράσινοι στασιῶται, ἔπειτα
κολοιὸν ἐπ’ ἄκρου τοῦ ὀβελίσκου πάνυ σφόδρα κρώζοντα ἰδόντες πάντες τε
πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέβλεψαν, καὶ πάντες ἐξαίφνης ὥς καὶ ἐκ συγκειμένου τινὸς
ἀνεβόησαν ‘Μαρτιάλιε, χαῖρε: Μαρτιάλιε, διὰ χρόνου σε ἐοράκαμεν,’ οὐχ
ὅτι καὶ ὁ κολοιὸς ποτε οὕτως ὠνομάσθη, ἀλλ’ ὅτι δι’ ἐκείνου τὸν
Μαρτιάλιον τὸν τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου φονέα ^[3] ὥς καὶ ἐξ ἐπιπνοίας τινὸς θείας
ἡσπάσαντο. ἤδη δὲ τισι καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος τὴν τελευτὴν
προδηλῶσαι ἔδοξεν, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ἣν τελευταίαν τῇ γερουσίᾳ
ἔπεμψεν ἔφη ὅτι ‘παύσασθε εὐχόμενοι με ἑκατὸν ἔτεσι μοναρχήσαι:’ τὸ μὲν
γὰρ ἐπιβόημα τοῦτο αἰὲ καὶ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς αὐτῷ ἐγένετο, ἐκεῖνος δὲ τότε
πρῶτον καὶ μόνον ἡπιάσατο αὐτό, λόγῳ μὲν ἐγκαλῶν σφίσιν ^[p. 356] ὥς καὶ
ἀδύνατα εὐχομένοις, ἔργῳ δὲ προδηλῶν ^[4] ὅτι οὐκέτ’ οὐδένα χρόνον ἄρξει.
καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε ἅπαξ τοῦτὸ τινες ἐπeseμήναντο, καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐνθῦμιον ἐγένετο
ὅτι ἐν τῇ Νικομηδεῖα τοῖς Κρονίοις ἐστιῶν ἡμᾶς καὶ πολλὰ ἄττα, οἷα ἐν
συμποσίῳ εἰκὸς ἦν, εἰπὼν, ἔπειτ’ ἐξανισταμένων ἡμῶν προσκαλεσάμενος
ἐμὲ ἔφη: ‘κάλλιστα, ὦ Δίῳν, καὶ ἀληθέστατα ὁ Εὐριπίδης εἶρηκεν ὅτι
πολλὰ μορφαὶ τῶν δαιμονίων, πολλὰ δ’ ἀέλπτως κραίνουσι θεοί, καὶ τὰ
δοκηθέντ’ οὐκ ἐτελέσθη, τῶν δ’ ἀδοκῆτων πόρον εὗρε θεός. τοιόνδ’ ἀπέβη
τόδε πρᾶγμα.’ ^[5] παραχρῆμα μὲν γὰρ ἄλλως ἀπολεληρηκέναι τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος
ἔδοξεν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἀπώλετο καὶ τελευταίαν ταύτην φωνὴν
πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔρρηξε, καὶ πάνυ κεχρησµωδηκέναι τρόπον τινὰ τὰ συμβησόμενα
αὐτῷ ἐνομίσθη, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Βῆλος ὀνομαζόμενος καὶ ἐν τῇ
Ἀπαμείᾳ τῆς ^[6] Συρίας τιμώμενος: καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος τῷ Σεουήρῳ πρότερον
ἰδιωτεύοντι τε ἔτι τὰ ἔπη ταῦτα εἰρήκει, ‘ὄμματα καὶ κεφαλὴν ἱκελος Διὶ
τερπικεραυνῷ, Ἀρεὶ δὲ ζώνην, στέρνον δὲ Ποσειδάωνι,’ ^[p. 358] καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα
αὐτοκράτορι γενομένῳ ταῦτ’ εἶπεν χρωμένῳ, ὅτι ‘σὸς δ’ οἶκος πᾶς βήσεται
δι’ αἷματος.’ 9. τοῦ δ’ οὖν Ἀντωνίνου τὸ τε σῶμα ἐκαύθη, καὶ τὰ ὁστ’ ἐν τῷ
Ἀντωνινείῳ, κρύφα νυκτὸς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην κομισθέντα, ἐτέθη: πάνυ γὰρ
πάντες οἱ βουλευταὶ καὶ οἱ ἰδιῶται, καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες, ἰσχυρότατα
αὐτὸν ἐμίσησαν, ὥστε καὶ λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν πάντ’ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ὥς καὶ
πολεμιοτάτῳ. ^[2] δόγματι μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἡτιμώθη διὰ τὸ τοὺς στρατιώτας τῆς
μὲν εἰρήνης, ἧς ἀντήλπισαν παρὰ τοῦ Μακρίνου λήψεσθαι, μὴ τυχεῖν, τῶν
δὲ δὴ κερδῶν, ὧν παρ’ ἐκείνου ἐλάβανον, στερομένους πάλιν αὐτὸν
ποθῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἥρωας μετὰ τοῦτ’ ἐκνικησάντων αὐτῶν
ἐσεγράφη, καὶ ^[3] τοῦτο καὶ τῇ βουλῇ δῆλον ὅτι ἐψηφίσθη. ἄλλως δὲ πολλὰ
καὶ κακὰ ὑπὸ πάντων ἤκουεν αἰεὶ: οὐδὲ γὰρ Ἀντωνῖνον ἔτ’ αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν,
ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν Βασσιανὸν τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄνομα, οἱ δὲ Καράκαλλον, ὥσπερ εἶπον,
οἱ δὲ καὶ Ταραύταν ἐκ μονομάχου τινὸς προσηγορίας τὸ τ’ εἶδος καὶ
σµικροτάτου καὶ κακοειδεστάτου καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ θραυστάτου καὶ

μιαιφονωτάτου. 10. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐκείνου, ὅπως ποτ' ἂν καὶ ὀνομάσῃ τις αὐτόν, οὕτως ἔσχεν: ἔμοι δὲ δὴ, καὶ πρὶν ἐς τὴν μοναρχίαν καταστῆναι, προεδηλώθη τρόπον τινὰ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα [p. 360] γράφοιμι. ἐν γὰρ πεδίῳ μεγάλῳ τινὶ πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν ἐξωπλισμένην ὁρᾷν τεθνηκότος αὐτοῦ ἤδη ἔδοξα, καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὸν Σεουήρον ἐπὶ τε γηλόφου καὶ ἐπὶ βήματος ὑψηλοῦ καθήμενον [2] διαλέγεσθαι τι αὐτοῖς. καὶ με προσστάντα ἰδὼν ὅπως τῶν λεγομένων ἀκούσω, 'δεῦρο,' ἔφη, 'Δίῳν, ἐνταῦθα πλησίον πρόσσελθε, ἵνα πάντα καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ τὰ γιγνόμενα καὶ μάθῃς [3] ἀκριβῶς καὶ συγγράφῃς.' τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ τοῦ Ταραύτου καὶ βίος καὶ ὄλεθρος ἐγένετο, καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπαπώλοντο μὲν καὶ οἱ τῆς κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιβουλῆς μετασχόντες, οἱ μὲν εὐθύς οἱ δ' οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, προσδιεφθάρησαν δὲ οἱ πάννυ ἐταῖροι αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ Καισάρειοι: οὕτω που φονικῷ δαίμονι καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ ἐς τοὺς φίλους συνεκεκλήρωτο. 11. ὁ δὲ δὴ Μακρίνος τὸ μὲν γένος Μαῦρος, ἀπὸ Καισαρείας, γονέων ἀδοξοτάτων ἦν, ὥστε καὶ σφόδρα εἰκότως αὐτὸν τῷ ὄνῳ τῷ ἐς τὸ παλάτιον ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου ἐσαχθέντι εἰκασθῆναι: τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τὸ οὕς τὸ ἕτερον κατὰ τὸ τοῖς [2] πολλοῖς τῶν Μαύρων ἐπιχώριον διετέτρητο: τῇ δὲ ἐπικείρα καὶ ἐκεῖνο συνεσκίαζεν, τὰ τε νόμιμα οὐχ οὕτως ἀκριβῶς ἠπίστατο ὥς πιστῶς μετεχειρίζετο. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τῷ Πλαυτιανῷ διὰ φίλου τινὸς συνηγόρημα γνωρισθεὶς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῶν ἐκείνου χρημάτων ἐπετρόπευσεν, ἔπειτα συναπολέσθαι οἱ κινδυνεύσας, καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κίλωνος ἐξαιτησαμένου αὐτὸν [3] σωθεὶς, πρὸς μὲν τοῦ Σεουήρου τοῖς ὀχήμασι τοῖς [p. 362] κατὰ τὴν Φλαμινίαν ὁδὸν διαθέουσιν ἐπετάχθη, πρὸς δὲ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου ὀνόματά τινα ἐπιτροπείας ὀλιγοχρονίου λαβὼν ἐπαρχὸς ἀπεδείχθη, καὶ διώκησε τὰ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ταύτης ἄριστα καὶ δικαιοτάτα, ὅσα γε καὶ αὐτογνωμονήσας ἐπραξεν. [4] τοιοῦτος δὲ τις ὢν καὶ οὕτως αὐξηθεὶς ἔς τε τὸν νοῦν τὴν τῆς αὐταρχίας ἐλπίδα ζῶντος ἔτι τοῦ Ταραύτου, δι' ὅπερ εἶπον, ἐνεβάλετο, καὶ τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ φανερώς μὲν οὐτε ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὐτε ταῖς ἔπειτα ταῖς δύο ἐπεβάτευσεν αὐτῆς, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτ' αὐτὸν ἀπεκτονέναι δόξῃ, ἀλλὰ ἄναρκτα παντελῶς τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον ἀπ' αὐτοτελοῦς ἄρχοντος τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πράγματα, οὐδ' εἰδότην αὐτῶν τοῦτο, διεγένετο: [5] πέμψας δὲ ὥς ἐκασταχόσε πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἐν μὲν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον, μὴ μέντοι καθ' ἐν ὄντας ἀλλ' ἄλλους ἄλλῃ διεσπασμένους, προσηταιρίσατο αὐτοὺς διὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων οἱ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐπαγγειλάμενος καὶ τοῦ πολέμου, ᾧ μάλιστα ἐβαρύνοντο, ἀπαλλάξαι [6] ἐπελπίσας. καὶ οὕτω τῇ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, ἣ τὰ τοῦ Σεουήρου γενέθλια ἦν, αὐτοκράτωρ τε ὑπ' 12. αὐτῶν ὥς καὶ καταβιασθεὶς ἠρέθη, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ χρηστὰ ἐκείνοις ἐδημηγόρησε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ὑπετείνετο, τοὺς τε ἐπ' ἀσεβείᾳ τινὶ, οἷα γε ἡ ἀσέβεια αὕτη ἢ ἐς τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας λέγεται γίνεσθαι, τιμωρίαν [p. 364] τινὰ ἔμβιον ὠφληκότας ἀπαλλάξας τῆς καταδίκης, καὶ τοὺς ἐγκαλουμένους τι τοιοῦτον ἀπολύσας, [2] τὰ τε περὶ τοὺς κλήρους καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς ἐλευθερίας καταδειχθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Καρακάλλου παύσας, καὶ τὸν Αὐρηλιανὸν ἐξαιτηθέντα ὑπ' αὐτῶν οἷα ἀπεχθέστατον σφίσι ἐν πολλαῖς στρατείαις ταῖς

πρόσθε γεγονόςτα παραιτησάμενος ὡς οὐχ ὄσιον ὄν βουλευτήν τινα ἀποκτείνει. ^[3] οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐξεγένετο αὐτῷ ἀνδραγαθίσασθαι ...

τε Αὐρηλιαν

νησαντα ...

σαι τι ἐπιχ ...

στρατιῶτα ...

αμα τοῦτο ...

ὕπ' αὐτοῦ το

καὶ ἀναλοι ...

δε βουλευς¹ ...

αὐταρχόν γ

ὀργῇ τε ο ...

σι καὶ ^[4] διακοσίας καὶ πενήκοντα δραχμὰς ...

πλεῖόν τι δοῦναι κατεδέδεικτο τ ...

φοβηθεῖς ...

τὸν Αὐρηλιανὸν τὸν καὶ μόνον οὐχ ὅπως τῶν ὑπατευκότων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὅλως βουλευόντων τότε παρόντα ἀπ

ὕπὸ χρημάτων ... ἔς

αὐτὸν τηγι ...

αἰτίαν τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Καρακάλλου ...

τρέψας τὸ δ

καὶ περὶ το ...

τας τι επο ...

σας παρα ... ^[5] ...

τονως ... %5σφῶν ...

τα ὦ ...

του ...

προ

... πάμπολλα ^[p. 366] καὶ ἔπιπλα καὶ κτήματα τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων. ὡς δ' οὐδὲ ταῦτα διὰ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐξήρκει ταῖς ἐν

... ιακων προς¹

... .. ξατο καὶ μεν

... ν βουλευτῶν

... ν ἀποκτει

... .. μηδένα ἀλλ' ἔς φυλακὴν τινας ἐμβαλὼν

^[6] ... φον τὸν ευ

... αι τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν ἐξελευθέρων καὶ τῶν Καισαρείων καὶ

... ικῶν τῶν τε

... τοὺς καὶ ὅτιοῦν ἁμαρτάνοντας κολασθῆναι ποιήσας ὥστε πᾶσι

... νον αὐτῶν

... τὰς τε ἐπιτροπείας ... τὰς περιττὰς ... τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ... τοῦ Ταραύτου ...

^[7] ... ἀχθέντων

... το τῶν ἀγώνων

... .. ων πλῆθος ην

... ζ, τὰς τε δωρεὰς αὐτῷ ἃς μάτην πισὶν ἐδεδώρητο συλλέξας, καὶ μηδεμίαν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ μήτε ἀργυρεῖν ὑπὲρ πέντε λίτρας μήτε χρυσοῖν ὑπὲρ τρεῖς γίγνεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν. τὸ τε μέγιστον, τὴν μισθοφορὰν τῶν ἐν τῷ δορυφορικῷ στρατευομένων ... ἐς τὸ ταχθὲν ... ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεουήρου ... εθεῖ ...

13. οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ὑπὸ τινων οὐ μάτην ἐπαινούμενος ἰσοστάσιον πως αὐτοῖς αἰτίαμα παρὰ τῶν ἐμφορῶν ἔσχεν, ὅτι ἐς τε τοὺς ὑπατευκότας τινὰς ἐνέγραψε καὶ εὐθὺς ἀρχαῖς ἐθνῶν προσέταξεν, καίτοι μὴ ἐθελήσας δευτέρον δὴ τῷ ἐπιόντι ἔτει ὑπατεῦειν δόξα ὅτι τὰς τῶν ὑπατευκόντων [p. 368] τιμὰς ἐσχήκοι, ὅπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ Σεουήρου [2] ἀρξάμενον καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπεποιήκει. τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ νομιμώτατα καὶ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ἀδουέντου πράξας, ἀλογώτατα Μάρκιον τε Ἀγρίππαν πρότερον μὲν ἐς Παννονίαν εἴτ' ἐς Δακίαν ἡγεμονεύοντα ἔπεμψεν· τοὺς γὰρ ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν, τὸν τε Σαβῖνον καὶ τὸν Καστίνον, λόγῳ μὲν ὡς καὶ τῆς συνουσίας σφῶν δεόμενος, ἔργῳ δὲ τὸ τε πᾶν φρόνημα καὶ τὴν φιλίαν αὐτῶν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Καρακάλλον φοβηθεὶς, εὐθὺς [3] μετεπέμψατο. τὸν τε οὖν Ἀγρίππαν ἐς τὴν Δακίαν καὶ Δέκκιον Τρικκιανὸν ἐς τὴν Παννονίαν ἔστειλεν, ἐκεῖνον μὲν δοῦλόν τε κομμωτὴν γυναικὸς τινος γεγονότα, καὶ διὰ τε τοῦτο κριθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεουήρου, καίτοι καὶ τῷ βασιλικῷ συνδεδικηκότα, [4] κότα, καὶ ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ πράγματός τινος ἐς νῆσον ἐκπεσόντα, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Ταραύτου σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις καταχθέντα, τὰς τε διαγνώσεις αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς διοικήσαντα, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἐς τοὺς βουλευτὰς τοὺς ἐστρατηγηκότας ἀπωσθέντα ὅτι μειράκια ἔξωρα ἐς τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπῆκτο, τὸν δὲ δὴ Τρικκιανὸν ἔν τε τῷ πλήθει τῷ Παννονικῷ ἐστρατευμένον καὶ θυρωρὸν ποτε τοῦ ἄρχοντος αὐτῆς γεγονότα καὶ τότε τοῦ Ἀλβανίου στρατοπέδου ἄρχοντα.

14. ταῦτά τε οὖν αὐτοῦ πολλοὶ ἠπιῶντο, καὶ ὅτι καὶ τὸν Ἀδουέντον ἐν τοῖς διόπταις τε καὶ ἐρευνηταῖς μεμισθοφορηκότα, καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς τάξιν [p. 370] λελοιπότα ἔς τε τοὺς γραμματοφόρους τελέσαντα καὶ πρόκριτον ἀποδειχθέντα καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς ἐπιτρόπευσιν προαχθέντα, καὶ βουλευτὴν καὶ συνύπατον καὶ πολιάρχον, μὴθ' ὁρᾶν ὑπὸ γήρως μὴτ' ἀναγιγνώσκειν ὑπ' ἀπαιδευσίας μήτε πράττειν [2] τι ὑπ' ἀπειρίας δυνάμενον, ἀπέφηνεν. ἔτετολμήκει μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἀδουέντος τοῖς στρατιώταις μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Καρακάλλου θάνατον εἰπεῖν ὅτι 'ἐμοὶ μὲν ἡ μοναρχία ἄτε καὶ πρεσβεύοντι τοῦ Μακρίνου προσήκει, ἐπεὶ δ' ὑπεργηρῶς εἰμι, ἐκείνῳ αὐτῆς ἐξίσταμαι·' ληρεῖν δὲ πως ἔδοξεν, ὥπερ που καὶ ὁ Μακρίνος τὸ μέγιστον τῆς γερουσίας ἀξίωμα τοιοῦτῳ ἀνδρὶ δούς, ὅστις οὐδὲ διαλεχθῆναι τινι ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καλῶς ὑπατεῦων ἠδυνήθη, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῇ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν [3] ἡμέρᾳ νοσεῖν προσεποιήσατο. ὅθεν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν τῷ Μαξιμῷ τῷ Μαρίῳ τὴν τῆς πόλεως προστασίαν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ προσέταξε, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τοῦτο μόνον πολιάρχον αὐτὸν ποιήσας ἵνα μιάνῃ τὸ βουλευτήριον, οὐ κατ' ἐκεῖνο μόνον ὅτι ἐν τῷ μισθοφορικῷ ἐστράτευτο καὶ τὰ τῶν δημίων ἔργα καὶ προσκόπων καὶ ἑκατοντάρχων ἐπεποιήκει, [4] ἄλλ' ὅτι καὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἀρχὴν πρὸ τοῦ τῆς ὑπατείας ἔργου εἰλήφει, τοῦτ' ἔστιν πολιάρχος πρότερον ἢ βουλευτῆς ἐγεγόνει. ταῦτα γὰρ περὶ αὐτὸν ὥπερ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν, ὅτι τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ὑπεύθυν ἔτι ἠρπάκει, ἐπηλυγασόμενος ἔπραξεν. [p. 372]

15. ἐκεῖνά τε οὖν τινὲς αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀπεικότως ἐμέμφοντο, καὶ ὅτι ἐπάρχους τὸν τε Ἰουλιανὸν τὸν Οὐλλπιον καὶ Ἰουλιανὸν Νέστορα ἀπέδειξε, μήτ' ἄλλην τινὰ ἀρετὴν ἔχοντας μήτ' ἐν πολλαῖς πράξεσιν ἐζητασμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ περιβοήτους ἐπὶ πονηρίᾳ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Καρακάλλου ἀρχῇ γενομένους διὰ τὸ πολλὰ αὐτῷ τῶν ἀγγελιαφόρων σφᾶς ἡγουμένους πρὸς τὰς ἀνοσίους πολυπραγμοσύνας^[2] ὑπηρετῆσαι. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὀλίγοι ἐλογίζοντο καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὐ καθαρῶς ἐθάρσουν. οἱ δὲ δὴ πλείους τῶν ἰδιωτῶν πρὸς τε τὴν διὰ βραχέος παρ' ἐλπίδα τοῦ Ταραύτου ἀπαλλαγὴν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου παραπλησίαν, ἐξ ὧν ὑπεδεδείχει σφίσιν, πρὸς πάντα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσδοκίαν οὐκ ἔσχον καιρὸν δι' ὀλίγου οὕτως αὐτοῦ καταγνῶναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἰσχυρῶς ἀποθανόντα ἐπόθησαν ὃν πάντως ἄν, εἴπερ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐβεβίωκει,^[3] διὰ μίσους ἐσχέκεσαν. καὶ γὰρ τρυφερώτερόν πως ζῆν ἤρξατο, καὶ τῶν διαμεμφομένων τι αὐτοῦ ἐπεστρέφετο. τὸν μὲν γὰρ Ματερνιανὸν τον τε Δάτον οὐκ εὐλόγως μὲν 'τί γὰρ ἡδίκηκεσαν τὸν αὐτοκράτορά σφων περιέποντες;', οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου τρόπου, ἐπεὶ ἐν κινδύνῳ μεγάλῳ ἐγεγόνει, διεχρήσατο: τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις τοῖς τὴν δυσγένειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν παράλογον τῆς μοναρχίας ἔφεσιν δυσχεραίνειν ὑποπτευομένοις^[4] οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐπεξῆει. πάντα γὰρ που τάναντία αὐτὸν ἐχρῆν, εἰδὸτα ὅστις τε ἀρχὴν ἐπεφύκει καὶ ὅστις τότε ἦν, μήθ' ὑπερφρονεῖν ... μετρίως^[p. 374] ...

μονα τὸν ὁ

θεραπεύοντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῇ τε εὐεργεσίᾳ καὶ τῇ τῆς ἀρετῆς διὰ πάντων ὁμοίως ἐπιδείξει παραμυθεῖσθαι. 16. ταῦτα μὲν ...

κατ' αὐτὸν α ... εἰ%5ρηται μοι εν ...

ὡς ἕκαστα ...

μης τινος

κειωνες ... αὐτο%5κράτωρ μεν ...

ραις ὥσπερ ...

λόγῳ παρὰ ...

τὴν ἀρχὴν

παντὸς μα ...

νος αὐτῆς ...

των ὧν διελ

στρατιώταις ...

ἀπεδείχθ ...

καὶ ἐπαίνους ἑαυτοῦ^[2] οὐκ ὀλίγους μὲν ἀνειπεῖν ἐτόλμησεν, ἔτι δὲ πλείους ἐπιστεῖλαι, λέγων ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι 'εὖ ἡπιστάμην καὶ ὑμᾶς τοῖς στρατεύμασι συνομολογήσαντας, συνειδὼς ἑμαυτῷ πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ πεπονηκότι τὸ κοινόν.' ἐνέγραψεν δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ Καίσαρά θ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ αὐτοκράτορα καὶ Σεουήρον, προσθεὶς τῷ Μακρίνῳ ὀνόματι καὶ εὐσεβῇ καὶ εὐτυχῇ καὶ Αὔγουστον καὶ ἀνθύπατον, οὐκ ἀναμένων τι, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν, παρ' ἡμῶν ψήφισμα.^[3] ... λεν δὲ οὐκ ἡ

... τοσαῦτα καὶ τηλικαῦτα ῥήματα αὐτὸς

... .. μενος οὐ οὐδὲ

... ης ὄνομα

... ν δορυφόρων
 ερόν τινες
 ... οὐ μὴν ἄλ
 ... τως ἔγρα
 τὴν ἀρχὴν
 ... εμον μάλι
 ... ων βαρβάρων
 ... [4] ... ρημον προι
 ... ν [p. 376] πλησίον
 ... ηθει παρον
 στον δρασω
 ... η τῇ τε ἐπι
 ... ἔγραψεν ἀπλῶς
 οἱ πρὸ τοῦ Καρκαλάλου αὐτοκράτορες, ... ο καὶ διὰ παν
 ... ς ἐποίησε
 ... ὑπομνήματα
 στρατιώταις
 ... οὕτως ἔκει
 ... ἐπὶ κολα
 των καὶ οὐ
 ... είας λέγεσθαι

ὑπώπτευσαν ὥστε καὶ δημοσιευθῆναι αὐτὰ ἀξιῶσαι, ἔπεμψεν ἡμῖν, ἅτινα καὶ αὐτὰ ὁ ταμίας, ὡσπερ καὶ ἕτερα αὐθις τῶν ὁμοίων, ἀνέγνω. καὶ στρατηγὸς δὲ τις τὰ αὐτοῦ ποτὲ ^[5] τοῦ Μακρίνου γράμματα, τῷ σύγκλητόν τε τότε τὴν βουλήν γενέσθαι καὶ μηδὲνα τῶν ταμιῶν παρεῖναι, ἐπελέξατο. 17. τῆς δ' οὖν πρώτης ἐπιστολῆς ἀναγνωσθείσης καὶ ἐκείνῳ, ὅσα εἰκὸς ἦν, καὶ τῷ υἱεῖ αὐτοῦ ἐψηφίσθη: εὐπατριδης τε γὰρ καὶ πρόκριτος τῆς νεότητος Καῖσάρ τε ἀπεδείχθη. καὶ ὅς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα προσεδέξατο, τὴν δὲ δὴ ἱπποδρομίαν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτοῦ ψηφισθεῖσαν παρητήσατο, εἰπὼν αὐτάρκως αὐτὴν τῇ τῶν ^[2] Σεουήρου γενεσίων θεᾷ τετιμῆσθαι. τοῦ μέντοι Ταράντου οὐδεμίαν μνειαν οὐτ' ἔντιμον τότε γε οὐτ' ἄτιμον ἐποίησατο, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον αὐτοκράτορα αὐτὸν ὠνόμασεν: οὐτε γὰρ ἥρωα οὐτε πολέμιον ἀποδείξει ἐτόλμησεν, ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκῶ, ὅτι τὸ μὲν διὰ τε τὰ πραχθέντα αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ τὸ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων μῖσος. τὸ δὲ διὰ τοὺς ^[3] στρατιώτας ὥκνησε πρᾶξαι, ὥς δὲ τινες ὑπώπτευσαν, ὅτι τῆς τε γερουσίας καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὴν ^[p. 378] ἄτιμιαν αὐτοῦ ἔργον γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἑαυτοῦ, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν τοῖς στρατεύμασιν ὄντος, ἠθέλησε. τοῦ τε γὰρ πολέμου αἰτιώτατον αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀδικίας γεγονέναι, καὶ τὸ δημόσιον ἰσχυρῶς τῇ τῶν χρημάτων τῶν τοῖς βαρβάροις διδομένων ἀυξήσῃ βεβαρηκέναι ἔφη: ἰσάριθμα γὰρ αὐτὰ τῇ τῶν στρατευομένων μισθοφορᾷ εἶναι. ^[4] οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐτόλμησέ τις δημοσίᾳ τι τοιοῦτο κατ' αὐτοῦ θρασύνεσθαι ὥστε καὶ πολέμιον αὐτὸν ψηφίσασθαι, δεδιὼς μὴ καὶ παραντικά ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει στρατευομένων φθαρῇ: ἀλλὰ ἄλλως μὲν καὶ ἐλοιδόρουν αὐτὸν καὶ ὕβριζον ὅσα ἐδύναντο, τὰς τε μισοφονίας αὐτοῦ ὀνομαστὶ καταλέγοντες, καὶ πρὸς

πάντας αὐτὸν τοὺς πῶποτε κακῶς τυραννήσαντάς σφων παραδεικνύντες, 18. τὴν τε ἵπποδρομίαν τὴν τοῖς γενεθλίοις αὐτοῦ τελουμένην καταλυθῆναι, καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας τοὺς τε χρυσοῦς καὶ τοὺς ἀργυροῦς πάντας ἀπλῶς δι' ἐκεῖνον συγχωνευθῆναι, τοὺς τε μεμνηνκότας τι αὐτῷ πολλῇ σπουδῇ καὶ [2] φανερωθῆναι καὶ κολασθῆναι δεόμενοι: πολλοὶ γὰρ οὐχ ὅτι δοῦλοι τε καὶ ἐξελεύθεροι καὶ στρατιῶται καὶ Καισάρειοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱππῆς βουλευταὶ τε καὶ γυναῖκες τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων συχναὶ καὶ ἐνδείξεις λαθρίους ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πεποιθῆσθαι καὶ σεσυκοφαντηκέναι τινὰς ἐνομιζοντο. [3] οὐ μὴν οὔτε ἐκείνῳ τὸ τοῦ πολεμίου ὄνομα [p. 380] προσέθεσαν, καίτοι τὸν Μαρτιάλιον, ἐπὶ προσχήματι τῆς πρὸς τὸν Ἄρεα αὐτοῦ ὁμωνυμίας, καὶ ἐπαίνοις καὶ ἀγάμμασι τιμηθῆναι δεῖν αἰεὶ ποτε ἐπιβοῶντες, οὔτε τῷ Μακρίνῳ ὡς καὶ [4] ἀχθόμενοι τι τότε ἐνεδείξαντο. αἶπιον δ' ὅτι προκαταληφθέντες τῇ διὰ τὸν τοῦ Ταραντου θάνατον χαρᾷ οὐδὲ ἐννοῆσαι τι περὶ τῆς ταπεινότητος αὐτοῦ ἐσχόλασαν, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητῶς αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐδέξαντο, οὐχ οὕτως ὥτινι δουλεύουσιν ὡς οὔ ἐστέρηντο ἐνθυμούμενοι, καὶ πάντα τινὰ, καὶ τὸν τυχόντα, αἰρετώτερον αὐτοῦ [5] νομίζοντες ἔσεσθαι. καὶ τι αὐτοὺς καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐπιταγῶν τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου καταδειχθέντων κατάλυσιν 'πάντα γὰρ ὅσα ποτὲ παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκός, οὐχ ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἴκοθεν τισιν ἐξ ἐπιτροπῆς αὐτοῦ πρὸς τινων δήμεων ἀνηλίσκετο, ἀνετάγῃ καὶ ἡ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα μὴδὲν ὅμοιον αὐτοῖς προσταχθήσεσθαι ἐλπίς ἀνέπεισε στέρξαι τοῖς παροῦσιν. 19. ὡς μέντοι τὸν τε Αὐρηλιανὸν τεθνηκότα καὶ τὸν Διαδουμενιανὸν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Καίσαρα λόγῳ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν δι' ὧν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας μεταπεμφθεὶς πρὸς αὐτὸν διήει, ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μακρίνου, ἀποδεδειγμένον καὶ προσέτι τὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου ὄνομα προσειληφότα [2] ἔμαθον 'ταῦτα γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν στρατιωτῶν θεραπείᾳ, τὸ μὲν ἵνα μὴ δόξη τὴν τοῦ τεθνηκότος μνήμην παντάπασιν ἀτιμάζειν, καὶ μάλιστα' ὅτι τῶν ἀνδριάντων τινὰς τῶν ἐν [p. 382] τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ σταθέντων λάθρᾳ καθήρκει, τὸ δὲ ἵνα ἄλλας ἐπτακοσίας καὶ πεντήκοντα αὐτοῖς δραχμὰς [3] προσυπόσχηται, ἐποίησεν', οὐκέτι ὁμοίως φρονεῖν ἤρξαντο, ἀλλ' ἐνθυμούμενοι ὅτι πρότερον ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐπεποιήντο, καὶ προσεκλογιζόμενοι πάνθ' ὅ ...

ἄλλων αὐτοῦ τ ...

προστυποπτέυ ...

κάζοντο, ἡσχύνθησαν, καὶ τοῦ μὲν Καρακάλλου οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐ ...

το, τὰ δὲ ἐς ἐκεῖνον φέροντα ἄλλως ...

στέλλοντο τι ... πα%5ραιτήσει τῶν ...

τοῦ [4] Σεουήρου ... Ἀν%5τωνίνου κα ξέφαινον κ ...

γε καὶ ἥρωα

κότα διὰ τὴν ...

νίαν οὐ δὴ ...

ἀποφανθη

καὶ παντάπασιν αἱ γινῶμαι πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ...

μετέπεσον ...

γερουσίαν α ...

σα καὶ ἐπιφ ...
μονη ἐπι τ
κακουργησί ...
αὐτῷ ἐξαιτ ...

γην ἐμέ δε ... καὶ μέντοι κατ' ἄνδρα πάντων ἐρωτηθέντων περὶ τῶν τιμῶν
αὐτοῦ [5] ἄλλοι τε ἀμφιβόλως ἀπεκρίναντο καὶ οσα%5τουρνῖνος ...

τιαν τρόπον τινὰ ἐπιφημιζομεν ...

στρατηγῶν ... μὴ ἐξεῖναι οἱ μηδεμίαν ψῆφον περὶ τοῦ προθεῖναι, ἵνα μὴ ὁ
... νήσῃ σφίσιν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἔξω τοῦ καθεστηκότος ἐγένετο 'οὐ γὰρ ἦν
νόμιμον ὑπὲρ οὐδενὸς πράγματος σκέψιν τινὰ ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ μὴ
κελεύοντος τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος γενέσθαι. [p. 384] 20. ὁ δὲ δῆμος, ἅτε καὶ ἐν τῇ
ἀγωνίᾳ λανθάνων καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους σφῶν μᾶλλον θρασυνόμενος, μέγα
ἀνεβόησεν ἐν τῇ τῶν τοῦ Διαδουμενιανοῦ γενεθλίων ἵπποδρομίᾳ, ἣ τῇ
τετάρτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου ἡμέρᾳ ἐγίγνετο, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ
ὀδυρόμενος καὶ λέγων μόνους τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἑαυτοὺς δὴ
ἀπροστάτους ἀβασιλεύτους [2] εἶναι: τὸν τε Δία ἀνεκάλουν ὥς δὴ καὶ μόνον
σφῶν ἡγησόμενον, καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἶπον ὅτι 'ὥς κύριος ὠργίσθης,
ὥς πατὴρ ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.' οὐδὲ ἐφρόντισαν οὐδὲν τὴν πρώτην οὔτε τοῦ
ἵππου οὔτε τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ τε ... τὸν τε αὐτοκράτορα καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα
ἐπαινοῦντων, ὥστε καὶ αὐ ... ἑλληνιστὶ εἶπεῖν 'ὦ καλῆς ἡμέρας τῆς
τῆμερον, ὦ καλῶν βασιλέων,' κἀκείνους καὶ ὁμοφρονεῖν σφίσιν ἐθελόντων:
ἀλλ' ἐς τε τὸν οὐρανὸν τὰς χεῖρας ἀνέτεινον καὶ ἐβόων 'οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ
Ῥωμαίων Αὐγουστος: τοῦτον [3] ἔχοντες πάντα ἔχομεν.' οὕτως που πολὺ τοῖς
ἀνθρώποις καὶ αἰδοῦς ἐς τὸ κρεῖττον καὶ καταφρονήματος πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον
ἐμπέφυκεν, ὥστε καὶ ἐκείνους μὴδ' ἀρχὴν ἔτι εἶναι τὸν τε Μακρίνον καὶ τὸν
Διαδουμενιανὸν νομίζειν, ἀλλ' ὥς καὶ [4] τεθνηκότας αὐτοὺς ἤδη καταπατεῖν.
ὅθεν οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται κατεφρόνησαν αὐτοῦ, ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ
τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ θεραπείᾳ σφῶν πραχθέντα θέμενοι, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι οἱ Περγαμηνοί,
στερηθέντες ὧν παρὰ τοῦ Ταραύτου πρότερον εἰλήφεσαν, πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα
ἐς αὐτὸν ἐξύβρισαν, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ καὶ δημοσίᾳ ἀτιμίαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὦφλον. [p. 386]
21. καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτίκα λελέξεται: τότε δὲ γράμμα μὲν οὐδὲν
ὁ Μακρίνος τῶν μηνυτικῶν οὔτε ἐσέπεμψεν ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν, ὥπερ
ἤξιουν, οὐτ' ἄλλως ἐξέφηνε, φήσας, εἴτ' οὖν ἀληθῶς εἴτε καὶ ψευδῶς, ἵνα
μὴ πολλὴ ταραχὴ γένηται, ὅτι μὴδὲν ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ τοιοῦτον εὐρέθη 'ὁ
γάρ τοι Ταραύτας ἦτοι διέφθειρε τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἔνδειξιν τινα ἐχόντων, [2] ἣ
καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς πέμψασιν αὐτὰ ἀντέπεμπεν, ὥπερ εἶπον, ὅπως μὴδεῖς
ἐλεγχος τῆς κακίας αὐτῶν ὑπολείπηται, τρεῖς δὲ δὴ τῶν βουλευτῶν, οὓς
μάλιστα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξ ὧν ἐπεφωράκει ἀξιομισεῖς ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι, ἐκδήλους
ἐποίησε, τὸν τε Μανίλιον καὶ τὸν Ἰούλιον καὶ προσέτι Σουλπίκιον
Ἀρρηγιανόν, ὃς ἄλλους τέ τινας καὶ τὸν Βάσσον τὸν τοῦ Πομπωνίου παῖδα,
ὧ τῆς Μυσίας [3] ἄρξαντι ὑπεστρατηγήκει, ἐσεσυκοφαντήκει. καὶ οὗτοί τε ἐς
νήσους ὑπερωρίσθησαν 'ἀπέλπε γὰρ ἀντικρυς μὴδένα αὐτῶν θανατωθῆναι,
αὐτὸ τοῦτο γράψας 'ἵνα μὴ, ἃ ἐκείνοις ἐγκαλοῦμεν, αὐτοὶ ποιοῦντες
φανῶμεν'' καὶ Λούκιος Πρισκίλλιανδὸς ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς βουλῆς προβληθείς,

οὕτω περιβόητος ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐπηρειαῖς ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς [4] τῶν θηρίων σφαγαῖς ὦν. Ἐν τε γὰρ τῷ Τουσκούλῳ πολλοῖς ἀεὶ πολλάκις ἐμαχέσατο, ὥστε καὶ σημεία τῶν δηγμάτων αὐτῶν φέρειν, καὶ ποτε καὶ ἄρκτῳ καὶ παρδάλει λεαίνῃ τε καὶ λέοντι ἅμα μόνος συνηνέχθη: καὶ πολὺ πλείους ἄνδρας, καὶ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν, ἐκ [p. 388] [5] τῶν διαβολῶν ἐξώλεσεν. ἐφ' οἷς ἀμφοτέροις ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ Καρακάλλου μεγάλως ἐτιμήθη καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἐστρατηγηκότας ἐσεγράφη καὶ τῆς Ἀχαΐας καὶ παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον ἤρξεν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς γερουσίας ἰσχυρῶς ἐμισήθη, καὶ ἐπικλητὸς τε ἐγένετο καὶ ἐς νῆσον κατεκλείσθη. 22. οὗτοι τε οὖν οὕτως ἀπήλλαξαν, καὶ ὁ Φλάκκος τὴν τῶν τροφῶν διάδοσιν, ἣν ὁ Μανίλιος πρότερον % ἔσχε τῆς κατ' αὐτοῦ συκοφαντίας γέρας εἰλήφει, ἐπετράπη καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ τε διαδίδοσθαι τινα ἐν ταῖς τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν πάννυ θέαις, πλὴν τῶν τῇ Φλώρῳ τελουμένων δικαιονόμοι † οἱ τὴν Ἰταλίαν διοικοῦντες ἐπαύσαντο ὑπὲρ τὰ νομισθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάρκου [2] δικάζοντες. Δομίτιος δὲ τις Φλώρος περιδρομῇ θεραπείας πρὸς σπουδαρχίαν, καίτοι πρότερόν ποτε τὰ τῆς βουλῆς ὑπομνήματα διὰ χειρὸς ἔχων καὶ ἀγορανόμος ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀποδειχθῆναι ὀφείλων, εἴτα πρὶν ἄρξαι τῆς ἐλπίδος διὰ Πλαυτιανὸν ἐκπεσὼν, κατεστήσατο καὶ δήμαρχος ἀπεδείχθη: ὃ τε Φαῦστος ὁ Ἀνίκιος ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀντὶ [3] τοῦ Ἀσπρου ἄρξων ἐπέμφθη. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ πάννυ πολλῆς παρὰ τοῦ Μακρίνου τιμῆς ὥς καὶ καταστῆσαι τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ δυνησόμενος, ἔτυχεν: ἔπειτ' ἐν ὁδῷ ὄντα αὐτὸν ἤδη καὶ πλησιάζοντα τῷ ἔθνει 'τὴν [p. 390] γὰρ παραίτησιν, ἣ παρὰ τοῦ Καρακάλλου παρήτητο, ἐς αὐτὸν ἐλθοῦσαν οὐκ ἐδέξατό δεινῶς περιύβρισεν ἀπώσαμένος 'καὶ γὰρ τινα καὶ διηγγέλλετο αὐτῷ λελαληκῶς οὐκ ἐπιτήδειά, [4] καὶ δῆτα, ὥς καὶ αὐθις αὐτοῦ παρεμένου διὰ τε γῆρας καὶ νόσον, τῷ Φαῦστῳ τὴν Ἀσίαν, καίπερ παροφθέντι τὴν τοῦ κλήρου τάξιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεουήρου, ἐνεχείρισεν: καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε βραχὺς ὁ χρόνος τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτῷ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐπὶ ἔτος ἄρξαι αὐτὸν ἀντ' Αὐφιδίου Φρόντωνος ἐκέλευσε. [5] τούτῳ γὰρ οὕτε τὴν Ἀφρικὴν κατακληρωσαμένῳ ἐπέτρεψεν τῶν Ἀφρων αὐτὸν παραιτησαμένων, οὕτε τὴν Ἀσίαν, καίτοι μεταθεῖς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖσε πρότερον. τὸ γε μὴν ἰκνούμενον γέρας καὶ οἴκοι μείναντι αὐτῷ, τὰς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας, δοθῆναι ἐσηγήσατο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκεῖνος αὐτὰς ἔλαβεν, εἰπὼν οὐκ ἀργυρίου ἀλλ' ἡγεμονίας δεῖσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' ὕστερον παρὰ τοῦ Σαρδαναπάλλου τὸ ἔθνος ἀπέλαβεν. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐγένετο, ...

ἐπ' ἐλπίδι Β ...

φομῆνοις ...

ἐκ τῆς ...

μέχρι τῆς 51 ... 23. ...

ἡλικίας ἐκ ... ἡ δὲ Ἰουλία ἡ τοῦ Ταραντοῦ μήτηρ ἔτυχε μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ οὔσα, καὶ οὕτω παραχρῆμα, ἅμα τῇ πύσσει τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ, διετέθη ὥστε καὶ πληξασθαι ἰσχυρῶς καὶ ἀποκατερεῖσθαι ἐπιχειρῆσαι. ὃν γὰρ ζῶντα καὶ ἐμίσει, τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον τότε τετελευτηκότα ἐπόθει, οὐχ ὅτι ἐκεῖνον ζῆν ἤθελεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι αὐτὴ ἰδιωτεύουσα ἤχθετο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν Μακρίνον πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἐλοιδόρησεν. [p. 392] [2] ἔπειθ' ὥς οὕτε τι τῆς

βασιλικῆς θεραπείας ἥ καὶ τῆς τῶν δορυφόρων περὶ αὐτῇ φρουρᾶς ἡλλοιώθη, καὶ ἐκεῖνος χρηστά τινα αὐτῇ, τὰ λεχθέντα ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἀκηκοώς, ἐπέστειλε, θαρσήσασα τὴν τε ^[3] τοῦ θανάτου ἐπιθυμίαν κατέθετο, καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῷ ἀντιγράψασα ἔπραττέν τι καὶ ἐς τοὺς συνόντας οἱ στρατιώτας

ἄλλως τε ...

καὶ ἐκεῖν ...

... καὶ τῷ τε Μακρίνῳ ... ομένους

... υ υἱέος αὐτῆς

... ον μνημονεύοντας, ὅπως αὐταρχήσῃ τῇ τε Σεμιράμιδι καὶ τῇ Νιτώκριδι, ἅτε καὶ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπον τινὰ χωρίων αὐταῖς οὔσα, παρισυμβένη. ὥς ... ἡ συνήρε

... αἱ γράμματα

... οὐ Μακρίνου

... ¹ ^[4] τινα ἐφ' οἷς

... οντα ελα

... ν γνώμης

... εἰτο φοβηθεῖσα μὴ τοῦ τε ὀνόματος τοῦ τῆς Αὐγούστης στερηθῇ καὶ ἐς τα ... πατρίδα ἀπελθεῖν ἀναγκασθῇ καὶ παν

... δεινότε

... ας γυναι

... ωνων προς¹

... θενεστε

... νατω τε

... νω τις οφθη

... ατο παν του

... ^[5] ... ἰέναι μη

... μην ἀνελ

... σθῇ καὶ ἐ

... Μακρίνου

... κοι κατα

... ¹ τοῦ τάναντία πράττειν δοκεῖν ε

... ξειν ὅπως

... ἡ κατα

... οχωρήση

... ἐκεῖνός τε ἐξελθεῖν ὅτι τάχιστα ἐκ τῆς ^[6] Ἀντιοχείας αὐτήν, ὅποι βούλοιτο, ἐκέλευσεν, καὶ ^[p. 394] τὰ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ περὶ τοῦ υἱέος αὐτῆς λεχθέντα ἤκουσεν, οὐκέτ' ἐφιλοψύχησεν, ἀλλ' ἤδη τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ καρκίνου, ὃν ἐν τῷ μαστῷ ἐκ πάνου πολλοῦ χρόνου ἡσυχάζοντά πως ἔχουσα τότε ἡρέθισεν ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς ἣν ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ παιδὸς θανάτῳ κοψαμένη κατὰ τῶν στέρνων ἐπέπληκτο, συναιρουμένη προσδιέφθειρεν ἑαυτήν ἀποκαρτερήσασα. 24. καὶ ἡ μὲν οὕτω τε ἐκ δημοτικοῦ γένους ἐπὶ μέγα ἀρθεῖσα, κὰν τῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡγεμονίᾳ περιαλγῶς πάνυ διὰ τὸν Πλαυτιανὸν ζήσασα, τῶν τε υἱέων τὸν τε νεώτερον ἐν τοῖς αὐτῆς κόλποις κατασφαγέντα ἐπιδοῦσα καὶ τὸν πρεσβύτερον ζῶντά τε αἰεὶ διὰ τέλους διὰ φθόνου ^[2]

ἔχουσα καὶ φονευθέντα οὕτω μαθοῦσα, τῆς ἀρχῆς ζῶσα ἐξέπεσεν καὶ
ἐαυτὴν προσκατειργάσατο, ὥστε πινὰ ἐς αὐτὴν ἀποβλέψαντα μὴ πάνυ
πάντας τοὺς ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις ἐξουσίαις γενομένους μακαρίζειν, ἂν μὴ καὶ
ἡδονὴ τις αὐτοῖς τοῦ βίου καὶ ἀληθῆς καὶ ἀκήρατος καὶ εὐτυχία ^[3] καὶ
ἀκραφνῆς καὶ διαρκῆς ὑπάρχη. καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς Ἰουλίας οὕτως ἔσχε, τὸ τε
σῶμα αὐτῆς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀναχθὲν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Γαίου τοῦ τε Λουκίου
μνήματι κατετέθη: ὕστερον μέντοι καὶ ἐκεῖνα, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ τοῦ Γέτα ὁστᾶ,
πρὸς τῆς Μαΐσης τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτῆς ἐς τὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου τεμένισμα
μετεκομίσθη. 25. ἔμελλεν δ' οὐδ' ὁ Μακρίνος ἐπὶ πολὺ περιοίσειν, ὥς που
καὶ προεδηλώθη αὐτῷ. ἡμίονός τε γὰρ ἡμίονον ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ χοῖρος
χοιρίδιον ὦτα τέσσαρα καὶ γλώσσας δύο πόδας τε ὀκτῶ ^[p. 396] ἔχον ἔτεκε, καὶ
σεισμὸς ἰσχυρὸς ἐγένετο, αἶμα τε ἐκ σωλῆνος ἐρρῦη, καὶ μέλισσαι κηρία ἐν
τῇ ^[2] ἀγορᾷ τῇ βοαρία ἐνέπλασαν. τὸ τε θέατρον τὸ κυνηγετικὸν κεραυνοῖς
ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τῶν Ὑφαιστίων ἡμέρᾳ βληθὲν οὕτω κατεφλέχθη ὥστε τὴν τε
ἄνω περιβολὴν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ τοῦ κύκλου ἐδάφει πάντα
κατακαυθῆναι, καὶ τοῦτου τὰ ^[3] λοιπὰ πυρωθέντα θραυσθῆναι. οὐδὲ
ἐπαρκέσαι αὐτῷ οὔτε ἀνθρωπίνῃ ἐπικουρία, καίπερ παντὸς ὡς εἰπεῖν
ὕδατος ῥέοντος, οὐθ' ἡ τοῦ οὐρανίου ἐπίρροια πλείστη τε καὶ σφοδροτάτη
γενομένη ἡδυνήθη: οὕτω που καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐκάτερον ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν σκηπτῶν
δυνάμεως ἀνηλίσκετο, καὶ ἐν μέρει καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο προσεσίνετο, ὅθεν ἡ θεὰ
τῶν μονομαχιῶν ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἔτη ^[4] ἐτελέσθη. τοῦτό τε οὖν τὰ
μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι προεσήμαινεν, — ἐνεπρήσθη μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα πινὰ, καὶ
τῶν βασιλικῶν κτημάτων μάλιστα, ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ πολλάκις, ὅπερ που
καὶ αὐτὸ ἐξαισίον ἀεὶ ποτε νενόμισται: ἐκεῖνο δὲ δὴ ἄντικρυς ἐς αὐτὸν
φέρειν, ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἵπποδρομίαν ^[5] τοῦ Ὑφαίστου κατελελύκει, ἔδοξεν. ἔκ τε
οὖν τοῦτου νέον τι γίγνεσθαι ἐτοπίασθη, καὶ ὅτι ὁ Τίβερις ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἐκείνῃ
ἡμέρᾳ πληθύνσας ἔς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ ἐς τὰς περὶ αὐτὴν ὁδοὺς τοσαύτη
ῥύμη ἐσέβαλεν ὥστε καὶ ἀνθρώπους παρασυρῆναι. ^[p. 398] γυνὴ τέ τις, ὡς γε
ἤκουσα, βλοσυρὰ καὶ ὑπέρογκος ὀφθεῖσά τισιν ἔφη ὅτι ἐλάχιστα ταῦτα
πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα αὐτοῖς συμβῆσεσθαι ἔστιν. 26. καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως: οὐδὲ
γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει μόνῃ τὸ δεινὸν ἔμεινεν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην
αὐτῆς, ὅφ' ἥς τὸ θέατρον ἀεὶ ποτε ἐπληροῦτο, ἐπέσχεν: τὸν μὲν γὰρ πρὸς
τοὺς βαρβάρους πόλεμον καὶ ἐλαττωθέντες κατέθεντο, τῇ δὲ ἐκ τῶν
στρατιωτῶν πλεονεξία καὶ στάσει δεινῶς ἐκακώθησαν. ἐπράχθη δὲ
ἐκάτερον ὧδε. ^[2] ὁ Μακρίνος ἰδὼν τὸν Ἀρτάβανον σφόδρα τε ἐφ' οἷς
ἐπεπόνθει θυμούμενον καὶ δυνάμει πολλῇ ἐς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν
ἐμβεβληκότα, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τοὺς τ' αἰχμαλώτους αὐτῷ αὐτεπάγγελτος καὶ
λόγους φιλίους ἔπεμψε, πρὸς τε τὴν εἰρήνην αὐτὸν προκαλοῦμενος καὶ τὴν
αἰτίαν τῶν γεγονότων ^[3] ἐς τὸν Ταραύταν τρέπων: ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνος οὔτε τοῦτο
προσεδέξατο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰ φρούρια αὐτὸν τὰς τε πόλεις τὰς
κατασκαφείσας ἀναστήσαι τῆς τε Μεσοποταμίας παντελῶς ἐκστῆναι καὶ
δίκας ἐπὶ τε τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ^[4] βασιλικῶν μνημάτων λῦμῃ δοῦναι
ἐκέλευσεν ἑτῇ τε γὰρ δυνάμει, ἣν πολλὴν ἠθροίκει, θαρρῶν, καὶ τοῦ
Μακρίνου ὡς καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν αὐταρχοῦντος καταφρονῶν, τῇ τε ὀργῇ

ἀπλήστῳ ἐχρῆτο, καὶ ἥλιπε καὶ ἄκοντος αὐτοῦ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐβούλετο
κατεργάσασθαι, οὐδὲ καιρὸν οὐδένα διαβουλεύσασθαι ^[5] ἔσχεν, ἀλλ'
ἀπαντήσας αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν Νίσιβιν ἤδη προσιόντι ἡτήθη, μάχης περὶ τοῦ ^[p. 400]
ὕδατος τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐν τῇ ἀντιστρατοπεδεύσει γενομένης. καὶ δὴ καὶ
αὐτὸ τὸ τάφρευμα παρ' ὀλίγον ἀπέβαλεν. ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν οἷ τε ὑπασπισταὶ καὶ
οἱ σκευοφόροι οἱ παρατυχόντες διεσώσαντο: ^[6] θρασυνόμενοι γὰρ προεξῆξαν
ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπεκδραμόντες: τὸ τε γὰρ ἀνέλπιστον τῆς ἀντιτάξεως
ὠφέλησεν αὐτούς, καὶ δὴ στρατιῶται τινες ὠπλισμένοι ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπηρέται
ἔδοξαν εἶναι. ὁ δ ...

τότε τε οὐ ...

καὶ μετα

ξεως παρ ...

της νυκ ^[7] ...

τὰ στρατό

οἷ τε Ῥωμαῖοι ...

το καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι τὸν

θόρυβον ...

σφῶν α ...

πευσαν

γην, ἃ ...

αὐτοῦς. ο ...

λυ ἄπαλ. η

σαν ἔπει ...

τες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ...

βαρβάρων ...

ασπτοης1 ...

αληθειν

το πεποιη ...

θον τε αυ ...

μια μὲν μ

ἃ ... λαξ ...

.. ... ἡθεὶ αὐτῶν βί%5ασθέντες καὶ τῇ τοῦ Μακρίνου ^[8] φυγῇ
ἀθυμήσαντες ἐνίκηθησαν. καὶ τούτου ... τῆς Μεσοπο%5ταμίας ἄλλως τε καὶ
ἐκεῖ

... τὴν Συρίαν κα

... .. ἰελθόντες

... η. τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐγένετο, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ μετοπώρῳ τῷ τε χειμῶνι, ἐν
ῶ ὃ τε Μακρίνος καὶ ὁ Ἄδουεντος ὑπάτευσαν, ἐς μὲν χεῖρας οὐκέτ'
ἀλλήλοις ἦλθον, διαπρεσβευόμενοι δὲ καὶ διακηρυκευόμενοι συνηλλάγησαν.
^[p. 402] 27. ὁ γὰρ Μακρίνος ὑπὸ τε δειλίας ἐμφύτου 'καὶ γὰρ Μαῦρος ὦν
δεινῶς ἐδειμνιεν' καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀταξίας οὐκ ἐτόλμησε
διαπολεμῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πολλὰ καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἔνεκα καὶ δῶρα καὶ
χρήματα καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Ἀρταβάνῳ καὶ τοῖς παραδυναστεύουσιν οἱ
ἐδάπανησεν, ὥστε καὶ ἐς πεντακισχίλιας μυριάδας τὸ σῦμπαν ^[2] ἀνάλωμα

γενέσθαι. καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἔκ τε τούτου καὶ ὅτι καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται αὐτοῦ τῇ τε τοῦ χρόνου τριβῇ, ὃν πολὺν ἅπ' οἴκου οὐκ εἰωθότες ἦσαν, καὶ τῇ τῆς τροφῆς σπάνει, ἣν οὔτε ἐκ παρασκευῆς οὐ γὰρ ἐτοιμάζονταί οὐτ' αὐτόθεν τῷ τὰ μὲν δεδηῶσθαι τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς τείχεσιν εἶναι εὐπόρου, ^[3] δεινῶς ἥσχαλλον, οὐκ ἀκουσίως κατηλλάγη. οὐ μέντοι καὶ πάντα τὰ πραχθέντα αὐτοῖς ἀκριβῶς ὁ Μακρίνος τῇ βουλῇ ἐπέστειλεν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ θυσίαι αὐτῷ ἐπινίκιοι ἐψηφίσθησαν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ Παρθικὸν ἐδόθη. οὐ μὴν ἐδέξατο, αἰσχυνθείς, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐπὶ κλησιν πολεμίων λαβεῖν ὑφ' ὧν ἦττητο. ^[4] καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἀρμένιον πολεμωθέντα, ὥσπερ εἶπον, κατέστη, τοῦ Τιριδάτου πεμφθὲν αὐτῷ τὸ διάδημα παρὰ τοῦ Μακρίνου λαβόντος, καὶ τὴν μητέρα, ἣν ἔνδεκα μηνσὶν ὁ Ταραντας ἐν τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ κατεσχέκει, τὴν τε λείαν τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἀλοῦσαν κομισάμενου, καὶ τὰ χωρία ὅσα ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ ἐκέκτητο, τὸ τε ἀργύριον ὃ κατ' ἔτος ^[p. 404] παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων εὕρισκετο, ἐλπίσαντος ^[5] λήψεσθαι. οἱ τε Σάκοι λυμηνάμενοί τινα τῆς Δακίας καὶ πολεμῆσιόντες ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀνέσχον, τοὺς ὁμήρους, οὓς ὁ Καράκαλλος ἐν συμμαχίας λόγῳ παρ' αὐτῶν εἰλῆφει, κομισάμενοι. 28. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔσχεν, πόλεμος δὲ δὴ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἕτερος οὐκέτ' ὀθνεῖος ἀλλ' ἐμφύλιος συνερράγη. οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται τὸ μὲν τι τοῖς πταίσμασιν ἀχθόμενοι, τὸ δὲ πλεον οὔτε πόνον οὐδένα ἔθ' ἐκούσιον ὑπομένοντες, ἀλλ' ἐς πάντα δὴ πάντως ἐκδεδιητημένοι, οὔτ' αὐτοκράτορα οὐδένα ἐγκρατῶς σφῶν ἄρχοντα ἔχειν ἐθέλοντες, ἀλλὰ λαμβάνειν μὲν ἅπλετά τινα ἀξιοῦντες ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν ἄξιον αὐτῶν ποιεῖν δικαιοῦντες, ἐταράσσοντο. ^[2] καὶ σφας ἦ τε τῆς μισθοφορᾶς συντομὴ καὶ ἡ τῶν γερῶν τῶν τε ἀτελειῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς ὑπηρετήμασιν, ἃ παρὰ τοῦ Ταραντοῦ εὕρηντο, στέρησις, καίπερ μηδὲν αὐτοὺς μέλλοντάς σφων ἀπολαύσειν, ἐπιπαρώξυνεν, ἣ τε ἐν ταύτῳ τρόπον τινὰ διατριβή, ἣν τοῦ πολέμου ἔνεκα χειμάζοντες ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ἐπεποιήντο, προσεπισχύρισεν. ^[3] ἔδοξεν μὲν γὰρ στρατηγικῶς πως καὶ νουνεχόντως ὁ Μακρίνος πεποιηκέναι, τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις ὄντων μηδὲν παρελόμενος, ἀλλ' ἀκέραια αὐτοῖς πάντα τὰ πρὸς ἐκείνου νομισθέντα τηρήσας, τοῖς δ' αὖθις στρατευσομένοις προειπὼν ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεουήρου καταδειχθεῖσιν καταλεχθήσονται: τούτους ^[4] τε γάρ, ἅτε καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους ἐς τὴν στρατὴν ἤξοντας, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπὸ τε τοῦ ἀμάχου ^[p. 406] καὶ ὑπὸ δέους τὸ δὲ ἔπειτα ὑπὸ τε τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔθους οὐδὲν νεοχμῶσειν, καὶ τοὺς ἑτέρους, ἅτε μηδὲν ἀπολλύντας αὐτοὺς, ἡσυχάσειν 29. ἤλπισεν. τοῦτο δέ, εἰ μὲν ἀναχωρησάντων τε αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα τεῖχη καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο διασαπαρέντων ἐγεγόνει, ὀρθῶς ἂν ἐπέπρακτο. ἴσως μὲν γὰρ οὐδ' ἂν ἡγανάκτησάν τινας αὐτῶν, πιστεύσαντες ὄντως μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ζημιωθήσεσθαι τῷ μὴ ^[2] παραχρῆμα αὐτὸ πεπονθέναι: εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐχαλέπησαν, ἀλλ' ὀλίγοι πως ἕκαστοι ὄντες καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἄρχουσιν ὑποτεταγμένοι οὐδὲν ἂν μέγα κακὸν δρᾶσαι ἠδυνήθησαν. ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ Συρίᾳ συνεστραμμένοι, καὶ τὸ μὲν τι καὶ περὶ αὐτοὺς, εἰ σκεδασθεῖεν, ὑποπτεύσαντες καινοτομηθήσεσθαι 'τότε γὰρ διὰ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου χρειαὴν κολακεύεσθαι ἐδόκουν', τὸ δὲ καὶ τῷ ... 100 ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ στρατιώτας τέ τινας

ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας τινὰ ἐλυμήναντο, οὗτοι δὲ καὶ ἀλλήλων
συχνούς κατέκοψαν καὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορά σφων κατέλυσαν, καὶ ὁ τοῦτου
δεινότερόν ἐστιν, τοιοῦτον ἕτερον ἐστήσαντο ὑφ' οὗ οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐ 101
κακὸν καὶ αἰσχρὸν ἐγένετο. 30. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ ἐναργέστατα καὶ τοῦτο, εἴπερ
τι ἄλλο τῶν πώποτε, προδειχθῆναι: 102 ἡλίου τε γὰρ ἔκλειψις
περιφανεστάτη ὑπὸ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας ἐγένετο. καὶ ὁ ἀστήρ ὁ κομήτης ἐπὶ
πλεῖον ὥφθη, ἕτερόν τε τι ἄστρον ἀπὸ δυσμῶν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς [p. 408] τὸ
ἄκροφύσιον ἐπὶ πολλὰς νύκτας ἀνατεῖνον δεινῶς ἡμᾶς ἐξετάραττεν, ὥστε
τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου διὰ στόματος αἰεὶ ποιεῖσθαι ἀμφὶ δὲσάλπιγξεν
μέγας οὐρανός, αἶε δὲ Ζεὺς. ἐπράχθη δὲ ὧδε. [2] ἡ Μαῖσα ἢ τῆς Ἰουλίας τῆς
Αὐγούστης ἀδελφῇ δύο τε θυγατέρας, Σοαιμίδα καὶ Μαμαίαν, ἐξ Ἰουλίου
Ἀουίτου 103 ἀνδρὸς ὑπατευκότος, καὶ δύο ἐγγόνους ἄρσενας, ἐκ μὲν τῆς
Σοαιμίδος Οὐαρίου τε Μαρκέλλου, ἀνδρὸς ὁμοεθνοῦς ἐξ Ἀπαμείας 104 γὰρ
ἧς ἐκεῖνος ἦν καὶ ἐν τε ἐπιτροπαῖς ἐξετασθέντος καὶ ἐς τὸ συνέδριον
ἐσγραφέντος καὶ μετὰ [3] τοῦτο τελευτήσαντος, Αὐίτου, 105 ἐκ δὲ τῆς
Μαμαίας Γεσσίου τε Μαρκιανοῦ, Σύρου τε καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐξ Ἄρκης πόλεως
ὄντος καὶ ἐπιτροπείας τινὰς προσταχθέντος, Βασιανὸν ἔχουσα — αὕτη οὖν
οἴκοι ἐν τῇ Ἑμεσίῃ τὴν διαίταν ν. ... τῆς ἀδελφῆς Ἰουλίας ἥ παρὰ πάντα τὸν
τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῆς χρόνον [4] συνεγεγόνει, διολομένης. ὁ γὰρ Αὐίτος παρὰ
μὲν τοῦ Καρακάλλου ἐς Κύπρον ἐκ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας μετὰ τὴν τῆς Ἀσίας
ἀρχὴν πεμφθεὶς κληρωτῷ τινὶ σύνεδρος ὑπὸ τε γήρως καὶ ὑπ' ἀρρωστίας
ἔφθη 106 συναιρούμενος: τὰ δὲ του..αυ ...

αὐτοῦ, ἐπ ...

31. ἐτελεύτησεν, Εὐτυχιανός τις ἐν τε ἀθύρμασι καὶ ἐν γυμνασίοις ἀρέσας
καὶ διὰ ταῦτα

θεῖς, ὃς αὐτο ...

τας ἐμμελε [p. 410] ...

ας ἐπὶ του

νων αὐτω ...

προσωνομ ... τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐς τὸν Μακρίνον ἀπέχθειαν συνιδῶν ' ...

τε γὰρ οὐ πο ...

σεων πολ

καὶ οἱ τὸ τρ ...

κον τεῖχος ...

ποτε προ καὶ τι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ

ἡλίου, ὃν Ἐλεγάβαλον ἐπικαλοῦσι καὶ μεγάλως θρησκεύουσιν, [2] ἄλλων
τέ τινων μαντείων ἀναπεισθεῖς, ἐπεχείρησε τὸν τε Μακρίνον καθελεῖν καὶ
τὸν Αὐίτον τὸν τῆς Μαίσης ἔγγονον 107 αὐτοκράτορα, καίπερ παιδίον ἔτι
ὄντα, ἀντικαταστήσαι, καὶ κατειργάσατο ἐκάτερον: καίτοι αὐτός τε οὐδέπω
πάνυ ἐς ἄνδρας [3] ἐτέλει, καὶ συνεργούς ὀλίγους εἶχεν ἐξελευθέρους καὶ
στρατιώτας ἐξ...τέλους βουλευτάς τε Ἑμεσηνοὺς ρος1...τοῦ τε γὰρ
Ταραύτου υἱὸν αὐτὸν μοιχίδιον εἶναι πλασάμενος, καὶ τῇ ἐσθῇ τῇ ἐκείνου,
ἥ ποτὲ ἐν παισὶν ἐχρήτο, κοσμήσας. αἰταραυτη ... τῶν βασιλι

.. ... ατων τῶν

... συναλλετο ...ἔς τε τὸ στρατόπεδον νυκτός, ^[4] μήτε τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ μήτε τῆς τήθης ἐπισταμένης, ἐσήγαγε, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἅμα τῇ ἑῷ τῆς τοῦ Μαΐου ἐκκαιδεκάτης, γλιχομένους τινὰ ἀφορμὴν ἐπαναστάσεως λαβεῖν, ἀνέπεισε νεοχμῶσαι. μαθὼν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ ἑπαρχος ἔτυχεν γὰρ οὐ πόρρω ἁπὼν ἄλλους τέ τινας καὶ θυγατέρα τοῦ Μαρκιανοῦ γαμβρόν τε ἐφόνευσεν, 34. ^[1.1] κὰκ τῶν λοιπῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀθροίσας τινὰς ὡς ^[p. 412] δι' ὀλίγου προσέμειξεν ὡς καὶ πολεμιωτάτῳ 32. τείχει. δυνηθεὶς δ' ἂν αὐτὸ αὐθημερὸν λαβεῖν ὅι γὰρ Μαῦροι οἱ τῷ Ταραῦτα κατὰ τὸ συμμαχικὸν πεμφθέντες προθυμότερα ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μακρίνου, ἅτε καὶ ὁμοεθνοὺς σφίσιν ὄντος, ἠγωνίσαντο, ὥστε καὶ πύλας τινὰς διαρρηξαὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, εἴτ' οὖν φοβηθεὶς ἐσδραμεῖν, εἴτε καὶ ^[2] ἐλπίσας ἐκόντας τοὺς ἔνδον παραστήσεσθαι. ὡς δ' οὐτε τις αὐτῷ ἐπεκηρυκεύετο, καὶ προσέτι τὰς πύλας πάσας τῆς νυκτός ἀπωκοδόμησαν ὥστε ἐν ἀσφαλεστέρῳ εἶναι, προσέβαλεν μὲν αὖθις αὐτοῖς, ἐπέρανε δ' οὐδέν. τὸν τε γὰρ Ἀουῖτον, ὃν Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον Ἀντωνῖνον ἤδη προσηγόρευον, περιφέροντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ τείχους, καὶ εἰκόνας τινὰς τοῦ Καρακάλλου παιδικὰς ὡς καὶ ^[3] προσφερεῖς αὐτῷ ἀποδεικνύντες, παῖδά τε ὄντως αὐτὸν ἐκείνου καὶ διάδοχον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι λέγοντες, καὶ 'τί ταῦτα, ὦ συστρατιῶται, ποιεῖτε 108 ; τί δὲ οὕτω τῷ τοῦ 109 εὐεργέτου ὑμῶν ὑεῖ μάχεσθε;' ἐκβοῶντες, πάντας τοὺς σὺν τῷ Ἰουλιανῷ στρατιώτας, ἄλλως τε καὶ προθύμως πρὸς τὸ νεωτεροποιεῖν ἔχοντας, διέφθειραν, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν ἐπιτεταγμένους σφίσιν πλὴν τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ 'διέδρα γὰρ' ἀποκτείνειν, ἑαυτοὺς δὲ 110 ^[4] τὰ τε ὄπλα τῷ Ψευδαντωνίνῳ παραδοῦναι. κατεχομένους γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἑκατοντάρχων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπομειόνων, κὰκ τούτου διαμέλλοντας, ^[p. 414] ὁ Εὐτυχιανὸς † τὸν Φῆστον, 111 κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Ταραύτου πρόκοιτον ἀντωνομάσθη, ἔπεισεν † ἀποσφάξαι πάντας ἐκείνους, ἄθλόν 112 σφισι τὴν τοῦ τεθνήξοντος ἐκάστῳ 113 οὐσίαν τε καὶ χώραν ἐν τῇ στρατείᾳ προθείς· καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ παιδίον ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐδημηγόρησεν ὑπόβλητα, τὸν τε πατέρα ἤδη ἐπαινῶν, καὶ τὸν Μακρίνον ὡς

... λινες αρε ξομπλετελψ λαξκινγ. ... 33. ...

.αρ

καιν ...

τομ

νατων ...

λιτι

μισθο ...

ἐπὶ μηδ

ματι το ...

δεδικα

εισχε ...

τιαν η κα λελοιπότας ἐς τὴν ἀρχαίαν οὐσίαν τε καὶ ἐπιτιμίαν ἐπαναχθῆναι. ὧ μέντοι μάλιστα ^[2] αὐτοὺς ἀνηρτήσατο, ... ἕκαστον ... δώσειν ... ὑπέσχετο καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας καταΐειν ὡς καὶ ἐκ τούτου γνήσιος ἕκγονος τοῦ Ταραύτου εἶναι δόξων ...

τα γε κ ...
παρανο ...
ειγε εκ ...
... λινες αρε λαξκινγ. ...
... νο
... μη
... ιτη
... [p. 416] κΙΑΝΩ
... τω
... 34. [1,2] Μακρίνον
... μενω..

Ὁ γὰρ Μάρκελλος ἐτεθνήκει, τοῦτον μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀτολήσας περαιτέρω χωρὶς τοῦ [2] Μακρίνου προχωρῆσαι μετεπέμψατο αὐτόν. καὶ ὃς ἔς τε τὴν Ἀπάμειαν ἐς τοὺς Ἀλβανίους στρατιώτας διὰ ταχέων ἦλθε, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοκράτορα, καίπερ δέκατον ἔτος ἄγοντα, ἀπέδειξεν, ὅπως ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ πεντακισχιλίων δραχμῶν [3] ὑποσχέσει τιθασεῦσθαι· καὶ παραντικά τε αὐτοῖς κατὰ χιλίας ἔνειμε, τὴν τε τροφήν καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐντελῇ, καὶ τὰ ἄλλ' ἃ ἀφήρητο αὐτούς, ἀποκατέστησεν, ἐλπίζων σφᾶς διὰ τούτων ἰλεώσεσθαι. κάκ τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης αἰτίας καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δεῦπνον κατὰ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς ἔνειμε πρὶν καὶ ὅτιοῦν περὶ τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως αὐτοῖς διαδηλῶσαι, ἵνα μὴ δι' ἐκείνην ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν τοῦ υἱέος τιμὴν ἐστιᾶν αὐτοὺς νομισθεῖν. [4] καὶ αὐτῷ ταῦτα πράττοντι 114 στρατιώτης τις τῶν ἀφεστηκότων προσῆλθεν, τὴν τοῦ 115 Ἰουλιανοῦ κεφαλὴν εὗρέθη γὰρ κεκρυμμένος που καὶ ἐσφάγῃ κομίζων ἐν ὀθονίοις πολλοῖς ἰσχυρῶς σφόδρα σχοινίοις καταδεδεμένην ὥς καὶ τοῦ Ψευδαντωνίνου οὔσαν· καὶ γὰρ τῷ τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ δακτυλίῳ [5] ἐσεσήμαντο. καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῦτο ποιήσας ἐξέδρα ἐν ᾧ ἐκείνη ἐξεκαλύπτετο· γνοὺς δ' ὁ Μακρίνος τὸ πεπραγμένον οὐκέτ' ἐτόλμησεν οὔτε κατὰ χώραν μεῖναι οὔτε πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος προσελάσαι, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν κατὰ τάχος ἀνεκομίσθη. [p. 418] καὶ οὕτως οἱ τε Ἀλβάνιοι 116 οἱ τε ἄλλοι οἱ περὶ ἐκεῖνα τὰ χωρία χειμάζοντες προσαπέστησαν. [6] καὶ οἱ μὲν τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀντιπαρεσκευάζοντο, καὶ ἀντέπεμπον ἔς τε τὰ ἔθνη καὶ ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα ἀγγέλους καὶ γράμματα, ἀφ' ὧν πολλαχόθι πρὸς τε τὴν πρώτην ἐκατέρου περὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου πέμψιν καὶ πρὸς τὰς συνεχεῖς καὶ διαφόρους ἀλλήλαις [7] ἀγγελίας ἐταράχθησαν· κάκ τούτου συχνοὶ μὲν καὶ τῶν γραμματοφόρων ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐφθάρησαν, συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν θανατωσάντων τοὺς Ἀντωνινεῖους ἢ καὶ μὴ αὐτίκα αὐτοῖς προσθεμένων αἰτίαν ἔσχον, καὶ οἱ μὲν καὶ ἀπώλοντο διὰ τοῦτο, οἱ δ' [8] ἄλλο τι ὥφλον. ὧν 117 ἐγὼ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὁμοιοτροπώτατά τε γὰρ ἐστὶν καὶ οὐδὲν μέγα λεπτολογηθέντα ἔχει παρήσω, τὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ γενόμενα κεφαλαιώσας ἔρῳ. 35. ἦρχεν μὲν αὐτῆς ὁ Βασιλιανός, ὃν καὶ ἐς τὴν τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ χώραν ἔπαρχον ὁ Μακρίνος ἐπεποιήκει, διῆγεν δὲ τινα καὶ Μάριος Σεκοῦνδος, καίπερ βουλευτῆς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Μακρίνου γεγονώς καὶ 118 τῆς Φοινίκης προστατῶν· καὶ ἦσαν κατὰ ταῦτα ἀμφοτέροι αὐτῷ προσκείμενοι,

καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Ψευδαντωνίνου δρομοκήρυκας ^[2] ἀπέκτειναν. μέχρι μὲν δὴ οὖν ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ τὰ πράγματα ἦν, μετέωροι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ τε ἰδιῶται ἦσαν, οἱ μὲν τινες αὐτῶν ταῦτα οἱ δὲ ἐκεῖνα κατὰ τὸ 119 στασιωτικὸν καὶ βουλόμενοι καὶ εὐχόμενοι καὶ διαθρυλοῦντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς ἥτης τοῦ Μακρίνου ἀγγελία ἀφίκετο, στάσις ἰσχυρὰ ἐγένετο καὶ τοῦ τε δήμου πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ^[p. 420] ^[3] στρατιωτῶν οὐκ ὀλίγοι διώλοντο, ὃ τε Σεκοῦνδος ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ ἔπεσε, καὶ ὁ Βασιλιανὸς φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἐν χερσὶν ἀπόληται ἔκ τε τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐξέδρα, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τὴν περὶ τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐλθὼν ἐφωράθη, προδοθεὶς ὑπὸ φίλου τινός, ὧ 120 ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὄντι κρύφα προσέπεμψεν τροφὴν αἰτῶν. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως, ὕστερον ἐς τὴν Νικομήδειαν ἀναχθεὶς, ἐσφάγη. 36. ὁ δὲ δὴ Μακρίνος ἔγραψε μὲν καὶ τῇ βουλῇ περὶ τοῦ Ψευδαντωνίνου ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἐκασταχόθι ἄρχουσι, παιδίον τέ τι ἀποκαλῶν αὐτὸν καὶ ἔμπληκτον εἶναι λέγων, ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ τῷ Μαξιμῷ τῷ πολιάρχῳ τὰ τε ἄλλα οἷα εἰκὸς ἦν, καὶ ὅτι οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ οἱ νεωστὶ κατειλεγμένοι πάνθ' ὅσα καὶ πρὶν εἶχον λαμβάνειν ἀξιοῦσιν, καὶ κοινὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς οὐ διδομένοις σφίσιν ὀργὴν καὶ οἱ ^[2] ἄλλοι οἱ μηδενὸς ἐστερημένοι ποιοῦνται. καὶ ἵνα γέ τις ἄλλα ὅσα παρὰ τε τοῦ Σεουήρου καὶ τοῦ υἱέος αὐτοῦ πρὸς διαφθορὰν τῆς ἀκριβοῦς στρατείας εὕρηντο παραλίπη, οὕτε δίδοσθαί σφισι τὴν μισθοφορὰν τὴν ἐντελῇ πρὸς ταῖς ἐπιφοραῖς, ^[3] ἃς ἐλάμβανον, οἷόν τε εἶναι ἔφη 'ἐς γὰρ ἑπτακισχίλιας μυριάδας ἐτησίους τὴν αὐξήσιν αὐτῆς τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ταραύτου γενομένην τείνειν' οὕτε μὴ δίδοσθαί, τοῦ%5το μὲν ὅτι ...

ταὶ ἐκεῖνο δ ...

δικαίων πο

ἀλλὰ τὰ νεν ...

ἀναλώματα α ...

. αὶ τὸ μὲν 51 ... ^[4]

τε δημοσιο ...

στρατιωτικ

μενον καὶ ο ...

ἀπολουμεν ...

δυνηθη αὐ ... ὧ υρς., ΩΝ, F. ^[p. 422] ...

παῖς ὡς αὐτ ...

τ' ἐφ' ἑαυτω ...

ἐαυτὸν ἐπ καὶ ὅτι καὶ υἷὸν εἶχε κατωδύρατο ἑαυτόν, παραμύθιον τῆς συμφορᾶς ἔχειν ἔφη ὅτι τῷ ἀδελφοφόνῳ τῷ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀπολέσαι ^[5] ἐπιχειρήσαντι ἐπεβίω. ἔπειτα 121 καὶ τοιόνδε τι προσενέγραψεν, ὅτι 'πολλοὺς οἶδα μᾶλλον ἐπιθυμοῦντας αὐτοκράτορα 122 σφαγῆναι ἢ αὐτοὺς βιῶναι. τοῦτο δὲ οὐ περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ λέγω, ὅτι τις ἢ ἐπιθυμήσειεν ἂν ἢ εὐξαιτό με ἀπολέσθαι.' ἐφ' ὧ δὴ Φούλουιος Διογενιανὸς ἐξεβόησεν ὅτι 'πάντες εὐξάμεθα.' 37. οὗτος δ' ἦν μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων, σφόδρα δ' οὐ φρενήρης, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο οὕτ' αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν οὕτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἤρεσκεν. οὗτος καὶ τ

τὸ ὑπόγραμμα ...

ἐπιστολῇ ...
σαντος ὅτ ... καὶ πρὸς τὸ ...
... ὡς διφθέριον ... ραπτο ἀναγνῶναι
... ... σατο κάκεῖνα
... θῆναι καὶ ἡν
... ὡς ἄλλα τε καὶ
... ... σπεμφθεῖη
... ἄντικρυς ὡς
... μοσιευθῇ
... τα κατοκνῶν
... ἐρ κελεύσας
[2] ... ωθῆναι τῷ
... καὶ ἄλλοις τε
... πρώτων τοῖς
... ... υσανέπιστη
... υ κοινοῦ σω
... ὀνοιάν τινα
... οὖς τονδε
... ὡν γραμμα
... ... ὡν ἐπὶ πλεῖ
... ὃν [p. 424] ὅτι ὁ Ψευδαντωνῖνος εὐρῶν
... ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Μακρίνου κιβωτίοις μηδέπω
... α αὐτὸς ἐκῶν
... ἐξέφηγεν
... ... α διαβολῇν

... πρὸς τοὺς [3] στρατιώτας ποιούμενος. οὕτω δὲ ταχέως ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤλασεν ὥστε χαλεπῶς τὸν Μακρίνον ἐν κώμῃ τινὶ τῶν Ἀντιοχείων, ἑκατὸν τε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως σταδίου ἀπεχούσῃ, [4] συμβαλεῖν αὐτῷ. ἔνθα δὴ τῇ μὲν προθυμίᾳ τῇ τῶν δορυφόρων ἐκράτησεν 'τούς τε γὰρ θώρακας τοὺς λεπιδωτοὺς καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας τὰς σωληνοειδεῖς ἀφελόμενος αὐτῶν κουφοτέρους σφᾶς ἐς τὰς μάχας ἐπεποιήκει, τῇ δὲ ἑαυτοῦ δειλίᾳ ἡττήθη, καθάπερ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτῷ προεδήλωσεν. [5] ἐν γὰρ δὴ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐν ἣ τὰ πρῶτα αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς γράμματα ἡμῖν ἀνεγνώσθη, περιστερὰ τις ἐπὶ εἰκόνα Σεουήρου, οὗ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ἐτέθειτο, ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἀνακειμένην ἐπέπτατο: καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο, ὅτε τὰ περὶ τοῦ υἱέος ἔπεμψεν, οὕτε ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων οὐθ' ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν συνήλθομεν 'οὐ γὰρ ἔτυχον παρόντες' ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων, ὅπερ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ [6] τρόπον τινὰ ἤδη κατελέλυτο. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς προοιμίῳ, καίτοι καὶ Καίσαρα καὶ αὐτοκράτορα αὐτὸν ὀνομάσας, καὶ τὰ γραφέντα ὡς καὶ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐπισταλέντα προδηλώσας, ἐνέγραψεν: ἔν τε τῇ διηγῇ τῶν πεπραγμένων τῆς μὲν τοῦ Διαδουμενιανοῦ προσηγορίας ἐπεμνήσθη, τὴν δὲ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου, καίπερ ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ταύτην, 38. παρέλιπεν. 123 ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἔσχεν, καὶ νῆ Δία [p. 426] καὶ ὅτε περὶ τῆς τοῦ Ψευδαντωνίνου ἐπαναστάσεως ἐπέστειλεν, εἶπον μὲν τινα οἱ ὕπατοι κατ'

αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ εἶωθεν ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις γίνεσθαι, εἶπεν δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν τις τῶν τε δημάρχων ἕτερος· καὶ ἐκείνῳ μὲν τῷ τε 124 ἀνεψιῷ αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῖς μητράσι τῇ τε τήθῃ πόλεμος 125 ἐπηγγέλθη καὶ ἐπεκηρύχθη, τοῖς δὲ συνεπαναστᾶσιν αὐτῷ ἄδεια ἂν γνωσιμαχίῃσιν, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Μακρίνος ^[2] αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχητο, ἐδόθη. καὶ γὰρ ἃ διελέχθη τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀνεγνώσθη, ἐξ ὧν ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον τὴν ταπεινότητα καὶ τὴν μωρίαν αὐτοῦ πάντες κατέγνωμεν· τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ἑαυτὸν μὲν πατέρα τὸν δὲ Διαδουμενιανὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ 126 συνεχέστατα ἀπεκάλει, καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν τοῦ Ψευδαντωνίνου διέβαλλε, πολὺ νεώτερον αὐτοῦ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἀποφήνας. ^[3] ἐν δ' οὖν τῇ μάχῃ ὁ μὲν Γάννυς καὶ τὰ στενὰ τὰ πρὸ τῆς κώμης σπουδῇ προκατέλαβε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας εὐπολέμῳς διέταξεν, καίτοι καὶ ἀπειρότατος τῶν στρατιωτικῶν ὢν καὶ ἐν τρυφῇ βεβιωκώς· οὕτω που μέγα ἡ 127 τύχη πρὸς πάντα ἀπλῶς προφέρει, ὥστε καὶ ἐπιστήμας τοῖς ^[4] ἀγνοοῦσιν 128 αὐτὴν χαρίζεσθαι. τὸ δὲ δὴ στράτευμα αὐτοῦ ἀσθενέστατα ἠγωνίσαστο, καὶ εἰ γε μὴ ἦ τε Μαῖσα καὶ ἡ Σοαιμῖς 129 ἑσθῆσαν γὰρ ἤδη τῷ παιδίῳ ἀπὸ τε τῶν ὀχημάτων καταπηδήσασαι καὶ ἐς τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐσπεσοῦσαι ἐπέσχον αὐτοὺς τῆς φυγῆς ὀδυρόμεναι, καὶ ἐκεῖνο ^[p. 428] σπασάμενον τὸ ξιφίδιον, ὃ παρέζωστο, ὥφθη σφίσιν ἐπὶ ἵππου θείᾳ τινὶ φορᾷ ὥς καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐλάσον, 130 οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἔστησαν. καὶ ὥς δ' ἂν αὖθις 131 ἐτράποντο, εἰ μὴ ὁ Μακρίνος ἰδὼν αὐτοὺς ἀνθισταμένους ἔφυγεν. 39. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως τῇ Ἰουνίου 132 ὀγδῷ ἡττηθεὶς τὸν μὲν υἱὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἀρτάβανον τὸν τῶν Πάρθων βασιλέα διὰ τε τοῦ Ἐπαγάθου καὶ δι' ἄλλων τινῶν ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ^[2] ὥς καὶ νενικηκώς, ὅπως καταδεχθῇ, ἐσελθὼν, ἔπειτα διαγγελεθείσης τῆς ἡττης αὐτοῦ, καὶ φόνων ἐκ τούτου 133 πολλῶν κἂν ταῖς ὁδοῖς κἂν τῇ πόλει, ὥς που καὶ εὐνοίας ἐκατέρῳ 134 τις αὐτῶν εἶχε, γιγνομένων, ἀπέδρα καὶ ἐκεῖθεν νυκτὸς ἐπὶ ἵππων, τὴν τε κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸ γένειον πᾶν ξυράμενος, καὶ ἐσθῆτα φαιὰν κατὰ τῆς ἀλουργοῦς, ^[3] ἵν' ὅτι μάλιστα ἰδιώτῃ τινὶ ἐοικῇ, λαβὼν. καὶ οὕτω μετ' ὀλίγων ἐς 135 Αἰγὰς τῆς Κιλικίας ἐλθὼν, ὀχημάτων τε ἐνταῦθα ὥς καὶ στρατιώτης τις τῶν ἀγγελιαφόρων ὢν ἐπέβη, καὶ διεξήλασε διὰ τῆς Καππαδοκίας καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας τῆς τε Βιθυνίας μέχρι Ἐριβώλου τοῦ ἐπινείου τοῦ κατ' ἀντιπέρας τῆς τῶν Νικομηδέων πόλεως ὄντος, γνῶμην ἔχων ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀναδραμεῖν ὥς καὶ ἐκεῖ παρὰ τε τῆς βουλῆς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου ^[4] βοηθείας τινὸς τευξόμενος. καὶ εἴτερ ἐπεφεύγει, πάντως ἂν τι κατείργαστο· ἡ γὰρ εὐνοία σφῶν ^[p. 430] παρὰ πολὺ ἐς αὐτόν, πρὸς τε τὸ τῶν Σύρων τόλμημα καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ψευδαντωνίνου ἡλικίαν τὸ τε τοῦ Γάννου καὶ τοῦ Κωμάζοντος αὐτεπίτακτον σκοπούντων, ἐποίει, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἂν ἡ ἐκόντας 136 μετανοῆσαι ἢ καὶ ^[5] ἄκοντας καταδαμασθῆναι. νῦν δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων δι' ὧν διήει, εἰ καὶ ἐγγώρισέν τις αὐτόν, ἀλλ' οὕτι καὶ ἐφάψασθαι ἐτόλμησεν αὐτοῦ· ὥς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἐριβώλου διαπλέων ἐς τὴν Χαλκηδόνα ὅου γὰρ ἐθάρσησεν ἐς τὴν Νικομήδειαν ἐσελθεῖν, φοβηθεὶς τὸν τῆς Βιθυνίας ἄρχοντα Καικίλιον Ἀρίστωνά, ἔπεμψε πρὸς τινα τῶν ἐπιτρόπων ἀργύριον αἰτῶν καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ἐγνώσθη, κατελήφθη τε ἐν τῇ Χαλκηδόνι ἔτι ὢν, καὶ ἐπελθόντων ^[6] καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ

Ψευδαντωνίνου πεμφθέντων 137 ἵνα ... νῦν εἰ πώποτε. ... συνελήφθη τε ὑπ' Αὐρηλίου Κέλσου ἑκατοντάρχου, καὶ μέχρι τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἦχθη ὥσπερ τις τῶν 40. ἀτιμοτάτων. ἔνταῦθα δὲ μαθὼν ὅτι καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἐαλώκει 'διὰ γὰρ τοῦ Ζεύγματος αὐτόν, δι' οὗ πρότερον διῶν Καῖσαρ ἀπεδεδεικτο, διελαύνοντα Κλαύδιος Πολλίων ὁ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἑκατόνταρχος συνέλαβεν' ἔρριψέ τε αὐτόν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀχήματος 'οὐ γὰρ ἐδέδετό καὶ τότε μὲν τὸν [2] ὤμον συνέτριψε, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ἀποθανεῖν κελευσθεὶς πρὶν ἐς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἐσελθεῖν ἐσφάγη τε ὑπὸ Μαρκιανοῦ Ταύρου ἑκατοντάρχου, καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα ἄταφον ἔμεινε μέχρις οὗ ὁ Ψευδαντωνῖνος, ἐς τὴν Βιθυνίαν ἐκ τῆς Συρίας παρελθὼν, ἐφήσθη αὐτῷ. [3] ὁ μὲν οὖν Μακρίνος οὕτω, καὶ γέρων ὢν [p. 432] πεντήκοντα γὰρ καὶ τέσσαρα ἦγεν ἔτη, τριῶν πού μηνῶν 138 δέοντα ἢ πέντε καὶ ἐμπειρία πραγμάτων προφέρων, ἀρετὴν τε ὑποδεικνύων καὶ τοσούτων στρατευμάτων ἄρχων, ὑπὸ τε παιδαρίου, οὗ μηδὲ τὸ ὄνομα πρότερον ἠπίστατο, [4] κατελύθη, ὥς που καὶ τὸ μαντεῖον αὐτῷ προεμήνυσε, ... οὐ Ζεὺς ὁ Βῆλος χρωμένῳ οἱ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἔφη: 'ὦ γέρον, ἡ μάλα δὴ σε νέοι τείρουσι μαχηταί, σὴ δὲ βίη 139 λέλυται, χαλεπὸν δὲ σε γῆρας ἰκάνει,' φεύγων τε ... σης ἡ νενικη. ... δραπετεύσας διὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν ὢν ἦρξε, συλληφθεὶς [5] ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων ὥσπερ τις ληστής, ἐπιδὼν ἑαυτὸν μετ' ἀτιμοτάτων κακούργων ... φρουρούμενον ὧ πολλοὶ πολλακίς βουλευταὶ προσήχθησαν, ἀποθανεῖν τε ἐκελεύσθη τὴν τοῦ κολάσαι 140 πάντα τινὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀπολῦσαι τε ἐξουσίαν ἔχων, καὶ πρὸς ἑκατοντάρχων συνελήφθη τε καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀπεστερήθη οὐς καὶ αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τε χειρόνων καὶ τῶν κρειττόνων ἀποκτεῖναι ἐξουσίαν εἶχεν. καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς προσαπώλετο. 41. οὕτω που οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ τῶν σφόδρα δοκούντων ἐρρῶσθαι βεβαίαν τὴν ἰσχὺν ἔχει, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πάνυ εὖ πράττοντες ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς λοιποῖς αἰωροῦνται. [2] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπαινεθεὶς ἂν ὑπὲρ πάντας ἀνθρώπους, εἰ γε μὴ αὐτὸς αὐταρχῆσαι ἐπετεθυμήκει, [p. 434] ἀλλ' ἐπιλεξάμενός τινα τῶν ἐς γε τὴν γερουσίαν τελούντων τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς [3] προστατῆσαι, αὐτοκράτορα αὐτόν ἀπεδείξει, καὶ μόνως ἂν οὕτως τὸ αἷτιμα τὸ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Καράκαλλον ἐπιβουλῆς, ὥς καὶ διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ σωτηρίαν ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τὴν τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐπιθυμίαν ποιησάμενος αὐτήν, ἐκφυγὼν, καὶ διέβαλεν ἅμα ἑαυτὸν καὶ διέφθειρεν, ὥστε 141 καὶ ἐν ὄνειδει καὶ [4] ἐν παθήματι ἀξιώτατ' 142 αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι. τῆς γὰρ μοναρχίας, μὴδ' ὄνομα βουλευτοῦ ἔχων, ὀριγνηθεὶς καὶ τάχιστα καὶ βαρυσυμφορώτατα αὐτὴν ἀπέβαλεν: ἐνιαυτῷ τε γὰρ καὶ δύο μηνσίν, τριῶν ἡμερῶν, ὥστε καὶ μέχρι τῆς μάχης λογιζομένοις συμβῆναι, δέουσιν, ἦρξεν.

BOOK 80

α. περί Ἀβίτου τοῦ καὶ Ψευδαντωνίνου καὶ τῶν φόνων ὧν εἰργάσατο.

β. περί ὧν παρενόμησεν καὶ ὡς τὴν ἀειπαρθένον ἔγημε.

γ. περί τοῦ Ἐλεογαβάλου καὶ ὡς τὴν Οὐρανίαν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην

μεταπεμφάμενος τῷ Ἐλεογαβάλῳ συνώκισεν.

δ. περί τῆς ἀσελγείας αὐτοῦ.

ε. ὡς τὸν ἀνεψιὸν ἐποίησατο, ὃν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον μετωνόμασεν.

ζ. Ὡς κατελύθη καὶ ἐσφάγη.

χρόνου πληθὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Μακρίνου καὶ Ἀδβέντου ὑπατείας καὶ ἄλλα ἔτη δ', ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἶδε ἐγένοντο: Ψευδαντωνίνος τὸ β καὶ

κ. Τινέιος Σακέρδως Ψευδαντωνίνος τὸ γ καὶ Μ. Οὐαλέριος κωμάζων Γ. Βέτιος Γρᾶτος Σαβινιανὸς καὶ μ. Φλάβιος Βιτέλλιος Σέλευκος Ψευδαντωνίνος τὸ δ καὶ Μ. Αὐρήλιος Σεῦρος Ἀλέξανδρος.

“ 1. ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἀουῖτος εἶτε Ψευδαντωνίνος εἶτε καὶ Ἀσσύριος ἢ καὶ Σαρδανάπαλλος Τιβερινὸς τε ‘καὶ γὰρ καὶ ταύτην τὴν προσηγορίαν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ σῶμα σφαγέντος αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸν Τίβεριν ἐνεβλήθη, ἔλαβεν’ τότε μὲν μετὰ τὴν νίκην ἐς τε ^[p. 438] τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐσῆλθε, πεντακοσίας τοῖς ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν στρατιώταις δραχμάς, ὅπως μὴ διαρπάσωσιν αὐτήν, οὐπὲρ τὰ μάλιστα ἐπεθύμουν, προϋποσχόμενος: ἅς που καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ^[2] δήμου ἐσέπραξεν: καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἄλλα τε οἷα εἰκὸς ἦν ἐπέστειλε, πολλὰ μὲν τὸν Μακρίνον ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐς τὴν δυσγένειαν τὴν τε ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον ἐπιβουλήν διαβάλλων ‘πρὸς γοῦν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῦτο ἔφη ὅτι ‘ὦ μὴδ’ ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον μετὰ τὸ κήρυγμα τὸ χωρὶς τῶν βουλευτῶν τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐξεῖργον ἐξῆν, οὗτος ἐτόλμησεν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, οὗ τὴν φρουρὰν ἐπεπίστευτο, δολοφονήσας τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ παρασπάσασθαι καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ πρότερον ἢ βουλευτῆς ^[3] γενέσθαι’, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ τῷ τε δήμῳ καθυπισχνούμενος ‘κατὰ τε γὰρ τὸν τοῦ Αὐγούστου, ὧ καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀφωμοίου, καὶ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ Μάρκου ζῆλον ἅπαντα ἅπαξ πράξειν ἐπηγγειλατό, ^[4] καὶ δῆτα καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἔγραψεν, αἰνιττόμενος πρὸς τὰς διαβολὰς τὰς ἐς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μακρίνου θρυληθείσας, ὅτι ‘τὴν ἡλικίαν τὴν ἐμὴν διαβαλεῖν ἐπεχείρησεν, αὐτὸς πενταετὴ υἱὸν ἀποδείξας.’ 2. ταῦτά

τε οὖν τῇ βουλῇ ἐπέστειλεν, καὶ τὰ ὑπομνήματα τὰ παρὰ τοῖς στρατιώταις
γενόμενα τὰ τε γράμματα τοῦ Μακρίνου τὰ τῷ Μαξιμῷ γραφέντα ἔπεμψεν
μὲν καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἔπεμψεν δὲ καὶ τοῖς στρατεύμασιν, ἵν' ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔτι
μᾶλλον τὴν τε ἐκείνου μνήμην μισήσωσι καὶ [p. 440] [2] ἑαυτὸν ἀγαπήσωσιν.
καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἐπιστολῇ τῷ τε πρὸς τὸν δῆμον γράμματι
καὶ αὐτοκράτορα καὶ Καίσαρα, τοῦ τε Ἀντωνίνου υἱὸν καὶ τοῦ Σεουήρου
ἔγγονον, εὐσεβῇ τε καὶ εὐτυχῇ καὶ Αὐγουστον, καὶ ἀνθύπατον τὴν τε [3]
ἐξουσίαν τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἔχοντα ἑαυτὸν ἐνέγραψεν, προλαμβάνων αὐτὰ
πρὶν ψηφισθῆναι, τῷ ...

ματι οὐ τῷ τ ...

ἀλλὰ τῷ τοῦ π ...

ἐχρήσατο, ο

ησεν καὶ ἀν ...

τὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὑπομνήματα ο ...

γὰρ δὴ τοῦ Μακρίνου ...

ματα καισαρ ...

δὲ δὴ δορυφόροις καὶ Ἀλβανίοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ [4] Ἰταλίᾳ οὔσι ...

καὶ ὅτι ὕπατο ρευσειηπρ ...

λε καὶ τὰ με ...

ριος Κηνσωρῖνος ...

προστασίαν ...

ἀνελέξατο ...

Μακρίου ο ...

αὐτὸς ὡς οὐχ

διὰ τῆς ἑαυτ ...

δημοσιωθ

ἀναγνῶναι ...

τὰ γράμματ ... Σαρδαναπαλλο

νος τοῦ κλ ...

ἐς τοὺς ὑπατευκότας ἐγκατελέξατο, ... ἐνετείλατο ἵνα, εἴ τις ἀνθίστατο,
τῇ χειρὶ τῇ τῶν στρατιωτῶν [5] χρήσεται: ἀφ' οὗ δὴ ... σία καὶ ἄκουσα πάντα
ἐκείνοις δ . ἀνέγνω . τῇ γὰρ ἐπαρτηθείσῃ ἀνάγκῃ οὐδὲν οὔτε τῶν δεόντων
οὔτε τῶν συμφερόντων σφίσι πρᾶξαι ἡδυνήθησαν,... ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ
φόβου ἐξεπλάγησαν ... [6] ...

... καὶ τὸν τε Μακρίνον, ὃν ἀμύπολλα ἐπηνέκεσαν, ἐν πολέμῳ [p. 442]
μοίρᾳ σὺν τε τῷ υἱεὶ ἐλοιδόρησαν, καὶ τὸν Ταραύταν, ὃν καὶ πολέμιον
ἀποδείξαι πολλάκις ἠθελήκεσαν, τότε ἐσέμνυνον, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν διῆθεν αὐτοῦ
ἠὔχοντο ὅμοιον γενέσθαι αὐτῷ. 3. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ Πρώμῃ ταῦτα. ὁ δὲ Ἀουῖτος
τὸν Πολλίωνα ... τῆς Γερμανίας ... ἄρξαι προσέταξεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Βιθυνίας
τα ἐκεῖνος περιεγεγόνει. αὐτὸς δὲ καταμείνας τινὰς μῆνας ἐν τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ
μέχρις οὗ τὴν ἀρχὴν πανταχόθεν ἐβεβαιώσατο, ἐς τὴν Βιθυνίαν ἦλθεν,
πάρεδρον ... οἱ πολλάκις ... ν, ὥσπερ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν [2] εἰώθει,
ποιούμενος. ἔνθα δὲ ἐπιχειμάσας ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν διὰ τῆς Θράκης καὶ τῆς
Μυσίας καὶ τῆς Παννονίας ἐκατέρας ἐπορεύθη, κἀκεῖ μέχρι τῆς τοῦ βίου

τελευτῆς κατέμεινεν, ἔν μὲν τι καὶ σφόδρα ἀγαθοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἔργον ποιήσας ἑκατὼν γὰρ πολλὰ καὶ ἰδιωτῶν καὶ δῆμων, τῶν τε ... 1 αὐτοῦ τούτων ... τῆς τε βουλῆς, καὶ ἰδία καὶ κοινῇ ἕς τε τὸν Καράκαλλον καὶ ἑαυτὸν, ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Μακρίνου γραμμμάτων, καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ ὑβρισάντων, οὐδενὶ τὸ παράπαν οὔτε ἐπεξίεναι ἔφη οὔτε [3] ἐπεξῆλθεν, ἕς δὲ δὴ τὰλλα πάντα καὶ αἰσχροπράγματα καὶ παρανομώτατα καὶ μαιφονώτατα ἐξοκείλας, ὥστε τὰ μὲν τινα αὐτῶν μὴδ' ἀρχὴν πώποτ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ γενόμενα ὡς καὶ πάτρια ἀκμάσαι, τὰ δὲ καὶ τολμηθέντα ἄλλοτε ἄλλοις [p. 444] ὡς ἐκάστοις, ἔτεσι τρισὶ καὶ μηνὶ ἐννέα ἡμέραις τε τέτταρσιν, ἐν αἷς ἦρξεν, ὡς γὰρ ἂν τις ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἐν ἣ τὸ παντελὲς κράτος ἔσχεν [4] ἀριθμήσειεν, ἀνθῆσαι. ἐφόνευσεν μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ τὸν τε Νέστορα καὶ Φάβιον Ἀγριππῖνον τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῆς, τῶν τε ἱππέων τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Μακρίνον τοὺς πρώτους: ὅπερ πού καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τοὺς μάλιστα οἰκειωθέντας αὐτῷ εἰργάσατο: κἀν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ Πεῖκαν Καϊριανὸν τὸν ἐπιτετραμμένον αὐτῇ, ὅτι μὴ παραχρήμα αὐτῷ [5] προσέθετο, ἐν τε τῇ Κύπρῳ Κλαύδιον Ἀτταλον τὸν τῆς Θράκης ποτὲ ἄρξαντα, καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ Σεουήρου ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐν τῷ τοῦ Νίγρου πολέμῳ ἐκπεσόντα, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ταραύτου ἐς αὐτὸ ἐπαναχθέντα, καὶ τότε ἐκ τοῦ κλήρου τῇ Κύπρῳ προσταχθέντα, ὅτι τῷ Κωμάζοντι προσεκεκρούκει: στρατευόμενον γὰρ ποτε αὐτὸν ἐν Θράκῃ καὶ κακουρήσαντά τι ἐς τοὺς τριηρίτας ἀπέωσατο. 4. τοιοῦτος γὰρ τις ὁ Κωμάζων ὢν καὶ τοῦτο τοῦνομα ἐκ τε μίμων καὶ γελοιοποιίας ἔχων τῶν τε δορυφόρων ἦρξεν, ἐν μηδεμὶ τὸ παράπαν ἐπιτροπείᾳ ἢ καὶ προστασίᾳ τινὶ πλήν τῆς τοῦ [2] στρατοπέδου ἐξετασθεὶς, καὶ τὰς τιμὰς τὰς ὑπαδικὰς ἔλαβεν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπάτευσεν καὶ ἐπολιάρχησεν, οὐχ ἅπαξ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ δευτέρον καὶ τρίτον, ὃ μηδενὶ πώποτε ἄλλῳ ὑπῆρξεν: ὅθεν πού καὶ τοῦτ' ἐν τοῖς παρανομώτατοις ἐξαριθμῆσεται. [p. 446] [3] ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀτταλὸς δι' ἐκεῖνον ἀπέθανεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Τρικκιανὸς διὰ τοὺς Ἀλβανίους ὢν ἐγκρατῶς ἐπὶ τοῦ Μακρίνου ἡγεῖτο, Καστίνος θ' ὅτι δραστήριός τε ἦν καὶ πολλοῖς στρατιώταις, ἐκ τε τῶν ἀρχῶν ὢν ἦρξε καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον συνουσίας, ἔγνωστο: διόπερ καὶ ὑπὸ [4] τοῦ Μακρίνου τὴν ἄλλως προπεμφθεὶς ἐν Βιθυνίᾳ τὴν διαίταν ἐποιεῖτο. τοῦτόν τε οὖν ἀπέκτεινεν, καίτοι τῇ γερουσίᾳ περὶ αὐτοῦ γράψας ὅτι αὐτὸν εἰρχθέντα τῆς Ῥώμης, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸν Ἀσπρον τὸν Ἰούλιον, ὑπὸ τοῦ Μακρίνου [5] ἀποκατέστησεν, καὶ Σύλλαν τὸν τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἄρξαντα, καίπερ ἀπηλλαγμένον ἐξ αὐτῆς, ὅτι τ' ἐπολυπραγμόνει τινά, καὶ ὅτι μεταπεμφθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπήντησε τοῖς στρατιώταις τοῖς Κελτικοῖς οἵκαδε μετὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ χειμασίαν, ἐν ἣ τινὰ ὑπετάραξαν, [6] ἀποῦσιν. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ διὰ ταῦτα ἀπώλοντο, καὶ οὐδὲ ἐπεστάλῃ τι περὶ αὐτῶν τῇ γερουσίᾳ, Σέιος δὲ δὴ Κᾶρος ὁ Φουσκιανοῦ τοῦ πολιάρχῃσαντος ἔκγονος ὅτι τε ἐπλούτει καὶ ὅτι μέγας καὶ νοῦν ἔχων ἦν, πρόφασιν ὡς καὶ συνιστάς τινας τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀλβανῷ στρατευομένων καὶ μόνου γε ἐκείνου ἀποδεικνύντος τινὰ ἠκούσεν [7] ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐσφάγῃ, Οὐαλεριανὸς τε Παῖτος ὅτι εἰκόνας τινὰς ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιχρύσους [p. 448] πρὸς παλλακίδων κοσμήματα ἐξετύπωσεν: ἐκ γὰρ τούτου καὶ αἰτίαν ἔσχεν ὡς καὶ ἐς Καππαδοκίαν ὁμορον τῇ πατρίδι

αὐτοῦ οὖσαν Γαλάτης γὰρ ἦν ἄπελθεῖν ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ διανοούμενος, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο χρυσοῦς γλύμμα ἑαυτοῦ φέροντας ποιούμενος. 5. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐθανατώθη ὁ Μεσσάλας ὁ Σίλιος ὃ τε Βάσσος ὁ Πομπώνιος, ἐγκλήματα λαβόντες ὅτι τοῖς [2] πραττομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἠρέσκοντο. τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδὲ τῇ βουλῇ γράφαι περὶ αὐτῶν ὤκνησεν, ἐξεταστάς τε αὐτοὺς τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ βίου καὶ ἐπιτιμητὰς τῶν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ δρωμένων εἰπὼν εἶναι: 'τὰς γὰρ τοι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς δῆθεν αὐτῶν ἀποδειξεις οὐκ ἔπεμψα ὑμῖν,' ἔφη, 'ὅτι μάτην ἀναγνωσθήσεσθαι ἔμελλον ἤδη σφῶν τεθνηκότων.' [3] ὑπὴν δὲ τι καὶ ἕτερον αἰτίαμα πρὸς Μεσσάλαν, ὅτι πολλὰ ἐρρωμένως ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἀπεφαίνετο: διόπερ καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν, ὡς καὶ πάνυ τι αὐτοῦ δεόμενος, μετεπέμψατο, ὅπως μὴ καὶ καθηγεμῶν αὐτῇ ἀλλοδοξίας γένηται. [4] τῷ δὲ δὴ Βάσσῳ, ὅτι γυναῖκα καὶ εὐπρεπῇ καὶ εὐγενῇ εἶχεν: τοῦ τε γὰρ Σεουήρου τοῦ Κλαυδίου καὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ Μάρκου ἀπόγονος ἦν. ἀμέλει καὶ ἐγήμεν αὐτὴν, μηδὲ ἐκθρηνῆσαι [5] τὴν συμφορὰν ἐπιτρέψας. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν γάμων αὐτοῦ, ὧν τε ἐγάμει ὧν τε ἐγήματο, αὐτίκα λελέξεται: καὶ γὰρ ἠνδρίζετο καὶ ἐθελύκετο καὶ [p. 450] ἔπραττεν καὶ ἔπασχεν ἐκάτερα ἀσελγέστατα ... %5δὲ δὴ δυσ1 ... περὶ αὐτ.

... σία ἐφο %5σαντων ... %5νος καὶ 6. μ ... %5λιωνα δε α %5ὕφ' ὧν πε ... %5τευομεν ... %5τω τειχε %5κτο ἰδίαν ... ἀμυνομε

Σέργιος α...

τὸν Καρο ... %5τινα καὶ μ %5προσδιει ... %5ουν ἐκ τι ... %5δρωνων ... 7. ... %5τινα διατ ... %5ποιήσας ... %5ὕπ' αὐτ %5διωλομ ... %5δενος η. ... %5τ' ἐκείνου ... %5αίτιαν ἐπι ... %5φόνῳ τὰ μ %5τε ἱππέων ...

Καισαρείων ... %5ἐφθάρησαν %5οὐδὲν δεο ...

... 6. ... ν δὲ δὴ τὸν τὴν ἐπανάστασιν κατασκευάσαντα, τὸν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτὸν ἐσαγαγόντα, τὸν τοὺς στρατιώτας προσαιποστήσαντα, τὸν τὴν νίκην αὐτῷ τὴν κατὰ τοῦ Μακρίνου παρασχόντα, τὸν τροφέα, τὸν προστάτην, ἐν ἀρχῇ εὐθύς τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐν τῇ Νικομηδεῖα ἀποκτείνας ἀνοσιώτατος [2] ἀνδρῶν ἐνομίσθη. ἄλλως μὲν γὰρ καὶ τρυφερώτερον διητᾶτο καὶ ἡδέως ἐδωροδόκει, οὐ μὴν οὔτε αἰτίος τινος κακοῦ οὐδενὶ ἐγένετο καὶ πολλοὺς πολλὰ εὐηργέτησε. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, [p. 452] ἰσχυρῶς αὐτὸν περιεῖτε, καὶ τῇ Μαίσι τῇ τε Σοαιμίδι σφόδρα ἤρεσκε, τῇ μὲν ὅτι ἐτέθραπτο ὑπ' αὐτῆς, τῇ δὲ ὅτι συνώκει τρόπον τινὰ αὐτῇ: [3] ἀλλ' οὐτι γε διὰ τοῦτ' αὐτὸν κατεχρήσατο, ὅποτε καὶ συμβόλαιον αὐτῷ γαμικὸν ποιῆσαι καὶ Καίσαρα αὐτὸν ἀποδεῖξαι ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι σωφρόνως τε καὶ ἐμφρόνως ζῆν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἠναγκάζετο. καὶ αὐτὸς γε αὐτοχειρίᾳ πρῶτος αὐτὸν κατέτρωσε διὰ τὸ μηδένα τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἄρξαι τοῦ φόνου τολμῆσαι. 7. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐγένετο, ... ς δὲ Οὐῆρος ἐπιτολήσας καὶ αὐτὸς τῇ μοναρχίᾳ ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ Γαλλικῷ, οὗ ἦρχε, καὶ Γέλλιος Μάξιμος ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας, καίπερ ὑποστρατηγῶν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ τοῦ τετάρτου τοῦ [2] Σκυθικοῦ τείχους, ἐδικαιώθησαν. οὕτω γὰρ που πάντα ἄνω κάτω συνεχύθη ὥστε ἐκείνους τὴν ἔφεσιν τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸν μὲν ἐξ

ἐκατοντάσων ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν ἐσγραφέντα, τὸν δὲ ἱατροῦ υἷον ὄντα ἐς τὸν νοῦν ἐμβαλέσθαι. τούτους δὲ δὴ μόνους ὠνόμασα οὐχ ὅτι καὶ μόνοι ἐξεφρόνησαν, ἀλλ' ὅτι βουλῆς ἦσαν, ^[3] ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ ἕτερός τις ἐκατοντάρχου υἱὸς ἐπεχείρησε τὸ αὐτὸ ἐκεῖνο στρατόπεδον τὸ Γαλλικὸν συνταράξει, καὶ μάλα ἄλλος τις ἐριουργὸς τὸ τέταρτον, ἕτερός τε ἰδιώτης τὸν στόλον τὸν ἐν τῇ Κυζίκῳ ναυλοχοῦντα, ὅτε καὶ ὁ Ψευδαντωνῖνος ἐν τῇ Νικομηδεῖα ἐχείμαζεν, καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ πολλοὶ ^[p. 454] % ἄλλοθι καὶ ἀλλαχόθι, † ὥστε καὶ ἐτοιμότατον ὄν τοῖς βουλομένοις ἄρξαι, τῷ καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδα καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν πολλοὺς τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐπιβεβατευκέναι, ^[4] νεωτερίσαι τολμήσαι. καὶ μηδεὶς ἀπιστήσῃ τῷ λεχθέντι: τὰ μὲν γὰρ λοιπὰ τὰ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν παρ' ἀνδρῶν ἀξιοπίστων πυθόμενος, τὸ δὲ δὴ κατὰ τὸν στόλον αὐτὸς ἐγγύθεν ἐκ τῆς Περγᾶμου ἀκριβῶσας ἔγραψα, ἥς, ὥσπερ καὶ τῆς Σμύρνης ταχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Μακρίνου ἐπεστάτης: ἀφ' οὔπερ οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἄπιστόν μοι κατεφάνη. 8. φόνων μὲν οὖν ἐχόμενα ταῦτα αὐτῷ ἐπράχθη, ἔξω δὲ δὴ τῶν πατρίων ἀπλᾶ μὲν καὶ μηδὲν μέγα κακὸν ἡμῖν φέροντα, πλήν καθ' ὅσον παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἐκαινοτομήθη, ὅτι τε τῶν ὀνομάτων τινὰ τῶν ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτοῦ τεινόντων, πρὶν ψηφισθῆναι, ὥσπερ εἶπον, αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ ἔθετο, ^[2] καὶ ὅτι τῇ τοῦ Μακρίνου ὑπατεία, μήτε χειροτονηθεὶς ἐπ' αὐτὴν μήτε ὅλως ἐφαψάμενος αὐτῆς 'προδιήνυστο γάρ', αὐτὸν ἀντενέγραψε, καίτοι τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδουέντου ὡς καὶ μόνου ὑπατευκότος τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τρισὶ γράμμασι διαδηλώσας, ὅτι τε δεῦτερον δὴ ὑπατεῦειν ^[3] ἐπεχείρησεν, μηδεμίαν πρόσθεν μήτε ἀρχὴν λαβὼν μήτε τιμὴν ἀρχῆς, καὶ ὅτι τῇ ἐπινικίῳ ^[p. 456] στολῇ ὑπατεῦων ἐν τῇ Νικομηδεῖα, ἐν τῇ τῶν εὐχῶν ἡμέρᾳ, οὐκ ἐχρήσατο. 11. τῶν δὲ δὴ παρανομημάτων αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὸν Ἐλεγάβαλον ἔχεται, οὐχ ὅτι θεὸν τινα ξενικὸν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσήγαγεν, οὐδ' ὅτι καινοπρεπέστατα αὐτὸν ἐμεγάλυνεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Διὸς αὐτοῦ ἦγαγεν αὐτόν, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἱερέα αὐτοῦ ἐαυτὸν ψηφισθῆναι ἐποίησεν, ὅτι τε τὸ αἰδοῖον περιέτεμε, καὶ ὅτι χοιρείων κρεῶν, ὡς καὶ καθαρώτερον ἐκ τούτων θρησκεύσων, ἀπείχετο 'ἐβουλεύσατο μὲν γὰρ παντάπασιν αὐτὸ ἀποκόψαι: ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο μὲν τῆς μαλακίας ἔνεκα ποιῆσαι ἐπεθύμησε, τοῦτο δὲ ὡς καὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἐλεγαβάλου ἱερατεία προσῆκον ἔπραξεν: ἐξ οὗ δὴ καὶ ἐτέροις τῶν συνόντων συχνοῖς ὁμοίως ^[2] ἐλυμήνατό: καὶ μέντοι καὶ ὅτι τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν βαρβαρικήν, ἣ οἱ τῶν Σύρων ἱερεῖς χρῶνται, καὶ δημοσίᾳ πολλὰκις ἐωρᾶτο ἐνδεδυμένος: ἀφ' οὔπερ οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου ἐπωνυμίαν ἔλαβεν.

“

Xiph. 348, 13-21 R. St., Exc. Val. 408 (p. 762).

“ 12. ^[2.2] ὅτι ὁ Ψευδαντωνῖνος χρυσοῦς ἔσθη πολλῶ καὶ ποικίλῳ κόσμῳ διαπρέπων.” Exc. Val. 409 (p. 762). “ ὅτι χρήματα πολλὰ ὁ Μακρίνος ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ εὐρῶν διεσπάθησεν, καὶ οὐκ ἐξήρκουν αἱ πρόσοδοι πρὸς ἀναλώματα.” Exc. Val. 410 (p. 762). “ 9. ἔγχευ δὲ Κορνηλίαν Παῦλαν, ἵνα δὴ θᾶσσον, ὥσπερ ἔφη, πατὴρ γένηται ὁ μὴδ' ἀνὴρ εἶναι δυνάμενος. ἐν δ’

οὖν τοῖς γάμοις οὐχ ὅπως [p. 458] ἡ γερουσία ἦ τε ἱππᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ τῶν [2] βουλευτῶν διανομὴν τινα ἔλαβον, ὃ τε δῆμος πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν δραχμαῖς καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἑκατὸν πλείοσιν εἰσπιάθησαν, μονομάχων τε ἀγῶνες ἐγένοντο, ἱμάτιον αὐτοῦ περιπόρφυρον ἐνδύντος, ὃ καὶ ἐν ταῖς εὐχολιμαίαις θεαῖς ἐπεποιήκει. καὶ θηρία ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ ἐλέφας τίγριδες τε μία καὶ πεντήκοντα ἐσφάγησαν: [3] ὃ μηδεπώποτε ἄθροον ἐγεγόνει. εἶτα τὴν Παῦλαν ὥς καὶ κηλιδά τινα περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἔχουσαν ἀποπέμψας Ἀκυλία Σεουήρα συνώκησεν, ἐκφανέστατα παρανομήσας: ἱερωμένην γὰρ αὐτὴν τῇ Ἑστία ἀσεβέστατα ἥσχυεν. ἐτόλμησε δὲ καὶ εἰπεῖν ὅτι 'ἵνα δὴ καὶ θεοπρεπεῖς παῖδες ἔκ τε ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἔκ τε ταύτης τῆς ἀρχιερείας [4] γεννῶνται, τοῦτ' ἐποίησα.' καὶ ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ αἰκισθέντα εἶτα ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἐμβληθῆναι κάνταυθα θανατωθῆναι ἔδει, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκαλλωπίζετο. καὶ οὐδ' ἐκείνην μέντοι ἐπὶ πολὺ κατέσχευεν, ἀλλὰ ἑτέραν, εἴθ' ἑτέραν καὶ μᾶλα ἄλλην ἔγνημε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν Σεουήραν ἐπανῆλθεν. 10. ἐγεγόνει δὲ καὶ τέρατα ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ἄλλα τε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τῆς Ἰσιδος, ὃ ὑπὲρ τὸ ἀέτωμα τοῦ ναοῦ αὐτῆς ἐπὶ κυνὸς ὀχεῖται: τὸ [2] γὰρ πρόσωπον ἐς τὸ εἶσω μετέστρεψεν. ὁ δὲ Σαρδανάπαλλος καὶ ἀγῶνας ἐποίει καὶ θεὰς συχνάς, ἐν αἷς Αὐρήλιος Ἑλιξ ὁ ἀθλητὴς εὐδοκίμησεν, ὃς τοσοῦτον τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς ὑπερῆρεν ὥστε πάλην τε ἅμα καὶ παγκράτιον ἐν τῇ [p. 460] Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἀγωνίσασθαι ἐθελῆσαι, κἂν τοῖς Καπιτωλίοις [3] καὶ ἅμφω νικῆσαι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἥλειοι φθονήσαντες αὐτῷ, μὴ 'τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ τοῦτ' ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους ὄγδοος γένηται, οὐδὲ ἐκάλεσαν ἐς τὸ στάδιον παλαιστήν οὐδένα, καίπερ ἐν τῷ λευκώματι καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἄθλημα προγράψαντες: ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐνίκησεν ἑκάτερον, ὃ μηδεὶς ἄλλος ἐπεποιήκει. 11. ἵνα δὲ παρῶ τάς τε βαρβαρικὰς ὠδὰς ἃς ὁ Σαρδανάπαλλος τῷ Ἑλεγαβάλῳ ἤδε τῇ μητρὶ ἅμα καὶ τῇ τήθῃ, τάς τε ἀπορρήτους θυσίας ἃς αὐτῷ ἔθυε, παῖδας σφαγιαζόμενος καὶ μαγγανεύμασι χρώμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τὸν ναὸν αὐτοῦ λέοντα καὶ πίθηκον καὶ ὄφιν τινὰ ζῶντα ἐγκατακλείσας, αἰδοῖα τε ἀνθρώπου ἐμβαλὼν, καὶ ἄλλ' ἄττα ἀνοσιουργῶν, περιάπτοις τέ τισι 12. μυρίοις ἀεὶ ποτε χρώμενος, — ἵνα ταῦτα παραδράμω, καὶ γυναῖκα, τὸ γελοιότατον, Ἑλεγαβάλῳ ἐμνήστευσε καθάπερ καὶ γάμου παίδων τε δεομένῳ. καὶ ἔδει γὰρ μήτε πενιχρὰν μήτε δυσγενῆ τινὰ εἶναι αὐτὴν, τὴν Οὐρανίαν τὴν τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπελέξατο, καὶ ἐκεῖθὲν τε αὐτὴν μετεπέμψατο καὶ ἐς τὸ παλάτιον καθίδρυσεν, ἔδνα τε αὐτῇ παρὰ πάντων τῶν ὑπηκόων, ὥσπερ [2.1] καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ γυναικῶν, ἡθροισε. τὰ μὲν δὴ οὖν ἔδνα, ὅσα ἐδόθη ζῶντος αὐτοῦ, μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσεπράχθη: τὴν δὲ δὴ προῖκα οὐκ ἔφη κομίσασθαι, πλὴν δύο λεόντων χρυσῶν, οἳ καὶ συνεχωνεῦθησαν." Xiph. 348, 21-349, R. St. " 13. Ἄλλ' οὗτος ὁ Σαρδανάπαλλος, ὁ καὶ τοὺς [p. 462] θεοὺς γάμου νόμῳ συνοικίζειν ἀξιῶν, ἀσελγέστατα αὐτὸς διεβίω. ἔγνημε μὲν γὰρ πολλὰς γυναῖκας, καὶ ἔτι πλείοσιν ἄνευ τινὸς νομίμου προσήσεως συνειργνυτο, οὐ μέντοι ὥς καὶ αὐτός τι αὐτῶν δεόμενος, ἀλλὰ ἵνα τῇ συγκοιμήσει τῇ μετὰ τῶν ἑραστῶν τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν μιμῆται καὶ κοινωνοῦς τῆς ὕβρεως, φύρδην ἀναφερόμενος [2] αὐταῖς, λαμβάνῃ. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ

ἄτοπα, ἃ μήτε λέγων μήτε ἀκούων ἂν τις καρτερήσειεν, καὶ ἔδρασε τῷ σώματι καὶ ἔπαθε: τὰ δὲ δὴ περιφανέστατα, καὶ ἃ μὴδ' ἂν ἀποκρῦψαίτο τις, τάδε ἐστίν. ἐς καπηλεῖα ἐσήει νύκτωρ περιθεταῖς κόμαις χρώμενος, καὶ τὰ τῶν καπηλίδων εἰργάζετο. ἐς τὰ πορνεῖα τὰ περιβόητα ἐσεφοίτα, ^[3] καὶ τὰς ἐταῖρας ἐξελαύνων ἐπορνεύετο. καὶ τέλος ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ οἰκημὰ τι ἀποδειξας ἐνταῦθα ἡσέλγαινε, γυμνός τ' αἰεὶ ἐπὶ τῆς θύρας αὐτοῦ ἐστὼς ὥσπερ αἱ πόρναι, καὶ τὸ σινδόνιον χρυσοῖς κρικοῖς ἐξηρητημένον διασειών, τοὺς τε παριόντας ἀβρᾶ τε καὶ κεκλασμένη τῇ φωνῇ προσεταιριζόμενος. ἦσαν γὰρ οἷς ἐξεπίτηδες τοῦτο ποιεῖν ^[4] προσετέτακτο. ὥσπερ γὰρ καὶ ἐς τᾶλλα, καὶ ἐς ἐκεῖνο διερευνητὰς συχνοὺς εἶχε, δι' ὧν ἐπολυπραγμόνει τοὺς μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἀρέσαι τῇ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ δυναμένους. χρήματά τε παρ' αὐτῶν συνέλεγε, καὶ ἐγαυροῦτο ταῖς ἐμπολαῖς: πρὸς τε τοὺς συνασχημονοῦντάς οἱ διεφέρετο, πλείους τε ἐραστὰς αὐτῶν ἔχειν καὶ πλεῖον ἀργυρίζεσθαι 14. λέγων. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν πρὸς πάντας ὁμοίως τοὺς ^[p. 464] χρωμένους αὐτῷ ἔδρα, ἥδη δὲ καὶ ἐξαίρετόν τινα ἄνδρα ἔσχεν, ὃν Καίσαρα διὰ τοῦτ' ἀποδειξαι ἠθέλησεν. ^[2] ἤλαυνε μὲν γὰρ ἄρμα τῇ πρασίῳ στολῇ χρώμενος, ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ οἴκοι, εἶγε οἶκον ἔνι φάναι τοῦτ' εἶναι ἔνθα ἡγωνοθέτουν οἱ τε ἄλλοι οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν πρῶτοι, καὶ ἱππῆς καὶ Καισάρειοι, καὶ οἱ ἑπαρχοὶ αὐτοῖ ἦ τε τῆθη καὶ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ Λέων ὁ πολίρχος, καὶ ἐθεῶντο αὐτὸν καὶ ἄρματηλατοῦντα καὶ χρυσοῦς ὥσπερ τινὰ τῶν τυχόντων αἰτοῦντα, τοὺς τε ἀγνοοθέντας καὶ τοὺς στασιώτας προσκυνοῦντα.” Xiph. 349, 31-350, R. St., Exc. Val. 411 (p. 762). “^[3] ὅτι ἐν τῷ δικάζειν τινὰ ἀνὴρ πως εἶναι ἐδόκει, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις τῷ ἔργῳ καὶ τῷ σχήματι τῆς φωνῆς ὠραίετο. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ὠρχεῖτο, οὐτι γὰρ ἐν ὀρχήστρᾳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμβαδίζων τρόπον τινὰ καὶ θυὼν ἀσπαζόμενος τε ^[4] καὶ δημηγορῶν. καὶ τέλος, ἴν' ἥδη ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς λόγον ἐπανέλθω, καὶ ἐγήματο, γυνή τε καὶ δέσποινα βασιλῆς τε ὠνομάζετο, καὶ ἡριούργει, κεκρύφαλόν τε ἔστιν ὅτε ἐφόρει, καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐνηλείφετο, ψιμυθίῳ τε καὶ ἐγχούσῃ ἐχρίετο. ἅπαξ μὲν γὰρ ποτε ἀπεκείρατο τὸ γένειον, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐορτήν ἤγαγε: μετὰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἐψιλίζετο, ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου γυναικίζειν. καὶ πολλάκις καὶ κατακείμενος τοὺς βουλευτὰς 15. ἡσπάζετο. ὁ δὲ δὴ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς Ἰεροκλῆς ἦν, Καρικὸν ἀνδράποδον, Γορδίου ποτὲ παιδικὰ γενόμενον, ^[p. 466] παρ' οὗ καὶ ἄρματηλατεῖν ἔμαθεν. κάκ τούτου καὶ παραδοξότατα αὐτῷ ἠρέσθη. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἵπποδρομίᾳ τινὶ ἐκπεσὼν τοῦ ἄρματος κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν τοῦ Σαρδαναπάλλου ἔδραν τὸ τε κράνος ἐν τῇ πτώσει ἀπέρριψε, καὶ ἐκφανεῖς ^[2] αὐτῷ ‘λειογένειος δ' ἔτι ἦν καὶ κόμη ξανθῇ ἐκεκόσμητό ἀνηρπάσθη τε εὐθύς ἐς τὸ παλάτιον, κὰν τοῖς νυκτερινοῖς ἔργοις ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐλὼν αὐτὸν ὑπερῆυξήθη, ὥστε καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἰσχυῖσαι, καὶ βραχὺ τι νομισθῆναι τὸ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ ἔτι δούλην οὖσαν ἔς τε τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν ἀχθῆναι κὰν ταῖς τῶν ὑπατευκότων ^[3] γυναιξὶ συναριθμηθῆναι. πολλάκις μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς ἐτιμήθησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡδυνήθησαν οἱ μὲν ὅτι συνεπανέστησαν, οἱ δὲ ὅτι ἐμοίχευον αὐτόν: καὶ γὰρ μοιχεύεσθαι δοκεῖν, ἵνα κὰν τούτῳ τὰς ἀσελγεστάτας γυναῖκας μιμῆται, ἠθέλε, καὶ πολλάκις ἐκὼν καὶ ἐπ'

αὐτοφώρῳ ἡλίσκετο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐλοιδορεῖτο ἀσελγῶς πρὸς τοῦ ἄνδρος, καὶ ὥστε καὶ ὑπὼπια σχεῖν πληγὰς ^[4] ἐλάμβανεν. ἐκείνον δ' οὖν οὕτως οὐ κούφη τινὶ φορᾷ ἀλλὰ συντόνῳ καὶ δευσοποιῷ ἔρωτι ἠγάπα, ὥστε μὴ ὅτι ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ τινὶ ἀγανακτῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦναντίον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις μᾶλλον αὐτὸν φιλήσαι, καὶ Καίσαρα ὄντως ἀποφῆναι ἐθέλῃσαι, καὶ τῇ τε τήθῃ διὰ τοῦτο ἐμποδῶν γενομένη ἀπειλήσαι, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις οὐχ ἥκιστα δι' 16. αὐτὸν προσκροῦσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔμελλε που καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἀπολεῖσθαι.” Xiph. 350, 26-351, R. St., Exc. Val. 412 (p. 765 s#3.) “ ^[p. 468] Αὐρήλιος δὲ δὴ Ζωτικός, ἀνὴρ Συμυρναῖος, ὃν καὶ Μάγειρον ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς τέχνης ἀπεκάλουν, καὶ ἐφιλήθη πάνυ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐμισήθη, ^[2] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐσώθη. οὗτος γὰρ δὴ καλὸν μὲν καὶ τὸ πᾶν σῶμα ὥστε καὶ ἐν ἀθλήσει ἔχων, πολὺ δὲ δὴ πάντας τῷ τῶν αἰδοίων μεγέθει ὑπεραίρων, ἐμηνύθη τε αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῶν ταῦτα ἐξεταζόντων, καὶ ἐξαίφνης ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων ἀναρπασθεὶς ἀνήχθη τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπὸ πομπῆς ἀπλέτου καὶ ὄσσην οὔτε Αὐγαρος ἐπὶ τοῦ Σεουήρου οὔτε Τιριδάτης ἐπὶ τοῦ Νέρωνος ^[3] ἔσχε, πρόκοιτός τε καὶ πρὶν ὀφθῆναι οἱ ἀποδειχθεὶς, καὶ τῷ τοῦ Ἀουίτου τοῦ πάππου αὐτοῦ ὀνόματι τιμηθεὶς, καὶ στεφανώμασιν ὥσπερ ἐν πανηγύρει ἡσκημένος, ἐς τὸ παλάτιον λυchnοκαΐα πολλῇ λαμπόμενος ἐσθλῆθε. καὶ ὃς ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ^[4] ἀνέθορε τε ἐρρυθμισμένως, καὶ προσειπόντα, οἷα εἰκὸς ἦν, ‘κύριε αὐτοκράτορ χαῖρε,’ θαυμαστώως τὸν τε αὐχένα γυναικίσας καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπεγκλάσας ἡμείψατο, καὶ ἔφη οὐδὲν διστάσας ^[5] ‘μή με λέγε κύριον: ἐγὼ γὰρ κυρία εἰμί.’ καὶ ὁ μὲν συλλουσάμενός τε αὐτῷ παραχρῆμα, καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐκ τῆς γυμνώσεως, ἅτε καὶ ἰσόρροπον τῇ φήμῃ εὐρύων αὐτὸν ὄντα, πασχητιάσας ἔν τε τοῖς στέρνοις αὐτοῦ κατεκλίθη, κἂν τοῖς κόλποις ^[6] ὥσπερ τις ἐρωμένη δεῖπνον εἴλετο: ὁ δὲ Ἱεροκλῆς φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῦ δουλώσεται, καὶ τι δι’ αὐτοῦ δεινόν, οἷα ἐν ἀντερασταῖς εἴωθε γίγνεσθαι, πάθη, φαρμάκῳ τινὶ ^[p. 470] αὐτὸν διὰ τῶν οἰνοχόων, προσφιλῶν που ἑαυτῷ ὄντων, ἐξεθήλυνε. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνος ἀστυσίᾳ παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν νύκτα συσχεθεὶς ἀφηρέθη τε πάντων ὧν ἐτετυχήκει, καὶ ἐξηλάθη ἐκ τε τοῦ παλατίου καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐκ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἰταλίας: ὁ καὶ ἔσωσεν αὐτόν.” Xiph. 351, 22-352, R. St., Exc. Val. 413 (p. 766). “ ^[7] ἐς τοσαύτην δὲ συνηλάθη ἀσέλγειαν ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἱατροὺς ἀξιοῦν αἰδῶ γυναικειαν δι’ ἀνατομῆς αὐτῷ μηχανήσασθαι, μεγάλους ὑπὲρ τούτου μισθοὺς αὐτοῖς προϊσχύμενος.” Zon. 12, 14, p. 118, 30-119, D. “ 17. ἔμελλε δὲ που καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Σαρδανάπαλλος ἀξιώτατον τῆς μιαρίας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μισθὸν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον κομιεῖσθαι. ἅτε γὰρ ταῦτα ποιῶν καὶ ταῦτα πάσχων ἐμισήθη ὑπὸ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, οἷς μάλιστα προσέκειτο, καὶ τελευταῖον καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐσφάγη.” Xiph. 352, 14-18 R. St. “ Ἄβιτος, ὡς φησι Δίων, τὸν ἱατρὸν ἠγνιβόλει διφυῇ αὐτὸν διὰ τομῆς ἐμπροσθίου τῇ τέχνῃ ποιεῖσθαι.” Leo p. 287, 18-19 Cram., Cedr. p. 449, 22-450, 1. B., cod. Paris. 1712 f. 80v. “ ὅτι ὁ Ψευδαντωνῖνος ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν κατεφρονήθη καὶ ἀνῆρέθη: ὅταν γὰρ ἐθισθῶσι τινες καὶ ταῦτα ὀπλισμένοι καταφρονεῖν τῶν κρατούντων, οὐδένα ὅρον τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐπὶ τὸ πράττειν ἂ βούλονται

ποιοῦνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ δόντος ταύτην ὀπλίζονται.” Petr. Patr. Exc. Vat. 152 (p. 232 Mai.=p. 217, 8-13 Dind.). “ [p. 472] [2] ἔσχε δὲ οὕτως. τὸν Βασσιανὸν τὸν ἀνεψιὸν αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσαγαγών, καὶ τὴν Μαῖσαν καὶ τὴν Σοαιμίδα ἐκατέρωθεν παραστησάμενος, παῖδα ἔθετο, ἑαυτὸν δὲ ὡς καὶ πατέρα ἐξαίφνης τηλικούτου παιδίου, καίπερ οὐ πολὺ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ αὐτοῦ προέχοντα, ἐμακάρισε, καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλου τέκνου δεῖσθαι ἔφησεν, ἴν' ἡ οἰκία αὐτοῦ [3] ἄνευ ἀθυμιῶν διαγένηται: καὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἑλεγάβαλον τοῦτό τε οἱ ποιῆσαι καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸν προσονομάσαι κεκελευκέναι. καὶ ἔγωγε πείθομαι ἐκ θείας τινὸς παρασκευῆς ὡς ἀληθῶς αὐτὰ γεγονέναι, τεκμαιρόμενος οὐχ οἷς ἐκεῖνος εἶπεν, ἀλλ' ἔκ τε τοῦ λεχθέντος αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τινος, ὅτι ἄρα τις Ἀλέξανδρος ἐξ Ἑμέσης ἐλθὼν αὐτὸν διαδέξεται, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ἔν τε τῇ Μουσίᾳ τῇ ἄνω 18. καὶ τῇ Θράκῃ. ὀλίγον γὰρ τούτων πρότερον δαίμων τις Ἀλέξανδρός τε ὁ Μακεδὼν ἐκεῖνος εἶναι λέγων καὶ τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ τὴν τε σκευὴν ἅπασαν φέρων, ὠρμήθη τε ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰστρον χωρίων, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐκείνῃ ἐκφανεῖς, καὶ διὰ τε τῆς Μουσίας καὶ τῆς Θράκης διεξῆλθε βακχεύων μετ' ἀνδρῶν τετρακοσίων, θύρσους τε καὶ νεβρίδας ἐνεσκευασμένων, κακὸν οὐδὲν [2] δρῶντων. ὠμολόγητο δὲ παρὰ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ τότε γενομένων ὅτι καὶ καταγωγαὶ καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια αὐτῷ πάντα δημοσίᾳ παρεσκευάσθη: καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησεν οὐτ' ἀντειπεῖν οἱ οὐτ' ἀντᾶραι, οὐκ ἄρχων, οὐ στρατιώτης, οὐκ ἐπίτροπος, οὐχ οἱ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγούμενοι, ἀλλ' [p. 474] ὥσπερ ἐν πομπῇ τινὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐκ προρρήσεως [3] ἐκομίσθη μέχρι τοῦ Βυζαντίου. ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ ἐξαναχθεὶς προσέσχε μὲν τῇ Χαλκηδονίᾳ γῇ, ἐκεῖ δὲ δὴ νυκτὸς ἱερά τινα ποιήσας καὶ ἵππον ξύλινον καταχώσας ἀφανῆς ἐγένετο. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἔπ, ὡς εἶπον, ὦν, πρὶν καὶ ὅτιοῦν περὶ τὸν Βασσιανὸν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ γενέσθαι, ἔμαθον.” Xiph. 352, 18-353, R. St. “ [4] ὅτι ποτὲ ὁ αὐτὸς τοῦτο εἶπεν: ‘οὐδὲν δέομαι ὀνομάτων ἐκ πολέμου καὶ αἵματος: ἀρκεῖ γάρ μοι καὶ εὐσεβῆ καὶ εὐτυχῇ παρ' ὑμῶν καλεῖσθαι.’” Petr. Patr. Exc. Vat. 153 (p. 232 Mai.=p. 217, 14-16 Dind.). “ ὅτι Ψευδαντωνῖνος ἐπαινούμενός ποτε παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς εἶπεν ὅτι ‘ὕμεῖς μὲν ἀγαπᾶτέ με καὶ νῆ Δία καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ τὰ ἔξω στρατόπεδα. τοῖς δὲ δορυφόροις οἷς τοσαῦτα δίδωμι οὐκ ἀρέσκω.’” Petr. Patr. Exc. Vat. 154 (p. 232 s#3. Mai.=p. 217, 17-20 Dind.). “ 19. [1.1] ἕως μὲν οὖν ὁ Σαρδανάπαλλος τὸν ἀνεψιὸν ἐφίλει, ἐσώζετο: ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντα ὑπώπτευε καὶ ἐμάνθανε πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ῥέποντας ὀλοσχερῶς ταῖς εὐνοίαις, ἐτόλμησε μεταγνῶναι καὶ πάντα ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει αὐτοῦ ἔπραττεν.” Xiph. 353, 11-15 R. St. “ [1a] ὅτι τινῶν συνηγορούντων τῷ Ψευδαντωνίνῳ καὶ εἰπόντων ὡς εὐτυχῆς εἴη τῷ υἱῷ συνυπατεύων, ἔφη: ‘εὐτυχέστερος ἔσομαι κατὰ τὸν ἐξῆς ἐνιαυτὸν μετὰ γνησίου υἱοῦ μέλλων ὑπατεῦειν.’” Petr. Patr. Exc. Vat. 155 (p. 233 Mai.=p. 127, 21-24 Dind.). “ [1.2] ὡς δὲ ποτε καὶ ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπεχείρησεν, [p. 476] οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν ἤνυσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποθανεῖν [2] ἐκινδύνευσεν: ὃ τε γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος ὑπὸ τε τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τῆς τήθης ὑπὸ τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἰσχυρῶς ἐφυλάσσετο, καὶ οἱ δορυφόροι αἰσθόμενοι τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν τοῦ Σαρδανάπαλλου δεινῶς ἐθορύβησαν, οὐ πρὶν τε ἐπαύσαντο στασιάζοντες ἢ τὸν Σαρδανάπαλλον τὸ στρατόπεδον [3]

σὺν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καταλαβόντα, πολλὰ τε ἰκετεύσαντα καὶ τοὺς ἐξαιτηθέντας παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν συνασελγαινόντων αὐτῷ ἐκδοῦναι ἀναγκασθέντα, ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ Ἱεροκλέους οἰκτρὰ λαλήσαντα καὶ δάκρυσι κλαύσαντα, τὴν τε σφαγὴν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ προδείξαντα, καὶ ἐπειπόντα ‘Ἔνα μοι τοῦτον χαρίσασθε, ὃ τι βούλεσθε περὶ αὐτοῦ ὑποτοπήσαντες, ἢ ἐμὲ ἀποκτείνατε,’ μόλις αὐτοὺς^[4] ἐκμειλίξασθαι. τότε μὲν οὖν μόλις ἐσώθη: καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ τήθη αὐτοῦ ἐμίσει τε αὐτὸν ἐφ' οἷς ἔπραττεν, ὡς οὐδὲ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου υἱὸν ὄντα, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὡς καὶ ὄντως ἐξ 20. αὐτοῦ γεγονότα ἀπέκλινε: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιβεβουλευκῶς πάλιν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, καὶ θορυβησάντων ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν δορυφόρων σὺν αὐτῷ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐσελθὼν, ὡς ἦσθετο φυλαττόμενον ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ ἀναιρέσει, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αἱ μητέρες αὐτῶν ἐκφανέστερον ἢ πρὶν ἀλλήλαις μαχόμεναι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἠρέθιζον, φεύγειν^[2] πῶς ἐπεχείρησε. καὶ ἔμελλεν ἐς τύλλον ἐμβληθεὶς ἐκδρᾶναι ποι, φωραθεὶς δὲ ἀπεσφάγη, ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτη γεγωνῶς. καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ περιπλακεῖσα γὰρ ἀπρίξ εἶχετό συναπώλετο. ^[p. 478] καὶ αἱ τε κεφαλαὶ αὐτῶν ἀπεκόπησαν, καὶ τὰ σώματα γυμνωθέντα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως ἐσύρη, ἔπειτα τὸ μὲν τῆς γυναικὸς ἄλλως πῶς ἐρρίφη, τὸ δὲ ἐκείνου ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐνεβλήθη.” Xiph. 353, 15-354, R. St. “ 21. καὶ αὐτῷ ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ Ἱεροκλῆς οἱ τε ἔπαρχοι συναπώλοντο καὶ Αὐρήλιος Εὐβουλος, ὃς Ἑμεσηνὸς μὲν τὸ γένος ἦν, καὶ ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀσελγείας καὶ μιαρίας ἐχώρησεν ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου πρότερον ἐξαιτηθῆναι. τοὺς γὰρ δὴ καθόλου λόγους ἐπιτετραμμένος οὐδὲν ὃ τι οὐκ ἐδήμευσε. τότε δ' οὖν ὑπὸ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν διεσπάρσθη, καὶ Φούλουιος σὺν^[2] αὐτῷ ὁ πολιάρχος. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Κωμάζων, ὡς καὶ τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ, διεδέξατο: ὥσπερ γὰρ προσωπεῖον τι ἐς τὰ θέατρα ἐν τῷ διακένῳ τῆς τῶν κωμωδῶν ὑποκρίσεως ἐσεφέρετο, οὕτω καὶ ἐκεῖνος τῇ τῶν πολιαρχησάντων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ κενῇ χώρᾳ προσετάρτετο. ὃ τε Ἑλεγάβαλος αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης παντάπασιν ἐξέπεσε. ^[3] τὰ μὲν τοῦ Τιβερίνου οὕτως ἔσχε, καὶ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ τῶν συγκατασκευασάντων αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπανάστασιν καὶ μέγα ἐπ' αὐτῷ δυνηθέντων, πλὴν ἑνὸς που, ἐσώθη.” Xiph. 354, 8-19 R. St., Exc. Val. 414 (p. 769). “ “ 1. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ μετ' ἐκείνον εὐθύς αὐταρχήσας Δομιτίῳ τινὶ Οὐλπιανῷ τὴν τε τῶν δορυφόρων προστασίαν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπέτρεψε πράγματα. 2. ταῦτα μὲν ἀκριβῶς, ὡς ἕκαστα ἠδυνήθη, ^[p. 480] συνέγραψα: τὰ δὲ δὴ λοιπὰ ἀκριβῶς ἐπεξελεθῆν οὐχ οἷός τε ἐγενόμην διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διατρίψαι. ἔκ τε γὰρ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς τὴν Βιθυνίαν ἐλθὼν ἠρρώστησα, κάκειθεν πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ ἡγεμονίαν ἠπειχθην, 3. ἐπανελθὼν τε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν εὐθέως ὡς εἰπεῖν ἔς τε τὴν Δελματίαν κάντεϋθεν ἐς τὴν Παννονίαν τὴν ἄνω ἄρξων ἐπέμφθη, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ ἐς τὴν Καμπανίαν ἀφικόμενος ^[2] παραχρῆμα οἴκαδε ἐξωρμήθη. διὰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα οὐκ ἠδυνήθη ὁμοίως τοῖς πρόσθεν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ συνθεῖναι, κεφαλαιώσας μέντοι ταῦτα, ὅσα γε καὶ μέχρι τῆς δευτέρας μου ὑπατείας ἐπράχθη, διηγῆσομαι. ^[2] ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς πολλὰ μὲν τῶν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σαρδαναπάλλου πραχθέντων ἐπηνώρθωσε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Φλαουιανὸν τὸν τε Χρηστον ἀποκτείνας, ἵνα

αὐτοὺς διαδέξεται, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ὑπὸ τῶν δορυφόρων ἐπιθεμένων οἱ νυκτὸς κατεσφάγη, καίτοι καὶ πρὸς τὸ παλάτιον ἀναδραμῶν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τὴν τε μητέρα αὐτοῦ καταφυγών. [3] ζῶντος δ' οὗν ἔτι αὐτοῦ στάσις μεγάλη τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐκ βραχείας τινὸς αἰτίας ἐγένετο, ὥστε καὶ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας μάχεσθαι τε ἀλλήλοις καὶ πολλοὺς ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀπολέσθαι. ἡττώμενοι δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται πρὸς ἔμπρησιν τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων ἐτράποντο: κὰκ τοῦτου δείσας ὁ δῆμος μὴ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ πόλις 4. φθαρῇ, καὶ ἄκων σφίσι συνηλλάγη. ταῦτα τε οὗν ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ Ἐπάγαθος, ὡς καὶ αἴτιος τῷ [p. 482] Οὐλπιανῷ τοῦ ὀλέθρου τὸ πλεον γενόμενος, ἔς τε Αἴγυπτον ὡς ἄρξων αὐτῆς ἐπέμφθη, ἵνα μὴ τις ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ κολασθέντος αὐτοῦ ταραχὴ γένηται, κάκειθεν ἐς Κρήτην ἀπαχθεῖς ἐδίκαιώθη. 3. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ πολλῶν ἐπαναστάσεις γενόμεναι, καὶ τινες καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ἐκφοβήσασαι, κατεπαύθησαν. τὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ καὶ φοβερώτερα, καὶ ἀληθέστερον δέος σύμπασιν, οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, παρέσχεν. [2] Ἀρταξέρξης γάρ τις Πέρσης τοὺς τε Πάρθους τρισὶ μάχαις νικήσας, καὶ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν Ἀρτάβανον ἀποκτείνας, ἐπὶ τὰ Ἄτρα ἐπεστράτευσεν, ἐπιβασίαν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ποιούμενος. καὶ τὸ μὲν τεῖχος διέρρηξεν, συχνοὺς δὲ δὴ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐξ ἐνέδρας ἀποβαλὼν ἐπὶ [3] τὴν Μηδίαν μετέστη, καὶ ἐκείνης τε οὐκ ὀλίγα καὶ τῆς Παρθίας, τὰ μὲν βίᾳ τὰ δὲ καὶ φόβῳ, παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἤλασε, κάνταῦθα πρὸς τε τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ πρὸς Μήδων τινῶν τῶν τε τοῦ Ἀρταβάνου παιδῶν πταίσας, ὡς μὲν τινες λέγουσιν, ἔφυγεν, ὡς δ' ἕτεροι, ἀνεχώρησε 4. πρὸς παρασκευὴν δυνάμεως μεζονος. οὗτος οὗν φοβερὸς ἡμῖν ἐγένετο, στρατεύματι τε πολλῷ οὐ μόνον τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ Συρίᾳ ἐφεδρεύσας, καὶ ἀπειλῶν ἀνακτῆσθαι πάντα, ὡς καὶ προσήκοντά οἱ ἐκ προγόνων, ὅσα ποτὲ οἱ πάλαι Πέρσαι μέχρι τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς θαλάσσης ἔσχον, οὐχ ὅτι αὐτὸς λόγου τινὸς ἄξιος [p. 484] δοκεῖ, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὕτω τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ἡμῖν διάκειται ὥστε τοὺς μὲν καὶ προστίθεσθαι αὐτῷ, [2] τοὺς δὲ οὐκ ἐθέλιν ἀμύνεσθαι. τοσαύτη γὰρ ἅμα τρυφῇ καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ ἀνεπιπληξία τε χρῶνται ὥστε τολμῆσαι τοὺς ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ τὸν ἄρχοντα σφῶν Φλάουιον Ἡρακλέωνα ἀποκτεῖναι, καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους πρὸς τῷ Οὐλπιανῷ καὶ ἐμὲ αἰτιάσασθαι ὅτι τῶν ἐν τῇ Παννονίᾳ στρατιωτῶν ἐγκρατῶς ἦρξα, καὶ ἐξατιῆσαι, φοβηθέντας μὴ καὶ ἐκείνους τις ὁμοίως τοῖς Παννονικοῖς ἄρχεσθαι καταναγκάσῃ. 5. οὐ μέντοι προετίμησέ τι αὐτῶν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούναντίον ἄλλως τε ἐσέμνυνέ με καὶ δευτέρον ὑπατεύσοντα σὺν αὐτῷ ἀπέδειξε, τὸ τε ἀνάλωμα τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτὸς ἀναλώσειν ὑπεδέξατο. ἀχθεσθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐφοβήθη μὴ καὶ ἀποκτείνωσι με ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς σχήματι ἰδόντες, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν ἔξω τῆς Ῥώμης ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ πού διατρίψαι τὸν τῆς [2] ὑπατείας χρόνον. καὶ οὕτω μετὰ ταῦτα ἔς τε τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ ἐς τὴν Καμπανίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦλθον, καὶ συνδιατρίψας τινὰς ἡμέρας αὐτῷ, τοῖς τε στρατιώταις μετὰ πάσης ἀδείας ὀφθεις, ἀπῆρα οἴκαδε παρέμενος ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ποδῶν ἀρρωστίᾳ, ὥστε πάντα τὸν λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου [3] χρόνον ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ζῆσαι, ὥσπερ πού καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ ἤδη μοι ὄντι σαφέστατα [p. 486] ἐδήλωσεν. ὅναρ γάρ

ποτε ἔδοξα προστάσσεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προσγράψασθαι τῷ ἄκροτελευτίῳ τὰ ἔπη τάδε, "Ἐκτορα δ' ἐκ βελέων ὑπαγε Ζεὺς ἐκ τε κονίης ἔκ τ' ἀνδροκτασίης ἐκ θ' αἵματος ἐκ τε κυδοιμοῦ." Xiph. 356, 6-357, R. St., Exc. Val. 415 (p. 769). "[p. 488] Τοῦ δὲ Ψευδαντωνίνου ἀναιρεθέντος Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μαμαίας, ὁ ἐκείνου ἀνεψιὸς 'οὕτω γὰρ οἱ παλαιοὶ τοὺς ἐξαδελφούς ὠνόμαζον', τὴν αὐταρχίαν ἀπεκληρώσατο. ὃς αὐτίκα τὴν οἰκίαν μητέρα Μαμαίαν Αὐγουστον ἀνεῖπεν, ἣ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων οἰκονομίαν μετακεχειρίστο, καὶ περὶ τὸν υἱὸν σοφοὺς ἄνδρας συνήγαγεν, ἵνα δι' ἐκείνων αὐτῷ τὰ ἥθη ῥυθμιζοίτο, κὰκ τῆς γερουσίας τοὺς ἀμείνονας συμβούλους προσεῖλετο, ἅπαν πρακτέον κοινουμένη αὐτοῖς." Zon. 12, 15, p. 119, 31-120, D. ""

" 1. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ μετ' ἐκείνον εὐθύς αὐταρχήσας Δομιτίῳ τινὶ Οὐλπιανῷ τὴν τε τῶν δορυφόρων προστασίαν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπέτρεψε πράγματα. 2. ταῦτα μὲν ἀκριβῶσας, ὡς ἕκαστα ἠδυνήθην, [p. 480] συνέγραψα: τὰ δὲ δὴ λοιπὰ ἀκριβῶς ἐπεξελεῖν οὐχ οἷός τε ἐγενόμην διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διατρίψαι. ἔκ τε γὰρ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς τὴν Βιθυνίαν ἐλθὼν ἠρρώστησα, κάκεῖθεν πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ ἡγεμονίαν ἤπειχθην, 3. ἐπανελθὼν τε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν εὐθέως ὡς εἶπεῖν ἔς τε τὴν Δελματίαν κάντεῦθεν ἐς τὴν Παννονίαν τὴν ἄνω ἄρξων ἐπέμφθη, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ ἐς τὴν Καμπανίαν ἀφικόμενος [2] παραχρῆμα οἴκαδε ἐξωρμήθη. διὰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα οὐκ ἠδυνήθην ὁμοίως τοῖς πρόσθεν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ συνθεῖναι, κεφαλαιώσας μέντοι ταῦτα, ὅσα γε καὶ μέχρι τῆς δευτέρας μου ὑπατείας ἐπράχθη, διηγῆσομαι. [2] ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς πολλὰ μὲν τῶν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σαρδαναπάλλου πραχθέντων ἐπηνώρθωσε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Φλαουιανὸν τὸν τε Χρηστον ἀποκτείνας, ἵνα αὐτοὺς διαδέξηται, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ὑπὸ τῶν δορυφόρων ἐπιθεμένων οἱ νυκτὸς κατεσφάγη, καίτοι καὶ πρὸς τὸ παλάτιον ἀναδραμὼν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τὴν τε μητέρα αὐτοῦ καταφυγών. [3] ζῶντος δ' οὖν ἔτι αὐτοῦ στάσις μεγάλη τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐκ βραχείας τινὸς αἰτίας ἐγένετο, ὥστε καὶ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας μάχεσθαι τε ἀλλήλοις καὶ πολλοὺς ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀπολέσθαι. ἡττώμενοι δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται πρὸς ἔμπρησιν τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων ἐτράποντο: κὰκ τούτου δεῖσας ὁ δῆμος μὴ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ πόλις 4. φθαρῇ, καὶ ἄκων σφίσι συνηλλάγη. ταῦτά τε οὖν ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ Ἐπάγαθος, ὡς καὶ αἴτιος τῷ [p. 482] Οὐλπιανῷ τοῦ ὀλέθρου τὸ πλεον γενόμενος, ἔς τε Αἴγυπτον ὡς ἄρξων αὐτῆς ἐπέμφθη, ἵνα μὴ τις ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ κολασθέντος αὐτοῦ ταραχὴ γένηται, κάκεῖθεν ἐς Κρήτην ἀπαχθεὶς ἐδικαιώθη. 3. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ πολλῶν ἐπαναστάσεις γενόμεναι, καὶ τινες καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ἐκφοβήσασαι, κατεπαύθησαν. τὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ καὶ φοβερώτερα, καὶ ἀληθέστερον δέος σύμπασιν, οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, παρέσχε. [2] Ἀρταξέρξης γὰρ τις Πέρσης τοὺς τε Πάρθους τρισὶ μάχαις νικήσας, καὶ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν Ἀρτάβανον ἀποκτείνας, ἐπὶ τὰ Ἄτρα ἐπεστράτευσεν, ἐπιβασίαν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ποιούμενος. καὶ τὸ μὲν τεῖχος διέρρηξεν, συχνοὺς δὲ δὴ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐξ ἐνέδρας ἀποβαλὼν ἐπὶ [3] τὴν Μηδιαν μετέστη, καὶ ἐκείνης τε οὐκ ὀλίγα καὶ τῆς Παρθίας, τὰ μὲν βίᾳ τὰ δὲ καὶ φόβῳ, παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἤλασε, κάνταῦθα πρὸς τε τῶν

ἐπιχωρίων καὶ πρὸς Μήδων τινῶν τῶν τε τοῦ Ἀρταβάνου παίδων πταισας, ὡς μὲν τινες λέγουσιν, ἔφυγεν, ὡς δ' ἕτεροι, ἀνεχώρησε 4. πρὸς παρασκευὴν δυνάμεως μείζονος. οὗτος οὖν φοβερὸς ἡμῖν ἐγένετο, στρατεύματι τε πολλῷ οὐ μόνον τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ Συρίᾳ ἐφεδρεύσας, καὶ ἀπειλῶν ἀνακτήσεσθαι πάντα, ὡς καὶ προσήκοντά οἱ ἐκ προγόνων, ὅσα ποτὲ οἱ πάλαι Πέρσαι μέχρι τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς θαλάσσης ἔσχον, οὐχ ὅτι αὐτὸς λόγου τινὸς ἄξιος [p. 484] δοκεῖ, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὕτω τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ἡμῖν διάκειται ὥστε τοὺς μὲν καὶ προστίθεσθαι αὐτῷ, [2] τοὺς δὲ οὐκ ἐθέλειν ἀμύνεσθαι. τοσαύτη γὰρ ἅμα τρυφῇ καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ ἀνεπιπληξία τε χρῶνται ὥστε τολμῆσαι τοὺς ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ τὸν ἄρχοντα σφῶν Φλάουιον Ἡρακλέωνα ἀποκτείνειν, καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους πρὸς τῷ Οὐλπιανῷ καὶ ἐμὲ αἰτιάσασθαι ὅτι τῶν ἐν τῇ Παννονίᾳ στρατιωτῶν ἐγκρατῶς ἦρξα, καὶ ἐξαιτῆσαι, φοβηθέντας μὴ καὶ ἐκείνους τις ὁμοίως τοῖς Παννονικοῖς ἄρχεσθαι καταναγκάσῃ. 5. οὐ μέντοι προετίμησέ τι αὐτῶν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦναντίον ἄλλως τε ἐσέμνυνέ με καὶ δευτέρον ὑπατεύσοντα σὺν αὐτῷ ἀπέδειξε, τὸ τε ἀνάλωμα τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτὸς ἀναλώσειν ὑπεδέξατο. ἀχθεσθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦτοις ἐφοβήθη μὴ καὶ ἀποκτείνωσί με ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς σχήματι ἰδόντες, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν ἔξω τῆς Ῥώμης ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ που διατρίψαι τὸν τῆς [2] ὑπατείας χρόνον. καὶ οὕτω μετὰ ταῦτα ἔς τε τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ ἔς τὴν Καμπανίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦλθον, καὶ συνδιατρίψας τινὰς ἡμέρας αὐτῷ, τοῖς τε στρατιώταις μετὰ πάσης ἀδείας ὀφθεῖς, ἀπῆρα οἴκαδε παρέμενος ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ποδῶν ἄρρωστίᾳ, ὥστε πάντα τὸν λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου [3] χρόνον ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ζῆσαι, ὥσπερ που καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ ἤδη μοι ὄντι σαφέστατα [p. 486] ἐδήλωσεν. ὄναρ γὰρ ποτε ἔδοξα προστάσσεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προσγράψασθαι τῷ ἀκροτελευτίῳ τὰ ἔπη τάδε, "Ἐκτορα δ' ἐκ βελέων ὕπαγε Ζεὺς ἐκ τε κονίης ἐκ τ' ἀνδροκτασίης ἐκ θ' αἵματος ἐκ τε κυδοιμοῦ." Xiph. 356, 6-357, R. St., Exc. Val. 415 (p. 769). " [p. 488] Τοῦ δὲ Ψευδαντωνίνου ἀναιρεθέντος Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μαμαίαις, ὁ ἐκείνου ἀνεπιός 'οὕτω γὰρ οἱ παλαιοὶ τοὺς ἐξαδέλφους ὠνόμαζον', τὴν αὐταρχίαν ἀπεκκληρώσατο. ὃς αὐτίκα τὴν οἰκίαν μητέρα Μαμαίαν Αὐγουσταν ἀνεῖπεν, ἥ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων οἰκονομίαν μετακεχείριστο, καὶ περὶ τὸν υἱὸν σοφοὺς ἄνδρας συνήγαγεν, ἵνα δι' ἐκείνων αὐτῷ τὰ ἥθη ρυθμιζοίτο, κάκ τῆς γερουσίας τοὺς ἀμείνονας συμβούλους προσεῖλετο, ἅπαν πρακτέον κοινουμένη αὐτοῖς." Zon. 12, 15, p. 119, 31-120, D. ""

The Biography



The Curia Julia, or Senate House, Rome — Cassius Dio was an active senator throughout his life; he became a suffect consul in c. 205 AD. Dio was also Proconsul in Africa and Pannonia. Severus Alexander held Dio in the highest esteem, reappointing him to the position of consul, even though his caustic nature irritated the Praetorian Guards, who reportedly demanded his life.

INTRODUCTION TO CASSIUS DIO by Earnest Cary



Cassius Dio Cocceianus was a near relative, probably a grandson, of the famous orator, Dio Chrysostom, after whom he took the names Dio and Cocceianus, and like him was a native of Bithynia. His father was Cassius Apronianus, a Roman senator, who served as governor of Cilicia and of Dalmatia. It is now established that the correct order of Dio's names, if we follow the normal Roman usage, is that just given, his praenomen being unknown. The common Greek order, however, was Δίων ὁ Κάσσιος, and this order has become so thoroughly familiar to English readers that it bids fair to remain the popular usage.

The few details known regarding Dio's life are derived from casual statements occurring in his history. The date of his birth has been variously placed between 155 and 164 A.D., according to the time assumed for his admission to the senate. We learn that he was with his father during the latter's governorship of Cilicia, and that after his father's death he came to Rome, apparently about the year 180. In describing the behaviour of Commodus toward the senate and others at the beginning of his reign, he states that his account is henceforth the result of personal observation and not hearsay. It seems a reasonable, therefore, that he was already a member of the senate at this time, and therefore at least twenty-five years of age. Pertinax in 193 nominated him to the praetorship for the following year; but in the meantime both Pertinax and his successor Julianus were overthrown, and Dio thus assumed the office under Septimius Severus. The mild course of the new ruler at the outset of his reign, taken in connexion with his past record, was such as to win the enthusiastic admiration of Dio and to encourage in him the hope that a new era was now dawning.

It was at this point, apparently, that Dio's literary work began. He wrote and published a little book, as he tells us, containing an account of the dreams and portents which had foretold to Severus his future greatness. The details he had doubtless learned from the emperor himself, and he presumably had implicit faith in all these signs, to judge from his fondness for reporting omens and prodigies in general. Upon receiving a gracious letter from Severus in acknowledgement of a presentation copy, he seemed to be admonished by a dream the following night to write history. Accordingly he compiled an account of the events leading up to the accession of Severus. This work also met with a cordial reception, both on the part of the emperor and of the public, and Dio soon formed the resolve to cover the whole period of Roman history. It has been conjectured that his original intention was to have the work find its fitting climax in the splendour of the new era inaugurated by Severus; if such

was the case, his plan must have changed very promptly. He presently withdrew largely from public affairs for the remainder of Severus' reign, and spent the greater part of his time in retirement at his country-seat in Capua. During these years he gathered his material and wrote a considerable part of the history. In a certain vague passage he seems to imply that he had been consul (suffectus, naturally) under Severus; but this first consulship should probably be dated some years later (*circa* 222), shortly before his proconsulship in Africa. Indeed, it seems altogether probable that his retirement from public life was the direct outcome of the changed policy of Severus, which could no longer command his support.

Caracalla, the successor of Severus, took Dio along as a member of his retinue on his Eastern expedition in 216, and the following winter was spent at Nicomedia; but Dio did not accompany the emperor to the Parthian war. By Macrinus he was placed over the cities of Pergamum and Smyrna as curator ad corrigendum statum civitatum, and he was continued in this position by Elagabalus. Under Alexander Severus he became proconsul of Africa, and upon his return was sent out as governor successively of Dalmatia and Upper Pannonia, both imperial provinces. In 229 he became consul for the second time (consul ordinarius) with Alexander himself as colleague. But his disciplinary measures in Pannonia had made him unpopular with the praetorians, so that he found it advisable to remain away from Rome much of the time; and he soon obtained permission to retire to Nicaea, his native city, on the plea of an ailment of the foot. This is the last he tells us about himself, and we can only conjecture how many years of leisure he enjoyed in his native land; inasmuch, however, as he was presumably already past the age of seventy at the time of his retirement, it is probable that his death occurred soon afterwards.

The work for which Dio is known to the modern world is his Roman history (Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἱστορία or Ῥωμαϊκάς), originally in eighty books, covering the period from the landing of Aeneas down to the year of his own (second) consulship in 229 A.D. The last years, however, were treated very summarily, having been added, apparently, as an afterthought. He informs us that he spent ten years in gathering material for the period down to Severus' death, that he had read everything of importance on the subject, and that twelve years was the time occupied in composing the work. The period of these labours may be roughly estimated as the years 200-222. The lexicographer Suidas attributes five other works to Dio; but it is practically certain that only one, or possibly two, of these shorter works can have been written by him. The Life of Arrian, who was a fellow-Bithynian as well as a fellow historian, may actually have been the work of Dio. If he ever wrote an account of Hadrian's reign, it was doubtless incorporated in his large work, as was the case with his first two treatises; but it is strange that he should have made no mention of it.

The whole period of nearly a thousand years covered by his history falls into three main divisions according to his own statements. The first is the

period of the republic, when political action rested with the senate and the people; the facts were public property, and even if distorted from personal motives by some writers, could readily be ascertained from others or from the public records. The second period extends from the establishment of the monarchy to the death of Marcus Varus. Under the emperors action was no longer taken openly, and such versions as were given to the public were naturally received with suspicion. Dio must now content himself in the main with giving the published reports of events, although he proposes now and then to express his own opinion based on what he has heard and read. The third period is that of his own day; he now writes of events of which he had first-hand knowledge, and, as might be expected, introduces more of detail into this portion of his work. Incidentally he states that with the accession of Commodus his history makes a sheer descent from the golden to the iron age. There are traces of a division of the work into decads. Book XLI begins the Civil War, LI the monarchy (if we accept Dio's view, here stated, that the battle of Actium marked the beginning of the reign of Augustus), and LXXI, apparently, the reign of Marcus Aurelius; while it is very probable that Book XI began the First Punic War, XXI the Third Punic War, and perhaps XXXI the First Mithridatic War.

Dio followed the annalistic order of treatment, so popular among the Romans, according to which all the events of a given year, in whatever part of the world they occurred, were grouped together. The eponymous consuls of each year are regularly named at the appropriate points in the text, and in addition there is prefixed to each book, even for the imperial age, a table of the consuls for the period covered. When he comes to the empire, moreover, he is very careful to specify to a day the exact duration of each emperor's reign, and in certain other matters aims at equal exactness. Yet in spite of all his pains in this regard it would often be extremely difficult or impossible to extract a consistent chronology from his data. For it frequently happens that in his desire to trace the causes or results of a given series of events he is led to exceed the limits of a single year by a considerable margin; occasionally also this same motive is responsible for an inversion of the actual order of events.

Unfortunately the value of his history is greatly diminished for us as the result of his blind devotion to two theories governing historical writing in his discovery. On the one hand a sense of the dignity and true value of history demanded that mere details and personal anecdotes should give place to the larger aspects and significance of events. On the other hand the historian was never to forget that he was at the same time a rhetorician; if the bare facts were lacking in effectiveness, they could be adorned, modified, or variously combined in the interest of a more dramatic presentation. These two principles, as applied by Dio, have resulted all too frequently in a somewhat vague, impressionistic picture of events, in which precisely those data which the modern historian eagerly looks for are either largely wanting or else blurred and confused. Thus names, numbers, and exact dates are often

omitted; geographical details are scanty; and even the distinctive features of the various battles are passed over in great part in favour of rhetorical commonplaces, culled from Thucydides and other models, thus robbing the battles of all or much of their individuality. A good illustration of the transformation the facts could be made to undergo in the interest of these two theories is to be seen in his account of the conquest of Gaul. It is now generally recognized that there is nothing in this account which need imply an ultimate source other than Caesar's Commentaries; and yet, were it not for the familiar names, the reader might readily be excused for failing to recognize many of the events narrated, to such an extent has Dio shifted the emphasis on the facts and assigned new motives, while all the time striving to bring into bold relief the contrasts between the Gallic and the Roman character. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the speeches, which in Dio occupy a disproportionate amount of space (averaging one long speech or debate to the book), seem even farther removed from the realm of actual history than those of the ancient historians generally. The most famous of all these speeches, that of Maecenas to Augustus regarding the establishment of the monarchy, is in reality a political pamphlet setting forth Dio's own views of government, and parts of it are an anachronism in the mouth of Maecenas. Again, the speech which Dio makes Caesar deliver to his officers (not his troops) before the battle with Ariovistus has almost nothing in common with the address reported by Caesar himself.

The problem of Dio's sources for the periods before his own day has been investigated by various scholars with widely divergent results. It is clear that he has much in common with Livy, but the tendency of early investigators was to overrate Livy's influence. Schwartz has shown that down to the end of the Second Punic War Dio holds an independent course between the various traditions known to us. After this there is apparent an increasing similarity between his account and that of Livy, which becomes most marked in the period of the civil war, and the natural inference is that Livy was here used directly as a principal source. There are important agreements also with Polybius, but no conclusive evidence of direct dependence. Sallust was almost certainly not among Dio's sources, and it is not probable that Caesar's Commentaries were used, at least to any extent. For the period of the empire Tacitus has been confidently claimed by some as an important source, particularly for the Roman and characterization of Tiberius; others, with less probability, have denied any such influence. A few isolated parallels between Dio and Sallust, also Pliny the Elder, have been pointed out; but they are not of sufficient importance to establish any direct influence. In a few instances Dio refers to the memoirs of emperors (Augustus, Hadrian, and Severus), as if he had consulted them. He excels the other historians of Rome in the attention paid to constitutional and administrative matters, and it has been argued that he must have consulted some of the public records, at least the lists of magistrates. In general it may be said that his history gives evidence of being

based on various sources for a given period, and he seems to have made an honest attempt to arrive at the truth. Unfortunately he was not always equal to the task of reconciling the discrepancies in his sources and thus manages to contradict himself at times.

Dio's point of view is thoroughly Roman. He writes from the standpoint of a senator who, while jealous of the prerogatives of his order, is at the same time a thorough believer in the monarchy; in fact he makes the relations of the emperors to the senate the central idea in his account of the empire. His impatience with all opposition to the monarchy is probably responsible for the almost bitter hostility towards Cicero. He has a poor opinion of the common people, and he resents the great power and influence of the praetorian guard.

In style and diction the history is modelled on Thucydides. Not alone the long involved periods of the Athenian historian, but also a multitude of single words, constructions, and phrases either peculiar to him or shared with a few other writers, reappear in these pages. It would seem that Dio steeped himself in the vocabulary and thoughts of his great model until he could think almost unconsciously in the words of the other.

Dio exerted no appreciable influence on his immediate successors in the field of Roman history. But among the Byzantines he became the standard authority on the subject, a circumstance to which we doubtless owe the preservation of such a large portion of his work.

About one third of Dio's History has come down to us intact. The extant portions are: (a) Books XXXIV-LX (in large part), continued in eleven Mss.; (b) Book LXXVIII with part of LXXIX (or LXXIX with part of LXXX according to Boissevain's division), preserved in a single Ms.; (c) the Paris fragments describing events of the years 207-200 B.C., recovered from the binding of a Strabo Ms.

For our knowledge of the lost portions of Dio's work we have two kinds of sources: Excerpts contained in various Byzantine collections, together with brief quotations made by lexicographers and grammarians; and () Epitomes by Zonaras and Xiphilinus, supplemented by occasional citations in other historical writers. The quotations of the first class may be supposed to give, as a rule, the very words of Dio, subject of course to necessary changes in phraseology at the beginning, and sometimes at the end, and to occasional omission elsewhere of portions unessential to the excerptor's purpose. These constitute the Fragments of our author in the strict sense of the term. The Epitomes, on the other hand, while they often repeat entire sentences of Dio verbatim, or nearly so (as may readily be seen by comparing extant portions of the histories with Zonaras or Xiphilinus), must, nevertheless, be regarded as essentially paraphrases. A brief description of these various sources follows:

(1) The Excerpts *De Virtutibus et Vitiis* (V) are found in a Ms. of the tenth century, the *Codex Peirescianus*, now in the library of Tours. It was first published in 1634 by Henri de Valois, whence the fragments are sometimes

called Excerpta Valesiana, as well as Peiresciana. The collection consists (at present) of quotations from fourteen historians, extending from Herodotus to Malalas. From Dio there are 415 excerpts, and the Ms. originally contained still more.

The Excerpts De Sententiis (M) are contained in a Vatican palimpsest (Vaticanus Graecus 73) of the tenth or eleventh century. The Ms. is in very bad condition; numerous leaves were discarded and the others disarranged when the Ms. was used for the second writing. Angelo Mai, who first published the collection in 1826, employed chemical reagents to bring out the letters and even then had to despair of many passages. Since his use of the Ms. the letters have naturally faded still more, and parts of some leaves have been covered in the work of repair. The excerpts attributed to Dio are drawn from nearly all periods of Roman history, and fall into two groups, the first extending down to 216 B.C., the other from 40 B.C. to the reign of Constantine; between the two portions several leaves, and probably entire quaternions, have been lost from the Ms. That the former set of fragments is taken from Dio none will deny. The later collection, extends much beyond the reign of Alexander Severus, where Dio ended his history; furthermore, the style and diction are considerably different from Dio's own. It is now generally agreed that all the excerpts of this second set were the work of one man, whom Boissevain, following Niebuhr, would identify with Petrus Patricius, a historian of the sixth century. Nevertheless, though not direct quotations from Dio, they are of value in filling out both his account and that of Xiphilinus.

The Excerpts De Legationibus — Embassies (a) of the Foreign Nations to the Romans (UG) and (b) of the Romans to Foreign Nations (UR) — appear in nine Mss., all derived from a Spanish archetype (since destroyed by fire) owned by Juan Paez de Castro in the sixteenth century. First published by Fulvio Orsini in 1582, and hence called Excerpta Ursiniana.

The three collections thus far named are known collectively as the Excerpta Constantiniana. They formed a small part of a great encyclopedia of more than fifty subjects, compiled under the direction of Constantine VII. Porphyrogenetus (A.D. 912-59). They have recently been reëdited by Boissevain, de Boor, and Büttner-Wobst (Berlin, 1903-06).

The Florilegium (Flor.) of Maximus the Confessor contains excerpts from various authors, the first of which is Virtue and Vice. Mai first published a number of fragments of Dio from this collection (from a Vatican Ms.), but inserted several which have since been rejected. There are at least six Mss. of the Florilegium containing excerpts from Dio. From one of these (Parisinus 1169, of the fourteenth or fifteenth century) Boissevain adds to the previous fragments No. 55, 31a and 3b

The short syntactical lexicon (*Περὶ Συντάξεως*) (published in Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca* (vol. I pp117-180) contains nearly 140 brief citations from Dio, nearly all of which are assigned to their several books, though

unfortunately many of the numbers have been corrupted. On the basis of these citations, compared with the epitomes, von Gutschmid and Boissevain independently attempted to determine the points of division between the lost books of Dio, and reached essentially the same results. Yet in several places the evidence is insufficient to constitute more than a reasonable probability.

The lexicon of Suidas, the *Etymologicum Magnum*, and a few other compilations of like character are also useful in affording occasional citations from Dio, often by book-number.

(2) Zonaras was private secretary to the emperor Alexis I. Comnenus in the early part of the twelfth century; later he retired to a monastery on Mt. Athos and devoted himself to literary labours. Among various works which he left is his *Ἐπιτομὴ Ἱστοριῶν*, a history of the world, in eighteen books, extending from the creation down to the death of Alexis in 1118. It has been satisfactorily shown that for Books VII-IX, in which Roman history is carried down from the landing of Aeneas to 146 B.C., his chief source was Dio, supplemented by Plutarch and a couple of quotations from Herodotus. We are justified, therefore, in recognizing as an epitome of Dio whatever remains after the exclusion of portions that are derivable from the other two sources. After narrating the destruction of Corinth Zonaras laments that he could find no ancient authorities for the remainder of the republican period; hence it is inferred that Books XXII-XXXV had even then been lost from all the Mss. He resumes his narration with the time of Sulla, and after relying on various lives of Plutarch for a time, finally follows Dio's account once more, beginning with Book XLIV, 3; but for the period subsequent to Domitian's death he used Dio only indirectly, through the epitome of Xiphilinus. Zonaras is therefore of great importance for Books I-XXI, and to a lesser degree for Books XLIV-LXVII, where he occasionally supplements our Mss. of Dio or the epitome of Xiphilinus. There are numerous Mss. of Zonaras, five of which are cited by Boissevain; but for the present edition it has seemed sufficient merely to indicate such readings as have the support of no Ms.

For Books LXI-LXXX our chief authority is Xiphilinus, a monk of Constantinople, who made an abridgement of Books XXXVI-LXXX at the request of the emperor Michael VII. Ducas (1071-1078). Even in his time Books LXX and LXXI (Boissevain's division), containing the reign of Antoninus Pius and the first part of that of Marcus Aurelius, had already perished. He divided his epitome into sections each containing the life of one emperor, and thus is of no authority as regards Dio's divisions; furthermore his task was very carelessly performed. The epitome is found in at least sixteen Mss.; but all the rest are derived from one or the other of two fifteenth century Mss., Vaticanus 145 and Coislinianus 320. Besides these two (abbreviated V and C), we have readings from an unknown Xiphilinus Ms. entered in L' of Dio to fill various gaps; but the scribe of L' dealt very freely with such passages.

Ioannes Tzetzes (twelfth century) in his farrago of historical and

mythological stories now entitled *Chiliads*, from the arbitrary division of the work into sections of one thousand verses each, occasionally cites Dio among his various authorities. But he dealt very freely with his material, and it is often difficult to determine exactly how much of Dio underlies his version. The present text omits a few passages printed with some hesitation by Boissevain. Tzetzes also cites Dio a few times in his commentary on Lycophron's *Alexandra*. Other writers who are similarly of use in supplementing the epitomes are Eustathius, archbishop of Thessalonica in the twelfth century, famous for his commentary on Homer; Ioannes Antiochenus, a historian of the seventh century; Ioannes Damascenus, an ecclesiastical writer of the eighth century; Ioannes Laurentius Lydus, of the sixth century, who wrote of the Magistrates of the Roman Republic, and Cedrenus, a historian of the eleventh century.

The present text and division into books are based on Boissevain's edition, which has been courteously placed at the disposal of the Editors by Messrs. Weidmann of Berlin. The departure from his readings are relatively few, but are not always indicated in the critical notes, as it has seemed simpler to take the Ms. reading as the standard, and merely cite such emendations as are adopted in the text. For convenience of reference the traditional divisions of Books LXI-LXXX are given in the margin; and it is by these numbers that passages are cited.

The translation is based on that of H. B. Foster (Troy, N.Y., 1905-06), the first to appear in English. At the outset it was hoped that his translation would require few changes to bring it into conformity with the Greek text here adopted; but this hope was promptly disappointed, as soon as the task of careful comparison with the original was fairly under way, by the discovery of many errors of a more or less serious nature, as well as of frequent infelicities in the English. So far as has proved possible, his words have been retained; yet the changes found to be either necessary or desirable are so numerous that the editors have decided in favour of the present wording of the title page.

Manuscripts

(a) There are eleven Mss. containing the larger part of Books XXXVI-LX. The two of greatest importance are: —

Laurentianus (or Mediceus) 70, 8 (L), eleventh century, containing XXXVI,18,1-L,6,2.

Marcianus (or Venetus) 395 (M), eleventh century, containing XLIV,35,4-LX,28,3; but numerous leaves and even whole quaternions have been lost.

Of importance for parts of the text where these Mss. fail are also: —

Vaticanus Graecus 144 (V), fifteenth century, containing XXXVI-LIV.

Parisinus 1689 (P), fifteenth century, containing XXXVI-LX. Used by Stephanus in his edition of 1548.

Laurentianus (or Mediceus) 70, 10 (L'), fifteenth century, containing XLII-LX.

It has been conclusively shown by Boissevain that V is a copy of L, made, however, while L was in a completer state than at present; that L' is in the main a copy of M, but with additions from L; and that P is derived from L for the earlier books and from L' for the later. The other six Mss., not here specified, are derivatives of P (in one case of P and M) or of V. It is clear, therefore, that only L and M are of value except where passages now lost in one or both appear in the derived Mss. Thus V and P are our only Mss. for XXXVI,1-17; V takes the place of L for the greater part of L-LIV; and similarly L' serves instead of M for LII,5,2-20,4; LX,17,7-20,2, and LX,22,2-26,2, being the sole Ms. to give the last two passages. Unfortunately M has several extensive gaps in books LV-LX which cannot be filled out from the later Mss.

(b) The oldest Dio Ms. is now reduced to a few leaves on which are contained LXXVIII,2,2-LXXIX,8,3. This Ms. is:

Vaticanus Graecus 1288 (V', vellum Ms. of fifth or seventh century, in uncial characters. It teems with errors, many of which, however, were corrected by a second hand, apparently with the aid of another Ms. V' belonged to Orsini, who published the contents in 1582 (*Excerpta Valesiana*, pp416-47).

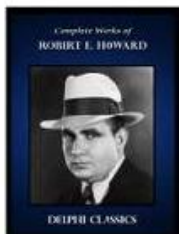
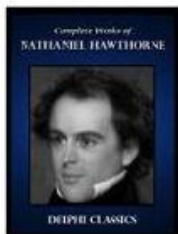
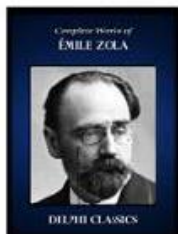
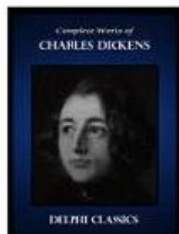
(c) The Paris fragments.

These are found on five parchment leaves which have been used in patching up a Strabo Ms (Parisinus 1397A). They evidently belonged to a Ms. of Dio written about the eleventh century, and describe events of the years 207-200 B.C. (Frgs. 57, 53-60, 63-71, 76, 81, 83-86; 58, 1-6). Haase first published them in the *Rheinisches Museum* for 1839, pp445-76.

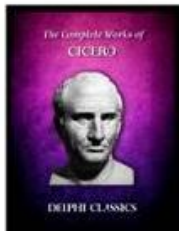
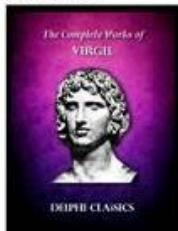
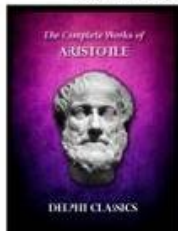
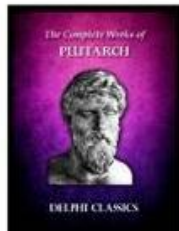
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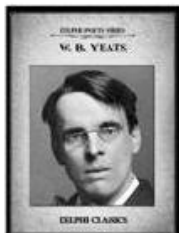
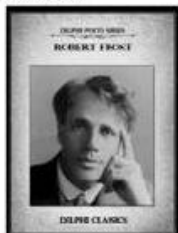
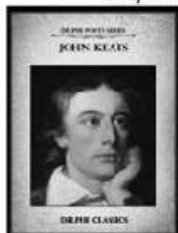
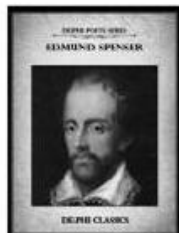
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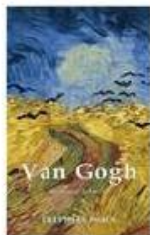
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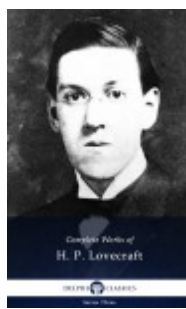
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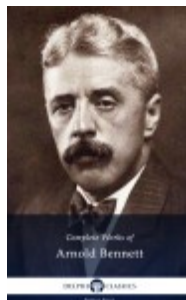
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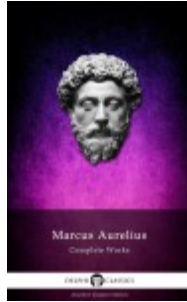
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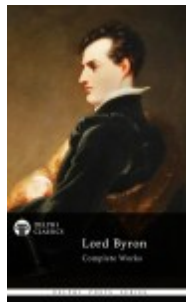
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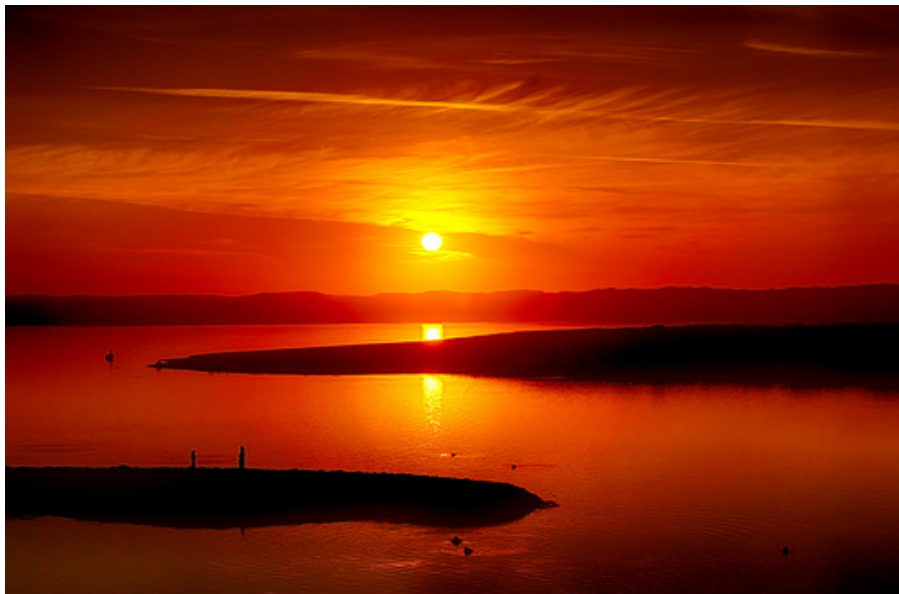
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North-western Anatolia, Dio's homeland — in later years, Dio obtained permission to retire to Nicaea, his native city, on the plea of an ailment of the foot; it is believed his death occurred soon afterwards.